Graduate School
of BUSINESS
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Authenticity framing and market creation for meta-organisations: The case of the Swartland Independent Producers in the South African wine field

Jonathan Daniel Steyn

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Department of Commerce, Graduate School of Business

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Supervised by Associate Professor Stephanie Giamporcaro

March 2021

University of Cape Town

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

University of Cape Town

Abstract

This PhD thesis studies the Swartland Independent Producers (SIP) meta-organisation, located in the Western Cape wine region of South Africa, and asks: *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets?* Seventy-one interviews were realised with producers making "authentic wine" and other market participants active in the South African wine industry between 2010 and 2016. How and why businesses create markets by rendering authenticity through collective action organised within meta-organisations has not been fully explored in the organisational authenticity literature. The framework developed through a qualitative analysis of the SIP case, contributes to filling this gap by showing that authenticity can be constructed, and new markets created for meta-organisations, via the interplay of two sets of intersecting meta-framings: authenticity work and authentication work, and hot and cool authenticity framing. This thesis demonstrates that authenticity work may comprise three meso-framings: *claiming purity*, *performing charisma* and *meta-organisational tethering*. Simultaneously, this study conceptualises how market participants purposively engage in authentication work through meso-framings of *polarising evaluation*, *valorising status,* and *reframing meaning*. The theoretical framework refines the current scholarly explanation of why rendered authenticity creates markets. By bridging the sociology and organisational literatures dedicated to authenticity, this PhD developed four novel authenticity meta-framing constructs: *hot* and *cool authenticity work* and *hot and cool authentication work*. Through further theorising their interactions, this study advances current academic knowledge on how and why rendering authenticity is a central concern for businesses intending to create markets through meta-organisational collective action.

Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only. Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Declaration

I, **Jonathan Daniel Steyn**, hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation/thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university. I empower the university to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

Signature:

Date: March 2021

Inspiration

We shall not cease from exploration

And the end of all our exploring

Will be to arrive where we started

And know the place for the first time.

Through the unknown, unremembered gate

When the last of earth left to discover

Is that which was the beginning;

At the source of the longest river

The voice of the hidden waterfall

And the children in the apple-tree

Not known, because not looked for

But heard, half-heard, in the stillness

Between two waves of the sea.

- T.S. Elliot

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank several people and organisations, mentioned and unmentioned, whose advice, support and insights made this thesis possible. *Un très grand merci* must go to Stephanie Giamporcaro for unwavering support, patience and mentorship throughout the PhD journey. This PhD thesis would not have been remotely possible without such exemplary guidance, especially when the task at hand seemed unsurmountable. Thanks also go to the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business research office, library and executive education teams for support and encouragement in this endeavour. The PhD research colloquia at the GSB were instrumental in providing training in the formative years of this process. The assistance of the research office and Winetech in providing funding support to present papers at conferences both locally and abroad greatly improved scholarly acumen. Ralph Hamann's help and advice in this PhD journey and other scholarly research projects are especially appreciated. Gratefulness is also expressed to David Priilaid for guidance in collaborative research projects and papers that served to strengthen the analytical and writing skills required at this academic level. Thanks also go to those supporting this thesis through transcription, academic review and editing suggestions. The contributions of the many respondents involved in this research, particularly members of the SIP, Zoo Biscuits, CVC, and the WSB, cannot be overemphasised. The transparency, generosity and passion displayed in every single interaction was remarkable to behold. You acutely demonstrated what can be achieved when organisations in the wine industry put aside their differences to work towards collective goals in an authentic way. Personally, I would like to thank Hannah Wallis for support in this journey, Manuela Machry for inspiration during the troubled times experienced recently, and my mother, Elizabeth Peebles, for unconditionally encouraging me in everything I've done.

List of figures

Figure 1.1: Timeline of relevant events, 1968–2016 11

Figure 4.1: Data structure for authenticity work 95

Figure 5.1: Data structure for authentication work 132

Figure 6.1: Flow diagram of the authenticity generation and market creation process 179

Figure 6.2: Matrix representation of why authenticity was generated..................................186

List of tables

Table 1.1: Comparative descriptive statistics, 2010–2016 17

Table 3.1: Overview of data collection and analysis process including turning points 70

Table 3.2: Sample sizes of primary data informant categories 73

Table 3.3: Empirical material usage in analysis 81

Glossary of terms

Organisational authenticity: This phenomenon has often been defined according to its nature i.e., what authenticity is (Lehman et al., 2019). Here it is defined according to how it is done, focusing on the process and reasons behind its construction, as a: *constantly emerging social meaning, framing what is credibly real, true, and genuine about organisations within a field at a given time*.

Authenticity generation/ production: The social construction processes by which field actors shape the meaning of authenticity through contestation, negotiation, and social agreement (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Peterson, 2005; Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Two sets of processes by which this occurs are drawn from the authenticity literature and expanded upon, namely: authenticity work and authentication, and hot and cool authentication.

Collective action framing: These are interpretive schema (see: Goffman, 1959) organisational collectives employ to diagnose systemic failings, suggest solutions, and motivate others to rally behind the cause (Benford & Snow, 2000; Leibel, Hallet & Bechky, 2018; Weber, Heinze & DeSoucey, 2008). Collective action framing involves strategies developed by aligning, negotiating, and mobilising frames on micro, organisational, meso, and meta levels through, amplifying, tethering, and reframing them (Benford & Snow, 2000; Leibel et al., 2018; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020).

Authenticity work: According to Peterson (2005) this comprises efforts to appear authentic by a "claim that is made by or for someone, thing, or performance" (2005, p. 1086). In this study this phenomenon was conceptualised as a strategic meta-framing effort to work up, justify, and render perceptions of being credibly real, true, or genuine.

Authentication work: Authentication is the social process by which authenticity is contested,

negotiated, attributed, and ultimately generated (Askin & Mol, 2018; Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Peterson, 2005). Authentication work is a contextual interpretation of authentication as a strategic meta-framing effort by market participants working on validating, attributing, and reframing meanings of authenticity affecting the field/ market.

Hot and cool authenticity framing: A reconceptualization and expansion of hot and cool authenticity/ authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Selwyn, 1996; Wang, 1999) as strategic efforts (meta-framings) by market actors to construct authenticity. This is achieved through hot actions i.e., by enacting beliefs and emotions, or cool actions i.e., by declaring authorised knowledge. By theorising their interplay four meta-framing actions were surfaced: 1) *hot authenticity work* engaged in by SIP members to justify nascent frames of authenticity through working up beliefs and emotions, 2) *cool authenticity work* encompassed efforts by the SIP business association to justify such frames by declaring what was authentic to its members, 3) *hot authentication work* involved several groups of market participants working on validating the authenticity work of the SIP, their own claims, and the overarching meaning of authenticity through beliefs and emotions, 4) *cool authentication work* is a field-level meta-framing action, involving an array of market participants, aimed at validating authenticity by declaring authorised knowledge via laws, standards, and collective decisions.

Credibility: Credibility refers to practices that have become persuasive enough in a market because they are trustworthy and believable. Attribution of authenticity confirms trustworthiness when organisational actions are perceived as sincere, honest, and reliable (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Carroll & Wheaton, 2009). Rendering of authenticity is achieved when frames of authenticity are made believable—i.e. plausible, feasible, and provable (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Grazian, 2010). New meanings of authenticity are created when rendered, attributed and so made credible (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Gilmore & Pine, 2007).

Cultural markets and fields: Markets are socially constructed because the economic world is immersed in social interactions (Granovetter, 1985). They are populated by a diverse array of actors, including competitors, suppliers, policymakers, consumers, and buyers (Doh, Lawton & Rajwani, 2012). Markets are meso-level social orders characterised by strategic action between cliques of actors vying for reputational status and value (Beckert, 2010; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; White, 1981). Cultural fields exist for certain products such as wine, food, art, music, and so forth (Dimaggio, 1987; Peterson & Anand, 2004), and shape demand and supply in markets for such products by generating authenticity (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson & Anand, 2004).

Market creation: Market creation is most often the result of material and discursive framing actions by market actors creating enough social pressure over time to change laws, norms, and taken-for-granted cultural practices (Humphreys, 2010; Santos & Eisenhardt, 2009). The production of a cultural perspective suggests that authenticity is critical in creating cultural markets when, through a process of negotiation, the meaning of authenticity is widely agreed upon by field participants (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004).

Meta-organisations: Meta-organisations are organisations comprised of organisations (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2005), characterised by their diversity, organisationality, power, collective identity, and agency (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015; Garaudel, 2020). Business associations, as types of meta-organisations, are "organisations through which a group of interdependent firms, typically in the same industry, pool their resources and coordinate their efforts so that they may 'speak with one voice' on matters of shared interest" (Barnett, 2012, p. 215).

Abbreviations and acronyms

Cape Estate Wine Producers Association (CEWPA)

Cape Vintner Classification (CVC)

Koöperatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging (KWV)

Management and Organisation Studies (MOS)

Swartland Independent Producers (SIP)

South African Wine Information and Systems (SAWIS)

Wine of Origin Scheme (WOS)

Wine and Spirit Board (WSB)

Table of contents

Abstract .... **i**

Copyright .... **ii**

Declaration .... **iii**

Inspiration .... **iv**

Acknowledgements .... **v**

List of figures .... **vi**

List of tables .... **vii**

Glossary of terms .... **viii**

Abbreviations and acronyms .... **xi**

Chapter 1 – Introduction **1**

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 Research purpose and research question 3

1.3 Methodology employed 6

1.4 Research setting 7

1.4.1 Setting the scene 7

1.4.2 Wine revolution in the Swartland 12

1.5 Thesis outline 18

1.6 Contributions 18

Chapter 2 – Literature review **20**

2.1 Introduction 20

2.2 How is authenticity done? 20

2.3 How and why authenticity is generated? 22

2.3.1 Authenticity generation through authenticity work and authentication 23

2.3.2 Hot and cool authenticity generation 45

2.3.3 Collective action framing of authenticity 51

2.4 Who does authenticity? 53

2.5 What does authenticity do? 55

2.6 Summary 58

Chapter 3 – Methodology 61

3.1 Introduction 61

3.2 Research approach 61

3.2.1 Abductive theory elaboration 62

3.2.2 Non-linear case study approach 64

3.2.3 Qualitative evidence 65

3.3 Data collection and data analysis 67

3.3.1 Turning points 67

3.3.2 Data collection 69

3.3.3 Data analysis 78

3.4 Validity and ethical concerns 86

3.4.1 Qualitative research validity criteria 87

3.4.2 Abductive case study validity criteria 88

3.4.3 Ethical matters 90

3.5 Summary 92

Chapter 4 – Findings on authenticity work 94

4.1 Introduction 94

4.2 Claiming purity 96

4.2.1 Theorising minimalism 96

4.2.2 Pursuing noble purpose 101

4.3 Performing charisma 106

4.3.1 Projecting heroism 107

4.3.2 Charming members and audiences 112

4.4 Meta-organisational tethering 118

4.4.1 Marshalling 119

4.4.2 Binding 124

4.5 Conclusion 129

Chapter 5 – Findings on authentication work 131

5.1 Introduction 131

5.2 Polarising evaluation 133

5.2.1 Resonating with the fringe 133

5.2.2 Traditionalising 138

5.3 Valorising status 143

5.3.1 Mobilising the fringe 143

5.3.2 Contesting countervailing frames 150

5.4 Reframing meaning 161

5.4.1 Advocating co-existing frames 162

5.4.2 Navigating category co-creation 166

5.4.3 Trading off on category boundaries 169

5.5 Conclusion 172

Chapter 6 – Theory discussion and conclusion 174

6.1 Introduction 174

6.2 How authenticity was generated and what it did 174

6.2.1 The nature and interaction of authenticity work and authentication work 175

6.2.2 Authenticity and authentication work as collective meta-framing actions 178

6.2.3 The outcomes of authenticity generation for the South African wine field ...182

6.3 Why authenticity was generated 183

6.3.1 The nature of hot and cool authenticity framing 184

6.3.2 Hot authenticity work 185

6.3.3 Cool authenticity work 188

6.3.4 Hot authentication work 190

6.3.5 Cool authentication work 192

6.4 Summary and contributions 194

6.5 Limitations, implications for future work and conclusion 197

6.5.1 Methodological and theoretical limitations 198

6.5.2 Future research directions 201

6.5.3 Conclusion 205

References 207

Addendum A – Initial interview guideline 240

Addendum B – Sample quotes for authenticity work 244

Addendum C – Sample quotes for authentication work 252

Addendum D – Sample concept map 1 259

Addendum E – Sample concept map 2 259

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Businesses with limited economic resources, social status and comparative worth in markets often have no option but to employ a repertoire of non-economic tools to survive (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010). They are regularly confronted by large organisations wielding significant economic, political, and social power, and policymakers who legislatively control access to markets (Fligstein, 2001). One non-economic tool businesses may employ to create markets in this situation is to emphasise their authenticity (Baron, 2004; Swaminathan, 1995; Verhaal, Hoskins & Lundmark, 2017). Another worthwhile strategy they may use is to mobilise and engage in collective action, either as loose coalitions (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010; Weber et al., 2008) or, more formally, as meta-organisations i.e., organisations of organisations (Garaudel, 2020; Rajwani, Lawton & Phiilips, 2015; Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015).

This thesis examines a case involving a business association, the Swartland Independent Producers (SIP), employing collective action and framing themselves and their wines as authentic to create a market. It also analyses the reaction of other organisations in the field to these strategic efforts. Few studies have connected the formal collective action of small businesses, including their efforts to appear authentic, with the phenomenon of market creation. This reveals an important gap in management and organisational studies (MOS) literature that this thesis seeks to constructively address. By focusing on collective organisational strategies employing authenticity, this study primarily seeks to demonstrate that businesses can create markets by channelling their collective actions through meta-organisations, such as business associations, and framing their practices as authentic.

The authenticity phenomenon has elicited a fierce scholarly debate over the past four decades

(Bruner, 1994; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Wang, 1999). Despite these disagreements, scholars concur that authenticity is an attributed meaning encapsulating what is credibly real, true, or genuine within a context (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010; Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Lehman, Connor, Newman., 2019). Organisational scholars have recently turned their attention to authenticity (Demetry, 2019; Lehman et al., 2019), by expanding on Harrison, Hoskisson and Jonsens' (2014) conceptualisation of *organisational authenticity* as the consistency between espoused beliefs and realised actions. For Lehman et al. (2019) organisational authenticity:

> Involves a verification process about whether or not an entity is real, genuine, or true…an authenticity attribution depends on the referent: Is it a real what? Or a genuine what? Or true to what? An entity might be deemed authentic because it is true to itself, a genuine representation of its social category, or possesses a real connection to a person, place, or time as claimed. (p.31)

Examining this case required not only confronting the nature of organisational authenticity, but also the practices, processes, actors, and outcomes involved in its generation on a meso or market level. A socially constructed approach to organisational authenticity, collective action, and market creation was therefore adopted for this investigation. This view regards authenticity as a meaning shaped and negotiated by powerplay amongst a diverse range of actors (Bruner, 1994; Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Peterson, 1997). Additionally, such meanings are frequently socially constructed by organisations engaging in collective action framing contests (Kaplan, 2008). Furthermore, this perspective envisages cultural markets (including the market for wine) as contestational arenas (Beverland, 2005; Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Podolny, 1993; White, 1981), constructed through social interactions and relationships (Fligstein & Dauter, 2007; Fourcade, 2007), and created when meanings of authenticity are agreed upon by competing groups of actors vying for status and value (Askin & Mol, 2018; Koçak, Hannan & Hsu, 2013; Peterson, 1997). In such a dynamic environment, the possibilities for what is authentic, how and why it is constructed, and what it does, are vast, multifaceted and ever-changing (Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1988; Peterson, 1997). Accordingly, organisational

authenticity is defined as a *constantly emerging social meaning, framing what is credibly real, true, and genuine about organisations within a field at a given time.*

The rest of this chapter expands on the above to explain the purpose of the study and the research question. This is followed by a prelude to the research context and methodology employed. The structure of this thesis and envisaged contributions are then briefly set out.

1.2 Research purpose and research question

The aims, research question, and gaps in the organisational authenticity literature that this thesis intends to address are best explained by unpacking four dimensions of organisational authenticity that are intertwined with collective action framing, meta-organisational strategy and market creation: 1) how authenticity is practised/ produced in everyday organisational life?; 2) how and why authenticity is generated for organisations?; 3) who is responsible for the production of authenticity?; and 4) what authenticity does? In terms of producing authenticity, a significant debate in the authenticity literature concerns the notion of being authentic as opposed to doing authenticity (Beverland et al., 2010). Some suggest that the fascination with what is authentic has drawn attention away from how it is done in everyday life (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Authenticity is an idea, manifested in sets of shared practices (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Vannini & Williams, 2009) and generated through human interactions or work (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Harris, 2010). Doing authenticity can be accomplished through discourse such as persuasive language or stories (Beverland, 2005), and physical work involving things and/ or social roleplay (Arnould & Price, 2000; Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Kozinets, 2002). Authenticity is often socially manufactured or invented, and such fabrications may or may not be persuasive enough to be considered authentic by others in a market (Peterson, 2005). This thesis explores the organisational practices and social interactions involved in making an authentic wine in South Africa.

Two sets of reflexively interacting processes involved in the social generation of authenticity are highlighted in the literature review: authenticity work and authentication shaping perceptions of authenticity; and hot and cool authenticity/ authentication, regulating social performances and authority over authenticity. The former is derived from the MOS literature, where Peterson (2005) argues that authenticity work involves efforts by cultural actors to appear authentic to a wider audience and when performed persuasively enough, these efforts are successfully accepted as authentic through authentication. Authenticity work and authentication are important because they have a dramatic impact on shaping the social meaning of authenticity (Peterson, 2005), which has a secondary effect on market creation (Peterson & Anand, 2004; Askin & Mol, 2018). In the sociology of tourism literature, hot authentication involves self or collectively generated beliefs and emotions performing meanings of authenticity, while cool authentication processes generate meanings of authenticity by relying on authenticating agents to declare what is authentic through the application of authorised knowledge, often backed up by laws, certifications, and standards (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Mkono, 2013b; Selwyn, 1996).

Much scholarly work is yet to be done in providing validity for these constructs individually and in concert. Certainly, the authenticity work concept requires significant further study to understand its empirical construction, meso-level interactions, and apprehension by different market participants (Demetry, 2019; Lehman et al., 2019). Additionally, little work is available concerning the explicit relationship between authenticity work and authentication. The study of authenticity could also benefit from a longitudinal perspective on how meanings of authenticity change over time (Lehman et al., 2019). Moreover, the hot and cool authenticity framework has, so far, been confined to the sociology of tourism literature and these studies have mainly focused on its application to authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). A gap therefore exists to expand the hot/ cool dichotomy to authenticity work and empirically study

instances where it applies to organisations and influences market creation, as is the case here. This thesis therefore aims to generate a plausible theory on the construction and interaction of these two sets of authenticity generation processes, and by so doing provide some clarity on organisational authenticity generation at meso level.

In relation to this, organisational scholars are yet to fully address the overlap between collective action framing and organisational authenticity generation. Some studies have suggested in passing that interorganisational collectives engage in strategically framing their authenticity (Negro, Hannan & Rao, 2011) and that conflicting meanings of authenticity inspire organisational collective action (DeSoucey, 2010; Weber et al., 2008). Such cursory coverage exposes a significant gap in this literature and provides an avenue to integrate strategic collective action framing and organisational efforts to produce authenticity.

When it comes to the question of who is responsible for the production of authenticity, one must consider the roles, power, and authority of various field actors in the process (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). This thesis examines how powerplay amongst several groups of market actors such as policymakers, critics, buyers, and suppliers in the case at hand shaped the authenticity generation process. Special focus is given to the role played by business associations, defined as a meta-organisation, "through which a group of interdependent firms, typically in the same industry, pool their resources and coordinate their efforts so that they may 'speak with one voice' on matters of shared interest" (Barnett, 2012, p. 215). As discussed further along, business associations involved in authenticity production may collectively market themselves to impose their authenticity (Peñaloza, 2000), demonstrate agency by lobbying to influence policy to claim authenticity as organisations separate from their members (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016; Hannan et al., 2007), and make binding decisions as authenticating agents over their members (Frake, 2015, Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015). As well as aiming to

provide much needed clarity on the role of meta-organisations in generating authenticity, therefore, this thesis also examines the role of these organisations in creating markets for their members and those aligned to them.

In terms of what authenticity does, multiple terms have been employed to describe the outcomes of authenticity generation. Rendering authenticity is seen as a positive result for organisational efforts to appear authentic (Ewing et al., 2012; Gilmore & Pine, 2007) while attribution applies to the successful confirmation of authenticity by field actors (Carroll, 2015; Lehman et al., 2018). While they seem interactively performed and constituted, there is scope to further develop their meaning and investigate how they influence market creation. To that end, and since the cultural context involves the field of wine, this thesis adopts a production of culture view that market creation occurs when countervailing meanings of authenticity are negotiated and agreed upon by market actors (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004). In lieu of these dimensions of organisational authenticity, the research question posed is: *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets?*

1.3 Methodology employed

A research design of systematic combining was employed to abductively elaborate on existing organisational authenticity theory by constantly moving back and forth between emerging findings and extant theory (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014). Furthermore, a non-linear case study research process assuming neither a pre-designed logic governing the boundaries of the case (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Siggelkow, 2007), nor a sequential order in which the empirical material is collected, analysed, and rendered to theory (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014; Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007) was necessary to eleaborate on theory. The study is qualitative because it seeks to incorporate the meaning that informants in the context attached to the abovementioned phenomena by using words and text as empirical material (Crotty, 1998; Van Maanen, 1979)

Data collection took place over 18 months and the primary source of empirical material comprised 71 semi-structured interviews conducted between November 2015 and December 2016, amounting to 69.46 hours of audio data overall. Sampling was theoretical and informants were selected for maximum variation, employing snowballing when informants recommended other informants to be interviewed. In terms of data analysis, two sets of analytical moves were employed during data analysis, namely categorising, and connecting (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Grodal et al., 2020; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). Categorising fractured the data into concepts, dimensions, or constructs by exploring their similarities and differences (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). Categorising typically occurred during coding and raised informant centred raw data and concepts into researcher-centred dimensions and constructs (Gioia et al., 2013). Connecting moves explored relationships between categories in an iterative cycle of comparison to the context, extant theory, and emerging theory (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Gioia et al., 2013; Maxwell & Miller, 2008).

1.4 Research setting

1.4.1 Setting the scene

This case is illustrative of several conflicts that played out between bureaucracy, market incumbents, and collectively organised independent wine producers over authenticity and markets access and value in the South African wine industry over 50 years (Nugent, 2011, 2012). Between 1924 and 1999, a meta-organisation called the Koöperatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging (KWV) was bestowed with overarching authority to regulate and police the South African wine field, make minimum prices, and introduce production quotas (Nugent, 2012; Van Zyl, 1993; Williams, 2013). The KWV was established when collective action by wine farmers facing ruin pressured the government into establishing a body that could ensure economic sustainability for grape growers (Nugent, 2011). The KWV was a secondary

cooperative that outranked local cooperatives that proliferated in South Africa from the 1930s (Ewert, Hanf & Schweikert, 2015). Wine cooperatives (now termed producer cellars) are meta-organisations with commercial interests that centralise production and marketing activities for wine grape growers, creating economies of scale (Cook, 1995; Couderc & Marchini, 2011; Staber, 1989). The KWV also marketed South African brandy and their own wine brands abroad into which they could plough surplus production. Furthermore, it provided producers with technical winemaking expertise (e.g., by recommending the quantities of sulphur and commercial yeast to add to a ferment).[1] Before the emergence of local cooperatives, grape growers producing wine in their own cellars were common in the South African wine landscape. However, factors such as the high cost of cool fermentation technology essential for producing aromatic white wines popular during the "white wine revolution" in the 1950s, accelerated a move to join local cooperatives to maximise profits (Nugent, 2012).

In 1968, realising the powers of the KWV were to be further expanded, a group of independent grower-producers seeking to decouple themselves from the KWV system and create an independent voice in the field, formed the Cape Estate Wine Producers Association (CEWPA) (Williams, 2013). In 1970, what became known as the "KWV Act" was promulgated and created the Wine and Spirits Council (WSC), imbuing it with far reaching administrative powers to grant all permits to make and sell wine, and inspect and seize any wine in defiance of regulations.[2] The WSC was dominated by the Cape Wine and Spirits Institute (CWSI) representing 90% of the wine trade who marketed over 80% of wines locally and the KWV representing grape growers, forcing CEWPA to engage in collective action to be adequately represented. However, they largely failed to do so, only being allowed informal representation

[1] Several respondents reported how the *wit jasse* (white jackets) from the KWV would arrive during harvest and, advise on the quantity of jam *blikke* (cans) of yeast and sulphur to add to the fermenting must. Others also reported that joining a local cooperative was often determined by political affiliation.
[2] Section 15(1) of Wine and Spirits Control Act 47 of 1970.

and consultation on decisions (Williams, 2013; Williams, Ewert, Hamman & Vink, 1998). Furthermore, in the face of opposition by the KWV and CWSI, and imminent stricter import rules by the European Economic Community, CEWPA lobbied for the introduction of a Wine of Origin Scheme (WOS) to verify and police the authenticity of claims to origin, grape variety, and vintage made on wine labels (Nugent, 2016; Williams, 2013).

CEWPA was successful in achieving the establishment of the WOS when the "KWV Act" was ratified by parliament in 1973. However, the regulations also allowed for the incorporation of grapes from adjoining properties into a registered estate's wine (Nugent, 2012). Importantly for CEWPA, the apex origin designation that could be claimed was a wine estate indicating, as with Bordeaux Chateau or "cru" system (Barham, 2003; Fourcade, 2012), that all wine was required to be grown, made, and bottled by the owners of a homogenous and legally defined piece of land. CEWPA became the mouthpiece for a rapidly growing group of wine estates, aiming to: "Maintain and promote the unique position of the estate as the pinnacle of the wine of origin system and to represent its interests" (Ponte & Ewert, 2007, p. 48).

By this stage, the National Department of Agriculture had seconded the administration of the WOS to the KWV (Williams, 2013). Furthermore, in the interim the KWV appointed estate owners to its boards and began rewriting wine and spirits legislation under authority from government. Redrafting legislation culminated in the promulgation of the Liquor Products Act 60 of 1989, creating the Wine and Spirits Board (WSB) which was granted authority to manage the WOS and promulgate legislative amendments. The purpose was to protect the public against false claims to origin, variety, and vintage on wine labels, which had become common practice in the industry. The rules governing export market access clarified the legal authenticity required for a wine to be certified, and a certification seal attached to each bottle, which confirmed that when evaluated by the WSB, the wine was of good quality and any claims

made on the label were checked (WSB, 2012). Within the WSB, the wine evaluation committee preliminarily certifies the style category, grape variety, origin, and age (vintage) by assessing its sensory characteristics through blind panel tastings according to legislated sensory criteria. The panel may, for instance, reject a wine for poor clarity, turbidity or haziness, uncharacteristic appearance or taste atypical of a variety, and overly matured or oxidised age-related characters. All rejections and disputes are handled by the technical committee who govern the sensory, chemical, and microbiological criteria applied when assessing the authenticity of wines for certification and export approval (WSB, 2012). Additionally, the WSB conferred powers on the South African Wine Information and Systems (SAWIS) to administer compliance of individual producers (Williams, 2013).

Amendments to the WOS between 2003 and 2009 allowed for single vineyard origin to be claimed on wine labels and the term "wine estate" was replaced with "estate wine".[3] An outcome of these changes was that the smallest production unit that could be claimed on a wine label was no longer estate wine but single vineyard wine. Another was that private wine cellars registered to produce estate wine were imbued with greater flexibility in producing estate wine. They could deregister wines they had been made with grapes outside the appelation and estate to exploit the value of their brand (Vink, 2019), while maintaining their estate wine status. Furthermore, agricultural land in South Africa cannot be subdivided and sold without the consent of the Minister of Agriculture.[4] Hence, producers not owning land and making wine from parcels of vineyards in cellars outside those areas of origin could claim a specific designation of origin; akin to a Burgundian "clos" approach to terroir (Fourcade, 2007; Ponte & Ewert, 2007). **Figure 1.1** presents a timeline of the relevant events in the South African wine field between 1968 and 2016.

---

[3]Amended for example by GN 1819 and GN R813. See 5.3.2.1 for a more extensive discussion.
[4] Section 3 of the Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act 70 of 1970.

Figure 1.1: Timeline of relevant events, 1968–2016

1968 – Cape Estate Wine Producers Association (CEWPA)

Formed to represent independent winegrowers wanting to sell wine and establish Wine of Origin Scheme.

1973 – KWV Act - Wine and Spirits Control Act 47 of 1970

Wine of Origin Scheme (WOS)

The Wine and Spirit Control Board (WSCB)

1982 – Cape Independent Winemakers Guild (CIWG)

1989 – Liquor Products Act 60 of 1989

Wine and Spirit Board (WSB) governs Wine of Origin Scheme (WOS)

1994 – First democratic elections in South Africa and access to global markets.

1997 – Cooperatives Amendment Act 37 of 1993

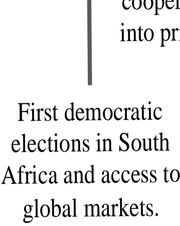
KWV and local cooperatives transform into private companies.

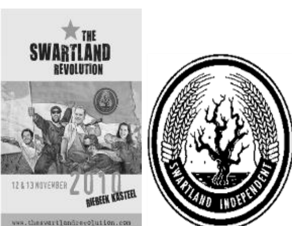
2006 – 2009 – Liquor Products Act 60 of 1989 WOS amendments 2003 - 2009: GN R1819, GN R835, GN R813 and GN R554.

Single vineyards of < 6 homogenous hectares could be claimed on labels.

Term “wine estate” replaced with “estate wine” accompanied by greater flexibility for private cellars.

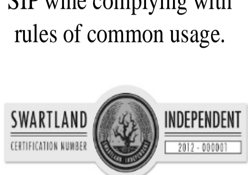
2010 – First Swartland Revolution event and establishment of Swartland Independent Producers (SIP) business association.





2011 – Problems emerge with rejection of SIP wines.

2012 – Authentication seal to be attached to every bottle of SIP wine complying with rules of common usage.



2013 – Cape Vintner Classification replaces CEWPA and establishes a classification for estate wines.

2015 – Liquor Products Act 60 of 1989 WOS amended by GN R628.

New classes defined
Skin macerated white
Extended barrel aged
Natural Pale
Methodé Ancestrale
Alternative white/ red
Sun wine

Zoo Biscuits emerge at Cape Wine 2015.

1.4.2 Wine revolution in the Swartland

Swartland means "black country", a name thought to be attributed to indigenous *renosterbos fynbos* flora and granitic outcrops projecting a dark colour when viewed from a distance. Located in the southwestern corner of South Africa, in the Western Cape wine region, the Swartland is South Africa's largest wine district by area, encompassing 9 987 km^2 of land. It is the third largest district by vineyard area, averaging 13 622 hectares between 2010 and 2016 (13,5% of total vineyard area in 2016). Further details are provided in **Table 1.1**. (SAWIS, 2019; VinPro, 2011-2017). Some statistical reports still refer to the district as Malmesbury after its capital town and in his report to the Royal Society of Arts in 1912, Burgoyne (1912, p. 674) noted that Malmesbury produced as good a class of wine as the famous Constantia and Stellenbosch districts and an altogether better class than some of the inland districts. However, eroded over decades under the cooperative system (Priilaid, 2019), that status had long since evaporated by 1994, when South African exports including wine became acceptable once more to international markets (following a long period of international blacklisting due to apartheid).

As far back as the mid-1800s, the Swartland was more renowned for wheat than wine, and was widely regarded as the breadbasket of South Africa (Dooling, 1999). A gradual shift towards viticulture started when international markets opened in the early 1990s. Seduced by the positive economic benefits of deregulation and global market access for wine in contrast to wheat, Swartland farmers engaged in ambitious vineyard planting schemes (Dietrich, Fiske, McAlister, Schobe, Silverman & Waldron, 2004). Between 1988 and 2010, vineyards in the Swartland rose from 1.98% to 8.73% of total land use, while wheat declined by a similar margin from 89.26% to 80.4% (Halpern & Meadows, 2013). However, the anticipated spike in trade never quite materialised and average grape prices barely increased in the decades after the turn of the century. Furthermore, the Swartland's reputation as a quality wine producing region

remained unchanged. However, from 2010 through the activities of the Swartland Revolution and Swartland Independent Producers (SIP) the reputation of the Swartland was transformed into, “one of the most dynamic regions in the southern hemisphere” (Atkin, 2013).

To explain the precipitation of this change in perceived status of Swartland wine, one needs to go back to 1997 when the KWV and several local wine cooperatives used provisions in the Cooperatives Amendment Act of 1993 to convert to private companies (Ponte & Ewert, 2007), officially deregulating the South African wine industry. At that time, Charles Back from Fairview, a wine estate in Paarl, motivated by the low price of high quality, dryland vineyards and lower costs than Stellenbosch, purchased the Amoskuil farm in the Swartland, establishing a winery called Spice Route. Sourcing grapes and producing wines from special vineyard sites in the Swartland, Back appointed an individual called Eben Sadie as the winemaker and the wines soon achieved global critical acclaim (Priilaid, 2019). However, by 2001 Sadie had moved on to establish his own brand, Sadie Family Wines, naming two wines after the Roman agriculturists Palladius and Columella. In Book 12 of *De Re Rustica* (“On country matters”), Columella notably remarked: “The best wine is one that can be aged without any preservative; nothing must be mixed with it which might obscure its natural taste. For the most excellent wine is one which has given pleasure by its own natural qualities.” (See: Goode & Harrop, 2011, p. 110; Dolan, 2019, p. 131). In addition to following this natural approach, Sadie sourced grapes from around the Swartland to make wines reflecting the character of the area. Sadie’s wines rapidly gained international prominence, the Columella 2005 becoming the first South African wine to achieve a 95-point score in Wine Spectator (Molesworth, 2013).

From 2007, Sadie was joined by other producers including Adi Badenhorst, Chris and Andrea Mullineux, and Callie Louw. Together, they launched a provocative wine event called the Swartland Revolution in November 2010, involving comparative benchmark tastings,

international speakers, and prominent members of the wine press. The Swartland Revolution created the platform to launch the SIP, described as, "the coming together of a group of like-minded producers working to express a true sense of place in the wines of the Swartland" (SIP values statement, 2012). The SIP codified a set of rules with which members were required to comply by attaching an authentication seal certifying that wines had been made according to their collective codes. A manifesto proclaiming their desires for the Swartland was summarily produced with the intention of inspiring utopic visions for the future and motivating others to join their call to action (James, 2010).

The media response to the Swartland Revolution was overwhelming, describing the organisers as a "pioneering…gang of surfers and cowboys" (Moore, 2011). Time magazine referred to the Swartland as "South Africa's rebel wineland" and exclaimed "Long live the revolution" (Perry, 2010). It was not long before other wine producers joined the SIP and by 2015 its membership oscillated between 24 and 30 members. Several did not own cellars and were or had been assistant winemakers to the pioneers of the Revolution. Priilaid (2019) argues that:

> The key to success in this area lies in the establishment of a regional brand that although different in its varietal composition, is distinctively fun, light-hearted, and 'alternative'…and Swartland winemakers are demonstrating collectively they can challenge the more staid and traditional mores of the South African wine industry. (2019, p. 255)

SIP rules were aligned with what Goode and Harrop (2011) termed "authentic wine", achieved by limiting human intervention in the cellar and putting more effort into vineyards. According to the authors, in winemaking terms, authenticity is a continuum ranging from winemaking where "anything goes" to practices allowing for a much greater degree of manipulation. Authentic wine was conceptualised as less idealistic than what had become known as natural wine, which advocated very little or no intervention (Legeron, 2014). The SIP's value statement restricted the use of additives such as commercial acid, tannin, yeast, and enzymes. Sulphur additions were permitted but members were encouraged to be judicious. Since new

oak barrels were often used as flavouring devices, no more than 25% of barrels used to mature wine could be "first fill". Removal processes such as reverse osmosis and filtering were disallowed and all SIP wines were required to be made, matured, and bottled in the Swartland and registered as origin Swartland with SAWIS. Certain varieties like Cabernet Sauvignon were limited to 10% of blends. Importantly, to be a member of the SIP, 80% of production had to be bottled, effectively excluding former cooperative cellars from SIP membership.

Authentic winemaking practices may expose wine producers to quality-related risks and therefore demand a superior level of knowledge, experience, skill, and attention both in the cellar and vineyards (Goode & Harrop, 2011). Lack of such astuteness and focus may result in a range of faults like stuck fermentation, bacterial spoilage, and excessive volatile acidity. From 2011, certain SIP members, whose winemaking fell on the natural side of the authentic wine spectrum, had their wines repeatedly rejected by WSB's wine evaluation committee. Though many were microbiologically stable, they were turned down for being turbid, hazy, oxidised, or lacking varietal character or colour (Feiring, 2014). To resolve this, the WSB encouraged SIP members to make proposals for categories and criteria with which to legally classify and evaluate these idiosyncratic wines, and so enable market access.

Amidst battles over regulatory approval, a group of leading estate wine producers repurposed CEWPA, inactive since 2007, to form the Cape Vintner Classification (CVC). In 1973 there were 15 wine estates while in 2015, 210 wine producers were registered to produce estate wine (Williams, 2013; Froud, 2015). CVC founders were quoted by the press as being motivated by a desire to address the dilution of the estate wine concept and so revitalise the status and worth they had once enjoyed as the pinnacle of achievement in the field (Stone, 2015). The CVC was intended as a vehicle to improve the status and worth of the country brand, stigmatised as "cheap and cheerful" and commanding low prices in global markets. The CVC introduced a

classification system to add quality and track records as critical criteria in selecting the finest exemplars of estate wines according to four cornerstones: estate wine designation and long-term control over leased vineyards; high quality cellar door facilities; ethical trade accreditations; and track record of quality. The CVC rigorously applied and amplified the WOS and other existing industry regulations and standards (Smith, 2013). The highest performing estates would receive a coveted "site specificness" accreditation. Sadie's comments were therefore unlikely to be welcomed by the CVC: "When people think wine, they see estate. But wine is all about the soil and the site" (Fin24, 05 January 2015).

The establishment of the CVC resurfaced tensions between the old guard and SIP over authenticity. Estate wine producers were often critical of the SIP, discrediting the "natural wines from there which are faulty and shouldn't be on the market" (Shaw, 2014). Tensions were amplified when the Zoo Biscuits, labelled by commentators as the "lunatic fringe" (Fridjhon, 2016), collectively organised at the Cape Wine industry expo in 2015. This eclectic grouping of ten younger generation producers outside the Swartland, also practiced limited intervention winemaking and multi-vineyard grape sourcing. They did so by using grapes from various regions, including the Swartland, without formal rules to guide their practices. In the research findings chapters, this series of events and outcomes for wine authenticity in South Africa is unpacked in greater depth and extent until the end of 2016. Suffice to say for now, the legal authenticity of the SIP and fringe's authentic wines was confirmed when six new alternative wines styles were legislated and came into effect in July 2015.[5] While it allowed fringe producers export market access for styles of wines that had struggled to pass muster, the legislation was accompanied by conditions seeking to eliminate quality risks, ensure consistency, and protect the public and the wine industry's reputation in general.

[5] The Liquor Products Act 60 of 1989 WOS amended by GN R628 gazetted on 24 July 2015 introduced: Skin macerated white wines, extended barrel aged white / Gris, natural pale/ non-fortified pale, Methodé Ancestrale, alternative white/red, and Sun Wine.

Table 1.1: Comparative descriptive statistics, 2010–2016

	Vineyard area (hectares)		Grape prices ZAR per tonne		Tonnes produced		Average yield (tonnes per hectare)		Vineyards > 20 years old		Mean ZAR farming cost per ha		Area under irrigation %	
	Stell	**Swart**	**Stell**	**Swart**	**Stell**	**Swart**	**Stell**	**Swart**	**Stell**	**Swart**	**Stell**	**Swart**	**Stell**	**Swart**
2010	17107	14224	4312	3914	104063	110801	6,4	6,9	7801	6415	33610	19000	84	39
2011	16827	14042	4569	3911	126355	110248	7,6	6,9	7959	6080	37073	20146	88	42
2012	16526	13730	4597	4051	116948	103857	5,5	6,4	7883	5794	38210	21358	87	39
2013	16294	13509	4672	4213	125060	127242	7,8	8,1	8016	5620	42386	25297	91	38
2014	16037	13591	4706	4279	151878	143962	9,5	9,8	7938	6007	45932	27045	92	31
2015	15911	13315	4984	4289	125733	136481	7,9	8,6	8258	6312	48250	29435	92	34
2016	15339	12940	5357	4133	116860	99763	7,6	7,0	7915	6639	50099	29189	89	39
Mean	**16292**	**13622**	**4742**	**4113**	**123842**	**118908**	**7,6**	**7,7**	**7967**	**6124**	**42223**	**24496**	**89**	**37**
SA 2016	**95775**		**2969**		**1405258**		**17,56**		**15,8%**		**29896**		**86%**	

1.5 Thesis outline

Chapter 2 examines literature on authenticity to expand on the abovementioned dimensions and theoretical gaps in the organisational authenticity literature. Chapter 3 provides an account of the methodology employed during the study. Notably, it describes critical turning points and details data collection and analysis techniques used. This chapter is concluded by explaining the validity criteria used to ensure overall quality and measures employed to conform to ethical guidelines. In Chapters 4 and 5, the findings of the study are presented according to two meta-framings producing authenticity and a market for the SIP, namely authenticity work working up and authentication work working on the meaning of authenticity. The data structures, including the concepts, dimensions and constructs comprising these phenomena are explained and illustrated. In Chapter 6, these findings are discussed by explaining the theory developed during the study according to two perspectives on authenticity generation and market creation. A broader process framework addresses the how aspect of the research question while an interactive matrix of meta-framing actions explains the why aspects. The theoretical contributions summarised in the next section are then detailed in relation to the abovementioned theory discussed. Thereafter, general limitations, suggestions for further research and final concluding remarks are outlined.

1.6 Contributions

This thesis makes several theoretical contributions. First, it contributes to the organisational authenticity literature by clarifying the processes supporting authenticity work and its effect in the market, answering the call by scholars for studies focusing on its field level effects amongst various audiences (Demetry, 2019; Lehman et al., 2019). Second, the study responds to the call for longitudinal studies that examine how meanings of authenticity congeal and change over time (Lehman et al., 2019). Third, the construction of organisational authenticity is elaborated

by demonstrating that authenticity is generated through the intersection of two sets of interacting meta-framing actions: authenticity work and authentication work reflexively constructing authenticity through credibility of perceptions; and hot and cool authenticity framing that produce authenticity through an interplay between existential and objective sources. Fourth, this PhD study contributes to the organisational collective action literature by extending framing theory to incorporate authenticity generation, especially regarding meaning construction (Kaplan, 2008), meaning work (Benford & Snow, 2000) and micro to macro alignment of strategic framing (Leibel et al., 2018; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020).

Fifth, this work contributes to the meta-organisational literature by refining how business associations use their collective organisationality (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015; Garaudel, 2020) to engage in authenticity work by aligning their members' practices, imposing their identity by engaging in collective marketing, and exerting agency by lobbying for regulatory changes. Finally, it contributes to the sociology of markets literature by refining how authenticity generation at cultural field level creates markets through contestation and negotiation that results in social agreements and, ultimately, shared meanings of what is authentic amongst market actors (Koçak et al., 2013; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004).

Chapter 2 – Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by considering the various scholarly conceptions of how authenticity is done. It then proceeds to present the literature concerning how and why authenticity is produced, which reveals two sets of distinctive dynamics that intersect and have relevance to the study: authenticity work and authentication (Peterson, 2005); and hot and cool authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014; Mkono, 2013b). Thereafter, the literature on collective action framing as a potential area of interest in explaining how and why authenticity is generated for organisations is outlined. The chapter then proceeds to focus on the agents of authenticity, highlighting the role that organisations - and especially meta-organisations - play in its construction (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2005; DeSoucey, 2010; Garaudel, 2020). In terms of what authenticity does, three outcomes of authenticity generation are highlighted and explained, namely: rendering, attribution, and market creation. Finally, in service of the research question of *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets*, the core elements of the literature review are summarised.

2.2 How is authenticity done?

Being considered authentic is an admirable quality since authenticity ultimately implies being true to oneself (Beverland, Farrelly & Quester, 2010; Trilling, 1972). Therefore, those simply doing authenticity by fabricating some of their authenticity to be perceived as authentic, are often considered less authentic than those completely committed to being true to themselves (Beverland et al., 2010; Wang, 1999). While scholars have tended to use the terms authenticity and sincerity interchangeably, sincerity specifically refers to the act of being truthful to others (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Trilling, 1972). Therefore, rather than a dimension of authenticity,

sincerity is a dimension of trustworthiness that, together with believability, is an attribute of credibility or persuasiveness (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Sincerity consequently implies a consistency between espoused and realised actions—i.e., "walking the talk" (Harrison et al., 2014). By contrast, authenticity means that those actions reflect the true self or self-conforming identity. For instance, punk aficionados who only occasionally dress like punks or vocal MG car enthusiasts who don't drive their MGs may be considered by their fellow subcultural community members as not being fully authentic or sincere (Beverland, et al., 2010; Force, 2009; Leigh, Peters & Shelton, 2006).

Such normative conceptions of authenticity have arguably steered scholarly conversation towards what is authentic rather than the process and reasons for authenticity being done in everyday life (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). It has also sparked significant dissonance amongst scholars, some of whom have argued that it has shifted focus away from understanding the social processes that underpin the generation of authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Vannini & Williams, 2009). For many, authenticity is important because organisations often invent, fabricate, or otherwise manufacture authenticity in conducting business (Koontz, 2010; Peterson, 1997). Authenticity is an idea or meaning manifesting in sets of practices (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Vannini & Williams, 2009), that are done through human interactions or work and are, therefore, socially constructed (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Harris, 2010). Schatzki (2003, p. 11) considers organisational practices as "arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding". As with all practices, authentic practices can be performed discursively or materially (Sandberg & Tsoukas, 2011). Organisations use persuasive language or invoke narratives to generate perceptions of authenticity, such as when fine wine producers regale customers with stories about their passion for craft and being in the business for creative fulfilment (Beverland, 2005; Voronov, De Clercq & Hinings, 2013). Authenticity is materially done when practices are

physically performed, whether this involves making wine in a certain way (Negro et al., 2011), collecting vinyl records (Askin & Mol, 2018), or adopting a foreign accent to do a job (Mirchandani, 2012).

Some recent studies on authenticity suggest that authenticity is also done through the interaction between humans and non-humans i.e., socio-materially (Frenzel, 2017; Lugosi, 2016; Orlikowski, 20007). Authenticity can be generated through "share of mouse", for instance (Mkono, 2013a). Virtual platforms such as internet booking sites and experience review platforms perform the construction of authenticity and value in tourism markets, blurring the line between human qualitative assessments and non-human or computerised quantitative calculations (Frenzel, 2017; Lugosi, 2016), a process referred to as qualculation (Cochoy, 2008). Such a perspective views such virtual platforms as calculative mechanisms performing meaning and value in markets (Callon & Muniesa, 2005), often through powerful theories, equations, and algorithms (Callon & Muniesa, 2005; Mackenzie & Millo, 2003). While there may be instances of interactions with non-humans in the case examined, this study focuses squarely on human-centred construction of wine authenticity.

2.3 How and why authenticity is generated?

As has already been alluded to, there are two distinct social processes explaining how and why authenticity is generated. The first is informed by Peterson's (2005) distinction between authenticity work and authentication, that together socially construct authenticity through a "claim that is made by or for someone, thing, or performance [authenticity work] and accepted or rejected by relevant others [authentication]" (2005, p. 1086). The second way in which authenticity is thought to be socially constructed is through the interaction between hot and cool authenticity/ authentication (Selwyn, 1996; Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Wang (1999) summarised the former as authenticity generated by beliefs and feelings (i.e., hot) and the latter

as authenticity generated by authorised knowledge (i.e., cool). These sets of authenticity production processes are distinct because the underlying mechanisms driving them differ. Authenticity work and authentication are regulated by perceptions or impressions of authenticity, while hot and cool authenticity generation is governed by authority or power to influence the meaning of authenticity. Both these processes frequently involve multiple actors, often in groups, fabricating, evaluating, contesting, and negotiating authenticity on a meso or macro level (Peterson, 2005; Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Furthermore, these processes resemble collective action, and in some instances, scholars have implied a connection between collective action framing and authenticity construction, especially when meta-organisations are involved (Negro et al., 2007). In the sections below, the literature on authenticity generation related to organisations is unpacked by focusing on authenticity work and authentication, hot and cool authenticity generation, and collective action framing of authenticity.

2.3.1 Authenticity generation through authenticity work and authentication

The work involved in producing authenticity may often seem mundane when observed at close quarters but is invariably purposeful or strategic because social actors put effort into skilfully engaging in an exchange between giving and receiving interpretations of authenticity in their everyday lives (Goffman, 1959; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Peterson (2005) suggests that authenticity is not naturally attained but fabricated, socially constructed, and reliant on perceptions of authenticity. Authenticity work therefore amounts to actions by entities like organisations and people making their own claims or having claims made about them on their behalf in a strategic "effort to make them appear authentic" (Peterson, 2005, p. 1086). All other actors in the field engage in a reflexive "cycle of authentication" adjudicating whether to accept or reject such claims or not. Such ideas are rooted in Goffman's (1959) impression management perspective on human interactions as theatrical role performances involving

actors selling a perception of themselves and then managing the interpretations audiences have of them. These ideas are also grounded in Trilling's view that authenticity is conferred, and value attached when things are "what they appear to be or are claimed to be" (1972, p. 92). Impressions of authenticity must be constantly worked up and maintained and when lost may be reclaimed, making authenticity a renewable symbolic resource (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Peterson, 1997).

Therefore, authenticity work does not generate authenticity on its own, it merely lays claim to authenticity by creating perceptions or impressions thereof. The role of ascribing and producing authenticity is performed through a social process of authentication (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson, 2005). In the upcoming sections, literature regarding the constitution of authenticity work and authentication as well as their interaction are outlined.

2.3.1.1 Authenticity work

Peterson's (2005) definition of authenticity work suggests a relationship between claiming and performing authenticity, but the configuration of this relationship is not entirely clear. While some scholars equate authenticity work to claiming authenticity (Lehman et al., 2019), several studies have focused on claiming authenticity but don't refer to these actions as authenticity work (Lehman, Kovács, & Carroll, 2018; McLeod, 1999). Others suggest that organisational claims justify the authenticity of organisations, products, and experiences (Ewing, Allen & Ewing, 2012; Grayson & Martinec, 2004), while others contend that performances may be used as tools to motivate claims to authenticity (Demetry, 2019; Grazian, 2010, Moeran, 2005). Gubrium and Holstein (2009, p. 125) agree with this view arguing that, "Interactional participants engage in myriad forms of authenticity work in order to substantiate claims to credibility, integrity, and influence." While the precise nature of the interaction between claims and performances constituting authenticity work is somewhat unclear, it does seem that

together they determine projected impressions of authenticity.

When nascent or disruptive claims of authenticity are introduced into a field, they must often be strategically worked up by various actors to become credible (Askin & Mol, 2018; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Performances and experiences of authenticity frequently manage this role by cloaking authenticity claims in aura, illusions, and charisma (Björkman, 2002; Demetry, 2019; Dion & Arnould, 2011). For instance, pop-up underground restaurants and their patrons co-performed illusions of community, gift-giving, and transparency to render claims to authentic dining experiences unfettered by commerce (Demetry, 2019). However, in addition to claiming and performing authenticity, authenticity work by organisations also requires controlling deviation from strategies to project authenticity. Furthermore, Goffman suggests that groups of actors signalling perceptions of their social characteristics ought to ensure congruence between their role performances and claims made (Goffman, 1959; Hughes, 2000). Therefore, Gubrium and Holstein suggest that unbridled authenticity work (i.e., claims and performances) often requires reining in by "auspices of authenticity" that govern expectations and control, "parameters and preferences of what might pass for authenticity" (2009, pp. 124–125).

There are several instances where organisations and meta-organisations control what can pass as authentic (Frake, 2015; Hochschild, 1983; Pounders, Babin & Close, 2014), and where multiple organisational actors in a field exert control over parameters and expectations of what is authentic (Peterson, 1997, DeSoucey, 2010, Gaytán, 2008). While it remains uncertain whether measures of control over authenticity work are organisationally centred or field centred, it does seem apparent in the literature that to appear authentic, organisations must generate credible claims to authenticity, work them up through dramaturgy and control the execution of such claims and performances. These components of authenticity work are so

intertwined in the literature that they are frequently difficult to separate. Below the processes and interactions of claiming, performing, and controlling authenticity work by organisations are deliberated.

2.3.1.1.1 Claiming authenticity

Jones, Anand and Alvarez contend that "all work of culture industries, in some way or the other is preoccupied with claims to authenticity" (2005, p. 893). Claiming authenticity in cultural fields such as wine and restaurants, involves organisations strategically signalling certain traits to appear credibly real, true, and genuine (Demetry, 2019; 1996; Negro, Hannan, Fassioto, 2015). In claiming authenticity, organisations in these arenas make assertions or invocations that experiences, products, and practices are authentic (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; McLeod, 1999). Three dimensions of claiming authenticity are worthwhile exploring: the source of the claim; the directness of the claim-making; and the leverage such claims are intended to accomplish.

Claims to authenticity are not only self-generated, but they can also be made by others who are not the source of authenticity, like fans or critics (Askin & Mol, 2018; McLeod, 1999). Market audiences may therefore claim authenticity on behalf of actors such as artists or musicians (Askin & Mol, 2018; Fine, 2003) or even claim they are inauthentic (Frake, 2015; Hahl & Zuckerman, 2014; McLeod, 1999), a phenomenon Koontz-Anthony and Joshi (2017) refer to as inauthenticity work. In such cases those being claimed as authentic or inauthentic may not be making any claims to authenticity (Askin & Mol, 2018; Koontz-Anthony, 2012). Furthermore, those claiming authenticity or inauthenticity of others may also claim "a bit of authenticity for themselves" by associating the discovery or support of authenticity or inauthenticity as proof of their own authenticity (Peterson, 2005, p.1086).

