Chiara Certomà

Chianti Experiences

Turning a post-rural region
into a listening territory

www.edizioniets.com

Published with the support of:

Great Wine Capitals
Global Network ...a World of Excellence

INDICE

Acknowledgments

THE GREAT WINE CAPITALS GLOBAL NETWORK INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GRANT PROGRAM

The Great Wine Capitals is a network of ten major global cities in both the northern and southern hemispheres, which share a key economic and cultural asset: their internationally renowned wine regions.

It is the only such Network to encompass the so-called 'Old' and 'New' worlds of wine, and it aims to encourage travel, education and business exchanges between the prestigious wine regions of Bilbao-Rioja, Bordeaux, Cape Town-Cape Winelands, Christchurch-South Island, Firenze, Mainz-Rheinhessen, Mendoza, Porto, San Francisco-Napa Valley and Valparaìso-Casablanca Valley.

Being founded in 1999, the Network has developed and introduced several projects, initiatives and programs with the objective of achieving excellence in tourism, business services and education within the global alliance of its renowned wine regions.

It aims to heighten the wine experience for everyone who visits its regions and cities and to support their members themselves to make the most of their extraordinary culture, heritage and geographical virtue. Knowledge-sharing is an important part of the Network, as it is the idea that each city can benefit from the experience of the other members and from the strength that result from the synergies developed within the Network itself.

The exchanges of the best practices amongst the members have widely contributed to the improvement of the performance of the wine tourism business, and this is one of the most important results of the cooperation. The membership of each destination in this "world of excellence" foster their identification with a concept of exclusivity and top quality, and this is an incentive for the local marketing policies.

One of the most interesting initiative is the annual International Research Grant, assigned by the Network to researchers proposing

excellent and innovative projects in the fields of wine tourism and marketing.

It encourages young researchers who are usually enrolled in wine and wine tourism education programs and who have been nominated by a member city of the Network. We hope that this award will serve as a support and stimulus not only for winegrowing, winemaking and tourism but also for academic and cultural activity, all of which are pillars of the Great Wine Capitals.

The present book is the work conducted by one of the winners of the 2012-2013 International Research Grant, whose research was presented with the original title "Wine experiences. Social mapping wine tourism".

The work investigates the mutable identity of traditional wine-producing areas by using crowdsourcing tools (social mapping and networking, web-mapping and content analysis) able to map people's experiences of wine and place. Chianti serves as the case study being the most representative wine-producing area in the Florence administrative region.

By building upon the experiential marketing and the post-rural theory, the research envisages the realisation of a dedicated multi-users geo-blog and it adopts complementary crowdsourcing tools for investigating Chianti-related contents on the web.

The results suggest the need to upgrade experiential marketing approach in the effort of turning wine-tourist places into 'listening territories'.

We hope that the publication of this book will contribute to increase the attention towards the project of the Great Wine Capitals Network and to share the content as a useful tool for the marketing policies in the wine regions.

<div style="text-align: right;">

The President of GWC Firenze
Stefano Mecocci

</div>

More info about the GWC Network:
http://www.greatwinecapitals.com

Chianti Experiences

Turning a post-rural region
into a listening territory

For the Tuscan dreamers I met on my way

FOREWORD

This book investigates the transforming identity of a traditional wine-producing area in the age of globalisation in order to suggest an innovative web-based approach aimed at exploring post-rural place identity through crowdsourcing methodologies. It also aims to improve upon territorial marketing strategies in the broader context of regional planning. Research focuses on the Chianti area, Tuscany, which represents an exemplary and world famous wine-producing region, rapidly turning, under the pressure of global fluxes, from a rural to a post-rural place.

By building upon the interpretation of post-modern place identity, the theory of post-rurality, and the experiential marketing approach, research suggests that crowdsourcing can address current weaknesses in research and marketing of Chianti identity. First, crowdsourcing makes it possible to investigate the material and semiotic constitution of place identity, which is thus understood as the encounter of heterogeneous actors, imaginaries, technicalities and fluxes. Secondly, it serves as an interpretative model and provides relevant tools for upgrading the current experiential marketing by turning wine-tourism areas into listening territories able to provide adequate consideration for both transient and stable actors' voices.

An illustrative implementation of crowdsourcing methodologies on the issue of Chianti identity transformation is provided, including the design, realisation and the experimental utilization of a dedicated multi-users geo-blog, as well as some basic web-content analysis processes. The results and future possibilities are discussed on the basis of the scientific and grey literature on the post-rural transformation of Chianti, and of the experiential marketing strategies currently adopted by local wine consortia and the regional administration. Finally, the opportunity of adopting crowdsourcing processes for exploring place identity transformation and for framing territorial marketing in the broader planning strategy is considered.

INTRODUCTION

Chianti Experiences is intended to describe the post-rural transformation of the Chianti wine-producing area of Tuscany in the broader context of post-modern place identity transformation, and to investigate the relevant changes in terms of territorial marketing it may produce by suggesting a shift from experiential marketing toward a "listening territory" planning approach, equipped with interactive web tools.

The need for governing the complex relationship between stable and transient actors (locals, tourists, temporary workers, commuters, *etc.*) calls for the elaboration of dedicated place planning and marketing strategies because while transient presences represent relevant sources of income, they also potentially affect consolidated place identity and a traditional way of living.

Nonetheless, it is increasingly evident that the traditional identity of rural areas is materially and symbolically supported by post-modern global fluxes that are rapidly turning them into post-rural areas. This is particularly true for those places whose economic, ecological and social structures are characterised by a massive production of worldwide distributed high-quality goods (in this case top-quality wines), in which a number of tensions, such as residents versus tourists, local versus global, real versus virtual, ancient versus postmodern, tradition versus innovation, and so forth, are mobilized and need to be dealt with in defining place identity, planning and marketing. In spite of being one of the most famous wine-producing areas in the world, in which the practices and the symbolic value of wine-production are entwined with place identity and marketing strategy elaboration, Chianti is deeply conditioned by this transformation.

Therefore, how can we grasp the changing identity of Chianti? How can territorial marketing deal with a dynamic place identity in the broader context of territorial planning and governance?

With the aim to provide a tentative answer, this book investigates how the post-rural transformation affects the traditional view of rural place identity, and how the adoption of interactive web-tools, based on crowdsourcing, can upgrade the current approach to experiential marketing.

An exploration of the composite background literature, including the analysis of place identity concept in contemporary critical geography, is provided, with particular reference to material semiotic theory, and its influence on rural sociology research and post-rural theory. This is complemented with a description of the most recent trend in territorial marketing, particularly the experiential marketing, focusing on the appropriate methods for "staging" touristic destinations as products for tourists' enjoyment.

In concurrence with the analysis of the scientific literature, the research suggests reframing marketing strategies into a broader territorial planning strategy, based on a peculiar interpretation of place identity as a continuous negotiation between heterogeneous actor-networks. The methodological section explores the profitability of adopting new forms of place identity negotiation, empowered by the diffusion of innovative information and communication technologies (ICTs), particularly via crowdsourcing tools and web-content analysis, as these are regarded as appropriate means to mediate the encounter between stable and transient presences in the definition of place development.

The elaboration and pivotal application of dedicated crowdsourcing tools in the case of Chianti supports some recent findings in the literature that describe the post-rural transformation of Chianti and the experiential marketing strategies adopted in the area. Particularly the realisation of a social mapping geo-blog and the related social networking tools is described; they are intended to collect two-dimensional representations of the multi-layered experiences of Chianti and to support the use of "listening devices" in territorial marketing.

Together with the discussion of the results emerging from the illustrative application of crowdsourcing tools, the reports provides a comparison between the characters of post-rurality in the Chianti area, and the possibility for crowdsourcing to improve our understanding of place identity transformations and territorial planning.

Conclusions suggest the need for upgrading the current marketing strategies by transforming Chianti into a listening territory able to appreciate, represent and operationalize post-rurality.

CHAPTER I

SETTING THE STAGE:
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the research by presenting an overview of the recent scientific literature in the field of contemporary critical geography (particularly contributes dealing with post-modern place identity definition), rural sociology (with a specific focus on the emergence of post-rural theory) and experiential marketing. All of them are considered in reference to the peculiarities of wine-producing regions.

1. *Place identity*

A long geographical tradition culminating in the influential Humanistic Geography theory of the 1960s (Buttimer 1993; Tuan 1996), inspired by the Phenomenological philosophy, devoted a particular attention to the concept of place identity by describing it as the result of a stable, coherent and organised world of meanings, or a *genius loci*, emerging from the human interpretation of the surrounding space (Tuan 2003). This theory positions places as integral to the very structure and possibility of experience (Malpas 1998) and justifies the emergence of a special attachment to places (Bachelard 1957; Claval 2003; Rougerie 2000), where individual experience merges with the common lore of past generations (Livingston 1953; Vallega 2003).

With the advent of globalization, Critical Social Scholars (Taylor 1992; Giddens 1990; Beck 1995) devoted their attention to the consequences of modernity on local places, particularly to the undermining of the primacy of place-based activities in favour of dematerialised and disembedded experiences. They claimed that bounded and static place identity has been radically subverted by the influence of exogenous forces and far-away events (Giddens 1992).

This brings about the crumbling of communitarian connections, the vanishing of traditional values and social institutions (Geertz 2000), and the fluidification of experience (Appadurai 1998; Augè 1995; Beck 2000).

In some ways the rhetoric of identity loss fuelled the emergence of the jingoistic reaction of localist movements (Massey, Jess 1995; Agnew 1987), but they also called for the opposite reaction of contemporary critical geographers that proposed an altogether different interpretation of place identity building upon the evidence that global and local processes actually affect each other (Massey, Allen, Sarre 1999). This gave raise to the emergence of a "global sense of place" (Massey 1991) and a dynamic interpretation of space (Murdoch 2006; Martinotti 2006). Places can thus be described as the outcomes of global encounters and power geometries, which determine the social, natural and technological architecture of contemporary space (Harvey 1990; Massey 2005), characterised by the intrinsic porosity of borders and the hybrid internal constitution (Whatmore 2002).

The cultural shift in the social sciences during the 1980s (Cloke, Philo, Sadler 1991) determined the unsetting of dominant spatial imaginaries (Jones 2009): "As a consequence, our understandings of spatiality have become less constrained by bounded (territory) or hierarchal (scalar) structural forms, and our spatial analyses have become more attentive to connectivity in all its forms" (Heley, Jones 2012, p. 208). The substitution of the previously established theory of place as fixed and immutable, sacred and untouchable, a view often associated with rural places, with a new conception of place "in commotion", free from any normative coherence or essentialist non-negotiable features (Light, Smith 1998; Castre, MacMillan 2001), leads to an appreciation of the definition of place identity in terms of "throwntogetherness", or as "the location of the intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influences and movements" (Massey 1995, p. 59).

Consequently, rather than an exclusive privilege of the locals, the definition of place identity becomes a matter of negotiation between both stable and transient presences. In this regard, it is worthwhile to note that in the context of contemporary social

studies, the material semiotic theory (Law 1992; Law, Moll 2000; Law, Heterington 2003) and, particularly, its most popular version of actor-network-theory (ANT) (Latour 1993; Law and Hassart 1999), describes places as the emerging effect of interaction between networks of actors including human, non-humans (natural beings, ecological process, geological forces, *etc.*), and more-than-humans (machines, technical devices, procedures, cultural institutions, law, *etc.*) (Jackson 2000; Lees 2002; Anderson and Wylie 2009; Whatmore 2006). Networks are sets of power relationships exercised in common by associations of humans, nature and technologies, and this view characterises space and place as "in-becoming events" (Doel 1999; Massey 2005; Geografiska Annaler 2004; Thrift 1997, 2004, 2007).

The material semiotic theory had a profound impact on rural geography (Cloke 2006; Philo 2000), which introduced culture analysis into agricultural studies (Morris, Evans 2004) and the exploration of spatial relationality in rural studies (Woods 2009, 2011). Specifically, it is fundamental in exploring post-rurality (Murdoch 2000; Heley, Jones 2012; Murdoch, Pratt 1993) because it allows us "to consider how rural nature is incorporated into food sector studies and can usefully indicate how rural resources interact with networks" (Murdoch 2000, p.409). As well, it emphasises "hybridity, the decentred nature of agency, and the deconstruction of the power into multiple sets of contingent relations"(Murdoch 2000, p. 410).

2. *Post-rurality*

Rural places have long been associated with views of stability, locality and tradition, in contrast with the ephemeral urban places, associated the dynamicity of global society. However things are rapidly changing in rural places (Milbourne 1997; Hoggart, Paniagua 2001), and the transformation becomes evident when adopting an integrated, Lefebvrian approach (Lefebvre 1991) in the analysis of the space of production, symbolisation and socialisation of rurality (Phillips 2002, Halfacree 2007). This approach was subscribed by a

number of researchers inspired by "post-rural theory" (Marsden, 1999; Ilbery, Bowler 1998; Halfacree 2007), and emerged after Philo's (1992, 1993) invitation to map neglected rural geographies and power relations involved in the creations of place identity. As Mormont (1987) explains: "rurality is not a thing or a territorial unit, but derives from the social production of a set of meanings" (p. 36), most of which provided by "outsider" or transient actors, and complementing or sometime contrasting those provided by stable dwellers.

