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### **CHIANTI vs. SAINT- EMILION**

**A double-case comparative study approach on creative wine regions**

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## CHIANTI vs. SAINT- EMILION

A double-case comparative study approach on creative wine regions<sup>1</sup>

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### **Abstract**

There are many research in strategic management literature on wine industry focused on the implementation of classical wine business model and many works on wine tourism, but nowadays there are not enough works that underline the importance of strategic partnerships between wine and other regional resources in order to develop the territory of origin as a creative territory. The wine regions development can go beyond the conservatism of wine business model through the creation of strategic partnerships between wine industry and other creative industry, based on the historical and contemporary facts that wine is both a cultural and creative product and that wine industry is a creative industry. The ecosystem in which these relationship between wine and other creative products could exist is called *creative region*. This work tries to describe and understand what a creative wine region is, by showing how wine industry can cooperate with other creative industries and local authorities in order to develop this ambitious project. The choice of this regional resource as a key factor of this process comes from cultural, social and economical importance that this product has in some regions, where every place, object and person recall wine. It was possible to achieve the goal of this work thanks to a multi-case comparative study conducted in two stars among wine regions: Saint-Emilion in Bordeaux (France) and Chianti in Tuscany (Italy).

### **Introduction**

A creative region is characterized by the presence of economic and social infrastructures, where artists and creativity play a central role, but this is not enough. Developing a creative region is an ambitious project, which requires the involvement and strategic partnerships among local cultural and institutional actors. Wine and culture are old lovers (Gombault, 2011), this can be demonstrated by evidences coming from history, for which wine has been a companion of man for thousands of years, a symbol of quality, comfort and civilization even at the time of Greeks and Romans, starting with the Armenians over 6,000 years ago. But wine is even today a cultural product, both wine culture and vineyard landscapes are celebrated by important awards like a chance to be entered in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List and in the UNESCO List of World Heritage Site. Wine as a cultural product is the Old World wine vision that is in contraposition with the New World wine vision in which creative idea of wine is much more exalted. Moreover, wine is characterized for unique elements: i) a creator, who is at source of an unique product among other wines; ii) wine with its aesthetic and symbolic meaning; iii) wine with its cultural process of production and creativity expressed for example by its packaging, so it is a extraordinary example of a cultural product. Then it can be said that wine industry is a creative industry because it is possible to apply the seven properties that, according to Richard Caves (2000), characterize industries that operate in creative field. This work tries to describe and understand what a “creative wine region is”, by showing how wine industry can cooperate with other creative industries and local institutions in order to develop this ambitious project. This work, also, tries to understand if it is possible consider wine regions as creative regions and, for this reason, it is composed as follow: the first part focuses on the issue of research and explains the reasons

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<sup>1</sup> This paper comes out from Pasquale Sasso’s phd thesis under supervision of Ludovico Solima (as tutor) of University

which have led to its choice. Emphasizing the innovation of the point of observation a topic already studied in literature namely that of the creative regions. Furthermore, this part of the work describes in details the methodological preparation given to the study. Moreover, this part is also dedicated to an extraordinary product of the land and at the same time, an amazing cultural and creative product: wine. The purpose of this section of the research is to present, in the clearest way possible, all the elements, which have permitted us to answer, through a qualitative and comparative multiple cases analysis the main research question. The second section of this work has been entirely dedicated to the need to support, through the help of literature and real examples, the idea that wine is a local resource full of creative and cultural meanings; the third part, instead, focuses on wine regions as cultural and creative regions. In hypermodern and aesthetic economy, culture is recognized as a strategic asset, which cannot be undervalued within the programs of local development. The last part is entirely dedicated to the case study analysis.

