

**Romanian Wine Styles:
A Study of the Romanian Wine Industry Through the Lens of Cultural Capital and
Acculturation Theories**

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-Purpose: To understand through the lens of cultural capital and acculturation theories the nature of and reasons for the wine styles produced by Romanian wine companies.

-Design: A total of thirteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted over a three-week period with senior managers and owners of seven different wine firms. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were also conducted with five Romanian wine industry specialists in order to obtain a more complete picture of winemaking in Romania.

-Findings: Romanian wine companies are producing a range of distinct wine styles for domestic and international markets, from wines made with native varieties or noble varieties to blended wines and wines made with low-grade grapes. The cultural tension between the desire to promote the Romanian culture through the use of varieties native to Romania and the desire to adhere to the dominant Western European, notably French, wine culture through adoption of the “noble grape” varieties lies at the heart of these differing strategies. This tension is illuminated by Bourdieu’s cultural capital concept and Berry’s theory of acculturation. Each of the wine styles represents a form of acculturation, whereby the wine maker negotiates the cultural tension between the native (Romanian) culture and the hegemonic (French) culture.

-Practical Implications: To further develop the Romanian wine industry, which is relatively infant, wine companies must understand the role of cultural capital, which propels or impedes wine sales, especially on the international market. They should build cultural capital and associate it with their wines through native varieties or noble or both, as well as related methods such as emphasis on uniqueness of place, terroir, and the Romanian culture.

Key Words: Romanian wine, culture capital, acculturation, native varieties, noble varieties

A study was conducted on the Romanian wine industry to understand the nature and reasons for the wine styles produced for domestic and foreign markets. The nascent industry is poised for growth after the fall of Communism, Romania's entry into the European Union, and large investments to modernize and improve wine production. The study consisted of in-person, semi-structured interviews with thirteen managers and owners of seven wine companies, as well as with five Romanian wine industry experts. Wine styles were found to vary widely: from wines made with native or noble varietals to blended wines and wines made with low-grade grapes. The root of these varied approaches is a cultural tension between the desire to promote the Romanian culture—through the use of varietals native to Romania—and the desire to adhere to the dominant, notably French, culture—through the adoption of “noble grape” varietals. Romanian wine makers negotiate this tension through strategies of acculturation, which manifest in differing wine styles. This research uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (1977; 1984) and John Berry's acculturation model (2004) as a lens to explain the selection and production of wine styles. Based on this study, recommendations are made for improving sales of Romanian wine companies and developing the nascent Romanian wine industry.

1. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

To better understand wine styles produced by the Romanian wine industry, we look to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, especially his elaboration of wine as a marker of social capital, and later to John Berry's theory of acculturation as a means of negotiating cultural tensions between non-dominant and dominant cultures. We also consider two other wine-producing countries, New Zealand and Bulgaria, for insights on the role of social or cultural capital in wine marketing and implications for Romania.

1.1. *Wine as Social Capital*

The construct of social capital, cultural capital in particular, is useful to frame the relationship between culture and the choice of varietal production and wine style. Bourdieu offered a theory of how cultural reproduction fosters the social reproduction of class relationships, especially through the values and judgments of the dominant group, which are represented as universal (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu (1984) draws the distinction between drinkers of “table wine” and “noble grapes” as markers of lower and upper class strata, respectively, within French society. This framework for theorizing the reproduction of class relations through cultural mechanisms is useful for understanding the role of varietal production in the Romanian wine industry. Wine exemplifies the dialectical relationship between commodity production and cultural tradition because of its role as a marker of social and cultural capital (Ulin, 1995).

Paul Kingston articulates in *The Unfulfilled Promise of Cultural Capital Theory* (2001) that the concept of *terroir* is necessary for the maintenance of wine as a marker of social capital, and as such has been widely embraced in wine marketing. He elaborates that the concept of *terroir* relies on a French-style international wine evaluation system, though used for wines from many geographies. The concept imbues the wine with a sense of place that is “natural” and “taken for granted” despite its constructed nature. This evaluation system firmly establishes the French style as a cultural hegemony by tying the consumption of wine to the consumption of place, and correspondingly the production of wine to the production of place. The concept of *terroir* idealizes a wine and its culture through invented traditions and romanticized geographies, although the objective reality of *terroir* is limited.