The term "post-rurality" was introduced by Murdoch and Pratt (1993), who claimed that it is necessary to "listen much more attentively than before to the myriad notions of 'the rural' produced by all manner of 'everyday' […] people in all manner of 'everyday' circumstances." (Murdoch, Pratt 1993, p. 434). By overcoming the quasi-cartographic representation of rural land and social structures (Hoggart 1988; 1990), post-rural research is intended to mirror the real life experiences in contrasts with idyllic views of rurality. It focuses on the agency of actor-networks crossbordering the urban and rural divide (Murdoch, Pratt 1993) and influencing the material constitution and the symbolic representation of the rural (Halfacree 1995), together with the rural governance processes generated by multiple sets of power relations (Murdoch, Pratt 1994). Particularly, power relations play a prominent role in the transformation of the social, political and cultural identity of rural areas (Cloke, Milbourne 1992). Beyond the classic analysis of the spatial, uneven development of rural places inherent to capitalist economies as the "outcome of dependent relations emanating from agribusiness and to a lesser extent the State" (Marsden 1995, p. 285), the post-rural approach explores how "despite what some may regard as the demise of agriculture as a major agent of power in the rural domain, its selective and highly differential withdrawal and reorientation is providing a major element in the new reconstitution of rural space" (Marsden 1995, p. 285).

In contrast with the classic and stereotypical view of the rural life, but also with conventional understanding of neo-rural as bulwarks against globalization, industrialization, technicalisation and virtualization of life (Marchettini, Brebbia, Tiezzi, Wadhwa 2004),

post-rural theory focuses on the inside-outside territorial dynamics. This builds upon the analysis of the relationship between rural actors as key agents in governance patterns production and the role of external actors in new capitalism (Goodwin 1998; Murdoch, 2003), including job-seeking immigrants, foreign investors and the neo-rural middle-class (Hines 2012). The focus on the agency of social actors defined as drivers of changes, contrasts the conventional view of rural areas as passive recipients of external movements of capital and labour in the midst of globalization geometries (Cloke 1997).

Culture plays a most important role in the definition of the political and agricultural agenda, and in the marketing of goods and services (Ray 1999; Miele, Murdoch 2002; Holloway 2004). In fact, despite in the network-oriented literature (Castells 1996) the rural occupies a comparatively low place in the hierarchy of global decision centres, post-rural theory claims that it operates at an intermediate level in elaborating development strategies that overcome the territorial boundaries of local areas and in interacting with global economies and culture (Murdoch 2000). The rural development panorama is, as described by Murdoch, characterised by "horizontal networks", or "distributed network forms that link rural spaces into more general and non-agricultural processes of economic change" (Murdoch 2000, p. 407), which complements the vertical networks connecting rural spaces into the global agro-food sector.

The network approach of post-rural theory can be regarded as a third way to connect State and market, exogenous and endogenous forces in a coherent development strategy (Amin, Thrift 1994; Cooke, Morgan 1993; Lowe et al. 1995; Powell, Smith-Doerr 1994). In the European context, from the 1970s and onward, rural locations poorly served by market relations have been affected by two different development strategies (Murdoch 2000); the first foreseeing state agencies to work in order to overcome market deficiency with incentives or additional provisions in infrastructure, and the second relying on external agencies for promoting locally rooted, endogenous development capabilities (Iacoponi, Brunori, Rovai 1995; McQuaid 1997; Shuttleworth 1993). Weaknesses in the approach of over-relying on both State support and mono-sectorial

large firms (Day, Hedger 1990; Lowe et al. 1995) soon became evident and resulted in the call for renewed attention toward endogenous factors with the raise of a participatory approach to ensure the best use of existing resources (Murdoch 2000). However, participatory processes tended to be dominated by powerful local actors, or were undermined by local apathy (Lowe et al. 1995; Shortfall, Shucksmith 1998; Ward, McNicholas 1998), and turned out to be rather ineffective in terms of innovativeness and economic performance. A number of studies have been subsequently conducted on the relation between community involvement (Shortall 1994; O'Malley 1992; Buller, Wright 1990) and rural governance (Bryden 1994; Goodwin 1998; McAreavey 2006), relying on the assumption that social inclusion, civic commitment and participation are always desirable in area-based development programmes (Ray 2000; Buller 2000; Shortall 1994). However, it emerged that in some cases the supposed excluded groups voluntarily choose not to participate (Putnam 1993), as they better benefitted from avoiding negotiation rather than engaging in it (Hayward et al. 2004).

In general, re-making rural space requires the emergence of peculiar post-rural governance patterns not necessarily based on direct participation in policy-making, but rather entails a high degree of consensus on identity definition (Brunori, Rossi 2007), objectives and development strategies. This involves public and private, internal and external, official and unofficial actors (Marsden 1995), and requires the capacity to turn consensus into formal institutions (norms and routines, agreements, policy measures, *etc.*) (Goodwin 1998) so to make a local area capable of effectively interacting with the outside. In pursuing this end, the associational capacity (Cooke and Morgan 1993), or the ability to create new networks including other than classic market–based actors, is of fundamental importance because networks act as virtual loci for knowledge exchange and collaboration promoted by reciprocal trust (Maillat 1996) that originates in local cultures and social structures (Brusco 1996; Paloscia 1991).

3. *Post-rural wine geographies*

The leading economic role of wine producing areas, as determined in the recent decades, highlights a growing interest for the geographies of wine, with several studies focusing on the relationship between environment and viticulture, areas of production and wine quality, *terroir* (Stevenson 1987), location, quality, and definition of wine areas (Bulman 2004; Unwin 1991). This resulted in a large corpus of scientific literature describing today's ecology, the landscape (Prats 1983) and geography of wine regions (de Blij 1985), both in terms of historical evolution and classification (Corrado Odorici 2009), and in terms of territorial government and trade patterns (Dickenson 1990).

Wine-producing areas clearly stand as partial exception to the problem of underestimation, economic marginalization and lack of political consideration of rural areas, because most-reputed wine-producing regions are an identity-generating location, important sources of economic revenues, and poles of attraction for key actors influencing political and economic regional planning. Each of the twenty-one Italian regions produces at least one top wine that is frequently chosen as the "flag product" for the entire surrounding area. Resultingly, a considerable part of territorial planning and marketing for each region is based on the reputation of its wine. Many of these wines are distributed and sold worldwide, thanks to dedicated marketing strategies based on the aesthetic of food (Crang 1996; Hartwick 1998; Lash 1998; Miele, Murdoch 2002).

In Italy, wine-producing areas have the benefit of a special legal consideration and are classified according to the quality of their products. The classification of wine (Protected Geographical Area - IGP, Certified Designation of Origin - DOC, Certified and Guaranteed Designation of Origin - DOCG), determines specific rules of cultivation (grape variety and production method, cultural practices, area and level of production etc.; Jones 1989), and grants certified products a privileged position in the global market. The exclusivity and limited availability of top wines is able to influence global style of life, imaginaries and economic practices (Miele, Murdoch 2002).

While top-ranking wine-producing areas do not suffer, or at least only suffer to a lesser extent from many of the political and economical problems experienced in other rural areas, they nevertheless remain "rural" in a looser sense (Halfacree 1995). This signifies that today's wine-producing areas are turning into post-rural areas characterised by the increment of technological investments, and are direct participants in the global chain of production and distribution, capable of attracting foreign capitals in the residential, business or leisure markets.

4. *Chianti*

The definition of the Chianti area is not a unanimous one, and has been the direct cause of endless debate, first documented in the beginning of twentieth century, between the Consorzio Chianti Classico (established 1924), and the Consorzio Vino Chianti (established 1927).

The first group claimed that the Chianti area needed to be consistent with the production area of the Chianti Classico DOCG wine, which includes some 88,000 square hectares of land and nine municipalities in the provinces of Firenze and Siena.[1]

The second group, a gathering of Chianti wine producers from the Pisa to Grosseto provinces, asserted that the borders of the Chianti area needed to be rather extended so as to include a larger part of Tuscany (see Map 1). However, while still not sharply defined, the region conventionally called Chianti today is associated in the common imaginary with the Chianti Classico producing area (Fasano, Guarini 2001; Pazzagli 1973), and for its historical, cultural, oenological, ecological and economic reasons, this makes it easily identifiable. This last definition is adopted as the geographically referenced area in the present work.

At the end of the 18th century a red wine called Chianti was already being produced in Tuscany and sold across Europe. It had so

---

[1] The included municipalities are Greve, Radda, Gaiole and Castellina; a large part of San Casciano Val di Pesa and Castelnuovo Berardenga; and a smaller portion of the communities of Tavarnelle Val di Pesa and Barberino Val d'Elsa and Poggibonsi.

much economic success, other wine producers also started selling wine under the Chianti label, though it was not actually Chianti wine. This lead Italian prime ministers Bettino Ricasoli (1861) and Sydney Sonnino (1906), who also both happened to be wine producers, to implement the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) agreement in to the Italian law system (Brunori, Rossi 2007).

However according the label, the name Chianti was not granted on the basis geographical production area but rather on the production process itself. This issue was addressed by the Consorzio per la difesa del vino tipico del Chianti, later the Corsorzio Chianti Classico, and included at the time 33 producers. These producers also introduced the Black Cock logo, the symbol of the ancient Lega del Chianti (Brunori, Rossi 2007).[2] Thanks to the lobbying of the Consorzio, Chianti wine was only granted to wine produced in the geographical area now defined as Chianti Classico.

However, in 1927 wine producers established outside of the Chianti Classico area and with the support of 27 Tuscan municipalities established the Consorzio del Putto, later the Consorzio del vino Chianti, and claimed that the Chianti label be granted to producers from other areas of Tuscany. As an agreement between the two consortia was never reached, a national law, the Inter-Ministerial decree issued July 31, 1932, authorised the use of the name Chianti for producers located in seven production areas across five provinces of Tuscany (these include Colli Aretini, Colli Fiorentini, Colli Senesi, Colline Pisane, Montalbano, Rufina, and Montespertoli), while the production of Chianti Classico area was granted a distinct position. In 1967 Chianti was the first Italian wine to be obtain the Certified and Guaranteed Designation of Origin (Brunori, Rossi 2007).

Brunori and Rossi (2007) claim that the conflict over the definition of Chianti geographical borders was generated by competing visions of what a rural district ought to be, such as the producing area or an instrument of territorial marketing allowing others than wine producers to emerge as territorial actors. The concept of a rural district derives from the most famous concept of

---

[2] Today the Consorzio Chianti Classico includes some 600 producers.

industrial district (Iacoponi 1997, Regione Toscana 2004). It indicates a cluster of actors producing along distinctive economic performances "related to the particular relationship between local actors and the environment that is embodied in their 'contextual knowledge', which lies at the foundations of practices that produce and reproduce cultural landscapes, typical food and rural heritage" (Brunori, Rossi 2007, p. 186). Though the wine-making process has changed over time, Chianti is still essentially produced with the same mixture of white and red grapes as was developed in the mid-nineteenth Century by Bettino Ricasoli, founder of the modern Chianti ecology.

This point is particularly relevant as the complex networks of relations developed through time around the wine production process played a crucial role in the definition of Chianti territorial identity (Fasano, Guarini 2001). The importance of boundaries in the geographies of food has been explored by some more recent studies (Whatmore and Thorne, 1998) that explain that the possibility for a territory to be labelled as part of Chianti region brings about more than merely food issues.

After the World War II the sharecropping system entered a deep, irreversible crisis in Tuscany (Brunori, Rossi 2007) and it was replaced by the system of *fattoria* organised in several *poderi*, a sort of multi-cropping system including vines, olives, wheat vegetables and wood. The *fattoria* system was abandoned in the 1970s, which resulted in a significant decrease, about the 50%, in the number of farmers. Agricultural policy, especially the National Green Plans of the 1960s and early 1970s, contributed to fostering the abandonment of mixed cropping system. At the same time, capitalistic holdings and family-owned farms gave raise to a new peasantry and to the restructuration and modernization of the vineyard (Brunori, Rossi 2007).

From the 1970s onward, due in part to widening Chianti borders, a considerable decrease in wine sales occurred as increased production resulted in poor quality of product, and thus in reputation. In response to this crisis, the municipalities of Chianti Classico started an identity-building process focusing on agrarian reform, and on fostering opportunities for small farmers to acquire

land. Meanwhile the Consorzio Chianti Classico adopted a different strategy, which stressed the importance of local tradition and the historical-cultural heritage. As it had become evident that the reputation of the area was the main asset for economic development, the Consorzio and municipalities decided to cooperate when Chianti wine, in 1984, and Chianti Classico wine, in 1996, were classified as DOCG products.