Therefore, claims justifying authenticity are often interactional, made by claimants and listened

to and interpreted by others who may make their own claims, often resulting in contestational claims of authenticity (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). As not all claims are equally effective, the weight, persuasiveness, and worth attached to authenticity claims are influenced by the status of the people and organisations making them (Askin & Mol, 2018; Beverland, 2005; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Popular musicians may not have to lay claims to authenticity (Askin & Mol, 2018), while suburban hip hop artists purporting to possess genuine street credibility may feel moved to prove their credentials by claiming to "keep it real", a strategy that may backfire (McLeod, 1999). In the latter example, the very attempt to perform authenticity is, paradoxically, what undermines it. In this way, claiming authenticity often risks being branded as inauthentic by some (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson, 1997).

It is therefore useful to make a distinction between self-claims (where an organisation makes a claim about itself), and claims made by third parties (in which authenticity is asserted by an outside entity) (Kovács, Carroll & Lehman, 2017). Self-claims about authenticity risk having the appearance of self-promotion, in which organisations engage in "touting themselves as authentic" (Lehman et al., 2018, p. 1). On the other hand, claims to authenticity that stem from outside sources can be seen as authenticating actions when their outcome is intended to be positive (Fine, 2003; Frenzel, 2017; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005) or de-authenticating actions when their intended outcome is negative (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Hahl & Zuckerman, 2014).

Claims to authenticity can also be distinguished according to the directness of the claims (Beverland et al., 2008; Ewing et al., 2012; McQuarrie & Phillips, 2005). Explicit assertions of authenticity signal claims in a straightforward manner (Ewing et al., 2012; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). For instance, in the 1980s Yamaha claimed that its electronic keyboards could so accurately recreate the sounds of traditional instruments that they were the "voice of

authenticity" (Anthony, Nelson & Tripsas, 2016). Indirect assertions are implicit, employing metaphorical inferences and suggestions, and inviting audiences to construct their own meaning of authenticity (Ewing et al., 2012; McQuarrie & Phillips, 2005). For instance, monasteries producing original Trappist ales use inferences on their labels showing monks making beer to indicate their authenticity (Beverland et al., 2008). Indirect claims are far more common since making direct claims poses a greater risk of being exposed as an imposter if the claims do not meet audience expectations (Demetry, 2019; Lehman et al., 2018).

Organisations may attempt to prove their worth and superiority over competing claimants to authenticity (Hahl, Zuckerman & Kim, 2017; Lindholm, 2002). Wineries frequently try to appear authentic by making claims to prove "their status, command price premiums and ward off competitors" (Beverland, 2005, p. 1003). The motivation for making such claims could be to prove moral superiority, distinctiveness or conformity, and originality. Moral claims may be made by organisations to show that its values are unconventional, transcendent and "rooted in collective humanitarian ownership" (Lehman et al., 2018, p. 2). Restaurants may claim that they use sustainably sourced or organic products on their menus to appear more authentic (Kovács, Carroll & Lehman, 2017). Furthermore, in trying to prove that wine was more authentic than other beverages, Bordeaux winegrowers emphasised that wine is natural because it makes itself (Ulin, 1995).

Claims of authenticity may also be used to prove that something is authentic by aligning it with (or differentiating it from) other organisations or products. For example, nouvelle cuisine chefs used modern techniques to re-interpret French cuisine, finely balancing invention that expressed their authenticity with the desire to conform to longstanding practices in the field (Rao, Monin & Durand, 2005). Organisations employ claims of authenticity to reference their association with something unequivocally revered. When Steinway & Sons, for example,

claimed that their pianos were "instruments of the immortals", it was a means of connecting their traditional craftsmanship to an image of classic iconography that was overwhelmingly preferred by most important composers and concert pianists since midway through the last century (Cattani, Dunbar & Shapira, 2017).

2.3.1.1.2 Performing authenticity work

Market actors engaging in theatrically stylised role performances to appear authentic do so in certain social spaces termed the front and backstage (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973; Peterson, 2005). Front stages are liminal spaces where organisations interact with audiences (e.g., the boardroom), while backstage regions normally include the factory floor or back offices where the real work happens, and are ordinarily off limits to outsiders (Demetry, 2019; MacCannell, 1973). Theatrical actions conveying genuineness require combining imaginative truth or fantasy with present and physical reality (Clark & Mangham, 2004). This may involve having to captivate those enacting the performance—and therefore require some form of control over what can pass as authentic. Five common authenticity performance strategies that organisations may engage are: staging, selective transparency, organisational and corporate theatre, enchantment, and charisma.

Staging involves theatrical displays in the front stage to fabricate experiences of authenticity by obscuring the backstage (MacCannell, 1973; Mkono, 2013a). Organisations and organisational collectives employ a repertoire of common dramaturgical devices such as staging, scripting, and casting to achieve this effect (Benford & Hunt, 1992; Clark & Mangham, 2004; Moeran, 2005). For instance, museum curators at Abraham Lincoln's house continually reconstruct the museum by changing exhibits, rewriting storylines, and training interpreters and guides on how to render nostalgia (Bruner, 1994). Ontario wine producers performed similar scripts to encourage evangelism by emphasising the laborious farming practices

conveying “hands-in-the-dirt authenticity”, while obscuring practices contradicting wineries’ abilities to successfully project such an image (Voronov, De Clercq, & Hinings, 2013, p. 18).

Conversely, organisations may improve their perception of authenticity through “visible actions” (Carroll, 2015) that reveal snippets of the backstage that audiences may not otherwise have access to (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Demetry, 2019). For example, marketers of a Western rodeo show used the business activities of cattle breeder associations and small Western themed businesses to attract non-ranch audiences, with the intention of creating an authentic-feeling situation (Peñaloza, 2000). Directly pertinent to this study, wine farms frequently display their barrels to the public to emphasise that their claimed method of production is authentic (Negro, Hannan & Rao, 2010). Furthermore, organisations straddling various fields may create pseudo back stages to allow them to balance conflicts in their projected authenticity (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2005; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013). Daugstad and Kirchengast (2013) show how dairy farmers with tourist offerings manage their farming authenticity by emphasising to tourists that they are breaking the law by allowing them into their dairies and creating the impression that they are inviting them to stay in their farmstead. Similarly, in the context of the sharing economy marshalled through online platforms, Bucher, Fiesler, Fleck and Lutz (2018) showed that owners of shared accommodation could appear more authentic than hotels by adorning their spaces with personal artefacts and messages.

Corporate and organisational theatre are often used as authenticity work tools to portray an image that is authentic to clients (Moeran, 2005) or internally motivate organisational actors to support a strategic direction authentically (Clark & Mangham, 2004; Liedtka, 2007). In preparing and presenting campaign ideas for foreign clients, Japanese advertising agencies performed authenticity work by combining creative visual images with hard statistical data in their campaign presentations, thereby allowing them to seem authentic and credible in the eyes

of their clients (Moeran, 2005). Organisations may also engage in strategic efforts to obscure or downplay mundane aspects of their work that foster disenchantment and perceptions of inauthenticity, while simultaneously working up practices invoking aura, illusions, and experiences to enchant audiences and project authenticity (Boje & Baskin, 2011; Endrissat, Islam & Noppeney, 2015). Aura works up feelings (Suddaby, Ganxin & Minkus, 2017); illusions work up fantasy (Demetry, 2019); and experiences work up memories and personal transformations (Pine & Gilmore, 2011). Organisations engaging in enchantment "cast a spell" over employees to create positive emotional contagions that (hopefully) carry over to market audiences (Boje & Baskin, 2011; Endrissat et al., 2015). For example, call centre organisations encourage greater authenticity by infusing soulless work with fun and adventure, informality, and emotional freedom to captivate those on the other end of the line (Fleming & Sturdy, 2011).

Charisma is also performed to claim authenticity and inspire devotion in followers and audiences (Shils, 1965; Steyrer, 2015; Weierter, 2001). In performing charisma, actors present themselves as confronting issues central to human existence and therefore embodying bravery, selflessness, courage, and rebelliousness (Steyrer, 2015). In the process, they present themselves as embodiments of authentic heroism (Steyrer, 2015). Artist Ai Weiwei, for example, amplified his heroic engagement, celebrity, and authentic understanding of social dilemmas across various media channels and through his art to inspire devotion and instigate social change (Preece, 2015). Additionally, the study of charisma is the study of aura (Björkman, 2002). Luxury brands often use the charisma of their creative directors, like Karl Lagerfeld, John Galliano, and Marc Jacobs, to create an aura of individualised authenticity by portraying them as larger than life personifications of high fashion at point of sale in boutiques (Dion & Arnould, 2011).

2.3.1.1.3 Controlling what passes for organisational authenticity

Organisations must often negotiate the relationship between being their authentic selves and pretending to be somebody else at the same time (Mirchandani, 2012; Trilling, 1972). To resolve this authenticity dilemma, they prevent spontaneous expressions of authenticity that may cause disharmony (Goffman, 1959; Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). They accomplish this by delicately controlling creative actions, implementing relational controls, and employing internally and externally generated codes of authenticity.

Three creative control mechanisms are highlighted in the authenticity literature, namely: emotional labour, aesthetic labour, and creative control. Emotional labour is intended to affect emotional transfer between organisations and audiences and encompasses, “making a conscious, intended try at feeling” (Hochschild, 1979, p. 560). Scholars distinguish between two types of emotion work: deep acting and surface acting (Grandey, 2003; Hochschild, 1983). Deep acting is performed when actors surface real emotions that carry over to audiences (Grandey, 2003; Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul & Gremler, 2006). Flight attendants, for instance, are trained to tap into their emotions and show empathy and pity towards passengers afraid of flying (Hochschild, 1983). In contrast, surface acting refers to “painting on” or adorning organisational behaviour with feigned emotions changing only outward behaviours (Hochschild, 1983). Call centre workers in India engage in authenticity work as a form of cultural control by feigning accents to refashion themselves into ideal clones expected by foreign clients (Mirchandani, 2012). Sex workers manage the parameters of their emotional commitment by engaging in bounded authenticity, fabricating genuine emotions of desire, pleasure, and erotic interest but only within the confines of the transaction (Bernstein, 2007). By contrast, restaurant servers sometimes go off-script and engage in acts of transient authenticity where they reveal their true personality and emotions intermittently when the

situation or the client's behaviour warrants it (Yagil & Medler-Liraz, 2012).

To ensure organisations consistently "look and sound right" and are an authentic fit with their projected image (Mears, 2014; Witz, Warhurst & Nickson, 2003), they may appoint models as store workers resembling those portrayed in their advertisements (Pounders et al., 2014). Furthermore, creative control may be invoked to mediate creative efforts and execution of the creator's vision (Valsesia, Nunes & Ordanini, 2016). In engaging in authenticity work, creative individuals may make creative compromises in shaping their careers while simultaneously trying to limit undermining the purity of their creative practices (Svejenova, 2005). Similarly, Italian film producers performed authenticity work by producing films relevant to Italian audiences and their own filmmaking but connecting to the Hollywood blockbuster film genre to ensure economic success (Delmestri, Montanari & Usai, 2005).

Relational controls are socially interactive mechanisms employed to generate a unified voice conveying authenticity (Liedtka, 2007; Weber et al., 2008). Lietdka (2007) relates how the New York Botanical Gardens crafted an authentic strategy by holding strategy engagement sessions where employees were encouraged to voice their view on what energised them. Organisational collectives devise relational controls on authenticity such as when modern Barolo producers engaged in networking sessions to build consistency in their discourse when describing their wines to market audiences (Hannan et al., 2007, p. 9). However, attempts by organisations to render authenticity often have a "dark side" when imposters take liberties in generating false certifications to convey authenticity (Ewing et al., 2012; McQuarrie & Phillips, 2005). Ewing et al. (2012) relate how the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) had to step in to regulate the validation of "green" certifications because product manufacturers were inventing them. In this instance, internal codes are often connected to widely understood standards of authenticity by meta-organisations to reduce distance between an organisation's

fabrication of authenticity and those conventional in a field (Cartel, Boxenbaum & Aggari, 2018; Reinecke, Manning & von Hagen., 2012; Slager, Gond & Moon, 2012). Grass-fed beef and dairy producers in the US controlled the authenticity of their grazing practice claims by connecting them to credible practices outside their market so that they could serve as objective rules to be developed by the American Grassfed Association (Weber et al., 2008).

2.3.1.2 Authentication

The concept of authentication predates Peterson's impressions of the subject and has a rich literature, especially in the sociology of tourism (Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1988; Cohen & Cohen, 2019). It is only recently that authentication has started appearing as an institutional phenomenon in the organisational authenticity literature (Askin & Mol, 2018; Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019). As enduring, often submerged elements of organisational life, institutions prescribe and constrain behaviour (Giddens, 1984), through rules, norms and taken-for-granted cultural factors (Humphreys, 2010; Scott, 2001). These institutional work studies suggest that meanings of authenticity may become institutionalised over time and serve as the basis for authenticating music and heritage architecture, which may be challenged or defended.

There is a substantial literature critiquing views like Peterson's suggesting that decisions on authenticity are ultimately binary, i.e., accepted/ rejected, inauthentic/ authentic, or real/ fake. Scholars have rather suggested that the process and outcomes of authentication decisions are more nuanced, layered, and open-ended than binary decisions (Bruner, 1994; Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Cohen & Cohen, 2019). While Peterson (2005) clarifies binary authenticity decisions as negotiated through a long chain of field-level interactions, he ultimately concludes that a threshold is reached where the authentic is separated from the inauthentic. Scholars opposing such views, however, consider authentication as a process that is never fully complete (Bruner, 1994; Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Mkono, 2013a). In many cases, it is contextually

dependent, since "what one person experiences as completely authentic, another may view as completely inauthentic, and a third may be somewhere in between" (Gilmore & Pine, 2007, pp. 92–93). Market actors tend to compartmentalise authenticity by, for example, attributing eating McDonalds in the US as authentic but considering its actions towards sustainable farming as morally inauthentic and reprehensible (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010). In the music industry, Askin and Mol (2018, p. 12) term these types of compartmentalisations "zones of authentication" where little coherence exists between what music audiences, producers, and artists perceive as authentic.

Owing to its negotiated nature, the meaning of authenticity is often constantly created and recreated and therefore temporary and constantly emergent (Beverland, 2005; Cohen, 1988; Peterson, 1997). Hillbilly music was once considered authentic country music but transformed over time into finely differentiated sub-genres, each with different meanings of authenticity (Peterson, 2005; Peterson & Anand, 2004). Some market actors may not care for authenticity while others may be highly involved or invested in it and may therefore be more rigorous in their evaluation thereof (Askin & Mol, 2018; Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Peterson, 1997). Mkono (2013a) observes that certain tourists visiting Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe were pre-occupied with authenticity and evaluated the degree to which their experience was authentic by whether they were for instance served traditional beer or encountered hawkers selling artefacts. However, others evaluated the meaningfulness of their experiences merely by whether entertainers looked and sounded appealing and were creative, interesting, and innovative.

Authentication is considered by scholars as a messy, reflexive, and political process contested by actors with differing ideas of authenticity (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Lugosi, 2016; Cohen & Cohen, 2012), authority to authenticate, and power to influence the production of authenticity (Bruner, 1994; Cohen & Cohen, 2019). Power refers to the ability of market actors

to affect the behaviour of others, often in a way that favours them (Fleming & Spicer, 2014) and makes weaker parties vulnerable to their dictates (Fligstein & Dauter, 2007; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Experts or critics as authorities in cultural fields such as classical music and fine art, patrol the boundaries of the field, shaping what is authentic and what is therefore credible through their discourse (Fine, 2003; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005). Charismatic authority is possessed by charming and influential leaders that inspire conformity, deviance, or devotion (Shils 1965; Steyrer, 1996). Persons in authority like policymakers and regulators can authenticate through state power by enacting legislation and legally validating claims through their office (Creed, Dejordy & Lok, 2010; De Soucey, 2010; Fligstein, 2001). Furthermore, traditional authority possessed by powerful market incumbents or royalty allows them to maintain, create, and defend tradition, heritage, and pedigree as the basis for authenticity (Dacin, Munir & Tracey, 2010; Dacin, Dacin, 2019; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

Additionally, audience authority possessed by buying communities, enthusiasts, and consumers can authenticate through buying power and social influence (Kozinets, 2002; Leigh et al., 2006; Massa, Helms, Voronov & Wang, 2017; Peñaloza, 2000). Finally, meta-organisations, especially when powerful enough, have the authority to authenticate by, for example, excluding organisations that do not conform to their internal standards of what constitutes authenticity (Frake, 2015; Weber et al., 2008). Meta-organisations in various forms are pervasive in wine regions across the globe. Wine cooperatives are often powerful regional players because of their buying power (Couderc & Marchini, 2011), while regional control boards comprised of powerful actors generate geographical rules to regulate and validate authenticity, which often serves to preserve monopolies (Fourcade, 2012; Demossier, 2011).

From the above it becomes apparent that authenticity cannot be produced without power (Spicer & Fleming, 2014). Power plays a significant role in shaping perceptions of authenticity.

As will be unpacked further on, the influence of power and authority over the production of authenticity is demonstrated when the interplay between hot and cool authenticity is considered. A broad spectrum of terms has been used in the authenticity literature to explain social processes performed by market participants when engaging in authentication. In the sections below these are categorised into judging and contesting authenticity.

2.3.1.2.1 Judging authenticity

Adjudications of authenticity are relatively passive instances of authentication and help market participants to arrive at decisions about claims to authenticity based on their interpretation thereof. Two types of judging actions are commonly referred to in the literature: verifying and evaluating. They are subtly different according to the criteria of worth and outcomes generated. Verifying seeks to find proof that certain motivations of what is authentic are true, accurate or justified, and therefore credible (Howard-Grenville, Metzger & Meyer, 2013; Lehman et al., 2019). Verification apprehends the veracity of claims, i.e., those demonstrating that an organisation's actions are consistent with its identity, conform to a social category or are connected to a specific time or place (Lehman et al., 2019). Market actors with the power to authenticate, work on gathering hard evidence to form judgements and make declarations of authenticity or inauthenticity by accepting or rejecting claims thereto based on comparison to referents (Howard-Grenville et al., 2013; Lehman et al., 2019; Peterson, 2005).

A common way in which market participants reject something or declare it to be inauthentic is on the merits of its symbolic value, i.e., what it represents (Frake, 2015; Leigh et al., 2006). Craft brewers or family-owned scotch whiskey producers that sell out to large corporates are often stigmatised as inauthentic, leading to a devaluation of their symbolic worth (Frake, 2015; Leigh et al., 2006; Mckendrick & Hannan, 2013). Sometimes the social process of verification completely rejects claims to authenticity. For example, when some Japanese jazz musicians

attempted to authenticate Japanese jazz, they failed because most Japanese artists and aficionados were not convinced that it was a real thing and artists could play it well, despite how the press had talked it up and how profitable the industry was (Atkins, 2000: p.49). Proof in this instance is not necessarily based on fact but in the interpretation of facts by, for example, recognising often intangible traits in an organisation, practices or products that are quintessential to their authenticity (Lehman et al., 2019; Newman & Dhar, 2014). Market audiences for instance verify the authenticity of Levi Jeans by using the original factory as a referent (Newman & Dhar, 2014). Related to the context, the provenance and origin of wine is especially important for luxury wine producers in conveying authenticity because the communication thereof imparts a sense of heritage that is easily verified (Beverland, 2006).

According to Bruner (1994), however, the social process by which an entity comes to be regarded as authentic cannot be distilled down to verification. Van Leeuwen (2001) argues that authenticity is an evaluative concept because in constructing its social meaning, claims to authenticity are socially assessed. Evaluators often employ multiple criteria of worth to draw conclusions that may be situational, temporary, layered, and open ended (Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1988; Grayson & Martinec, 2004). Even if audiences have a negative reaction towards something presented as authentic, it doesn't render it inauthentic *per se* (Beverland et al., 2008; Lehman et al., 2018). However, it may influence its status and worth. For example, Strasbourg Christmas market goers assessed the authenticity of the market according to the origin of its wares, paying attention to how and by whom crafts were made and whether there was a strong link to Christmas. Positive authenticity assessments improved frequency of visits and overall spend (Castéran & Roederer, 2013).

A worthwhile distinction to bear in mind also segueing well into the next section, is that between imperative and interpretative social codes (Lehman et al., 2014). Social codes are

meanings that guide behaviour (Hannan et al., 2007; Lehman et al., 2014), and are imperative when they rely on declarative actions and scientific rationale such as health codes affecting restaurants. Interpretative codes are often embedded in culture and tradition, presenting a dilemma over whether the production of foie gras constitutes animal cruelty or is central to France's culinary tradition (DeSoucey, 2010) or Chinese restaurants hanging Peking ducks in their shopfront windows, despite contravening a plethora of health regulations, are culturally credible (Lehman et al., 2014). Sometimes such interpretative codes may be allowed to continue unhindered despite imperative code violations because their cultural authenticity overrides declarative field rules.

2.3.1.2.2 Contesting authenticity

Sometimes interpretative codes are contested when their authenticity is cast into doubt, such as when Bergamasco meat producers refused to label their products' origin in defiance of regional rules because other producers were using the provenance of the regional brand simply as a marketing device (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014). Authentication is not simply a passive process realised by judging authenticity, it is agential (Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Frenzel, 2017). For example, during the Burning Man festival[6], "Burners" impose the authenticity of anti-consumerism by ostracising those perceived to be unsupportive of its ethos when not participating in burning effigies that represent consumerist practices (Kozinets, 2002). According to Lehman et al. authentication is also "democratic and negotiated in nature" (2019, p.24). In the process of constructing authenticity actors may talk up, contest, argue, and often engage in hostile actions to discredit each other's claims to authenticity for economic or symbolic gain (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Hannan et al., 2007; Koontz-Anthony, 2012).

[6] Burning Man is a one-week anti-consumerist and anti-market event involving practices that "distance consumers from the market, including discourses supporting communality and disparaging market logics, alternative exchange practices, and positioning consumption as seif-expressive art" (Kozinets, 2002, p.20).

Organisations become embroiled in authenticity contests when they are confronted by negative appraisals that seek to impact their credibility (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014). During the market creation process in the Botox industry, a series of contestations unfolded between Botox innovators contending that the treatment was an enabler of authentic expression, i.e., "looking your personal best", and imitation brands who undermined that authenticity through campaigns displaying "frozen face" images, presenting the treatment as dehumanising (Giesler, 2012). Four types of contestational actions outlined in literature regarding authentication are explained hereunder: authenticating acts, valorising, discrediting, and negotiating.

Authenticating acts are somewhat peculiar depending on how the process of authentication is conceptualised. They may be interpreted as authenticity work if seen as interactional claims and performances (see Gubrium and Holstein, 2009), or as social mechanisms used to attribute authenticity through self-referenced or intrapersonal behaviours that social actors feel reveal or produce their true self (Arnould & Price, 2000, p.140; Leigh et al., 2006; Wang, 1999). For instance, the desire by LGBT Protestant ministers to integrate their lifestyle and calling as Christian missionaries inspired them to use their ministerial roles to live authentically by either passing as straight while actively undermining marginalising church practices or using the pulpit to come out (Creed et al., 2010). By so doing, actors can challenge repressive existing or emergent meanings of authenticity. To claw back market share from a growing craft beer market and neutralise criticism that they had sold out, Carlsberg marketers embarked on a rejuvenation programme to historicise their authenticity by reviving the *Semper Ardens* ("Always Burning") motto above the door of their original brewery, suggesting that they were the originators of craft brewing practices (Hatch & Schultz, 2017).

A burgeoning body of literature refers to positive claims of authenticity on behalf of others as valorising (Grazian, 2010; Vannini & Williams, 2009). Frenzel describes valorising as a

performative, collective authenticity production process by which "contested value claims become generative of values and worth" (2017, p. 163). Market actors put an effort into co-opting others to mobilise around their ideas of authenticity in the battle for status and value (Dolbec & Fischer, 2015; Hannan et al., 2007). Furthermore, Grazian (2010) explains that as a social construction: "Authenticity is produced through discourses that valorise certain qualities and assign or attribute them to cultural objects and symbols as a means of creating distinction, whether of status, prestige, or value" (2010, p. 192).

Valorising may challenge taken-for-granted meanings of authenticity, and in cultural fields critics and cultural professionals are frequently central to its enactment, as demonstrated by Fine's (2003) study on the development of the market for self-taught art. Here, cultural elites valorised the aesthetic authenticity of these outsider artists, framing them as pure and naïve and conveying "the ignorance of the artist who lacks theory that might interfere with the process of unmediated creation" (2003, p. 161). Additionally, while multiple cultural products can be authenticated simultaneously, powerful actors maintain the cultural boundaries and are often capable of disenfranchising some actors (Koontz-Anthony & Joshi, 2017). For instance, classical music critics in Atlanta were central to valorising musical tastes and allowing claims to authenticity to be realised by patrolling the boundaries of the genre and enforcing their interpretations of authenticity on performances (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005). In many cases, valorising may be directed at actors who do not necessarily claim authenticity for themselves. Food critics, for instance, can convert low-status, popular, ethnic cultural foods, such as Kobe beef, foie gras and haggis into high status works of art, detaching them aesthetically from their humble origins and restricting the cultural and economic access of their original consumers (Johnston & Baumann, 2007).

The converse of valorising is denigrating, discrediting, or demonising the authenticity of other

actors to lower their status and worth (Hahl & Zuckerman, 2014; Koontz-Anthony & Joshi, 2017; McLeod, 1999). Actors tend to denigrate heroes or those rapidly attaining high status because they are thought to be inconsiderate and inauthentic compared to lower status actors (Hahl & Zuckerman, 2014). The conflict between innovation and tradition is never far removed in turf wars over authenticity, and offensive discrediting efforts may be invoked such as when art professionals denigrated the commercial success of artist Thomas Kinkade as inauthentic to high art (Koontz-Anthony & Joshi, 2017). Alternatively, discrediting strategies may be employed defensively such as when advocates of traditional architecture denigrated modernist architects by criticising them for lacking a "genuine sense of style" owing to their choice and handling of building materials (Jones, Moaret, Massa & Svejenova, 2012).

Finally, to settle turf wars over authenticity, multiple actors in cultural fields often engage in field level negotiations to stabilise the meaning of authenticity (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Frenzel, 2017; Peterson, 1997). For example, about foie gras, producers, policymakers, and animal rights activists negotiated claims about the significance of its tradition and authenticity compared to the cruelty inflicted in its production (DeSoucey, 2010). Ultimately, they valorised it as an authentic French food, protecting it through origin labels and so preventing it from disappearing due to ethical controversy. In the Mexican restaurant field in the US, authenticity was a social construction negotiated between two countervailing groups of market actors (Gaytán, 2008). Large restaurant groups and hybrid Mexican restaurants appropriating Mexican authenticity were valorised by mainstream market audiences, not necessarily fastidious about cultural accuracy. Meanwhile, Mexican community members validated traditional Mexican restaurants that conformed to their cultural authenticity ideals. This allowed multiple versions of what was authentic to exist at the same time.

2.3.1.2.3 The interaction between authenticity work and authentication

The interaction between authenticity work and authentication has not, so far, been clearly addressed in MOS literature. A significant body of literature, however, implicitly suggests that they reflexively interact (Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014; Frenzel, 2017; Peterson, 2005), co-perform authenticity (Demetry, 2019; Rose & Wood, 2005), or are, in fact, embedded in each other (Askin & Mol, 2018; Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019). Three ways in which they interact can be identified; namely, authoritative performances, co-creation, and re-interpretation.

Subcultural communities such as punks (Force, 2009), MG owner clubs (Leigh et al., 2006), skateboarders (Beverland et al., 2010), "Burners" (Kozinets, 2002), and so forth often engage in authoritative performances or collective rituals to refashion the subcultural meaning of authenticity (Arnould & Price, 2000). Authoritative performances may also involve emulating those considered authentic in a genre, such as hardcore country musicians mimicking the yodelling of country music icons like Hank Williams (Peterson, 1997). These musicians also exaggerated their Southern accents and hard-times back-story, and often used banjos and fiddles in contrast to the orchestras employed by soft shell pop musicians singing country. Authoritative performances can also be used to reclaim lost status as organisations in Eugene, Oregon, did to rekindle the town's authentic status as a town that effortlessly produced Olympic athletes, by generating stories that connected its past and present accomplishments (Howard-Grenville et al., 2013). Therefore through their role performances in these communities actors aim to impose their collective authority over the subcultural interpretation of authenticity.

Those claiming authenticity may seek to co-create authenticity with others thereby fusing claims to authenticity with authentication (Demetry, 2019). This may involve suspending

disbelief during the moments of engaging with something presented as authentic, regardless of how fake it may seem to others (Rose & Wood, 2005; Wang, 1999). Producers, audiences, and viewers of reality TV shows; patrons and operators of pop-up restaurants (Demetry, 2019); and tourism entrepreneurs and backpackers in China (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2005) are all complicit in this version of co-performed authenticity. Producers of The Lord of the Rings franchise passing off the production as a New Zealand one, combined creative authenticity with national authenticity and were complicitly supported by the tourist operators who used superimposed images of Middle Earth and New Zealand to claim authenticity for their tourism offerings (Jones et al., 2005). Reality TV producers work up guests' reactions by prompting them to engage in real-time conflicts while audiences are encouraged to engage in demonstrative performances when conflict occurs (Grindstaff, 2002; Rose & Wood, 2005). Viewers of those shows do not necessarily find authenticity embedded in the programming itself, but rather co-produce TV reality as an authentic product when accepting the level of authenticity they are comfortable with (Rose & Wood, 2005).

Finally, the interaction between authenticity work and authentication may serve to create or re-interpret categories. Categories are socially constructed when actors agree who can and cannot be included in a category based on certain legitimately authentic attributes (Durand & Khaire, 2016; Zuckerman, 1999). Categories are abstract buckets of similar organisations, products, or practices whose boundaries may be sharply defined or fuzzy (Negro et al., 2015; Viswanathan & Childers, 1999). Organisations may straddle several categories often leading to diminished perceptions of authenticity (Kovács, Carroll, Lehman, 2014). For example, corporate owned Italian restaurants that cover several niches and offer an array of dishes are considered less authentic than Italian family-owned restaurants serving regional cuisine. To overcome such authenticity dilemmas, organisations therefore motivate claims to be included in specific categories, to create categories, or to re-define categories to improve their status (Delmestri &

Greenwood, 2016; Lehman et al., 2019; Negro et al., 2011). Organisations may also either promote or downplay their category association to emphasise their authenticity especially through certification (Gehman & Grimes, 2017).

Concurrently, other actors engaging in authentication may try to maintain or change such boundaries (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019; Negro et al., 2010, 2015). In the field of Barolo wine, for instance, modern and traditional producers engaged in authenticity contestation mediated by policymakers and market audiences such as sommeliers. Ultimately, both versions came to be seen as different but equally authentic expressions of wine from the region and therefore extended the Barolo category (Negro, Hannan, Rao & Leung, 2007; Negro et al., 2011). Therefore, in some instances, categories can be expanded in scope to accommodate alternative meanings of authenticity, whereas in others they cannot. This study aims to further explore how the generation of authenticity re-interprets existing categories in the wine market. From the above, it seems apparent that the interaction between authenticity work and authentication and the constructs themselves are riddled with ambiguity. By way of redress, this thesis seeks to understand their relationship and the social mechanisms performing them.

2.3.2 Hot and cool authenticity generation

The source of much scholarly debate about the process of authenticity production lies in the incompatibility between objective, subjective, and constructed conceptions thereof (Bruner, 1994; Leigh et al., 2006; Wang, 1999). This debate has been so protracted and divisive that some have suggested abandoning the term authenticity in favour of its constituent dimensions of realness, truthfulness, and genuineness (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). In the sociology of tourism literature scholars have suggested that the constructionist distinction between hot and cool authenticity actions (Selwyn, 1996, Cohen & Cohen, 2012), aligns these seemingly opposing schools of thought (Mkono, 2013b; Lamont, 2014). The distinction reframes

subjective or existential authenticity efforts performing authenticity through beliefs and emotions as hot authenticity actions, and objective efforts to declare authenticity through authorised knowledge as cool authenticity actions (Selwyn, 1996; Cohen & Cohen, 2012). This perspective further suggests that authenticity is produced through a politically charged interplay between distinct hot and cool "dynamics, which often intersect, co-influence, or exist in tension with each other" (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p. 1303). So doing, it emphasises the role that power and authority play in shaping the production of authenticity (in contrast to perceptions) providing further refinement to how the production of authenticity plays out (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Cohen & Cohen, 2019). The literature dealing with the hot and cool authenticity generation is therefore explored below by explaining what is meant by objective, subjective and socially constructed authenticity, outlining the finer workings of hot and cool authentication and exploring some critiques and potential theoretical gaps uncovered.

2.3.2.1 Objective, subjective and socially constructed authenticity

An objective perspective on the process of authenticity generation suggests that authenticity can be claimed, assessed, and confirmed through objective criteria ultimately resulting in verification of whether something is fake or real and inauthentic or authentic (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). Authenticity is therefore fixed and knowable and simulations or copies cannot be considered authentic (Boorstin, 1961; Maccannell, 1973). Cultural experts such as art critics examining artefacts use observable traits to evaluate claims to their provenance and pronounce them authentic or not (Dutton, 2009). Legislators and standard setters create regulations, certifications and warrantees used by manufacturers to claim authenticity and market participants to validate that claimed practices are authentic (Ewing et al., 2012).

These objective measures of authenticity are often conveyed through indexical cues that provide spatio-temporal links giving indications that something is original or the real deal

(Ewing et al., 2012; Grayson & Martinec, 2004). In classical music, authenticity is verified through music scores rather than conformity to genre. A performance of Beethoven's 5th symphony is authentic when keeping to certain cues in the original score encapsulating the composer's intentions, and performers are authentic when they faithfully execute the composer's specifications (Davies, 1987, p. 39). In 1935, the Burgundy wine producer collective and policymakers maintained the fixity and value of the terroir classifications of vineyards in the AOC system to validate authenticity by visually connecting a plot of land, a bottle of wine, and their status through scientific maps and labels (Demossier, 2010). Similarly, attributions of craft authenticity are linked to characteristics inherent in souvenirs as well as with their makers when curio traders present them as unique and original through information about the craft person, or written evidence of their genuineness (Littrell et al., 1993, p. 210).

The subjective perspective sees authenticity as being self-generated (i.e., intra-subjectively) or co-created (i.e., intersubjectively) and verified through belief-alignment with what is presented as authentic (Leigh et al., 2006; Wang, 1999). Authenticity can be fabricated, invented, and personally experienced, and what may seem fake to some may seem authentic to others (Gilmore & Pine, 2007). Copies, simulations, or inventions can be authentic and sometimes even more so than the real thing (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986). For example, visitors to the museum of fictitious character Sherlock Holmes found furniture in the museum authentic if it was well-worn and looked like an antique (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). Intra-subjectively fashion consumers, for instance, perceive style as a substantive indication of authenticity and buy clothes based on self-conformity or "I like that, I am like that" (Postrel, 2003). Actors intersubjectively generate authenticity through collective rituals aimed at fabricating, refashioning, or co-creating cultural ideas of authenticity (Arnould & Price, 2000; Belk & Costa, 1998; Rose & Wood, 2005). In this way audiences embrace and act upon the performances of stylised "Rocky Mountain men" tour guides creating nostalgic fantasy

experiences to replicate 19th century frontier trading practices, capturing a romanticised set of beliefs and emotions (Belk & Costa, 1998).

The social constructionist view adopts an arguably more holistic approach by focusing on field-level dynamics involved in generating meanings of authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, Peterson, 2005). Authenticity is not simply a given meaning but one that is contested, negotiated, and agreed upon by often numerous actors within a field (Cohen, 1988; Harris, 2010; Peterson, 1997). Olsen argues that: "Such a perspective opens up for analysing how social processes elevate some objects by these ideas, how different groups apprehend the concept differently, how it is intentionally sought and created, and how these ideas are contested" (2002, p. 164). The process, reasons, and outcomes of authenticity rather than the meaning of what is authentic take precedence (Cohen, 1988; Peterson, 1997; Vannini & Williams, 2009). In conjunction with the discussion in the previous section, authenticity construction is a politically charged social process enacted by multiple social actors with differing levels of power (Bruner, 1994; Cohen, 1988; Grazian, 2010; Peterson, 2005). Cohen & Cohen argue that zooming in on the political attributes of authenticity generation, "leads to a shift of focus of interest to what authenticity does, rather than what it is. This is important because it uncovers conflicts of interest and issues of power" (2019, p. 164). The BBC and the UK Royal Family, for example, invented the tradition of the Royal Christmas Broadcasts in the 1930s, when the allure of royalty across Europe had waned, and soon was perceived by the public as an authentic British tradition by virtue of the authority of these two entities (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

2.3.2.2 Hot and cool authentication

Cohen & Cohen (2012) suggest that constructed authenticity implies that authenticity is socially produced on macro levels through the interaction between subjective (i.e., hot) and

objective (i.e., cool) micro-level authentication efforts. In this way, the interplay between hot and cool authentication produces field-level meanings of authenticity, which in turn shape the future constitution of what is authentic. Hot authentication performs confirmation of authenticity through beliefs and emotions such as when tourists write reviews in a visitors' book or in online reviews (Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013; Mkono, 2013b). It is reiterative, informal, controversial, and energised, and attempts to create, preserve, and reinforce the authenticity of an entity. It therefore heats up the process of authenticity generation (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Actors engaging in such acts often display veneration, devotion, and worshiping, on the one hand, or de-authenticating or discrediting actions on the other (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014). For example, Lamont (2014) illustrates how cycling tourists visiting the French Alps as a pilgrimage perform a repertoire of hot authentication actions such as cycling part of the Tour de France route (sometimes even during the tour itself), and keeping detailed photographic accounts often distributed via social media. Such actions often involve agency on the part of multiple actors involved in valorising their own and other's claims to authenticity (Frenzel, 2017; Lugosi, 2016).

Cool authentication, by contrast, confirms authenticity by declaring it through explicitly authorised knowledge by way of accreditations, certifications, laws and so forth, such as UNESCO pronouncing an agricultural tourism site to be a world heritage site by certifying it (Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013). Cool authentication therefore cools down contestation through formal declarations that "fix" meanings of authenticity via authoritative expertise by organisations, institutions, and powerful critics that have acquired legitimacy and credibility to act as authenticating agents (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lugosi, 2016). Frisvoll (2013) argues that heritage-orientated rural tourism sites in Norway use books in their library narrating their history and plaques conferred by heritage associations at their entrances as cool authentication objects. Cool authenticity is not perpetual but is continuously refashioned through hot

authentication. However, while Cohen and Cohen (2012, p. 1302) cite an example of a contest of cool de-authentication of a religious symbol that sparked acts of hot authentication by those deeply committed to their beliefs, this type of interaction has not been well studied. Wherry's (2006) study of government-sponsored craftsmanship is perhaps the closest example thereof. In the case, Thai villagers producing traditional crafts discredited government sponsored vendors in a nearby village claiming that their crafts were regionally inauthentic because they did not possess the necessary birth right to call themselves authentic, even so both were regionally produced artefacts.

This dichotomy has been criticised for focusing on the tourist experience rather than according to Frisvoll on "the origins of what spurs the performative practices and embeddedness with the complex and messy mesh of cultural notions, social representations, materiality, political discourse and practices" (2013, p. 294). In other words, arguably the dichotomy does not consider authenticity work by actors making self-claims to authenticity nor does it account for how authenticating agents such as state institutions and other powerful actors, such as meta-organisations, go about declaring authenticity. Frenzel's (2017) study on the reframing of a slum area in India as an authentic tourism destination by tourism operators and tourists, mediated by social networking and internet booking sites, comes closest to accounting for the origin of hot claims to authenticity.

Ultimately however, this sparse literature has not been significantly expanded upon or drawn into organisational authenticity and there is scope for such work here. The aim in this thesis is therefore to investigate whether, how and why processes of hot and cool authenticity co-influence and intersect with processes of authenticity work and authentication in the organisational context. This will invariably necessitate investigating whether the hot and cool authentication dichotomy can be extended to authenticity work.

2.3.3 Collective action framing of authenticity

Authenticity is often cast into doubt through collective action and inspires countervailing collective action over the meaning of authenticity (DeSoucey, 2010; Negro et al., 2007; Negro et al., 2011). In the collective action literature, organisations organise their collective action to confront systemic failings by framing their diagnoses, alternative solutions, and motivations for other actors to align with the cause (Benford & Snow, 2000; Kaplan, 2008). Frames differ from framing (Benford & Snow, 2000). Frames refer to what is proposed and challenged and correspond with what Goffman (1959) considers "schemata of interpretation". Framing invokes how and why questions about decision-making and actioning strategies related to such frames of meaning (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992b; Leibel et al., 2018; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020). Benford and Snow suggest that strategic framing efforts constitute meaning work or a "struggle over the production of mobilizing and countermobilizing ideas and meanings" (2000, p. 613). Other scholars have suggested such framing contests constitute meaning construction through a self-reinforcing process of meaning making and meaning validation (Ewing et al., 2012; Kaplan, 2008; Peñaloza, 2000).

Framing is enacted on various levels and raised from micro to macro levels as organisations organise their frames in the process of engaging in collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020). The study of authenticity framing by organisations is nascent though there is some work alluding to it, connecting these constructs requires further theoretical elaboration and to assist in this endeavour some illustrations thereof are incorporated here (Hannan et al., 2007; Weber et al., 2008). On a micro level, framing resembles individualised strategic efforts enabling market actors to negotiate the presentation of their own authenticity and interpretation of the authenticity of other actors to resolve ambiguities and conflicts (Goffman, 1959; Grandey, 2003; Kaplan, 2008). The scope of micro-framing is raised to

organisational framing though intra-organisational contestations, negotiation, and aggregation (Benford & Snow, 2000; Evans, 1997).

Through organisational framing, organisations differentiate themselves, highlighting the authenticity of their practices that make them seem unique and compelling (Anthony et al., 2016; Cattani et al., 2017). By proliferating nascent (i.e., novel and often ambiguous frames) of authenticity, organisations engage in meaning making that evolves over time as alternate, even conflicting frames are merged into their framing actions to build coherence (Anthony et al., 2016; Humphreys, 2010; Santos & Eisenhardt, 2009). During the 1980s, Yamaha's framing of their newly introduced electronic synthesiser evolved from being true acoustic instruments, to being acoustic emulators, before eventually adopting a hybridised version of the two (Anthony et al., 2016).

The interorganisational alignment of several organisational framings of authenticity brings about collective action in a market by "meso-mobilizing" organisational actors divided over the meaning of authenticity (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992b; Hannan et al., 2007). This alignment occurs through further negotiation of meanings and results in meso-framing actions both within interorganisational cliques and between interorganisational cliques engaged in collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). Four meso-framing actions are worthwhile highlighting here: amplifying, tethering, reframing and framing contests. Amplifying occurs when organisations selectively signal aspects of their organisational practices they wish to contrast to oppositional practices, as the International Trappist Organization did in discrediting so-called Abbey craft beers appropriating their practices by creating a Trappist appellation of origin (Beverland et al., 2008).

Tethering (Leibel et al., 2018; Menchik, 2019) or bridging frames (Benford & Snow, 2000) coheres the framing strategies of collective organisational actors and connects them to credible

frames outside the field (Cartel et al., 2018; Leibel et al., 2018; Menchik, 2019; Weber et al., 2008). By extending or reframing meanings such as authenticity, actors involved in collective action can either attract additional adherents or exclude others in shaping their identity (Benford & Snow, 2000; Negro et al., 2015). For example, a clique of high-end Alsace wine producers through their meta-organisation called Tyflo drew on and re-fashioned codes existing in biodynamic and organic viticulture to reframe the regional authenticity of their wine, as a ploy to exclude low price producers from devaluing them (Negro et al., 2015).

Finally, framing contests over authenticity result when meanings have become common currency and suddenly challenged through collective action, such as in the aforementioned cases of foie gras (De Soucey, 2010), Barolo wine (Negro et al., 2011), French cuisine (Rao et al., 2005), Trappist and Abbey beers (Beverland et al., 2008) and craft and mainstream beer manufacturers (Frake, 2015, Hatch & Schultz, 2013). Since the context here involves multiple actors interpreting, contesting, and negotiating the meaning of authenticity, an opportunity is presented to investigate collective organisational authenticity framing to establish whether such strategic efforts are entangled in the two sets of authenticity generation processes.

2.4 Who does authenticity?

Studies on authenticity have spanned various analytical levels from micro-level interactions amongst organisational actors or between themselves and audiences (Boje & Baskin, 2011; McShane & Cunningham, 2012) to meso or interorganisational interactions occurring in markets (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010; Weber et al., 2008). Arguably, it is on the meso-level where organisations interact with each other that much work on organisational authenticity is required (Demetry, 2019; Lehman et al., 2019). The scant collection of studies examining meso-level interactions are cross-sectional prompting scholars to call for longitudinal studies on organisational authenticity that investigate how and why meanings of authenticity change

over time in different contexts (Lehman et al., 2019).

Additionally, the study of meta-organisations has been neglected in MOS (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2005; Garaudel, 2020; Rajwani et al., 2015). As mentioned, meta-organisations are organisations of organisations (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2005) that are characterised by their diversity, organisationality and power (Garaudel, 2020). In terms of diversity, a variety of meta-organisational forms exist such as trade associations, cooperatives, business groups and so forth. Organisationality refers to demonstrating collective decision-making, a uniform collective identity, and actorhood by acting as agents of change through collective action (Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015; Garaudel, 2020; King, Felin & Whetten, 2010). Meta-organisations are organisations in their own right and possess authority over their members and even over a field if imbued with such authority (DeSoucey, 2010; Garaudel, 2020). Agency in this respect refers to the ability to deliberate, reflect, and engage in action as well as being perceived as being capable of engaging in action and making decisions to that end (Garaudel, 2020; King et al., 2010). Through organisationality, power, and collective action meta-organisations acquire social influence, wielded by acting as gatekeepers over membership and exerting social pressure on market participants to serve their own interests (Garaudel, 2020).

Business associations, as confronted in the case under study, may display many of these features (Doh, Lawton & Rajwani, 2012), but differ from other types of meta-organisations in that they have a formal membership structure and enforcement mechanisms to ensure that members comply with collectively agreed on rules, standards, and norms (Marques, 2016). They serve as an agency for business collective action since their membership is entirely comprised of firms, often working together to achieve market and non-market goals (Christiansen & Kroezen, 2016; Doh et al., 2012; Marques, 2016). Non-market strategies target environments populated by interest groups, political parties, activists, and government—often

to influence policy or other matters of social impact and involve building coalitions, lobbying, campaigning, and so forth (Baron, 1995; Doh et al., 2012; Fligstein, 2001). Market strategies, on the other hand, target environments populated by suppliers, buyers, and competitors for commercial and reputational reasons involving activities such as differentiation, pricing, and marketing (Baron, 1995; Doh et al., 2012). Markets are created through a combination of these strategies by dismantling or altering legislation in the non-market arena and/ or engaging in resonant differentiation strategies in the market space (Baron, 1995; Sine & Lee, 2009).

Owing to the paucity of work on meta-organisations, it is unsurprising that the study of the role meta-organisations play in authenticity construction is unrefined. Several studies have, in passing, mentioned meta-organisations engaging in work to generate authenticity and it is interesting to note the instances where this has occurred. For example, the Italian Grappa Association lobbied the government to change regulations to suit artisanal grappa producers presented as authentic to Italian heritage (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016). Furthermore, the American Beer Association altered the levels of corporate ownership that were allowed when claiming craft beer status, to prevent large beer companies from appropriating the authenticity acquired by microbreweries (Frake, 2015). Related to collective identity, cattle breeders' associations engaged in collective marketing to claim authenticity by openly conducting business during a Western rodeo show (Peñaloza, 2000). It therefore appears from such cursory coverage that meta-organisations may be involved both in agency to render authenticity and as authenticating agents in declaring what can pass as authentic for their members and for wider audiences. This makes their work on authenticity somewhat odd, and the current study presents an opportunity provide some insights in this regard.

2.5 What does authenticity do?

The question of what authenticity does is an important facet related to its construction (Cohen

& Cohen, 2019). Scholars suggest the process of authenticity generation renders (Ewing et al., 2012; Frake, 2015; Gilmore & Pine, 2007) and attributes authenticity (Beverland et al., 2008; Carroll, 2015; Lehman et al., 2018). However, the interdependencies between rendering and attribution of authenticity and what, precisely, they entail are not entirely clear. What seems less hazy is that rendering is performed through authenticity claim making and attributing is concerned with claim validation (Carroll, 2015; Ewing et al., 2012). Pine and Gilmore (2007) suggest that one of the most important contemporary challenges for businesses is rendering authenticity. Such a view implies that when rendered, claims to authenticity have been successfully attributed, authenticity is acquired and has a profound effect on business success. Ewing et al. (2012) view rendering as both an action and an outcome of a meaning validation process when producers use indexical (e.g., certifications) and iconic cues (e.g., "environmentally friendly" statements) on their packaging and consumers assess and positively confirm that products are what they appear be. Therefore, rendering arguably speaks to the intention behind organisations engaging in authenticity work while attribution executes the intentions and decisions of other field actors regarding such claims.

Attributions of authenticity are outcomes of authentication, constituting non-binary decisions that confirm authenticity for various entities even in the same field (Carroll, 2015; Lamont, 2014; Olsen, 2002). They serve to assign or ascribe levels of authenticity to organisations differently across contexts (Askin & Mol, 2018; Beverland & Farrelly, 2010; Grazian, 2010), even if no self-claims to authenticity are made (Fine, 2003; Koontz-Anthony, 2012). The distinction between rendering and attribution can be difficult to separate because those attempting to render authenticity and those involved in attributing it may be complicit in its co-construction as explained above. For example, music festival goers are often undeterred by the commercial nature of the festival and work together with organisers, helping to co-create authenticity in various experiential spaces within the festival (Szmigin, Bengry-Howell,

Morey, Griffin & Riley, 2017). Additionally, Colombero and Boxenbaum (2019) see attributions of authenticity in the authentication of the institution of architectural heritage as underpinned by building materials conferring authenticity. The mode of authentication described in that case resembles cool authentication and focused on how "architects and other specialists who were engaged in contemporary adjustments sought to maintain the historical and artistic qualities that confer authenticity upon a listed building" (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019, p. 10).

A vaunted outcome of authenticity generation is the creation of markets and consequently several scholars regard authenticity as the cornerstone of contemporary marketing (Brown, Kozinets & Sherry, 2003). Market creation partly occurs naturally through exogenous factors (Santos and Eisenhardt, 2009) but is also influenced by powerful actors. Some scholars view calculative mechanisms, such as declarative prescripts employed by powerful social responsibility accreditation organisations for instance, as politically performing the construction and behaviour of markets (Giamporcaro & Gond, 2016). This may in certain respects be interpreted as a form of cool authentication. However, market creation is often the result of material and discursive framing actions by market actors creating enough social pressure over time to change laws, norms, and taken-for-granted cultural practices (Humphreys, 2010; Santos & Eisenhardt, 2009. Lehman et al. contend that: "There seems to be clear proof that it [authenticity] has a powerful pull on audiences and markets, regardless of whatever meaning is invoked and wherever it arises" (2019, p. 31).

Moreover, others suggest that authenticity is so deeply ingrained in the work of cultural fields that it plays a central role in the construction and creation of markets in which they are embedded (Jones et al., 2005; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004). According to scholars in the structural stream of the sociology of markets (Fourcade, 2007), markets are meso-level

social orders where position in the market is determined by cliques of collective market actors strategically contesting status and value (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; White, 1981). Markets are socially constructed through the organisation and re-organisation of relationships shaped by power (Fligstein & Dauter, 2007; Fourcade, 2007; Weber et al., 2008) that generate shared meanings about issues confronting market actors (Koçak et al., 2013) and rules like legislation and standards regulating the field's practices (Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; Peterson & Anand, 2004).

Koçak et al. (2013) argue that on more micro levels, markets are shaped by engagement and influence between actors, while on more macro levels market creation occurs through certain meanings becoming shared by a diverse array of market actors. This "bottom up" perspective conforms to the production of culture theory's view on market creation (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson & Anand, 2004). While this perspective accepts that markets are often fragmented into social cliques each vying for reputation and competitive advantage (White, 1981; Podolny, 1993; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011), it argues that such contests are ultimately resolved through negotiation and arriving at amenable solutions about what authenticity means (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004). Markets are therefore created when opposing cliques of actors generate consensus on matters of authenticity.

2.6 Summary

In summary, authenticity is a fluid and contested phenomenon and various actors hold differing levels of sway over its construction both creatively and perceptively. Authenticity is polemical (Trilling, 1972). There are multiple ways in which social actors apprehend, interpret and perform authenticity, making it a paradoxically divisive and unifying phenomenon. This literature review drew on a spectrum of frameworks from multiple literatures to confront the paradoxes and ambiguities inherent in organisational authenticity. Without such idiosyncrasies

organisational authenticity would arguably not present an interesting area for theorising.

Scholars studying authenticity have tended to focus on the nature of authenticity rather than the social processes underpinning its generation. The review unpacked the literature related to the social construction of organisational authenticity with a special focus on cultural fields according to three dimensions: 1) the social mechanisms involved in the generation of authenticity, 2) the actors implicated in its production, and 3) the outcomes thereof. In terms of authenticity generation, Peterson (2005) views authenticity as being constructed through the interplay between two distinct but mutually reinforcing social processes: authenticity work and authentication. Actors often fabricate nascent meanings of authenticity to appear authentic and so cast conventional meanings of authenticity into doubt (Peterson, 1997, 2005). Those involved in these authenticity work efforts may do so because they possess little power or resources to command status and value in a particular market (Beverland, 2005; Negro et al., 2007; Verhaal et al., 2017). They may therefore also co-opt others into engaging in collective action to project authenticity as non-economic leverage in creating market space for themselves (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010, Weber et al., 2008).