The association of wine with social capital as tied to the production of place is most relevant and widely applied to luxury wines. However, non-luxury wines with a firmly established tradition of place can also benefit. Problematic are wines with no or a poorly perceived tradition or historic past. Romanian wine falls into this category, since fifty years of Communism have nearly eliminated the production of and know-how to make quality wines, and cast a long dark shadow on its country image. A review of the role of varietal production and the production of place in the New Zealand wine industry offers insight into wine as a marker of social capital.

1.1.1. *The Marketing of Cultural Capital in Marlborough, New Zealand*

In his analysis of the New Zealand wine industry, John Overton (2010) illustrates how establishing Marlborough as an important wine-growing region with a unique *terroir* enhanced its cultural capital. The cultural capital was then successfully used as a marketing tool to promote sales outside New Zealand. Specifically, the Marlborough region was promoted as combining a unique *terroir*, the noble grape Sauvignon Blanc, and an idyllic past. The winning combination resulted in strong sales, eclipsing those of other wine growing regions in that country, notably Hawke's Bay (Overton, 2010). The case of Marlborough Sauvignon Blanc demonstrates how understanding and framing wine as a marker of cultural capital as tied to place can be effective. Importantly, too, the success of Marlborough helped propel global acceptance of New Zealand wines. For instance, the Hawkes Bay region was able to ride the coattails of Marlborough successfully into the international market, leveraging Sauvignon Blanc and its own *terroir*. In contrast to New Zealand, Bulgaria has struggled to build the social capital necessary to gain acceptance for its wines on the world market.

1.1.2. *Bargain-Base ment Wine Production in Bulgaria*

In an examination of the Bulgarian wine industry, Zaharieva, Gorton and Lingard (2004) found that a decrease, or slump, in Bulgaria's share of the Western wine market was attributable to an industry-wide inability to deliver wines of sufficient and consistent quality. A focus on volume production of low-grade wine and a reliance on external experts were identified as the chief causes of Bulgaria's declining international wine sales in the 1990s and early 2000s. The drop in quality came after the state-controlled wine industry was dismantled. The low-quality volume approach undercut attempts of some Bulgarian wine makers to enter the luxury wine market. By then Bulgaria had developed a reputation for making "good bargain, but not trendy" wines, or bargain basement wines. In other words the industry in Bulgaria was unable to generate or apply cultural capital as tied to place in its marketing efforts. Negative country image hurt its foray into the competitive global wine world (Noev, 2006). The example of Bulgaria suggests that Romania is susceptible to the same fate if it fails to understand the role of cultural capital in making and selling its wines, especially internationally.

1.2 *Acculturation and Varietal Production*

In view of the concept of cultural capital and the cultural tensions that may accompany wine making in a particular geography vis-à-vis dominant standards of winemaking, the theory of acculturation may be especially relevant for a study of wine making styles in Romania. Romania's wine industry is relatively nascent despite a millennium-long tradition of wine-making, largely due to the half century of Communist rule, during which wine was produced for bulk exports to the rest of the Eastern bloc and USSR. As the industry is re-emerging from this

dark period, it is traversing a complex cultural terrain to determine which wine styles are most suited for its markets, capabilities, and ambitions. Useful for studying this dynamic is the theory of acculturation proposed by John Berry. Acculturation, or the degree to which a non-dominant culture accommodates (or rejects) a dominant culture, is well suited to conceptualize the diversity of wine styles pursued by Romanian winemakers, given the prevailing French style evaluation system and noble varietals as markers of cultural capital.

As advocated by John Berry (2003), the theory provides a multidimensional perspective on acculturation, in order to understand similarities and differences in social behavior within the context of cultural history. This theory distinguishes between varying levels of maintaining a preference for one's heritage, culture and identity and a preference for participating in larger society with other cultural groups (Berry, 2003). Berry outlines four strategies of acculturation from the point of view of non-dominant cultural groups. These strategies—assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization—can be interpreted as means of negotiating the cultural tension between the native, non-dominant Romanian wine culture and the foreign, dominant French wine culture. The strategies manifest as a range of Romanian wine styles.

