

Wine law, sustainable innovation and the emergence of a wine constitution

Tilman Reinhardt¹, Yasmine Ambrogio², Laura Springer³, Maximilian Tafel⁴

¹ Faculty of Life Sciences: Food Nutrition and Health, University of Bayreuth, Fritz-Hornschuch-Str. 13, 95326 Kulmbach, Germany, Email: tilman.reinhardt@uni-bayreuth.de

² Faculty of Life Sciences: Food Nutrition and Health, University of Bayreuth, Fritz-Hornschuch-Str. 13, 95326 Kulmbach, Germany, Email: Yasmine.Ambrogio@uni-bayreuth.de

³ Faculty of Life Sciences: Food Nutrition and Health, University of Bayreuth, Fritz-Hornschuch-Str. 13, 95326 Kulmbach, Germany, Email: Laura.Springer1@uni-bayreuth.de

⁴ Department of Landscape Planning and Nature Conservation, Hochschule Geisenheim University, Von-Lade-Str.1, 65366 Geisenheim, Email: Maximilian.Tafel@hs-gm.de

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Tilman Reinhardt, Faculty of Life Sciences: Food Nutrition and Health, University of Bayreuth, Fritz-Hornschuch-Str. 13, 95326 Kulmbach, Germany, Email: tilman.reinhardt@uni-bayreuth.de

This article has been accepted for publication and undergone full peer review but has not been through the copyediting, typesetting, pagination and proofreading process, which may lead to differences between this version and the Version of Record.

Please cite this article as:

Reinhardt T., Ambrogio Y., Springer L., Tafel M, (2024), Wine law, sustainable innovation and the emergence of a wine constitution, **Wine Economics and Policy**, *Just Accepted*.

DOI: 10.36253/wep-16041

35 **Abstract**

36 Innovation is essential for addressing the current challenges of the wine sector and ensuring its
37 sustainable future. Law plays a pivotal role in fostering and disseminating innovation. At the same
38 time, innovations can present legislators with significant challenges and cause legal disruption. This
39 paper evaluates the innovativeness of European Wine Law in light of the ongoing sustainability
40 transformation. The focus of EU regulations is wine quality and authenticity, mainly through the
41 protection of Geographical Indications (GIs). In Regulation (EU) 2021/2117, the EU legislator
42 recently introduced new rules on fungus-resistant grape varieties, de-alcoholised products, and digital
43 labelling. We describe the effects of these rules on the respective innovation systems and assess how,
44 vice versa, these innovations exert disruptive pressure on wine law. While the legal framework shows
45 remarkable flexibility, a reconfiguration seems necessary at the level of GIs. The sustainability
46 transformation implies an openness to innovation even for traditional producers. Regulatory
47 Sandboxes in GI product specifications could allow for more experimentation without compromising
48 heritage. A wine constitution could guide the transformation towards a more resilient and sustainable
49 wine system.

50 **Keywords:** wine regulation, innovation systems, fungus-resistant grape varieties, de-alcoholised
51 wines, digital labelling

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53

54 **1. Introduction**

55 *«Se vogliamo che tutto rimanga com'è, bisogna che tutto cambi» (Everything must change, so that*
56 *everything stays the same) - Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, Il Gattopardo, 1958*

57

58 Innovating is essential for the sustainability of the European Wine Sector. New technologies and
59 practices can help with current challenges of climate change, disease pressure and shifting demand.
60 They are also critical to minimize the environmental and health impact of wine production and
61 consumption in the context of the ongoing transformation of food systems [1]. European Wine Law
62 is an essential factor for turning terroir into economic value. It is also critical for the development and
63 diffusion of innovation, especially in “mission-oriented” innovation systems characterized by strong
64 directionality and high urgency [2], [3]. At the same time, innovation can present legislators with
65 significant challenges and might even require a “reinvention” of the existing legal framework [4]. In

66 this contribution, we seek to assess the effect of European Wine law on innovation system
67 development as well as its adaptive capacity in light of the sector's current challenges.