## **Theoretical framework**

### *Wine as a creative product*

Wine is a cultural product (Gombault, Livat-Pécheux 2009). There is a strong evidences in the history that wine has represented a product of a fine value. In the Bible it is said that Noah planted vineyard, but thanks to Greeks that wine was introduced in Europe and it was considered a “gift of the Gods”. In the ancient Greece the harvest was considered a festive moment, that went beyond the farm work. The importance of these local productions and places of origin in cultural terms are often sealed by international recognition, which guarantees their extraordinary importance for humanity (Gombault et al. 2011). But wine is even today a cultural product, both wine culture and vineyard landscapes are celebrated by important awards like a chance to be entered in the Unesco Intangible Cultural Heritage List and in the Unesco List of World Heritage Site. Vineyard landscapes are cultural proprieties that represent the combined works of nature and man, and wine represents itself a unique result of human work that is linked with tangible and intangible elements such as cultural traditions and rituals. Vineyard landscapes also represent a prototype sites in which nature, man and heritage show their strict relationship. Wine is a cultural heritage to be enhanced and protected, because it is a final result of a combination among natural heritage (geology and landscapes) and their conformation (terraces and small walls), wine cultural heritage (terroir, ways of winemaking and culture of the vineyard, types of wine, savoir-faire and wine production instruments), built heritage (archeological and historical sites: vineyard villages, chateaux and wineries), intangible heritage, folk heritage (rituals, traditions and events) and the art of gastronomy (Deyrieux, 2011). After many years of European tradition predominance in wine industry, competition between the Old World wine and the New World wine, has caused a crisis of wine production in Europe. In this context the Old World wine has showed its static and conservative vision of wine sector strongly linked with material and historical heritage only. Whereas, in the Old World wine there is a little minority that considers wine a creative product. In this sense, European wine industry is delayed in comparison with the New World wine which has been able to image wine as a product that is primarily a creation of something of unique, elegant, emotional and creative. But wine is also a creative product. The idea that wine is a creative product is the key of competitive advantage of the New World wine on the Old World wine. Robert Mondavi, the most important wine producer in Napa Valley, can be the most representative man of this new vision, in fact he defined wine as “the liquid art”, because its production process is a cultural combination of emotions, creativity, savoir-faire, but also of wine branding, design of bottle, wine label (fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> and cork.

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<sup>2</sup> Pablo Picasso painted the second one in 1973 and the second one was realized in 1975 by Andy Warhol.

Figure. 1 Art labels of the Chateau Mouton de Rothschild



Source: [www.chateau-mouton-rothshild.com](http://www.chateau-mouton-rothshild.com)

It can be said that wine industry is a creative industry because it is possible to apply the seven properties that, according to Caves (2000), characterize industries that operate in creative field. Wine is subjected on “nobody knows principle” because of demand uncertainty. Wine production respects also “art for art’s sakes” principle because wine producers care about originality, professional skills and harmony. Wine production requires diversely skills input (motley crew principle); wine is an unique product with unique characteristics (infinite variety principle) and time contributes to the essence of its uniqueness. Small differences in skills and talent may yield huge differences in success and also in this industry instruments that allowing creator to collect rents are necessary. Charters and Pettigrew defined wine an aesthetic product (2005). Wine is characterized for unique elements: a creator, who is at source of an unique product, wine has aesthetic symbolic meaning and creativity expressed for example by packaging (Livat-Pécheux 2009). Wine both like a cultural product and a part of creative industries (Gombault, Livat-Pécheux 2009): in fact wine production can be specifically included in industry of taste. Taste industry is a cultural field in which converge identity, tradition, history and landscapes but also creativity, innovation and technology (Santagata, 2008). Taste industry includes: gastronomy, wine and spirits, handicraft, luxury and fashion. This industry usually creates relationships with other creative industries like visual arts, heritage, creative services, pleasure, and entertainment; such relationships represent the basis of cultural districts or creative regions. Wine is a part of a wider sector, including heritage, visual arts, gastronomy, luxury, pleasure, tourism, architecture, fashion, and entertainment (Gombault, Livat-Pécheux 2011), all of these industries covered in various capacities in the field of creative industries are represented by the model of concentric circles (Throsby, 2008), which starts from creative input and input routine distinction (Caves, 2000). Wine industry is an example of how different industries can cooperate (Porter, 1998), which is shown by its strong links with tourism, heritage, gastronomy, design, architecture, fashion, sport and luxury. The mutual contamination between wine industry and other creative industries is much more evident in touristic field, in fact today is increasing the number of consumers that are looking for a creative touristic experience (Richards, Wilson 2006; 2007).

*Wine regions: between cultural districts and creative regions*

Make culture a vector of regional development, beyond the big city: this is the challenge of creative regions (Chapain et al. 2010). It is clear that culture enters today more and more heavily in the new economic value creation processes, and it is equally clear that today all urban centers in pursuit a coherent and ambitious