Certain meanings of authenticity may have become common currency and powerful actors may also be invested in preserving them, giving rise to conflicts of interest and countervailing action (Cohen & Cohen, 2019). Whether they make claims in support, against or own reactive claims to authenticity work, all market actors are involved in authentication to attribute authenticity to credible / persuasive meanings thereof (Bruner, 1994; Peterson, 2005, Grazian, 2010). These purposive authentication efforts often appear to be “hot” or existential because they assign authenticity by performing beliefs and emotions (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). They differ from authenticity work because their role is to evaluate, valorise, and attribute authenticity rather than generate nascent impressions thereof.

Since other field participants control the confirmation of authenticity in this way, organisations must exercise restraint in making claims and performances in their authenticity work. To do so, organisations may impose controls to manage the credibility of their practices when interacting with others in the field (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). These parameters declare what is authentic to members through authorised knowledge such as rules, decisions, and behavioural controls (Hochschild, 1983; Mirchandani, 2012; Pounders et al., 2014). However, on a field level controls such as standards, laws, and collectively agreed upon decisions may determine what may pass as authentic, imposing meanings of authenticity on all actors (Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Peterson, 1997). Both these sets of “cool” authenticity actions clearly operate on different levels of authority over authenticity and have different intentions. This supports an implied notion, to be explored in the rest of the thesis, that if the hot and cool dichotomy can be applied to authentication it could potentially be extended to authenticity work (see: Frisvoll, 2013). Additionally, it highlights the role that powerplay and collective action framing may play in organisational efforts to appear authentic and also to contest, valorise and affirm the meaning of authenticity within a cultural field / market.

Additionally, the above review further examines literature concerning who does authenticity by exploring how meta-organisations in several contexts have been central in claiming authenticity, conferring authenticity on the organisations constituting them and helping to authorise field-level meanings thereof. Finally, in terms of possible outcomes of authenticity production for organisations, the rendering of authenticity appears to occur when field actors attribute authenticity through contestation, negotiation and agreement, ultimately creating markets in cultural fields such as wine, food, art and so forth. The findings and discussion chapters will further explore the salience of the concepts surfaced here in analysing the case under view.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned, the principal research question that this thesis seeks to answer is *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets*? An abductive case study research design of systematic combining (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014) was employed as the overarching strategic blueprint directing data collection, analysis, and validation to produce findings and theory (Creswell, 2014; Maxwell, 2005). Systematic combining is a "nonlinear, path dependent process of combining efforts with the ultimate aim of matching theory and reality" (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, p. 556). The aim was to produce a working conceptual statement on the interaction of identified phenomena in the context (Gioia et al., 2013)

This chapter is arranged as follows. Firstly, the research approach explains the overarching assumptions governing the study (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), which is divided into abductive theory elaboration, non-linear case study and qualitative evidence sections. Second, the application of systematic combining research design is explained as an inductive, holistic case study design employing similar protocols to the Gioia method (Gioia et al., 2013; Langley & Abdallah, 2011), but relies more on theory throughout to redirect the study (Arino, LeBaron & Milliken, 2016; Bamberger, 2018; Dubois & Gadde, 2014). Third, a comprehensive explanation of the data collection and analysis process describes the fieldwork that realised 71 semi-structured interviews as its primary dataset and highlights the analytical moves used to develop the data structures and theory. Finally, the measures employed to ensure that the study was of appropriate quality and that required ethical guidelines were grounded in the study are described.

3.2 Research approach

The research approach employed can be explained according to three general features: 1), abductive theory elaboration, 2) non-linear case study and 3) the use of qualitative evidence.

3.2.1 Abductive theory elaboration

Abductive theorising refers to the creative inferential process aimed at producing theories based on surprising research evidence (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 170; Van de Ven, 2007; Van Maanen et al., 2007). Abductive approaches rely on a constant back and forth between theory and empirical findings in a reflexive cycle of systematic methodological analysis (Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013; Monteiro & Nicolini, 2015; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Theory cannot be understood without empirical observation and empirical observation cannot be explained without theory (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, p. 555). Theory building may involve creating a theory from the data up (induction), elaborating on existing theories through recursive exploration between theory and data (abduction) and justifying or evaluating a theory moving from theory to data (deduction) (Eisenhardt et al., 2016; Gioia et al., 2013). Mantere and Ketokivi suggest that organisational researchers, "predict, confirm or disconfirm with deduction, generalize through induction and theorise through abduction" (2013, p. 72). The aim with this study was to theorise through abduction. In addition, Dubois and Gadde (2014) suggest that abductive approaches leaning towards induction, as opposed to purely inductive studies, are much closer to the idea of constant comparison that is a central feature of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 2015).

Discovering theories relies both on an inability to frame findings under extant theory as much as the ability to modify and elaborate existing theories in new ways (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Dedicated abductive theorising is a data-driven approach to provide clear and parsimonious suggestions for underexplained phenomena (Bamberger, 2018), as was the case here. It provides plausible explanations of their meaning and interactions and develops

transformed theories to make sense of them (Bamberger, 2018). Some scholars argue that abductive approaches are most suited to theory elaboration because they interrogate extant theorising to uncover surprising, often counter-intuitive phenomena from empirical data (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Monteiro & Nicolini, 2015). Therefore, the approach here can best be described as theory elaboration because the pre-existing and underexplored conceptual ideas outlined in the literature review interactively inspired the choice of research design, to advance the understanding of the phenomena under question (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). Theory elaboration is a common approach in qualitative research and consists of using extant literature as a springboard for asking questions that spur new lines of inquiry to discover encompassing theory (Grodal et al., 2020; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Furthermore, theory elaboration was appropriate to this study because it answered three questions positively (Bacharach, 1989; Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). 1) *Was there an existing theory or access to data that could offer insight into the focal phenomena?* During exploratory work archival sources and participation in events indicated there was a strong subtext of authenticity and willing informants available to relate what was happening in the Swartland. 2) *Was the existing explanation controversial, ambiguous, inadequate, or unspecified?* As described in the literature there is a rich albeit conflicting literature on organisational authenticity that lends itself to making theoretical discoveries. 3) *Was there potential to collect additional data to develop, enhance or extend existing theory?* Since its emergence, the SIP had garnered significant attention in the international media at the time of data collection and its existence was not without its controversy, increasing the likelihood that a significant number of market actors would be aware of their activities.

As discoveries were made, the study progressively incorporated more underexplained phenomena from the data and as far as possible refined theoretical ideas further (Alvesson &

Kärreman, 2007; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Explorative and exploitative abduction cycles were used throughout data collection and analysis (Bamberger, 2018). In this research, exploratory abduction worked from theory to data when patterns in the data were used to substantiate the plausibility of emerging theory. Exploitative abduction worked from data to theory when surprises in the data prompted redirection in the study. By so doing, ill-fitting explanations were rejected and the most plausible explanation for the patterns were retained for further exploration. These modes of abduction often occurred cyclically and were activated by deliberate or opportunistic abductive triggers (Bamberger, 2018; Folger & Stein, 2017). The former refers to moments when commonly observed phenomena could not be plausibly explained by extant theory, while the latter arose in situations where novel or surprising data patterns were stumbled upon (Bamberger, 2018; Folger & Stein, 2017).

3.2.2 Non-linear case study approach

Case study research is a well-trodden methodological path in MOS (Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Gehman, Glaser, Eisenhardt, Gioia, Langley & Corley, 2018; Gioia et al., 2013; Langley & Abdallah, 2011). Systematic combining is a variant of a holistic, non-linear case study design where there is neither a pre-designed logic governing the boundaries of the case nor a sequential order in which the empirical material is treated (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014; Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007). It is an open case study that is designed while using it, and is therefore reflexive, requiring several modifications throughout data collection and analysis (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Maxwell, 2005). Instead of pre-selecting case (s), the case cohered during the research process in response to other research activities (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014). Ultimately, cases are theoretical constructs that are abstracted by the researcher when comparing theory and empirical material and are, therefore, found, not created (Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Ragin & Becker, 1992; Wells, Hirschberg, Lipton & Oakes, 2002). The case

therefore often selects the researcher as it did in this study (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). Discoveries, evolving conceptual frameworks, research questions, data sources, sampling methods, and so forth, play a significant role in defining the boundaries, scope, and features of the case (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2014).

This study uses a holistic case approach that was intended to capture the entire context in which the phenomena were embedded (Corley & Gioa, 2011; Gehman et al., 2018; Langley & Abdallah, 2011). Holistic cases are deep and probing (Dubois & Gadde, 2014), place primacy on informant voices and often incorporate passive observation alongside a wealth of other empirical material to create a rich picture of the research context (Bonoma, 1985; Dubois & Gadde, 2002). Holistic cases are revelatory focusing on new insights into understudied and unfolding phenomenon. A revelatory case study research design was also chosen because of the longitudinal nature of the changing setting (over seven years) in which the phenomena occurred (Pettigrew, 1990; Yin, 2014). The case here is also revelatory because it aims to illustrate what the research setting is a "case of", to provide a forceful example of how certain phenomena underpinning a theory interacted (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Siggelkow, 2007). The question of "what is this a case of?" was interrogated throughout the study in response to changes in the direction of the study. The aim was to elicit a rich understanding of this unique scenario to generate new concepts, constructs, and persuasive theory about organisational dynamics (Langley, 1999). Revelatory cases are furthermore adept at answering how and why questions, studying emerging processes and practices, and grounding theory within a particular time, research setting, and population (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2014).

3.2.3 Qualitative evidence

The term qualitative research is frequently used as an umbrella term for several research techniques aiming to understand, describe, and explain lived meaning in the context rather than

simply applying universal laws (Crotty, 1998; Van Maanen, 1979). However, the term qualitative approach is also used here to also describe the evidence or empirical material as being primarily comprised of words, rather than numbers (Van Maanen, 1979). Furthermore, the term empirical material is often used instead of the term data to emphasise the use of other visible aspects of organisational activity rather than simply the use of text and talk (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Arino et al., 2016; Eisenhardt, Graebner & Sonesheim, 2016). Therefore, passive observations and informant narratives that revealed practices involving the interaction between informants and objects (e.g., vines, grapes, bottles etc.), artefacts (e.g., props and advertising posters), and tools (e.g., barrels and printing presses) were often gathered and analysed as evidence in this study to produce constructs such as theorising minimalism (see Arino et al., 2016; Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2018; Orlikowski, 2007).

This study used qualitative evidence as empirical material (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Dubois & Gadde, 2014). Qualitative evidence makes sense of the meaning that people, including the researcher attach to phenomena in the social world (Crotty, 1998; Van Maanen, 1979). This study inferred meaning and relationships between phenomena in the context through assembling material about the lived experiences of field informants (Schwandt, 1994; Shepherd & Suddaby, 2016). In abductive qualitative studies like the present one, cognitive reasoning is used to create a continuous dialogue between the researcher's understanding and the empirical material (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). The emergent theory is the result of this subjective interpretation and is therefore constructed, making it simultaneously informant and researcher centred. A critical dilemma to overcome in the study was therefore balancing doubt and belief between the evolving conceptual framework and informant voices (Gergen & Gergen, 2003; Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013). As an abductive study, it began with a set of existing theories followed by the observation of surprising empirical phenomena, and then a creative articulation of new contributions to advancements

in theory (Peirce, 1992; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

3.3 Data collection and data analysis

This design-in-use characteristic of this study makes it challenging to describe data collection and analysis in a linear manner retroactively (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014; Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007; Maxwell, 2005). Using an interactive or non-linear research design like systematic combining (Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Edmondson & Mcmanus, 2007; Maxwell, 2005) meant that five elements constantly evolved during research: research question; conceptual framework; the case; the focal extant theory; and emerging findings. To facilitate a better explanation of the data collection and analysis techniques employed during the study four turning points are first explained. Turning points were defining moments in data collection and data analysis that reconfigured the above elements of the study in a reflexive way through matching and redirection. Matching occurred throughout and refers to the going back and forth between the conceptual framework, data sources, and analysis to match theory and empirical findings (Dubois & Gadde, 2002), often triggering exploratory abduction. Re-direction occurred primarily during data collection and involved accumulating and expanding sources of empirical material to opportunistically trigger exploitative abduction. The turning point framework, tabulated in **Table 3.1**, serves to sequentially describe the significant steps in the research process, and to connect data collection and analysis techniques employed along the way to the overall research design.

3.3.1 Turning points

A categorising and connecting framework (Grodal et al., 2020; Maxwell & Miller, 2008) is used to capture four turning points, namely: generating, expanding, contrasting, and stabilising. Each comprises two counterpoints performing the collection and analysis of the empirical

material and ultimately theory elaboration. *Generating* occurred during the exploratory and pilot testing phases of the research where the initial conceptual framework was proposed, and research question formulated. Here two actions of asking and puzzling out were engaged in. Asking refers to the initial exploratory (theory-data) approach in the field to discover if patterns in the data supported the initial research questions and conceptual framework. The discovery of actors not initially identified as being involved triggered an exploitative approach (data-theory) to puzzle out patterns in the data from additional interviews and a reconfigured interview guideline.

The second turning point, *expanding*, occurred after a four-month reflection that provided an opportunity to complete transcriptions collate field notes and concept maps and source additional secondary data. This phase involved varying and rounding off data collection. The former comprised an exploratory approach of expanding the diversity of data sources by comparing exploratory theorising with extant theory to plan the remaining data collection. It also provided the opportunity to discard theory that did not seem to fit with the new direction of research. The latter was an exploitative approach when further or underrepresented relevant categories of actors such as the CVC were discovered through varying. The third turning point, *contrasting*, occurred towards the end of data collection to crystallise second order dimensions and relate and contrast them to each other, the context, and the literature (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017; Grodal et al., 2020; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). The approach was exploitative seeking patterns in the data which developed the conceptual framework. This led to an exploratory abductive cycle of reviewing most of the coding and splitting or deconstructing the first order coding into authentication work and authenticity work. This produced some surprising results and groups of respondents boxed into those that were involved in authenticity work (SIP and those directly linked to it) and those involved in authentication work (virtually all other market actors).

The fourth turning point *stabilised* the third order constructs and then related them to the context and articulating the final theory. These moments were inspired by referencing literature on the social construction of authenticity (Bruner 1994; Peterson, 2005), meta-organisations (Gulati, Puranam & Tushman, 2012; Spillman, 2018), strategic action fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011), market creation (Koçak et al., 2013) and hot and cool authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Selwyn, 1996). The connecting phase was therefore exploratory and attempted to establish relationships between the phenomena, often dropping analytical categories. The final analytical step was a further exploratory approach which re-interpreted the hierarchy of concepts, dimensions, and constructs such as strategic framing actions occurring on various analytic levels (Benford & Snow, 2000; Kaplan, 2008). This action successfully articulated the theoretical models contained in Chapter 6.

3.3.2 Data collection

Data collection occurred over an 18-month period between 15 May 2015 and 22 December 2016. Empirical material was generated primarily through interviews, other ethnographic material such as observations (participant and direct), and secondary data (archival data, memos, and concept maps). The primary source of empirical material comprised 71 semi-structured interviews that occurred between November 2015 and December 2016. Data collection was non-linear and kept as flexible as possible to allow for redirection of the study when theoretical or empirical discoveries were made. Below, the data collection process is explained in three parts: sampling strategy, primary data collection protocol and instruments, and secondary data collection and instruments.

Table 3.1: Overview of data collection and analysis process including turning points

Phases	Generating		Expanding		Contrasting		Stabilising	
	Asking	**Puzzle out**	**Vary**	**Round off**	**Reflect**	**Deconstruct**	**Connect**	**Articulate**
Dates	15/ 05//2015 -27/ 11/ 2015	01/12//2015 - 20/ 01/2015	08/04/2016 - 28/07/2016	02/08/2016 - 22/12/2016	23/09/2016 - 05/01/2017	15/07/2017 - 15/02/2019	23/02/2019 - 23/04/2019	23/04/2019 -
Re-direction	Exploratory	Exploitative	Exploratory	Exploitative	Exploratory	Exploitative	Exploratory	Exploratory
Sampling / case boundary	Theoretical, heterogenous for maximum variation and snowballing.		Heterogenous sampling for maximum variation in categories to expand to competitors and CVC.		Case of disruptive and maintenance authenticity work and authentication.		Case of meaning of authenticity changing in field through four types of authenticity framings.	
Primary data	10 semi-structured interviews	20 semi-structured interviews	29 semi-structured interviews	12 semi-structured interviews				
Secondary data	Exploratory archival data (websites, social media, videos, online media, legal documents etc.), participant observation, direct observation (events, seminars, expos), and secondary interviews.				Archival data referencing, participant observation, and peer checking.		Peer review and member checking interviews.	
Processing data	Transcription, revision, collating memos and in vivo conjectures		Transcription, revision, collating memos and in vivo concept maps		2461 fragments, 1st order codes from 70 to 55, split into authenticity work (1139 fragments) & authentication (1322 fragments).		1st order codes reduced 39 to 29, 2nd order codes reduced from to 29, 6 constructs into multi-level framing & hot	
Categorise & connect	Asking questions	Puzzling out	Expanding	Proliferating	Merging	Splitting	Dropping & relating	Consolidate

3.3.2.1 Sampling strategy

Adopting a sampling strategy enabled a more efficient collection of data by considering a representative subgroup from the field rather than the total population (Patton, 2002). The study primarily used theoretical sampling, also known as purposive or subjective sampling, where respondents or cases are selected based on subjective judgement, normally determined by the evolving research question, conceptual framework, and objectives of the study (Patton, 2002, Dubois & Gadde, 2014). Theoretical sampling strategies are appropriate for deep-probing, revelatory, qualitative case studies, and respondents were selected because they could further develop constructs, their relationships, and enrich the understanding of the processes by which they were constructed (Corley & Gioa, 2011; Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Eisenhardt et al., 2016; Yin, 2014). Furthermore, theoretical samples are useful for theory development and uncovering emerging phenomena (Patton, 2002, Gioia et al., 2013).

Though the size of samples in theoretical sampling are normally quite small, two interrelated variants of theoretical sampling, informed by the evolving research question and discoveries in the field, determined the ultimate size of the sample, namely: heterogenous sampling and snowball sampling. Heterogenous sampling is based on the principle of maximum variation, which means that the greatest possible diversity of respondents was captured and categorised according to certain characteristics (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Leigh et al., 2006; Mowle & Merrilees, 2005). Similar to how Leigh et al. (2006) categorised MG-buying community members according to their type of membership and involvement, this study categorised respondents according to their role in the market. Initially, guided by the research question and formative conceptual framework only around 40-50 respondents were intended to be sampled, focusing on members of the SIP, non-SIP members in the Swartland, media, suppliers, and buyers.

However, throughout the study new categories of market actors were discovered and

progressively sampled. For example, during the asking phase it appeared that members of the Zoo Biscuits as well as regulators were involved in the struggle for market access. Similarly, at the end of the expanding phase the countervailing role of the CVC in the construction of authenticity was discovered. These turning points revealed new lines of inquiry, altering the research question, conceptual framework, case boundaries and ultimately added other groups of actors who would not have ordinarily been included in the study.

The advantage of using maximum variation was that it reduced complexity and improved the robustness of the emerging theory. It made allowance for flexibly by adjusting the sample as new insights or sub-groups of relevant actors emerged (Eisenhardt et al., 2016). Snowball sampling was useful for achieving maximum variation and was employed when informants identified further informants within the market who could contribute to the understanding of the phenomena (Anteby & Molnàr, 2012; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). Snowball sampling is important for theory building and achieving maximum variation in abductive studies because it promotes a diversity of informant voices (Bucher et al., 2018). For example, on a several occasions, especially when revelatory or anomalous data were stumbled upon, respondents were probed to suggest new informants who could assist in exploring new lines of inquiry. However, on other occasions respondents voluntarily suggested respondents to interview to find out what happened.

The unit of analysis was the organisation and not the individual, with a special focus on meta-organisations active in the market. Most respondents were proprietors, senior managers, administrators, or winemakers of organisations in the field who were deeply familiar with the context. The initial sample was drawn from membership of the various associations, identification during archival analysis or snowballing. They were categorised as reflected in **Table 3.2** as wine producers in the focal meta-organisations (SIP, Zoo Biscuits, CVC) (37);

policymakers, trade associations, and statutory agencies (6); media (4); wine suppliers (3); non-SIP Swartland organisations (7); and competitors in the wine field (9). It is worth noting here, that these categories are not mutually exclusive and respondents often straddled categories. For example, some members of the Zoo Biscuits were also members or worked for SIP members. Additionally, two other meta-organisations, PIWOSA and Breedekloof Makers, were also sampled but were included in other categories. Furthermore, several strong personal and business connections existed between informants across sample groupings.

Table 3.2: Sample sizes of primary data informant categories

	Generating		Expanding		
	Asking	**Puzzling**	**Varying**	**Rounding**	**Total**
Total	**10**	**20**	**29**	**12**	**71**
Meta-organisations	**5**	**11**	**15**	**6**	**37**
SIP	5	8	10		23
Zoo Biscuits		3	5	1	9
CVC				5	5
Field actors	**5**	**9**	**14**	**6**	**34**
Suppliers			2	2	
Competitors		3	5	1	9
Policymakers and statutory bodies		1	3	2	6
Media	2	1	1		4
Buyers		3	1		4
Non-SIP Swartland	3	1	2	1	7
Audio time (Hours)	**13:10**	**17:50**	**26:20**	**12:20**	**69:60**

Data collection and data analysis did not occur simultaneously. Since theory is referenced throughout in abductive studies, the researcher requires periods of reflection to perform coding, make conjectures, reformulate the research question and conceptual framework, and match previously unexplored theory (Alvesson, 2011; Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011; Dubois & Gadde, 2014). The interviews were conducted in two tranches: between November 2015 and January 2016, and between 08 April 2016 and 22 December 2016. The clustering of interviews was determined by factors such as: travel distance, location, proximity of respondents, analysis and reflection time, advent of the grape harvest (between mid-January 2016 and end-March 2016), and multiple interviews in the same organisation or wine area. Re-direction of sampling during periods of reflection was facilitated by accessing field notes, memoing and *in vivo* conceptual maps (Maxwell, 2005). Often during an interview, potentially interesting data would be stumbled upon or a theory or a loose conceptual model would be remembered and recorded. This creative process was further expanded by referencing theory and making *ex post facto* conjectures when doing initial coding.

The intended timeframe for data collection was open-ended and at this stage the issue of saturation, the optimal quantity of respondents required to produce a plausible theory (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006), rose to the fore. In grounded theory studies, the threshold is often the subjectively estimated time beyond which new data would not make any further significant contribution towards the study or plausibility of the theory (Gioia et al., 2013; Guest et al., 2006; Ness & Fusch, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). While estimations have been made based on the methodology, for example 25-30 interviews for a grounded study (Creswell, 2014; Guest et al., 2006), there is no universal yardstick to determine at what point a researcher should stop collecting data. Eventually it was decided that maximum variation within the field would serve as the yardstick and since there was sufficient diversity of and within informant groups, it was estimated that the sample contained sufficient heterogeneity. Furthermore, since the quantity

of interviews required for similar studies had been well exceeded, it was felt that new data would not yield further improvement to the plausibility of the study and that the boundaries around the case were relatively sharp.

3.3.2.2 Primary data collection protocols and instruments

The primary research instrument used to gather empirical material in this study was the semi-structured interview. Two practices were crucial in this regard: The evolution of a suitable protocol that encouraged the interviewee to be comfortable enough to reveal authentic responses and, secondly, an effective instrument such as an interview guideline skilfully managed in each interview moment (Alvesson, 2011). Since the findings of a study are a construction of the research process, interviews are a good way to a co-construct knowledge about the phenomena between the researcher and the informant as knowledge agents (Alvesson, 2011; Schwandt, 1994). This means that there is a transactional interaction between the researcher and the social world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Gergen & Gergen, 2003; Karo-Ljungberg, 2008). Yin's (2018) case study protocol was drawn on to satisfy the needs of the central lines of inquiry while posing friendly, nonthreatening, but also relevant questions. Interviews were therefore qualitative, semi-structured, and narrative allowing both researcher and respondent opportunities for engaged meaning-making conversations (Alvesson, 2011; Gioia et al., 2013). To facilitate open and frank discussion, the outline of the study was described in broad terms, and the nature of informed consent and request to record the interview were made clear upfront.

After studying the literature surrounding the key phenomenon and collecting exploratory archival data, an initial interview guideline was constructed and submitted together with the research proposal and consent form for ethical clearance. This initial guideline, shown in **Addendum A** was expected to transition throughout the course of data collection. Initially, it

was a tight and structured format and consisted of general questions intended to elicit rich narratives of practice. The answers to these general questions often involved long narratives that took up a substantial part of the interview. This was followed by more specific, flexible, and open-ended questions intended to understand opinions, aspirations, and practices related to the research phenomena. However, as the study progressed the format became more exploratory in that it tried to create more interactivity with informants to elicit deeper, richer narratives about the aspects of the organisational lives of informants that were most interesting to explore (Alvesson, 2011). Robust conversations, amounting to "active interviewing" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997), encouraged both researcher and informant to express opinions. In this way, many theoretical discoveries were made.

Each interview typically lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, (range was 00:31 to 01:37) and overall, 69:46 hours of audio data was captured. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. Interviews were, where possible, conducted in the respondent's place of work, which provided opportunities for contextualising responses and directly observe behaviour, especially material practices, equipment, and wines. On multiple occasions when interviews involved wine producers, the interview would be conducted while tasting through their range of wines. This was a rich source of data on material and discursive practices, such as winemaking, viticulture, labelling, marketing, and so forth. For example, on one occasion a prior interviewee together with his family appeared at the winery of a respondent to drop off some equipment. In one conversation, they related how they met for an early morning *braai* i.e., barbeque every week to discuss their winemaking.

3.3.2.3 Secondary data collection and instruments

A relatively substantial amount of secondary data was collected in this study. Apart from direct observations and field notes captured during interviews, these consisted of archival data and

participant observations. Archival data provided a rich source of empirical material and consisted mainly of relevant media articles, social media data and legal documents available online. This material was captured in pdf via the NVivo 12 NCapture tool and 173 were selected for final inclusion (see **Table 3.3** for further details). Archival data collection began as early as proposal generation and continued throughout the data collection phase into data analysis, providing an outsider perspective when generating findings to corroborate or question insider accounts of what happened (Yin, 2014). Social media feeds served as a rich source to find media articles, as well as providing short quotes, images, and videos which could be themed. Overall, 10 social media streams from Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube comprising 6912 posts were downloaded and prospected for relevant data. Websites of members of the SIP, the Zoo Biscuits, and CVC were also used as sources of data and assisted corroborating and adding richness to the interview data.

Participant observation refers to attending events, expos, tastings, or seminars taking an active role in engaging with actors in the context (Yin, 2014). In doing so, rich discursive and material practices were observed and often conversations with field informants provided novel insights which could be explored further. The Cape Wine expo in September 2015 during which the existence of the Zoo Biscuits and the CVC became apparent, provided a wealth of empirical material. Furthermore, two workshops on old vineyards in December 2015 and August 2016 were attended, recorded, and transcribed, and used as background data. During the data collection period two SIP public events were also attended, and wine bars where relevant producers, buyers, and other field actors could be found were sought out and frequented. Short vignettes were written which corroborated both insider and media accounts of such events. Such participation also provided opportunities to encounter potential respondents for the research, and subsequently several respondents were solicited to act as informants from such events.

3.3.3 Data analysis

3.3.3.1 Categorising and connecting moves

Two sets of moves took place during data analysis: categorising and connecting moves (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Grodal et al., 2020; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). Categories are buckets of similar concepts, attributes or constructs that are generated through fracturing the data by arranging it into themes or concepts by exploring similarities and differences (Gioia et al., 2013; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). Categorising typically occurs during coding and moves informant centred raw data to informant centred concepts (Gioia et al., 2013). Connecting moves involved relating categories to each other, to the overall context and to extant theory (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Gioia et al., 2013; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). The primary output of this method is to generate a static data structure and then transition that static data structure through further abduction and abstraction into a theory (Gioia et al., 2013; Gioia & Chittipedi, 1991).

A three-tier coding protocol was used to progressively graduate empirical material to higher levels of abstraction; that is from informant-centred first order concepts, into researcher-centred second order dimensions, and then into third order constructs and core phenomena (Eisenhardt et al., 2016; Gioia et al., 2013; Langley & Abdallah, 2011). I conducted all interviews in the study, and the recordings were saved to their unique respondent numbers and loaded onto NVivo 12 software. All interviews, including secondary data interviews (3), were transcribed verbatim, 41 personally and 33 by professional transcribers, under non-disclosure. All audio files were listened to against the transcripts again to ensure accuracy of the transcription and to revise field notes, concept maps, and memos made during the interview process. Each transcript was screened to ensure that informants could not be identified before they were loaded onto NVivo12 for coding, which occurred while the audio was listened to

again. An hour-long interview typically produced between 20-25 pages of text depending on the pace of the interview. Archival data was progressively added and treated the same as interview data in coding.

The initial stages of coding involved relying on the research question to break down the data and then teasing out, expanding, and proliferating the fragments to generate a diverse collection of around 2500 *in vivo* code fragments. In addition, data which did not have bearing on the theory but was useful for developing the narrative of the case was separated out and coded according to timeframe and an informant's sample group. To raise first order codes to second order dimensions, process coding, which uses verbs or gerunds to identify researcher-centred themes was used (Charmaz, 2008; Saldaña, 2013; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Through several rounds of refinement, to understand similarities and differences, dimensions began to emerge. Over 55 attributes/ dimensions were identified. A further examination of all the codes and attributes at this stage revealed that, in fact, two forms of work, authenticity work and authentication work performed the construction of authenticity and the creation of the market. The data was therefore merged again and split into these two broad phenomena and a process of axial coding ensued, reducing the original first order codes to 42 consisting of between 20 and 30 fragments each. A third and fourth refinement of the data, dropped an additional 13 first order concepts, leaving 637 fragments to construct the first order. This produced 14 second order attributes (later refined to 12) which stacked into the two phenomena of authenticity work and authentication work.

The next step was to refine the second order dimensions and raise these to third order constructs, and to evaluate whether these could plausibly have performed the two phenomena in question. The data was downloaded to an Excel file and the most pertinent fragments were flagged as sample quotes. At this stage it was important to ensure that there was sufficient

diversity and saturation in the logic of the data structure, so that fragments were not simply anecdotal statements but were adequately triangulated (Corley & Gioa, 2011). After reviewing literature on authenticity work and authentication (Leigh et al., 2006; Peterson, 2005), it became apparent that authenticity work was performed primarily by the SIP and its members and that all other market actors played a role in collectively authenticating their clams, performances and tethering thereof. This, in turn, raised the concept of meta-organisations as actors engaged in business collective action through authenticity work and authentication. At the same time data that had been flagged as context data was separated into categories to perform the narrative account of the context and refine the boundaries of the case (Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Yin, 2014). In this way, it was possible to ground the dimensions in the context (Yin, 2014) and connect dimensions to each other to form constructs.

3.3.3.2 Incorporating secondary data in analysis

Abductive research methods use incomplete or taken-for-granted theory as a starting point and then elaborates thereon by employing recursive cycles of exploration and exploitation (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012; Fisher & Aguinis, 2017; Bamberger, 2018). Three abductive techniques were employed to analyse the empirical material, namely: defamiliarizing, revisiting and casing (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Defamiliarizing refers to constantly varying distance to theoretical and informant conceptualisations of phenomena, while revisiting involved constantly going back and forth between various empirical data sources such as transcriptions, field notes, archival material, concept maps, and observations. Casing occurred when repeated conjectures were made to explore theoretical possibilities that could plausibly claimed from the empirical evidence. The use of these analytical techniques is explained in the subsequent section and summarised in **Table 3.3.** according to three categories of empirical material: archival, interview and ethnography.

Table 3.3: Empirical material usage in analysis

Data sources	No	Use in analysis
Archival material (173 news, reports, online media, regulations and statistics)		- Construct timeline of key events before 2010 and 2010 - 2016. - Define case boundaries and write case story. - Corroborate informant accounts. - Develop constructs and data structure. - Compile descriptive statistics. Verify technical / factual material.
ADN - 118 News, blogs, magazines: 27 mainstream news and opinion pieces e.g., Business Day, Time Magazine, Forbes, Fin24 etc; 46 wine blogs e.g., Wine Anorak; 24 wine industry magazine articles e.g., The Drinks Business; 7 archival secondary written interviews e.g., Craig Hawkins, 1 podcast interview with Eben Sadie (01:10:51 hrs transcribed and coded; 13 YouTube and Vimeo videos (01:00:28 hrs).	**118**	
AVM - 22 Websites and social media feeds: 12 websites e.g., Swartland Independent Producers,; 10 social media feeds (6973 posts). **3 Facebook**: e.g., The Swartland Revolution (730 posts) **5 Twitter** e.g., @SwartlandRev (1554 posts), **2 Instagram** e.g., @Swartlandindependentproducers (445 posts).	**22**	
ALS –27 Legislation, standards and tenders: 4 Acts of parliament e.g., Liquor Products Act 60 of 1989; 6 government notices e.g., GN813/ 2006, 4 Vinmonopolet tender documents 201509002-005; 4 Standards documents e.g., SIP values; 9 statistical sources e.g., VinPro Cost Guides 2011 – 2017, 6 published wine industry books e.g., Goode & Harrop (2011).	**33**	
Semi-structured interview data (71 face-to-face interviews with market actors in 2 rounds) 2 rounds of interviews (November 2015 – January 2016; April – December 2016) and several iterations of coding. - **First round (2015 – 2016)** - 30 interviews: 16 with meta-organisational members (SIP, CVC and Zoo Biscuits) and 14 other market actors (policymakers, non-SIP Swartland producers, buyers, suppliers, competitors and media) - **Second round (2016)** – 41 interviews : 21 with meta-organisation members (SIP, CVC and Zoo Biscuits) and 20 other market actors (policymakers, non-SIP Swartland producers, buyers, suppliers , competitors and media)	**71**	- Capture and analyse accounts by SIP meta-organisation and other market actors. - Augment and corroborate archival material to theorise.
Ethnography (57 analytical memos, concept maps and observations)		- Corroborate archival material. - Observe informant practices in setting. - Aid coding and brainstorm construct relationships. - Validate findings.
EAM - 49 Analytical memos and concept maps: Handwritten and graphically rendered memos sorted into 4 categories – EAMCTL - case timelines; EAMDSD - data structure; EAMCAF- collective action framing and market creation; and EAMCFD - conceptual framework development.	**49**	
EPO - 8 Participant observation and peer checks: 2 transcribed event participation recordings e.g., Ex Animo address regarding grower sustainability (00:49:19 hrs); 1 informal conversation with informants at a wine bar (00:09:20 hrs), 1 member check interview recorded and transcribed (00:44:59 hrs), 1 peer review (2 pages); 2 events e.g., Cape Wine 2015 (2 pages).	**8**	

Employing a credential counting protocol in reporting qualitative data usage (Hannah & Lautsch, 2011), a significant body of secondary data were employed in generating, revising, and corroborating findings. Archival empirical material was generated by outside sources (Saunders et al., 2009) and included: 1) news articles, wine blogs, interviews, and videos, 2) websites and social media feeds, 3) legal and standard-setting documents, industry statistics and wine books. Researcher generated ethnographic impressions of the cultural landscape *in vivo* and *ex post facto* strengthened the case and findings narratives and included: 1) analytical memos and concept maps drawn from transcriptions and field notes, and 2) participant observational notes and member checks. In the following passages the use of this data in relation to the primary data in the study are further explained and illustrated.

During data collection, archival empirical material was used to identify informants for maximum variation, collect exploratory contextual data and prospect for additional media articles. During data analysis, they were used in three ways. First, they were critical in constructing the boundaries of the case i.e., what this was a “case of” (Flyvberg, 2005), temporally bracketing the sequence of key events during the period (Langley, 1999) and writing the case narrative (Yin, 2014). For instance, the government notices to amend the Liquor Products Act in 2006 and 2015 to allow for single vineyards to be registered and alternative wine styles respectively were identified as significant milestones. Second, they were utilised in conjunction with primary data to develop constructs, ultimately producing the data structures contained in the finding chapters. Of the 637 sample fragments selected to write the findings narrative and compile sample quotes, 72 were drawn from news media (ADN in **Table 3.3**.). As mentioned, this enriched the empirical material with outsider accounts to improve the robustness, generalisability, and plausibility of the emergent theory.

Third, archival material corroborated informant accounts. Several respondents for instance

related how the tenders issued by the Norwegian liquor monopoly had created a market for SIP producers while others claimed it also excluded non-SIP Swartland wine producers from market access. The tender documents clearly indicated that the SIP seal was a central criterion applied in awarding the tender to Swartland origin wines, corroborating informants' versions of events. Furthermore, archival data often helped to triangulate informants' own and others' interview data as well as media accounts. This aided the inductive development of concepts. For example, in the first order concept of i*ntegrating pragmatism and belief*, one commentator theorised that pursuing authenticity involved balancing purity and perfection. In a video interview a SIP member related how, "Our wines will be far from perfect, but they will be real." (ADNV10). Additionally, during both a face-to-face and a secondary video interview another SIP member related how their wines were not necessarily technically well-made wines but were more authentic. Fourth, industry statistics, legal documents and published books on the wine field provided a rich source of technical information that enabled economic realities and concepts such authentic wine and natural wine be fully understood.

The archival data was therefore woven into the primary data during coding. Primary data performed two main functions. First, it facilitated the incorporation of two broad sets of market actors' perspectives into the case narrative and the data structures contained in **Figure 4.1.** and **Figure 5.1**: The SIP performing authenticity work and other market actors involved in authentication work. This enabled the tensions and relationships between groups of similar actors in the context to be captured, analysed, and compared. Second, in so doing, it surfaced framing contests, negotiations, and agreements over meanings of authenticity in the market, allowing for the authenticity generation and market creation process to reveal itself. To improve the parsimony of the constructs and data structures, the various data elements (transcripts, coding, field notes, memos, archival material, and observations) were constantly revisited and refined as the analytical process developed. In revisiting the data, constant

evolution of the research question, extant theory referenced, and case boundaries occurred.

In addition to identifying and recruiting further respondents through snowballing in sampling, ethnographic data were utilised in several ways in analysis. First, field notes were recorded during interviews, key concepts flagged for further exploration, and reported and observed practices were captured. Additionally, after recording had been stopped further conversations often occurred and these were manually added to the field notes. During transcription and coding, these notes were constantly accessed, playing a central role in generating first order concepts and second order dimensions. Second, drafting analytical memos and concept maps were useful connecting techniques to brainstorm relationships between dimensions and constructs in comparison to theory, and so abstract the theory further. To summarise each interview, overall impressions were written at the end of field notes to serve as analytical memos. The purpose of these vignettes was to create an extended self-dialogue and so define subtexts or implicit concepts in the data to abstract further away from informants' voices (Charmaz, 1990). These were then rendered to a series of approximately 50 concept maps i.e., graphical tools for organising concepts, relating them to each other and hierarchically sorting them from micro to macro (Maxwell, 2005; Novak, 1998; Kinchin, Streatfield & Hay, 2010). This facilitated repeated theory comparison to explore possible conceptual configurations allowing defamiliarization with extant theory and enabling the data to be "cased" (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Sample concept maps are contained in **Addendums D** and **E**.

Third, to improve ecological validity, grasp the variety of practices employed and understand relationships between informants, interactions in the field were observed by notetaking, recording, and transcribing accounts of expos, events, and seminars. These were used as references to compare to interview and archival data. Often, media accounts, photographs, and videos of participation in the same events served to further refine researcher-generated

impressions thereof. Two instances of member checking proved valuable. The first, occurred at the end of data collection when coding had commenced to check initial coding of concepts. The second occurred during write up when respondents were interviewed again together with colleagues who could validate significant aspects of the coding employed as well as the overall context.

3.3.3.3 Theory elaboration

Theory elaboration is abductive by nature and rooted in grounded theory through the principle of constant comparison (Arino et al., 2016; Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). Some of the most prescient theories in MOS have emerged through theory elaboration (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). Prescience in theory development is the "process of discerning or anticipating what we need to know and influencing the intellectual framing and dialogue about what we need to know" (Corley & Gioa, 2011, p. 13). Arguably, a good example of theory elaboration using similar methods is Gioia and Chittipedi's (1991) holistic, non-linear case study employing a three-tier categorising protocol to elaborate on pre-existing sensemaking theory and so improve its construct validity (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017).

Once the data structure was complete, all dimensions, constructs and phenomena were abductively contrasted and related to each other to explore any further significant differences, similarities, or relationships across categories and levels (Bacharach, 1989; Fisher & Aguinis, 2017; Grodal et al., 2020; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). The intention was to ensure construct validity, which was guided by the research question (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). All sampled fragments, concepts, dimensions, and constructs were reviewed again, and a significant amount of further splitting and merging occurred (Grodal et al., 2020). Subsequently, three theory elaboration tactics were employed to improve the overall validity (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). Firstly, a contrastive tactic was used to improve logical and empirical adequacy of prior

theories by examining them on a different level of analysis; in this instance on meso and meta levels (Bamberger, 2019). Second, a construct specification tactic was used to identify and define new constructs, thereby improving the construct validity and scope of phenomena, making them more clearly distinguishable from each other. Here the study defined new constructs underpinning authenticity work and authentication work. Thirdly, a relationship structuring tactic involved elaborating on previously understudied theoretical relationships between constructs to improve the explanatory and predictive adequacy of the theory (Fisher & Aguinis, 2017). Here, for example, the relationships accounted for the interplay between actors performing authentication and authenticity work in constructing the market for the SIP were explored.

An important discovery worth highlighting involved the realisation that the concepts, dimensions and constructs of authenticity and authentication work seemed to correspond with micro, organisational, and meso-framing actions respectively (Benford & Snow, 2000; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020). This would imply that authenticity and authentication work were higher level or meta-framing actions involved in strategically constructing the field-level meaning of authenticity (Benford & Snow, 2000; Kaplan, 2008). This led to a chain of theoretical realisations including that authenticity work strategically justified the authenticity of the SIP and that authentication work validated it. Additionally, the meso-framing actions stacked into two groups, across these phenomena: those involving subjective actions related to beliefs and emotions (hot authenticity) and those declaring objectively orientated knowledge (cool authenticity) (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Selwyn, 1996). The realisation facilitated further processes of abstraction and comparison that ultimately shaped the final theory.

3.4 Validity and ethical concerns

Validity in qualitative research refers to the decisions that were taken to ensure the quality and

rigor of the study and that the findings are not wrong or inauthentic (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Maxwell, 2005). Two sets of validity criteria informed decisions throughout the study to address limitations common to qualitative case study and abductive theory elaboration research designs and improve the quality of emerging theory.

3.4.1 Qualitative research validity criteria

There are numerous validity criteria that pervade the literature devoted to qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2014; Eisenhardt, 1989; Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Maxwell, 2005; Yin, 2014). A common critique levied against such criteria is that they attempt refashion positivist or deductive evaluation criteria through measures such as trustworthiness (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Yin, 2014) and apply them to non-linear or single case study research (Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Siggelkow, 2007). The two most important validity criteria applicable to the type of case study design employed in this study are the presentation of the case study and its relation to theoretical concepts, and methodological transparency (Dubois & Gadde, 2014). In terms of the former, care was taken in writing up the narrative account of the case to ensure that it aligned and reinforced the description of the constructs, and in terms of the latter, as mentioned above, a detailed exposition of the research process was provided.

Nonetheless, procedures appropriate to constructivist qualitative validity criteria were used as a basis to guide the study (Creswell & Miller, 2000), namely: searching for disconfirming evidence, and providing thick, rich description. Searching for disconfirming evidence is a common feature of abductive studies because, as indicated above, the researcher actively searches for novelty, anomalies, and partially explained phenomena to make discoveries and drive the research in a new direction (Folger & Stein, 2017). Through the process of exploratory and exploitative abduction, ill-fitting data and theory are often uncovered and, in this case, often lead to jettisoning or modifying the working conceptual model. An extreme example of

this occurred prior to the deconstructing phase of the research, where the coding protocol was abandoned and restarted because patterns in the data did not fit institutional work. This is not to say that there was no evidence to support its application, but a deconstruction of the authenticity phenomenon into authentication work and authenticity work seemed like a better fitting and more plausible explanation of what was occurring in the context. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, there is potential to further explore how the interaction between institutional work and these phenomena could be further strengthened.

Spending extended time in the field had several advantages, the most important of which was that it surfaced evidence that may have remained hidden if the field was only temporarily or sporadically interacted with (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In this way it was possible to solidify evidence through repeated engagement, build trust with people in the field, and capture a greater plurality of voices (and therefore a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of informants). As emphasised in the next chapter, one of the aims in presenting the findings was to provide a detailed account that would allow the reader to vividly experience the world in which the phenomena occurred and so improve the persuasive power of the research (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). However, a common challenge with deep-probing case studies is balancing selectivity and parsimony with the provision of thick description (Dubois & Gadde, 2014). On the one hand, overly descriptive findings (loose approaches) create the impression that "anything goes" while overly selective (tight approaches) may be beset with bias (Miles & Huberman, 1994). One way in which it was possible to strike such a balance was to constantly revisit the data and ask, "what is this a case of?"

3.4.2 Abductive case study validity criteria

The knowledge claims made by abductive research differs in strength from purely inductive and deductive studies (Bamberger, 2019; Folger & Stein, 2017). Deductive studies provide

certainty when testing theory by confirming that – based on the evidence – the theory must be true. Inductive theorising provides probable explanations making claims that the theory is probably true based on the evidence, while abductive studies aim at discovery and generating plausible conjectural explanations of the construction and interaction of phenomena in the context (Bamberger, 2018; Folger & Stein, 2017). Abductive studies provide plausible "first suggestions", claiming merely to suspect that based on observations and matching theory to empirical findings, the argument is worthy of further exploration (Arino et al., 2016; Bamberger, 2018; Folger & Stein, 2017). However, by using a systematic combining approach that strongly tended towards induction and emulating methods followed in similar studies in MOS (Gioia, & Chittipedi,1991), this thesis not only provides a plausible but also arguably a probable explanation of the construction and relationships between phenomena in the case.

In this regard, three important criteria for abductive validity outlined in the literature are replicability, reflexivity, and methodological transparency (Aguinis & Solarino, 2019; Bamberger, 2019; Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013). Some abductive scholars suggest that replicability is an important means to improve the internal validity (ruling out alternative explanations) and generalisability of a study (the degree to which the constructs are portable to other contexts) (Aguinis & Solarino, 2019; Bamberger, 2019; Creswell & Miller, 2000). However, proponents of the non-linear, holistic case study designs, critique the criterion of replicability, because it imposes postpositivist assumptions on deep-probing, non-linear, abductive case studies (Dubois & Gadde, 2014). Holistic cases are entirely portable to other contexts if they generate concepts that are derived from constant and sophisticated comparison to literature (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Gioia et al., 2013). In this study, sampling was used to generate two types of replications. Firstly, empirical replication where instances were identified in which similar or dissimilar patterns emerged, using the same methods in a different population (Aguinis & Solarino, 2019; Bamberger,

2018). Secondly, conceptual replication was accomplished in instances where similar or dissimilar patterns were identified within the same population.

By using heterogenous sampling focused on maximum variation, new sub-groups of market actors, such as regulators, the Zoo Biscuits, and the CVC, were discovered, often pushing the study into new directions. In addition, constant comparison with literature by using exploratory abduction (conceptual replication) to search for patterns in the data or using exploitative abduction (empirical replication) after stumbling on patterns in the data to justify the conceptual framework, provided adequate replication to establish validity (Bamberger, 2018). Such practices mimic experiments and were greatly enabled in this study through, for example, constantly performing conceptual mapping to produce plausible conjectures in relation to data and theory.

Following on from this, reflexivity is especially relevant to abductive studies (Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013) and refers to revealing subjective criteria used for making decisions during the research process (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013). Flexibility was hardwired into the study so that surprises in the data, that challenged the evolving research question and conceptual framework, could be brought to life in the theory (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). Reflexivity is strongly linked to methodological transparency (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Dubois & Gadde, 2014) and in this study, as outlined above, special care was taken to detail how research decisions were taken throughout the research process.

3.4.3 Ethical matters

The ethics of the research design concerns avoiding embarrassment, harm, or any material disadvantage to respondents (Saunders et al., 2009). A strong emphasis on the appropriateness towards rights of the respondents governed the interview protocol and each respondent provided

informed consent, meaning consent was given freely and was open to be withdrawn at any time. Additionally, great care was taken to ensure that all subjects were fully informed before completing their interviews (Saunders et al., 2009; Yin, 2014). Special attention was paid to ensure that the privacy and confidentiality of informants were protected. The research proposal together with the interview guideline and copy of the consent form was submitted to the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business Ethics in Research committee prior to embarking on research and approval was granted in July 2015.

Informants were mostly contacted via email or phone call. In the case that an informal interaction resulted in an agreement to participate as an informant (for example, during participant observation), respondents were still contacted again formally to allow further time to opt out. This only occurred in one instance. During this initial contact the purpose and background of the research was transparently explained. Since I was involved in the field in a variety of roles, many of the respondents were known to me. Although, this provided an advantage in identifying the appropriate respondents, extra caution was taken to ensure that the trust relationship was maintained. Before the interview the purpose of the research was explained and, where possible, why they had been selected for inclusion in the study. I explained the ethical code that I was bound by and recorded their consent to record the interview both beforehand and formally once recording commenced.

Special care was taken to ensure that respondents felt comfortable to share delicate subject matter and it was agreed in all cases that if they did not wish to be quoted during a line of questioning, they could simply state that it was “off the record”. This occurred regularly. In such a case either the recording was paused, or the passage was flagged during transcription and coding and only used for background purposes or deleted. Interviews were recorded on an iPad and loaded directly onto a cloud-based platform, which had the advantage of timestamping

the interview. Each respondent was assigned a unique number to identify them. After the interview, respondents were asked to sign the consent form and indicate by ticking the appropriate field or filling in the open field where they could further specify the level of anonymity and confidentiality they required. These consent forms were then filed together with the field notes. In addition, when loading transcripts onto NVivo 12, references to names of respondent organisations were suppressed to reflect their unique respondent numbers.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has explained how systematic combining was used as the overarching blueprint to develop a plausible and arguably probable theory based on qualitative empirical material drawn from the context and developed through constant comparison to extant theory through several abductive cycles (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014; Mantere & Ketokivi, 2013; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). The chapter began by explaining what characterises abductive research and made it an appropriate approach in this study. Next, the general orientation that underpinned this research design was unpacked. The first was abductive theory elaboration, which means that the aim was to extend current theorising about the nature and interaction of relatively poorly understood and controversial phenomena (Bamberger, 2018; Fisher & Aguinis, 2017; Folger & Stein, 2017)). This was achieved by weaving together prior and novel empirically derived theories in several non-linear abductive cycles, using matching and redirection to evolve empirical elements such as the research question, boundaries of the case, and conceptual framework (Dubois & Gadde, 2002, 2014).

To establish methodological transparency and highlight the rigor and scope of the study between data collection, analysis, and theory, the details of the research design were then unpacked. The challenge with non-linear research designs is that it is often difficult to describe them in a linear fashion that makes processes easier for the reader to follow (Alvesson &

Kärreman, 2007; Dubois & Gadde, 2014). As a means of addressing this challenge, four turning points or defining moments occurring during in data collection and data analysis to activate reformulation of central elements of the study through matching and redirection, was outlined. (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). We then explained the primary turning points in generating, expanding, contrasting, and stabilising the data structure.

The data collection and data analysis process were then explained in greater detail and included descriptions of the decisions taken in sampling, interviewing, and collecting secondary data as well as coding, categorising, and connecting protocols and an explanation of how the theory was finally built. Two validity criteria employed to manage the quality of the study were described in terms of qualitative research and abductive theory elaboration. In each instance, the measures used throughout the research process to conform to these criteria were highlighted, followed by relating the ethical measures grounded in the research method to avoid embarrassment, harm, or any material disadvantage to respondents.

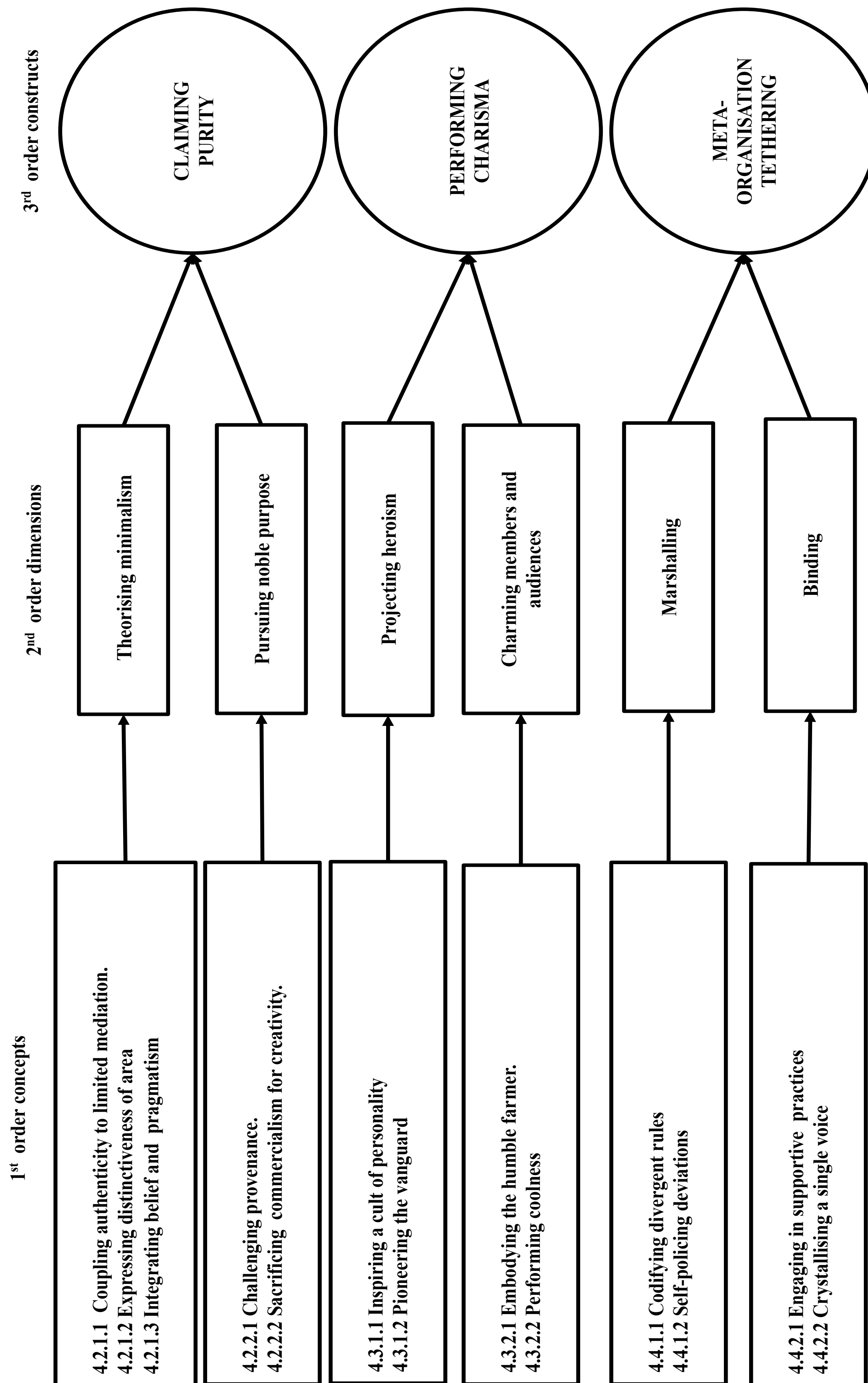
Chapter 4 – Findings on authenticity work

4.1 Introduction

This chapter and the chapter following explain the findings of the study. The reasons for and processes by which authenticity was constructed for the SIP between 2010 and 2016 are unpacked, to answer the research question of *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets?* Strategic efforts by the SIP in working up, justifying, and attempting to render themselves credibly real, true, and genuine to establish a market for themselves is referred to as *authenticity work*. *Authentication work*, by contrast, refers to collective strategic efforts performed by many other market actors (critics, competing organisations and meta-organisations, regulators, suppliers, and so forth) working on validating and attributing authenticity to the SIP's practices and re-interpreting its field level meaning.