2. CURRENT RESEARCH

2.1. *Research Design*

Seven wine companies as well as five wine experts in Romania were visited and interviewed in a semi-structured fashion. In addition to interviews, participating companies supplied marketing materials and, in some cases, provided tours of the facilities, vineyards, cellars, and wine tourism sites operated by their firms.

2.1.1. *Participants*

The firms ranged in sales level, employee number, ownership structure, length of operation, degree of exporting, and business/production/vinification/vineyard location. Most of the firms were located in the major wine producing region of Moldavia. As an indication of range, one firm was privately started, employed 14 workers, and had been making wine for two years. Another firm employed several hundred workers, was a formerly state-owned enterprise, and had been making wine for more than fifty years.

2.1.2. *Design and Procedure*

At each of the companies, one to four senior managers or owners were interviewed face to face. For six companies, interviews were conducted with each individual manager or owner and in the remaining firm a group interview with managers was conducted. A total of thirteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted over a three-week period. Interviews lasted one to five hours and were audio recorded.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were also conducted with five Romanian wine industry specialists in order to obtain a more complete picture of winemaking in Romania. The specialists were a consultant, professor, retailer, journalist and trade association representative, each with significant experience and knowledge of the industry. Interviews ran one to three hours in length and with one exception were conducted face to face.

All interviews were conducted in either English or Romanian, with translation provided by a research assistant. The research assistant was fluent in both languages, having been born

and raised in Romania until nineteen and then moving to and living in the U.S. for ten years. The interviews were professionally transcribed, and double checked by the research assistant for accuracy in both English and Romanian. The transcripts were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti 6. The interviews were triangulated, comparing perspectives within, across, and outside firms.

2.2. Results and Discussion

To provide context for the differing strategies in varietal production, we present the perspective of informants on the Romanian nostalgia for the past, winemaking during the Communist era, and the challenges of Romania's post-Communist emergence into the market economy. We then examine the different wine style choices as acculturation strategies to manage tensions surrounding cultural capital.

2.2.1. Wine Making as a Romanian Tradition

"For years back, the Romanians are well known for their wine making. It's a Romanian tradition." (Quality Control Manager)

Romania has produced wine for centuries and was known for quality wines up to the eve of World War II. The long history of wine making in Romania is looked on with nostalgia by Romanian winemakers as a time when Romanian wine, and the national image of Romania, were well regarded. Referencing a tradition of wine making in Romania solidifies winemaking as a cultural emblem of Romania's golden age. In support, one wine maker notes Romanian wines were consumed in the French and Austrian royal courts.

".... before 1944 when Romanian - when the image of Romania was much better and when Romanian wines were served in Austria, in the court of Emperor of Hapsburg." (Wine Consultant)

The association of Romania with the Hapsburg court asserts the cultural capital of Romanian wine, reinforcing a tradition of quality.

2.2.1.1. Wine Making in the Communist Era

This golden age of winemaking was followed by the dark period of Communist rule. Vineyards were state owned and grapes, grape juice, and wines were produced directly for the Communist party for export to the Soviet bloc and some to Germany. The focus was on volume production of sweet inexpensive wines, much in broached form with sugar added to mask imperfections. This period had two lasting impacts on the Romanian wine industry: 1) a perception within Europe that Romanian wines are sweet, cheap, and low quality, and 2) a loss of wine-making knowledge and capabilities, which were held by private winemaking families. The impact of the Communist era is described by a professor and wine expert,

"You know, during the last 50 years, when the communist regime ran this country, you know, we made such a bad name in the wine, you know, because they were looking just for the quantity and just for the money. And most of the wines that you are finding outside of Romania -- Romanian wines, are the most cheap wines. So, in their minds, in the consumer minds outside of Romania, they are making -- they are doing the -- they are thinking when they sold Romanian wine, they make a -- you know, they're thinking that has to be cheap, you know.... That's because for 50 years, all the Romanian wines that you'll find outside Romania were the cheapest wine. So this is the biggest problem that we have."

In essence the Communist era is associated with a reduction of Romanian wine as a marker of social capital.

2.2.1.2 The Post-Communist Era

Since the end of Communism in 1989, Romania has been revitalizing its wine industry through privatization, reconditioning vineyards, and modernizing equipment and production methods. In 2007 Romania joined the European Union (EU), which increased access to viticulture experts, foreign market exposure, along with investment capital and foreign aid. However the losses through Communism have not ended, as exemplified by the poorly handled return of private vineyards to original owners, described here by one firm's owner and manager,

“As you might know as well, communism did a lot of damage to everything possible so the wine industry wasn't spared. But the most interesting phenomenon and the most tragic one took place after 1989 when it took a long time to give some of the wineries back to the former owners.”