A critical momentum in the Italian wine industry occurred when new competitors from the "new worlds", most notably America and Africa, entered the market. The Consorzio Chianti Classico focused, thus, on the territorial identity branding and the strong connection with traditional landscape. Throughout the 1980s this lead to an increase of the population in rural areas and a requirement for new proximity services. This, together with an increase of new wealthy foreigners settling in Chianti (Brunori, Rossi 2007), bestowed the area the name of "Chiantishire".

From the 1990s and onward, Chianti underwent a progressive transformation when the European agricultural politics mainstreamed rural development programs, involving local municipalities in the creation of new governance patterns aimed at consensus seeking on the creation of dedicated institutions for area branding.[3]

In 1997, the mayors of eight municipalities of the Chianti Classico signed the *Manifesto di Pontignano* and ratified a strategy for a common vision of the Chianti region, attracting large consensus on the main objectives for the area development. Focus was placed on administrative integration seated in the empowerment of traditionally underrepresented classes to counterbalance the historically dominant power geometries, and in the institutional decentralisation and the integration of services in the broader context of a strategy of rural change (Brunori, Rossi 2007, p. 197).

---

[3] For example the Associazione Nazionale Città del Vino, Città Slow, and the Leader II Local Action Group.

5. *Experiential marketing*

Experiential marketing is gaining momentum in the territorial marketing field and has been increasingly adopted by institutions and wine producers in the Chianti area.

The increasing importance of non-rational individual experience of consumption requires us to both investigate and invest in the new relationships between consumers, environment and products, symbolic representations, brand and selective memory activated by entertainment processes. The core of experiential marketing resides in "life brand", or "live events that allow the consumer to live, breath and feel the brand through interactive sensory connections and activities" (Smilansky 2009, p. 3) via multiple and real time communication channels. The use of web interactive technologies allows the creation of narratives that can be enjoyed by visitors and shared by locals, redefine travelling, place identity and experience (Smilansky 2009).[4] The use of social networks, such as *Foursquare, Instagram* or *Tripadvisor*, have largely increased the ability to build up collective travel experiences, and provide a common forum in which travel destinations are shared and discussed with other travellers worldwide.

Territorial branding, or other such related kinds of marketing, is one of the most challenging terrains for testing experiential marketing and its capacity to produce a coherent and attractive place identity (Carù, Cova 2006). Consumers can be invited to experience places as if they were products, to literally step into an artificial atmosphere for their senses to be excited and memories to be impressed. Pine and Gilmore (1999) described place identity as something intentionally provided by economic actors and place planners (Schmitt 1999).[5] Place, thus, represents a genre of economic

---

[4] See for instance the digital diary on the *Can't forget Italy*, available on line available at http://www.cantforget.it/it/ issued by professional artists in partnership with business and touris regional tourism offices.

[5] Specifically in the preparation of somebody's experience, Pine and Gilmore (2007) suggest five parameters to be paramounted. These include altering guest's' sense of reality; the use of themes that fully affect the experience of space, time and matter; integration of space, time and matter in a cohesive realistic whole; creating multiple places within a place; and that themes should fit the character of the enterprise staging the experience.

product that is tailored on the customers' expectations and desires, turning goods into services and services into experiences (Pine, Gilmore 1999). The essential point is to stage experiences by engaging with the aesthetic, escapist, or educational dimension of a given place, in order to make business more profitable.

The idea itself of defining territorial marketing strategies on the basis of place experience has been recognized as particularly relevant when dealing with wine production areas (Orth, Limon, Rose 2010) not only because this approach is able to determine an attachment to specific products and brands (Iversen, Hem 2008), but because it also induces a special attachment to place (Gross, Brown 2006; Hammitt, Backlund, Bixler 2006). Current research demonstrated the existence of a strong connection between affective experiences and post-visit brand attachment (Grisaffe, Nguyen 2011; Orth, Limon, Rose 2010). This contributes, on its turn, to determining brand equity (Park, MacInnis, Priester, Eisingerich, Iacobucci 2010), consumer loyalty (Orth, Limon, Rose 2010), and buyers' willingness to pay for products at premium price (Fedorikhin, Park, Thomson 2008). Specifically, the wine sector clearly demonstrates strong ties to places, and thus is especially suitable for considering the influence of experiences on attachments (Jiang, Wang 2006).

Wine-tourism is supported by the emergence of a global system of taste and quality range assessment (Hall, Macionis 1998), together with the logistic and technical possibilities to access wine-production areas (Hartwick 1998; Miele, Murdoch 2003). This means that wine tourism management requires a coherent vision and the integration of different actors, material and symbolic resources (Echtner, Ritchie, 1993; Morrison, Anderson 2002; Rosato, Iazzi 2008; Maizza, Rosato 2008). It is not only the quality of wine that ensures a competitive position in the maket, but also an effective destination management (Buhalis 2000; Franch 2002). Otherwise said, a dedicated marketing strategy is essential to turn wine producing areas into successful tourist destinations (Barney 1991) and this, on its turn, determine a recursive link between famous wines and famous destinations (Wernefelt 1984). Therefore, different production sectors and place-based marketing strategies need to be integrated to

give rise to effective territorial synergies (Maizza, Rosato 2008; Scorrano, Fait, Rosato, Leit 2012).

Yet while experiential marketing can be particularly inspiring in terms of tourist-oriented communication, when it comes to the territorial governance and planning dimensions connected with place identity and marketing, and including for instance territorial attractiveness for foreign investments, participation in global markets, realisation of global-oriented infrastructures, and so forth, it is not enough to just take into account the narratives or reports of non local-based actors, either remotely through web technologies or by their temporary presence, to determine the entire future of a place.

6. *Bridging concepts and finding gaps*

Some relevant links, and admissible gaps, can be pointed out of the above theoretical exploration.

While defined as "multi-sensory, interactive, [and] engaging" (Smilansky 2009, p. v), experiential marketing is not actually participatory, as it includes at best brand-lead and co-driven experiences, similar to rock concerts or sporting events. While offering interesting insights, it does not afford a real listening strategy and does not let actors freely have their say, to learn, or to get the most from other voices. Territorial marketing is, obviously, intended for providing appropriate selling strategies.

However, it is also involved in place identity definition, together with regional planning and management, and thus it requires to be understood as part of an integrated pattern of governance. So while marketing can have a role in the understanding of place transformative processes, appropriate planning strategies can too be an asset for the territorial attractiveness (Bellini, Loffredo, Pasquinelli 2010).

There is, however, a clear difference in the target of marketing and planning, as the first addresses only consumers, and the second addresses all social actors in general. Therefore, when addressing this point from the perspective of planning, the relation between locals,

territory and tourists cannot be reduced to the dimension of place brand, and consequently when addressing marketing strategies in the broader context of territorial planning, it is necessary to step away from the marketing perspective and to consider more carefully territorial governance in general.

Wine-producing areas are very suitable to be analysed in terms of rural governance as competitive advantage derives from the ability to impose a brand as the result of a *terroir*, that is "localised and unique patterns of interaction amongst nature, production operations, social networks and cultural heritage" (Brunori, Rossi 2007, p. 186). Today, the modern competitive model is based on technology advancement and massive distributional scale to meet consumers' expectations.

The old-wine world, Chianti included, needed to strengthen its capacity to maintain and communicate a coherent image of the whole territory and *terroir*, as a "node of a system of social representations of rurality" (Brunori, Rossi 2007). Often this representation has been produced by a viticultural elite assembling around a set of values, codes, goals, routines and norms related to local wine production. The establishment of a rural regime, "i.e., of 'an institutional base with a particular domain of power and a particular social constituency'" (Goodwin, 1998 p. 9), described by post-rural studies, makes the mediation of exogenous political and economic pressures possible (Jones, Clark 2000). Particularly, in recent literature the material semiotic has been recognised as a particularly innovative approach in tourism studies (van der Duim 2007; d'Angella, Go 2009; Lemmetyinen, Go 2009). Three elements are identified as crucial (Arnaboldi, Spiller 2011); the principle of symmetry, implying that humans, non-humans and more-than-humans actors have equal relevance within the (tourism) systems as their agency determine in common the becoming of a place; the focus on actor-networks, whose collective agency emerge in the practical enactment; and the translation process (McLean, Hassard 2004), interpreted as the process by which "scientists and researchers spread their ideas, search for allies who are interested and believe in their ideas, and help them to make the innovation happen" (Arnaboldi, Spiller 2011, p. 647).

The research described thus far, explores a new analytical and

operational model for taking heterogeneous actors' voices into account in place identity definition, marketing and planning (Bellini, 2004). It is intended to advance the view of rural place identity as more than the mere manifestation of traditional narratives, rural localities and local actors' lives (Halfacree 2007; Frisvoll 2012), and to rather promote an understanding of place identity and planning strategies in terms of negotiation between multiple actor-networks in a post-rural, often virtual space (Marsden 1999).

CHAPTER II

CROWDSOURCING CHIANTI IDENTITY

Moving on from the links and gaps in the current literature on post-rurality and experiential marketing discussed thus far, this chapter outlines a methodological approach in order to provide some suggestions for:

- Expanding the knowledge on the transforming identity of Chianti from a rural to a post-rural region by taking into account the voices of transient presences mediated by web-based ICTs;
- Exploring the theoretical possibility for upgrading current territorial marketing approaches – notably experiential marketing – in the broader context of regional planning strategies, by endorsing crowdsourcing approach and technologies.

Web technologies are increasingly adopted by social actors that, from their local places, become able to negotiate place-related issues in the global arena (Marres, Rogers 2005; Escobar 2001). The main purpose is to understand how they can be of greater assistance in analysing and grasping the new identity of Chianti.
The research steps described in the following include:

1. Basis in lack of research on the identity of wine-producing post-rural areas and marketing strategies, new web-based tools are also proposed;
2. Experimental design of dedicated tools, and description of the application of existing ones;
3. Theoretical and practical implications are analysed when supported by a pattern matching with available evidence from scientific and grey literature.

Following the theoretical presentation and the description of some illustrative applications of crowdsourcing tools in the case of Chianti,

the suitability of crowdsourcing and web-content analysis for exploring place identity and the development of territorial marketing is further discussed.

1. *Crowdsourcing*

In order to explore the theoretical and practical possibility for taking into account heterogeneous actors' voices in the definition of place identity and related marketing possibilities, the present work suggests to build upon an innovative approach in the domain of interactive web tools, i.e. the crowdsourcing approach. Crowdsourcing allows a number of heterogeneous actors to be drawn together in a virtual space, where their voices can be translated into technology-based public space for debate.

The current trend in participatory research (Chevalier, Buckles 2013) is oriented toward enabling people to actively collaborate with research and planning activities (Mikkelsen 2005) by using personal technological devices, information communications technology and sharing collected items via various web-based social software programmes. This includes blogs, wikis, social bookmarking applications, and numerous social networking sites, among other web-based open-access formats (Goodchild 2007; Haklay, Weber 2008). The term *crowdsourcing* was introduced by Howe (2006) to describe an innovative web-based business model that calls for voluntary open collaboration in the development of a creative solution. The term was then adopted in the scientific literature after Brabham (2008) defined it as "an online, distributed problem-solving and production model" (p. 243).

While originally intended to externalise some programmes and content generating functions too difficult or expensive to be externalised, the definition of crowdsourcing has since been adopted to include any open call format and the large network of its potential users (Brabham 2008; Estellés-Arolas, González-Ladrón-De-Guevara 2012). People are encouraged to use personal technical systems via a collective peer-production (Brabham, 2008) to record, measure, and report the external environment. This provides a great

centrality and attracts new interest on their technological agency (Goodchild 2007; Haklay, Weber 2008). In the field of marketing and planning it has been particularly useful for generating consensus-seeking practices (Ledwith, Springett 2010). In actual fact, crowdsourcing can be defined as the most advanced form of participatory research. Through technological devices people can be explicitly called to take part in the data collection process, else data can be collected residually or aside of other informative processes via web-content analysis.

This last process is generally defined "big-data analysis" envisages the adoption of analytical techniques in the exploration of large data-set. While it has generally not been included in crowdsourcing processes as data are not deliberately-generated (Brabham, 2013), from researcher's purposes it is nonetheless a way of harvesting the crowd, even if it does not directly activate participatory processes.

2. *The multi-user geo-blog ChiantiExperiences*

Crowdsourcing requires web-tools for collecting users' opinions, ideas, and suggestions. In the present research, a multi-user geo-blog has been realised using social mapping philosophy, an increasingly adopted forum in cultural geography (Chawla 2001; Crampton 2009; Dodge, Kitchin, Perkins 2009; Thompson 2009; Harmon 2003). A social map is a web-generated geographical map that, by using geo-referentiated technologies, allows users to place annotated tags and multimedia contents in a on-line representation of the actual geographical space, to be viewed and recorded by other users (Infante 2012; Aly 2006; Pillera 2011). There has been an incremental use of social mapping in recent years thanks to the diffusion of geo-referentiated social networks focused on place description and experience sharing, for example *Google Places*.