Analytical categories derived through data analysis correspond with the transition from micro-framing (concepts) to organisational framing (dimensions), and into meso-frames (constructs) (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gioia et al., 2013). Authenticity work involved three meso-framing efforts, namely *claiming purity*, *performing charisma* and *meta-organisational tethering*. Claiming purity comprised SIP members' assertions and invocations that their practices were unmediated through theorising minimalism and pursuing noble purpose. Performing charisma involved purposive theatrical displays to appear authentic and inspire devotion amongst SIP members and market audiences by projecting heroism and charming members and market audiences. Meta-organisational tethering encompassed meta-work performed by the SIP business association to govern the parameters of what could pass as authentic by marshalling members through collective and externally credible codes, and binding members through relational controls (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Leibel et al., 2018; Menchik, 2019). The full data structure in **Figure 4.1** is supported by additional sample quotes in **Addendum B.**

Figure 4.1: Data structure for authenticity work



4.2 Claiming purity

Claiming purity comprised a bundle of assertions that positioned organisational practices as unmediated, unadulterated, inartificial, and untainted. Purity is a socially constructed and often invented ideal (Beverland, 2005; Ulin, 1995). What is pure in one time and space may be considered impure in another (Douglas, 1966). Claiming purity involved strategic work, and SIP members claimed purity by working up authenticity through two framing efforts, namely *theorising minimalism* and *pursuing noble purpose*. Theorising minimalism involved efforts by SIP members to conceptualise and configure practices conveying a "hands-off" approach to making wine and a "hands-on" approach attending to vineyards. Pursuing noble purpose comprised assertions intended to dispel perceptions of self-interest by making SIP members' actions seem virtuous and motivated by overarching moral values central to the Swartland and human existence.

4.2.1 Theorising minimalism

Even though SIP guidelines informed the cellar and vineyard practices of SIP members, these practices were often connected to self-generated conceptions framing the meaning of minimal intervention. One producer suggested that "what they were doing stemmed from something that was very simple and, in a sense, very, very pure" (SWSI07). In describing their wine production approach another SIP producer argued:

> I think it's a philosophical approach, it's a non-interventionist approach…It's all about picking earlier, lower alcohol wines, no new oak whatsoever, no yeast, no enzymes, nothing added and as little as possible taken away. So, very light filtering as well. It's all a natural approach. Our sulphur regimes are also quite low, on average less than half of what the norm is. It's very much within the Swartland natural wine, authentic wine, Swartland Independent movement. (SWSI02)

SIP producers further clarified their authentic winemaking practices as follows: "The general rule is respect for the grapes, respect for the vineyards, try and be as involved in your vineyards

as much as possible and then in the cellar, let the grapes do the talking" (SWSI06). This often meant having to, "throw the textbooks out and do things I was told were not the right things to do a lot of the time" (SWSI07). Three dimensions explained and illustrated below underpin theorising minimalism as a meso-framing of authenticity, namely *coupling authenticity to limited mediation* and *expressing distinctiveness of the area*. Coupling authenticity to limited mediation included assertions that winemaking practices were authentic when they were allowed to unfold with limited human involvement. The ideal of expressing the distinctiveness of the area in the wines was also framed as a marker of purity and, therefore, authenticity. The dilemma of balancing belief and pragmatism involved SIP producers confronting the challenge of compromising on the principles of low intervention in periods of high risk or pursuing their own beliefs regardless thereof.

4.2.1.1 Coupling authenticity to limited mediation

Coupling authenticity to limited mediation meant that the authentic winemaker needed to restrict any interference or manipulations in the natural transition from grape to wine and therefore preserve its integrity. Naturalness is an authentic ideal claiming nature as pure, clean, and healthy (Weber et al., 2008). As one producer further remarked, "It was something about, in almost all cases, just being respectful…It's a bit clichéd, but really guiding the grape to the bottle kind of thing" (SWSI13). Naturalness is often regarded as an invention or fabrication whereby the criteria of authenticity are defined in unmediated terms (Ulin, 2002). Pine and Gilmore (2007) contend that naturalness is a key dimension of the strategies that organisations use to render authenticity in a market. Most SIP producers did not claim to make natural wine that implied no or very little intervention, preferring the term authentic wine: "Let's call it low, minimal intervention rather than natural because all wine is natural" (FAMK03).

A central feature of claiming purity was, "just being honest with the way you make wine and

that nothing is artificial about the wine. Why put wood into the wine? ... To change the flavour? Why manipulate them? Just leave them to be the way they are, fresh and clean" (SWSI05). Another SIP member explained their approach to limiting their intervention: "I think we're trying to do something authentic. I'm not sure if it is authentic or not, but we're trying to farm honestly" (SWSI03). One producer installed their own specialised, antique printing press to emboss wine labels without using ink to further limit adulteration: "The whole methodology or the thinking behind it was the fact that it was supposed to be on a mountain and not be affected" (FAMK03). Several SIP members had prior experience making wine in larger wine businesses where risk and deviation from standardised flavour profiles and winemaking methods were not tolerated. Respondents felt this stripped the wine of individuality. Similarly, they also lamented the practices of many mainstream producers who would make wines to please critics or wine competition judges thereby rendering them less authentic**.** Honesty was also linked to not cutting corners since this was considered one of the primary contributors to impurity and inauthenticity. A respondent describes this dilemma as follows:

> Authentic wine is a winemaker believing that he has farmed the best that he can. He has the best grape in that best soil. He hasn't compromised in any department, and he has made a wine that he thinks is representative of the grape and that site in the best possible way and it is something that he is absolutely proud to sell, drink and promote…and if he doesn't sell it, he will drink it. He has absolutely no reservations. (FAMK15)

Ultimately, limiting mediation was summarised by a SIP producer as: "It's having no chains around your head, thinking beyond that and thinking that you can actually do justice to grapes and deliver something that is on the edge of perception, on the edge of what you can imagine" (SWSI09). Therefore, by engaging in winemaking practices limiting artificial intervention SIP producers hoped to live out their ideals of producing an authentic wine.

4.2.1.2 Expressing the distinctiveness of the area

Several SIP producers claimed that the purpose of authentic winemaking was to showcase the

inherent characteristics of the Swartland, including the people. The distinctiveness of the Swartland was encapsulated in the ideal of *Swartlandness* and symbolic representations of this concept were incorporated into the SIP logo (see **Figure 1.1** for a visual example):

> The SIP logo consists of: An old bush vine, representing the central role of old, dry-farmed, bush vines play in the region; Bushels of wheat, representing the farming history of the Swartland, the breadbasket of South Africa; Hands of the grower, representing the artisanal approach our members employ; Southern Cross Constellation, reflecting the greater environment our wines express thanks to our natural approach to viticulture and winemaking. (SIP values statement 2012)

Expressing the ruggedness of the Swartland wine area in the wild character of the flavour spectrum was an ideal of some SIP members: "We are trying for more refinement and purity because the Swartland is a wild place and we can make wild wine" (James, 2013). The purity of expression was regarded as a marker of terroir, a socially constructed concept describing geographical, social, and cultural influences on the character of the wines in a spatiotemporal context (Barham, 2003; Fourcade, 2012). Wine producers who were interviewed often spoke about the desire to express the typicality of the Swartland by doing as little as possible in making the wine:

> Authentic is that concept of terroir and by terroir I mean the winemaker, the vineyard and all those things, and the philosophy of making those grapes into a wine. And that authenticity is coupled to the fact that you don't add things to change that route from grape to bottle. You do as little as possible to change it. Obviously, within the parameters of you've still got to ferment the stuff. (SWSI09)

Another SIP producer summarises this chain of thought further: "Most of the winemakers will sum up their philosophy in that one sentence [keep it real]. They're just trying to keep it real. No bullshit. Let the place do the talking" (SWSI17). Associating purity and place with a taste memory by SIP producers was common currency and resembled a quest for distinctiveness or typicality which Vaudour describes as a "collective taste memory, which has matured over a long time, through several generations of people, and refers to geographically referenced products. It is the shared perception of how generations of people from a given place expect the wine should taste" (2002, p.120). In conjunction, the imposition of landscape on man rather

than man on the landscape was a popular purity claim by SIP members:

> What makes the whole place authentic as well is that the place has actually had an imprint on the people rather than the other way around…It has defined us a lot. It's shoe-horned us into things that we do in the cellar that are sort of born of this place. And then obviously that developed, a few years later on, into the Swartland Independent. (SWSI08)

Additionally, according to members of the SIP by allowing the area to dictate their practices, a unifying intrinsic thread spanned all their wines: "So really, the grapes are what lead rather than a set methodology. I think if you taste all our wines together there will be some kind of a common denominator where the wines will taste of where they come from" (SWSI06).

4.2.1.3 Integrating belief and pragmatism

SIP members were often caught in the paradox of purity, amounting to sacrificing "perfection for purity" (Fridjhon, 2014), which meant that the quality and consistency were often jeopardised when pursuing minimalism:

> Purity and perfection are not always a guarantee that deferring gratification will produce its own reward, but the converse is fraught with far greater risk. This is the paradox of purity, and it casts attention on the vinous equivalent of Cindy Crawford's birthmark. Apparent defects sometimes add value - the rejection of absolutely everything inconsistent with the ideal can undermine the ideal itself. (Fridjhon, 2014)

Making wine with less intervention was risky because it exposed vineyards to diseases such as mildew and wine to faults like bacterial spoilage. This was especially the case when SIP members realised making an authentic wine was "a lot of managing your risks" (SWSI15) and therefore had to balance conforming to their beliefs and practical constraints of producing marketable wine. Often SIP members sourced grapes from vineyards they had little farming control over, and even those with autonomy over their vineyard practices accepted that their wines would not reach the heights of some of their previous vintages when vintage conditions were difficult. This was simply part of the charms and trade-offs of purity: "We're also pragmatic about it, we're not natural for natural sake. We want to make great wine. So, we believe natural winemaking is a way to get to making great wine and every five or six vintages

we will" (SWSI03).

Coping with variable climatic conditions was a significant challenge for more natural wine inclined SIP members. Some members of the SIP claimed that they stuck to their principles regardless of how challenging and risky conditions became. Since wine is a natural product influenced by the natural environment, purity in wine implies a degree of vintage variation. A serious violation of this ethos of winemaking was to conclude that, "this is a difficult vintage, so I need to adjust my recipe. I need to add more acid, I need to add less of this, more of this, to get that same style" (ZB02). However, other members of the SIP especially when they had outside investors or owned land tended to adopt a more practical line, aiming for as little intervention as possible but adjusting the wine to counter-intuitively preserve the purity of the wine:

> I sometimes disagree with [how]…a lot of guys went for these incredibly unfiltered or unstabilized wines in order to showcase the terroir…to keep it as pure as possible, where I do not play around. I stabilise and I filter on my bigger ranges of wines because I want to show the terroir. Exactly that. If I do not do this, bacteria is [sic] going to take over and then in a year's time you get bottle-ageing characters and you're not showing your terroir. This is my fundamental difference with a lot of ways of thinking with the guys out there. (SWSI14)

These excerpts emphasise the spectrum inherent in making wine with limited intervention and how this frequently presented SIP members with a dilemma between their espoused beliefs and actions. It also provided the basis for many criticisms levied against SIP members as passing off faulty wines under the guise of naturalness; something the SIP as an organisation were compelled to eradicate to claim credibility.

4.2.2 Pursuing noble purpose

Pursuing noble purpose was a framing action employed to negate perceptions of self-interest, claiming practices as virtuous, transcendent, and motivated by overarching moral values, central to the Swartland's existence (see Beverland & Farrelly, 2010; Lehman et al., 2018;

Podolny & Hill-Popper, 2004). Such frames claimed purity because of their purposeful and noble nature. The term purposeful refers to pure determination accompanying: “a collective agitation that people have with established…institutions that don’t deliver” (FANM01). The SIP’s practices were claimed as noble because of their principled, selfless, courageous, and honourable nature intended to serve as mobilising frames for the district and broader wine field: “We’d also like the rest of South Africa to do it. That’s probably the kind of mindset that we have and that’s basically the principles that we’re operating by” (SWSI06). The noble purpose of many of the SIP members was captured in the manifesto announced at the first Swartland Revolution in 2010:

> For the forum to survive it would have to enshrine individuality, commitment and passion. Its rules must ensure that these key elements are not compromised. Even when the children of those making wine here today are working in the Swartland’s cellars, and when the young vineyards planted since the millennium have become the old vines whose very existence speaks of the prescience of those who planted them and the wisdom of the Independents who saved the Swartland from the imperialism of agri-business. (James, 2010)

Two framings of authenticity generated the dimension of pursuing noble purpose, namely *challenging provenance* and *sacrificing commercialism for creativity*. Challenging provenance involved SIP members casting doubt over prevailing conventions of origin, land tenure and tradition, and proposing alternative models. Sacrificing commercialism for creativity were claims by SIP members that they were driven by creative rather than commercial rewards.

4.2.2.1 Challenging provenance

Organisations often use geographically referenced products to claim authenticity through provenance by linking them to originality and rich tradition (DeSoucey, 2010). The SIP members were confronted with a provenance paradox (Deshpandé, 2010), where social conditioning in the market over time led market participants to believe that the best wines came from established estate wine producers outside the Swartland. As an emerging wine district, their authenticity was often questioned. One reason was that “if you look at all the Swartland

Independent producers we're all first generation" (SWSI04). Additionally, most had few resources and buying land was not an option available: "I mean, there is not one guy who wouldn't want to own a piece of land. So, it's not that we got to choose owning land or buying grapes in. I mean, we couldn't and still can't afford to buy land" (SWSI16).[7] To counteract the provenance paradox, the SIP members cast doubt on prevailing conventions of provenance engendered by the estate wine concept, agricultural land subdivision laws, the wine cooperative system, and the institution of wine heritage in South Africa (see research setting for history).

In this regard, one SIP producer maintained that: "This is not an authenticity based in heritage, it's an authenticity based in philosophy…It's not to do with DNA, blood, family, heritage. Swartland is a place giving us the type of grapes that you can make authentic wine with" (SWSI02). One of the motivations for contesting prevailing conceptions of provenance was commitment to custodianship of the land and future sustainability of the Swartland. SIP producers claimed to be committed to transferring land to those who followed in the best possible condition:

> I think most people think that when they inherit land that they've got an ownership and a stake in something…that's all the wrong feelings. When you get the privilege in life to be a caretaker of a certain piece of land, the first thing is that you've got to live with is responsibilities and the second thing is to leave it in a better shape than you found it…I'm very much about sustainable viticulture…Half of the things I do, it doesn't make sense…if there's no next generation. (SWSI01)

Deficiency in land ownership exposed some SIP members to long-term risk: "It's critical and again I must stress the vulnerability of the top producers in the country that don't actually own these vineyards" (SWSI13). However, many respondents reported that they circumvented this risk by organising production relationships that were "not property driven, it's people driven"

[7] The founders of the Swartland Revolution and the SIP acquired their own properties with vineyards over the timeframe investigated. However, most SIP producers remained without vineyard land. Respondents reported that since they were primarily first-generation wine producers, it was not merely the deficiency in land that constrained them but also the lack of provenance i.e., multi-generational continuity in production (Massa, 2017). This may explain their emphasis on farming for future generations. See 5.2.2.1 for a discussion on provenance and authentication work.

(SWSI09). Organising production relationships enabled SIP members to secure vital primary resources, have an input in the growing practices of vineyards they did not own, and realise their authentic winemaking beliefs. For many, "the relationship with the farmer allows you to gain confidence because you must remember that when you are buying grapes from someone's land, it's his land…because farmers, they either farm conventionally or they farm in the cheapest way possible" (SWSI14). Another long-term ideal of SIP members was changing institutionalised practises built on land ownership conventions: "I think that would actually be a very good thing [subdividing land] …and then also just to bring in a law with the co-ops [cooperatives] to sell privately because I mean clearly the co-ops don't look after the farmers" (SWSI12). Such ideals and practices brought individual producers into conflict with the cooperative cellars, creating political tensions in the region:

> They was doing it clever [sic], they didn't work with…the big cellars in the area, they worked through the farmers, the growers…Most of them are old people, old farmers set in their ways. Then, these funny guys comes [sic] and talk to them and play games and stuff and they liked it…And then suddenly they are all here. (SWOG10)

A relationship of trust between the grower and the SIP producer was considered essential if the organisational members were to survive on their existing business model. One producer described tactics used to develop a rapport with growers: "Pay the guy well and have a good relationship. I only buy fruit from people that I like. There are great vineyard sites, but I don't buy from the guys [that] I haven't got a relationship with" (SWSI10). From the above extracts, a fundamental challenge for SIP producers was overcoming their resource and succession constraints in giving expression to their winemaking ideals.

4.2.2.2 Sacrificing commercialism for creativity

SIP producers positioned themselves as being pure, noble, and authentic because their primary focus was on the creative rewards of making the best possible wines rather than pursuing commercial success. Several SIP members argued that the few reputational and commercial

rewards offered by the low status of the Swartland when the founders arrived, was testament to the nobility of their motives, describing their approach as a "kind of rustic, kind of love for the region and that was what driven by the actual producers in an authentic way, and authenticity in the sense that they were making good wines but their goals are incredibly noble" (SWSI07). In addition, their authenticity was justified by transcending self-interest and that meant looking after people as well:

> Authentic to me is a wine that's proper, it's properly made, the vineyards are properly farmed, the farmers are well paid if the grapes are bought in. If you're farming yourself, you're farming sensibly…you need to treat the people who work with you with a certain amount of respect. (SWSI10)

SIP members consistently claimed that the intention behind the formation of the SIP was not to serve as a marketing campaign but rather as "a study group [that] is about let's sort our wines out because we, as a region, can build our wines very strong [sic] as a combined effort" (SWSI01). The aversion to commercial motivations was often connected to the notion that since many vineyards were old and unirrigated, grape yields were comparatively low and therefore making wine in the Swartland was not always commercially feasible: "This is not a place for businessmen or excel spreadsheets" (James, 2013). Focusing purely on commercial ideals would therefore result in bitter disappointment: "I'm not a capitalist. You need to make a living and you need to make a profit but sometimes you need understand that not every year you can make a profit, but you must survive. And this is why: don't grow too big in anything" (SWSI04).

Some scholars suggest that the wine industry, like many cultural industries, attempts to balance art and commerce (Voronov & De Clercq, 2007). In their interviews, SIP producers gave primacy to innovation and discovery to unlock creative value in the context of the Swartland, often claiming that winemaking is about "the art of creation and imagination" (SWSI02). One respondent explained that authenticity is linked to pursuing personal beliefs and that one should, "stand up for what you make there and be a bit more creative, because wine is about

being creative" (ZB02). Furthermore, the point was often made that wine producers didn't require sophisticated equipment to make wine, since it was often about resourcefulness and experimentation: "You've got guys who have cellars that are basically just backyards and they're making wine. And that's all kinds of Swartlandness because it's just anything goes. Just wing it" (SWSI12). These descriptions and illustrations underscore the self-conforming nature of many of the SIP members' conceptions of authenticity. SIP producers claimed to actively pursue winemaking practices as an outlet for their creativity rather than conforming to expectations based on commercial success. This augmented their claims to authenticity by emphasising hands-on artisanal methods of production in making their wine. As Solomon and Mathias suggest, artisans "value product distinctiveness, novelty, reputation, and authenticity above growth" (2020, p.4).

4.3 Performing charisma

Performing charisma involved theatrical displays of heroism and charm intended to appear authentic and inspire devotion amongst SIP members and market audiences. Charisma can be performed and rendered by leaders or organisations and validated, contested, and attributed by followers, market audiences and even competitors (Dion & Arnould, 2011; Steyrer, 2015). Performing charisma resembles impression management because it presents organisational actions as authentic and sincere in social interactions (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1979; Steyrer, 2015). This framing construct differs from claiming purity in that it seldom makes direct assertions about authenticity. Instead, it employs dramaturgy to implicitly work up the sincerity of claims to purity. Such purposive acts metaphorically marketed the claims to authenticity and were arguably the talking part of the SIP "walking the talk". Sometimes these performances were dismissed by audience members as a skilfully crafted façade: "It's packaging, it's intellectual and physical packaging…that's what it is" (FANM09). However,

many in the SIP were adamant that performances of charisma were truthful and sincere: "It's honest, hey. It's not like a put-on thing. The vibe at the Revolution is not a made-up thing, it's just genuine" (SWSI03). This perspective was echoed by a fellow SIP member who claimed their actions in transmitting Swartlandness were soulful and cultured: "It almost speaks to a sort of cultural element. Hey, it's Swartland, the Swartlandness is authentic, it's got integrity, it's got soul, and none of these are tactile yet they're real" (SWSI13).

Performances of charisma by the SIP occurred in two ways, *projecting heroism* and *charming members and audiences*. Projecting heroism constituted efforts to frame the leaders or the SIP itself as brave, principled, courageous, original, and resilient. Charming members and audiences involved purposefully playing up stylised displays to appear authentic by underplaying organisational control and pretentiousness and opposing mainstream practices. Performing charisma ultimately contrasted the practices of SIP members with conventional meanings of authenticity, thereby emphasising them as attractively deviant and ante-representative of mainstream ideals to fringe audiences (see Mathews & Whacker, 2014). In contrast, their roleplay to perform hyper-representativity embellished practices stereotypical of farming, often in ways that were more real than the real thing (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986).

4.3.1 Projecting heroism

The hero is a charismatic archetype exuding authority and consistency between intentions and actions (Steyrer, 2015), emblematic of a courageous, brave, and resilient protagonist in the storyline of an organisation (Preece, 2015). Charisma has been associated with aura, magic, or divine gifts that inspire devotion in audiences through triggering an emotional response (Preece, 2015; Steyrer, 2015; Suddaby et al., 2017). As one reporter describes: "When Sadie's energy and charisma came into play, the circle of revolutionary cohorts widened. They included not just young winemakers inspired to make interesting, challenging wines, but also

established grape-growers of the region" (James, 2010). Two framing efforts were used by SIP members to project heroism and therefore appear authentic: *inspiring a cult personality* and *pioneering the vanguard*. Inspiring a cult of personality comprised efforts by SIP members and principal founders to fashion cult-like personas of themselves. They also presented themselves as fearless pioneers motivated and committed to a cause thereby working up an image of pioneering a vanguard of free-thinking new generation wine producers.

4.3.1.1 Inspiring a cult of personality

The personality of organisational leaders is crucial in shaping charisma and authenticity (Steyrer, 2015; Weierter, 2001; Dion et al., 2014). Charisma is often considered a result of a constellation of personality traits that when projected in a certain manner triggers an emotive response from audiences (Koçak et al., 2013). The "personalities" of the Swartland Revolution were often viewed as cult heroes since they inspired novel and deviant frames of meaning. Their personalities were frequently regarded as more attractive because their projected charisma was so strikingly different to what was perceived as charismatic and authentic before the advent of democracy in South Africa: "Part of why the Swartland has succeeded is definitely the cult of personality and…at the same time, the South African dynamic period and that's got a lot to do with the logjam being broken in 1994. So, it's game on" (FANM07). Some respondents suggested the projection of their image cloaked SIP members with almost magical qualities: "You go there for the weekend, and you see all these cult figures. Individually, they are exciting, in combination it's like being at the pearly gates if you kind of happen to be that kind of wine person" (FANM08).

In the advertising posters of the Swartland Revolution, the five main personalities of Eben Sadie, Callie Louw, Andrea and Chris Mullineux, and Adi Badenhorst, were depicted in heroic scenarios. In 2010 their images were superimposed on Delacroix's iconic French Revolution

depiction of *Liberty Leading the Peopl*e. In 2011 they were presented as naked Burgundian peasants stomping grapes in a traditional vat, while in 2012 they were presented as characters from the classic Western film, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, and in 2013 as Jedi knights and other characters from the *Star Wars* film franchise. While the key proponents rapidly acquired celebrity status, they were viewed by many in the SIP as authentic in contrast to others in competing regions who attempted to emulate their role performances:

> The revolution was a celebrity. That was the Hollywood angle and it worked so well but it had substance and that's the difference. Stellenbosch, they had a festival here last year and I don't know what it was called, some fancy name, some very hip poster that they advertised…But it was nowhere, it's not tangible, it's not believable and it's not authentic. (SWSI09)

Three aspects of the cult of personality inspired by members of the SIP were related by respondents interviewed. One sentiment was that their personalities had the ability to inspire change or as one SIP producer put it: "I think that it's about change…represented by individuals who had the ability to take themselves a little bit less seriously and to go a less traditional route" (SWSI13). Second, terroir is a social construction and humans are an essential component in generating cultural capital or *savoir-faire*, either brought into or cultivated in a particular geographical region (Barham, 2003; Demossier, 2011; Fourcade, 2012). Many of the SIP members reported that unlike previous generations, they were able to travel and work abroad and import the know-how they had gathered into the Swartland. The new personalities in the Swartland ostensibly contributed to the reformulation of terroir, a dynamic recognised by non-SIP Swartland producers: "So it's how man interacts with it [terroir] and I think what made the Swartland terroir unique is definitely the personalities it has attracted and how they have extracted potential out of the Swartland" (SWOG01). Third, performances of authenticity by SIP members were intended to be inclusive and unpretentious:

> They stood behind their brands and not in front because…when you normally go out…to wine tastings, you don't see the personality, you don't see the winemaker or anything, …how cool is that? There's nothing to it whereas if you're standing there as a person, as the winemaker, you can really interact. (ZB02)

The cultivation of heroic personalities provided the basis around which other winemakers in the area could coalesce and build relational energy within the collective, a dynamic summarised by one producer as “vibrancy, an unheralded and unknown way of exchanging information and being influenced.” (SWSI09). Furthermore, SIP members maintained high visibility and embraced fellow like-minded wine producers: “It's cult in the sense of almost religious cult…they were disparate or fragmented in a way but not so much…They could see the value and they, therefore, didn't resent the fact that there would be fellow travellers” (FANM08).

4.3.1.2 Pioneering the vanguard

Pioneering was viewed as embodied bravery, courage, skill, and aversion to risk by those who arrived in the Swartland and “put in a lot of hard work when success was not guaranteed, especially in those days when Swartland really didn’t have any cache” (SWSI07). Members of the SIP were not presented simply as entrepreneurs with commercial interests at heart but as skilful farmers acting as change agents, in reshaping a more authentic future for the Swartland:

> An entrepreneur works firstly for the money and then for the saak.[8]A pioneer works only for the saak…The thing that sets the Swartland apart from other phenomena in South African wine…or other areas where the same dynamics have existed, is [that] the very people that came here was [sic] the right people, they were truly pioneers…Not all people are pioneers, most often people are settlers and to build a new thing and a new dynamic you need pioneers. (SWSI01)

Others both within and on the fringes of the SIP often praised the founders for their pioneering role in improving the sustainability of growers and wine producers: “It just makes sense. It’s not viable [current agricultural system in the Swartland and South Africa]. And that’s where in the Swartland [SIP] the pioneers, the Ebens and the Adis, has [sic] been so great because they put the price up and they pay what they think the grapes are worth” (ZB03). In so doing, they were seen as inspiring a vanguard that could challenge the prevailing mindset in the wine

[8] Cause.

production system both in the Swartland and South Africa. A vanguard, or avant-garde, is a group of market actors with diverse roles that exert significant influence over the creation of new meanings, such as in a market (Koçak et al., 2013). The avant-garde, such as Nouvelle cuisine chefs in 1960s France (Rao, Monin & Durand, 2003; Rao et al., 2005), often provocatively challenge the status quo, especially in cultural markets. Some respondents referred to the SIP as a collective of "struggle brands" (SWOG01), often perceiving the key proponents thereof as being at the forefront of innovation: "Eben was the guy that started everything, and he is very much like the pioneer of Swartland…and putting a lot of limelight on the Swartland." (SWOG04). Others argued that: "You need leaders to walk a path that no-one has done, it's the only way it happens. And it's better for South Africa because there are new wines, new styles, new brands, spreading the word and spreading a new wave" (SWSI09). The new wave pioneered by the leaders of the SIP did not invent a new way of producing wine but instead worked up notions of a return to practices in existence before the advent of the cooperative system and estate concept. This provided the motivation for other producers wanting to project an identity that was quintessentially South African to join the vanguard:

> One of the really attractive things about what has happened in South Africa – again partly led by the Swartland is the avant-garde taking on the old…[it's] deeply reactionary…a rediscovery of the past. So, then it became one of those accretion things, the more people came and the more exciting it seemed, the more good stuff was coming out of it. (FAMK06)

Even though many of the Swartland vineyards are located only an hour away from the Cape Town metropole and the winelands towns of Stellenbosch and Franschhoek, the region is remarkably different in aesthetic characteristics. It is hot, dry and the landscape plain, and lacks many of the visual qualities conveyed in mass communicated images of South Africa's winelands, such as Cape Dutch homesteads, majestic mountain ranges and neatly manicured vineyards. The starkness and perceived ruggedness of the Swartland landscape and the pioneering efforts of the founders reminded some informants of frontier life in the Western US during the late 1800s:

> It was just about that sort of landscape where the cowboys used to live in the Western US. It was hot, dry…It was a tough, tough place and that landscape was more of an influence on the people than the people…on the landscape. That's the way I feel about this place. It has a raw beauty. It doesn't seem very powerful, but it is. (SWSI07)

These descriptions of collective framings engaged in by SIP members to work up their authentic heroic achievements, suggest that claims of authenticity are not necessarily sufficient when engaging in authenticity work but require social role performances too.

4.3.2 Charming members and audiences

Charming infuses practices with new meanings to create an aura of authenticity, engender emotional transfer, recruit devotees, and obscure organisational control or pretence (Endrissat et al., 2015; Hennig-Thurau et al., 2006; Pounders et al., 2014). Several respondents related how SIP members had "done the image sculpting so well because they've embodied the classic farmer, slightly Rockstar, slightly movie star image…to make the Swartland region super cool" (FAMK01). Charming essentially involved two theatrical framing actions: *embodying the humble farmer* and *performing coolness.* Embodying the humble farmer involved SIP members appropriating cultural stereotypes symbolic of a South African farming persona in contrast to the corporate image prevalent in mainstream wine farming; and performing coolness by sculpturing an image projecting autonomy or the willingness to pursue one's own course of action (Warren & Campbell, 2014), and in this case, irrespective of prevailing meanings of authenticity.

4.3.2.1 Embodying the humble farmer

SIP members often engaged in role performances to make them appear emblematic of humble ruralness or, as one informant described it: "The authentic rural rather than urban. [like] Eben…when he was young, sort of wearing dungarees with a straw sticking out of his mouth, very much the Afrikaner farm boy. And he played that up with great eloquence" (FANM06).

In observing one of their wine events, one producer was dressed in a safari suit typical of how farmers in the 1970s would dress (field notes, April 24, 2015). Appearing as an authentic archetype of the Swartland or displaying Swartlandness was an important facet of SIP members' image: "It's the natural way and the authentic people, they don't drive smart cars. Instead of having a Toyota 4x4 they drive a Kombi Synchro. If it only appears to be more authentic, it is still winning the game" (SWSI09). Another respondent provided more detail on how certain SIP members intentionally embellished their farming identity:

> The guys in the Swartland, they wear freestyle *vellies*[9] and Rossi boots and wear…*wat is die brand by Agrimark*[10]*?* He [one SIP producer] will wear a John Deere cap, he will wear Johnson pants and he will have embroidered his own little logo onto his pants… He is not [doing it] with the same thinking about wearing these clothes as the guy in Kimberley who farms and wears the same brands. There is a reason for everything. (FAMK03)

This quote clearly points to Peterson's (2005) notion that authenticity work involves generating perceptions. One of the gripes related by many of the SIP producers was that the image conveyed by conventional wine producers had become stale and stereotyped: "Wine is so removed from soul…If I go into these liquor stores…everything is vinyl prints of somebody peering into a barrel or a red-roll leaf virus in the sun, or a Cape Dutch homestead or something like that" (SWSI21). Embodying rural humility meant focusing on farming as quintessential to portraying stylised images central to those practices.

By presenting themselves as proxies of humble South African farmers, SIP members performances to appear authentic were also strongly ante-representative of the mainstream image prevailing in the wine industry. Initially, SIP members were opposed to wine tourism because to them straddling farming and tourism often lead to diminished authenticity that may have made them appear to have sold out (see Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2017). This framing of authenticity amplified tensions with the Swartland Wine Route and the old guard in the area, a

---

[9] Colloquial term for *veldskoene* roughly translated as "bush shoes", an everyday soft leather walking shoe with hard outer sole.
[10] What's that brand you get at Agrimark (a farming supply store)?

situation later resolved (see 4.4.2.2). Farming was presented as unglamorous and requiring demanding physical work. SIP members often played up the everyday hard work they put into farming to convey "hands in the dirt authenticity" (Voronov et al., 2017, p. 18) and divert attention away from practices that diminished their aura of authenticity. In so doing, they sought to demonstrate an image ante-representative of wine tourism, which was seen to divert resources and focus away from what sincerely mattered:

> Here the guys are digging ditches and I'm drilling holes in the wall this morning, looking for fissure plugs, tightening water pipes, looking for pipe spanners…Then I'm here, then I'm getting the digger driver to dig a trench, then I must just make sure I get to the trench before he's dug it wrong, then I run off and do something else there. That's how it goes here every day of the year…When thousands of people come onto farms, the focus shifts from farming to tourism. So, there's lawns all of a sudden and fountains…In the tasting room they take the tractors, the working clothes of the workers and the guys work with broken spades, but in the tasting room they spend whatever on a new spittoon. Keeping it real is keep on farming. Don't confuse our profession. (SWSI01)

A further way in which SIP played up such hyper-representative images of the humble farmer and ante-representative impressions of conventional practices was to engage in collective rituals that provided audiences with an insider perspective of rural Swartland life. At the Cape Wine expo in 2012 and 2015, the SIP members set up their stand to resemble a typical Swartland bar, complete with embellished artefacts such as old telephones, erstwhile South African glamour magazine pin-ups, and other kitsch *bric-a-brac*:

> Then we have the Swartland okes with our t-shirts and jeans and we have like this caravan standing there in the corner. We had like a little telephone and things like that. I think it makes the people just feel more at home and it's more plain and simple [sic] and there are less thrills and fusses about the thing. It adds also a bit more Swartland as well because I mean Swartland is the *platteland*[11] at the end of the day. (SWSI12)

Many SIP members vehemently defended these practices as being sincere and credible. They argued that it was intended to give expo participants a slice of rural Swartland life and reflected common practices both as individuals and community members: "That's often why we do our meetings at the Hermon Hotel and that's as I would say authentic as possible…It's not fine

[11] Countryside in the Western Cape.

dining" (SWSI16). Furthermore, SIP insiders contended that "I don't think they really planned an image, it just happened by itself…because I know [redacted name] was building himself a warehouse there on the farm but he is looking for old *sinkplate*.[12] The place must be old and rustic" (SWOG10). Furthermore, a common practice amongst the SIP was to connect their practices to traditional farming family life, local rural customs, and informal business practices. Many rural households in South African run *tysnywerhede,*[13] selling traditional wares such as confectionary, crafts, clothing, and so forth to private customers and at markets such as the *kerk bazaa*r,[14] a common institution in towns and hamlets. Many SIP members regaled sincere stories of how they or family members produced wares for various events they were involved in such as, "*Callie se ma het vir almal poeding gemaak!*"[15] (Instagram: @SwartlandRev, Nov 15, 2016). The picture shows an elaborate French wedding cake or *Croque en Bouche* possibly an ironic statement about attempts at grandness by simple farmers.

4.3.2.2 Performing coolness

The performance of coolness was regarded by insiders as central to the charisma of the SIP and "unquestionably…*the* factor…It's a carefully calculated concoction" (FANM07). Coolness is a social construction that may be performed and attributed to specific practices or people (Warren & Campbell, 2014). Coolness implies unconventionality or quirkiness, rebellion, and autonomy as opposed to emulation and conformity to prevailing norms (Schau, Muñiz & Arnould, 2015; Warren & Campbell, 2014). Informants often pointed to SIP members performing coolness by appropriating a fringe identity, serving to position themselves as underdogs engaged in a cultural battle: "I think there is always an opportunity on the fringe. It's the sort of David opportunity to throw stones at Goliath [laughs], whoever Goliath happens

---

[12] Corrugated zinc plates usually used on roofs and roughly constructed dwellings.
[13] Cottage industries.
[14] Church fête.
[15] Callie's mom made pudding for everyone!

to be" (FANM09). Others similarly suggested that "they are selling something other than wine, they are selling a form of social protest, something people like to associate with, because of what it says about them: hip, happening, and alternative" (Eedes, 2015). SIP members confirmed that, "we're quite happy to live the life that has been given to us as being part of the fringe of winemaking" (SWSI02).

SIP producers related that most had begun making wine after the advent of the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, and therefore they had only "known freedom" (SWSI01). The desire for autonomy was reflected in the use of the term independent in the SIP's name but, as with the term Swartlandness, there were many interpretations of what independence meant, some suggesting that it was meant to, "sort of distinguish producers who are independent, rather than affiliated to large producer cellars [former cooperatives]" (SWSI13). Others suggested that the word independent was also intended to convey a subcultural or countercultural image that: "We're separate from the mainstream. I mean that's almost like your indie music, all of those things. It tagged along again with independent rebel; all those things left of centre" (SWSI21). One respondent further clarified this:

> Freedom, that's cool, then it spirals out into how do you express it? And you express it in different ways and different people do it in different subcultures and different genres…It could be a rage against the machine: I skateboard, and I see how many flights of stairs I can ollie down. And there's also, I stick it to the man by not being 3-piece, do yoga and I don't eat anything that's warmer than body temperature. (FAMK03)

The use of wine labels to project coolness was a common practice amongst SIP members: "It's like Eben Sadie had the brilliant idea of putting all his labels in Latin 15 years ago…that's cool" (FANM07). Such authenticity work presents quirky or idiosyncratic aspects of an organisation's story as real, true, and genuine (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009). Several respondents related how SIP members and later the Zoo Biscuits created their own peculiar genre of wine labels. Many referenced personalised quirks or symbolic references to allow them to conform to their own identity regardless of what mainstream markets were searching for:

> We often design for the client's personality and authenticity…and if we're forced into it, we design for what that brand owner thinks is going to work for the market…You can probably slot Zoo Biscuits and Swartland both into designing more for what works for them rather than what works for that [market]. (FAMK02)

Furthermore, other producers intentionally underplayed their design skills by presenting their lack of resources as a badge of honour and authenticity. Such personalised, quirky, and charismatic label presentations often stood in stark contrast to those conventional in the field:

> What does South African wine harp on about all the time? History, heritage and estates and then the Swartland they're telling a different story. They're saying we're young and cool and we're just having fun. And we can't even afford a real designer for our posters, so we're just going to slap some shit together and it's like they did it on Microsoft paint on your cell. I don't think they give a fuck and it's just funny…it's cool and it's different. (FAMK13)

For example, Intellego's Kolbroek wine label at that time simply contained a stick figure on a surfboard with a red spot on its swimming trunks, in reference to this SIP producer's earlier life working on a pig farm[16] and unknown personal reference to the Afrikaans translation of "spotted pants" (www.intellego.co.za) (although some respondents theorised that it was a reference to a SIP producer embroidering a personal symbol on his working pants). In relation to this label one fellow SIP producer commented: "It's not like any marketing department would ever approve the Kolbroek label. They would say it's a fucking disaster but that's what actually makes it amazing" (SWSI07).

What is underscored by the descriptions and illustrations of the SIP members performing charisma is that they played up stylised versions of archetypes both representative and ante-representative to contextualise and emphasise their claims to purity. While their claims to purity were often embedded in their everyday winemaking practices, performing charisma constituted practices that were often embellished for effect to build cohesion amongst members, refashion conventional cultural notions of authenticity and nostalgically remind audiences of a forgotten and idealised past. Furthermore, since they were often conveyed with

[16] A Kolbroek is an indigenous breed of South African pig.

a sense of humour and lack of pretension, charismatic performances became attractive and believable to audiences. Like claiming purity, performing charisma comprised performative strategic efforts to convey authenticity through enacting beliefs and whipping up emotions and therefore may be seen as instances of hot authenticity actions (Selwyn, 1996; Wang, 1999).

4.4 Meta-organisational tethering

Meta-organisational tethering refers to meta-work by the SIP business association to organisationally control claims and performances of individual SIP members and also connect their collective practices to credible codes conveying authenticity in the market (e.g., authentic wine) (Leibel et al., 2018; Menchik, 2019; Weber et al., 2008). In their capacities as individuals and clusters of producers, SIP members continually experimented with different models in making authentic wine. In addition, they were often spontaneous in their role performances sometimes bringing their projected image in conflict with the tenets of the SIP. Tethering by the business association created the auspices under which authenticity could be claimed and performed by members to manage market expectations and regulate what could pass as authenticity by the SIP as an organisation (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009).

Two collective action framing efforts underpinning tethering were implemented by the SIP between 2010 and 2016, namely *marshalling* and *binding*. Marshalling enabled the SIP to manage their credibility and reputational risk by codifying rules that diverged from market conventions, and in the main converged with credible global referents and the policing of those rules to ensure consistency. Binding involved inspiring greater relational cohesion or like-mindedness through supportive practices to project a credible single voice between SIP members, the Swartland community and market audiences. The vision, need and desire, especially amongst senior members of the SIP, to generate such measures of organisational control, is poignantly recounted by one member:

> The only reason we can see the stars is because there is a milky way out there or there is a constellation to be seen. That's why it's noticed. If there was [sic] two stars in the sky it would be like the moon. Sometimes for days you don't see the moon, yet you see the stars more often. It's because there's just more chance of it being noticed…Then everything was very loose and it's like loose dating, you eat here, you sleep there, you shower there, there's no real form and when there's no real form, there's no real function. There was all of that sort of thing going on, going on, going on and it was clear that we needed some kind of belt to bring this form together and that could actually fulfil a functionality. That was then the birth of the Swartland Independent which is the coming together of like-minded people with a common drive and that is to develop a regional wine. (SWSI01)

By engaging in marshalling and binding, the SIP demonstrated actorhood, collective identity and organisationality; common strategic efforts employed by business associations (Garaudel, 2020; Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015). Tethering was a form of meta-work because it was generative of authenticity by proposing alternative and localised meanings of thereof (Menchik, 2019), constraining individual actions of SIP members through collective decisions to shore up their credibility as an organisation.

4.4.1 Marshalling

Marshalling involved meta-organisational framing to create and revise codes and standards of common usage that were required for members to maintain their SIP member status, monitor the application of these standards, and respond to violations. Two framing actions therefore supported the marshalling of members' practices by the SIP, *codifying divergent rules* and *self-policing deviation*. Codifying divergent rules comprised efforts by the SIP to formulate and reformulate guidelines that framed what constituted an authentic Swartland wine. These guidelines were intended to generate a version of wine authenticity strikingly different from conventional conceptions thereof, connected to similar examples outside the field and ultimately aimed to discourage SIP producers from going off script when making wines. Although imposing constraints presented a sincerity dilemma for an organisation promoting the pursuit of purity in vinous expression, the SIP progressively tightened controls over what could pass as an authentic wine. They ostensibly did so to justify and protect the credibility,

status and worth of their members' wines by self-policing deviation from their collective *de facto* standards.

4.4.1.1 Codifying divergent rules

In 2011, the SIP values statement was released, codifying a set of guidelines, rules, and regional values that would develop like-mindedness and Swartlandness. In addition, by 2012, a seal was introduced that SIP producers could use to authenticate their wines if they had complied with these guidelines. Many of these practices reflected the basic tenets of low intervention and authentic winemaking in addition to rules that ensured that there was a Swartland regional imprint on SIP member wines and that they were perceived as credibly authentic:

> That's actually part of the whole authenticity theme as well. Rules are sometimes a dirty word, but these are guidelines put in place to actually preserve the place in the wine…whose interest is actually authenticity…avoiding the things that you can do in the cellar or add to the wine that obviously take away from terroir. (SWSI08)

These standards, certifications, and guidelines differed significantly from legislated wine production and sustainability prescripts of the Integrated Production of Wine (IPW) seal that was required to accompany each bottle of wine leaving South Africa. The SIP's standards and certification could be considered *de facto* standards since they did not draw their authenticity and legitimacy from common industry standards but rather from rules of common usage (Brunsson, Rasche & Seidl, 2012; Reinecke et al., 2012). They were agreed on by members, enforced and advanced by the SIP and were oppositional to conventional standards as a form of agency (Reinecke et al., 2012). Here one producer explains this notion of balance between internal convergence and external divergence:

> If we can get more people just to see that all wines aren't the same. People buy my wine, buy some of the independents' wine but say this wine is cloudy or this wine tastes like this or that. But not all wines are the same. So, there's people that like that and there's people that don't. The thing is just to say, "Right, there's a place for our kind of wine in South Africa as well." (ZB02)

However, owing to their idiosyncratic nature there was a recognition that such wines had to be

bound by rules and control mechanisms that ought to be transparently communicated to present a credible image to market audiences, as one SIP producer relates:

> There was a wine for every person. There were natural wines, there were freaky wines, there were skin-contact wines, there were well-made wines…and the Swartland Independent sort of evolved from that to the common goal…and they defined the Swartland Independent by certain rules and regulations…guidelines you have to stick to be part of the Swartland Independent which also transmits a kind of transparency in the product you're producing… which is what the market is demanding. (SWSI14)

However, the rules initially did not have the desired effect, a situation ascribed to the fact that the SIP certification did not attach a quality guarantee and as one commentator put it: "Newness, radicalism, is only one sign of vitality, and at later stages of development there are other, more important signs. Sheer excellence becomes even more significant" (James, 2013). This sentiment did not go unnoticed and from 2013, the SIP progressively introduced various policing tactics to "put this thing in a direction" (SWOG09). This did not necessarily involve creating more stringent rules but rather simplifying rules, developing flexibility criteria, and aligning differences in wine production philosophy with realistic expectations that were authentic to the SIP. The SIP was later forced into rewriting their codes and declaring that: "All [SIP] wines must be SAWIS certified" (SIP values statement, 2012). This meant that SIP authenticated wines were required to undergo a battery of chemical tests as well having to be sensorially validated by the WSB wine evaluation tasting panel.

Codification was not always welcomed. One reason supplied was that it would institutionalise the SIP and therefore pose a long-term danger of stagnation: "The Swartland revolutionaries have to be careful that they're not starting something that could become an organisation that the next generation of young wine makers end up having to fight against" (Goode, 2010). Furthermore, the generation of guidelines and policing of rules and membership was an onerous task for several of the SIP board members:

> You can philosophise about what's the best but if you want to sit down and write the constitution about how your wine should be made…that was really complicated. We're still

> evolving that and we're actually meeting now in a month's time to look at the rules again and say, "Are they still realistic or should we alter them somehow?" (SWSI03)

Additionally, such restrictive practices could paradoxically increase overall risk because "then they dictate your winemaking practices. Now that's very risky especially in the years that we've had with lots of drought" (FAMK08).

4.4.1.2 Self-policing deviation

As the name of this concept suggests, these tactics by the SIP progressively introduced more robust monitoring and decision-making practices to prevent their credibility from being sullied by malfeasance and ill-discipline. A significant credibility risk for the SIP meta-organisation was related to becoming known for producing wines that were faulty, passing off spoiled wine as authentic or being overly ambitious but lacking the experience to make quality wine with limited intervention:

> The biggest proponent of natural winemaking exists in the Swartland, so that is where the biggest proponent of messed-up wines are going to be, once they step over the line. When is left getting bad? We're all in the same gang but those guys they kind of bump off other guys, they shoot guys in toilets and whatever, it's not like a clean shop. We got to clean those guys out if we're all in this thing together. (SWSI01)

These measures included introducing new quality control mechanisms, policing the misappropriation of the Swartland region's intellectual property, and using membership conditions to jettison free riders. Some SIP members lamented that others were passing off materially faulty wines as authentic: "If the wine's' faulty don't say that it's natural winemaking. A faulty wine is a faulty wine. There's no hiding from that" (SWSI13). Another SIP member explained: "Apart from orange wines, that's stylistic stuff…you need to push it, we also made some of that…but you cannot allow everybody to do just what they want…and market it as wine" (SWSI15). New measures were put in place to prevent passing off faulty wine as authentic wine, measures widely welcomed by others in the field: "No I think there is, let's call it a grouping that is actually policing it and policing the potential of the area or the

potential of the wines" (FAMK18). One of the ways the SIP achieved this was through the establishment of a special tasting panel where each wine "that gets a certified seal must be tasted through the panel and there we chuck out wines that are really horrible because it's all about…the quality you put on the table that carries the name of Swartland Independent" (SWSI20). However, other respondents suggested that these internal tasting panels performed a declarative function:

> The extreme natural producers, they've also learned with what came last year for the first time…a pre-bottling tasting also blind. So, if there are any mistakes…recommendations will go back, and it is all dealt with like anonymously…This is what very professional Independents say. (SWSI16)

Faults or additions were not tolerated and would lead to rejection for seal approval. Even if there was a fault and that fault was removed the wine would not pass muster. SIP producers could request special dispensations in difficult years to bottle their wines with additions which may or may not have been approved. Furthermore, making wine outside the Swartland was another automatic disqualification as happened with one producer whose cellar was not completed and was making their wine elsewhere:

> There are guys who have asked for a dispensation…they've got the plans up [for building the winery] and they've written us a letter. And then guys like…is not making his wines in the Swartland. You've got to make your wine here. The barrels are here. So, that's the kinds of things. (SWSI10)

Respondents within the SIP often related instances of misappropriation of Swartland origin: "It's our biggest thing now is just to stop Swartland wine being blended with wines from wherever and bottled as Swartland" (SWSI04). The reason for this was attributed to the lack of control over membership that had grown with a rise in their profile: "There are more and more people hanging on the coat tails which is a nasty way of putting it but some of them are doing that" (FANM06). As Olsen (1965) contends, collective action is successful when free riders are excluded and those adhering to certain standards are incentivised. Measures were introduced to jettison such free riders. especially those who loudly proclaimed their SIP

membership and enjoyed the benefits of the status attached, but were not prepared to comply with basic standards:

> This thing has strength if it's adopted across the board, not that one week we'll do this and the next week the stickers are missing. Don't go make a noise, "I'm a SIP producer" if you're not putting on your sticker. Some of the guys are slack and often need a little bit more than mentoring. (SWSI13)

It is apparent from the above descriptions and quotes that the SIP as an organisation had to provide limits to the extent of experimentation and self-conformity of individual members. For many, the business association was simply not sustainable if it allowed individual organisations to conform to their own ideals of authenticity, selfishly pursuing their own course of action without regard for what was credible to others in the SIP and for the business association.

4.4.2 Binding

Binding refers to the relational processes and decisions imposed by the SIP to bring practices, people, and organisations together in a cohesive manner. Binding by the SIP therefore comprised informal relational controls rather than formal rules to develop like-mindedness and therefore a collective identity. For several respondents both within and outside the SIP, the notion of marshalling did not have widespread appeal precisely because to over-organise would defeat the original purpose. Successive meta-organisations emulating the SIP such as the Zoo Biscuits steered clear of prescriptive codes and over-organising, as one respondent related: "I don't think it's that easy to transition from fringe to mainstream. I can't see it happening, the whole ethos is about its zaniness, uniqueness, and disorganisation. To organise it is to drive the BMW" (FANM08).

While relational controls implemented by the SIP achieved: "a bit of coherence, a bit of collaboration…there is also the politics that is difficult to avoid" (SWSI16). Binding was achieved by the SIP through *engaging in supportive practices* and *crystallising a single voice;*

the former involving instances of collaboration, sharing, mentorship, and succession planning, and the latter comprising actions aimed at aligning practices within the SIP so that members could communicate a coherent and unified message.

4.4.2.1 Engaging in supportive practices

Field notes taken during data collection, revealed several instances of SIP producers exchanging or borrowing equipment from each other. However, most supportive practices were not merely about sharing resources, but relational support intended to foster solidarity: “Actually they’ve been incredibly open-armed about helping, most of them help anyway, and giving advice” (SWSI11). The term “comradery” was often used to characterise the strength of relationships between SIP members. The SIP was presented as a close-knit community, often socialising together. Some, for instance, mentioned they met for a barbeque every week before work and played in cricket teams together: “That’s what helped everyone get together…People play sport together, they do batches[17] together, they do things together. They don’t just make wine together; they go out together (SWSI14). Additionally, being part of the SIP was beneficial for new members because it allowed them to access powerful networks of press and buyers that senior members had acquired over time: “It helps many of them who have no idea how to talk to media…and trade. Some of these guys don’t even know how to set up a relationship with a distributor. So finally, they can directly mentor each other” (FANM08). One of the latent mechanisms used to facilitate support and mentorship for SIP members lacking experience was to hold specialised tastings. These tastings differed in purpose to the abovementioned certification tastings and as one producer relates:

> Every few months we taste each other’s wines. It’s far more about the members communicating with each other, talking about production techniques, sharing things about the vintage like: "Watch out! There’s very little nitrogen in the grapes this year.” It’s far more about working together to understand our wines, to improve them than about just marketing…because in twenty years’ time we want people to really have a strong identity

[17] Batches of wine.