Along with disruption of the winemaking tradition, Romanian winemakers face the dilemma of how to grow sales. The type of wine made, the varietals and the style of wine selected, are crucial. Winemakers must decide whether to emphasize noble grape varietals, native Romanian varietals, Bordeaux style blends, or sweet styles of wine for the domestic market or bulk export. At the heart of this tension is the choice between producing wine in the locally preferred sweet style or the dominant dry or French style, i.e. promoting the Romanian cultural heritage or adapting to the French. Acculturation theory helps to explain the selections.

2.2.2. Assimilation

Berry describes assimilation as a preference to participate in the dominant culture by shedding one's cultural identity and uniqueness. In the case of Romanian wine firms, it means using noble grapes, such as Chardonnay and Sauvignon Blanc, and adopting or embracing the French style of wine production, which elevate the cultural capital of Romanian wines. This strategy, which sheds the Romanian identity in favor of the French, is a path toward export market success, per statements like the one below.

“After we privatized the company, we decided to expand varietals here in the region... we planted international varieties like Chardonnay, Pinot, Gris, Sauvignon Blanc, and Muscat Ottonel. ...And it really paid off as you're going to see.”(Marketing and Export Manager)

Another form of assimilation occurs in the production of bulk wine for exports to Germany, Spain, and elsewhere. Noble grape varietals are produced in Romania but shipped in large containers to other winemakers, who mix the Romanian wine with theirs. The Romanian origins are completely obliterated as the resulting bottles say “Product of Germany” for instance. Reflecting the push in this direction, one wine firm owner observed the wide-scale removal of hybrid vines in Romania: “the existing wineries have to get rid of the hybrid vines and replace them with Noble grapes and that has already had a lot of impact.”

2.2.3 Separation

Unlike assimilation, the strategy of separation entails maintaining one's own cultural heritage and uniqueness, i.e. holding fast to the native or non-dominant culture (Berry, 2003). The separation strategy can be seen in the prominent use by some wine companies of native Romanian varietals such as Feteasca Neagra, Feteasca Regala, and Feteasca Alba in their wines.

By putting native varieties front and center, showcasing these on labels, these firms are simultaneously promoting Romania as a wine destination and reviving and reconnecting to the historic tradition of winemaking. Advocates of this strategy believe that it creates for them a “niche in the international market,” as winemakers elsewhere cannot produce these varieties. Key to this strategy is elevating the image of native varieties in international wine competitions and promoting these grapes as having cultural capital in their own right. Native varieties also anchor the wines in the geography of Romania, providing a foundation for *terroir* and positive country image. As explained by one marketing and export manager,

“The grape variety Feteasca Neagra, the wine will be perceived as a good wine...Romania would be perceived a wine producing country - a very good wine producing country because this grape will be promoted such as the only, the only places, the only country in the world with these grapes gives great wines is in Romania.”

Elevating Romanian varieties poses several challenges, however, including lack of recognition and awareness among consumers, difficulty in pronouncing the names, and perception that sweeter wines, which these varieties tend to produce, are of lower quality.

2.2.4. Integration

Berry (2003) characterizes the integration strategy as a desire to participate in a larger social network while maintaining a cultural heritage; in other words, it is the compromise position of being attached both to one’s own culture as well as to the foreign dominant culture. The integration strategy is exemplified by the blending of native varieties with noble grapes, such as in a Bordeaux style blend produced by some Romanian firms. In the words of one marketing and export manager, “I want to be the first Bordeaux wine outside of Bordeaux.” Blending for example the traditional Bordeaux varieties Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot with Feteasca Neagra instead of Cabernet Franc, the integrative approach seeks to emulate the style of wines that are currently popular on the international market while maintaining a distinctiveness by the inclusion of Romanian grapes.

This strategy preserves Romanian cultural integrity, while accessing and leveraging the cultural capital of France/Western Europe. It is also a stepping stone to gaining cultural capital for and wider acceptance of Romanian wines. This strategy is viewed by some wine companies as having already garnered success on the international and domestic markets. It also may open the door later to unblended or pure native varieties once consumers become intrigued by and familiar with these grapes.