On the basis of existing applications, and in order to provide an example of a tool for crowdsourcing peoples' experiences of Chianti, the research blog *ChiantiExperiences*[6] was projected, designed, and

---

[6] The geo-blog is accessible on line at http://www.chiantiexperiences.com/.

realised in collaboration with the architects of *Urban Architecture Project* in Rome (see Picture 1, 4).

The social mapping tool-kit includes a dedicated web‑application for the collection of tags posted by users on a Geographic Information System (GIS) based map of Chianti, which allows immediate visualisation of actors' experiences with wine and place (Downs, Stea 1977; Perkins 2007). Differently from most other existing commercial blogs, its purpose is not to collect information about tourism-oriented infrastructures, such as shops, hotels, resorts, etc., but rather about people's understanding of place identity.

The blog was developed and realised to be as user-friendly as possible by carefully considering and incorporating the following:

1. Definition of the web-content itself, most importantly its core message, key questions, and content sections (as opposed to actual website components, such as front and back-end, navigation and page layout);
2. Selection of the most appropriate technical solutions, including but not limited to procedures regarding site and content access, and site features such as posting tags, pictures and messages, and election of the GIS based web-tool;
3. Incorporation of and linking to social networking sites (*Facebook*, *Twitter*, and *Pinterest*) and communication materials (poster, flyers, and web-flyers) in order to make it visible and accessible from different locations (see Picture 2 and 3);
4. Development of options to post on the blog map via personal emails or social networks;
5. Promotion of the initiative itself, including newspaper articles, radio interviews and on-the-site communication via local Tourist Information Offices (see Picture 5).

Five categories of tags are available on the map. They refer to wine, place identity and experience (a complete list of the tags posted on the map is available in the Appendix):

Tab 1. Selection of tags posted on *ChiantiExperiences* map

Tag category	*Description*	*Selection of most relevant tags*
Wine at last!	About, around, beyond Chianti: where have you had a most unforgettable wine experience?	1. Vineyards everywhere... Is a *terroir* that makes a great wine or a great wine that makes a *terroir*? (This is not a rhetoric question: wine is clearly an agent in territorial identity construction in Chianti!) 2. Montervertine Nel Comune di Radda in Chianti, il cult del sangiovese: il Pergole Torte, un'etichetta d'artista. 3. I have been here in my past life. I remember the clouds and the light of a small kitchen; I remember wrinkled hands, clay and silence in the autumn vineyard. An old-fashioned simple glass on a marble table. This is real Chianti.

Chianti life is…	Have you experienced something "behind the scenes" (the sight of the material work, a whispered word…) that told you about the real Chianti life?	1. Feeling at home at *La Comune di Bagnaia* Here I experienced what living in the Tuscan countryside actually means - a passionate commitment with real land work and wholehearted people - cheerful memories! 2. Building up Chianti... ... the material creation of a myth! 3. Empowering Chianti! Surprised by large solar plants on the hills... this made me thinking that Chianti is not really frozen! 4. Il Pagliaio La quarta domenica del mese, in piazza, uno dei mercatini del biologico fra i più importanti della Toscana. Formaggi, pane, vini, olio, marmellate, conserve, dolci, insieme ai prodotti... 5. Chianti Banca When you got a bank, myths become institutions.
This is Chianti!	"Here I found the authentic identity of Chianti!" Perhaps it is something you didn't	1. Nothing out of place! Bikes, olive trees, new old-fashioned

	expect, but you feel it to be the real face of Chianti…	buildings, rosemary... nothing is by chance, nothing is out of place (included industrial plant in the valleys, hidden by the hills!) 2. Mercatale / Farmers' market Here I experienced the most beautiful mercatale ever. Not only the square makes a perfect scenario for a farmers' market (the size of the square, its shape, the arcades all around) but after the market all the farmers sat together in long tables to have a common meal, sharing the food they had brought. It was such a nice thing to see! You really feel that for them the market is more than a common space to sell things. 3. Gaville Al limite della regione del Chianti, un piccolo grande centro di documentazione sulla cultura rurale: attrezzi, ambienti, manufatti, collezioni che restituiscono la complessità, la ricchezza e la durezza del vivere quotidiano nella civiltà contadina toscana. Accanto, la

		pieve del sec. XI. 5. Summer There are people coming from everywhere, a bunch of locals, very few... whose this place?
This inspired my senses	Have your senses been stimulated from something memorable? Was it something you smelled or tasted? Or perhaps something you saw or heard?	1. Lunch in the courtyard Lovely, tiny courtyard of a small restaurant, delicious wine, a hot breeze, not artefact, only old and properly arranged 2. Perfumed roses Too bad the ancient Pieve is abandoned but the roses in the garden gone wild are wonderfully perfumed of passed glories! 3. Eroica! I will embark on the Eroica one day or another! 7. Fattoria San Donatino, Castellina L'ultimo buen retiro di Leo Ferrè, per amore del Chianti e di Toscana. Vino e olio nella fattoria gestita oggi dalla moglie e dai figli del grande chansonnier.
This was really moving/engaging!	Somewhere, sometimes you might have felt at home, in your dreams or away from them,	1. Wedding in Barbischio Is Chianti part of Italy? On the top of

	something might have provoked your reaction or interest … what was that?	the hill, a yellow caravan, green grain all around, everything silent, a signal "Berry's and Amanda's wedding" - best wishes! 2. San Galgano Timeless place in a placeless present - I feel here a special sense of belongingness.

A number of issues emerged during the development and realization of the *ChiantiExperiences* geo-blog that, while couldn't be entirely dealt with in the present research, need to be mentioned for future improvement. Some of them are, however, common problems in the design and implementation of direct crowdsourcing processes (Hudson-Smith et al., 2009) and need ad hoc solutions that might weaken the openness, transparency and easiness of crowdsourcing itself, especially in the case of map tagging.

Particularly it emerged that in providing a single-language and a coordinate image, the blog's author indirectly (and sometime unwittingly) limits the selection of users; the same happens with the selection of technologies and digital literacy required for accessing the interactive processes. Again, issue of copyright, privacy, and accessibility emerge; while some of them (as in the present case) may be overcome by inviting people to access the map with no authentification required and no personal information accessible to the researchers (a *Google* account was nonetheless necessary to tag on the map), in case of more complex data elaboration system or sensitive information collection, those issues may impose severe limitations. Last, a dedicated marketing or advertising campaign is necessary for engaging the largest and diverse number of possible users: "these crowdsourcing methods are limited by their exposure and the time that the media make their listeners or viewers aware of

the resource. They are subject to all the problems posed by online surveys in terms of interpretation. Crowdsourced maps may not be 'fit' for purpose" (Hudson-Smith et al., 2009, p.535).

The common representation of Chianti as an idyllic rural setting still has a significant role in many people's imagination, however the tags on the blog map include deeply personal feelings connected with smaller-scale and once in a lifetime experiences that nonetheless provide a dynamic image of Chianti.

Regarding the geographical location of tags, most of them are placed along the *Strada del Chianti*, while internal areas remain rather neglected. Coincidentally, this is resonant with the post-rural view of rural areas as places where the presence of transport and communication infrastructures plays a crucial role in linking rural places with the outside world. Local infrastructures also play a crucial role for tourists today because specific destinations and experiences will only be chosen if a certain degree of security and low risk to travellers will be guaranteed. This can only be achieved by an intense proliferation of so-called non-places, i.e. spaces of globalised socio-economic system such as airports, shopping malls, theme parks, etc., communication and travelling infrastructures (Backhaus 2007).

This state of fact determines the paradoxical consequence that traditional places, preserved as a monument to the past and a resolution for the future, only exist and can be enjoyed as such through the mediation of a massive apparatus of physical and virtual global infrastructures for transport and communication.

3. *Web-content analysis*

Web-content analyses is based on the collection and investigation on metadata unintentionally provided by web users, through dedicated software for data mining, such as *Many Eyes*, *Latent Semantic Analysis*, *WordNet*, cluster analysis, or social networks analysis, such as *Shared Count*. In the present research, some basic tools have been implemented in order to exemplify the application of web-based tools for digging into Chianti identity definition and marketing. These were also selected on the basis of evidence that

most of the relevant web content would likely be written in Italian, while the majority of data mining software able to provide statistical and stochastic analysis based on the recurrence of words work mainly for English text only.

Automatic web-mapping software, namely *IssueCrawler* and *Google Trends*, have been used for exploring some of the links supporting the functional structure of the Chianti area, and a manual web mapping process has been realised with the results of Google-specific research, including both blogs and other web sites.

1. *Mapping Chianti*

The *IssueCrawler*[7] mapping tool produces a map of the hidden links between different web sites by moving from assigned URLs, and maps the social geometries emerging from web connections on a determined issue. Prior to launching research, it is necessary to preliminarily define the main actors gathering around the investigated issue, "Chianti identity" in this case. The objective of the software is to then produce a network mapping both the links amongst those actors, as well as external actors not included in the list whose domain appears in all the provided web sites at least once.

The web addresses, or URLs, provided to *IssueCrawler* as the starting point for the mapping process were selected on the basis of the scientific literature and include main actors in three key territorial governance sectors: wine production (*Consorzio Chianti Classico*, *Consorzio Vino Chianti*, *Città del vino*, *Città Slow - Slow Food International*, *Slow Food Toscana*, *Unione agricoltori Chianti*, *Winespectator*, *Vinitaly*, and *Terre del Vino*); local administrations (this includes all the municipalities in the Chianti area, *Turismo in Toscana*, *Regione Toscana*, *Gal EuroChianti srl – Leader+, Arsia, gasChianti*); and tourism (*GWC*, *Classico è*, *VisitTuscany*, *Turismo in Toscana*, *Toscanablogtoblog*, *ToomuchTuscany*, *Intoscana*, *20inChianti*, *ioamofirenze*, and *blogchianti*). The resulting *IssueCrawler* map is reported in Map 2.

The proliferation of services making traditional places accessible is evident when considering the result of *Issue Crawler* analysis. The

---

[7] *IssueCrawler*, developed by Richard Rogers, can be freely accessed on line at https://www.issuecrawler.net/.

map shows a large presence of logistic services and infrastructures provisions, such as national rail service, airports, transport companies, water distribution companies, etc., amongst the web connections, despite not having been included amongst the initial URLs. This discloses part of the hidden support structure allowing Chianti to exist as such.

Local administrations emerge as key agents in wine, place and tourism processes definition, and two particular geographical clusters, having the Tuscany regional administration as the almost unique connection point, can be identified; one gathering around the Province of Siena and another gathering around the Province of Florence. A further cluster gathers around the *Consorzio Chianti Classico*, but in general the presence of wine related actors in the hidden connections map is quite low, especially when considering that a good deal of the URLs initially provided to *IssueCrawler* were about wine. This is discussed in greater depth further on but suggests that the most relevant actors in defining Chianti is public administration, which makes it particularly important to frame territorial marketing within in the context of local planning.

2. *Googling Chianti*

The *Google Trends* tool measures the volume of search-terms related to total search-volume by country (the highest value is considered as equal to 100). The results for the search term "Chianti" on the 25th of June, 2013 provides the following results in terms of regional interest (the tab provides the first top 10 results):

Tab 2. Index of search-term volume by country
for search term "Chianti", Google Trends

Country	*Index of search-term volume*
Italy	100
Denmark	24
Switzerland	21

Canada	18
Norway	17
Belgium	16
Austria	15
United States	15
Australia	14
Germany	14

The Google trend dynamic version of the report on regional interest in Chianti shows that the interest from 2004 to present day shifted from Italy to the North America, Northern Europe and Australia.

The results for the search term "Chianti wine" showed that the interest is higher in the U.S. than even in Italy, and that the volume of searches are highly aggregated (the tab reports all available results):

Tab 3. Index of search term volume by country
for "Chianti wine", Google Trends

Country	*Index of search-term volume*
United States	100
Canada	68
Australia	49
Italy	48
United Kingdom	43

The most frequent search-terms relating to Chianti are the following (the tab reports the first top 10 results):

Tab 4. Index of global search-term volume
for Chianti-related terms by Google Trends

Chianti-related term	*Index of search-term volume*
chianti classico	100
greve chianti	55
chianti wine	55
greve	55
greve in chianti	50
chianti riserva	35
il chianti	30
castellina in chianti	25
hotel chianti	25
chianti italy	25

3. *'Surfing' Chianti*

The web content analysis provides a manual selection and classification of the results for the word "Chianti" reported in the first top 10 pages originated by the *Google* search tool on the 25th of June 2013. It excludes irrelevant results, such as repetitions, and social networking and *Wikipedia* pages.

The resulting web sites and blogs have been categorised on the basis of three keywords:

- Identity, including comments on land, tradition, heritage, and place;
- Wine, including information on products, distribution, tasting events, and agricultural services;
- Experience, including touristic information, wine-tasting, and tourism services.

They have been further divided into:

- Market-oriented and non-market oriented web sites or blogs;
- Tuscany and non-Tuscany developed web sites and blogs.