68 The European Union is the most significant wine-producing region in the world. It is also the most
69 regulated wine market [5]. EU wine law, i.e., the current Common Market Organization (CMO)
70 Regulation (EU) 1308/2013 and its various delegated and implementing acts, mainly focus on wine
71 quality and fraud prevention, especially with regard to Geographical Indications (GIs) [6]. GIs are
72 seen as central to creating economic value and distributing it fairly by enabling the build-up of
73 collective reputation [7]. GIs may benefit public interests such as rural development or environmental
74 sustainability, although such a contribution is not automatic [8], [9], [10]. The EU promotes the GI
75 system worldwide through bilateral and multilateral agreements [11]. Through its case law, the
76 European Court of Justice has accorded GIs a very high level of protection [12].

77 EU regulations also cover aspects such as mandatory schemes of authorizations for vine plantings,
78 national vineyard registers, accompanying documents and certification for all wine transport and
79 grape must in the EU, inward and outward registers, compulsory stock, and harvest declarations (cf.
80 Reg. (EU) 2018/273), as well as an EU-wide isotopic database for authenticity control (cf.
81 Implementing Reg. (EU) 2021/1007). The Delegated Regulation (EU) 2019/934 specifies
82 ingredients, additives, enrichment, and specific oenological practices. All of these regulations into a
83 complex international legal architecture. The CMO aligns with the International Organisation of Vine
84 and Wine (OIV) standards. Concrete rules on names, controls, etc., are set out in national or sub-
85 national laws.

86 In addition, the production of grapes and wine is also subject to general agriculture and food
87 regulations. This includes sectoral interventions in the framework of national strategic plans of the
88 new Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which strongly focuses on innovation and sustainability.
89 The CAP Strategic Plan Regulation (EU) 2021/2115 contains various related general (Art. 5 lit a and
90 b) and specific objectives (Art 6 (1) lit b, d, e, f, i), as well as the cross-cutting objective of « *fostering
91 and sharing of knowledge, innovation and digitalisation in agriculture* ». For the wine sector, Art. 57
92 and 58 offer a selection of specific objectives and related interventions, including, for example,
93 varietal conversions related to climate change (lit. a i) or tangible and intangible investments in
94 innovation of various kinds (lit. e).

95

96 **2. Assessing the innovativeness of European Wine Law**

97

98 Innovation, according to Schumpeter's classic definition, can be described as a new *combination* of
99 resources or institutions [13]. In that sense, many processes are ongoing in the wine sector ranging

100 from viticulture (e.g. breeding, pest control, precision viticulture) and oenology (e.g. sulphur
101 alternatives, new yeast strains, CO₂-recuperation) to marketing (e.g. blockchain, digital marketing)
102 and wine tourism. These innovations simultaneously affect and are affected by the regulatory system.
103 In recent years, innovation research and policy increasingly look at how innovation contributes to
104 solving environmental and societal challenges [2]. The goal is to achieve “better” innovation [14].
105 The innovativeness of wine law, therefore, must be considered in light of the transformation towards
106 sustainable food systems, as proclaimed by political and scientific actors in high-level fora and
107 strategic documents, such as the 2021 UN Food Systems Summit and the EU’s Farm-to-Fork-
108 Strategy. The food system approach calls for a holistic consideration of environmental and social
109 aspects, including effects on climate, biodiversity, public health, and working conditions; it also
110 implies a meaningful involvement of all stakeholders [1].
111 Starting from Schumpeter [13], evolutionary economics has described the complexity and non-
112 linearity of innovation processes, characterized by a co-evolution of knowledge, organizational
113 structures and institutions. To analyse the impact of regulation on this process, one must adopt a
114 systemic perspective that captures both direct and indirect influences.
115 An intuitive and pragmatic heuristic tool of analysis is provided by the Technological Innovation
116 Systems (TIS)-framework [15]. The TIS-framework is connected to other analytic frameworks on
117 sustainability transformations, such as the Multi-Level Perspective or Strategic Niche Management
118 [16] and has been applied in a range of sectors, including innovations related to food systems. At its
119 core, the TIS-framework proposes a systematic analysis of the “functional dynamics” of an
120 innovation system, i.e., seven processes that are seen as essential for the system’s performance:
121 Knowledge Development and Diffusion, Guidance of Search, Entrepreneurial Experimentation,
122 Market Formation, Resource Mobilization, Legitimation and Development of Positive Externalities.
123 In this contribution, we employ the TIS-framework to analyse the effects of the European wine law
124 on the functionality of the innovation system.
125 In the following, we employ the TIS-framework to assess the impact of European Wine Law on three
126 innovations that have been subject to recent legislative intervention in Regulation (EU) 2021/2117
127 [17]: Fungus-resistant grape varieties; (partially) de-alcoholised wines; and digital labelling. These
128 innovations cover the diverse areas of viticulture, oenology and marketing and exemplify various
129 dimensions of the food system transformation.