> in their mind about what the Swartland is. (SWSI03)

Newer members of the SIP served as assistant winemakers to some of the founding members and therefore mentoring was essential to ensure succession of quality-orientated authentic winemaking practices amongst a new generation of SIP producers: "I think it has been a great learning school for a lot of young wine producers" (SWSI02). This was echoed by several senior members of the SIP who viewed the SIP as "like a talent incubator and also sharing and exchange…there's also an element of mentoring of entrepreneurial skills" (SWSI13). An important practice in the mentoring process was allowing assistant winemakers to produce their own wine while working for senior members of the SIP, something not widely tolerated or endorsed in other wine businesses or areas. Here one producer recounts his experiences before joining the SIP and explains why he allowed this:

> I got fired there and I was living in a friend of mine's garage for nine months. I had a young child…If anyone ever works for me…I let him make his own fucking wine every year. A bit more and more because he will leave here one day…I give him the best fruit that we've got. I don't want him to just fucking make a *kak* barrel of wine, it must be a good wine. (SWSI10)

In addition to incubating new SIP members, the founders of the SIP progressively handed over control of the SIP to the new generation. From early 2015 Craig Hawkins was appointed as chairman of the SIP and the rest of the board was made up of up-and-coming younger members who were not founders of the Revolution: "It has been big five dominated until recently, but they have all stepped back slightly over the last year. There is a younger generation there running things" (SWSI11). In November 2015 the final Swartland Revolution event was held, ostensibly to focus on the development of the SIP, succession by newer members of the organisation, and continuity of common practices:

> We are maybe at the cutting edge but not the cutting edge anymore, and that's fine. I think now what we need to do is consolidate. We really need focus for ten years just on making kick-arse wine…Obviously it's on a wave, and when that wave breaks you need to still be on your surfboard…it's not just a flash in the pan and that's where I think it's brilliant now that the Revolution's stopped and we going to build more on a mature base. It should not be the Swartland Revolution but the Swartland evolution, which is a good thing because you

need to evolve. (SWSI04)

However, the senior SIP members related that they needed to be intimately involved, especially in an advisory capacity: "There'll be a whole relay over time. You can't give the baton from 300 yards away and say, 'now you run, *jou bliksem*'"[18] (SWSI01).

4.4.2.2 Crystallising a single voice

A central purpose of business associations like the SIP is to unify disparate organisational strategies into a single message or voice (Barnett, 2012). Similarly, those engaging in collective action relationally negotiate, align, and tether internal frames of meaning (Benford & Snow, 2000). The assimilation of strategic framings of authenticity are termed here *crystallising a single voice* and comprised acts of relational coherence to "get the right group of people together to forge a message which is important and [that] you all collectively support, believe in and have energy for…if you don't these things just peter out or crash" (FAMK05). The collective winemaking practices, role performances and ideals on which they were based required coherence to collective and regional wine identity:

> There's a very definitive, definite DNA running through all Swartland wines…once it gets in the philosophy and into the authenticity of the wine and that authenticity speaks of one common ground then it's a success…We've got a fingerprint, but we want to print it deep…The guys in the Independent get it and it's the only people that must get it if the rest don't get it. So, we must just get our part played. If we can't see our authenticity, that line in amongst the producers won't get outside…there is also a big drive in establishing a very great dialogue on a regional level outside the Independent. (SWSI01)

The dialogue referred to in this quote points to the strained relationships with cooperatives, old guard producers, and the local Swartland Wine and Olive Route, that many SIP members had been reticent to join initially. One of the relational measures that materialised was that all SIP members were compelled to join the Swartland wine route. Other organisations in the Swartland were pleased with this alignment because they felt that they had been paying for

[18] "Colloquial endearing or derogatory Afrikaans term roughly translated as "you scoundrel".

something that benefitted all producers, yet were repeatedly criticised for by their regional compatriots:

> I think it was a big thing and I think both parties can benefit from it. There was also for the older guys at one stage of not always a happy feeling [sic]. Who are these young guns coming in? They don't pay a lot of money. (SWSI19)

A theme that often surfaced was that there was a need to crystallise the central message of the SIP. Performing charisma had created significant press coverage for the SIP but there were often too many voices and conflicting messages creating reputational risk. Some proponents mentioned that the ultimate aim of Swartlandness was a unified way of doing things authentically: "What is important is that all the members should be speaking sort of the same kind of language and have the same sort of mission at the end of the day" (SWSI10). One further challenge, however, was ensuring that "the little guys must get looked after, they must get some voice because the one guy who makes 200 bottles…he might have more reviews than the guy who makes three million. Why's his voice not important?" (SWSI01).

The strategic effort to frame a cohesive authentic voice and other authenticity framing actions involved in meta-organisational tethering differed substantially in framing process to claiming purity and performing charisma. As further discussed in Chapter 6, the latter strategic efforts resembled hot authenticity framing actions because they are subjectively and intersubjectively performed beliefs and emotions employed to convey authenticity (Selwyn, 1996; Wang, 1999). The SIP demonstrated agency, collective identity, and organisationality in controlling these framings of authenticity resembling cool authenticity actions as an authenticating agent with power over its members to declare and transmit authorised knowledge about what could pass as authentic (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Through meta-organisational tethering of claims and performances into higher level meanings, the SIP as a business association was able to credibly justify its authenticity to market audiences. This allowed them to build a mass of members and the social pressure required to ultimately convince those

initially opposed to them to negotiate and validate the credibility of their efforts to appear authentic.

4.5 Conclusion

Authenticity work is a phenomenon comprising, in this case, the strategic efforts of the SIP organisation and its members working up, justifying, and attempting to render their authenticity in a quest to establish a market for themselves. These strategic collective action framings defined authenticity, diagnosed flaws in extant conceptions of authenticity, assigned blame for such practices, provided authenticity-centred solutions, and motivated potential adherents to engage in strategic efforts related to authenticity (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020). The term justifying was used to emphasise the meaning-making nature of the repertoire of efforts employed by the SIP to motivate why they should be perceived as credibly real, true, and genuine. Three meso-framing actions supported the authenticity work of the SIP: claiming purity, performing charisma and meta-organisational tethering Claiming purity comprised bundles of intersubjective assertions shared by several SIP members to position their practices as unmediated. SIP members did so by emphasising how they limited human intervention, such as resisting the urge to add acid when pH was high in difficult vintages. Claiming purity also involved efforts to make their practices appear noble or underwritten by moral motives, such as emphasising their stewardship of land and creativity as opposed to commercialism, even in cases where that was not practically the case.

Performing charisma involved purposive theatrical displays to appear authentic and inspire devotion amongst meta-organisational members and market audiences. Such displays were often either hyper-representative of an archetype, such as a humble farmer or ante-representative of 3-piece suit corporate formality. Charisma was performed by projecting heroism, presenting the leaders of the SIP as cult figures and fearless pioneers in pursuit of just

causes, not unlike the Jedi knights in their advertising posters. Furthermore, charisma was also performed by charming SIP members and market audiences by reprising the role of a typical famer or projecting coolness by using amateurish but profound idiosyncrasies in their wine label designs.

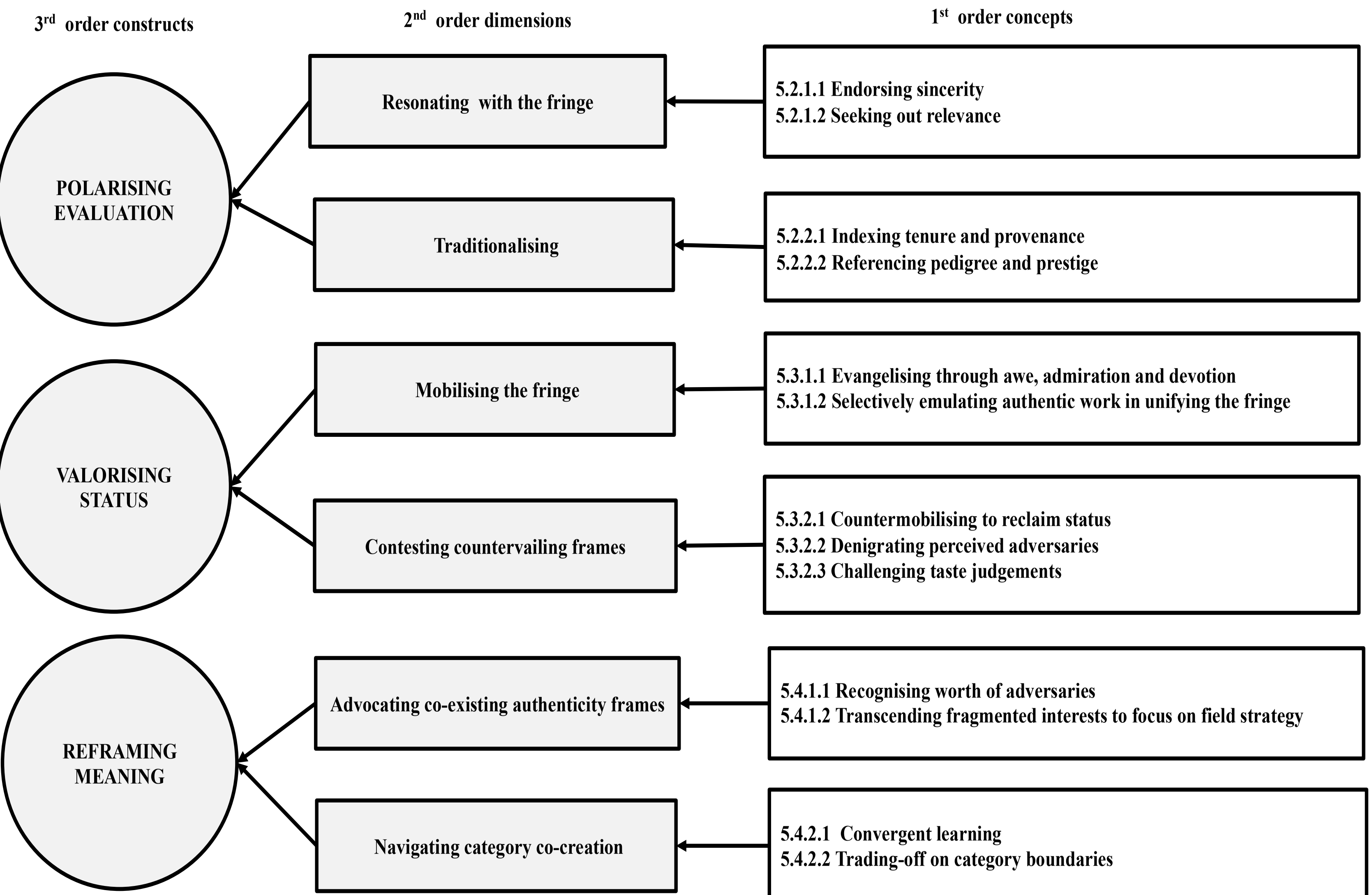
Meta-organisational tethering performed by the SIP business association provided the parameters and expectations under which claims, and performances of authenticity could be generated. This served to impose organisational control and so align credible meanings of authenticity within the SIP, localise such meanings in the Swartland, and make them relatable – and therefore credible – to market audiences. Tethering by the SIP collectively marshalled claims and performances of authenticity by codifying rules and standards that were both unique and universal. For instance, they required the use of certain grape varieties suited to the Swartland terroir and enforced codes governing limited intervention winemaking applied elsewhere in the world. They then policed those rules, guidelines, and standards by, for example, holding internal tastings. However, simply creating rules and policing was not enough and producers had to be relationally bound together by supporting each other and crystallising a unified message. Ultimately, the findings suggest that claiming purity and performing charisma where instances of hot authenticity actions because they were performed through beliefs and working up emotions (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Selwyn, 1996). The findings also suggest that meta-organisational tethering resembled cool authenticity processes, in that they declared what was authentic to the SIP membership through authorised knowledge conferred by rules and collective decisions.

Chapter 5 – Findings on authentication work

5.1 Introduction

This chapter expands on the findings of the preceding chapter to answer the research question of *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets?* It unpacks the phenomenon of authentication work, defined here as strategic meta-framing efforts by other field actors working on validating the impressions created by the SIP's authenticity work and reformulating meanings of authenticity affecting the field. The term work and "working on" are applied here to authentication to emphasise the purposive nature of the framing actions and the contestational and constructive nature of the interactions between multiple market actors. As with authenticity work, the analytical categories appear to correspond with the transition from micro-framing (concepts) to organisational framing (dimensions), and into meso-frames (constructs) (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gioia et al., 2013). Authentication work is a meta-framing action comprising three meso-framing actions, *polarising evaluation*, *valorising status,* and *reframing meaning*. Polarising evaluation involved market participants assessing the credibility and salience of the SIP's authenticity work through resonating with nascent framings of authenticity by the SIP or interpreting them through continuity with the past. In valorising status market participants strategically worked on contesting the status and worth of countervailing cultural and legal framings of authenticity. In reframing meaning market participants negotiated and agreed on attributing authenticity to the SIP's practices and reformulated cultural and legal definitions of authenticity to achieve field level goals. This ultimately created a market for the SIP and the organisations constituting it. A diagram of the data structure is shown in **Figure 5.1** and additional sample quotes are contained in **Addendum C**.

Figure 5.1: Data structure for authentication work



5.2 Polarising evaluation

Since its emergence, the SIP's authenticity work was evaluated by numerous market participants. Such assessments were not impartial but influenced by actors' interpretation of authenticity in the context of South African wine. Certain cliques of field actors resonated with framings generated by the SIP (e.g., limited intervention winemaking or multiple vineyard sourcing), while others interpreted them through established tradition (e.g., the estate wine concept and site specificness). Through these assessments, actors polarised perceptions and judgements of authenticity, exposing fault lines in the field and laying the foundation for collective action. Two subordinate framing actions supported this construct, namely *resonating with the fringe* and *traditionalising*. Resonating with the fringe involved fringe market audiences, critics, and new entrants assessing and making judgements about the authenticity work of the SIP based on their sincerity and cultural relevance. Traditionalising comprised actions by market participants assessing the authenticity of the SIP through a desire for continuity with past accomplishments in the field.

5.2.1 Resonating with the fringe

Resonating refers to actors developing emotional attachments and loyalty to meanings conveyed by practices, products, or organisations, congruent with their values or beliefs (Baron, 2004; Keller, 2013). Resonating is a social process occurring when actors collectively appropriate certain meanings that captivate their cultural identity, sometimes providing impetus for collective action (Baron, 2004). Social actors also authenticate experiences by judging them according to whether they resonate with meaningful symbols they hold dear (Howard-Grenville et al., 2013). Benford and Snow (2000), suggest that resonating with certain collective action frames is driven by credibility and salience. Credibility according to the authors refers to the consistency and empirical verifiability of frames, as well as the sincerity of claimants espousing

such frames. Salience means that framings are relevant because they are experienced daily and are morally and culturally central for actors.

Data analysis of authentication work revealed how certain groups of market participants assessed, judged, and authenticated the strategic framing actions of the SIP and fringe according to how they resonated with them. Two purposeful actions supported such evaluations of the fringe, namely, *endorsing sincerity* and *seeking out relevance*. Endorsing sincerity concerned assessments and affirmations of the authenticity of the fringe according to whether their practices were consistent and verifiable and whether they seemed to be what they claimed to be. Seeking out relevance entailed certain market participants engaging in quests to establish salience by looking for evidence in fringe framings of authenticity that were relevant in their daily lives, provided moral transcendence, and were culturally central.

5.2.1.1 Endorsing sincerity

Several frames were fundamental to the authenticity work of the SIP. They supported multiple vineyard sourcing to uncover the finest vineyard sites and to produce the purest expression of terroir at a high level of quality. Claims to quality and site expression were further amplified by exercising restraint in the cellar rather than making wine conventionally through a multitude of adjustments. The SIP also presented themselves as sincere through charismatic performances, working up their lack of pretension, aversion to industry and prestige in favour of being viewed as humble farmers. These efforts were unlikely to resonate with all audiences and several market actors related how they struggled to assess the credibility of the authenticity work of the SIP because they were not entirely certain whether it was sincere or not:

> It’s kind of difficult to know [what is true] because it kind of sometimes comes across as sort of very heartfelt and genuine and other times it seems sort of done for effect. I think it’s a large dose of marketing bull dust but that doesn’t take anything away from it. Well, there’s no reason to dismiss it. It’s up to you as an individual to sort of navigate your way through marketing bullshit to get to the truth of it. (FANM07)

This excerpt demonstrates the dilemma some actors faced in the field when confronted with the ambiguity inherent in nascent frames of authenticity generated by the SIP. The flamboyance and spontaneous nature of their winemaking and marketing practices were often ambiguous at first. It was therefore difficult for market participants to make decisions about their authenticity because there were conflicting versions thereof. For many market actors, the authenticity work performed by the SIP was unequivocally sincere: "The world has realised we want authenticity. We don't want some marketing bullshit, we want authenticity, we want realness. That's what has been found in South Africa" (FAMK05). Others validated the sincerity of their discursive claims: "You can relate to it you know. It's real, it's a nice story, it's good. You know it's not bullshit. People like that" (FAMK10).

Furthermore, since the SIP were skilful at reducing social distance, many saw their personal approach as authentic because, "you never see a presentation of the Swartland done by marketing people, there's always a winemaker with a Swartland personality…and they are very aligned in that regard…The human interface. I think it plays a big role" (FAMK01). Market audiences were able to connect with the wine in ways that they could not do with other producers:

> They don't feel like they are talking to some middleman or salesperson like that, they can ask questions about the wine, "Why does this wine taste like that and what happened in this vintage?" They know that they'll get real answers about the wine. I think the access to information and origin…that's what people like about it. The fact is that people feel, whether it's the consumer or the journalist or whoever, a lot closer to the product. They feel like they're interacting with the product. (ZB05)

In addition, audiences seemed to perceive the SIP members as credible and resonant when acting oppositional to corporate wine producers and presenting themselves as creative individuals seemingly disinterested in making money: "This Swartland winemaker has got what every brand marketer wants and what is impossible to cook up in a boardroom – authenticity" (Lambert, 2015). As these quotes imply, the practices of the SIP were endorsed as sincere and

credible because they were perceived as lacking pretence, were personalised, and did not convey a commercial angle.

While several market participants criticised the SIP for producing faulty wines, SIP producers, fringe adherents, and journalists talked up the credible quality and consistency of their wines. The wine tender specifications in Norway making SIP authentication seals compulsory, was a credible indication that there was an international endorsement of the sincere quality of the SIP wines. One member of the Zoo Biscuits suggested that this endorsement of quality consistency for smaller producers was a significant milestone: “I think it’s been really taken on across the world. Normally they put out Syrah from the Swartland area, but now they say it must have this independent sticker on it. That’s a big step for us as independent producers” (ZB01). International media consistently confirmed their authenticity, even those on the natural side of the authentic winemaking spectrum:

> The wines are pure, wild and mineral with beautiful natural acidity and tremendous tension. The yeasts inflect the wine and give it texture and original flavour; the minerality comes in waves. Thus unadulterated…it is a Swartland wine, a granite wine, fermented with its own yeasts, a wine true to itself and the gentle decisions of the winemaker. (James, 2012)

Accomplished critics also began to resonate with wines from other fringe producers, describing a Zoo Biscuit producer’s wine as, “A bit geeky for some, but both have linearity and authenticity” (Fridjhon, 2015).

5.2.1.2 Seeking out relevance

This concept concerned market audiences seeking salience or relevance through emotional, moral, and cultural centrality. For respondents interviewed within and outside the SIP, their authenticity work created, “One of the strongest markets and interest that South Africa’s seen in a very long time” (SWSI14). When it came to salience, resonating with frames espoused by the SIP and fringe were considered by respondents as an active quest where audiences sought out organisations, practices, and products corresponding with their self-generated notions of

what constituted authenticity (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010; Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Leigh et al., 2006). Such pursuits add meaningfulness to the everyday lives of market audiences (Zaichkowsky, 1985). Respondents often emphasised the emotional nature of audience response: “The feeling among people, [is] they’re looking for a more authentic experience of wine and a more real, a more natural [one]…They don’t want to feel it has been manipulated and made to a marketing specification that happened in the boardroom” (ZB03).

Respondents reported that audiences searched for “freshness” (FAMK13), “innovativeness”, and “unique things, they need to understand” (SWSI05). Some suggested that the expo stand in 2015 “was so different, it was so authentic and unique” (SWSI12) that audiences were automatically drawn to it. Some argued that this was due to “the resonation of wanting that warm and fuzzy feeling, it’s this artisanal thing” (ZB04). Other respondents related how audiences, “if they are given an opportunity to decide between a wine that uses less sulphur and less chemicals and a wine that is produced on an industrial level, then I think it’s a no-brainer” (FAMK03). These audiences were described as adventurous people “who like to push boundaries and who are comfortable doing things outside of the known. It’s independent-minded thinkers” (SWSI09).

Benford & Snow (2000, p. 622) term the degree to which frames are culturally resonant as “narrative fidelity”. Several instances were reported where buyers, journalists, and fringe producers found the theatrical performances of the SIP culturally relevant: “Dig the Swartland Grand Funk stand. Mohammed Ali poster and other non-vino artefacts. Cool dudes. I order some chickens from Callie Louw, Porseleinberg.” (Joubert, 2012). Others related what made the wines of the fringe: “We were trying to make authentically South African wine that couldn’t really be copied or repeated in other parts of the world and people really went for that. What we want to do desperately is what people want anyway” (ZB01). By so doing, the wines of the

fringe were seen as possessing a unique character which for some was more emblematic of what South African wines should culturally embody than what had come directly before.

5.2.2 Traditionalising

Traditionalising is commonly employed by market participants to judge and project authenticity based on things that may have already acquired authenticity (Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Koontz, 2010; Verhaal et al., 2017). Several market participants interviewed judged the authenticity work of the SIP through the frame of tradition, defined by Hobsbawm & Ranger as: "A set of practices…which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (1983, p. 1). Traditionalising here is an evaluative action because it interprets, assesses, and judges the credibility of justifications of authenticity through the desire for continuity with the past. Often such forms of authentication are influenced by emotional desires for nostalgia (Brown et al., 2003; Holbrook, 1993). Certain market actors resonate with symbols that reinforce their self-generated perspectives that things were better in the past than in the present (Davis, 1979).

Since the estate concept had dominated the idea of authenticity in the field for over 50 years, the interpretation of the authenticity produced by the SIP and in general could only be contextualised by reference to that institution. Over time, estate wine had acquired symbolic status and value as the pinnacle of the WOS and a paragon of authenticity for those in the wine field. The market was "*gewoond aan die wynlandgoed*",[19] as the purest expression (FAMK21), serving as the model for accomplishing authenticity. Several market actors openly discussed what constituted an authentic wine and evaluated the activities of the SIP through the lens of consistency and connection to the past via two framing actions, namely *indexing tenure and*

[19] Accustomed to wine estates.

provenance and *referencing pedigree and prestige*. Indexing tenure and provenance comprised actions by market actors connecting authenticity to the ownership of land and the succession of winemaking activities on that land over time. Referencing pedigree and prestige involved market participants using frames of track record of quality, status, and admiration over time to evaluate nascent claims to authenticity.

5.2.2.1 Indexing tenure and provenance

Indexing is a process of assessing authenticity in relation to something that is original or a credible representation of something authenticated (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Grayson & Martinec, 2004). Certain market participants evaluated authenticity according to whether the land was owned by the person producing the wine (i.e., those with tenure) and production had been entirely concentrated on that land over a significant period (i.e., provenance). These interpretative frames were significantly intertwined in the judgment actors, conforming to these perceptions of authenticity, ultimately made about the authenticity work of the SIP.

Ownership of the original source of production has a significant influence over perceptions of authenticity and value (Beverland, 2006; Lehman et al., 2019; Newman & Dhar, 2014). SIP members and their adherents were perceived by a variety of market actors as "sitting on a time-bomb because…they don't have any capital, and they don't own their own land" (FANM01). In several instances, therefore, land ownership was seen as central to authenticity:

> I think I'm the only one that owns my own land…that's authentic. If you are a Swartland wine, you must actually own the land. I'm quite strong on those things because if you want to influence terroir significantly, meaning over decades, ownership of land is quite vital. (SWOG01)

The SIP and its members recognised the impact this limitation had on perceptions of their authenticity and status in the market: "We're tiny fry, pansy-ass little wine producers, 'farmers at arms without farms'. You can't be taken seriously if you don't have a farm…You can talk about viticulture and this and that but unless your farm yourself" (SWSI10). These quotes

further highlight the power and status differences over the issue of tenure and the challenges faced by the fringe in imposing their version of authenticity in the market. Wine producers were not automatically considered authentic because they owned land because, “you can have ownership but if you didn’t have the vineyards around it [the cellar] then what’s then? That is all the authenticity” (FAMK17).

Provenance implies a “chronology of ownership, stewardship, or custody of the winery or winemaking techniques” (Massa et al., 2017, p. 21). The estate concept supported the notion that terroir (and therefore authenticity) was generated through winemaking on a homogenous piece of land where everything has “got to be made, produced and bottled” (FANM10) on that land. To many, provenance produced distinctive intrinsic characteristics in the wine that captured the essence of a piece of land: “Who can carry or develop expression of site better…than the estate? … Estate wine is not estate wine if it does not focus on site specificness” (FAMK19). These excerpts imply that for some the knowledge acquired by producers who owned their land and produced wine entirely on that land were important markers when evaluating authenticity.

According to certain respondents, terroir and authenticity were not simply created through the knowledge of the proprietor producing wine on his land but through the “gathering and passing down of knowledge and experience gained over centuries from generation to generation” (FAMK21). “Vanity wineries” were widely admonished because, “You can’t buy a farm today and then be here tomorrow or come from Joburg with a lot of money…if you want to make wine you have to learn a little bit about it and with experience and time, you'll learn more” (FANM10). Similarly, registered estate wine property owners were suspicious of fringe producers’ claims to provenance and therefore authenticity:

> Go buy yourself a farm, see if it works, don’t tell me how to do it…it’s not good [for your] reputation as being one of the best with viticulture and then you go into farming and you

just don't succeed. You need to have the knowledge. (SWOG02)

The relaxation of regulations in 2006 to allow for the registration of single vineyards was a hallmark moment for wine producers because grapes traversing regional boundaries could retain their origin (FAMK17). From the accounts of respondents, these regulations were perceived as devaluing the estate concept and created a dilemma when evaluating and assigning authenticity to place:

> Authenticity in wine can be overrated. A bottle that perfectly expresses a lousy site is destined to give very little pleasure, no matter how good the winemaking. Those who believe in the primacy of place are faced with two alternatives. They must either make the most authentic statement from the land they own, taking their chances on whether it's the right place to have planted a particular variety, or they must seek out vineyards with the special qualities they most wish to capture. (Fridjhon, 2011)

The notion that authenticity and credibility could be acquired through multi-vineyard grape sourcing exacerbated divisions between those who resonated with the fringe and those indexing tenure and provenances. Several respondents felt that the multiple vineyard sourcing practices widely adopted by SIP members were problematic: "You don't have your own vineyards; you're buying here and you're buying there. How sustainable is organisations like that [sic]? I've got a question mark behind it [sic]" (FAMK20).

5.2.2.2 Referencing pedigree and prestige

In addition to tenure and provenance, certain market participants evaluated wine authenticity according to pedigree i.e., track record of recognised quality over time, as well as the associated prestige i.e., reputational status in the market. Some respondents interviewed argued that pedigree was assigned when producers were able to progressively improve quality through the know-how generated by making wine from the same vineyards over time: "The building blocks in making a credible wine is the ability to have a degree of consistency in quality. It mustn't be all over the show because you're fiddling with different vineyards" (FAMK21) Additionally, many felt that authenticity could best be achieved through, "track record…there

must be credibility behind it and there must be some recognition" (FAMK20). The lack of quality farming track record was seen by one producer as central to the ills facing the South African wine industry's global status: "The reason why we don't have real iconic wines in South Africa is because there is not a long enough association [with the farm]" (SWOG02). For some, many of the SIP members had acquired unwarranted reverence "due to the write-ups and the 5-star ratings…but which wine of those independent producers have won any awards that have been conducted blindly? [sic]" (FAMK08).

Furthermore, since "authenticity is gravitas" (FAMK01), leading South African estates had, over time, acquired significant prestige through the acquisition of authenticity and concomitant status. This was an international phenomenon because wine estates globally had been "garnering most of the news coverage while accounting for less than one percent of global wine sales" (Beverland, 2009, p. 114). In relation to this, some fringe respondents felt that "Wine is this white-collar aspirational thing…I've also sat in Laffite and Romanée Conti and been in awe of all these institutions of grandeur…You get those guys that still see wine as these manicured lawns and everything else" (ZB05). The dramatic contrast between the fringe framings and those more classic in the field presented a dilemma to estate wine producers in the Swartland who were frequently reticent to join the SIP because it conflicted with their identity as an estate:

> Because I see all these grand Stellenbosch guys all have these grand estates…I said, "Okay, I will give it a try. Why not estate?" [laughs] We are an estate in the Swartland and it's more of social pressure that we joined [the SIP] …our consumers don't really know what SIP is and they don't really enjoy those kind of wines…We're estate wines. (SWSI19)

For many, navigating the attribution of authenticity between classic and fringe frames was complex. Those supporting classic wines saw the fringe as anti-establishment, amateurish, and sometimes nerdy, while those supporting the fringe ideals of authenticity saw estate wine producers as focused on grandeur and making wine whose "unrelenting dullness positions them

with the emperor's new clothes in the costume museum of sartorial fiction" (Fridjhon, 2015). The incompatibility between interpreting, assessing, and judging through these countervailing frames ultimately exposed a cultural fault line in the field, polarising market participants into two broad cliques that are referred to here as "the fringe" and "classic" cliques. As explained and illustrated in the following section, this polarity inspired mobilisation and a range of framing contests over authenticity, status, and worth

5.3 Valorising status

Authentication confers status and value on organisations (Beverland, 2005; Vannini & Williams, 2009). Status refers to an organisation's social position in a market based on reputation (White, 1981), and elevation in status results in social gains, which may influence their worth and the premium they can charge for their products (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016). Valorising in this case involved a series of a framing contests engaged in by an array of market participants to influence the status and worth of countervailing frames of authenticity. Two dimensions of valorising were identified, *mobilising the fringe,* and *contesting countervailing frames*. Mobilising the fringe constituted strategic efforts by a vanguard of fringe market participants aligning and working on elevating the market status and worth of frames of authenticity they resonated with. Contesting countervailing frames involved multiple groups of actors mobilising and countermobilising to engage in robust cultural and legal framing contests.

5.3.1 Mobilising the fringe

Resonating with the fringe was evaluative, fragmented and involved a process of "conversion" while mobilising the fringe was active, aligned, and involved a process of "spreading the gospel" of the authenticity work of the SIP. One respondent remarked that: "Authenticity can

be created more easily because there is legacy and there is history that is understood and not challenged" (FAMK09). The rapid rise of the SIP and the persuasiveness of their authenticity work challenged prevailing frames of authenticity by being "a stone cast into the ocean that is the South African wine industry, and we are all satisfied with the ripples and waves it has caused" (http://www.theswartlandrevolution.com, 15 November 2015). Two framing actions underpinned this dimension of valorising the status of the SIP's authenticity work, namely *evangelising* and *selectively emulating authenticity work*. Evangelising was actioned when a broad array of fringe-leaning market participants engaged in zealous advocacy to convert audiences by demonstrating awe, reverence, and devotion. Selective emulation was performed by fringe adherents such as the Zoo Biscuits to enhance the authentic status of the fringe wine production practices by selectively appropriating, adapting, and actioning resonant frames.

5.3.1.1 Evangelising through awe, admiration, and devotion

Evangelising is generated through the awe-arousing effects of charisma (Shils, 1965), imbuing the leaders, organisations, and practices of SIP members with authenticity (Dion & Arnould, 2011; Preece, 2015). In this case the charisma of the SIP invoked emotionally performative displays of awe, admiration, and devotion that are typical of organisational evangelising, and resemble hot authentication actions of worshipping, venerating, and paying obeisance (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014). Awe is an authenticating action of wonderment, encapsulating how wine producers "for many years have sold wine overseas as Swartland but never managed to create that interest, that craziness about Swartland. Now all of a sudden everybody wants a Swartland wine and it's to our benefit" (SWOG09). It was bewildering for some observers how the SIP had managed to overcome low status and achieve notoriety within such a short space of time:

> They reassure each other while experimenting with styles that show a restraint and authenticity not traditionally seen in current day South Africa. I am convinced that without

> the energy of these new South African revolutionaries, the shale, granite, old vines and low yields would have stayed in the shadows of this wine region…Swartland has turned into a centre of winemaking energy that will not escape global notoriety for long. (Japko, 2011)

Such invocations demonstrate how market participants externalised their emotional connection to the authenticity work of the SIP. Wonderment was often accompanied by delight and surprise at how the SIP were able to "establish something new, sexy and exciting with a vibe…and they pulled it off, hugely successfully pulled it off. Never mind what the naysayers are saying about them" (FANM01). In the act of delighting in identifying traits they found compelling, market audiences often fawned over the SIP's wines: "Call them what you will: genuine, legitimate or authentic, they are wines of purity and naturalness" (Lloyd, 2016).

Several respondents interviewed were in awe of the premiums commanded for quality Swartland grapes: "We're paying double today what we were paying 5 or 6 years ago" (FAMK05). Some in the Swartland argued that "the awareness and the interest they created around wine of origin Swartland we…can now survive on bulk because we are getting a higher premium" (SWOG09). Wines from the Swartland were also commanding significant prices and one respondent related how an agent for a prominent SIP member, "after tasting the assemblage from the tank, said, 'I can smell a lot of dollars here' [laughs]" (FANM01). Distributors began to realise the significant value inherent in SIP's wines, "so they've upped the price to the trade and as it sells, they've all re-calibrated, but the re-calibration is upwards" (FANM08).

Admiration was demonstrated through acts of respect and reverence as one respondent emphatically exclaimed, "I admire what they did. I mean that unreservedly, I really do admire what they did, and I think most people do" (FAMK05). In recounting reasons for wanting to join the SIP and make wine in the Swartland, one respondent fondly reminisced, "As outsiders looking in, we just loved the authenticity in the wine" (SWSI07). Some were wholly impressed

with the influence the SIP was imposing on the South African wine field: "It's hard not to be moved by their story and their wines. Indeed, it's through this inspirational combination of wine and soul that Swartland is making waves" (Rose, 2016). Such discursive statements of reverence by credible press became a common feature of column inches devoted to South African wine: "People read, and then they see these figures on television, there's interviews with them, the wine bloggers and writers, they love them" (SWOG09). Key proponents of the revolution such as Eben Sadie came to be recognised as, "probably the most revered winemaker in South Africa" (retweet: @swartlandrevolution, Feb 8, 2011) and venerated as the "sort of baby Jesus of the Swartland" (FAMK03).

The SIP's authenticity work seemed to inspire devotion and loyalty amongst an almost fanatical following of fringe market adherents:

> I always quite jokingly say it's quasi-religious. My mom is a happy-clappy reborn Christian and she goes to church every Sunday, and there are a whole bunch of people who went to every Swartland Revolution. I would seriously contend that there is something missing in their lives that they only get at the Swartland Revolution…a big tent, a few high priests and you all get to sing and laugh together. (FANM07)

Interviewees similarly related that the devotion by SIP members and fringe supporters resembled a cult-like dynamic where: "Part of the cult is no puffery. So, the old ford bakkie is real, it's authentic. Authentic is a strong subtext word, you don't have to unpack it, it's there" (FANM08). In observing and listening to insider accounts it was apparent that not only did market participants resonate with the fringe, but they also engaged in individual and collective displays to demonstrate and promote their collective allegiance, otherwise known as authenticating acts and authoritative performances (Arnould & Price, 2000).

Highly involved audiences known as wine geeks and alternative or non-mainstream media (Mihailidis & Viotty, 2017), were apparently attracted to the authenticity work of the SIP and invested significant effort into immersing themselves in their growing fringe community: "I

think there's a lot of real wine folks. Sometimes, they're a little bit geeky and nerdy but it's people that takes an interest in the whole thing" (ZB05). Wine geeks were seen as purposively attempting to live out their romanticised notions of wine authenticity at prices commensurate with the emotional value rendered:

> I think the Swartland appeals…to kind of extreme wine geeks who have also been priced out of other wine regions…it's like people who are…sort of staying at the cutting edge of wine and who do drink for a bit of authenticity. They're not drinking wine casually and they want the producers to slot in with their ideals of what wine should be. (SWSI08)

Furthermore, respondents reported how a novel vernacular had developed to describe the styles of the wines peculiar to the SIP: "I could imagine myself as saying this is a Swartlandish sort of wine…I think it's probably from the Swartland, but I'll hedge my bets [especially] with people like the Zoo Biscuits…in a sense that is quite a Swartlandish organisation" (FANM06). Recognising intrinsic qualities that conjured up taste memories in relation to referents appeared commonplace in the South African wine field and many respondents and articles referred to the "Rhone-like and/or Mediterranean character of Swartland wines" (Fridjhon, 2012). Ultimately, such evangelising acts were destined to produce a reaction from those "conservative and down the line" (SWOG02).

5.3.1.2 Selectively emulating authenticity work in unifying the fringe

Emulation in this case was a collectively disrupting and galvanising framing action focused upon selectively appropriating elements of the authenticity work of the SIP. Emulation in this case is not the same as institutional mimicry where authenticated practices resemble each other over time because conventional practices are copied (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983; Lee & Pennings, 2002; Monteiro & Nicolini, 2015). Jones and Massa (2013) introduced the concept of adapted emulation that occurs when organisations draw authority and adapt their practices through refashioned frames based on consecrated referents. Selective emulation in this case differs from adapted emulation because other fringe wine producers drew authority for their

claims and performances of authenticity from customised aspects of the authenticity work of the SIP, which radically diverged from conventional practices in the field. This concept was paradoxical because other new generation producers wanted to express sameness and solidarity with the authenticity work of the SIP, but simultaneously emphasise their differences: "They're mimicking through what they're doing, [by demonstrating] the desire to be different and to be differentiated from the mainstream, because the Swartland is the only example of how to be different" (SWSI09).

Sameness or "me too-ness" (Beverland, 2009), was reflected in the beliefs of some producers that the mobilisation of the fringe was a growing international trend: "The similarity is that you're not afraid to try something different because smaller independent producers all around the world…there's been a lot more acceptance and interest in this" (ZB05). It was apparent that there was a rapid uptake of similar winemaking ideals and practices in other areas: "There's a lot of young individuals inside the other regions that's also friends of ours trying the same kind of things and this kind of style of winemaking is obviously spreading" (SWSI17). These shared practices and networks became so pronounced that, "most of the Zoo Biscuits now have a Swartland wine" (FAMK02). One producer describes the relationship between the SIP and the Zoo Biscuits as follows:

> It's a very common thread. I think that's why a lot of those guys are kind of very close…And I guess that's why we're very good friends with them. We share exactly the same philosophies and principles. In terms of winemaking…it's clichéd crap, hands-off so to speak which should actually be more hands-on because you have to be more hands-on. (ZB07)

For others, "Swartland asserted itself, it's Swartlandness, even if we're not entirely sure of what it consists of, but other areas are wanting to do that, some for real reasons, some for-marketing reasons" (FANM06). These hot authentication actions were not only confined to the Zoo Biscuits but also included other meta-organisations such as the Breedekloof Makers that emerged around the town of Rawsonville in 2015. It became apparent that a process of frame

bridging, alignment, and assimilation (Benford & Snow, 2000; Santos & Eisenhardt, 2009), was occurring, spurred on by the initial successes of the SIP's authenticity work.

Despite their relationships and like-mindedness, the Zoo Biscuits and other new generation wine producers were cautious in "detracting from what they [the SIP] were doing or being seen to just be a copycat" (ZB03). Differentiation strategies can be performed by being different in a different way through signalling unique or nascent meaning frames, attributes, or cues not employed by other competitors (Kim & Mauborgne, 2005; Priilaid & Steyn, 2019). Such strategies could also be performed by positioning an organisation as being different in a similar way by selectively emphasising frames of authenticity that diverge from the market centre but resemble those of nascent or fringe actors (Anthony et al., 2016; Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010). A Breedekloof Maker recounts their authentic identity dilemma when they formed:

> Those kinds of chats were about what are we, who are we, how are we different to the Swartland Independent? Are we just another someone else trying to be Swartland? …The Zoo Biscuits for instance as well. Great collaboration. Great inspiration for us… If only to show us how to use opportunities of working together. We are looking at opportunities where we should pounce and make it work for us but still being ourselves. (FAMK07)

These insights demonstrate that on one hand nascent frames of authenticity congealed over time, and on the other that clear boundaries had been drawn between fringe wine producers: "It's not that I don't want to be associated with it, I didn't want to ride on it…I didn't even want to buy grapes there because I want it to be completely clear of the thing…there's some long shadows cast in that place" (ZB01). While the Breedekloof makers, like the Swartland, were a regional interorganisational collective, the Zoo Biscuits, named after a South African brand of assorted biscuits, straddled multiple regions, reflecting their diversity as a valorisation of the SIP's authenticity work:

> That wave has moved across. The Zoo Biscuits is…helping the category in that it's not limited to one region. It's showing the dynamism, the youthful energy. It's the inventiveness and the innovation, thinking out of the box of the new generation. (FAMK14)

Therefore, "in a way there couldn't have been Zoo Biscuits without the Swartland but now they

are more free [sic] to move around and literally buy grapes from anywhere, where Swartland is like: 'We're pushing this region'" (ZB07). Another respondent expanded on this: "The Zoo Biscuits came along with their idea of doing something different, just a cool funky name, very cool wines, cool personalities, and different regions" (FANM01). Additionally, the SIP was unique amongst fringe wine organisations and meta-organisations in that they formalised membership and codified rules, actions not undertaken by the Zoo Biscuits who were a "more flexible group than the Swartland, the Swartland Independent Producers organisation is codified" (FANM06). One Zoo Biscuit wine producer expanded further:

> There are no hard and fast rules…it's a little bit trickier to define than the Swartland stuff because they've got rules apparently but ours are almost unspoken rules of…this is what you do. I think if you get too formal with these organisations…you can lose sight of what you're actually trying to do. (ZB03)

Ultimately, in addition to the emotional contagion that occurred through evangelism, valorising also occurred through the alignment of beliefs between "a new wave of younger generation fringe wine producers" (Atkin, 2015) that transcended the Swartland.

5.3.2 Contesting countervailing frames

Fringe producers often possess low levels of resources, power, and reputational status, occupying the periphery of the market where firms tend to be small and audiences fragmented (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010; Verhaal et al., 2017). Ordinarily, fringe actors will not confront mainstream actors or incimbents by drifting into their market space because they may be overrun due to resource constrants. Coversely, for mainstream producers, it is often not worth the effort to invest energy in attracting niche audiences or engaging in minor turf wars that do not matter and may lead to reputational damage (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010). However, fringe organisations transcending the periphery into the edge of markets, may be confronted with robust countervailing action (Verhaal et al., 2017). Three inductively derived concepts performed contestations between these groups of actors. First, the CVC formed in 2013

ostensibly as a response to the dilution of the estate concept and mobilisation of the fringe. This business association served as the vehicle for prominent estate wine producers *countermobilizing to reclaim status* they once enjoyed. Second, contestations between the fringe and classical wine producers grew so fierce that it descended into *denigrating perceived adversaries* in the battle over authenticity and associated status and worth. Third, fringe producers from both the Zoo Biscuits and SIP engaged in lobbying efforts by *challenging taste judgements* made by the WSB wine evaluation committee preventing export market access for wines deemed faulty or uncharacteristic.

5.3.2.1 Countermobilising to reclaim status

As highlighted in the research setting, wine estates in the late 1960s successfully rallied against the prevailing cooperative system and the power of the "trade" to have wine estates recognised as authentic. Through these actions the wine estate became the apex and smallest origin demarcation that could be claimed under the WOS when it was established in 1973: "It was the Swartland Revolution seventy years ago…it was a bigger revolution than what has happened in the Swartland…It is a revolution that made this revolution possible in a way from a philosophical and a historical manner" (SWOG01). This quote illustrates the nostalgia several estate wine producers attached to the estate concept and the importance of challenges in achieving authentication. The parents of some producers interviewed were involved in the collective action by CEWPA to have wine estates legally and culturally validated as an authentic representation of South African wine. The attachment to estate wine remained inextricably linked to their authenticity.

However, between 2003 and 2009, amendments to the WOS transformed the legal status of the South African wine estate concept providing ample scope for private wine cellars to expand

their offerings.[20] Although the term wine estate is still used in SAWIS reports (SAWIS, 2020), it was legally substituted in the definitions of the WOS with the term "estate wine".[21] Additionally, single vineyard legislative amendments to the WOS effectively subordinated estate wine to single vineyards in the hierarchy of wine production units:[22] "A thing like single vineyard arrived and private producers could make single [vineyard] wines. So there the estate concept became watered down because all of a sudden single vineyards became a big thing" (FAMK17). A single vineyard is a specially designated block within a vineyard site, under 6 hectares in size, where grapes are used to produce wines of acceptable quality and unique characteristics.[23] Registered estate wine designation of origin became "just a production unit…according to the boundary of the property" (FANM10). The amendments initially exposed gaps that could easily be manipulated by private cellars passing off wine made on a "farm as an estate wine" (FAMK21):

> There have been many SA wine drinkers who've been surprised to learn that some estates make wine from grapes that aren't grown on those estates, that some wine outfits refer to themselves as estates when they're not, or that some farms which are registered as estates choose not to describe themselves as such. (Froud, 2014)

These practices had been gaining momentum from the 2000s as wine estates partially decoupled themselves from their overarching appellation to exploit their growing brand status and value amidst deregulation in the South African wine field (Vink, 2019). A proliferation of private cellars sourcing grapes from multiple vineyards and making single vineyard wine from vineyards they did not own also progressively gained traction in the market.

---

[20] In 2016 wine cellars (568) comprised private wine cellars (493 of which 209 were registered to make estate wine), producer cellars (48 former local cooperatives) and producing wholesalers (27 "trade" distributors who also produced and sold their own wine). See SAWIS (2014, 2017, 2019, 2020) and Froud (2019).

[21] Regulatory amendments altered the definition, reporting protocol and categories of South African wine industry organisations and units of production. 220 private cellars were registered to produce estate wine in 2019 (Froud, 2019). In 1991 there were 77 wine estates and 59 "non estates", growing to 92 estates and 185 "non-estates" by 2000. Nowadays there are "no more than a handful of estates" (Vink, 2019, p.213) i.e., in their original form. Prior to 2003 a wine estate could only produce wines that were wholly grown, made and bottled within the boundaries of their demarcated property.

[22] Section 6A and 8A of the WOS as amended in 2006 by GN R813.

[23] Section 8A of the WOS authorised by the Liquor Products Act.

Subsequent amendments to the WOS served to close loopholes to counteract reputational risks arising from these practices. To label an estate wine, the property is required to be registered by the WSB for the production thereof after complying with the provisions of the WOS. These include not being able to claim estate wine status for brand extensions using externally sourced grapes i.e., not certified as grown, made and bottled on legally registered, adjoining, or leased property. Additionally, estate wines were also required to be of acceptable quality and certified as a wine of origin.[24] Ultimately though, private cellars were afforded the regulatory latitude to simultaneously produce estate wines (if registered) as well as their own (sub) brands from grapes outside the broader district of origin where the registered estate was located.

Such legal measures were not entirely palatable or far reaching enough for some market actors. Variable quality, unscrupulous practices, and misappropriation by wine producers created reputational problems for leading estate wine producers, inspiring collective action by the CVC Additionally, they emphasised that their overarching purpose was "elevating the status and creating an awareness of South Africa's premium wine sector" (wine.co.za, Dec 17, 2015). The CVC is a meta-organisation classifying or status ranking member organisations (around 30 in 2016 according to informants) through four cornerstone criteria: estate ownership and long-term control over vineyards; high quality cellar door facilities; ethical trade accreditations; and track record of quality. Members of the CVC claimed that: "It's all about authenticity…with all these cornerstones?" (FAMK17). For CVC members interviewed, one of the central motivations for their collective action was to restore the authenticity and status of the wine estate institution which had been diluted by the rapid and uncontrolled proliferation of estate wine producers, who could automatically claim estate wine status (i.e., vested rights). By 2007 CEWPA became obsolete, "because of the vested rights…it was not authentic anymore…The

[24] Section 8(1) of the WOS as amended in 2003 by GN R1819, in 2005 by GN R835 and in 2009 by GN R554.

estate was at one stage the pinnacle of the Wine and Spirits Board demarcation system and then what happened?" (FAMK17).

Therefore, several so-called "leading estates" (FANM10) felt the only way forward was "to get off the old ship and get onto the new" (FAMK21). To overcome the diminishing purity of the estate concept and the status of the premium sector, the CVC introduced several measures. First, in addition to requiring members to be registered estates where the proprietors of the land concentrated all wine production activities on estates, the CVC allowed members to incorporate grapes into their estate wine when the estate proprietor had a 9 year and 11 months lease on vineyards[25] because the "Picasso wines come from grounds lying away from the estate… All the vineyards going in there again are our own…That is authenticity…and that's honesty" (FAMK17). Under this framework, single vineyard wines were required to be registered estate wine. Second, wines emblematic of each property were tasted, scored, accredited, and furnished with a seal to indicate their status, the apex designation being site specificness. Third, they sought to rigorously apply and strengthen currently applicable regulations because the CVC had "100% to do with the wine of origin system but it is taken one octave further. We're not trying to re-invent the wheel. It is all stuff that's there that people can use…and where we can lift the bar" (FAMK19).

Moreover, the image of the premium sectors of the South African wine industry, which the CVC claimed to represent, had suffered from being widely regarded as "cheap and cheerful" (Stone, 2015). Since they claimed to be amongst "80% of brands who are 10% of volume" (Stone, 2015), the CVC saw themselves as representing a significant proportion of the premium wine sector and were in a unique position to tackle the low status and value bedevilling the South African wine industry's image on global markets. Regardless of the veracity of such

[25] This in contrast to the WOS (amended in 2014 through GN R403) requiring land to have been leased for one year prior to the stated harvest year, amongst other criteria.

claims, the CVC advanced themselves as a credible authentic proxy for South African wine and not merely a loose coalition trying to be independent of the field:

> It's the right thing to do. It’s going to take 20 years for everyone to understand it. But there must be a credibility. And these pillars came for the industry…This is what the industry thinks independent from nobody else…there’s certain strict industry rules and regulations, and nobody’s got an agenda. (FAMK20)

CVC members were required to demonstrate that they were attaching appropriate pricing and therefore not devaluing the premium sector: “You've got to prove that it's worth more than 15 Euros…to push the quality and the pricing and show what we really can do in South Africa as a grouping” (FAMK18). Counterclaiming authenticity by the CVC was therefore not only directed at the SIP (although it may have played a role) but was seemingly also directed at estate wine producers who had not proved their worth or were appropriating estate wine status in an underhanded fashion and as a result the premium sector of the wine industry was suffering from low status and worth.

As previously discussed, the SIP had generated significant media coverage once solely enjoyed by leading estate wine producers. Several informants therefore saw the CVC merely as a countervailing response to the threat posed by the fringe: “I think there is a lot of the outside people who are jealous about this Swartland group and that is why they tried to create things like that now as well” (SWOG10). However, the excerpts demonstrate that frames undermining and diluting the authenticity, status and value of the estate concept were not entirely attributable to the fringe, but arose from various sources including regulators, nascent private cellars, and wine estates over time as the South African wine field fragmented after the repurposing of the KWV. However, the wine estate institution remained resonant in certain quarters of the market. Those such as the CVC, sought to reclaim the purity, reverence and status the estate wine concept they once revelled in. As explained and illustrated further, this situation escalated conflict over divergent meanings of authenticity in the South African wine field.

5.3.2.2 Denigrating perceived adversaries

The tensions surfaced by the mobilisation of the fringe and countermobilisation of classic producers often descended into spiteful discourse during interviews, and opposing factions tried to discredit the credibility of perceived market adversaries on either side of the divide. Several SIP members were surprised that there was "not greater buy-in from the rest of the industry and also a few of the more established regions, and even reputable producers seeing it as an opportunity to sort of make comments about it" (SWSI13). The fringe market clique was seen as revolting against "the institutions and the establishment. They want to distance themselves from uniformity and the mediocrity of the establishment" (FANM01). One respondent suggested that the fringe was exposing flaws in conventional ideas of authenticity through an "irreverent attitude towards all of that type of friggin' Bordeaux-esque nonsense [that] has spread far and wide through the Cape. It's not just the Swartland *okes* but we've probably got them to thank for [exposing] it" (ZB01).

Fringe producers suspected that this backlash occurred because, "the Swartland was so stupidly successful in capturing the *Zeitgeist* of the change in South African wine that it just upset the old guard no-end" (SWSI08). Another reason put forward for the animosity was related to how the SIP managed to achieve success in this with minimal economic and physical resources:

> I guess they're a little bit flabbergasted as to how they've been able to become so successful without having vineyards, without having a tasting room and without having a huge winery. They don't understand it because it's not in their make-up. They would rather have a nice house and a nice car, than great wine on the table. (FAMK14)

Furthermore, some felt that the source of such animosity came from, "a sense of jealousy because all of a sudden these guys sort of came out of nowhere and created a lot of attention" (SWSI15). Certain market participants thought it was because, "these independent guys is personalities [sic]. They build themselves up and many other people doesn't like it. *In Afrikaans*

is daar 'n lekker woord, die ouens is baie windgat, hulle dink baie van hul self"[26] (SWOG09).