Tab 6 Matrix of results of web-content analysis

Googling "Chianti"	Identity		Experience		Wine	
	blogs	web-sites	blogs	web-sites	web-sites	blogs
market-oriented	2	0	9	9	27	75
non market-oriented	16	6	20	0	2	0
made in Tuscany	8	5	7	9	22	75
non-made in Tuscany	10	1	22	0	7	0

The web contents analysis demonstrates that the use of interactive web is very limited and the predominance of market-oriented web-sites offering touristic services, including hotels, *agriturismi*, direct sell of wine in canteens, etc., is massive. The majority of web sites promise that a single visit in Chianti will be an unforgettable experience and deploy the classic romantic image of authentic Tuscany.

A more balanced distribution of interests is evident in the blogs where the issues of identity and experience are almost equally present. The blog content analysis confirms a strong persistence of the traditional view of Chianti as a place untouched by globalization, and grants no space for innovation and innovative territorial images. Most of the blogs are, again, used for touristic promotion and are thus heavily market-oriented; it can be noted too that some blogs are issued by foreigners living in Tuscany, promoting Tuscan food, cooking and wine.

CHAPTER III

CHIANTI IN COMMOTION

The common imaginary of Chianti is still closely associated with traditional rurality, and ICTs are principally used for conventional marketing purposes. Nonetheless, results from the application of above described crowdsourcing tools, while primarily illustrative, are indeed coherent with the insights proposed by the literature about post-rural Chianti.

1. *A new territorial semiotic*

In their research on the post-rural transformation of Chianti, Brunori and Rossi (2007) adopted a material semiotic approach to explore the simultaneous agency of two main actor-networks influencing the future of this area, the first assembling around the Consorzio Chianti Classico, the second around the concerned mayors of each municipality. Much of the agency and claims made by the first have been described in Chapter I. The second, as interpreted by Brunori and Rossi, are a competing force in the definition of development strategies.

The monothematic wine presence, and associated production, is therefore viewed as oppressive, negatively affecting non-wine-related actors, (e.g. public associations, small farmers, municipalities, etc.), and acts as an obstacle to the development of other symbols and codes of local rurality, which can be pursued by introducing heterogeneous interests to challenge the "the dominant viticultural spatio-temporality of the area" (Brunori, Rossi 2007, p. 203). The broad and heterogeneous network of Chianti municipalities (Brunori, Rossi, Malandrin 2011) suggests that "rural development and farming should be more diversified and more coherent in terms of environmental sustainability and social equity and that should be

based on an identity and cultural values wider than those linked to wine "mono-culture" and to the tourist stereotypical image of the area" (Brunori, Rossi 2007, p. 202). This recalls the issue of multifunctionality of agriculture and brings about a number of new pressures on traditionally managed, and marketed, agricultural areas, including the need of integrating conflicting exigencies of local communities (e.g. housing, municipal services, transportation infrastructure, etc.), industrial and economic activities, landscape and the cultural identity, and tourism (Brunori, Rossi 2007).

Chianti can therefore be considered a typical example of a post-rural area in which social and economic dynamics are affected by a large number of heterogeneous actors working for the redefinition of local identity and the control of immaterial assets (e.g. the symbolic capital).

Complex actor-networks involved in the process of rural governance (Di Iacovo, Scarpellini 2003) also include an increasing presence of global players endowed with propensity to innovate, and whose production and distribution chains extend far beyond the local area (Mattiacci, Nosi, Zanni 2005). With their presence, Chianti can be easily recognized as a globalised and globalising macro-actor in itself. In fact, economic data confirms the internationalisation of Tuscan economy and the related social organisation (Bacci 2009; Conti 2012), with exportation of wine accounting for up to 35% of the total agri-food export of Tuscany (Regione Toscana 2011). A promotional road show, held in 2012 by the president of the Consorzio del vino Chianti, Giovanni Busi, with goals of both increasing and maximising export, now accounts for 70% of the total production of the Consorzio del vino Chianti (Jadeluca 2012). Today, the Consorzio del vino Chianti includes 800 producers, with some 400 mainly producing for mass markets, and whose total production amounts to some 800,000 hectoliters of wine per year generating approximately $300 million euros a year in gross profit (Enopress, 2012). In addition, Chianti Classico production increases on average 280,000 hectoliters per year, corresponding to $360 million euros in additional gross profit (Enopress 2012).

Wine production is complemented by other agricultural productions, mainly olives and grain, handcrafting or industrial transformation, and tourism (Brunori, Rossi 2007); 44 million tourists visited Tuscany in 2011 (Conti 2012), with Chianti area

agriturismo, rural vacations on Italian farm properties, generating 75 million euros each year in revenue (Enopress 2012).

Since the 1960's, the diversification of farm economy, by means of conversion into agri-tourism and touristic structures, has resulted in change of socio-economic paradigm in the country when out-migration left many buildings available for conversion (Sabbatucci-Severini 1990). This gave raise to a process of hidden urbanisation (Orsini 2013), converting rural buildings into housing, tourist accommodation, and other recreational sites. These changes occurred in response to the crisis of agricultural activity, the abandonment of agriculture, and off-farm and on-farm diversification strategies (Henke, Salvioni 2010).

Consequently, landscape management regimes are also changing radically as farming activity has been substituted with a number of different activities. Furthermore, the intense presence of non-local and transient actors has increased the social complexity of the area, both in terms of cultural attitude and demographic pressure. As well, the attraction of foreign capital in the acquisition of land and properties has altered the traditional economy of the area. This is viewed in terms of both a means of increasing social position and to become better acquainted with VIPSs, and in economic investment.

Despite the area being one of the wealthiest in Tuscany and often regarded as a model for rural development, a number of tensions are also evident (Brunori, Rossi 2007), primarily because the local population claims to have a marginal role compared with the role of upper to middle class countryside land and property owners, resulting in a considerable difference in the degree of representativity in terms of governance (Di Iacovo, Scarpellini 2003). Truthfully, foreign capital investment largely affected the real estate market and caused a significant increase in the cost of land and houses (Brunori, Rossi 2007). However, this is not a new phenomenon, as Tuscan identity has been largely influenced by at least three centuries of global travellers visiting the area in order to become better acquainted with international nobility and gentry; therefore Chianti can today be considered the result of a common global imaginary (Certomà 2011).

2. *Experiential marketing in Tuscany*

The experiential marketing approach has only recently become associated with territorial marketing strategies in Tuscany by linking together public and private actors, most notably the Tuscany regional administration and wine *Consortia*, with particular focus on the excellence in food production. The experiential marketing approach is interpreted in Tuscany as a mean for offering the opportunities to enjoy real local life; this however requires re-interpreting real Tuscan life in order to make it commodifiable (e.g. the *Voglio vivere così* campaign, featuring charming woman in picturesque landscapes).

Amongst the initiatives, it is worthwhile to mention a course on experiential and sensory marketing held in the Siena countryside in 2011 by local trade associations (*Confcommercio* and *Confesercenti*), the Province of Siena, and the *Monte dei Paschi di Siena* bank, aimed at informing local entrepreneurs on the marketing possibilities associated with providing guests with a multitude of potential experiences, including the arts, food, walking and nature, and historical heritage (SienaNews 2011). The Consorzio Chianti Classico promotes the campaign *E'Chianti,* including a number of guided tours, tasting and visiting iniatives, social events in the Chianti region, together with a recently established section of the *Chianti Classico Academy* (Consorzio Chianti Classico 2012). Tuscany regional administration provided the official tourism web-site of Tuscany, *Turismo in Toscana*, with dedicated social networking tools for people to exchange opinions, post requests and share experiences (Regione Toscana 2012).

All the initiatives are aimed at turning the existing touristic offers into experience-packages designed, produced and sold by the local administrations in collaboration with local producers and tourist sector operators. The basic idea is that Tuscany, and particularly Chianti, is the product of a daily and long-lasting collaboration between locals and the surrounding environment, and, thus, only locals can offer the key for truly taking part in and appreciating real Chianti life. Most of these initiatives are advertised on the internet (Città del Vino/Censis 2012; 2013), which is used as a classic, non-interactive communication tool. A clear interest for interactive web-

tools is evident in the Consorzio del vino Chianti website (Consorzio vino Chianti 2012).

Most of the above mentioned initiatives are characterised by a strong rhetoric of tradition, pride, and excellence in quality, featuring local producers as the heralds of long guarded traditions, now offering the entire world a taste of their culturally rich products and life-style. Amongst others, the tourist sector is the one in which rurality is better commodified, through designated tourist routes, slogans, logos, and place myths displaying a cultural landscape drawing upon a dominant rhetoric of soil and soul. These initiatives present the local to entertain an ambiguous relationship with the global, which is at once identified as harmful because of the financial, cultural and legal constraints it brings about, but at the same time is regarded as the arena for expanding one's own business by reaching global consumers.

3. *Crowdsourcing post-rural Chianti*

The results of this research confirms that web-tools are mainly used as a means for further marketing products by adopting a conventional approach. Few attempts have been made for adopting more interactive communication form and none of them by using social mapping. As web 2.0 tools are entering the governance process almost everywhere, they can therefore be usefully proposed in the Chianti territorial planning and marketing processes, too. At the same time, the role of ICTs in the post-rural transformation of Chianti can be more clearly recognised.

The initial research questions (i.e. how the changing identity of Chianti can be described and how territorial marketing can be dealt with in the broader context of planning) can, thus, be answered by suggesting the adoption of crowdsourcing for digging deeply into the post-rural transformation of wine-producing areas, and for equipping heterogeneous actors' with dedicated mediation tools.

The following table synthetically explains how crowdsourcing processes can be useful in advancing the knowledge of post-rural identity and contributes to the elaboration of innovative territorial marketing strategies, principally by upgrading experiential marketing

to a listening strategy in the broader context of participatory planning. This is aimed at suggesting the theoretical profitability and the practical feasibility of the match and includes a list of features characterising the post-rural transformation of rural areas on the basis of the scientific literature; a corresponding list of their main related challenges in the Chianti area; and a list of the possibilities offered on how to assist them through crowdsourcing processes. The last column signifies whether they are pertinent to the research questions about local identity, or to redefinition of the marketing approach.

Tab 5 Matching post-rurality, post-rural challenges
in Chianti and crowdsourcing processes

Post-rurality means:	Post-rural-induced challenges in Chianti:	Crowdsourcing processes can:	Research question-related goals:
Increasing number and pervasiveness of inside-outside relationships, and stronger role of external actors in local development	Conflict between the needs of local communities, the preservation of territorial setting and cultural identity, the support of industrial economic activities and the consequences of the entering of foreign capitals	Help the formation of a cross-bordering virtual public space for negotiating conflicting interests	local identity
Blurring of material and symbolic barriers between rural and not rural areas	Gentrification of the countryside and 'hidden urbanization'	Democratisation of spatial planning-related decision making by open consultancy	marketing strategies

Transformation of rural people into agents of multifunctional turn in agriculture	Multifunctional agriculture generates multiple pressures associated with the entry of newcomers and different sources of income, and the exit of full-time farmers	Exploration of new possibilities for increasing the attractiveness of rural areas and for empowering rural agents in the definition of adequate development strategies	local identity
Relevance of cultural and social trends in determining the political and agricultural agenda and in the marketing of goods and services	Introduction of heterogeneous interests and alternative practices (contrasting the monothematic wine presence) in the definition of economic, social and environmental priorities	Implementation of technological decentralised systems for dissemination of information, sharing competencies and territorial knowledge	local identity
Emergence of shared views and values from the negotiation between internal and external actors	Need for consensus building processes involving public authorities and private business actors in the definition of territorial governance and branding strategies	Listening tools and platforms granting open participation in knowledge-production and decision-making via ICTs	marketing strategies
Emergence of complex rural governance patterns	Emergence of new governance patterns (including institutional,	Participatory planning processes aimed at empowering different actors in	marketing strategies

	formal and informal actors) endowed with different degrees of representativity	the definition of policy proposals	

The crowdsourcing approach can be useful for understanding the evolution of post-rural areas and for setting up participatory planning strategies aimed at fostering innovative processes in administration, business, marketing and cultural development. Interactive and participatory web-based processes make it possible to involve heterogeneous actors in the material-semiotic generation of place structure, identity and planning strategies.

Toward a listening territory

The classic view of Chianti as a purely exclusive site of tradition opposing trends of globalisation needs to be reconsidered in the light of the increasing amount of global connections at work at the local level. By contesting the traditional understanding of place identity as bounded and fixed, this research demonstrates that places are transitory events in the global fluid space. They originate from the agency of heterogeneous actor-networks able to materialise multiple, and sometimes conflictive, narratives of place identity.

While closely aligned with a material-semiotic approach (Krzywoszynska 2008) in analysing the Chianti wine-production area, the research described in this book does not merely focus on the networks created around wine production and commercialisation; rather it focuses on the existance of multiple networks bringing about different opinions about place development through technological communication tools. What is really at stake in the definition of place identity and territorial planning, including marketing, is the relationship between multiple actor-networks in a common context. It is very important that Chianti maintains and communicates a coherent image of the whole territory (Brunori, Rossi 2007), but it cannot be ignored that, in contrast with the vision promoted by some of the viticultural elite (Jones, Clark 2000), the evolution of rural areas requires the establishment of a new regime to meet global expectations (Goodwin 1998).