2.2.5. Marginalization

The final acculturation strategy is marginalization, which refers to having little interest in cultural maintenance or cultural contact with others (Berry, 2003). It goes beyond separation in that even the native culture is in a sense rejected. This approach to cultural negotiation is visible in winemakers who focus on sales of low-grade, low-cost wine or pseudo wine in the Romanian market, which lies within Romania and outside in expatriate Romanian communities. The Romanian market has little knowledge about wines and is content with the sweet, adulterated beverages made under Communism, similar to the high alcohol-content brews made at home (many Romanian families still make wine at home). Wine is consumed principally to become inebriated, not as an accompaniment to fine food or as an element of cultured living. This strategy also does not seek to create or elevate the cultural capital of Romanian wine. Some of the largest wine-makers serve this market, which has been the primary source of revenue for the

industry. Due to a quasi-oligopolistic position, these companies have provided Romanian consumers with what they are familiar with and can afford. In the current recession, lower incomes and higher price sensitivity have led to steep price discounts and various forms of “gratuities” to maintain market share. It is noteworthy that more than 90% of Romanian wine is consumed domestically, and most of that product is low price, low quality. Some firms have also engaged in producing and distributing faux wines, typically high alcohol content grape juices. Regulators are attempting to ferret these products out and stop their sales.

The marginalization strategy is an effective short-term approach to exploiting the market, as consumers are not exposed to an array of wines, including on the premium end. The market remains infant in wine knowledge. The strategy is at odds with those of wine makers wanting to elevate the cultural capital of Romanian wine, and limits the potential for export sales, except for low-end broached wine bottled under another country of origin. One wine retailer expressed frustration with this strategy, which she interpreted as a form of keeping consumers ignorant and charging prices in excess of the value of the wine. Interestingly, her goal was to open a wine school to teach consumers about wine, including high quality/low cost wines produced in Chile and elsewhere, as well as to train the country’s first corps of sommeliers.

3. GENERAL DISCUSSION

3.1 Summary

A study was conducted on the Romanian wine industry to understand the nature and reasons for the wine styles produced for domestic and foreign markets. Wine styles were found to vary widely: from wines made with native or noble varietals to blended wines and wines made with low-grade grapes. The root of these varied approaches is a cultural tension between the desire to promote the Romanian culture—through the use of varietals native to Romania—and the desire to adhere to the dominant, notably French, wine culture—through the adoption of “noble grape” varietals. Romanian wine makers negotiate this tension through four strategies of acculturation, which manifest in differing wine styles.

These strategies can be broadly grouped by their goals concerning the future of the Romanian wine industry. Winemakers pursuing separation or integration strategies seek to elevate the image of Romania and Romanian wines by crafting high quality wines using native grapes or both native and noble grapes, while promoting the geography of Romania as ideal for wine grape cultivation. In contrast, those pursuing assimilation and marginalization strategies are content to continue past practices of making high volume, low-grade wines. The practices reinforce Romania’s negative country image and low cultural capital, which are especially problematic in export markets such as the EU, where there are well entrenched perceptions of Romania as poor, backward, and politically unstable. Magnifying Romania’s difficulty is the fact that the EU is its largest export market.

The separation or integration strategies are nonetheless difficult paths to pursue, as winemakers must assert the value and superiority of their grapes to both local and foreign consumers who generally do not hold their wines in high esteem. To make headway, these winemakers are working slowly to improve the competitiveness and quality of their wines through marketing (e.g. rebranding with attractive labels), product development (e.g. Bordeaux style blends with native varietals), production techniques (combining traditional and modern vinification methods), and logistics arrangements (e.g. wider distribution). They are also incorporating *terroir* by promoting certain regions as similar in climate and latitude to Bordeaux,

and therefore capable of producing wines of attractive complexity. These firms are attempting to carve a niche in the market by highlighting the uniqueness of the *terroir*, native Romanian varietals, or both. The approach may appeal to foreign consumers looking for new tastes at more competitive prices.