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131 **2.1 Fungus Resistant Grape Varieties**

132

133 Fungal diseases are responsible for high economic losses as well as costs and environmental

134 implications of disease control [18]. The advancement of climate change may increase the relevance
135 of fungal diseases even further. Although reduced precipitation can reduce disease pressure in some
136 regions, increasing temperatures at the beginning of the year counteract the expected benefits of
137 declining rainfall, creating a more welcoming environment for diseases to spread [19].

138 Fungus Resistant Grape Varieties (FGRV) result from interspecific crossbreeding between
139 Mediterranean, American and Asian species, with the latter being more resistant to fungal diseases
140 [20]. The first-generation FGRV stemming from efforts in the late 19th and early 20th century
141 resulted from direct crossbreeding. They were usually deemed inferior due to unwanted organoleptic
142 qualities [21]. In the following decades, successful reverse crossbreeding led to tolerant varieties,
143 such as Regent, carrying a significant part of *Vitis Vinifera* genetics. Numerous fungus-resistant
144 varieties have been admitted into the official European varieties catalogue [22], containing up to 99%
145 *Vitis Vinifera* genome [23]. FGRV could help achieve a more sustainable and resilient wine industry
146 [24], [25]. Wine is one of the most plant-protection-intensive products, especially regarding
147 fungicides [26]. Pesticide reduction is a key objective of the Farm-to-Fork Strategy. Literature
148 suggests that many consumers increasingly ask for sustainable products [27], [28]. At the same time,
149 FGRV, are yet to be showcased widely to consumers [21] who might therefore have reservations
150 about wines made from FGRV, that need to be alleviated through better education on the topic [20],
151 [29].

152 Whilst using FGRV for wine production was already legal, their use for GIs has only been allowed
153 by Regulation (EU) 2021/2117. This regulation explicitly acknowledges the potential sustainability
154 benefits of crossbred *Vitis vinifera* species as they are better suited to climatic changes and more
155 disease resistant (see recital 28 of Reg.). It amends Art. 93 of the Common Market Organization by
156 broadening the term “designation of origin” and “geographical indication” to include crossbred *Vitis*
157 varieties. The regulation, however, does not automatically allow producers to use GIs for wines made
158 from FGRV. It must be specifically allowed in the respective GI product specification drafted by each
159 producer organisation (i.e. *consorzio*, *interprofession*, *Schutzgemeinschaft*, etc.).

160 Allowing GIs for FGRV wines can positively affect the functionality of the innovation system. Most
161 importantly, it can contribute to legitimate FGRV in the eyes of all stakeholders, laying the ground
162 for market formation. National regulators can provide additional support, for example, by mobilizing
163 specific resources or strengthening knowledge diffusion. However, all these effects require, that
164 producer groups actually open the rules of their GI. In practice, some producer groups are still hesitant
165 to allow (significant amounts of) FGRV or exclude them from the highest traditional quality terms,
166 although FGRV do not necessarily alter the product identity [30]. Table 1 summarizes the effects on
167 the innovation system for FGRV:

168 **Table 1:** Impact of wine regulations on the innovation system for FGRV

Function	Regulatory Impact
Knowledge Diffusion (KD)	Some transparency on FGRV use through the official eAmbrosia database of GI specifications (however, it is not very user-friendly!). Some national projects to increase transparency on FGRV use (cf. the French Observatoire national du déploiement des cépages résistants).
Guidance of Search (GS)	Strong “external” guidance through increased restrictions on pesticide use. Some guidance towards FGRV through national legislation.
Entrepreneurial Experimentation (EE)	The possibility of experimenting within GIs depends on individual product specifications. New marketing efforts specifically focusing on FGRV.
Market Formation (MF)	Integration in some famous GIs increases the market relevance of FGRV. Significant improvement of the market for breeders (FGRV are currently out of stock at many breeders).
Resource Mobilization (RM)	More resources through integration into cuvées and sparkling wines. Access to specific subsidies.
Legitimation (LEG)	Lighthouse GIs (e.g. Champagne) increase legitimation with producers and consumers. Alignment with green values and the sustainability transformation of food systems. Corresponds to increasing desire for variety in the wine sector.
Development of Positive Externalities (PE)	Better environmental performance. Opening up the GI system to such innovations.

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171 2.2 De-alcoholised Wines

172

173 De-alcoholisation methods have existed for more than 100 years [31]. The demand for (partially) de-
174 alcoholised wines has recently increased [32]. The new interest in the market has several reasons,
175 e.g., religion or health [31]. Several techniques exist to reduce/remove the alcohol from wine. As de-
176 alcoholisation is a rather complex and technology-intensive process, some new business models are
177 evolving (e.g. groups of small producers creating joint de-alcoholised products).

178 Reg. (EU) 2021/2117, for the first time, contains rules for de-alcoholised wine products at the EU
179 level. Recital 40 explicitly acknowledges the increasing consumer demand for innovative grapevine
180 products with lower actual alcoholic strength than the minimum alcoholic strength set out for
181 grapevine products in the CMO. To fulfil the requirements of the regulation, as a first step, an
182 unfortified winegrowing product as defined by the CMO (e.g., wine or sparkling wine) must be
183 produced, which is then de-alcoholised. Annex VIII, Part I, Sec. E of the CMO allows partial vacuum
184 evaporation, membrane techniques and distillation to reduce part or almost all of the ethanol content
185 in grapevine products. The de-alcoholisation processes used shall not result in organoleptic defects
186 of the grapevine product. Also, eliminating ethanol in grapevine products shall not be done in
187 conjunction with enrichment. Unlike alcohol-reduced beer, (partially) de-alcoholised wine cannot be
188 produced by prematurely stopping alcoholic fermentation or using yeast strains that synthesize less

189 alcohol. The use of GIs is only authorized for partially de-alcoholised wines and only if the product
 190 specification contains a description of the specific oenological practices to be used for de-
 191 alcoholisation.

192 From an innovation systems perspective, the new regulation has mixed effects. Whilst it may
 193 contribute to *legitimizing* de-alcoholised wines in member states, where they did not exist before, the
 194 various restrictions limit further technological innovation, market formation and resource
 195 mobilization. The incomplete permission to use GIs will probably drive producers away from the GI
 196 system, instead of incentivising highly visible frontrunners to explore opportunities in this market
 197 (for example de-alcoholised champagne). In some countries, e.g., Germany, the new regulation even
 198 presents new restrictions compared to the previous status quo, which had tolerated de-alcoholised
 199 wines as long as the general Food Information Regulation (EU) No 1169/2011 requirements were
 200 fulfilled.