An evident gap exists between the scientific account of post-rural Chianti and the common view of Chianti as a tradition bulwark against globalisation, which does not appreciate the pervasiveness of infrastructures and global influences that support its very existence. Nonetheless, territorial marketing based on a stereotyped image of Chianti risks not being able to provide the creative and innovative answers required to meet global challenges, particularly in the dynamic and competitive wine sector. For this reason, this research indicates that the crowdsourcing approach can assist in involving

people (both stable and transient presences) into place planning and governance processes, by inviting them to enter into a real relationship with Chianti, rather than just consuming the experience of being there. Crowdsourcing also complements the experiential marketing approach by providing a different perspective, via the use of modern technological tools, for grasping the transformation of wine-producing areas, and for improving marketing strategies at the height of the innovation via the interactive web. Post-rurality Chianti also requires granting all actors with ICTs the opportunity to make their voice heard, and so to unveil the multiple connections supporting wine-region identity.

Therefore, by transforming Chianti into a listening territory through provisions of the web-based tools described herein, stable and transient presences can effectively interact with and assist in the uprooting of the flat, stereotyped and conventional view of Chianti. The possibility to create a constructive dialogue between heterogeneous actors is fundamental for the definition of a more real and vibrant view of Chianti, able to generate a real attachment, commitment and understanding of this incredibly complex and evolving place.

REFERENCES

Agnew J. A., 1987. *Place and politics: the geographical mediation of state and society.* Boston: Allen &. Unwin

Aly A., 2006. Mapping the meaning making process: using experiential maps in audience reception studies. In *Knowledge Societies for All: Media and Communication Strategies.* Cairo: IAMCR

Amin A., Thrift N., (eds), 1994. *Globalisation, Institutions and Regional Development.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Anderson B., Wylie J., 2009. On geography and materiality, *Environment and Planning A,* 41 (2)

Appadurai A., 1998. *Modernity at large: cultural dimension of globalization.* Minneapolis (MN): University of Minnesota Press

Arnaboldi M., Spiller N., 2011. Actor-network theory and stakeholder collaboration: The case of Cultural Districts, *Tourism Management,* 32

Auge' M., 1995. *Non places: introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity.* London : Verso1995 (or.ed. *Non-Lieux, Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité,* 1992)

Bacci L. (ed.), 2009. *Turismo e Toscana. La congiuntura 2008.* Firenze: Irpet

Bachelard G., 1957. *La poétique de l'espace.* Paris : Pressses Universitaires de France

Backhaus N., 2007. 'Non-place jungle': the construction of authenticity in National Park of Malaysia, *Indonesia and the Malay World,* 31 (89)

Barney J., 1991. Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage. *Journal of Management,* 17(1)

Beck U., 1995. *Ecological politics in an Age of Risk.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Beck U., 2000. *What is globalisation?.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing

Belletti G., Marescotti A., Moruzzo R., 2003. Possibilities of the new Italian law on agriculture. In: Van Huylenbroeck G, Durand G (Eds.), *Multifunctionality: A New Paradigm for European Agriculture and Rural Development.* Aldershot: Ashgate

Bellini N., 2004. Territorial governance and area image, *Symphonya* n.1

Bellini N., Loffredo A., Pasquinelli C. (2010), Managing Otherness: The Political Economy of Place Images in the Case of Tuscany. In Ashworth, G. J. Kavaratzis, M. *Towards Effective Place Brand Management: Branding European Cities and Regions.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Blij H. J., 1985. Wine quality and climate, *Focus*, April

Brabham D. C., 2008. Crowdsourcing as a model for problem solving: An introduction and cases, *Convergence*, vol. 14(1)

Brabham D. C., 2013. *Using crowdsoursing in government*, IBM Center for the Business of Governemnt report

Brunori G., Rossi A., 2007. Differentiating countryside: Social representations and governance patterns in rural areas with high social density: The case of Chianti, Italy, *Journal of Rural Studies* 23

Brunori G., Rossi A., Malandrin V., 2011. Co-producing Transition: Innovation Processes in Farms Adhering to Solidarity-based Purchase Groups (GAS) in Tuscany, Italy, *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, 18: 1

Brusco S., 1996. Trust, social capital and local development: some lessons from the experience of the Italian districts. In *Networks of Enterprises and Local Development.* Paris: OECD

Bryden J., 1994. Towards sustainable rural communities: from theory to action. In Bryden J (ed), *Towards Sustainable Rural Communities.* Guelph: University of Guelph Press

Buhalis D., 2000. Marketing the Competitive Destination of the future. In *Tourism Management,* 21

Buller H., 2000. Re-creating rural territories: LEADER in France, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40 (2)

Bulman T. L., 2004. The joy of geography', *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers,* 66

Buller H., Wright S., 1990. *Rural Development: Problems and Policies.* Avebury: Aldershot

Buttimer A., 1993. *Geography and the human spirit.* Baltimore (MD): The John Hopkins University Press

Carù A., Cova B., 2006. *Consuming Experiences.* London: Routledge

Castells M., 1998. *The Rise of Network Society.* London: Basil Blackwell

Castree N., MacMillan T., 2001. Dissolving Dualisms: Actor-networks and the Reimagination of Nature. In Castree N, Braun B (eds), *Social Nature.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Chawla L., 2001. *Growing up in an urbanizing world.* London: Earthscan.

Chevalier J. M., Buckles D. J., 2013. *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry.* Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.

Claval P., 2003. *Geographie culturelle.* Paris: Armand Colin

Cloke P., 1997. Country backwater to virtual village? Rural studies and 'the cultural turn, *Journal of Rural Studies* 13

Cloke P., Philo C., Sadler D., 1991. *Approaching Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates.* London: Paul Chapman

Cloke P., Milbourne P., Thomas C., 1996. The English National Forest: local reactions to plans for renegotiated nature-society relations in the countryside, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 21

Cloke P., Marsden T., Mooney P. (eds), 2006. *Handbook of Rural Studies.* London: Sage

Consorzio Chianti Classico, 2012. *Chianti Classico E'.* Available from: http://www.classico-e.it/ [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Consorzio vino Chianti, 2012. *Consorzio vino Chianti.* Available from: http://www.consorziovinochianti.it/ [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Conti E. (ed.), 2012. *Rapporto sul Turismo in Toscana. La congiuntura 2011.* Firenze: Irpet

Cooke P., Morgan K., 1993. The network paradigm: new departures in corporate in corporate and regional development, *Environment and Planning C,* 11

Corrado R., Odorici V., 2009. Winemakers and Wineries in the Evolution of the Italian Wine Industry: 1997 – 2006, *Journal of Wine Research,* 20 (2)

Crampton J. W., 2009. Maps 2.0, *Progress in Human Geography,* 33(1)

Crang P., 1996. Displacement, consumption, and identity, *Environment and Planning A,* 28

Day G., Hedger M., 1990. Mid Wales: missing the point, *Urban Studies* 27

d'Angella F., Go F. M., 2009. Tale of two cities' collaborative tourism marketing: towards a theory of destination stakeholder assessment, *Tourism Management*, 30(3)

Dickenson J., 1990. Viticultural geography: an introduction to the literature in English, *Journal of Wine*

Di Iacovo F., Scarpellini P., 2003. La governance e le aree rurali: una introduzione critica. Paper presented at *Policies, Governance and Innovation for Rural Areas*, Università della Calabria, Arcavacata di Rende, International Seminar 21-23 Nov

Doel M., 1999. *Poststructuralist Geographies: The Diabolical Art of Spatial Science*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield

Dodge M., Kitchin R., Perkins C. (eds), 2009, *Rethinking Maps: New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory*, Routledge, New York

Downs R. M., Stea D., 1977. *Maps in Minds: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping*. New York: Harper and Row

Echtner C. M., Ritchie J. R., 1993. The measurement of destination image: an empirical assessment, *Journal of Travel Research*, 31(4)

Enopress, 2012. L'export traina il Chianti Classico, *Enopress*. Available from: http://www.enopress.it/enomarket-ita/il-trade/22707-l-export-traina-il-chianti-classico.html [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Escobar A., 2001. Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization, *Political geography*, 20 (2)

Estellés-Arolas E., González-Ladrón-De-Guevara F., 2012. Towards an integrated crowdsourcing definition, *Journal of Information Science*, vol. 38 (2)

Fasano-Guarini, E., Petraia, G., Pezzino, P. (Eds.) (2001). *Storia della Toscana, 2. Dal Settecento ad oggi*. Bari: Laterza

Fedorikhin A., Park C.W., Thomson M., 2008. Beyond fit and attitude: the effect of emotional attachment on consumer responses to brand extensions. *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 18(4)

Franch M., 2002. *Destination Management. Governare il turismo tra locale e globale*. Torino: Giappichelli

Frisvoll S., 2012. Power in the production of spaces transformed by rural tourism, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 28

Geertz C., 2000. *Available lights: anthropological reflections on philosophical topics.* Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press

Geografiska Annaler, 2004. The political challenge of relational space: the Vega symposium, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B,* 86

Giddens A., 1990. *The consequences of modernity.* Stanford: Stanford University Press

Giddens A., 1992. *Modernity and Self-Identity.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Goodchild N. F., 2007. Citizens as Voluntary Sensors: Spatial Data Infrastructure in the World of Web 2.0, *Int. J. Spatial Data Infrastructures Research, 2*

Goodwin M., 1998. The governance of rural areas: some emerging research issues and agendas, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 14 (1)

Grisaffe D. B., Nguyen H. P., 2011. Antecedents of emotional attachment to brands, *Journal of Business Research,* 64 (10)

Gross M. J., Brown G., 2006. Tourism experiences in a lifestyle destination setting: the roles of involvement and place attachment, *Journal of Business Research,* 59

Haklay M., Weber P., 2008. OpenStreet map: User-generated street maps, *IEEE Pervasive Computing,* 7(4)

Halfacree K., 1995. Talking About Rurality: Social Representations of the Rural as Expressed by Residents of Six English Parishes, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 11 (1)

Halfacree K., 2007. Trial by space for a 'radical rural': Introducing alternative localities, representations and lives, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 23

Hall C., Macionis N., 1998. Wine tourism in Australia and New Zealand. In Butler R, Hall M, Jenkins J (eds), *Tourism and recreation in rural areas.* Wiley

Hammitt W. E., Backlund E. A., Bixler R. D., 2006. Place bonding for recreation places: conceptual and empirical development, *Leisure Studies* 25(1)

Harmon K., 2003. *You Are Here: Personal Geographies and Other Maps of the Imagination.* Princeton (NJ): Princeton Architectural Press

Hartwick E., 1998. Geographies of consumption: a commodity-chain approach, *Environment and Planning D,* 16

Harvey D., 1990. *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change.* Cambridge (MA): Blackwell Publishing

Hayward C., Simpson L., Wood L., 2004. Still left out in the cold: Problematising participatory research and development, *Sociologia Ruralis,* 44 (1)

Heley J., Jones L., 2012. Relational rurals: Some thoughts on relating things and theory in rural studies, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 28

Henke R., Salvioni C., 2010. Diffusione, struttura e redditivita` delle aziende multifunzionali, *Agriregionieuropa.* Available from: http://www.agriregionieuropa.univpm.it/dettart.php?id_articol o=564 [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Hines D., 2012. The Post-Industrial Regime of Production/Consumption and the Rural Gentrification of the New West Archipelago, *Antipode,* 44(1)

Holloway L., 2004. Showing and telling farming: agricultural shows and re-imaging British agriculture, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 20 (3)

Hoggart K., 1990. Let's do away with rural, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 6

Hoggart K., 1988. Not a definition of rural. *Area* 20

Hoggart K., Panigua A, 2001. What rural restructuring?, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 17

Howe J., 2006. Crowdsourcing: A Definition *, Weblog, 2*

Hudson-Smith A. et al., 2009, "Mapping for the Masses: Accessing Web 2.0 Through Crowdsourcing", *Social Science Computer Review* 2009 27

Iacoponi L., 1997. Dal distretto agricolo al distretto rurale. Paper presented at the confernce *Lo sviluppo del sistema agricolo nell'economia post-industriale*, CESAR, Assisi, 12-1 Dec. 1996

Iacoponi L., Brunori G., Rovai M., 1995. Endogenous development and the agro-industrial district. In van der Ploeg G., Van Dijk J. (eds), *Beyond Modernisation: the Impact of Endogenous Rural Development.* Assen: Van Gorcum Press

Ilbery B., Bowler I., 1998. From agricultural productivism to post-productivism. In Ilbery B. (ed), *The Geography of Rural Change.* Harlow: Longman

Infante C., 2012. Nuovi format di comunicazione pubblica interattiva: urbanistica partecipativa, l'innovazione territoriale e

sociale. Position paper at *Diritti digitali e dati aperti: le basi per Città e Comunità smart*, Bologna, 6 Jul 2012