The SIP had since inception come under fire from prominent producers who questioned its credibility: "They invite themselves and they must market themselves but if it comes to the small matter of money, sooner or later then they run dry" (FAMK20). On the eve of the Swartland Revolution, highly esteemed winemakers at leading estate wine produces were quoted discrediting the SIP, cautioning against the harmful precedent the evangelism by media set for younger winemakers:

> If you haven't got money, you move to the Swartland and then you must talk it up rather than admit that you haven't got the wherewithal to farm in an optimal area. It doesn't help that these producers have loaded up some of the country's so-called leading wine writers onto the bandwagon. What happens is that youngsters entering the industry conclude that they can bullshit their way to greatness. (Eedes, 2010)

Others discredited the SIP as, "a fan club for Eben, Adi, and Chris. I think from a terroir point of view and a quality point of view, it can't hold a candle to Stellenbosch" (FANM09). Some saw the CVC organisation as far more credible and "not something like the Swartland guys…I don't believe in things like that. It's just sort of an organisation that's got no system or structure behind it. It's a club and I'm not into clubs" (FAMK21). Members of the CVC were equally circumspect about the SIP's claims to purity:

> You look at the Malmesbury guys: on the edge, mostly going the wrong way. I mean the good wines are brilliant [but] most of them are shit and that region has no future. They have already stopped their Revolution. They realise it. Where you're almost an anti-establishment, you need to reinvent yourself more consistently. (FAMK19)

What especially seemed to irk many of the old guard was that the SIP authentication seal had been endorsed by powerful international buyers in Scandinavia. In 2015, tenders were released by the state-governed Scandinavian liquor control boards, commonly referred to as monopolies, that specified that Swartland wines had to bear the SIP accreditation. For example, Tender 201509005 issue by the Norwegian *Vinmonopolet* specified the tender as wine of origin

---

[26] In Afrikaans there is a nice word, the guys are very cocky and arrogant, they think a lot of themselves.

Swartland but with other requirements: “Other criteria the product have to meet [sic]: 1. Based on minimum three of the following varieties: Grenache, Syrah, Carignan, Cinsault or Mourvèdre 2. Swartland Independent (has to appear on the bottle)”. In response, some respondents argued that they, “had an issue with that…because those criteria are self-imposed, they’re not controlled. Once you start writing tenders like that you invite uncontrolled or unlegislated [criteria]” (SWOG01).

In their interviews, fringe respondents often sniped back, arguing that some like the CVC were, “trying hard to be fashionable…and to differentiate themselves in a way that can contrast Swartland and they’re not succeeding because it’s not tangible, it’s not authentic” (SWSI09). Certain respondents also viewed the CVC as dull: “A neck tag on some of South Africa's very good, most expensive wines…it's not going to boil the ocean…not entirely misguided, the tenure of land etcetera are all really important but…it shows a shocking lack of flare and imagination” (FANM07). Furthermore, as a counterpoint to some of the old guards’ comments that organisations like the SIP were merely clubs, marketing ploys and not focused on quality, one respondent remarked about the CVC:

> They realise they can work better in leveraging the results and see that as useful but again that's a marketing thing, it's not aimed at improvement, it's aimed at selling more wine and their rhetoric is actually more about recognition of excellence rather than creating excellence. (FANM06)

Several respondents also bemoaned the corporatisation that accompanied the estate wine concept: “They own vineyards, they own properties but…there is a lack of…quickness to change and they are often not wine people. The more I am in wine [the more] I realise accountants cannot run wine businesses” (FAMK15). What is apparent from the passages above is that valorising may involve engaging in strategic efforts to talk up claims to authenticity, reclaim authenticity that has been cast into doubt or diluted, and discrediting perceived adversaries in the battle for authenticity, status, and value.

5.3.2.3 Challenging taste judgements

According to the WSB their "system's ability to trace and authenticate wines is 'light years ahead' of any other wine sector in the world" (Davidson, 2017). Challenging taste judgements was a framing contest that transpired between the fringe and regulators over the legal authenticity of their wines. The contest centred on the struggle over market access because some fringe versions of authentic wines were rejected by the legislated tasting panels judging wines according to several criteria such as faulty or indistinctive character. Serving as the final gatekeepers for wine to be exported and therefore market access, these tasting panels declared what was authentic. One respondent explained the struggle to place the SIP's so-called authentic wines into existing categories to allow for export certification: "I mean, they couldn't get it into them [markets] without being certified or they'd have to make it under what was then the other categories" (FANM03). The process was dialectic because it involved back and forth between authenticity work by members of the SIP and authentication work by other market actors such as the Zoo Biscuits, critics, regulators, and so forth. The subjective nature of sensory assessments and commercial impact of constant rejection incensed fringe actors with significant export demand and unfulfilled orders for their wines:

> The panel's rejection of the wine may have been a collective aesthetic response to something unfamiliar. If so, it betokens a narrow-minded attitude in the extreme. Is their role to protect the public interest in South Africa or do they profess to understand the taste of consumers in export markets around the world? (James, 2012)

In challenging the taste judgements of the WSB, one SIP producer argued, "It's a style of wine; just because it doesn't fall within your reference framework it doesn't mean the wine is incorrect" (SWSI10). However, policymakers emphasised that there was a good reason for, "regulating it because…marketers are marketers, and they call every red wine a Cabernet Sauvignon. It doesn't matter what wine is in the bottle" (FANM04). Members of the SIP and Zoo Biscuits engaged in collective action to open dialogue with the WSB technical committee:

> If I'm one producer making a cloudy wine, they're going to tell me to bugger off. If we're 23 producers making four cloudy wines each which is a hundred and something wines…the more and more people standing together, the more powerful force you are at the end of the day. (ZB02)

New wave producers saw many of the regulations as counter-productive and detrimental to overall quality because, "It's like beating a dog with a stick, it doesn't become obedient, it just becomes scared of the stick…over-policing has never had any other result than dumbing down the system to the safest possible choice" (ZB04). Another producer was perplexed by the motivations of controlling export access in this way, arguing that they were not, "trying to give you the middle finger, you've got markets you sell it to…[but] don't like hamper us because this is the way we are making our wine. We also have markets…we're meant to be a collective industry" (ZB07).

The market became further polarised over this issue as opinions conformed to whichever side of the divide market participants were on. For some of the old guard this collective action was frivolous: "They were just trying to make a point and they were going against the establishment. The establishment being the Wine and Spirit Board mostly, with all the laws which is important…You cannot make as you see fit all the time" (SWOG09). One regulator vividly explained the reputational risk of allowing such wines to pass uncontrolled into the market:

> People say it's better, it's healthier, it's unfiltered and all these other things. And now you're getting a lot of wines coming through that we look at it and we judge…if it looks like pea soup, obviously it will be rejected and it will go for a microbiological test because we can't afford to send wine into the market, and it explodes…That did happen with some of these Swartland wines. They were faulty. (FANM10)

A commercial wine buyer appearing during an interview with one respondent confirmed that some SIP wines he had sold had been consistently returned by wine consumers because they were clearly faulty (field notes, November 2015). Another producer strongly condemned many of the fringe's winemaking practices: "I just don't understand how the consumer public relate to many of those wines because there is unfortunately a lot of them that are blatantly fraud and

not even the best of stories could hide those flaws" (FAMK21).

From these descriptions and illustrations, valorising was comprised of two authenticity framing contests between 2010 and 2016 in South Africa. There were those resembling a turf war over authenticity and concomitant status, and worth between fringe and classic estate wine producers, often involving the hostile discrediting of each other's claims to authenticity. Second, there was conflict between proponents of the fringe and regulators over the legal status of their authenticity claims in the nonmarket environment. These contests ratcheted up tensions in the field and respondents felt that, if unresolved, it would do irreparable harm to the image and value of the country brand, already in a precarious position in terms of global value and image (Stone, 2015).

5.4 Reframing meaning

Somehow framings of authenticity by both cliques had to be accommodated in reformulating the meaning of authenticity in the market. Furthermore, a legal solution to the younger generation's problems affecting market access needed to be forged. New meanings of authenticity emerge out of social negotiation and agreement, shaped by powerplay between multiple actors (Koçak et al., 2013; Peterson, 1997; Sine & Lee, 2009). It was clear that the fringe lacked economic power, but they had rapidly accumulated non-economic power through collective accumulation of authenticity and organisation. Reframing meaning was a strategic framing process to stabilise the meanings of authenticity in the field through cultural and legal negotiation and agreement. Two framing actions occurred in the market, *advocating co-existing frames of authenticity,* and *navigating category co-creation.* Market participants progressively engaged in advocating co-existing frames of authenticity to recognise the status and value of countervailing frames of authenticity and allow both to co-exist in the field. This created a market for fringe producers through social and cultural validation. Navigating category co-

creation was a formal legal framing action involving negotiation between regulators and the fringe producers from the SIP and Zoo Biscuits over export market access. This framing action supported the regulatory creation of several new categories of alternative wine styles.

Ultimately, six new alternative wines styles, as mentioned, were promulgated and came into effect in July 2015. While it allowed the vanguard to access export markets, the legislation was accompanied by stringent conditions to eliminate quality risks and ensure consistency. Both these collective cultural and legal decisions demonstrated field level control over the meaning of authenticity by declaring knowledge of new meanings thereof through the dissemination of cultural understandings that had been forged and legislating new tasting standards.

5.4.1 Advocating co-existing frames

A sentiment emerged over time that the frames espoused by both classic producers and fringe producers could co-exist and both could be considered authentic. It is worth noting that they did not co-create an overarching meaning of authenticity but merely a social recognition that both had "zones of authentication" (Askin & Mol, 2018). Both framings had merit and were worthy of authentic status, and neither version was superior nor detracted from the overarching field-level meaning of authenticity. Two framing actions performed the promotion of co-existing frames of authenticity in the field, namely *recognising the worth of adversaries* and *transcending fragmented interests to focus on the field-level strategy*. In recognising the worth of adversaries, the new generation fringe producers and the traditional producers conceded that alternate framings of authenticity were both credible and could comfortably co-exist. The polarised fringe and classic cliques ultimately agreed that field-level goals affecting most market participants superseded their squabbles over authenticity affecting all field actors and therefore found common ground by transcending fragmented interests to focus on the field-level strategy.

5.4.1.1 Recognising the worth of adversaries

A critical driver of a change in sentiment in the market towards the end of 2015 and into 2016 was the recognition by classic and fringe producers that they could both contribute to the authenticity, status, and worth of the overall country brand, and their beliefs in this respect aligned. One of the ways in which this occurred was a mutual recognition of the worth of their former adversaries competing for the overarching authenticity status and worth of the field. Fringe producers came to recognise that it was, “important for us to be seen as being part of that collective, that we’re not above or better…They were there first and a lot of the work that you have been able to build on was done by them generations ago” (SWSI13). Furthermore, there was a growing appreciation that it was unnecessary to choose between the fringe and classic conceptions of authenticity: “I think there is a big group of the classic and there’s modern guys and I think it’s fantastic for both. I don’t want to choose anyone…those guys need to stay around, and they need to carry on producing” (FAMK14). Another buyer agreed because, “you can be authentic without being very cool” (FAMK13). Several market participants suggested that it was time to move from a position of revolution to a process of evolution or “re-discovery of the past” (FANM06), a sentiment echoed by one fringe producer:

> Obviously, authenticity needs to be qualified by heritage. You can’t really have authenticity without history. The one qualifies the other. So, we’ve got history here, we’ve got things…that are extremely appropriate…it basically calls on the centuries of history that we’ve got. (ZB01)

Similarly, there was a gradual recognition by old guard wine producers that generational change was instrumental in improving the overall image of the industry: “It’s part of history, part of all of the beautiful things…that change as wine changes in the bottle, fully evolving. I believe each generation has got its evolving role…I think that’s very good because it’s another identity” (FAMK18). There was also a recognition that estate wine producers simply had a different, not opposing claim to authenticity, “that’s what it’s designed to be, they want to show

that South Africa can produce elite wines…in a sense they are the Bordeaux model and Swartland is the Burgundy model, but they're working very hard" (FANM06). Some CVC members even demonstrated evangelical behaviour and growing respect for what the SIP had achieved as a regional collective**,** "Then you have a region and they [SIP] are the best example, as far as I'm concerned…If they want an ambassador, I will be their ambassador" (FAMK20). Some of the classic producers even admired the business savvy of the SIP:

> They are not doing it for charity…they've brought something to the table that's completely fresh and refreshing. I think that's what people needed. It's not just that those *okes* are on some kind of some altruistic mission to change the Swartland. They were also opportunistic and there's nothing wrong with being a businessman and seeing an opportunity…a chance here in this amazing wine industry to do something that people need. (SWOG01)

These sentiments ultimately laid the foundations for previous adversaries to find common ground over matters of authenticity, leading some to go so far as suggesting that "for all their insurrection, the rebels are now the darlings of the establishment" (Liou, 2015).

5.4.1.2 Transcending fragmented interests to focus on field strategy

Recognition of the contributions of other stakeholders in the market created the environment in which conflicting groups could de-couple themselves from their own interests within their cliques and create meanings of authenticity that worked for everyone. Ultimately, what occurred on a relational level in the South African field was that competing cliques transcended their fragmented positions to recognise that the overriding purpose and strategy of the field took precedence over internal squabbles over who was more authentic, valuable, or revered. One producer suggested that a solution to resolving the impasse was, "to bridge that…because there are so many negatives floating around us currently. We're small players and we've got to work together. If we don't work together, we won't stand together on all platforms" (FAMK21). Not everyone had to commit to one frame of meaning because, "there is this yearning that people have for authenticity expressed in different ways…I think we sense the

artificialness of it all" (FAMK05).

This was supported by one producer arguing that the fringe was another version of authenticity but bound together with traditional producers by the overarching authenticity of the South African wine field: "It's another and not an-other. That's for sure. This whole story of another…it's not taking away from anybody, it's giving somebody, an-other, another means of doing something that is different" (FAMK19). The way forward was to therefore focus on what mattered most for the field through a strategic move to crystallise authenticity and therefore status and value of the entire field since, "we still have got to convince people that South Africa has quality wine from anywhere. From Swartland or Constantia or Stellenbosch" (FANM07). This meant focusing on larger long-term challenges confronting the industry, "One can argue for a whole lot of other things, you could just as easily substitute the word authentic with appropriate if we started growing climate appropriate grapes…but right now we can make wines that are more authentic" (ZB01).

Both fringe and classic producers seemed to agree that the most significant strategic challenges confronting the field was South Africa's low export value and reputational image on global markets. One respondent suggested that "sustainable agriculture starts with getting the right price for your product" (SWSI01). In 2017, the South African wine industry occupied the lowest value ranking for its packaged wine exports out of all mainstream wine producing countries, and things were no different at the time fieldwork was conducted (Ewert, Hanf & Sweickert, 2015). The average packaged export price per litre for South African wine was €1.95 on approximately 250 million litres compared to US packaged wine exports at €6.34 at a volume of 195m litres (Steyn, 2019).[27] One of the central motivations for the CVC's formation was to raise the average price points for South Africa's premium wine sector.

[27] See also Pinilla, Anderson & Nelgen (2018) who report South Africa's per litre packaged export unit price for still wine in 2016 as US$2,40 (186 million litres) in contrast to US$6.69 (197million litres) for the US.

Furthermore, as related by several informants, South Africa's country brand was often "perceived as cheap and cheerful: cheap and nasty by some, cheap by most" (FAMK05). A shared desire to focus on elevating status and worth of the country brand amongst actors polarised over the meaning of authenticity, forced them into setting aside internal squabbles over authenticity, to focus on such higher order goals. The importance of coming to social consensus on shared meanings of authenticity was summarised by one respondent:

> Honestly, the authentic question is probably the most important question because that speaks to really the heart of the South African psyche: Who is authentic? He or she who can claim the authenticity is then the one who is actually the champion. But it's not a race, it's not a fight, it's actually just an acceptance that we are all authentic actually, and we are all part of this mix. (FAMK09)

Such sentiments had the effect of extending the meaning of authenticity in the market to incorporate and appease both factions. The negotiation and agreement over authenticity did not result in the reformulation of a coherent meaning but in a broader re-interpretation or extension of current cultural framings of authenticity. Authentic wine in South Africa could be produced conventionally on a registered estate imbued with a rich heritage, pedigree, tradition, and site specificness. It could equally be produced using alternative craft-like methods invoking limited intervention from geographically dispersed vineyards that could express a unique character in the wines of that region.

5.4.2 Navigating category co-creation

However, for such a social agreement to have any significant consequence for fringe producers, the regulatory impasse had to have been overcome in the negotiation with policymakers. The culmination of negotiation is described here as category co-creation since it was widely reported as being performed in the spirit of complicity, innovation, and practical necessity (Demetry, 2019). Policymakers interviewed openly contended that such changes were accomplished purely through, "pressure from the industry. I mean, how do we compete?" (FANM04). Two

collective framing actions were central to this dimension: *convergent learning* and *trading off on category boundaries*. Convergent learning comprised strategic and reflexive educational efforts between regulators and the fringe to sensitise and co-influence each other on wine quality integrity and authenticity. Trading off on category boundaries involved fringe producers and policymakers negotiating the creation of new categories through agreeing on certain conditions and thresholds.

5.4.2.1 Convergent learning

One way in which policymakers and fringe wine producers sensitised themselves to each other's framings of authenticity was through reflexive learning practices. The fringe recognised the need to learn from the tasting panel on how they assessed wines and the importance of supplying substantive motivation for their claims to the authenticity of certain styles of wines. Similarly, the WSB recognised that this was unfamiliar territory and based on several accounts, they sought to learn how such wines could be assessed and categorised. One SIP producer shared how he pointed to international referents to validate the style of wine he had been making, something that resonated with the technical committee:

> I *fokken* send wines and they rejected the wines…I made that funky white…and there was no class for it. I went and phoned, and it got rejected the whole time by the technical committee. And, I said to the guys: "No listen, there's no sediment in the wine, the wine is perfectly sound, here's the microbiological analysis, this is how the wine is made." And the guys are, "Oh ja, okay, fuck it's amazing." *Doef! Hy's net soos 'n sjerrie, hy's net nie gefortifiseerd nie*.[28] (SWSI10)

The intention behind the wine became an important motivating criterion for navigating the creation of new categories and some "intellectual wine" which was "not going to please the masses, but it will provoke conversation. We need to stop judging the wine, let's see what this guy meant or intended regardless of faulty or not" (SWSI16). One producer related how he brought in credible proof to motivate that his wine was expressing varietal character:

[28] Boom! It's just like a sherry but unfortified.

> I actually passed around a photo of our Pinot Gris grapes and like most of them…didn't even know what Pinot Gris looked like. I'm like, "This is where the colour comes from because we leave it on the skins." They were like, "Oh, okay." And then it passed: seven green lights and zero red. (ZB07)

The WSB and subsequently tasting panel were open to tasting international examples and so demonstrate that they were not a "a bunch of dinosaurs" but were mindful that global consumers wanted "confirmation that the value proposition they're buying into is really what it says it is…. A system that takes shape relies on how people interact with it" (Davidson, 2017). Some argued that the system was often changed through consultation with wine producers and that wine evaluation panellists can "get so conditioned with your own palate and tasting your own wine that you sometimes get boxed off and so that's why I think it's essential that there is a category for this" (FANM04). Regulators often related how judging criteria and mindsets had shifted to accommodate new wine styles: "In the old days it was very closed with which varieties and that sort of thing. Nowadays the guys are much more [open]…the tasting panels…we talk about alternate wines, alternative wines…They wanted to say experimental. It's not experimental; it's different" (FANM10). Subsequently, the WSB with the help of fringe producers undertook the task of sourcing and tasting various examples of alternative wine styles such as "orange wines" made and successfully marketed elsewhere in the world (see definition below), to be able to evaluate, verify and confirm the credibility of wine styles that had been previously rejected:

> The board has actually now got a panel to evaluate those wines according to a calibration of international wines…And what was enlightening for me was that they actually accepted the fact that there is a weakness or opportunity to improve within their system. And I said to them, "Look, there are these wines…called orange wines. …That's what these guys are doing." The certification panels weren't familiar with these styles. That's why they called it cloudy, oxidised, not of varietal character. But do you know what they did? They asked…to give them a list of wines to purchase, fly in and taste with a new panel. (FANM01)

In the process, many of the SIP producers whose wines had been rejected became more familiar with the intricacies of how the evaluation committees went about assessing the wines. Several praised the older generation of panellists for helping them to understand which criteria

mattered: “The older guys are actually very forthcoming… ‘let the experts taste your wine.’ If they still have a problem, you can micro-ID it and give your full motivation behind it and say, ‘I made sure this wine was stable for export’” (SWSI17). The reflexive cycle of learning between the fringe and the WSB laid the foundation for a mutually beneficial understanding, framing what could safely pass as a legally authentic wine in the South African wine field.

5.4.3 Trading off on category boundaries

In order to promulgate the categories required to allow fringe producers to access export markets, the SIP, fringe proponents, and regulators had to trade off on various scientific thresholds since the regulations had to be legally specific to prevent confusion and result in proposals being rejected on the journey to legislative amendment: “I had discussions with the technical committee and some of the people from the Swartland group because technically nothing’s impossible, but you’ve got to be very specific. It can’t be vague in that it can’t be applied” (FANM03). Several respondents suggested that while the SIP as an organisation supported the lobbying efforts to have certain authentic wine styles authenticated, the imperative was essentially driven by a range of fringe producers: “I think one would be naïve to think that the revolution is the reason there’s now a category of natural wines. I think there were some producers driving that rather than the organisation” (SWSI13). One SIP producer, for example, reflects on dialogue that occurred to frame some of the technicalities:

> We had a lot of meetings, we discussed different categories and we sat down and decided how we can make it work…If there is some other bacteria or sugar stuff involved in your wine it’s going to start to re-ferment. You’ve got to kind of keep it intact. (SWSI12)

In addition to these thresholds, the SIP had to make certain sacrifices. One of them was providing assurances that the SIP authentication seal would only be granted if the wines complied with SAWIS and WSB certification regulations: “You cannot certify wine as Swartland Independent if it’s not certified by SAWIS. So, you have to have a clearing from

SAWIS before you can have Swartland Independent wine" (SWSI17). Furthermore, the SIP was allowed to retain their seal but only, "as long as we don't put certification, we use authentication amongst ourselves because that's why they've got their seal" (SWSI04). Additionally, the intention of wines had to be stated upfront to prevent unscrupulous wine producers passing off spoiled wine as alternative wine: "We needed to make a new category for alternative red wine but it's not there so that you can just throw dodgy wines into. You've actually got to register it on harvest and say, I'm making this wine" (SWSI04). However, the move was broadly welcomed if the notion of intentionality remained:

> I think it has benefited the industry…You need to now state during harvesting that this wine is…intended for orange wine because I think sometimes guys…just took wine that oxidised and called it orange wine. I think it is a good midway between guys wanting to do that and SAWIS that wants to regulate the industry. And I think it is absolutely necessary that there is [sic] some regulations in order to protect brand South Africa at the end of the day. (SWSI15)

Some respondents, however, still questioned the need for a tasting panel because, "apparently what you want and can sell doesn't matter. What we see as palatable is more important" (ZB07), demonstrating the open-ended nature of authentication. The impact of negotiating was the introduction of six new categories of wine that meant that the authentic winemaking practices and SIP authentication seal were validated, enabling access to previously inaccessible markets. By promulgating these categories, the market was also stabilised and market actors effectively co-created regulatory authenticity. Referents from outside the field were sometimes used as objective authority to justify and legally validate the new categories but this was not always the case. Extended skin macerated white wines are commonly referred to as orange wines, which is a non-interventionist "type of white wine made by leaving the grape skins and seeds in contact with the juice, creating a deep orange-hued finished product" (Pretorius, 2018). Additionally, Méthode Ancestrale also known as Pét-Nat/ Pétillant Naturel or "hipster bubbles" is a relatively common interpretation of limited intervention sparkling wine in other areas of the wine world. Other styles such as *Sonwyn* or Sun Wine is a unique interpretation of Madeira,

while extended barrel aged and natural pale/ unfortified resemble wines commonly produced in the Jura region in France. The alternative red and white class, however, was a novel category intended to cover a diversity of authentic winemaking styles that conformed to minimum quality criteria, such as having completed both alcoholic and malolactic fermentation to prevent bottles from exploding. Some producers argued that "It's very boxed but it's also part of the system" (SWSI16). In contrast, others felt that:

> People are thinking out of the box but also at the same time staying within the regulations that we have or advise them to have, so that we can enter into markets and be known for something that's uniquely South African. I think we are going to see more of these changes going on and it's an interesting time to be in the industry…It shows that the industry is progressive, and it shows that government is prepared to take the hand of the industry in making it happen. That's part of innovation and from a marketing point of view it just equips you with more because you're offering something unique…I wouldn't say that they couldn't get into those markets…but it's an enabler…. they might have had problems getting it certified because of the specific taste profiles of those wines…which is now taken into account because it's now got a class. (FANM04)

It was apparent from various accounts that the creation of new categories enabled market access. This was supported by many in the SIP who confirmed that it had, "given us access to markets, because beforehand you could not certify that and if the wines were not certified you cannot [sic] send it outside South Africa" (SWSI17). The above descriptions and excerpts appear to show that the creation of these new categories of authentic wines was not a unilateral effort but involved ongoing negotiations to frame and reframe their legal meaning. The process was characterised by consultation and cooperation to serve the overarching field goal of remaining relevant in an authentic way in competitive global markets.

The reframing and extension of the meaning of wine authenticity by market participants in the South African wine field was shaped by dynamic and reflexive framing contests and field-level agreements. Some of these in-field decisions appear to reflect hot authentication actions since they declared authorised knowledge manufactured by laws and decisions by a significant array of market participants. The timing of legal and cultural validation of the authenticity work of

the SIP is worth noting in conclusion. The ratification of categories of authentic wine occurred unknowingly as fieldwork commenced and many respondent accounts of the process, some captured more than a year later, appeared to blend current realities with what occurred in the past. It is therefore unclear whether a growing cultural acceptance of the authenticity work of the SIP performed the legal validation of authentic wine and vice versa. Considering all the evidence, it is entirely plausible that the relationship between cultural and legal validation was highly iterative, incremental, and mutually constituting.

5.5 Conclusion

Authentication work was performed through strategic framing efforts by market participants working on validating and attributing authenticity to the SIP's practices. Such efforts also culturally and legally reframed/ extended the shared meaning of authenticity in the market. This resulted in reputational and premium gains for the fringe's authentic wine and very real access to markets abroad. From the findings it seems apparent that this process was fuelled by contestation, negotiation, and agreement between groups of market participants with differing levels of authority to authenticate. Market incumbents such as classical producers acquired power to culturally authenticate through tradition (i.e., pedigree, provenance, prestige etc.) and legal validation. Policymakers could promulgate regulations and make taste judgements governing market access and therefore possessed the authority to legally authenticate. Market audiences drew their authority to authenticate from their purchasing power, and decisions to do so were in turn culturally valorised by critics and media. As discussed further in Chapter 6, meta-organisations active in the market drew on diverse sources of authority to authenticate.

The findings further suggest that the meso-framing actions of *polarising evaluation* and *valorising status*, were distinct from *reframing meaning*. When market participants evaluated the authenticity work of the SIP and valorised certain traits as authentic based on polarised

judgements, they did so by whipping up emotions to enact their beliefs. These framings resembled hot authenticity actions of affirmation, venerating, and discrediting (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Furthermore, since they were often self or intersubjectively generated and therefore existential, they may seem akin to the SIP's authenticity work of claiming purity and performing charisma. However, their comparative intentions were strikingly different. SIP members collectively packaged their nascent authenticity framings in the market to challenge prevailing meanings thereof while other market participants attempted to evangelise, emulate, and contest these frames in the process of working on validating the overarching meaning of authenticity.

In contrast, reframing meaning comprised a collection of ostensibly cool authenticity framing actions employed by powerful commercial and institutional actors and others in the field to declare authenticity through authorised knowledge. These framing actions legally validated authentic wine by creating novel wine categories and extended the cultural meaning of authenticity via field-level decisions. In this way, the authenticity of the estate wine concept and the fringe's authentic winemaking practices were allowed to co-exist to focus on the country brand's status and value appreciation. In the interest of theorising, this raises questions concerning the distinction between cool authenticity processes of meta-organisational tethering by the SIP and reframing authenticity in the field. Suffice to say now that the SIP only possessed authority over members to declare what was authentic while reframing meaning imposed field-level meanings of authenticity on everyone in the market. Finally, the reflexive and mutually constitutive nature of authenticity/ authentication work was clearly observed in the context. The SIP and its members were deeply involved in strategic framing efforts to create perceptions of authenticity but were equally instrumental in shoring up support and imposing their agency, organisationality, and identity in the authentication process.

Chapter 6 – Theory discussion and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study and presents the theory realised through abduction of the data structures in Chapters 4 and 5, to ultimately answer the research question of *how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets?* The discussion is divided into three sections. First, the overarching theoretical model is explained by focusing on *how authenticity was generated and what it did*. This broader perspective on the emergent theory illustrates how perceptions of authenticity, shaped through the interplay between authenticity/ authentication work, reframed field-level meanings of authenticity and created a market for the SIP. Second, a further abstraction of this model refines *why this occurred as it did*? This section zooms into the influence of power and meta-organisations by theorising the play between two sets of meta-framing actions producing authenticity in the case: authenticity and authentication work, and hot and cool authenticity framing. In so doing, four authenticity meta-framings are revealed: hot and cool authenticity work by the SIP, and hot and cool authentication work employed by market participants. By unpacking the theory in this way, the how and why aspects of the research question are constructively addressed, and contributions are better explained. Third, limitations and worthy future lines of inquiry are discussed before making concluding remarks.

6.2 How authenticity was generated and what it did

The how aspects of the theory developed in this study concern the processes by which perceptions of authenticity created by the SIP, and interpreted and acted upon by market participants, shaped the meaning of authenticity and the structure of the wine market. The flow diagram in **Figure 6.1** graphically illustrates how, between 2010 and 2016, authenticity in the

South African wine field was contested, negotiated, and ultimately reformulated through purposeful collective action framing, creating a market for the SIP. Due to the interactive nature of the overarching theory, it is discussed in three parts: 1) the nature of and interaction between authenticity and authentication work, 2) the conceptualisation of authenticity/ authentication work as strategic meta-framing efforts, and 3) the outcomes of the authenticity generation process for the SIP and market.

6.2.1 The nature and interaction of authenticity work and authentication work

The findings indicate that nascent framings of authenticity in the market, such as limited intervention winemaking, were rendered authentic through the meta-framing effort of authenticity work performed by the SIP and attributed as authentic through authentication work by a diverse range of market stakeholders. Credibility or persuasiveness was a central criterion used by actors to render and attribute the SIP's strategic framing efforts as real, true, and genuine over time. Credibility was in turn underpinned by two interpretative frames, namely believability and trustworthiness. Rendering of authenticity was achieved when frames of authenticity were made believable i.e., plausible, feasible, and provable (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Grazian, 2010). This occurred for instance when consumers, media and other producers evangelised the practices of SIP members. Attribution of authenticity by market participants confirmed trustworthiness when the organisational actions of the SIP came to be perceived as sincere, honest, and proven (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Carroll & Wheaton, 2009). Initially many of the SIP's wines were considered faulty and uncharacteristic, but acquired legal authenticity when technical safeguards were imposed, and attained cultural authenticity when, for instance, old guard producers recognised the authentic status and worth of their wines. Clearly, rendering and attribution of authenticity were intertwined, but subtly differed according to the source of credibility generation i.e., authenticity/ authentication work, and the

dimension of credibility successfully conveyed i.e., believability and trustworthiness.

Authenticity work involved purposive efforts by the SIP to manufacture impressions of their authenticity in the field. Additionally, to overcome the low market power and status ailing Swartland wine producers, they emphasised and often embellished i.e., worked up their authenticity, and collectively organised themselves into a business association. This encompassed drawing on a repertoire of meso-framing actions of claiming purity, performing charisma and meta-organisational tethering. In other words, SIP members made material and discursive assertions that their practices were unmediated and noble, and engaged in theatrical role displays of charisma to inspire devotion. Furthermore, to prevent uncontrolled claims and performances of authenticity by members harming impressions of authenticity, they organised themselves into the SIP, harmonising their collective efforts and connecting their practices to external framings such as authentic wine. This repertoire of authenticity framing efforts amounted to collectively justifying their authenticity because it motivated why they should be perceived as authentic.

As mentioned in the literature review, the relationship between efforts to claim, perform and control authenticity are not entirely clear in Peterson's (2005) original definition. Scholars suggest that performances of authenticity help to motivate and further work up claims to authenticity (Demetry, 2019; Grazian, 2010). The findings in this study appear to confirm this perspective. Claiming purity was central to authentic winemaking practiced by SIP members, but such claims to authenticity were often treated with circumspection by market participants and therefore required further working up by, for example, positioning SIP members as emblematic of humble farmers in contrast to corporate wine producers. However, these practices required perceived credibility in the market, compelling the SIP to set clear parameters around what could be claimed as authentic for the SIP and Swartland region and

then connecting these codes to credible external framings of authenticity. These meso-level dimensions of authenticity work were therefore interactional and mutually constituted.

Authentication work involved deliberate efforts by all other relevant field actors to work on validating the authenticity work of the SIP and overarching meanings of authenticity in the market. As mentioned above, the term work was added to the concept of authentication to capture the purposive, reflexive, and everyday nature of these efforts in the context. Authentication work involved market participants engaging in meso-level authenticity framing efforts of polarising evaluation, valorising status, and re-framing field meaning. In other words, they evaluated authenticity based on the countervailing authenticity framings they resonated with (fringe or classic estate wine producers), splitting the market into cliques. Market participants invoked collective action to contest frames of authenticity conflicting with their beliefs. Conflicts were eventually settled when legal and cultural negotiations culminated in consensus amongst market participants on what encapsulated an authentic wine.

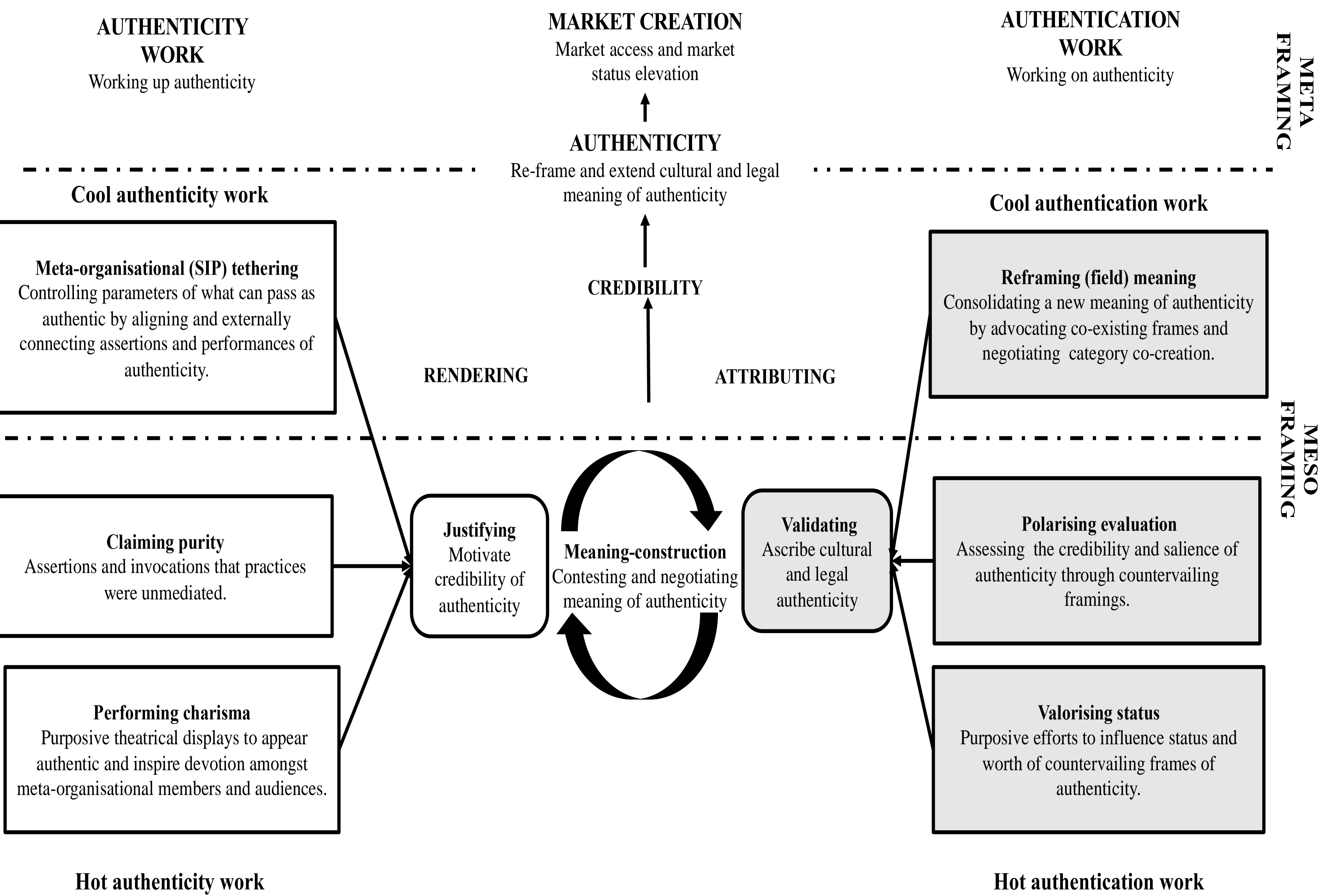
The findings suggest that authenticity / authentication work are distinct meta-framing actions. As originators of nascent framings of authenticity challenging market conventions, the SIP alone was involved in authenticity work. As per Peterson's (2005) definition, all other relevant actors engaged in cycles of authentication to confront nascent frames of authenticity espoused by the SIP. Therefore, even though the CVC and Zoo Biscuits made claims to authenticity on their own behalf or sometimes on behalf of the SIP, these collective strategies constituted authentication work because their purpose was ultimately to reactively validate authenticity in the market. That said, however, some authenticity framing actions proved highly reflexive and appeared to straddle authenticity / authentication work. For example, members of the SIP were complicit with other members of the fringe in lobbying for regulatory changes to have their authentic winemaking practices legally recognised and so access export markets. This

collective action simultaneously comprised meta-organisational tethering, valorising status and co-creating categories. As a business association, the SIP was compelled to tether its shared practices to credible imperative codes (Lehman et al., 2014), such as legally sanctioned wine styles, to improve the appearance of authenticity. They were intimately implicated in negotiating category co-creation with the WSB to reframe the legal meaning of authenticity, thereby demonstrating their agency as a meta-organisation. Members of the Zoo Biscuits, prior to their formation, also collaborated with members of the SIP and emulated their practices, acquiring some of their authenticity. This opens for interpreting the lobbying efforts by SIP and fringe members as self-authenticating acts and authoritative performances intended to fashion the authenticity of the fringe subcultural community (Arnould & Price, 2000).

6.2.2 Authenticity and authentication work as collective meta-framing actions

To give voice to respondents framing the meaning of authenticity in their everyday lives, coding of second order data was gerundive (Saldaña, 2013), informing the understanding that authenticity-related work resembled strategic collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000). In this way, the findings captured the graduation of micro-framings to meso-level collective action framing of authenticity through organisational alignment and negotiation within the SIP and market. The findings showed that this occurred by market participants amplifying, tethering/ bridging, and reframing/ extending authenticity. Amplifying occurred when SIP members presented themselves as pioneers in performing charisma. Tethering authenticity by the SIP aligned their members' practices relationally and imperatively i.e., through rules and connecting their wine styles to credibly authentic international referents such as orange wine for instance. Reframing or extending authenticity happened for example when the scope of legally available styles of wine was expanded.

Figure 6.1: Flow diagram of the authenticity generation and market creation process



The meso-framings of authenticity propagated within the SIP and market were consolidated into the meta-framing efforts The term meta-framing was employed to describe authenticity/ authentication work since they are higher order collective action framing efforts or meta-work, described by Menchick as "constructing the problems and solutions that constitute the social project" (2019, p. 869). Therefore, in this case meta-framing refers to strategic collective action framing that aligns, binds together, and mobilises organisations engaging in meso-level framing contests to highlight problems and create solutions to overarching authenticity dilemmas (see: Benford & Snow, 2000; Kaplan, 2008; Leibel, 2017; Ansari & Renecke, 2020).

As mentioned in the literature review, collective action framing is shaped though the interplay between meso-mobilizing the making and validating of meaning, that in concert construct social meanings (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Kaplan, 2008). Applied to authenticity, this interactive model appears in the organisational authenticity literature (Ewing et al., 2012; Peñaloza, 2000) and surfaced during theory development. Authenticity work by the SIP resembled meaning making because it employed a repertoire of purposive tools of persuasion to justify their authenticity. Meaning making was enacted when the SIP constructed an expo stand to look like the Swartland bar where they held their board meetings, to emphasise the sincere, localised, and humble character of SIP members. In contrast, authentication work by market participants amounted to validating the meaning of authenticity in the field by using "meaning packages" (Reinecke & Ansari, 2020), to make decisions on attributing authenticity (Askin & Mol, 2018). Studies concerning organisational authenticity confront validating meaning by examining contexts where consumers attribute authenticity to iconic cues such as regulated environmental certifications on product packaging (Ewing et al., 2012) or where critics elevate the status of self-taught artists by valorising their naivety as authentic (Fine, 2003). Validating meaning occurred when market participants evaluated, valorised or discredited the authenticity work of SIP according to the competing framings they resonated

with. Similar to the way in which authentic practices are validated through imperative (i.e., regulatory) or interpretative (i.e., cultural) social codes (Lehman et al., 2014), validating authenticity comprised regulatory and cultural efforts by market participants to attribute and reframe authenticity.

Legal validation is a dimension of ratifying, which according to Bell (1910) is a legal action to "accept, confirm, sanction or make valid some act or thing done by an agent or third party" (p. 478). As confirmed in the findings, regulatory validation does not imply that authenticity was fully endorsed but merely that it was substantially endorsed. Accepting or rejecting authenticity through verification implies a binary process while validation implies a negotiated process where certain traits are retained and others jettisoned, like how acts of parliament are ratified. Therefore, while the SIP and fringe got most of what they asked for when the new categories of wine were introduced, limitations were imposed on them, compelling them to make concessions on chemical thresholds required to protect the public from purchasing faulty wines. Additionally, to be able to attach the SIP seal they were required to certify their wines with SAWIS. Furthermore, the seal could only be referred to as an authentication seal rather than a certification, since it merely authenticated that SIP members had conformed to their own codes.

The cultural meaning validation process in fields and markets such as wine, is shaped by the demand and supply of (and competition over) authenticity, which in turn determines the nature of cultural products and practices (Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson & Anand, 2004). Fields are social orders or arenas where actors frame their actions recursively and so socially negotiate the best fitting cultural representation for them (Beckert, 2010; Fligstein, 2001; Rosa, Porac, Runser-Spanjol & Saxon, 1999). Cultural meaning validation for instance occurred when fringe adherents emulated, and audiences evangelised (i.e., demand for authenticity) the

authentic winemaking practices of the SIP (i.e., supply of authenticity). Market actors and incumbents discredited these nascent frames to improve their competitive position. Peterson (1997) understands this back-and-forth negotiation of meaning to ultimately result in a social agreement of what is authentic in a cultural field. In this case, decisions on authenticity were iteratively shaped by market actors ascribing levels of authenticity to organisational practices (Ewing et al., 2012), creating the social pressure necessary to refashion field-level meanings.

6.2.3 The outcomes of authenticity generation for the South African wine field

The regulatory agreement over authentic wine unlocked access to export markets for fringe wine producers. Wine previously regarded as being uncharacteristic or faulty now had a legally sanctioned and authenticated route to market. Through these actions, the field extended the legally available frames of authenticity that could be credibly substantiated in the market in future. It is worth noting that the market steered clear of a unified legal meaning of authenticity, but rather expanded the parameters of what could pass as an authentic wine, so that competing meanings could co-exist within a hybridised regulatory framework of wine authenticity.

The cultural meaning construction process reframed (re-interpreted) and extended the overarching belief system governing wine authenticity in South Africa, i.e., the shared meaning of what embodied an authentic wine (Beckert, 2010; Koçak et al., 2013; Negro et al., 2011). Meaning validation results in the rendering and attribution of authenticity based on the credibility of perception thereof (i.e., it appears authentic) (Ewing et al., 2012; Peterson, 2005; Trilling, 1972). Cultural decisions on authenticity in this case were not binary and final, but multidimensional and open-ended (Olsen, 2002; Cavanaugh & Shankar). Market audiences such as buyers and media compartmentalised authenticity attributions (Beverland et al,, 2010), revealing “zones of authentication” where they could appropriate frames of authenticity they resonated with in certain situations. Ultimately, both classic and fringe framings of authenticity

were attributed as equally credible and therefore both authentic referents of South African wine. Old guard producers were possibly motivated to attribute authenticity to the wines of fringe producers because alternative wine styles had been legally validated and also because fringe producers seemed to demonstrate respect for their authenticity. Ultimately, the production of authenticity was central to the creation of markets for the SIP in the cultural industry of South African wine (see: Askin & Mol, 2018; Peterson, 2005; Peterson & Anand, 2004). For the SIP and fringe, the cultural agreement over the authenticity of their wines elevated their reputational status and worth in the field and created market space for them.

Authenticity work is sporadic and authentication work is never fully complete. (Lehman et al., 2019; Mkono, 2013b). Regulators were acutely aware that the wine authentication system would continue to transition through social interaction, while market incumbents were also aware that future generations of producers would sporadically challenge and reframe what was considered an authentic wine. Meanings of authenticity are fluid, constantly emergent and therefore a “moving target” (Cohen, 1988; Peterson, 1997). What may be regarded as authentic in one time-space context, may become inauthentic or shed authenticity over time (Cohen, 1988). The aspiration to make wine on grand wine estates was once perceived as quintessential to wine authenticity in South Africa. However, these authenticity frames were challenged by SIP and fringe, who managed to generate sufficient social pressure to persuade market participants, including incumbents and policymakers, that fringe frames of authenticity were as authentic as those revered, conventionally encountered or legally authentic at the time. In fact, their violation of prevailing interpretative and imperative codes may have positively influenced authenticity perceptions (see Lehman et al., 2014).

6.3 Why authenticity was generated

A further abstraction of the findings reconceptualises hot and cool authenticity actions as meta-

framing actions and integrates the distinction into the authenticity and authentication work framework to explain why the aforementioned process unfolded as it did. While the interaction between authenticity and authentication work is regulated by the credibility of perceptions, the interplay between hot and cool authenticity framing is shaped by the powerful actors and origin of authenticity. Therefore, synthesising the two sets of meta-framing efforts provides greater clarity on why power, authority and meta-organisations influence the construction of authenticity and markets. It highlights struggles between those with the power to declare something authentic in their roles as authenticating agents, and those who rely on their own agency and beliefs in whipping up emotions to contest meanings of authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). As explained in the literature review, the hot and cool authenticity distinction has only been applied to the authentication of tourist experiences (Cohen & Cohen, 2019; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013; Mkono, 2013b), yet the theory served to expand the dichotomy to organisational authenticity and authenticity work. Additionally, linking the distinction to authenticity work explores the origin of performative practices (Frisvoll, 2013), and therefore incorporates "assertions of identity, emotion, truth, accuracy, and reliability" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 123).

6.3.1 The nature of hot and cool authenticity framing

Hot authenticity framing in the case was polemical and divisive (Trilling, 1972), fuelling organisational contestation over the meaning of authenticity. Organisations aligned their beliefs and practices to an idea of authenticity intra-subjectively (i.e., self-conforming), or inter-subjectively (i.e., in collusion with other like-minded actors) (Gilmore & Pine, 2007; Leigh et al., 2006; Wang, 1999). This meta-framing action also amplified a range of emotions like venerating, worshipping, and evangelising (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014). As discovered, however, it also involved fringe and classic producers emotionally discrediting,

denigrating, or trying to silence those framing conflicting beliefs associated with authenticity. Hot authenticity framing was therefore commonly provocative, subversive, and contestational and in some cases performed with a sense of immunity to criticism (Cohen & Cohen, 2012).

In contrast to the contestational nature of hot authenticity framing, cool authenticity framing is unifying and stabilises, aligns, and therefore cools down organisational conflict or disharmonies amongst practices projecting authenticity. Cool authenticity framing generates authenticity by declaring what is authentic through authorised knowledge. Authorised knowledge provides objective proof of authenticity and may comprise formal criteria such as laws and standards, procedures governed by scientific expertise or collective decisions. In the case under view, cool authenticity framing was enacted within the SIP when making rules and collective decisions to harmonise their collective authenticity work, or on a field level by the WSB, regulating the creation of new classes of wine to expand and reframe the meaning of wine authenticity.

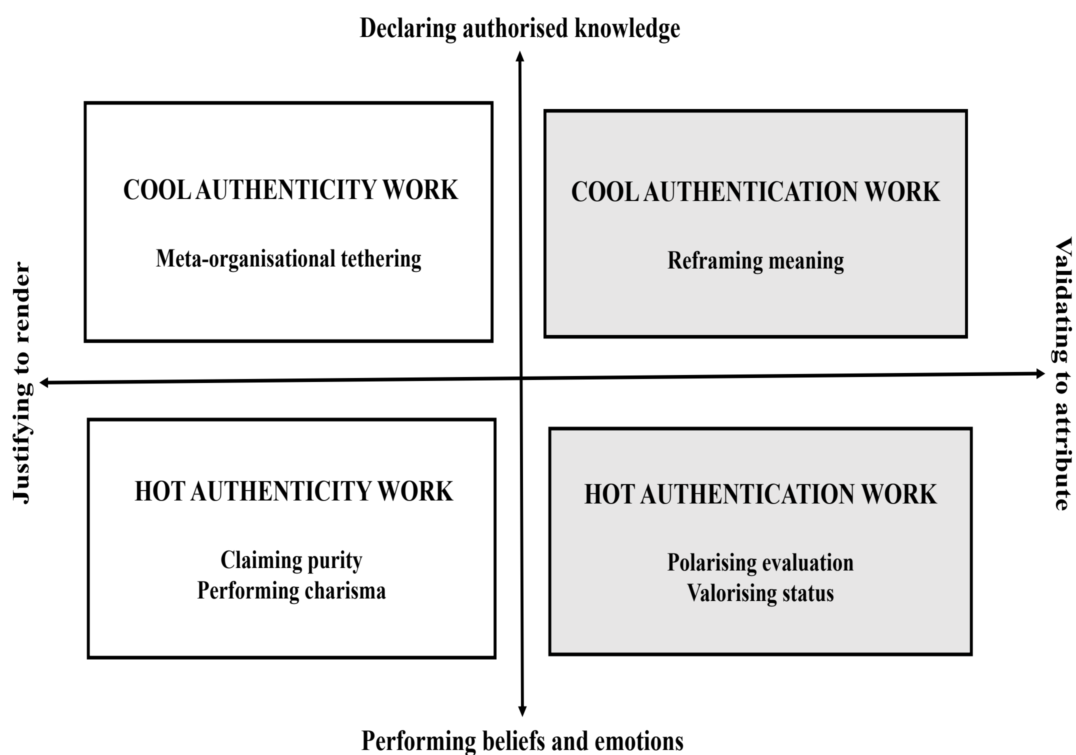
In the matrix diagram in **Figure 6.2**, the horizontal axis distinguishes between meso-framing actions justifying authenticity (authenticity work) on the one end, and those validating authenticity (authentication work) on the other. The vertical axis distinguishes between performing beliefs and emotions (hot authenticity framing) or declaring authorised knowledge (cool authenticity framing). In so doing, four meta-framing actions, explained below, interacted to produce authenticity and markets: hot authenticity and cool authenticity work within the SIP membership, and hot and cool authentication work field-level framings. The categorising of each meta-framing action corresponds with **Figure 6.1**.

6.3.2 Hot authenticity work

Impressions of authenticity may be fabricated by organisations through individualised and

intersubjective identity claims, framing who market actors are (Demetry, 2019; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Hot authenticity work was an existential meta-framing action employed by members of the SIP to justify nascent frames of authenticity in the South African wine field. It involved actioning beliefs and amplifying the emotional content of ideals and practices. Therefore, while it heated up tensions in the field, it also generated collective charisma that drew an almost cult-like following from SIP members and audiences who identified with such beliefs or who were swayed by the emotional positioning. This meta-framing action worked up authenticity in a provocative manner, confronting and deviating from established practices in the field. Therefore, as an ensemble of individualised actions that had aligned, it purposively sought to expose failings and provide solutions to systemic flaws in conventional meanings of wine authenticity, as well as motivate the need for collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Figure 6.2: Matrix representation of why authenticity was generated



Several individual producers demonstrated resourcefulness, commitment, and resolve in pursuing entrepreneurial action to conform to their winemaking beliefs (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Lamont, 2014; O'Neil et al., 2020). In this respect, the findings seem to confirm O'Neil et al.'s (2020) conception of authenticity work by entrepreneurs as the alignment of personal identities with an evolving founder identity, achieved by engaging in activities to feel and seem authentic. Multiple respondents related how they were making real wine, suggesting that conventionally made wine was not authentic. In addition, others used their everyday practices and daily routines to frame their authenticity and undermine conventional practices. The accumulation and alignment of these identities and emotionally driven practices occurred incrementally, eventually producing a messy spectrum of activities. Furthermore, the experimental diversity of authentic winemaking within the SIP ranged from the dogmatic to pragmatic. The former involved interpretations and practices where no compromises in their hands-off beliefs were entertained, even when vintage conditions may have called for adjustments to be made. A pragmatic approach was more flexible and allowed for certain additions in difficult vintages where neglecting to manipulate the wine would render it unpalatable, faulty, or unmarketable.

Moreover, many SIP members were entrepreneurs who lacked resources such as a cellars, land, and equipment, and engaged in bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005) to acquire resources through whatever means necessary to make the most authentic wine possible. SIP producers often borrowed equipment from each other and worked in clusters to generate enough scale to procure grapes from special sites that they felt could express the taste character of Swartland. This often involved establishing relationships with growers, thereby circumventing the power of cooperative producers by paying growers more for fruit (or at least claiming to), or in fact working the vineyards in partnership with growers in making wine. In this way they could also impose and prove their beliefs about being hands-on in the vineyard.