201

202 **Table 2:** Impact of wine regulation on the innovation system for de-alcoholised wines

Function	Regulatory Impact
Knowledge Diffusion (KD)	Transparency through eAmbrosia (see above).
Guidance of Search (GS)	Some “external” guidance towards de-alcoholized products through stricter alcohol regulations [e.g., warning signs in Ireland].
Entrepreneurial Experimentation (EE)	Technological restrictions (only technology-intensive processes are allowed, and no chaptalization is allowed for de-alcoholized wines, creating problems for producers who usually apply this technique). GIs are only available for partially dealcoholized products and only if expressly permitted.
Market Formation (MF)	Better access to younger customers, who drink less alcohol, and new customers, e.g., Middle East (but without GI!). GI restriction prevents development of a premium market for dealcoholized products.
Resource Mobilization (RM)	Potentially better access to subsidies. Permitted de-alcoholization techniques are relatively expensive and know-how intensive. Not feasible for most producers.
Legitimation (LEG)	Explicit legal framing and integration into GIs can raise legitimation of dealcoholized wines with producers and consumers. In line with ongoing political ambition to “turn down the alcohol flow” (WHO). Sustainability issues (energy-intensive).
Development of Positive Externalities (PE)	De-alcoholization strongly linked with broader food innovation, e.g., aroma recuperation [46]. Opening up the GI system to innovation and replacement products (replacement products are becoming more relevant in other areas too, e.g., vegan); however, restrictions remain, e.g., for fully de-alcoholized products.

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207 **2.3 Digital Labelling**

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209 Digital labelling refers to the use of digital technologies (e.g. QR codes) to display food labels on
210 user devices [33]. Digital labelling may bring several improvements compared to conventional
211 labelling practices. It allows for the display of precise information in several languages. Information
212 can be easily modified so that products do not have to be destroyed when mislabelled. Combining
213 physical and digital information might also allow for a more immersive and informed consumer
214 experience that integrates ongoing initiatives in digitalising wine marketing and wine trade, although
215 certain questions remain [33]. An example of digital labels is the “U-Label” proposed by the
216 European wine industry’s main representative body, the Comité Européen des Entreprises Vins
217 (CEEV), which provides a technological platform for establishing digital labels in the wine and spirits
218 sector.

219 Until 2023, an ingredient list and a nutrition declaration were not mandatory for wine under EU food
220 law (Art. 16 IV of the Food Information Regulation (EU) No 1169/2011). However, from December
221 2023, because of the changes in the CMO under Regulation (EU) 2021/2117, wine labels must
222 include a nutrition declaration and a list of ingredients (see Rec. 80). Details are spelled out in
223 Commission Delegated Regulation (EU) 2023/1606, in particular the use of the terms “grapes” and
224 “concentrated grape must” in the ingredient list. At the same time, Art. 119 II of the reformed CMO
225 Regulation now offers wine producers the unique opportunity to limit the nutrition declaration and
226 omit the list of ingredients on the label if this information is available electronically. Restrictions
227 apply, however, most notably that only mandatory particulars may be linked through the QR code. In
228 November 2023, the European Commission issued Commission notice C/2023/1190 to clarify
229 implementation details, some of which are still subject to debate. For example, the CEEV has
230 criticized the Commission’s position on how to inform about the content of the QR-Code on the label
231 [34].

232 The reformed wine law provides the first use case for digital labels in all of EU food law. It sets a
233 strong incentive for producers to use digital labels, but also legitimizes them amongst consumers,
234 who – for the first time – receive information on nutrition values and ingredients of wine. Positive
235 effects on the functionality of the innovation system would be even greater, if the use of digital labels
236 was permitted beyond mandatory information, for example to back up sustainability claims.

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241 **Table 3:** Impact of wine regulation on the innovation system for digital labelling

Function	Regulatory Impact
Knowledge Diffusion (KD)	Already established for prepacked food (cf. Regulation (EU) No 1169/2011). It could allow for tracking and statistics.
Guidance of Search (GS)	The regulation strongly incentivises the use of digital labels for nutrition and content.
Entrepreneurial Experimentation (EE)	Only mandatory information may be shown.
Market Formation (MF)	Only minor changes to existing labelling. Easy to update and display different languages possible. Uncertainty remains regarding the exact content labelling requirements.
Resource Mobilization (RM)	Some costs for a subscription to a digital label provider (like U-Label). Easier to use a digital label than putting all information on the bottle to keep the label simple and not change much on the bottle label.
Legitimation (LEG)	Potentially high legitimation with producers (compared to alternatives). Provides few obstacles and some benefits. Potentially high legitimation with consumers. Those interested in the information can access it quickly, and those uninterested need not check for it. Transparency is in line with the general values of the food system. However, the digital label is mainly perceived as a tool for obfuscation rather than transparency.
Development of Positive Externalities (PE)	Potential to align with requirements regarding sustainability information and the green claims regulation.