The assimilation and marginalization strategies are initially easier paths to pursue, as they do not require educating consumers about Romania, its *terroir*, or native grapes. The Romanian market and bulk export market are the most receptive to Romanian wines, and demand little apart from sweet profiles and low prices. In the assimilation strategy the winemakers do not need to compete with the hegemony of Western European wines because the wines are mixed into and masked by Western European wines, particularly German. The drawback to this approach is that it positions Romania as a grape-growing rather than a wine-making country. Another drawback is that Romanian brands are not promoted. As a consequence Romanian wines cannot command higher prices. Winemakers who export bulk product for blending noted with some resentment that their prices are suppressed despite the product's quality.

The marginalization strategy has similar drawbacks, while focusing on the domestic rather than the international market. Having a low opinion of the Romanian consumer's expectations and in effect "lowering the bar" for Romanian wines promotes a tolerance for mediocrity, as one wine expert put it. The tolerance is apparent in high priced-low quality wines, the sale of counterfeit product, and exploitation of uneducated customers. The situation impedes development of Romanian wine industry overall. As the domestic wine market becomes more competitive through imports (joining the EU opened the door to foreign wines), wine companies pursuing the marginalization strategy face softening demand and overcapacity. The only path ahead is increasing commodification of the product to lower costs and prices, or the race to the bottom. Bulgaria's reputation for bargain basement wine looms large.

3.2. Managerial Implications

These findings have a number of implications for Romanian wine firms and the industry as a whole. Understanding the association of wine as a marker of cultural capital is important in strengthening Romania's wine sales and developing the nascent industry. As discussed, the cultural capital embedded in wines is derived from the uniqueness of place, *terroir*, incorporation of noble varietals, or a combination to present a unified and attractive image. This research reveals that the differing acculturation and wine style strategies pursued by firms present a contradictory image of Romanian wines. Recommendations are aimed at strengthening Romania's wine sales, especially exports, at the firm and industry levels.

At the firm level, the separation and integration strategies are better pursued over the assimilation and marginalization strategies for reasons already noted. The first two approaches, while more costly in the near term, will provide better returns in the long run. This has to do with the sustaining power of cultural capital, which is supported through separation and integration strategies but weakened by the assimilation and marginalization approaches. More tactically, Romanian wine companies can build and leverage cultural capital by developing and promoting products using sweet wine making expertise, native varietals, and good *terroir*. Since sweet-wine making is traditional in Romania, and their varietals lend themselves more to this style, companies can create quality sweet wines and sidestep comparisons to dominant and established wine makers such as France and Italy. Native varietals also have the potential to distinguish Romanian wines on the international market, particularly blends that introduce and educate consumers about Romanian varietals. Finally, following the new world wine producers of New

Zealand, emphasizing the *terroir* can project a more premium image for Romanian wines and emphasize the golden era of Romanian wine making, even if re-invented. Romania has some excellent *terroir* such as in the Dealu Mare area.

At the industry level, the contradictory strategies hinder advancement. Winemakers within the small industry should adopt the separation and integration strategies, and abandon the others over time. A second recommendation is to engage in export cooperation to pool resources and craft a unified marketing campaign to promote Romanian wines in general rather than specific brands. A unified approach to promoting a positive country image is integral to elevating the cultural capital of Romanian wines and of Romania as an international wine making and wine tourism destination. Finally, exports should be directed toward countries where Romania does not suffer from a country image liability and thus low cultural capital, i.e. toward countries where Romania has a neutral to positive image. Possibilities include China and the U.S. China's wine consumption is growing rapidly, and there may be an appreciation of blended wines priced affordably incorporating classic French grapes. The U.S. is the largest wine market in the world, with an openness to new styles and varieties.

3.3 Conclusions

These research findings show that different strategies taken by wine firms reflect the conflicting desires to embrace the Romanian culture and native wine styles versus adopt the European culture and French styles. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and Berry's theory of acculturation provide a useful lens to understand this dynamic. Key to the future success of the Romanian wine industry is pursuing paths that enable it to strengthen and apply cultural capital. One possible vision is of Romania regaining the Golden Age and asserting itself as a competitive player on the world market. The competing strategies now characterizing the industry hinder development by undermining cultural capital. Other countries with small wine industries at one time offer models to follow or avoid. In the example of New Zealand, the Marlborough region coupled elevated the cultural capital of the New Zealand wine industry as a whole.

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