The central figures of the SIP and revolution inspired many of these practices and the younger generation, drawn to the charisma and purity of such practices, progressively re-interpreted, refashioned, and transmitted them in collusion with fellow like-minded producers. Many even replicated charismatic performances such as dressing up as stylised versions of typical farmers. While a certain amount of freedom of expression was tolerated, such collective practices were also variable. The differing conceptions of Swartlandness are indicative of the messiness generated through micro and organisational framings of authenticity by the SIP membership. Some saw Swartlandness as a regional taste profile common in the wines from that area while others felt the term represented the cultural quirks of the Swartland community, the freedom to express oneself and camaraderie amongst SIP producers. The ruggedness of the landscape, down-to-earth character of the people and its backwater rural nature were also viewed as central to the concept. In all cases though, Swartlandness appeared to be a fuzzy emotional quality experienced and actioned in the daily lives of SIP members. Ultimately however, the spontaneity, individualised and uncontrolled nature of hot authenticity work presented significant risks to the external credibility of the SIP and their desire to make themselves appear authentic as business association.

6.3.3 Cool authenticity work

This meta-framing action involved the SIP as a business association purposively and collectively justifying nascent frames of authenticity through declaring authorised knowledge to their members about what could pass as authentic. The SIP acted as an authenticating agent, but their authority was limited to their members. Cool authenticity work aimed to work up authenticity in a measured and collectively unified way to render perceptions of credibility. Some senior members of the SIP were incensed by uncontrolled claims and performances of SIP members that did not align to their efforts and posed threats to collective reputation. To

overcome this malaise and appear professional and in control of their membership, the SIP required a belt to tie diverse and often spontaneous practices together in a harmonious manner. This they achieved through meta-organisational tethering, which simultaneously marshalled SIP members and solidified relationships to build consistency in the projection of their authenticity. Various objective measures were introduced such as internal codes of common practice like judicious use of oak barrels, enforcing the application of the SIP authentication seal on wine bottles, and relational controls facilitated by internal post-harvest tastings. In addition, the SIP also connected their practices to codes prevalent in the international market they served such as authentic wine, natural wine as well as recognised regional wine styles like Vin Jaune from Jura to demonstrate credibility. Furthermore, they used the board of directors to marshal the everyday efforts of the SIP, make decisions about individual members' requests to make additions during a difficult harvest, and organise collective marketing at wine shows to present a cohesive authentic identity.

In addition to the decision making and collective identity aspects of organisationality, independent of their members, the SIP also demonstrated collective agency (Garaudel, 2020; Dobusch & Schoeneborn, 2015). Cool authenticity work was therefore simultaneosly convergent and divergent. On the one hand, all the producers were forced to claim authenticity within certain boundaries, but such parameters were oppositional to prevailing cultural conventions and legal standards. On the other hand, while they diverged from conventional practices, many of them were aligned with international referents. In sum, however, the SIP possessed insufficient gatekeeping authority over the field to declare an overarching meaning of authenticity or even have their codes of authenticity recognised. That authority to attribute authenticity culturally was distributed amongst a wide variety of market participants. However, the collective power of the SIP was significantly emboldened by the evangelical support of market participants, and selective emulation of their practices by fringe adherents. This created

social pressure ultimately swaying the perceptions of the old guard and granting them an audience with policymakers to engage in dialogue to amend regulations.

6.3.4 Hot authentication work

Hot authentication work occurred on a field-level and involved several groups of market participants working on validating the authenticity work of the SIP, their own claims, and the overarching meaning of authenticity in the field. These strategic framing actions were enacted through performing their beliefs and ramping up emotional enactments of authenticity. In addition, they were comprised of an agglomeration of politically charged collective actions amongst market participants polarised according to oppositional framings of authenticity. The new wave fringe wine producers from the Zoo Biscuits and elsewhere emulated some of the authentic winemaking practices of the SIP, thereby imbuing them with status and value. Certain critics, buyers, suppliers, and competitors augmented this action through resonance and evangelism that added to the credibility of the SIP. However, members of the old guard were less enthused by the authenticity work of the SIP and attempted to claw back status and worth they felt had been lost.

The emergence and role of the of the CVC business association in this context is somewhat peculiar in terms of the model proposed and role of meta-organisations. Like the SIP, the CVC also served as gatekeepers of authenticity over their own members through their organisationality and the possessed power to declare authenticity by classifying and certifying wines. The CVC displayed actorhood by unsuccessfully lobbying the WSB to allow them to designate site-specific wines as superior wines of South Africa.[29] In so doing, they attempted to reclaim historical symbols of authenticity and valorise themselves as authentic exemplars in

[29] During a period in the 1970's the WSB classified wines exhibiting exceptional quality or provenance as superior wines and a special neck tag indicating its superior status could be placed on every bottle (see sample quotes under countermobilizing to reclaim status).

the field (Hatch & Schultz, 2017). While some of this work may resemble authenticity work since it involved efforts to appear authentic, in terms of the aforementioned conceptual model, it is interpreted as authentication for two reasons. First, the codes or cornerstones selectively employed by the CVC, by their own admission, were all institutional rules that had been authenticated and become conventional in the field. Their intent was to rigorously enforce these rules and apply their own ratings criteria, like critics, as a mechanism to valorise the estate wine concept and admirable field level goals of elevating South Africa's country wine brand and worth simultaneously. The CVC drew on objective power of existing regulations to valorise their own practices since they did not possess the field-level authority to enforce compliance in the field.

Second, in conjunction, several respondents were suspicious of the timing of the emergence of the CVC, regarding its establishment as a reflex action by the old guard to re-impose their authenticity in the face of audiences authenticating the fringe, despite some fringe producers flagrantly flouting industry standards. These actions highlight authentication as an institutional phenomenon (Askin & Mol, 2018; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2018). The institution of estate wine as the pinnacle of authenticity had fallen into disrepair and the CVC's aim was ostensibly to maintain, defend and repair it. According to some accounts, the CVC thus initially engaged in discrediting or de-authenticating other actors' authenticity to invalidate claims to their authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Koontz-Anthony & Joshi, 2017).

Critics and experts have been viewed as authenticating agents with objective powers to declare whether something is authentic or not (Davies, 1987; Dutton, 2009). Other scholars suggest that critics are powerful, but their role is inherently subjective amounting to valorising by creating rich narratives to generate social support and so shape the boundaries of genres (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005). This might also entail elevating the authentic status of certain actors over

others (Fine, 2003; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005). Wine critics and commentators in this case did not appear to possess the field-level authority to objectively authenticate and merely shaped perceptions of authenticity through hot authentication, propagating beliefs, and emotions through evangelising. Arguably, wine commentators would only acquire the authority to coolly authenticate wine in situations where they acted as auction house experts verifying the provenance of vintage wines to determine value and declaring that wines were what they are what they appeared to be. Even powerful international wine critics such as Robert Parker simply provide a democratic voice that challenges especially old-world classifications of authenticity and quality (Fourcade, 2012).

Finally, the Zoo Biscuits are a curious case of business collective action. They were not geographically centralised and were loosely constituted without rules to select or govern their member organisations. Moreover, they only organised themselves to engage in collective marketing, using a quirky identity to share networks of buyers and journalists in expanding their markets. Some of their members engaged in actorhood by siding with the Swartland in their negotiations with the WSB and formed part of the fringe new wave. However, this was producer-driven rather than meta-organisationally driven agency since it occurred before the formation of the Zoo Biscuits. Their role in hot authentication was limited to valorising the authenticity work of the SIP by emulating their practices, participating in new wave events, and supporting them in their regulatory challenges as individual producers.

6.3.5 Cool authentication work

Cool authentication work is a field-level, objectively orientated meta-framing validating authenticity through declarative actions, interpreting and enacting authenticity through authorised knowledge such as laws, standards, and collective decision-making. As the apex authenticating agent, the WSB was bestowed with field-level power to generate regulations

leading to authenticating origin, grape variety, and vintage claims. They also policed this realm of legal authentication by administering the WOS together with SAWIS. By governing subjectively verified qualitative taste criteria, they controlled certifications necessary for export market access, in addition to auditing other industry standards. In the findings, policymakers emphasised the WSB's everyday activities of resolving conflicts over authenticity concerning geographical boundaries and classes of wine, as facilitators in finding workable solutions to such conflicts. Several informants confirmed this, reporting that their work was consultative and in service of crafting outcomes beneficial to often opposing actors conflicted over authenticity. Regulators interviewed related how they served the interests of innovation in the wine industry, but their ultimate goal was to protect the public from being misled and damaging industry reputation through uncontrolled claims to authenticity. In this case, the WSB put the ball in the SIP's court by asking them to come up with a constructive proposal and then negotiating the merits of such a proposal. As reported, proposed amendments to wine law were published in industry forums where those opposed to such amendments could object to their enactment.

In the negotiation and ultimate promulgation of legislative amendments, the WSB therefore facilitated re-framing the legal definition of what objectively constituted an authentic wine through the creation of additional alternative classes. This had a stabilising and aligning effect on the market because it served to extend what could objectively be classified as an authentic wine. In addition, they further marshalled the re-interpretation of authenticity by consulting members of the vanguard on how best to subjectively assess whether alternative styles were faulty or not and therefore fit for export. This empowered the fringe with the capacity to impose additional parameters on nascent, broad, and ambiguous alternative wine categories.

As occurred within the SIP, cool authenticity framing occurred through collective decisions on

a field level that communicated knowledge about what was authentic. Collective decisions on this level were made through the process of cultural meaning construction (Kaplan, 2008; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004), declaring socially agreed upon knowledge on authenticity in the field. During several interviews, respondents argued that both the fringe and traditional frames could meaningfully co-exist as separate but compatible representations of the authenticity of South African wine. This process was lubricated through changing sentiments on either side of the divide and recognition that they would have to transcend fragmented interests to focus on what mattered most to the field. As discussed in the findings, what mattered most was prioritising field level goals of addressing the low status and value of South African wine in international markets.

6.4 Summary and contributions

In summary, this thesis elaborates on the organisational authenticity literature by producing a qualitatively-derived theoretical model suggesting that, in the context, authenticity was generated and a market created for a meta-organisation through the interplay between two mutually constituting sets of meta-framing actions: authenticity work and authentication work, interactively producing authenticity through the credibility of perceptions; and hot and cool authenticity framing that construct authenticity through an interplay between existential and objective sources. It further refines and segments these interactions by revealing four meta-framing actions that ultimately generated and reframed meanings of authenticity in the field, namely: 1) hot authenticity work justifying and rendering authenticity by performing beliefs and emotions, 2) hot authentication work validating and attributing authenticity by performing beliefs and emotions, 3) cool authenticity work justifying and rendering authenticity by declaring authorised knowledge, 4) and cool authentication work validating and attributing authenticity by authoritatively declaring knowledge.

So doing, this study further clarifies the authenticity work concept, thereby contributing to its construct validity, and its relationship with authentication. In this way, it demonstrates how market actors engage in and confront authenticity work and explains the field level effects thereof (Demetry, 2019; Lehman et al., 2019), while providing a longitudinal perspective showing how meanings of authenticity cohere and change over time (Lehman et al., 2019). Moreover, the findings and theory improve the validity of the hot and cool authenticity distinction and contribute to the organisational authenticity literature by extending it to authenticity work. It therefore provides further support that meso-level meanings of authenticity are constructed through the interaction between subjective and objective actions (Cohen & Cohen, 2012), establishing a bridge between seemingly irreconcilable schools of thought on authenticity generation (Mkono, 2013a).

The above theory contributes to the sociology of markets literature by refining how and why authenticity generation on cultural field level creates markets (Koçak et al., 2013; Peterson, 1997; Peterson & Anand, 2004). The construction of meaning through the interaction of the abovementioned four meta-framing actions was characterised by power, conflict, and negotiation amongst a diverse range of market actors. Through this process market actors reached a social agreement on a shared meaning of authenticity (Koçak et al., 2013; Peterson, 1997), which involved extending the scope of the prevailing conceptions of authenticity. However, such agreements required legal authentication, and this involved a separate process of negotiation involving cool authentication work by the apex authenticating institution in the field, the WSB. Furthermore, the findings reinforce scholarly suggestions that cultural agreements over authenticity are more likely when market actors temporarily suspend their own beliefs and actions to focus on field-level goals (Demetry, 2019).

During theory development, the concepts, dimensions and constructs underpinning

authenticity/ authentication work were revealed as micro, organisational and meso-level framings of authenticity (Leibel et al., 2018; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020). Subsequently, this thesis contributes to the collective action literature by reconceptualising these phenomena as strategic collective action framings of authenticity that constructed its field meaning through contestation, negotiation, and alignment (Kaplan, 2008). Further to this, meta-organisations are recognised as a vehicle for stategic collective action aimed at generating authenticity and creating markets. The study of meta-organisations such as business associations is therefore given much needed attention and the study goes some way to stimulating the conversation on their role in MOS and the organisational authenticity literature.

Further to these contributions, the theoretical models seem to plausibly address the inherent ambiguity in Peterson's (2005) definition of authenticity work and its interaction with authentication. Corresponding with Cohen and Cohen's (2012) descriptions of the relationship between hot and cool authentication, authenticity/ authentication work are distinct but reflexively interacting social processes that co-influence and stand in tension with each other. Authenticity work is performed by actors introducing and working up nascent framings of authenticity in a market while authentication work comprises actions by other market actors reacting to authenticity work by validating them and if necessary, overarching meanings of authenticity. Therefore, self-claims, performances, and measures of organisational control by innovators in framing their practices to justify their authenticity, constitute authenticity work. All other work by field actors in judging, resolving emerging conflict, and making decisions affecting the field meaning is considered authentication work. These dynamics are further discussed and unpacked in the limitations section.

The findings regarding the superimposition of hot and cool authenticity framing onto the authenticity/ authentication work framework expand on the prevailing literature. Both forms

of cool authenticity framing were governed the auspices of authenticity but in different arenas. Cool authenticity work controlled the parameters and expectations of authenticity within the SIP, while cool authentication work controlled the auspices of what could pass as authentic on a field level through laws and field level agreements. Similarly, both forms of hot authenticity framing comprised existential actions but served different purposes. While hot authenticity work was performed by SIP members through belief and emotionally orientated practices of claiming purity and performing charisma, hot authentication work evaluated and valorised the status of conflicting framings of authenticity (fringe and estate wine).

Finally, the paucity of work in the organisational authenticity literature on collective action framing of authenticity and its relationship to market creation surfaced three important further considerations. First, the study reconceptualised authenticity / authentication work as meta-framing efforts and the constructs of each phenomenon as meso-level collective framing actions, that were shaped through the alignment of micro (individual) and organisational framings of authenticity. Second, as mentioned above, authenticity work performed a justifying role to work up impressions of authenticity and render them believable, while authentication performed a validating role to work on attributing authenticity to such perceptions making them trustworthy. Third, the link between authenticity production and market creation was established. In this case it not only occurred through cultural agreement and validation i.e., interpretative codes of authenticity as suggested by the production of culture perspective, but also through field-level regulatory authentication i.e., imperative codes that opened access to markets.

6.5 Limitations, implications for future work and conclusion

In concluding the theoretical discussion and thesis, boundaries or limitations of the study are apprehended and suggestions for future work are outlined. In terms of limitations, the

methodological concern raised in Chapter 3 around the portability of holistic case studies to other contexts is further discussed and resolved. Next, an alternative conceptualisation of the nature and relationship between authenticity work and authentication is discussed in comparison to the model adopted here. The conceptualisation of the SIP and the fringe as a social movement is considered and discussed. The future research section considers the implication of the study of authenticity-related work for the organisational sustainability literature and institutional work, further deliberating the relationship between authenticity, legitimacy, and credibility. Thereafter, some brief concluding remarks round off the discussion.

6.5.1 Methodological and theoretical limitations

The methodological limitations of the study have been detailed in Chapter 3 and it is uneconomical to rehash them here, except to further emphasise a point regarding the portability of findings, a criticism often levied against holistic case study designs. Regarding the non-linear, holistic case method used in this study, scholars have pointed out that the notion of generalisability must be evaluated differently to positivist approaches (Dubois & Gadde, 2014; Flyvberg, 2005; Van Maanen, 2007). Non-linear methods focus on originality, complexity, and specificity, while linear approaches focus on resemblance, simplicity, and generality (Van Maanen, 2007; Dubois & Gadde, 2014). Neither approach can be claimed to be more portable than the other (Dubois & Gadde, 2014) and thickly described cases can easily be transferred to other contexts if contextual nuances that influenced the theory are separated out (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). As explained in the methodology chapter, the study safeguarded against this by providing a rich narrative of the case and transparently describing the methodology employed.

In terms of theory, some scholars adopting an identity-based view on organisational authenticity (Baron, 2004; Carroll & Swaminathan, 2010; Demetry, 2019), seem to suggest

that authentication is an overarching process governing a myriad variants of authenticity work by individuals and organisations (whether they resemble self-claims or claims made by others) working up countervailing meanings of authenticity (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; McLeod, 1999: Askin & Mol, 2018). Furthermore, this view supports the notion that authenticity work is an ongoing and re-iterative process engaged in by all market actors conforming to their individual, organisational and collective identities (Demetry, 2019; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; O'Neil, Ucbasaran & York, 2020). According to this understanding, authenticity work and authentication are not distinct and intersecting social processes. Instead, authenticity work is embedded in and controlled by authentication, that provides the auspices governing what may or may not pass as authentic for the entire field, including what is projected by authenticity work (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2019; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009).

There are two plausible reasons for this "embedded" perspective not fully holding in this case. First, in assessing whether claims and performances of authenticity constitute authenticity work or authentication, one must consider their context, source and intentions. Authenticity work may be temporary (Lehman et al., 2019), and the time space context bracketed in a given study may therefore determine the actors and actions involved in authenticity work. Arguably, the strategic efforts by CEWPA in 1968 to render nascent meanings of authenticity in the field viz. the estate wine concept, may be regarded as an instance of successful authenticity work. Additionally, once authenticity has been rendered by those engaged in authenticity work the actors concerned may have to defend, repair, or renew their authenticity through authentication work. This may involve valorising their own authentic status by reactively making counterclaims to emphasise their historical importance (Hatch & Schultz, 2017), or discrediting those engaged in or supporting authenticity work (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Cavanaugh & Shankar, 2014). In contrast, actions of market participants augmenting authenticity work by acting in support thereof, such as fringe producers, constitutes authentication work to valorise

authenticity work through emulation and so keep some of the SIP's authenticity for themselves (Peterson, 2005). These considerations flag an important, yet hitherto unexplored line of inquiry into instances where authenticity work has failed to render authenticity (Demetry, 2019).

Second, studies aligned with this view often confront micro-level interactions involving for instance restaurants and patrons (Demetry, 2019), hip-hop artists (McLeod, 2010) and consumers (Lehman et al., 2018). This study focused on meso or market level interactions constructing authenticity, collective action, and market creation as organisational phenomena. The study focused on authenticity / authentication work as meta-framings constructed through the agglomeration of micro, organisational, meso-level interactions where markets are created through generating shared meanings of authenticity based on field-level decisions (Koçak et al., 2013; Peterson & Anand, 2004). Wine buyers sampled in this case were organisational actors and not individual consumers. The study did not investigate micro-interactions involving consumers where influence and engagement shape meanings and create markets (Koçak et al., 2013).

Therefore, if the study had captured the messiness inherent in individualised and collective consumer behaviour, the configuration of the relationship between authenticity work and authentication work may have been strikingly different. A possible reason for this is that on an individual level the cognitive intricacies of micro-framing may have been more pronounced (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Reinecke & Ansari, 2020), while on meso levels of analysis the contrast, boundaries, and distinction between countervailing authenticity meta-framing actions (i.e., hot and cool authenticity work and authentication work) are sharpened and become more apparent. Furthermore, by incorporating hot and cool authenticity framing both subjectively and objectively generated perceptions and declarations are incorporated, highlighting the

agency and institutional dimension involved in authenticity generation (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). This insight provides ample opportunity for future scholarly conversation.

Though several respondents often used the term “Swartland movement”, this study discarded conceptualising the SIP’s collective action as a social movement relatively early in the analytical process. Some scholars argue that certain organisational phenomena are often abstracted as social movements in MOS when they are, in fact, inter-organisational forms of collective action, such as institutional entrepreneurship (Déjean, Giamporcaro, Gond, Leca & Penalva-Icher, 2012). Furthermore, social movement-like coalitions involving businesses invoking collective market and non-market strategies for commercial, and social impact or policy gains (Baron, 1995; Doh et al., 2012), may also constitute business collective action (Barnett, 2012; Christiansen & Kroezen, 2016). The collective action in this case constructed meso-level meanings of authenticity and markets and did not appear to address societal or grand challenges (Ferraro, Etzion & Gehman, 2015). It, therefore, lacked the critical intention, common to classical social movements, of attempting to alter societal historicity i.e., influencing the general orientation of society, (Buechler, 1995; Touraine, 1985). Engaging in authenticity work to pursue noble purpose even when intended for the “greater good” (Weber et al., 2008), may not amount to addressing infinitely more complex, pervasive, and seemingly unresolvable societal challenges, such as poverty, climate change and inequality (Eisenhardt et al., 2016; Ferraro et al., 2015). Therefore, while this study contributes to the business collective action literature concerning meta-organisations, it does not claim to inform the social movement literature.

6.5.2 Future research directions

Apart from suitability to other cultural fields, the sustainability literature may provide fertile ground to extend the application of the four authenticity meta-framing actions developed here,

since rendering authenticity is clearly a central concern in this field (McShane & Cunningham, 2012; Harrison, et al. 2014). Additionally, meta-organisations such as businesses associations are influential actors in the regulating standards and lobbying for sustainability policy changes (Marques, 2016), while market actors use calculative framing and valorising in their standardisation work to generate field-level sustainability standards (Slager, Gond & Moon, 2012). Some market participants also make moral claims by generating autonomous standards differentiated from existing sustainability standards in the coffee market (Reinecke et al., 2012). Furthermore, powerful standard-setting organisations as well as governments influence the constitution of social responsibility standards that become calculative or declarative mechanisms in constructing markets (Giamporcaro & Gond, 2016, Giamporcaro, Gond & O' Sullivan, 2020), Therefore, scholars in this literature may want to investigate how collectively rendering the authenticity (by way of meta-framing) of sustainability standards through meta-organisations influences the construction of markets.

The findings and theory developed here suggests an overlap between authenticity-related work and institutional work, defined as the "purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, p. 6). Market institutions are supported by their legitimacy, in turn resting on legal or regulatory strictures, normative or values-based constraints and taken-for-granted cultural conventions imposed on market participants that shape their behaviour (Fligstein, 2001; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Scott, 2004). Disruptive institutional work may implicate inter-organisational collectives in subverting institutional arrangements to change them (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Certainly, the actions of the SIP, through their authenticity work, attempted to undermine the institution of wine authenticity through their anti-establishment practices.

Creating institutions refers to forming new institutions such as the estate wine system in 1973

and arguably even the new classes of alternative wine in 2015 that arose through legal agreement. The WSB possessed the authority to create institutions by significantly influencing legislative amendments and industry standard-setting that regulated access to markets. Maintaining institutions refers to defending or repairing institutions in order to preserve them, as occurred through the activities of CEWPA and later the CVC in its hot authentication work of defending and repairing the institution of estate wine as the pinnacle of authenticity (Lawrence, Leca & Zilber, 2013; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). In addition, by policing the field, the WSB maintained the regulatory authenticity of South African wine. Significant potential exists to elaborate on these formative conjectures on the relationship between authenticity-related work and institutional work.

The institutional work literature has rapidly generated a spectrum of variants thereof (Phillips & Lawrence, 2012). Without going into detail, a few that have been touched on may have further relevance for organisational authenticity in similar contexts, namely emotion work (Hochschild, 1979), identity work (Gawer & Phillips, 2013), boundary and practice work (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), and meaning work (Benford & Snow, 2000). Institutional work has been recently studied in relation to organisational authenticity in the context of authentication in the era of technological disruption through digitisation of music (Askin & Mol, 2018) and preservation of the institution of architectural heritage by architects and craftsmen (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2018). Neither study, however, considered the potential of authenticity work to disrupt and create institutions, providing a gap for future research.

The relationship between legitimacy and authenticity remains unclear in MOS and was central to the analytical decision to discard institutional work as a plausible explanation for what happened. While authenticity is a social meaning encapsulating what is credibly real, true, and genuine, legitimacy refers to what is “desirable, proper and appropriate within some system of

norms, values and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). Legitimation, then, is the process of making practices socially, culturally, and politically acceptable within a particular context (Humphreys, 2010; Johnson, Dowd & Ridgeway, 2006; Suchman, 1995). It is crucial in creating markets for casino organisations, for example, through material and discursive framing (Humphreys, 2010). Askin and Mol suggest that authenticity and legitimacy are distinct but alike because the marshalling of authenticity "not unlike legitimacy, needs to be gained, maintained, and repaired" (2018, p. 30). In the organisational authenticity literature scholars have used the terms legitimacy and authenticity interchangeably (Beverland, 2005) or suggested that authenticity is a legitimising action (Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2018; Kates, 2004; Leigh et al., 2006; Verhaal et al., 2017). Some like Mirchandani suggest in the context of authenticity work that, "the study of authenticity is the study of legitimacy because it both confers value onto that which is deemed authentic and legitimates the position of those who have the right to do the deeming" (2012, p. 4). Much work is required to refine the distinction and interaction between authenticity and legitimacy as social constructions performing markets. Therefore, until this conceptual dissonance is resolved in the institutional literature, it may be premature to suggest that authenticity-related work constitutes institutional work.

That said however, it has been suggested in this thesis that meanings of authenticity are often dynamic and ephemeral but may also congeal and stagnate over time. In this case, both during the era of wine estate and the cooperative systems, meanings of wine authenticity arguably persevered to become institutionalised into field practices. Winemakers were often educated according to these conventions and there was often no reason for producers to question the authenticity of these institutions. Berger and Luckman (1966) refer to this phenomenon as a process of sedimentation where social meanings become intersubjectively retained over time and congeal into institutions that transmit traditions constraining behaviour. In this way organisational practices resemble each other as occurred in the run up to the emergence of the

SIP (see Dacin et al., 2010; Dimaggio & Powell, 1983).

In this study, the terms validating and justifying describe the actions underpinning various meta-framing actions concerning authenticity-related work. In the French institutional literature justifying has a similar connotation to legitimation (Cloutier & Langley, 2013), while local and general validation are seen as legitimising actions in organisational fields (Johnson et al., 2006). In addition, collective action framing is a legitimising action and scholars suggest that innovation begins with a wide variety of ambiguous nascent frames that gradually merge into broader more encompassing frames as organisations' practices become validated and therefore legitimised (Humphreys, 2010; Santos & Eisenhardt, 2009). It is therefore possible that authenticity generation may be a way to achieve legitimacy and so create institutions. In this regard, the nature and operation of credibility is also interesting to consider as it renders and attributes persuasiveness to authenticity work, whose defining feature is that it seeks to make organisations appear authentic. As mentioned above, authenticity work is often temporal only lasting for a short period (Lehman et al., 2019), and attributions of authenticity may occur relatively rapidly. It may be that rendering credible authenticity work sparks a legitimation process taking many years to complete as market participants run through several cycles of authentication, which may never be fully concluded.

6.5.3 Conclusion

This thesis empirically examined the case of wine producers in a marginalised wine area creating a market for themselves by organising into a business association, the SIP, that channelled their collective efforts to frame themselves and their winemaking practices as authentic. The case also covered the demand side of authenticity work by theorising the actions of market participants reacting to the SIP's efforts and resolving conflicts over competing framings of authenticity as authentication work. This study provides a robust theory on

organisational authenticity that plausibly explains how and why the collective rendering of authenticity creates markets. In addition, it provides insight into the role organisations play in collectively constructing meanings of authenticity and what that does in markets. Focusing on collective organisational strategy, the study demonstrates that fringe businesses can create markets by directing their collective action through meta-organisations and strategically framing their practices as authentic. Practically, this study may assist small businesses imbued with low status and power in cultural fields, to develop strategies involving authenticity framing and business associations to create sustainable markets for themselves.

The organisational authenticity literature is nascent but beginning to burgeon (Demetry, 2019), and this thesis adds to this literature by confronting and helping to address long-standing scholarly dilemmas in three ways. First, it may assist in resolving scholarly conflicts over subjective, objective, and constructed authenticity generation. Second, it may for instance help to clear up grey areas such as the nature of authenticity work and relationship between authenticity work and authentication. Third, it adds to the literature by drawing in concepts such as hot and cool authenticity, collective action framing, market creation and meta-organisational strategy, providing fertile ground for further exploration. The organisational authenticity literature has been fragmented across several disciplines such as sociology, social psychology, MOS and marketing (Lehman et al., 2019). While this situation may continue in future, this thesis may assist in further crystallise the boundaries of the organisational authenticity literature. Finally, this study goes some way in surfacing several pertinent questions raised by studying the interaction between the socially constructed processes of organisational authenticity generation, collective action via meta-organisations and market creation, to advance this subset of the organisational authenticity literature further.

References

Aguinis, H., & Solarino, A. M. (2019). Transparency and replicability in qualitative research: The case of interviews with elite informants. *Strategic Management Journal*, *40*(8), 1291–1315.

Ahrne, G., & Brunsson, N. (2005). Organizations and meta-organizations. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, *21*(4), 429–449.

Alvesson, M. (2011). Beyond neopositivists, romantics, and localists : A reflexive approach to interviews in organizational research. *Academy of Management Review*, *28*(1), 13–33.

Alvesson, M., & Kärreman, D. (2007). Constructing mystery: Empirical matters in theory development. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1265–1281.

Alvesson, M., & Sandberg, J. (2011). Generating research questions through problematization. *Academy of Management Review*, *36*(2), 247–271.

Anderson, K., & Nelgen, S. (2011). *Global wine markets, 1961 to 2009: A compendium*. Adelaide: Adelaide University Press.

Anteby, M., & Molnàr, V. (2012). Collective memory meets organizational identity: Remembering to forget in a firm's rhetorical history. *Academy of Management Journal*, *55*(3), 515–540.

Anthony, C., Nelson, A. J., Tripsas, M. (2016). "Who are you?... I really wanna know": Product meaning and competitive positioning in the nascent synthesizer industry. *Strategy Science*, *3*(1), 163–183.

Arino, A., LeBaron, C., & Milliken, F. J. (2016). Publishing qualitative research in Academy of Management Discoveries. *Academy of Management Discoveries*, *2*(2), 109–113.

Arnould, E. J., & Price, L. L. (2000). Authenticating acts and authoritative performances: Questing for self and community. In S. Ratneshwar, D. G. M. Mick, & C. Huffman (Eds), *The why of consumption: Contemporary perspectives on consumer motives, goals, and*

desires (pp. 140–163). London: Routledge.

Askin, N., & Mol, J. (2018). Institutionalizing authenticity in the digitized world of music. In C. Jones, & M. Moret (Eds.) *Frontiers of creative industries: Exploring structural and categorical dynamics* (pp. 159–202). *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, Vol 55. Emerald.

Ateljevic, I., & Doorne, S. (2005). Dialectics of authentication: Performing "exotic otherness" in a backpacker enclave of Dali, China. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, *3*(1), 1–17.

Atkin, T. (2013). The Swartland Revolution – Tim Atkin – Master of Wine. Retrieved 20 October 2014, from: https://timatkin.com/the-swartland-revolution/.

Atkins, E.T. 2000. Can Japanese sing the blues? "Japanese Jazz" and the problem of authenticity. In J. Timothy J. Craig (Eds.), *Japan pop! Inside the world of Japanese popular culture.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp.

Bacharach, S. B. (1989). Organizational theories: Some criteria for evaluation. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*(4), 496–515.

Baker, T., & Nelson, R. E. (2005). Creating something from nothing. Resource construction through entrepreneurial bricolage. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *50*, 329–366.

Bamberger, P. A. (2018). AMD — Clarifying what we are about and where. *Academy of Management Discoveries*, *4*(1), 1–10.

Bamberger, P. A. (2019). On the replicability of abductive research in management and organizations: Internal replication and its alternatives. *Academy of Management Discoveries*, *5*(2), 103–108.

Bansal, T., & Corley, K. G. (2012). From the editors. Publishing in AMJ - Part 7: What's different about qualitative research ? *Academy of Management Annals*, *55*(3), 509–513.

Barham, E. (2003). Translating terroir: The global challenge of French AOC labeling. *Journal*

of Rural Studies, *19*(1), 127–138.

Barnes, B. (2003). Practice as collective action. In T. R. Schatzki, K. K. Cetina, & E. Von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 25–49). London: Routledge.

Barnett, M. L. (2012). One voice, but whose voice? Exploring what drives trade association activity. *Business & Society*, *52*(2), 213–244.

Baron, D. P. (1995). Integrated strategy: Market and nonmarket components. *California Management Review*, *37*(2), 47–66.

Baudrillard, J. (1983). *Simulations*. New York: Semiotex.

Beckert, J. (2010). How do fields change? The interrelations of institutions, networks, and cognition in the dynamics of markets. *Organization Studies*, *31*(5), 605–627.

Belk, R. W., & Costa, J. A. (1998). The mountain man myth: A contemporary consuming fantasy. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *25*(3), 218–240.

Benford, R. D., & Hunt, S. A. (1992). Dramaturgy and social movements. *Sociological Inquiry*, *62*(1) 36–55.

Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*, 611–639.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. London: Allen Lane.

Bernstein, E. (2007). Sex work for the middle classes. *Sexualities*, *10*(4), 473–488.

Beverland, M. B. (2005). Crafting brand authenticity : The case of luxury wines. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 1003–1028.

Beverland, M. B. (2006). The “real thing”: Branding authenticity in the luxury wine trade. *Journal of Business Research*, *59*(2), 251–258.

Beverland, M. B., & Farrelly, F. J. (2010). The quest for authenticity in consumption: Consumers’ purposive choice of authentic cues to shape experienced outcomes. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *36*(5), 838–856.

Beverland, M. B., Farrelly, F. J., & Quester, P. G. (2010). Authentic subcultural membership: Antecedents and consequences of authenticating acts and authoritative performances. *Psychology & Marketing*, *27*(7), 698–716.

Beverland, M. B., Lindgreen, A., & Vink, M. W. (2008). Projecting authenticity through advertising: consumer judgments of advertisers' claims. *Journal of Advertising*, *37*(1), 5–15.

Björkman, I. (2002). Aura: Aesthetic business creativity. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, *5*(1), 69–78.

Boje, D. M., & Baskin, K. (2011). Our organizations were never disenchanted: Enchantment by design narratives vs enchantment by emergence. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *24*(4), 411–426.

Bonoma, T. V. (1985). Case research in marketing: Opportunities, problems, and a process. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *22*(2), 199.

Boorstin, D. (1961). *The image: A guide to psuedo-events in America*. New York: Harper.

Brown, S., Kozinets, R. V., & Sherry, J. F. (2003). Teaching old brands new tricks : Retro branding and the revival of brand meaning. *Journal of Marketing*, *67*(3), 19–33.

Bruner, M. (1994). Abraham Lincoln as authentic reproduction: A critique of postmodernism. *American Anthropologist*, *96*(2), 397–415.

Brunsson, N., Rasche, A., & Seidl, D. (2012). The dynamics of standardization: Three perspectives on standards in organization studies. *Organization Studies*, *33*(5–6), 613–632.

Bucher, E., Fiesler, C., Fleck, M., & Lutz, C. (2018). Authenticity and the sharing economy. *Academy of Management Discoveries*, *4*(3), 394–413.

Buechler, S.M. (1995). New social movement theories. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *36*(3), 441–464.

Burgoyne, A. H. (1912). Colonial vine culture. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, *3105*(May), 671–686.

Callon, M., & Muniesa, F. (2005). Economic markets as calculative collective devices. *Organization Studies*, *26*(8), 1229–1250.

Camus, S. (2004). Proposition d'échelle de mesure de l'authenticité perçue d'un produit alimentaire. *Recherche et Applications En Marketing*, *19*(4), 39–63.

Carroll, G. R. (2015). Authenticity : Attribution, value, and meaning. In R. Scott & S. Kosslyn (Eds.), *Emerging trends in the social and behavioural sciences* (pp. 1–13). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Carroll, G. R., & Swaminathan, A. (2010). Why the microbrewery movement ? Organizational dynamics of resource partitioning in the U.S. brewing industry. *American Journal of Sociology*, *106*(3), 715–762.

Carroll, G. R., & Wheaton, D. R. (2009). The organizational social of authenticity: An examination of contemporary food and dining in the US. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *24*(3), 417–423.

Cartel, M., Boxenbaum, E., & Aggeri, F. (2018). Just for fun! How experimental spaces stimulate innovation in institutionalized fields. *Organization Studies*, 017084061773693.

Cattani, G., Dunbar, R. L. M., & Shapira, Z. (2017). How commitment to craftsmanship leads to unique value: Steinway & Sons' differentiation strategy. *Strategy Science*, *2*(1), 13–38.

Cavanaugh, J. R., & Shankar, S. (2014). Producing authenticity in global capitalism: Language, materiality, and value. *American Anthropologist*, *116*(1), 51–64.

Charmaz, K. (1990). Discovering chronic illness: Using grounded theory. *Social Science & Medicine*, *30*(11), 1161–1172.

Charmaz, K. (2008). Constructionism and the grounded theory method. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (pp. 397–412). New York:

Guilford Publishers.

Christiansen, L. H., & Kroezen, J. J. (2016). Institutional maintenance through business collective action: The alcohol industry's engagement with issues of alcohol-related harm. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, *48*(December), 733–558.

Clark, T., & Mangham, I. (2004). From dramaturgy to theatre as technology: The case of corporate theatre. *Journal of Management Studies*, *41 (1)*(January), 37–59.

Cloutier, C., & Langley, a. (2013). The logic of institutional logics: Insights from French pragmatist sociology. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *22*(X), 360–380.

Cochoy, F. (2008). Calculation, qualculation, calqulation: Shopping cart arithmetic, equipped cognition and the clustered consumer. *Marketing Theory*, *8*(1), 15–44.

Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commodization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *15*, 371–386.

Cohen, E. (2002). Authenticity, equity and sustainability in tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *10*(4), 267–276.

Cohen, E., & Cohen, S. A. (2012). Authentication: Hot and cool. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *39*(3), 1295–1314.

Cohen, S. A., & Cohen, E. (2019). New directions in the sociology of tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *22*(2), 153–172.

Colombero, S., & Boxenbaum, E. (2019). Authentication as institutional maintenance work. *Journal of Management Studies*, *56*(2), 408–440.

Cook, M. L. (1995). The future of agricultural cooperatives : A neo-institutional approach. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, *77*(5), 1153–1159.

Corley, K. G., & Gioa, D. A. (2011). Building theory about theory building: What constitutes a theoretical contribution? *Academy of Management Review*, *36*(1), 12–32.

Cornelissen, J., Werner, M. (2014). Putting framing in perspective: A review of frame analysis

across the management and organizational literature. *Academy of Management Annals*, *8*(1), 181-235.

Couderc, J.-P., & Marchini, A. (2011). Governance, commercial strategies and performances of wine cooperatives: An analysis of Italian and French wine producing regions. *International Journal of Wine Business Research*, *23*(3), 235–257.

Creed, W. E. D., Dejordy, R., & Lok, J. (2010). Being the change : Resolving institutional contradiction through identity work. *Academy of Management Journal*, *53*(6), 1336–1364.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design* (Fourth Edition). Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, *39*(3), 124–130.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London; Thousand Oaks.

Dacin, M. T., Dacin, P.A., & Kent, D. (2019). Traditions in organizations: A custodianship framework. *Academy of Management Annals*, *19*(1), 1393–1418.

Dacin, M. T., Munir, K., & Tracey, P. (2010). Formal dining at Cambridge colleges: Linking ritual performance and institutional maintenance. *Academy of Management Journal*, *53*(6), 1393–1418.

Daugstad, K., & Kirchengast, C. (2013). Authenticity and the pseudo-backstage of agri-tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *43*, 170–191.

Davies, S. (1987). Authenticity in musical performance. *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, *27*(1), 39–50.

Davidson, L-E. (2017). No, we don't make the rules. Retrieved from: https://www.wineland.co.za/no-dont-make-rules/.

Déjean, F., Giamporcaro, S., Gond, J-P., Leca, B., & Penalva-Icher, E. (2012). Mistaking an emerging market for a social movement? A comment on Arjalie`s' social-movement

perspective on socially responsible investment in France. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *112*(1), 205-2012.

Delmestri, G., & Greenwood, R. (2016). How Cinderella became a queen: Theorizing radical status change. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *61*(4), 507–550.

Delmestri, G., Montanari, F., & Usai, A. (2005). Reputation and strength of ties in predicting commercial success and artistic merit of independents in the Italian feature film industry. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 975–1002.

Demetry, D. (2019). How organizations claim authenticity: The coproduction of illusions in underground restaurants. *Organization Science*, *30*(5), 937–960.

Demossier, M. (2011). Beyond terroir: Territorial construction, hegemonic discourses, and French wine culture. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *17*(4), 685–705.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research*. N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), (4th edition), (pp. 1–25). London: Sage Publications.

Deshpandé, R. (2010). Why you aren't buying Venezuelan chocolate? *Harvard Business Review*, *88*(12), 25–28.

De Soucey, M. (2010). Gastronationalism: Food traditions and authenticity politics in the european union. *American Sociological Review*, *75*(3), 432–455.

Dietrich, K., Fiske, C., McAlister, K., Schobe, E., Silverman, I., & A, Waldron. (2004). *To raise a toast: grain and grape in the Swartland, South Africa – Trends, causes and implications of land use change.* Department of Environmental & Geographical Sciences, University of Cape Town.

DiMaggio, P. (1987). Classification in art. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(4), 440–455.

Dimaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*,

48(April), 147–160.

Dion, D., & Arnould, E. (2011). Retail luxury strategy: Assembling charisma through art and magic. *Journal of Retailing*, *87*(4), 502–520.

Dobusch, L., & Schoeneborn, D. (2015). Fluidity, identity, and organizationality: The communicative constitution of anonymous. *Journal of Management Studies*, *52*(8), 1005–1035.

Doh, J. P., Lawton, T. C., & Rajwani, T. (2012). Advancing nonmarket strategy research: Institutional perspectives in a changing world. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *26*(3), 22–39.

Dolan, F.E. (2019). Biodynamic viticulture, natural wine and the pre-modern. In V. Nardizzi. & T.J. Werth (Eds.), *Pre-modern ecologies in modern literature imagination* (pp. 121–149). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Dolbec, P.-Y., & Fischer, E. (2015). Refashioning a field? Connected consumers and institutional dynamics in markets. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *41*(April), 1447–1468.

Dooling, W. (1999). The decline of the Cape gentry, 1838-c. 1900. *Journal of African History*, *40*, 215–242.

Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and danger*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Dubois, A., & Gadde, L. E. (2002). Systematic combining: An abductive approach to case research. *Journal of Business Research*, *55*(7), 553–560.

Dubois, A., & Gadde, L. E. (2014). “Systematic combining” - A decade later. *Journal of Business Research*, *67*(6), 1277–1284.

Durand, R., & Khaire, M. (2016). Where do market categories come from and how? Distinguishing category creation from category emergence. *Journal of Management*, *43*(1), 87–110.

Dutton, D. (2009). Authenticity in art. *The Oxford handbook of aesthetics*. 258-274. New York:

Oxford University Press.

Eedes, C. (2010). Interview with Vergelegen's André van Rensburg. Retrieved from: https://winemag.co.za/wine/opinion/interview-with-vergelegens-andre-van-rensburg/.

Eedes, C. (2015). Interview: Bruce Jack of Flagstone. Retrieved from: https://winemag.co.za/wine/opinion/interview-bruce-jack-of-flagstone/.

Eco, U. (1986). *Travels in hyperreality*. London: Picador.

Edmondson, A. C., & Mcmanus, S. E. (2007). Methodological fit in management field research. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1155–1179.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*(4), 532–550.

Eisenhardt, K. M., Graebner, M. E., & Sonensheim, S. (2016). From the editors: Grand challenges and inductive methods: Rigor without rigor mortis. *Academy of Management Journal*, *59*(4), 1113–1123.

Endrissat, N., Islam, G., & Noppeney, C. (2015). Enchanting work : New spirits of service work in an organic supermarket. *Organization Studies*, *36*(11), 1555–1576.

Evans, J. H. (1997). Multi-organizational fields and social movement organization frame content: The religious pro- choice movement. *Sociological Inquiry*, *67*(4), 451–469.

Ewing, D. R., Allen, C. T., & Ewing, R. L. (2012). Authenticity as meaning validation: An empirical investigation of iconic and indexical cues in a context of "green" products. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, *11*(April), 381–390.

Ewert, J., Hanf, J.H., Schweickert.E. (2015). Strategic challenges facing South African wine co-operatives: Upgrading or bulk production? *Journal of Wine Research*, *26*(4), 287–303.

Feiring, A. (2014). The VQA & SA Wine & Spirit Board's plot to kill wine. The Feiring Line. Retrieved from: https://www.alicefeiring.com/blog/2014/07/the-plot-to-kill-wine.html.

Ferraro, F., Etzion, D., Gehman, J. (2015).Tackling grand challenges pragmatically: Robust

action revisited. *Organization Studies*, *36*(3), 363–390.

Fine, G. A. (2003). Crafting authenticity : The validation of identity in self-taught art. *Theory and Society*, *32*(2), 153–180.

Fisher, G., & Aguinis, H. (2017). Using theory elaboration to make theoretical advancements. *Organizational Research Methods*, *20*(3), 438–464.

Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. (2014). Power in management and organization science. *Academy of Management Annals*, *8*(1), 237–298.

Fleming, P., & Sturdy, A. (2011). "Being yourself" in the electronic sweatshop: New forms of normative control. *Human Relations*, *64*(2), 177–200.

Fligstein, N. (2001). *The architecture of markets: An economic sociology of twenty-first-century capitalist societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fligstein, N., & Dauter, L. (2007). The sociology of markets. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *33*(1), 105–128.

Fligstein, N., & McAdam, D. (2011). Toward a general theory of strategic action fields. *Sociological Theory*, *29*(1), 1–26.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *12*(2), 420–434.

Folger, R., & Stein, C. (2017). Abduction 101: Reasoning processes to aid discovery. *Human Resource Management Review*, *27*(2), 306–315.

Force, W. R. (2009). Consumption styles and the fluid complexity of punk authenticity. *Symbolic Interaction*, *32*(4), 289–309.

Fourcade, M. (2007). Theories of markets and theories of society. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *50*(8), 1015–1034.

Fourcade, M. (2012). The vile and the noble : On the relation between natural and social classifications in the French wine world. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *53*, 524–545.

Frake, J. (2015). Selling out: The inauthenticity discount in the craft beer industry. *Management Science*, *63*(11), 3930–3943.

Frenzel, F. (2017). Tourist agency as valorisation: Making Dharavi into a tourist attraction. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *66*, 159–169.

Fridjhon, M. (2011). Is authenticity in wine overrated? Retrieved from: http://www.businessday.co.za.

Fridjhon, M. (2013) A walk through the holy land. Retrieved on 18 March 2013 from: Business Day, http://www.businessday.co.za.

Fridjhon, M. (2014). Does purity bring perfection*? Business Day*. Retrieved on 29 April 2014.

Fridjhon, M. (2016). Palate to palette: A colony of artists paint in wine for a brief moment in time. Retrieved from: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-06-21-palate-to-palette-a-colony-of-artists-paint-in-wine-for-a-brief-moment-in-time/

Fridjhon, M. (2017) The answer to the false purist's dilemma is right in front of your nose. Retrived from: https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/opinion/columnists/2017-05-05-michael-fridjhon-the-answer-to-a-purists-false-dilemma-is-right-in-front-of-your-nose/paradox of purity

Frisvoll, S. (2013). Conceptualising authentication of ruralness. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *43*(7491), 272–296.

Froud, M. (2014). First came estate wines, then came single vineyard wines – some of which are better than others. Retrieved from: https://topwinesa.com/2014/09/single-vineyard-wines-south-africa/.

Froud, M. (2015). *Registered wine estates, unregistered estates, non-estates…How much does it matter?* Retrieved from: https://topwinesa.com/2015/06/registered-wine-estates-unregistered-estates-non-estates-how-much-does-it-matter/.

Froud, M. (2019). SA wine industry stats. Retrieved from: https://topwinesa.com/sa-

winelands/sa-wine-industry-statistics/.

Garaudel, P. (2020). Exploring meta-organizations' diversity and agency: A meta-organizational perspective on global union federations. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, *36*(1), 101094.

Gawer, A., & Phillips, N. (2013). Institutional work as logics shift: The case of Intel's transformation to platform leader. *Organization Studies*, *34*(8), 1035–1071.

Gaytán, M. S. (2008). From sombreros to sincronizadas. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *37*(3), 314–341.

Gehman, J., Glaser, V. L., Eisenhardt, K. M., Gioia, D., Langley, A., & Corley, K. G. (2018). Finding theory-method fit : A comparison of three qualitative approaches to theory building. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *27*(3), 284–300.

Gehman, J., & Grimes, M. (2017). Hidden badge of honour: How contextual distinctiveness afftects category promotion among certified B corporations. *Academy of Management Journal*, *60*(6), 2294–2320.

Gergen, M., & Gergen, K. (2003). Meaning in relationship. In M. Gergen & K. Gergen (Eds.), *Social construction: A reader*. Sage Publications.

Gerhards, J., & Rucht, D. (1992). Mesomobilization: Organizing and framing in two protest campaigns in West Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(3), 555–596.

Giamporcaro, S. & Gond, J-P. (2016). Calculability as politics in the construction of markets: The case of socially responsible investment in France. *Organization Studies*, *37*(4), 465–495.

Giamporcaro, S., Gond, J-P., & O'Sullivan, N. (2020). Orchestrating governmental corporate social responsibility interventions trhough financial markets: The case of French socially responsible investment. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, *30*(3), 288-334.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*.

Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gibb, R. (2012). Swartland wines from evolution to revolution. Retrieved 17 August 2016 from https://www.wine-searcher.com/m/2012/12/swartland-from-revolution-to-evolution.

Giesler, M. (2012). How doppelgänger brand images influence the market creation process: Longitudinal insights from the rise of Botox cosmetic. *Journal of Marketing*, *76*(6), 55–68.

Gilmore, J. H., & Pine, J. (2007). *Authenticity: What consumers really want.* Harvard: Harvard Business School Press.

Gioia, D. A., & Chittipedi, K. (1991). Sensemaking and sensegiving in strategic change initiation. *Strategic Management Journal*, *12*(6), 433–448.

Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G., & Hamilton, A. L. (2013). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organisational Research Methods*, *16*(1), 15–31.

Glynn, M. A., & Lounsbury, M. (2005). From the critics' corner : Logic blending , discursive change and authenticity in a cultural production system. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 1031–1055.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of the self in everyday life*. London: Penguin.

Goode, J., & Harrop, S. (2011). *Authentic wine: Toward natural and sustainable winemaking*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goode, (2010). The Swartland revolution. Retrieved on 17 August 2016 from: www.wine.co.za.

Grandey, A. A. (2003). When " The show must go on ": Surface acting and deep acting as determinants of emotional exhaustion and peer-rated service delivery. *Academy of Management Journal*, *46*(1), 86–96.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*,

91(1), 418-510.

Granovetter, M. (2005). The impact of social structure on economic outcomes. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *19*(1), 33–50.

Grayson, K., & Martinec, R. (2004). Consumer perceptions of iconicity and indexicality and their influence on assessments of authentic market offerings. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*(2), 296–312.

Grazian, D. (2004). The symbolic economy of authenticity in the Chicago blues scene. In A. Bennett, & R.A. Peterson (Eds.), *Music scenes: Local, translocal and virutal* (pp. 31–47). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Grazian, D. (2010). Demystifying authenticity in the sociology of culture. In J. R. Hall, L. Grinstaff, & M.C. Lo (eds.), *The handbook of cultural sociology* (pp. 191–200). London: Routledge.

Grindstaff, L. (2002). *The money shot: Trash, class, and the making of TV talk shows*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Grodal, S., Anteby, M., & Holm, A. L. (2020). Achieving rigor in qualitative analysis: The role of active categorization in theory building. *Academy of Management Review*.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1982). Epistimological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *Educational Technology Research and Development*, *30*(4), 233–252.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (pp. 195–220). London: Sage.

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2009). The everyday work and auspices of authenticity. In P. Vannini & P. Williams (eds.), *Authenticity in culture, self, and society* (pp. 121–138). Farnham: Ashgate.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough?: An experiment

with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, *18*(1), 59–82.

Gulati, R., Puranam, P., & Tushman, M. (2012). Meta-organizational design: Rethinking design. *Strategic Management Journal*, *586*(33), 571–586.

Haddon, H. (2011). I revolted, felt revolting and revolted some more – The Swartland Revolution. Retrieved from: https://wineandi.wordpress.com/2010/11/24/i-revolted-felt-revolting-and-revolted-some-more-the-swartland-revolution-2010/.

Hahl, O., & Zuckerman, E. W. (2014). The denigration of heroes? How the status attainment process shapes attributions of considerateness and authenticity. *American Journal of Sociology*, *120*(2), 504–554.

Hahl, O., Zuckerman, E. W., & Kim, M. (2017). Why elites love authentic lowbrow culture : overcoming high-status denigration with outsider art. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(4), 828–856.

Halpern, A. B. W., & Meadows, M. E. (2013). Fifty years of land use change in the Swartland, Western Cape, South Africa: characteristics, causes and consequences. *South African Geographical Journal*, *95*(1), 38–49.

Hannah, D. R., & Lautsch, B.A. (2011). Counting in qualitative research: Why conduct it it, when to avoid it and when to closet it. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *20*(1), 14–22.

Harris, S. R. (2010). *What is constructionism? Navigating its use in sociolog*y. Bolder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Harrison, J. S., Hoskisson, R. E., & Jonsen, K. (2014). Walking the talk: A multistakeholder exploration of organizational authenticity, employee productivity and post-merger performance. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *28*(1), 38–56.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2017). Toward a theory of using history authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *62*(4), 657–697.