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244 **3. Dynamic Perspective: Adaptation and Legal Disruption**

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246 Our analysis shows that the dense framework of EU wine law poses several obstacles to innovation,
 247 especially with regard to the “entrepreneurial experimentation” and “market formation” functions. At
 248 the same time, we also find positive impacts on innovation system performance, particularly for the
 249 “legitimation” function: regulatory endorsement of innovations like FGRV or de-alcoholised wine on
 250 all levels from OIV to GIs can contribute to consumer and producer acceptance. This, in turn,
 251 positively affects “market formation” and “resource mobilization.” The “guidance of search”
 252 function, which could in principle be a key channel for regulatory impact, seems relatively unaffected
 253 by wine law *stricto sensu*.

254 In a dynamic perspective, wine regulation shows a relatively high adaptiveness to change, as
 255 witnessed by frequent legislative changes and quick reactions to new developments. EU and national
 256 wine regulations already contain several experimental clauses, e.g., oenological practices. The
 257 adaptive capacity of wine regulation is particularly noticeable compared to other agri-food
 258 regulations, such as the novel food or organic regulations or the CMO’s marketing standards (cf. the
 259 ECJ decision C-422/16 TofuTown that forbids the use of any milk-related terms for vegan
 260 alternatives). By contrast, wine law actively facilitates products that could be considered more

261 sustainable (FGRV) or “healthy” (de-alcoholised wine).

262 A key factor for this adaptiveness probably lies in the wine sector's integrated yet inclusive
263 governance architecture. GIs provide for bottom-up decision-making and play an essential role in
264 producer organizations, extending to various intermediate organizations [35]. At the international
265 level, the OIV achieves a high level of representation of actors from the private sector, science and
266 even civil society. Most stakeholders appear to be interested in creating a system that works for the
267 benefit of both producers and consumers. Some existential cleavages (e.g., between large and small
268 producers or producer and consumer countries) are less pronounced than in many commodity sectors
269 (e.g., the polarized International Cocoa Organization ICCO). The mandate of the OIV explicitly
270 includes promoting scientific and technical research, making it a functional part of a global
271 Knowledge and Innovation System.

272 Despite this adaptiveness, we see some potential for legal disruption in the medium term, especially
273 with regard to the GI system. The innovations discussed in this contribution may currently not be
274 very significant on the market. However, they relate to key aspects of the food system transformation
275 that will become increasingly relevant in the future. The restrictions for using GIs for FGRV or de-
276 alcoholised products already lead to evasion strategies by market actors. For example, the German
277 association “*Zukunftsweine*” focusses its marketing exclusively on using FGRV regardless of the
278 geographical origin. Similarly, many producers of de-alcoholised wines do not follow the origin-
279 related quality pyramid envisioned by EU regulation. Especially for sparkling wines, as the most
280 critical market segment of de-alcoholised products, brands provide a way to circumvent GI
281 restrictions.

282 This evasion weakens the power of GIs for consumer orientation and, hence, the effectiveness and
283 relevance of wine law altogether. The erosive effect will become increasingly pronounced as
284 innovative producers specifically target the next generation of wine consumers. Building a regulatory
285 cage may also cause some of the most innovative producers to leave the GI system. Parallels might
286 be drawn to the so-called Super-Tuscans of the 1980s [36] or the disenchantment of some of the most
287 progressive actors with the organic framework [37].