Iversen N. M., Hem L. E., 2008. Provenance associations as core values of place umbrella brands: a framework of characteristics, *European Journal of Marketing,* 42(5/6)

Lash S., 1998. *Another modernity/A different rationality.* London: Blackwell

Latour B., 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern.* Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf

Latour B., 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-network-theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Law J., 1992. On the Theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity. *Centre for Science Studies*, Lancaster University. Available at: http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/centres/css/ant/ant.htm [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Law J., Hassart J., 1999. *Actor Network Theory and after.* London: Blackwell

Law J., Mol A., 2000. Situating Technoscience: an Inquiry into Spatialities. *Centre for Science Studies*, Lancaster University. Available at: http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/centres/css/ant/ant.htm, 2000 [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Law J., Heterington K., 2003. Materialities, Spatialities, Globalities. *Centre for Science Studies*, Lancaster University. Available at: http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/centres/css/ant/ant.htm [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Ledwith M., Springett J., 2010. *Participatory Practice: Community-based Action for Transformative Change.* Bristol: Policy Press

Lees L., 2002. Rematerializing geography: the 'new' urban geography. *Progress in Human Geography,* 26 (1)

Lefebvre H., 1991. *The production of space.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing (or. ed. *La production de l'espace*, 1974)

Lemmetyinen A., Go F. M., 2009. The key capabilities required for managing tourism business networks, *Tourism Management*, 30(1)

Light J., Smith M. (eds), 1998. *Philosophies of place.* Lanham (MD): Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Livingstone D., 1953. *The geographical tradition: episodes in the history of a contested enterprise.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing

Lowe P., Murdoch J., Ward N., 1995. Networks in rural development: beyond endogenous and exogenous approaches. In Van der Ploeg J. D., van Dijk G. (eds), *Beyond Modernisation: The Impact of Endogeneous Rural Development.* Assen: Van Gorrum

Jadeluca P., 2012. Chianti, il Consorzio va l'export raddoppia e dà fondo alle reserve, *La repubblica,* 2nd nov

Jackson P., 2000. Rematerializing social and cultural geography, *Social and Cultural Geography,* 1 (1)

Jiang Y., Wang C. L., 2006. The impact of affect on service quality and satisfaction: the moderation of service contexts, *Journal of Services Marketing,* 20 (4)

Jones M, 2009. Phase space: geography, relational thinking, and beyond, *Progress in Human Geography,* 33 (4)

Jones A., Clark J., 2000. Of vines and policy vignettes: sectoral evolution and institutional thickness in the Languedoc, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 25

Krzywoszynska A., 2008. The non-human and research practice. Opportunities, openings and limitations. Paper presented at the *Bodies, Relations, Spatiality* PhD Conference, University of Sheffield, 4th Sept

Maillat D., 1996. *Regional Productive Systems and Innovative Milieux.* Paris: OECD

Maizza A., Rosato P., 2008. Wine tourism and enhanced value: a comparison between Italian successful destinations, in *Atti della 4th International Conference of the Academy of Wine Business Research*, Siena, 17-19 Jul

Malpas J., 1998. Finding Place: Spatiality, Locality, and Subjectivity. In Light A, Smith J M (eds), *Philosophy and geography III: Philosophy of place.* Lanham (MD): Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Marchettini N., Brebbia C. A., Tiezzi E., Wadhwa L. C., 2004. Landscape and rural territories in sustainable contemporary cities: the Italian case in Tuscany. Paper presented at the *3rd International Conference on Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, Siena, 16 Jun

Marsden T., 1995. Beyond agriculture? Regulating the new rural spaces, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 11

Marsden T., 1999. Rural futures: the consumption countryside and its regulation, *Sociologia Ruralis,* 39

Martinotti G., 2006. Via col vento. Materialità e informazione nella meta-città. In Amato G, Varaldo R, Lazzeroni M, *La città nell'era della conoscenza e dell'informazione.* Milano: Franco Angeli

Massey D., Allen J., Sarre P. (eds), 1999. *Human Geography Today.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Massey D., 1991. Global sense of place, *Marxism Today*, Jun

Massey D., 2005. *For space.* London: Sage

Massey D., Jess P (eds), 1995. *A Place in the World?.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Marres N., Rogers R., 2005. Recipe for Tracing the Fate of Issues and their Publics on the Web. In Latour B, Weibel P (eds), *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy.* Cambridge (MA): MIT Press

McAreavey R., 2006. Getting close to the action: the micro-politics of rural development, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 46

McLean C., Hassard J., 2004. Symmetrical absence/symmetrical absurdity: critical notes on the production of actor-network accounts, *Journal of Management Studies*, 41(3)

McQuaid R., 1997. Local enterprise companies and rural development, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 13

Miele M., Murdoch J., 2002. The practical aesthetics of traditional cuisines: Slow Food in Tuscany, *Sociologia Ruralis,* 42 (4)

Mikkelsen B., 2005. *Methods for Development Work and Research: A New Guide for Practitioners.* London: Sage

Milbourne P. (ed), 1997. *Revealing Rural Others: Representation, Power and Identity in the British Countryside.* London: Pinter

Mormont M., 1987. The emergence of rural struggles and their ideological effects, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 7

Morris C., Evans N. J., 1999. Research on the geography of agricultural change: redundant or revitalised?, *Area* 31 (4)

Morrison A., Anderson D., 2002. *Destination branding*. Available at: http://www.macvb.org/intranet/presentation/DestinationBran dingLOzarks6-10-02.ppt [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Murdoch J., 2000. Networks e a new paradigm of rural development?, *Journal of Rural Studies* 16 (4)

Murdoch J., 2003. Co-constructing the countryside: hybrid networks and the extensive self. In: Cloke P. (ed.), *Country Visions*. London: Pearson

Murdoc J., 2006. *Post-structuralist geography*. London: Sage

Murdoch J., Pratt A. C., 1993. Rural studies: modernism, postmodernism and the 'post-rural', *Journal of Rural Studies,* 9 (4)

Murdoch J., Pratt A. C., 1994. Rural studies of power and the power of rural studies: a reply to Philo, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 10 (1)

O'Malley E., 1992. The pilot programme for integrated rural development 1988–1990. In *ESRI Broadsheet Series*, Paper No. 27. Dublin: The Economic and Social Research Institute

Orsini S., 2013. Explaining land management decisions to understand local landscape functions and change. Some insights from Tuscany, *Local Environment*, 18 (8)

Orth U. R., Limon Y., Rose G., 2010. Store-evoked affect, personalities, and consumer emotional attachments to brands, *Journal of Business Research,* 63(11)

Osservatorio sul Turismo del Vino, 2012. *X Rapporto annuale/1*. Firenze: Città del Vino /Censis

Osservatorio sul Turismo del Vino, 2013. *XI Rapporto annuale. Turismo enogastronomico 2013*. Firenze: Città del Vino /Censis

Pacciani A., 2003. *La Maremma Distretto Rurale. Un nuovo modello di sviluppo nella consapevolezza della propria identità*. Roccastrada: Il mio amico

Paloscia R., 1991. Agriculture and diffused manufacturing in the Terza Italia: a Tuscan case-study. In Whatmore S., Lowe P., Marsden T. (eds), *Rural enterprise*. London: Fulton

Park W. C., MacInnis D. J., Priester J., Eisingerich A. B., Iacobucci D., 2010. Brand attachment and brand attitude strength: conceptual and empirical differentiation of two critical brand equity drivers, *Journal of Marketing,* 74(6)

Pazzagli C., 1973. *L'agricoltura toscana nella prima meta` dell'800.* Firenze: Giunti

Perkins C., 2007. Community Mapping, *The Cartographic Journal,* 44 (2)

Phillips M., 2002. The production, symbolization and socialization of gentrification: impressions from two Berkshire villages, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 27

Philo C., 1992. Neglected rural geographies: a review, *Journal of Rural Studies,* 8 (2)

Philo C., 1993. Postmodern rural geography? A reply to Murdoch and Pratt, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 9 (4)

Philo C., Wilbert C., 2000. *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places, New Geographies of Humane Animal Relations.* London: Routledge

Pillera G., 2011. *Trimap: social networked learning e social mapping per il terzo settore in Sicilia.* Thesis discussed at Università degli Studi di Catania, Ciclo XXIV - Anno Accademico 2010-2011

Pine B. J. II, Gilmore J. H., 1999. *The Experience Economy.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business Publishing

Pine B. J. II, Gilmore J. H., 2007. *Authenticity. What consumers really want.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press

Powell W., Smith-Doerr L., 1994. Networks and economic life. In Smelser N., Swedberg R. (eds), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology.* London: Sage

Prats B., 1983. The terroir is important, *Decanter*, 8(7)

Putnam R., 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Ray C., 1999. Towards a meta-framework of endogenous development: repertoires, paths, democracy and rights, *Sociologia Ruralis* 39 (4)

Ray C., 2000. The EU LEADER programme: rural development laboratory, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40 (2)

Regione Toscana, 2004. *Legge Regionale 5 aprile 2004, n. 21. Disciplina dei distretti rurali.* Firenze: Bollettino Ufficiale della Regione Toscana, n.14

Regione Toscana, 2011. *Annuario Statistico regionale regione toscana 2010.* Firenze: Regione Toscana

Regione Toscana, 2012. *Turismo in toscana.* Available from: http://www.turismo.intoscana.it/ [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Rougerie G., 2000. *L'homme et son milieu.* Paris: Nathan

Sabbatucci-Severini P., 1990. Il mezzadro pluriattivo dell'Italia centrale. In Bevilacqua P. (ed) *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana in età contemporanea.* Venezia: Marsilio

Schmitt B. H., 1999. *Experiential Marketing: How to get customers to sense, feel, think, act, relate.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press

Scorrano P., Fait M., Rosato P., Iaia L., 2012. Le risorse immateriali nell'immagine delle principali destinazioni enoturistiche internazionali. Paper presented at the *XXIV Convegno annuale di Sinergie*, Università del Salento, Lecce, 18-19 oct

Siena News 2011. Grande successo per "Marketing esperienziale e sensoriale – L´esperienza sensoriale del viaggio nelle Terre di Siena". Available from: http://www.sienanews.it/2011/10/14/22952/ [last accessed 24th Sept 2013]

Shortall S., 1994. The Irish rural development paradigm – an exploratory analysis, *Economic and Social Review*, 25 (3)

Shortfall S., Shucksmith M., 1998. Integrated rural development: issues arising from the Scottish experience, *European Planning Studies,* 6

Shuttleworth D., 1993. *Enterprise Learning in Action.* London: Routledge

Smilansky S., 2009. *Experiential Marketing.* London and Philadelphia: Kogan Page

Stevenson I., 1987. Spain's tipple topples French, *Geographical Magazine*, 59

Taylor C., 1989. *Sources of the self. The making of the Modern Identity.* Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press

Taylor C, 1992. *The ethic of authenticity.* Harvard: Harvard University Press

Taylor C, 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries.* Durham, Duke University Press

Taylor C., 2007. *A secular age.* Cambridge (MA): The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press

Thompson N., 2009. *Experimental Geography: Radical Approaches to Landscape, Cartography, and Urbanism.* New York (NJ): Melville House

Thrift, N., 1997. The still point: resistance, expressive embodiment and dance. In Pile S., Keith M. (eds), *Geographies of Resistance.* London: Routledge

Thrift, N., 2004. Intensities of feeling: towards a spatial politics of affect*, Geografiska Annaler: Series B,* 86

Thrift N., 2007. *Nonrepresentational Theory.* London: Sage

Tuan Y. F., 1996. Space and place: humanistic perspective. In Livingstone A J, Alasdair Rogers D. N., *Human geography: an essential anthology.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Tuan Y. F., 2003. *Space and Place. The perspective of Experience.* Minneapolis (MN): University of Minnesota Press

Unwin T., 1991. *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade.* New York: Routledge

Vallega A., 2003. *Geografia Culturale.* Torino: UTET

van der Duim R., 2007. Tourism, materiality and space. In Ateljevic I, Pritchard A., Morgan N. (eds), *The critical turn in tourism studies: Innovative research methodologies.* Harlow: Elsevier

Ward N., McNicholas K., 1998. Reconfiguring rural development in the UK: Objective 5b and the new rural governence, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14

Wernefelt B., 1984. A Resours Based View of the firm, *Strategic Management Journal*, 5

Whatmore S., 2002. *Hybrid Geography.* London: Sage

Whatmore S., Thorne L, 1998. Nourishing networks. Alternative geographies of food. In Goodman D., Watts M. S. (eds), *Globalising food. Agrarian questions and global restructuring.* Berkeley (CA): Berkley University press

Woods M., 2009. Rural geography: blurring boundaries and making connections, *Progress in Human Geography,* 33 (69)