Hennig-Thurau, T., Groth, M., Paul, M., & Gremler, D. D. (2006). Are all smiles created

equal ? How emotional cantagion and emotional labour affect service relationships. *Journal of Marketing*, *70*(Juiy), 58–73.

Herbig, P., & Milewicz, J. (1996). Market signalling: A review. *Management Decision*, *34*(1), 35–45.

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (1983). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hochschild, A. R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, *85*(3), 551–575.

Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercilization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2008). The constructionist mosaic. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (pp. 3–10) . New York: Guilford Publishers.

Howard-Grenville, J., Metzger, M. L., & Meyer, A. D. (2013). Rekindling the flame: Processes of identity resurrection. *Academy of Management Journal*, *56*(1), 113–136.

Hughes, M. (2000). Country music as impression management: A meditation on fabricating authenticity. *Poeticsl*, *28*(1), 185–205.

Humphreys, A. (2010). Megamarketing : The creation of markets as a social process. *Journal of Marketing*, *74*(March), 1–19.

Japko, A. How the Swartland crew is bringing up South African wine. Retrieved from: http://palatepress.com/2011/08/wine/how-the-swartland-crew-is-bringing-up-south-african-wine/.

James, T. (2010). The story of a vinous revolution. Retrieved on 23 July 2016 from: http://grape.co.za/2010/12/the-story-of-a-vinous-revolution/.

James, T. (2012). Beaurocratic tasting panel (dis) approval. Retrieved on 17 June 2017 from:

http://grape.co.za/2012/07/bureaucratic-tasting-panel-disapproval/.

James, T. (2015). Welcome moves towards new classes of Cape wine. Retrieved from http://grape.co.za/2015/02/welcome-moves-towards-new-classes-of-cape-wine/

Johnson, C., Dowd, T. J., & Ridgeway, C. L. (2006). Legitimacy as a social process. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *32*(1), 53–78.

Johnston, J., & Baumann, S. (2007). Democracy versus distinction: A study of omnivorousness in gourmet food writing. *American Journal of Sociology*, *113*(1),

Jones, C., Anand, N., & Alvarez, J. L. (2005). Manufactured authenticity and creative voice in cultural industries. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 893–899.

Jones, C., Maoret, M., Massa, F. G., & Svejenova, S. (2012). Rebels with a cause : Formation, contestation, and expansion of the de novo category “modern architecture”, 1870-1975. *Organization Science*, *23*(6), 1523–1545.

Jones, C., & Massa, F. G. (2013). From novel practice to consecrated exemplar: Unity Temple as a case of institutional evangelizing. *Organization Studies*, *34*(8, SI), 1099–1136.

Jones, D., & Smith, K. (2005). Middle-earth meets New Zealand: Authenticity and location in the making of The Lord of the Rings. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 923–944.

Joubert, E. (2012). Cape Wine 2012 in a rush. Retrieved on 16 July 2016 from https://winegoggle.co.za/2012/09/30/cape-wine-2012-in-a-rush/

Kaplan, S. (2008). Framing contests: Strategy making under uncertainty. *Organization Science*, *19*(5), 729–752.

Karo-Ljungberg. (2008). Social constructionist framing of the research interview. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (pp. 429–444) New York: Guilford Publishers.

Kates, S. M. (2004). The dynamics of brand legitimacy: An interpretive study in the gay men’s community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*(2), 455–464.

Kim, W.C., & Mauborgne, R. (2005). Blue ocean strategy: From theory to practice. *California Management Review*, *47*(3), 105–121.

Kinchin, I.M., Streatfield, D., & Hay, D. B. (2010). Using concept mapping to enhance the reserch interview. *International Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, *9*(1), 52–69.

King, B. G., Felin, T., & Whetten, D. A. (2010). Finding the organization in organizational theory: A meta-theory of the organization as a social actor. *Organization Science*, *21*(1), 290–305.

Koçak, Ö., Hannan, M. T., & Hsu, G. (2013). Emergence of market orders: Audience interaction and vanguard influence. *Organization Studies*, *35*(5), 765–790.

Koontz-Anthony, A. (2012). Racialized authentication: Constructing representations of the Florida Highwaymen. *Sociological Quarterly*, *53*(3), 394–421.

Koontz-Anthony, A., & Joshi, A. (2017). (In)authenticity work: Constructing the realm of inauthenticity through Thomas Kinkade. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *17*(3), 752–773.

Koontz, A. (2010). Constructing authenticity: A review of trends and influences in the process of authentication in consumption. *Sociology Compass*, *4*(11), 977–988.

Kovács, B., Carroll, G. R., & Lehman, D. W. (2014). Authenticity and consumer value ratings: Empirical tests from the restaurant domain. *Organization Science*, *25*(2), 458–478.

Kovács, B., Carroll, G. R., & Lehman, D. W. (2017). The perils of proclaiming an authentic organizational identity. *Sociological Science*, *4*, 80–106.

Kozinets, R. V. (2002). Can consumers escape the market? Emancipatory illuminations from Burning Man. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *29*(1), 20–38.

Kozinets, R. V. (2008). Technology/ideology: How ideological fields influence consumers ’ technology narratives. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *34*(6), 865–881.

Lambert, M. (2017). Interview with Craig Hawkins of Testalonga. Retrieve on 12 December 2017 from https://winemag.co.za/wine/opinion/malu-lambert-interview-with-craig-

hawkins-of-testalonga/.

Lamont, M. (2014). Authentication in sports tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *45*, 1–17.

Langley, A. (1999). Strategies for theorizing from process data. *Academy of Management Review*, *24*(4), 691–710.

Langley, A., & Abdallah, C. (2011). Templates and turns in qualitative studies of strategy and management. *Research Methodology in Strategy and Management*, *6*(April), 201–235.

Lawrence, T. B., Leca, B., & Zilber, T. B. (2013). Institutional Work: Current research, new directions and overlooked issues. *Organization Studies*, *34*(8), 1023–1033.

Lawrence, T. B., & Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutions and institutional work. In S. Clegg, C. Hardy, T. B. Lawrence, & W. Nord (Eds.), *The handbook of organization studies* (pp. 215–254). London: Sage.

Lee, K., & Pennings, J. M. (2002). Mimicry and the market : Adoption of a new organizational form. *Academy of Management Journal*, *45*(1), 144–162.

Legeron, I. (2014). *Natural wine: Introduction to organic and biodynamic wines made naturally*. London: CICO Books.

Lehman, D. W., Connor, K. O., & Newman, G. E. (2019). Authenticity. *Academy of Management Annals*, *13*(1), 1–42.

Lehman, D. W., Kovács, B., & Carroll, G. R. (2014). Conflicting social codes and organizations: Hygiene and authenticity in consumer evaluation of restaurants. *Management Science*, *60 (10)*, 2602–2617.

Lehman, D. W., Kovács, B., & Carroll, G. R. (2018). The beholder's eyes: Audience reactions to organizational self-claims of authenticity. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, *4*, 1–17.

Leibel, E., Hallett, T., & Bechky, B. (2018). Meaning at the source: The dynamics of field formation in institutional research. *Academy of Management Annals*, *12*(1), 154–177.

Leigh, T. W., Peters, C., & Shelton, J. (2006). The consumer quest for authenticity: The multiplicity of meanings within the MG subculture of consumption. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *34*(4), 481–493.

Liedtka, J. (2007). Strategy making and the search for authenticity. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *80*(2), 237–248.

Lindholm, C. (2002). Authenticity, anthropology and the sacred. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *75*(2), 309–333.

Liou, J. (2015). In the Swartland terroir, a South African wine revolution. Retrieved from https://www.businessinsider.com/afp-in-the-swartland-terroir-a-south-african-wine-revolution-2015-1?IR=T

Littrell, M.A., Andersen, L.F., Brown, P.J. (1993). What makes a craft souvenir authentic. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *20*, 197-215.

Lu, S., & Fine, G. A. (1995). The presentation of ethnic authenticity : Chinese food as a social accomplishment. *Sociological Quarterly*, *36*(3), 535–553.

Lugosi, P. (2016). Socio-technological authentication. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *58*, 100–113.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, *79*(3), 589–603.

Mackenzie, D., & Millo, Y. (2003). Constructing a market, performing theory: The historical sociology of a financial derivatives exchange. *American Journal of Sociology*, *109*(1), 107–145.

Mantere, S., & Ketokivi, M. (2013). Reasoning in organization science. *Academy of Management Review*, *38*(1), 70–89.

Marques, J. C. (2017). Industry business associations: Self-interested or socially conscious? *Journal of Business Ethics*, *143*, 733–751.

Massa, F., Helms, W. S., Voronov, M., & Wang, L. (2017). Emotions uncorked : Inspiring evangelism for the emerging practice of cool climate winemaking in Ontario. *Academy of Management Journal*, *60*(2), 461–499.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Maxwell, J. A., & Miller, B. A. (2008). Categorizing and connecting strategies in qualitative data analysis. In P.Leavy, & S. Hesse-Bilber (Eds), *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, (pp. 461–477). New York: Guilford Press

Mckendrick, D. G., & Hannan, M. T. (2014). Oppositional identities and resource partitioning: Distellery ownership in Scotch whisky, 1826–2009. *Organization Science*, *25*(4), 1272–1286.

McLeod, K. (1999). Authenticity within hip-hop and other cultures threatened with assimilation. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(4), 134–150.

McQuarrie, E. F., & Phillips, B. J. (2005). Indirect persuasion in advertising: How consumers process metaphors presented in pictures and words. *Journal of Advertising*, *34*(2), 7–20.

McShane, L., & Cunningham, P. (2012). To thine own self be true? Employees' judgments of the authenticity of their organization's corporate social responsibility program. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *108*(1), 81–100.

Mears, A. (2014). Aesthetic labor for the sociologies of work, gender, and beauty. *Sociology Compass*, *8*(12), 1330–1343.

Menchik, D. A. (2019). Tethered venues: Discerning distant influences on a field site. *Sociological Methods and Research*, *48*(4), 850–876.

Mirchandani, K. (2012). *Phone clones: Authenticity work in the transnational service economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mkono, M. (2013a). African and Western tourists: Object authenticity quest? *Annals of*

Tourism Research, *41*, 195–214.

Mkono, M. (2013b). Hot and cool authentication: A netnographic illustration. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *41*(1), 215–218.

Moeran, B. (2005). Tricks of the trade: The performance and interpretation of authenticity. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 901–921.

Molesworth, J. (2013). The South Africa diary: Sadie Family. Wine Spectator. https://www.winespectator.com/articles/the-south-africa-diary-sadie-family-48022.

Monteiro, P., & Nicolini, D. (2015). Recovering materiality in institutional work. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *24*(1), 61–81.

Moore, V. (2011). Pioneering winemakers of South Africa. *The Telegraph*. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/foodanddrink/wine/8958155/Pioneering-winemakers-of-South-Africa.html.

Mowle, J., & Merrilees, B. (2005). A functional and symbolic perspective to branding Australian SME wineries. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, *14*(4), 220–227.

Negro, G., Hannan, M.T., Rao, H., & Leung, M.D. (2007). No barrique, no Berlusconi: Collective identity, contention, and authenticity in the making of Barolo and Barbaresco wines. Research Paper 1972, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University.

Negro, G., Hannan, M. T., & Fassioto, M. A. (2015). Category signaling and reputation. *Organization Science*, *26*(2), 584–600.

Negro, G., Hannan, M. T., & Rao, H. (2010). Categorical contrast and audience appeal: Niche width and critical success in winemaking. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *19*(5), 1397–1425.

Negro, G., Hannan, M. T., & Rao, H. (2011). Category reinterpretation and defection: Modernism and tradition in Italian winemaking. *Organization Science*, *22*(6), 1449–1463.

Ness, L., & Fusch, P. I. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *The*

Qualitative Report, *20*(9), 1408-1416.

Newman, G. E. (2016). An essentialist account of authenticity. *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, *16*(3–4), 294–321.

Newman, G. E., & Dhar, R. (2014). Authenticity is contagious: Brand essence and the original source of production. *Journal of Marketing Research (JMR)*, *51*(3), 371–386.

Novak, J. D. (1998). *Learning, creating and using knowledge: Concept maps as facilitative tools in schools and corporations.* Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Nugent, P. (2011). The temperance movement and wine farmers at the Cape: Collective action, aacial discourse, and legislative reform, C. 1890–1965. *The Journal of African History*, *52*(03), 341–363.

Nugent, P. (2012). Who killed innovation in the Cape wine industry? The story of a stuck fermentation. In J.B. Gewald, A. Leliveld, & I. Peša (Eds.), *Transforming innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (pp. 17–38). Leiden: Brill.

O'Neil, I., Ucbasaran, D., & York, J. G. (2020). The evolution of founder identity as an authenticity work process. *Journal of Business Venturing*. [in press].

Olsen, K. (2002). Authenticity as a concept in tourism research: The social organization of the experience of authenticity. *Tourist Studies*, *2*(2), 159–182.

Orlikowski, W. J. (2007). Sociomaterial practices: Exploring technology at work. *Organization Studies*, *28*(9), 1435–1448.

Peirce, C. S. (1992). *Reason and the logic of things*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Peñaloza, L. (2000). The commodification of the American West: Marketers' production of cultural meanings at the trade show. *Journal of Marketing*, *64*(4), 82–109.

Perry, A. (2010). South Africa's rebel wineland. Time Magazine. Retrieved from: http://content.time.com/time/travel/article/0,31542,2029391,00.html.

Peterson, R. A. (1997). *Creating country music: Fabricating authenticity*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Peterson, R. A. (2005). In search of authenticity. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 1083–1095.

Peterson, R. A., & Anand, N. (2004). The production of culture perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *30*, 311–334.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1990). Longitudinal field research on change : Theory and practice. *Organization Science*, *1*(3), 267–292.

Pfeffer, J., & Salancik, G. R. (1978). *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective.* Stanford: Stanford University Press

Phillips, N., & Lawrence, T. B. (2012). The turn to work in organization and management theory: Some implications for strategic organization. *Strategic Organization*, *10*(3), 223–230.

Pine, J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1998). Welcome to the experience economy. *Harvard Business Review*, *76*(4), 97–105.

Pine, J., & Gilmore, J. H. (2011). *The experience economy*. Harvard: Harvard Business School Press.

Podolny, J. M. (1993). A status based model of market competition. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(4), 829–872.

Podolny, J. M., & Hill-Popper, M. (2004). Hedonic and transcendent conceptions of value. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *13*(1), 91–116.

Ponte, S., & Ewert, J. (2007). South African wine – An industry in ferment. Tralac working paper No.8 [Online]. Available: www.tralac.org.

Postrel, V. (2003). *Substance of style: How the rise of aesthetic value is remaking commerce, culture and consciousness*. New York: Harper Collins.

Pounders, K. R., Babin, B. J., & Close, A. G. (2014). All the same to me: Outcomes of aesthetic labor performed by frontline service providers. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *43*(6), 670–6934.

Pretorius, A. (2018). All about the orange. Wineland. Retrieved from https://www.wineland.co.za/all-about-the-orange/.

Priilaid, D. (2019). Exploring blue ocean innovation in the wine industry. In M. Sigala, & R. Robinson (Eds.), *Management and marketing of wine tourism business: Theory, practice and cases* (pp. 241–259). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Priilaid, D., & Steyn, J. (2019). Evaluating the worth of nascent old vine cues for South African wines. *International Journal of Wine Business Research*, *32*(2), 283–300.

Preece, C. (2015). The authentic celebrity brand: Unpacking Ai Weiwei's celebritised selves. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *31*(5–6), 616–645.

Ragin, C.C., & Becker, H. S. (1992). What is a case? In C. C. Ragin & H. S. Becker (Eds.), *What is a case? Exploring the foundations of social inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rajwani, T., Lawton, T., & Phillips, N. (2015). The "voice of industry": Why management researchers should pay more attention to trade associations. *Strategic Organization*, *13*(3), 224–232.

Rao, H., Monin, P., & Durand, R. (2003). Institutional change in Toque Ville : Nouvelle Cuisine as an identity movement in French gastronomy. *American Journal of Sociology*, *108*(4), 795–843.

Rao, H., Monin, P., & Durand, R. (2005). Border Crossing: Bricolage and the erosion of categorical boundaries in French gastronomy. *American Sociological Review*, *70*(December), 968–991.

Reinecke, J., Manning, S., & von Hagen, O. (2012). The emergence of a standards market:

Multiplicity of sustainability standards in the global coffee industry. *Organization Studies*, *33*(5–6), 791–814.

Reinecke, J, & Ansari, S. (2020). Microfoundations of framing: The interactional production of collective action frames in the Occupy Movement. *Academy of Management Journal*. [in press].

Reisinger, Y., & Steiner, C. J. (2006). Reconceptualizing object authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *33*(1), 65–86.

Rosa, J. A., Porac, J. F., Runser-Spanjol, J., & Saxon, M. S. (1999). Sociocognitive dynamics in a product market. *Journal of Marketing*, *63*(1999), 64–77.

Rose, A. (2016). Swartland is justifiably garnering attention and prasie for its wines. Retrieved from: http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/anthony-rose-swartland-is-justifiably-garnering-attention-and-praise-for-its-wines-8810329.html.

Rose, R. L., & Wood, S. L. (2005). Paradox and the consumption of authenticity through reality television. *Journal of Business Research*, *32*(2), 284–296.

Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Solomon S.J., & Mathias, B.D. (2020). The artisans' dilemma: Artisan entrepreneurship and the challenge of firm growth. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *35*, 1–20.

Sandberg, J., & Tsoukas, H. (2011). Grasping the logic of practice: Theorizing through practical rationality. *Academy of Management Review*, *36*(2), 338–360.

Santos, F. M., & Eisenhardt, K. M. (2009). Constructing markets and shaping boundaries: Entrepreneurial power in nascent fields. *Academy of Management Journal*, *52*(4), 643–671.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research methods for business students*. (5th ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education.

SAWIS. (2014). Units registered for the production of estate wine. Retrieved from:

http://www.sawis.co.za/cert/download/Units_registered_for_the_production_of_estate_wine_-_Nov2014.pdf.

SAWIS. (2017). Units registered for the production of estate wine. Retrieved from: http://www.sawis.co.za/cert/download/Units_for_production_of_estate_wine_-_Oct2017.pdf.

SAWIS. (2019). SA wine industry statistics. Report no 44, Retrieved from: http://www.sawis.co.za/info/download/Book_2019_statistics_english_web_final.pdf.

SAWIS. (2020). SA wine industry statistics. Report no 45, Retrieved from: http://www.sawis.co.za/info/download/Book_2020_statistics_Final_1.pdf.

Schatzki, T. R. (2003). Introduction: Practice theory. In T.R. Schatski, K.K. Cetina, & E. Von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 17–38). London: Routledge.

Schau, H. J., Muñiz, A. M., & Arnould, E. J. (2015). How brand community practices create value. *Journal of Marketing*, *73*(5), 30–51.

Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N.K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 118–137). London: Sage.

Scott, R. W. (2001). *Instituions and organizations*. London: Sage.

Scott, R. W. (2004). Reflections on a half-century of organizational sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *30*(1), 1–21.

Selwyn, T. (1996). Introduction. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), *The tourist image: Myth and mythmaking in tourism* (pp. 1–33). Chichester: Wiley.

Shaw, L. (2014). Van Rensburg to release anti-Swartland wine - The Drinks Business. Retrieved from: https://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2014/11/van-rensburg-to-release-anti-swartland-wine/.

Shepherd, D. A., & Suddaby, R. (2016). Theory building: A review and integration. *Journal of*

Management, *43*(1), 59–86.

Shils, E. (1965). Charisma, order, and status. *American Sociological Review*, *30*(2), 199–213.

Siggelkow, N. (2007). Persuasion with case studies. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(1), 20–24.

Sine, W. D., & Lee, B. H. (2009). Tilting at windmills? The environmental movement and the emergence of the U.S. wind energy sector. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *54*(1), 123–155.

Slager, R., Gond, J.-P., & Moon, J. (2012). Standardization as institutional work: The regulatory power of a responsible investment standard. *Organization Studies*, *33*(5–6), 763–790.

Smith, D. (2015). South African wine board approves regulatory reforms. Retrieved on 1 July 2017 from: https://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2015/09/south-african-wine-board-approves-regulatory-reforms/.

Smith, E. (2013). South Africa establishes the Cape Vintners Classification system. Retrieved: https://harpers.co.uk/news/fullstory.php/aid/14124/South_Africa_establishes_the_Cape_Vintners_Classification_system.

Spillman, L. (2018). Meta-organization matters. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *27*(1), 16–20.

Staber, U. (1989). Organizational foundings in the cooperative sector of atlantic Canada: An ecological perspective. *Organization Studies*, *10*(3), 381–403.

Steyn, J. (2019). Undervaluation of wine exports at the heart of struggles in the industry. Retrieved 30 April 2019 from: https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/opinion/2019-04-25-undervaluation-of-wine-exports-at-the-heart-of-struggles-in-industry/.

Steyrer, J. (2015). Charisma and the archetypes of leadership. *Organization Studies*, *19*(5), 807–828.

Stone, G. (2015). Cape aims high with new classification - The Drinks Business. Retrieved 16 February 2017 from: https://www.thedrinksbusiness.com/2015/05/cape-aims-high-with-new-classification/

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (2015). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp. 158–183). Los Angeles: Sage.

Suchman, M.C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(3), 571–610.

Suddaby, R., Ganzin, M., & Minkus, A. (2017). Craft, magic and the re-enchantment of the world. *Management Research: European Perspectives*, *35*(3), 41–72.

Suddaby, R., & Greenwood, R. (2005). Rhetorical strategies of legitimacy. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *50*(1), 35–67.

Svejenova, S. (2005). "The path with the heart": Creating the authentic career. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*(5), 948–973.

Swaminathan, A. (1995). The proliferation specialist organizations in the American wine Industry, 1941-1990. *Academy of Management Journal*, *40*(4), 653–680.

Szmigin, I., Bengry-Howell, A., Morey, Y., Griffin, C., & Riley, S. (2017). Socio-spatial authenticity at co-created music festivals. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *63*, 1–11.

The Swartland Independent Producers (2012). Values statement. Retrieved from https://swartlandindependent.co.za.

The Wine and Spirit Board of South Africa. (2012). Wine of Origin. Version 12 November 2012. Retrieved from: http://www.sawis.co.za/cert/download/wineoforigin2012.

The Wine and Spirit Board of South Africa. (2016). Wine of Origin. Version 2016. Retrieved from: http://www.sawis.co.za/cert/download/wineoforiginbooklet201604.pdf.

Timmermans, S., & Tavory, I. (2012). Theory construction in qualitative research : From grounded theory to abductive analysis. *Sociological Theory*, *30*(3), 167–186.

Touraine, A. (1985) An introduction to the study of social movements. *Social Research*, *52*(4), 749–797.

Trilling, L. (1972). *Sincerity and authenticity* (2nd ed.). Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Ulin, R. C. (1995). Invention and representation as cultural capital. *American Anthropologist*, *97*(3), 519–527.

Ulin, R. C. (2002). Work as cultural production: Labour and self-identity among Southwest French wine-growers. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *8*(4), 691–712.

Urquia, N. (2004). "Doin it right": Contested authenticity in the London salsa scene. In A. Bennett, & R.A. Peterson (Eds.), *Music scenes: local, translocal and virutal* (pp. 96–113). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Van Zyl, D.J. (1993*). KWV, 1918-1993*. Cape Town: KWV.

Valsesia, F., Nunes, J. C., & Ordanini, A. (2016). What wins awards is not always what I buy: How creative control affects authenticity and thus recognition (but not liking). *Journal of Consumer Research*, *42*(6), 897–914.

Van-Maanen, J. (1979). Reclaiming qualitative methods for organizational research : A preface. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *24*(4), 520–524.

Van de Ven, A. H. (2007). Building a theory. In A. H. Van de Ven (Ed.), *Engaged scholarship: A guide for organizational and social research* (pp. 101–142). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). What is authenticity? *Discourse Studies*, *3*(4), 392–397.

Van Maanen, J., Sorensen, J. B., & Mitchell, T. R. (2007). The interplay between theory and method. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1145–1154.

Vannini, P., & Williams, P. (2009). Authenticity in culture, self, and society. In P. Vannini &

P. Williams (Eds.) *Authenticity in culture, self and society*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Verhaal, J. C., Hoskins, J., & Lundmark, L. W. (2017). Little fish in a big pond: Legitimacy transfer, authenticity, and factors of peripheral firm entry and growth in the market center. *Strategic Management Journal*, *38*(1), 2532–2552.

Pinilla, V., Anderson, K., & Nelgen, S. (2018). *Global wine markets, 1860 to 2016: A compendium*. Adelaide: Adelaide University Press.

Vink N. (2019). The South African wine industry. In A. Alonso Ugaglia, J.M. Cardebat & A. Corsi (Eds.). *The Palgrave handbook of wine industry economics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

VinPro. (2010/2011 – 2016/2017). Cost guide. Avaliable at www.vinpro.co.za.

Viswanathan, M., & Childers, T. L. (1999). Understanding how product attributes influence product categorization: Development and validation of fuzzy set-based measures of gradedness in product categories. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *36*(1), 75.

Voronov, M., De Clercq, D., & Hinings, C. R. (2013). Institutional complexity and logic engagement: An investigation of Ontario fine wine. *Human Relations*, 1–34.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(2), 349–370.

Warren, C., & Campbell, M. C. (2014). What makes things cool? How autonomy influences perceived coolness. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *41*(May), 543–563.

Weber, K., Heinze, K. L., & DeSoucey, M. (2008). Forage for thought: Mobilizing codes in the movement for grass-fed meat and dairy products. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *53*(3), 529–567.

Weierter, S. J. M. (2001). The organization of charisma: Promoting, creating, and idealizing self. *Organization Studies*, *22*(1), 91–115.

Wells, A. S., Hirschberg, D., Lipton, M., & Oakes, J. (2002). Bounding the case within its

context: A constructivist approach to studying defracking platforms. In M.A. Huberman & M.B. Miles (Eds.), *The qualitative researcher's companion* (pp. 331–348). Los Angeles: Sage.

Wherry, F. F. (2006). The social sources of authenticity in global handicraft markets: Evidence from northern Thailand. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *6*(1), 5–32.

White, H. C. (1981). Where do markets come from? *American Journal of Sociology*, *87*(3), 517–547.

Williams, G. (2013). Importing Chardonnay: A South African political farce. *American Association of Wine Economists*. Report Issue 141 (September).

Williams, G., Ewert, J., Hamann, J., & Vink, N. (1998). Liberalizing markets and reforming land in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *16*(1), 65–94.

Witz, A., Warhurst, C., & Nickson, D. (2003). The labour of aesthetics and the aesthetics of organization. *Organization*, *10*(1), 33–54.

Yagil, D., & Medler-Liraz, H. (2012). Moments of truth: Examining transient authenticity and identity in service encounters. *Academy of Management Journal*, *56*(2), 473–497.

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th). Sage Publications.

Zaichkowsky, J. L. (1985). Measuring the involvement construct. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *12*(December), 341–352.

Zietsma, C., & Lawrence, T. B. (2010). Institutional work in the transformation of an organizational field: The interplay of boundary work and practice work. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *55*(2), 189–221.

Zuckerman, E. W. (1999). The categorical imperative: Securities analysts and the illegitimacy discount. *American Journal of Sociology*, *104*(5), 1398–1438.

Addendum A – Initial interview guideline

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">General</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Q.1.1 I would like you to recount your experiences and opinions of the SIP since they formed. I will ask some general questions followed by several specific open questions and it would help me if you related your responses both in terms of how things currently stand and how they evolved since you became aware / got involved with the SIP?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Q.1.2 What does it mean to you to be part of the SIP / Why are you not part of the SIP?</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="4">Social constructions</th></tr>
<tr><th>Researcher Taxonomy</th><th>Actions/ practices/ relationships</th><th>Opinions</th><th>Aspirations</th></tr>
<tr><td>Agricultural philosophy</td><td>Q 2.2 What practices define his/her role?</td><td>Q 2.1 How would you define the role of the wine producer?</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Influences</td><td colspan="3">Q 2.3 Who / what do you feel have been the most important local and international influences on your philosophy?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Legitimacy</td><td>Q 3.2 What about this philosophy makes it appropriate or acceptable?</td><td>Q 3.1 Do you think there is good reason for people to follow this philosophy? Why?</td><td>Q 3.3 How do you think/hope this will benefit the Swartland?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Authenticity</td><td>Q 4.2 What practices, values and activities define this statement?</td><td>Q 4.1 What does "keep it real mean"?</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Q 4.4 How?</td><td>Q 4.3 Do you think you/ SIP producers have been true to this proposition?</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Q 4.5 How do think this has changed over the past five years?</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Identity	Q 5.2 What elements / practices does "Swartlandness" imply?	Q 5.1 What does "Swartlandness" mean?	Q 5.3. How do you think/ hope this will change in the future?
Coolness	Q 6.2 What elements make them cool/ uncool?	Q 6.1 Do you think the SIP are cool? Why?	
Independence/ autonomy	Q 7.2 How have they demonstrated independence?	Q 7.1 Why do you think the SIP refer to themselves as independent?	
Collective action			
Researcher Taxonomy	**Actions/ Practices/ relationships**	**Opinions**	**Aspirations**
Benefits	Q 8.1 What beneficial group activities have the SIP engaged in?	Q 8.2 What has been the benefits of the SIP producers acting together? Why?	
Organisation	Q 9.1 Why do you think the SIP has formed this organisation?		
	Q 9.3 What are the membership conditions? Who governs this?	Q 9.2 How would you describe the SIP as an organisation?	
	Q 9.5 How is it organised and how is it resourced?	Q 9.4 What relationships have been crucial in the rise/ survival of the SIP?	
Counter-culturalism	Q 10.2 What differences in practice exist between SIP and "agribusiness"	Q 10.1 When the SIP started, they called it a revolution. Who or what do you think they were revolting against and why?	Q 10.3 When do you think/ hope the revolution will end?

Change	Q 11.2 What activities/ practices/ relationships have assisted in this?	Q 11.1 What is the SIP trying to change? How far does this extend?	Q 11.3 What do you think/ hope this will be their impact on the Swartland in future?
	Q11.4 How do you feel this has changed since they formed an organisation / more producer joined their ranks?		
Market creation: Exchange			
Researcher Taxonomy	**Actions/ Practices/ relationships**	**Opinions**	**Aspirations**
Resonance	Q 12.2 What are they attracted to?	Q12.1 Who do you think the SIP appeals to? Why?	
		Q 12.3 Are these groups or individuals? Why do you say that?	
Price	Q 13.1 What determines the price of Swartland wines/ Swartland fruit?	Q 13.2 How has the SIP managed to influence this?	Q 13.3 How do you see this evolving in the future?
Economy		Q13.4 How does the Swartland agricultural economy/ market function?	
Demand	Q14.2 What activities/ practices/ relationships have assisted in this?	Q 14.1 How has the formation of SIP helped the demand for their wines?	
Market creation: Production			

Business model	Q 15.1 What is the overriding business model used by you/ Sip producers?	Q 15.2 How does this differ from your business model/ producers in other regions?	Q 15.3 Do you think this modus operandi will become popular/ challenge dominant business models?
		Q 15.4 Do you think this business model makes sense? Why?	Q 15.5 Do you foresee this structure changing?
Constraints	Q 16.1 What activities/ practices/ relationships have assisted in them in overcoming these?	Q 16.2 What constraint/ challenges have the SIP producers faced in the production of their wines?	
Market creation: competition			
Researcher Taxonomy	**Actions/ Practices/ relationships**	**Opinions**	**Aspirations**
Competitive landscape	Q 17.1 What activities/ practices/ relationships have assisted in SIP becoming more competitive?	Q 17.2 How would you describe the competitive landscape affecting the SIP?	
Market position/ share		Q 18.1 Where would you position the SIP in the market?	18.2 How do you foresee/ Hope this will change?
Mimicry/ mainstreaming	Q 19.2 What practices/ values/ activities/ styles have been adopted by other producers not in the Swartland?	Q 19.1 To what extent do you feel other producers have tried to mimic the SIP's approach?	19.3 Do you foresee/hope this will gain momentum? That this will mainstream?

Addendum B – Sample quotes for authenticity work

Claiming purity: Theorising minimalism
Coupling authenticity to limited mediation
Wine is all about natural balance, purity and freshness. (www.davidnadia.com/wineoforiginswartland)
I still do the rest of the wines exactly the same, minimalistic…The same approach is in the vineyards…to farm the vineyards in such an order that you do not have to do additions in the cellar. That's the ultimate goal. (SWSI15)
The wines are a bit cloudy; the wines are a bit orange. If you go to a winemaker at [redacted] and say, "Your wine's a bit cloudy," he'll die. You say to these guys, "It's cloudy," they'll say to you, "I don't filter it. I'm making genuine wine here." (FANM08)
We just like making wines which are non-interventionist or as little intervention as possible…from fucking great fruit…just make wine that tastes of wine. They don't taste of methods. (SWSI10)
The revolution is about purity. (Haddon, 2010)
Expressing distinctiveness of area
Our wines should never be thin. If you do that, you're not making wine that shows the terroir of the area. (SWSI03)
When they came to the Swartland, another thing that made that early coalition authentic was the sense that they didn't sort of really try and impose techniques on the grapes, they read the grapes and actually changed the way they made wine and are still changing the way they make wine today. (SWSI06)

But that's also, I think, where authenticity comes in, you know, those parcels has [sic] been so expressive. (SWSI12)
Balancing pragmatism and belief
Well, let's say the parameter is no intervention…it's not always possible but in general I think most people adhere to that…I think there is an adherence to those rules and then from there more experimentation. (SWSI09)
That's why I tell people, often you have to look at some places where you planted vineyards and some of the conditions: "Should we be farming vineyards in there?" And then sometimes the question [answer] to that is obviously, no…So there's that from the SIP perspective, but I make my other wines in the same way. It's not that I have some deeply religious philosophy about adding acid to wine. Some really great wines in Burgundy, they add a little bit of sugar…I try not to do that, as I mentioned earlier because at the end you end up with a more honest wine, you know, a fair reflection. (ZB05)
We are obviously trying to do something completely unique, trying to be natural, trying to be true to the terroir like every other independent producer but also keeping in mind that at the end of the day you have to put the wine into a bottle, you have to send it overseas, people have to buy this….that's where market comes in and that's…where it becomes really interesting…where you place yourself in the world. (SWSI17)
Claiming purity: Pursuing noble purpose
Challenging provenance
There was not that tag of it is a family-owned business, you kind of feel like under pressure to make the same wines as your father and you know, his father and stuff. (SWSI12)

Whereas to do it in Stellenbosch was hard to get hold of the very best fruit, obviously, because it was more an estate system but also the wines that we made, the style of wine we liked to make, was just much easier from Swartland fruit. (SWSI03)
It is not easy, you have to go and farm, live, eat, breath, sleep in the Swartland, understand it, find the vineyards, procure the vineyards, farm the vineyards, then make a product which is truly awesome and that takes 5 to 8 years. That's how long our project will take to get great wine. (FAMK15)
Farming is everything…We obviously can't do everything, but we will try do nearly everything. I mean I don't have kids yet; we'll have kids soon, but eventually when those vines that I'm planting will be 20, 30 years old, I'm gonna be like 55. So, it will be my kids that will get the real benefits. And I think a lot of guys recognise that. (SWSI04)
For the farmer, it's much better because let's say there are ten producers that buys from the same farmer, the same vineyard, and agree amongst ourselves, [to] let's say move away from herbicides, move away from pesticides, let's make sure that the farmer invests in green fertilizers in planting beans and getting mulching. (SWSI16)
Balancing commercialism and creativity
So, I think that why Swartland Independent is such a success because…the people involved, the motives were correct, it was the right place at the right time. (SWSI14)
So essentially, you're a servant first of all to the vines and the vines are plugged into the landscape and so you get this symbiotic and completely cyclical relationship whereas…in other regions in South Africa there was a distinct break, there was the whole realm of human endeavour and that was tied into human business and finance and economies etcetera. And then the land was actually slave to that. Whereas in the Swartland it was a case of: "We have

this land, we have these vines, we're going to make these wines." And that is actually our *raison d'etre*. (SWSI07)
For me it was always…the idea initially was as a think tank, and…a more academic organisation than a purely marketing one. I think the marketing side has evolved out of it. (SWSI13)
Performing charisma: Projecting heroism
Inspiring a cult of personality
The whole Swartland phenomenon is a function of personalities…It's all about personalities and it's not about terroir, it's a terroir of personality, it's not a terroir of soil. (FANM09)
There is a face behind each brand, you know, a face with a personality that can talk the language with whom the brand identifies itself. A wine to be authentic needs to be crafted. I think there's a link there where…when people see the brand, they link it to something. That's why you see so many of these wines with the surname of the winemaker. (FAMK01)
Oh, it's definitely about people…it's about personalities…coming and shining down through into the wines. (SWSI17)
We got the right characters, and we got the right personalities in the area to sell and that kind of lures the people here. (ZB02)
Pioneering the vanguard
The minimal intervention winemaking thing was not necessarily even a new thing, but it was made a cool message in what Eben and Adi and them stood for when they started in the Swartland. I think that plays into the authenticity and the craft thing and the fact that they had to do it in the Swartland plays into…like stick it to the man mentality. (FAMK03)

If the word pioneering is a cliché in wine, the reality is that new wine regions in the New World often emerge as a result of a few brave souls going out on a limb. (Rose, 2016)
Any area can make authentic wines if it is authentic to that region. I think Swartland is making wines authentic to the region, and they own that space in your head... And that's why it is so difficult for Stellenbosch or Hemel-en-Aarde to come with a different concept. They can't use authentic; they can't use real because the real authentic is the Swartland. (SWSI09)
Performing charisma: charming members and audiences
Embodying the humble farmer
Guys in shorts and *vellies*, making boerewors on a Sunday and their mothers are there preparing food. That's what it is about, and I think I would like to see that they maintain and keep this feel with the SIP Skou as well. (SWSI14)
If there is a photo shoot next to a dam, everyone is dressed rustically. but not at the cost of saying we are owning or claiming Swartland. (SWSI16)
I thought it was fantastic this year that the SIP Skou wasn't held in Riebeek Kasteel, that it was at the Malmesbury Skougronde. Now, there's a reality check. (SWSI13)
We sort of, almost want to be stuck ten years back, or something like that. We just don't know what's going on the interweb and that kind of stuff. I think we sort of want to try and be farming as far as we can, just be off the land. (SWSI06)
Performing coolness
In everything there is always a matter of lying but everyone will tell you this is the most authentic product when they sell it but that's what I think the retro thing really alludes to and then the coolness thing is where you get to the identity thing. What do you associate with what's cool? (FAMK03)

I think that irreverence and humour were just two powerful weapons that they had to kind of prove the point and one of the great points they made was you must not take yourself so flipping seriously…it's just wine. (ZB01)
Almost historically, one felt that there had to be reference to some sort of Cape vernacular and now there's just a global hipster cool style…it's doing something that's far more tactile, feels more real, and lacks commerciality. (SWSI13)
Meta-organisational tethering: Marshalling
Codifying divergent rules
When you put that sticker on, the guys are farming properly, but fuck it's so difficult, you know, to put these things in fucking [words]…To talk philosophically is *fokken lekker*, but if you have to write it down…It's like I always say, it's like a good sermon, it disturbs the comforted and comforts the disturbed. (SWSI10)
It is symbolic…but if you look at it there is nothing revolutionary about the winemaking techniques. These are the old techniques that have been going on in France and Germany and all the other countries for thousands of years. All we did was encapsulate a few rules and said, "Look at it, this is a way that we want to make our wines." When everyone else is actually removing restrictions, we're actually imposing them. (SWSI11)
There's no sort of blurring the lines. Those are the guidelines and then by finding that scissor you know it's a style of wine that you know and appreciate and that you know is genuine as well. (SWSI08)
Every SIP member has to follow the guidelines, so basically those things that we have set out…So, there is a bit of written control as well but obviously…they'll know if someone is doing something in their wine. And you can taste it as well. You know your wines and your

wineries in the region, so you know if someone is using Vin7 or Vin13 [commercial yeast] in their Chenin. You'll taste it. (SWSI14)
Self-policing deviation
And that's the thing that came in with the wine as well, people that want to be cool and they want to make wine and then it ends up as VA and micro-unstable. (SWSI19)
There is risk in being too chilled, there is risk in being too relaxed…That to me [professionalism] sometimes gets lost when you're like: "Hey man, all I want to do is pick grapes and go surf." (FAMK14)
It needs to be sorted out very quickly because the international market you can fool them once but not twice…We do need sort of a critical mass of maybe…12 to 15 dedicated producers who are making really, really good quality wine then that's all we really need. At the moment we have 28 to 30, and it's awesome having them there but you don't see their wines anywhere. (SWSI03)
Meta-organisational tethering: Binding
Engaging in supportive practices
I suppose but the thing about the Swartland Independent is that they, in general, are very generous in the way they share their information. They are very open. You ask them a question and they have no problem in telling you. I think they are very comfortable with what they do, and it is no risk to them or even if you copy what they're doing, you're not going to get the same out. (SWSI05)
That simple "we stand together" kind of thing had a like a ripple effect with young guys and the guys actually that was working for the cellars all started their own projects. (SWSI17)

It was all established guys, the Revolution guys. And then, we elected a new committee in the beginning of 2015 and now…we [younger members] are part of that…it's time for us younger okes to take over. Maybe they reckon we've got more time and I think it's also that there's quite a lot of innovative ideas. (SWSI12)
The four weren't the main players anymore, they stopped being chairman and so forth and which resulted in a far cohesive way of doing things. (SWSI21)
Crystallising a single voice
Everybody just connects, everybody just works together, and I think that's the important thing about the Swartland. It's a group of people that really stand together and stand for something. (ZB02)
It's not about what we're doing has to be applied everywhere. What we're doing is working because there is a common language between everyone. (SWSI03)
So, it took a while for the Independent to talk to the greater Swartland Association or Wine route or whatever and be members and integrate back in again…after the Revolution or towards the end of the Revolution, they started talking to each other again, they became members of the Wine Route again and so ironically now there is as circle. (FANM01)
I think the Swartlandness I would put in context and say that I think it's relevant but it's not to exclude others, that's the feeling we all want to be part of to belong in a region where it's almost like unpretentious. (SWSI19)
We did our best to bring in top producers from all around the world. That's us saying let's take a global benchmark and say, "Hold on! This is the reference! Let's taste and let's learn from these guys." And I think as South Africans we often struggle to do that; we're often confined by the boundaries of our own cellars, never mind regions. (SWSI13)

Addendum C – Sample quotes for authentication work

Polarising evaluation: Resonating with the fringe
Endorsing sincerity
They know that there's a difference between Swartland and Swartland Independent and they can taste that, and that is where I think we've been quite good in keeping the regulations quite strict. (SWSI04)
It's cool because the consumer decided it's cool because it wasn't adhering to the fancy clothes and the cars and this is straightforward, relaxed and honest and that's why it's cool. They never proclaimed it cool. They never said, "We're cool." The consumers said it. (FANM01)
I think people being naturally curious creatures, they want to come and see what's happening and they appreciate that it isn't a huge blown-up estate thing and they do feel it's a place they can just get away from everything and be like properly on the *plaas*. (ZB02)
Seeking out relevance
Wine is an emotion. People don't buy wine with pure logic; they buy wine because of how it makes them feel. Make something, farm it correctly, make it naturally…I think there will be more people interested in how a wine is made and how it's grown in a year from now and every year from then onwards. (FAMK09)
But at the end of the day the wines weren't better, it was just that you could see in that period of 12 months, the people started to try newer wines, tried different things and almost like started to try wines that's more expressive and that speak more of the area and, farming-wise also, that was more real. (SWSI12)
I think we are part of a bigger trend. People do not want to be part of the international world.

That’s why there is a big movement towards local varieties in wine, in viticulture, even music. In music there is such a big movement towards our own music, our own culture. There’s almost an anti-globalised effect at the moment and I think that has a lot to do with this. (SWOG04)
Polarising evaluation: Traditionalising
Indexing tenure and provenance
The estate farmer should know his bloody business, he should know the difference of the soils, he should know what grape varieties work and so on and he should know what the characters he should actually aim to get out of that soil and according to that manage his farm or that particular vineyard. (FAMK20)
We've since the beginning wanted to focus on our terroir and our vineyards and make wine from that. So that was more of an estate lookout in the wine industry to our own production although we have not registered as an estate. And the reason for that is that we want to keep our options open for if there's better grape quality that we can buy from somewhere then we will buy it. The ultimate goal is quality wine. (FAMK11)
I would like to put a model down here if I had to say I want a legacy. It’s a horrible thing to talk about things like legacy because it's so presumptuous, because everybody can have legacy, but I want a collective legacy. (SWOG01)
Referencing pedigree and prestige
He likes these estates with lots of money, grand houses that will have him for grand dinners and so on and he has trouble with the acceptability of scruffy young people who are not landowners… it's an attitude that is profoundly conservative in that way. (FANM06)
You’re not going to decide that by the way [pedigree], the market is going to decide for you, maybe 10 years from now. You’ve got no say in the matter. You can spend all the money in

the world, you can have all the accolades, you can have all the right winemakers and you're going to make absolutely nothing worthy of an icon. (FAMK09)
It doesn't just happen overnight. You need to work hard and think hard and do it over a long period of time to be consistent…Not many wineries in South Africa can do that. (SWSI03)
Valorising: Mobilising the fringe
Evangelising through awe, reverence and devotion
It’s definitely someone who is enamoured by the personalities, by the authenticity, by the differentness, by the energy. There’s definitely an energy. It’s like the Swartland producers are always coming out with something new and different. (SWSI02)
In the world of wine nerds, the word “Swartland” ticks the same boxes as “fundamentalist”. For those who have bought into the idea that it represents the uncontaminated heart of the Cape wine industry, a monastic order representing, in its purest form, the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, its combination of poor soils, old vines and low-tech winemakers makes it the holy land of the true faith. Extraordinarily, despite this, or perhaps because of this, in the past five years, it has become the most potent single message in Cape wine. (Fridjhon, 2013)
Swartlandish. Do you know that term? And, if we’re at the point where vocabulary is being created for the common thread of the wines, we’ve definitely have got the foundations right. (SWSI01)
Even talking to producers from America and journalists from America and the US, the UK, nowhere has there been such a palpable change as it has in the Swartland. It has been dramatic and quick…Never before has that happened. (FAMK15)
Selectively emulating authenticity work in unifying the fringe
The Swartland Revolution is its own personality. Zoo Biscuits is its own personality; the

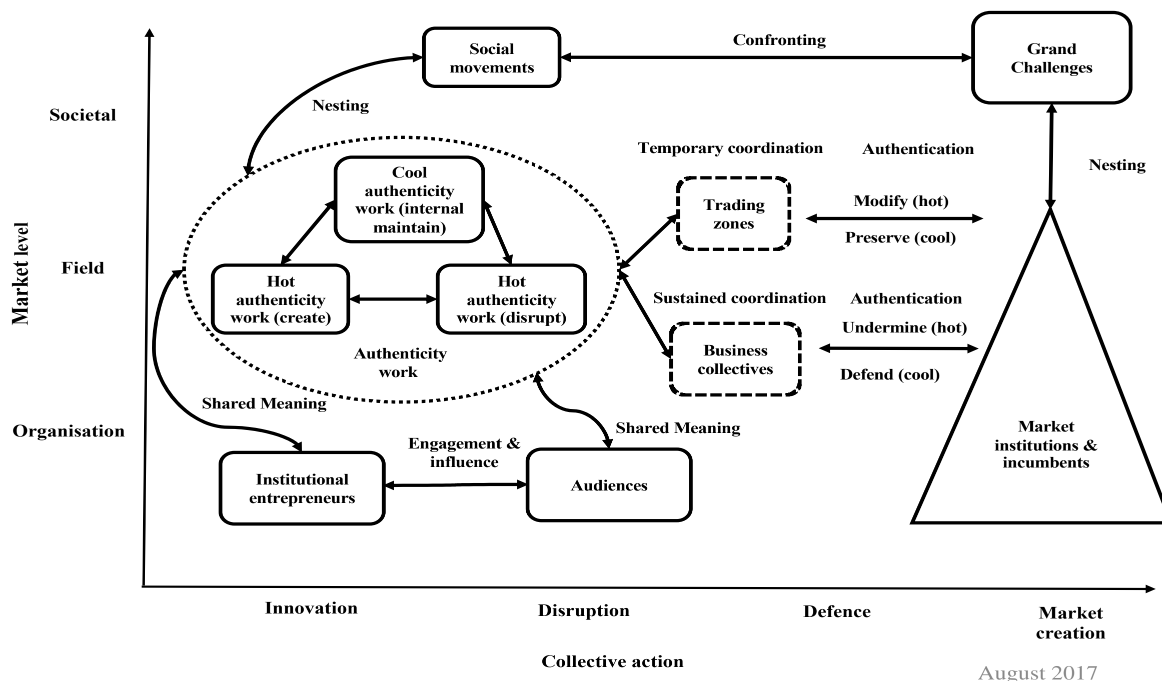
personality of the entity coheres with the personality of the individuals. There's no essential conflict. It represents another take on the vision you already have of the component parts. (FANM08)
I just became increasingly aware of the number of references to natural ferment, wild ferments, no new oak and stuff…. this is what happens to an avant-garde when it is no longer the avant-garde…Swartland winemakers, the Swartland Revolution with a small "r" is a part of an international trend…as it approaches the extreme inevitably it's mainstreamed. (FANM06)
There's going to be a revolution of the revolution. I think we're going to see a lot of people having the guts to do things in other areas. (SWSI02)
So that mind shift I do believe has probably come from the guys from the Swartland, I do believe they probably created this wave of change of thinking because it's not the same generation…It's showing the dynamism, the youthful energy…the inventiveness, the innovation, thinking out of the box of the new generation. (FAMK14)
Valorising: Contesting countervailing frames
Countermobilising to reclaim status
We wanted to call it a superior wine from South Africa, but we weren't allowed by the Wine and Spirit board. And then at least there's some credibility behind it for the guy that doesn't know much. (FAMK19)
You could make shit estate wines but because it's certified estate wines, now it's an estate wine…and then we tried to clean out the estate concept but still there were estates, genuine estates in terms of law, but they didn't add value to the industry. (FAMK20)
I make sure that everything is properly documented and that it is authentic from the

beginning and that the wines coming from the specific areas are properly kept separate till we started blending. (FAMK17)
Denigrating perceived adversaries
There was great contempt for Swartland…and somebody who is key in the industry historically said, "Ja, but these bloody upstarts from Swartland, they don't have this." …And I was like: "Wow this is interesting, here is jealousy in our little industry between the Stellenbosch stalwarts and the old-school, big name, well-to-do families, and these upstarts in Swartland." They were getting up their nose. (FAMK09)
There is a lot of farmers in the Stellenbosch region which is very jealous of the Swartland people because 20 years ago the Stellenbosch guys was the "who's" [who] and luckily now with Swartlandness people are starting to get into the "who's" [sic]. (SWSI19)
I think they maybe look at things and like the SIP and they think, "Whoa, South African wine's going a bit to the dogs here." But what I wish is that the CVC would do what they want to do but just do it well, and they're not doing it well and that's the most frustrating part because if you're going to do it, do it well. (SWSI08)
Contesting taste judgments
I have seen many young guys/girls who get a wine rejected then convert to a more safe approach instead of sticking to something they believe in and actually trying making it work the next year. (Smith, 2015)
"Ja, and that was also one of our arguments with the Wine and Spirit Board because they're not passing our 500 or 600 bottles but they're turning a blind eye to millions of litres bottled offshore… And I called them up on that. I mean, we all did." (SWSI04)
No, those were individuals but most of those individuals were from the Swartland at that

stage and maybe one or two was in the Zoo's that had that programme as well, but I think the usual guys that walked into the SAWIS corridors were the Swartland guys. (SWSI12)
Reframing meaning: Advocating co-existing authenticity frames
Recognising worth of adversaries
Now I see, for the first time again a period of youngsters who is actually knocking on the doors. I like what I've seen, they make me excited but there was a generation of people…We are worried about certain things…, they are not, that's the life they live in and we were like that when we were young, most probably we were also idiots sometimes. (FAMK19)
It's now more acceptable, and I think everybody's kind of understanding that it benefits all. If South Africa's name outside is suddenly. (SWSI17)
I think it was a big benefit for the Swartland that the Independents had come. (SWSI19)
I mean if I look at the names that were big in those days some of them are still relevant…he decided he is going to build his own brand without having a vineyard and a cellar. That was revolutionary. (FAMK05)
Transcending fragmented interests to focus on field strategy
So that is it, it is to push the quality and the pricing and show what we really can do in South Africa as a grouping. (FAMK17)
We have to differentiate ourselves and move away from the faceless bulk wine identity, that's what Swartland did and that why it is successful. (SWOG04)
We were aware of the fact that we needed to do this… we're all in the same boat. If we don't do this, then how do we grow our businesses and how do we become sustainable and become profitable. I think it's important that there are various collectives with their different characters and identities to do it, and collectively we all make a difference. (FAMK05)

Reframing meaning: Navigating category co-creation
Convergent learning
They basically said to us, listen, they can't tell us how to make it and what to do…but they motivated us and said, do this, approach SAWIS, come up with ideas and stuff and we can sit around the table and work through it. They were very supportive…Nowadays it just makes it so much easier because you can just enter it and you just need to be aware of…the regulations now and just stay within those parameters. (SWSI17)
Credit to the WSB/ SAWIS for actually doing something about it. I think it's a wonderful example of old school meets new school and finding a way to work together and move forward for the benefit of the country. (Smith, 2015)
And they've asked me to join the panel because I constantly bitch and moan about it every time our wines fail. (ZB07)
Trading-off on category boundaries
I think it's already had an impact, in the core of the industry with SAWIS and the Board in terms of tasting wines and categorising wines. (SWSI09)
The technical committee brought in the Swartland group or people from the Swartland group, and they discussed it. And they said this is possible and that is not possible, and they came to an agreement. (FANM03)
They analysed samples. The wines have to pass the SAWIS analysis, so the wines still have to comply with the South African wine industry boards. You can't SIP it and call it certified wine because you have to have your wines certified to have your SIP stickers. (SWSI14)

Addendum D – Sample concept map 1



Addendum E – Sample concept map 2