288 The case of FGRV wines also points to the legally disruptive effect of climate change [38]. Climate
289 change will drastically affect most of the current wine production areas. Some of the most famous
290 areas will have to adapt their wine profiles completely [39], [40]. New breeding techniques could
291 potentially help with climate adaptation and sustainability, by introducing targeted genomic changes
292 [41] while preserving the typicity of popular varieties [42]. However, the availability of such products
293 is still unclear [14]. Consumer acceptance would also not be automatic, and would probably require
294 an active promotion policy e.g. through educational campaigns [43].

295 **4. Conclusions: Regulatory Sandboxes and a Wine Constitution**

296

297 Through its bottom-up and multi-stakeholder elements, the governance of the wine system already
298 corresponds to important demands regarding a food system transformation. This has allowed the wine
299 system to respond relatively quickly to sustainability issues (e.g., the OIV principles for sustainable
300 viticulture OIV-CST 518-2016, its implementation guidelines as well as many other recent OIV
301 resolutions). The inclusive governance structures and some of the recent regulations might even be
302 considered a model for other sectors.

303 The dense regulation, however, also creates significant barriers to individual innovations and the
304 sustainability transformation at large. This is especially true for the rigid rules of many GIs which
305 petrify a certain status quo in the interest of some producers.

306 An enabling framework for (sustainable) innovation at a local scale can be seen as an essential
307 element of future-proof GIs. This implies a reconfiguration of GIs and the underlying idea of tradition
308 and heritage. To design future-proof GIs, actors must ensure openness to new developments and
309 consider all conditions for a healthy wine sector at a concrete location (e.g., changing climatic
310 conditions and disease pressures). Such an approach would probably be more aligned with the
311 conditions under which some of the most valuable GIs developed, namely by constantly improving
312 technology and marketing [45]. Petrifying specific production patterns works for the short-term
313 interests of certain actors but not necessarily for the long-term interests of all affected stakeholders.

314 In many areas, from finance to health and AI, experimental regulation in the form of “regulatory
315 sandboxes” has become a key policy instrument. Sandboxes are an integral part of the EU’s Better
316 Regulation Toolbox. The European Council (13026/20) defines them as “*concrete frameworks which,
317 by providing a structured context for experimentation, enable where appropriate in a real-world
318 environment the testing of innovative technologies, products, services or approaches [...] for a
319 limited time and in a limited part of a sector or area under regulatory supervision ensuring that
320 appropriate safeguards are in place.*” In our opinion, such they could also be created at the level of
321 individual GI product specifications. Product specifications could also set clear sustainability targets
322 to ensure that new approaches actually imply broader benefits. The new GI regulation (EU)
323 2024/1143 sets a general frame for such an approach but requires active efforts at the level of each
324 producer group.

325 Of course, innovation will not accomplish the transformation by itself: resistant varieties may reduce
326 some of the ecological footprint of wine production. However, their resistance may not be permanent.
327 They are not available for all diseases and not relevant for some wine-producing regions. De-
328 alcoholised wines theoretically represent a “healthy” alternative but will foreseeably remain a niche

329 product and do not address the root causes of problematic alcohol consumption. The de-alcoholisation
330 procedures prescribed by EU law also imply an even bigger ecological footprint than alcoholic wines
331 [46]. Digital labels increase transparency regarding contents, nutritional values and potential
332 sustainability claims. However, they will hardly have a tangible impact on public health and are
333 generally perceived as a tool to maintain secrecy rather than to enable consumers to make healthy
334 and sustainable choices.

335 Overall, the transformation of the wine system requires a more explicit orientation towards
336 fundamental values in the form of a *wine constitution*. This constitution need not be conceived as a
337 new legal document. All the relevant principles are already prescribed by European primary law,
338 national constitutions and public international law. National and European courts increasingly carve
339 out the constitutional implications of sustainability in all its three dimensions and set clear obligations
340 for states to address climate change. Wine regulators on all levels must recognize this constitutional
341 dimension even when dealing with “technical” questions. This also implies a more consistent
342 approach to overproduction, which lies at the heart of most of the current economic challenges of the
343 European wine sector as well as its negative environmental and health impacts.

Accepted Manuscript

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