Woods M., 2011. *Rural.* Abingdon: Routledge
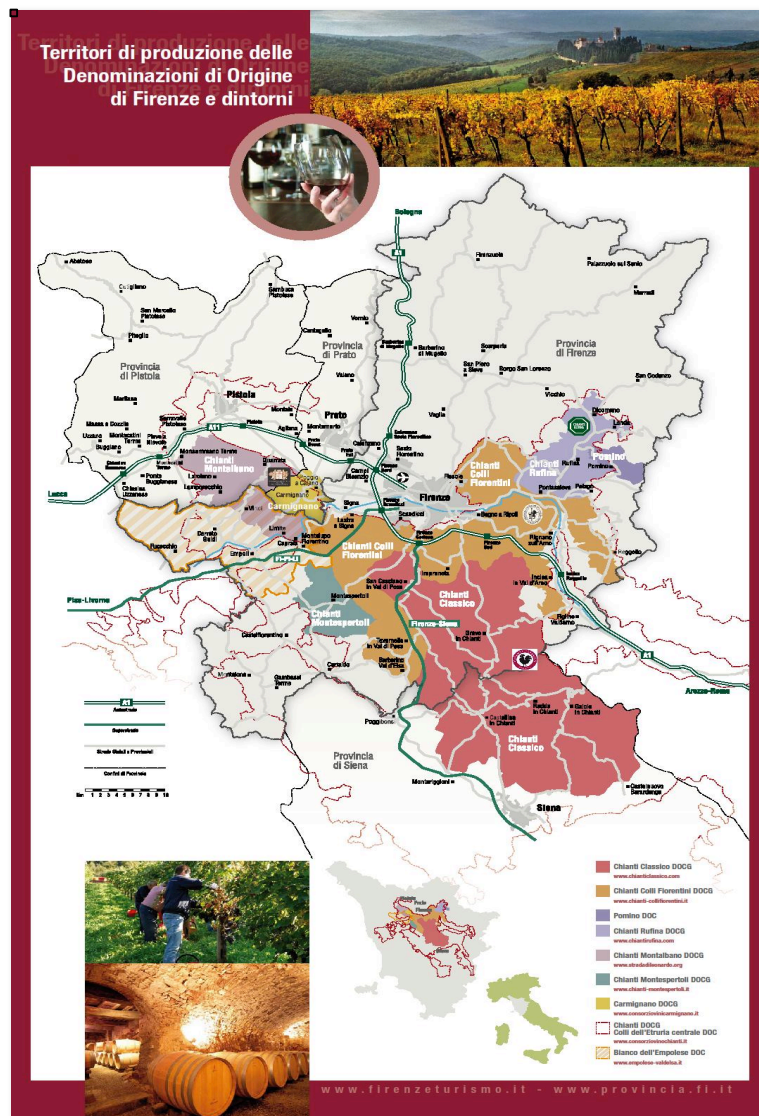
Map 1. Area of Chianti wine production, including the Chianti Classico (pink area). The map has been kindly provided by the Provincia di Firenze, Direzione Sviluppo economico, Programmazione e Agricoltura.
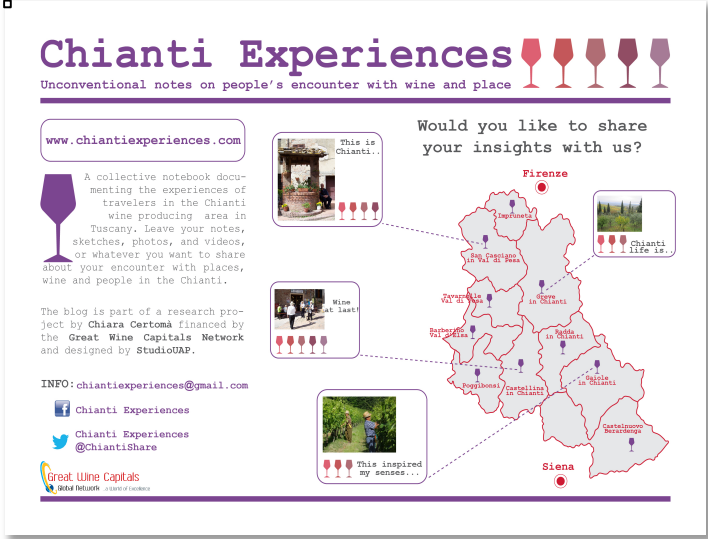
Picture 1. *ChiantiExperiences* blog home page
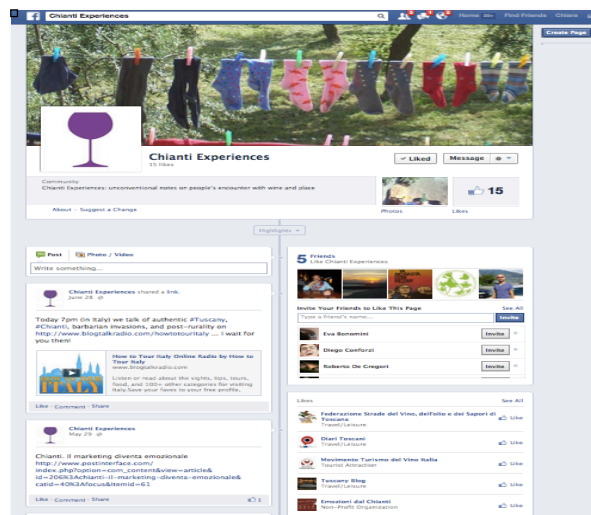
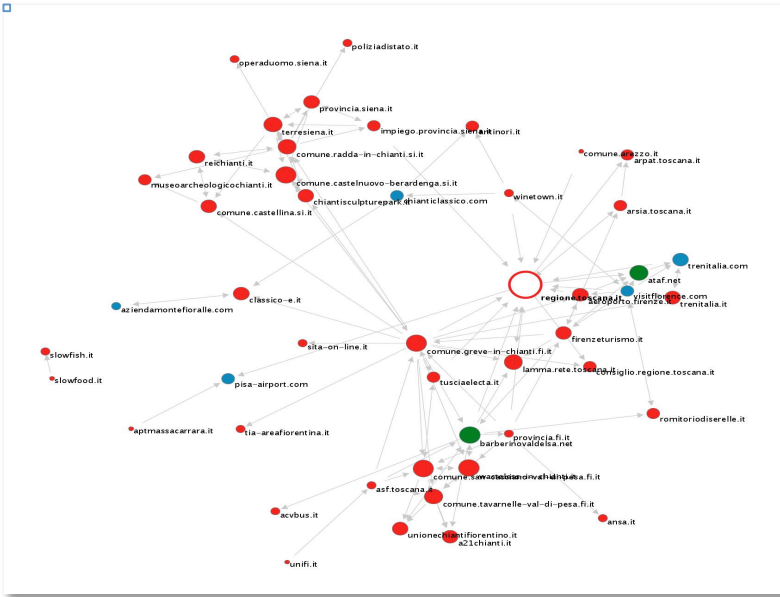
Picture 2. *ChiantiExperiences* Facebook page

Picture 3. *ChiantiExperiences* Twitter page
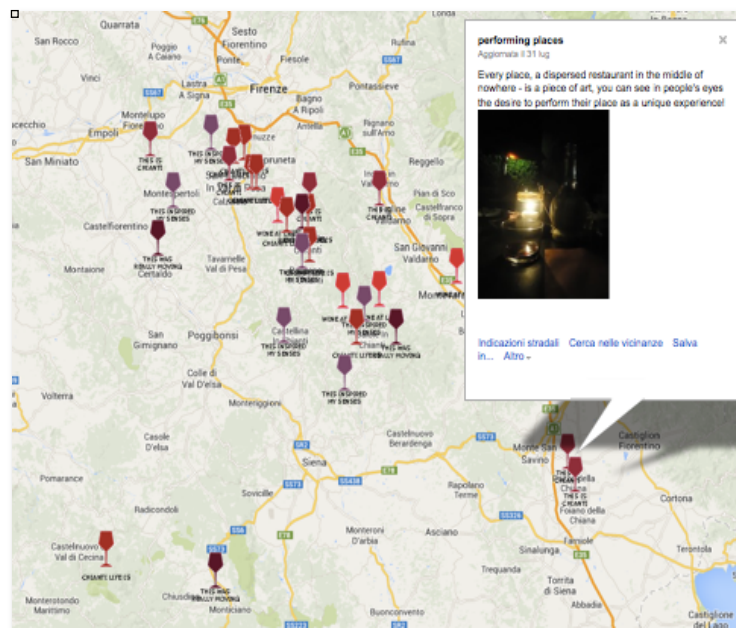
Picture 4. *ChiantiExperiences* map with tags

Picture 5. *ChiantiExperiences* flyer

Map 2 IssueCrawler map of Chianti-related web connections

Appendix

Tags and pictures on *ChiantiExperiences* map

Feeling at home at La Comune di Bagnaia
Here I experienced what living in the Tuscan countryside means - a passionate commitment with real land work and wholehearted people - cheerful memories!

Vineyards everywhere...
Is a terroir that makes a great wine or a great wine that makes a terroir? (This is not a rhetoric question: wine is clearly an agent in territorial identity construction in Chianti!)

Nothing out of place!

Bikes, olive trees, new old-fashioned buildings, huge rosemary...nothing is here by chance, nothing is out of place (included industrial plant in the valleys, hidden by the hills!)

Lunch in the courtyard
Lovely, tiny courtyard of a small restaurant, delicious wine, a hot breeze, not artifact, only old and properly arranged.

wedding in Barbischio
Is Chianti part of Italy? On the top of the hill, a yellow caravan, green grain all around, everything silent, a signal "Berry' s and Amanda's wedding" - best wishes!

empowering Chianti!
Surprised by large solar plants on the hills...this made me thinking Chianti is not really frozen!

Towers
Things evolve...

Building up Chianti...

... the material creation of a myth!

grain

When there, it is so clear that Chianti is not only wine - it would have not been so, if the social and ecological complexity would have been reduced.

fattoria Montalbino!

Agriturismo Montalbino, una fattoria dal sapore antico

Perfumed roses

Too bad the ancient Pieve is abandoned but the roses in the garden gone wild are wonderfully prefumed of passed glories!

Eroica!

I will embark on the Eroica one day or another!

Greve In Chianti

Pieve di Coeli Aula

Pieve dell'anno 1000, carica di storia, località suggestiva ottima per ammirare la campagna del Chianti

Mercatale / Farmers' market

Here I experienced the most beautiful mercatale ever. Not only the square makes a perfect scenario for a farmers' market (the size of the square, its shape, the arcades all around) but after the market all the farmers sat together in long tables to have a common meal, sharing the food they had brought. It was such a nice thing to see! You really feel that for them the market is more than a common space to sell things.

Il Pagliaio
"Il Pagliaio": la quarta domenica del mese, in piazza, uno dei mercatini del biologico fra i più importanti della Toscana. Formaggi, pane, vini, olio, marmellate, conserve, dolci, insieme ai prodotti dell'artigianato naturale.

Viticoltura Sostenibile
Da alcuni anni è attiva la Stazione Sperimentale per la Viticoltura Sostenibile, una struttura che collega sperimentazione e lavoro di tecnici e produttori nel cuore del biodistretto del Chianti Classico.

Badia a Coltibuono
Suggestivo centro monastico, abbazia vallombrosana iniziata attorno all'anno Mille. Nei sotterranei, le antiche cantine del convento ospitano Chianti classico da produzione biologica

Villa Le Corti
A settembre, "Giardini in Fiera", una mostra mercato di piante e fiori con più di cento espositori, un pò Chianti Classico, un pò Provenza

Montevertine
Nel Comune di Radda in Chianti, il cult del sangiovese: il Pergole Torte, un'etichetta d'artista.

Fattoria San Donatino, Castellina
L'ultimo buen retiro di Leo Ferrè, per amore del Chianti e di Toscana. Vino e olio nella fattoria gestita oggi dalla mogle e dai figli del grande chansonnier.

Gaville
Al limite della regione del Chianti, un piccolo grande centro di documentazione sulla cultura rurale: attrezzi, ambienti, manufatti, collezioni che restituiscono la complessità, la ricchezza e la durezza del vivere quotidiano nella civiltà contadina toscana. Accanto, la pieve del sec. XI.

Buthcery

Local food from other parts of Italy seems to be out of place, still, those living here probably like to have a pidemont roast-beef!

ChiantiBanca
When you got a bank, myths become institutions.

San Galgano
Timeless place in the a placeless present - I feel here a special sense of belongingness.

Azienda agricola Paterna
I have been here in my past life. I remember the clouds and the light of a small kitchen, I remember wrinkled hands, clay and silence in the autumn vineyard. A old-fashioned simple glass on a marble table. This is real Chianti.

desert
A friend of mine painted a wonderful portrait of the desert. I saw it in the midst of a local festival, stocked in a canteen. I cannot avoid thinking about the desert when hearing about Certaldo!

There are people coming from everywhere, a bunch of locals, very few... whose this place?

performing places

Every place, a dispersed restaurant in the middle of nowhere - is a piece of art, you can see in people's eyes the desire to perform their place as a unique experience!