strategy of local economic development make culture a key of this project: opening museums, always experimenting with forms most daring and advanced dissemination of cultural activities, encouraging the setting up of artists, building urban regeneration processes around getting bigger and complex cultural interventions (Sacco, Ferilli 2006). The concept of cultural district or creative region is well represented by “Denver Model” (Hagoort, 2009), where the innovative climate in cultural field attracts artists and researchers from outside. A creative region is characterized by the presence of economic and social infrastructure, where artists and creativity play a central role. But a creative region requires other structural conditions: it requires the idea that all cultural institutions (museums, theatres) of a region create relations with others creative groups; moreover, policy and economics actors should bet on culture as a factor of economic and social development (Gombault, Livat- Pécheux, 2011). Wine regions can represent a prototype of cultural district, in which different creative industries cooperate, because wine tasting only could not represent the source of wine regions success, but also other components are necessary as the exploration of landscapes, regional gastronomy and regional history and built heritage (Gombault, 2011). Another element, that underlines the importance of wine as regional resource, it can be represented by authenticity (Charters, Spielmann 2013). Many luxury brands in wine industry build their success in wine market on the link between wine and culture of its region of origin, that give them authenticity. Wine tourism, for example, was born in Napa Valley in 1970 (Vignaud, 2011), but today all of wine regions implement this kind of cultural tourism, based on relationships among wine, nature, architecture, history, music, gastronomy, fashion and design. The idea that wineries are a cultural spaces was born in U.S.A., but there are today many wineries and Chateaux that include in their offer artistic and cultural events (Bruwer 2003). Wine and its tasting places as wineries, wine bar, restaurants, clubs and festivals, with other creative industries contribute for the development of creative ecosystems, that are called “creative wine regions”. Wine industry and other creative industries are essential but not sufficient conditions in order to develop a creative wine region, they need also of public policies (Santagata, 2010). Public authorities can benefit from investments in creative industries thanks to their impact on public policy priorities. Creative industries do not only generate jobs, innovation and productivity but also enhance quality of life and stimulate new ideas (Galloway, Dunlop 2007). Is it vital that each policy maker considers how important creative industries are for their regional areas and what forms of investments they need (Kea2006; Work Foundation 2009). Creative industries benefit significantly from the support of their public authorities, that play an important role in planning and regulation processes. In this context, the role of policy makers is to develop a cultural policy that stimulates innovation funding and cultural participation (Santagata, 2006). In these circumstances it is essential that policy analysis comprehends the economics of these cultural trends, their causes, their consequences, and their transformative effect on traditional modes of cultural policy delivery (Throsby, 2010) in order to overcome the phenomenon of “institutional sclerosis” (Florida, 2002) that characterized public policy on creative industries. Wine regions can well represent an effective and real regional development model, thanks to the relationships that wine industry realized with heritage, tourism, gastronomy and other creative industries. The social and economic impact of these partnerships in these cultural districts, is showed by a lot of official documents in terms of economic growth of enterprises, families, individuals, and in terms of better quality of life for local communities involved in these phenomena (GESAC, 2014; Symbola, 2014). In the scenario of post-industrial and aesthetic economy, cultural districts and creative regions represent a concrete planning strategy of the territory, which focuses on culture and creativity as strategic assets of social and economic development. Before considering the points of contact between districts and creative regions, it is useful to give a quick look at the various papers in literature. On one hand, the definition of district derives from the description of industrial sectors of production of small and medium companies, located in a specific area of the territory. On the other hand, the definition of cultural district refers to urban areas and represents a concentration of activities connected to intangible elements. For this reason we talk about “cultural driven” districts (Sacco, Ferilli 2006). The author who started the topic on the districts was Alfred Marshall, who identified in the advantages of the economy of localization, namely the territorial concentration of resources and human capital that meet market’s requirements, the reasons of the birth of districts. According to Marshall, companies, which localize in the same area, have the chance to coordinate themselves horizontally along the chain of value (Sacco, Pedrini 2003). However, within the district, there are also intangible factors such as knowledge resources and what is defined the “Marshallian capital”. Other scholars have dealt with this topic. According to Becattini, for example, the industrial district concretizes itself in a system of relations between small and medium companies of a same area, in which cultural and social factors are determinant. In this case, Becattini says, relations are created not only do these relations concern companies, but also individuals, rooted in the local context. Local district and community

reflect themselves into each other, being embedded in the same culture (Becattini, 2000). The American vision of cluster is opposed to the European idea of industrial district (Porter, 1998), in which cultural and material elements have a less relevant weight. In the last years, papers on the topic of cultural districts have multiplied (Trimarchi, 2002). Many of them referred to practical experiences started from the '70s and aimed at the valorization of the cultural sector for the promotion of local economy. We can think about the strategy used by the Greater London Council or what happened in Glasgow in 1990 or in the cities of Bilbao and Vienne. In Italy, cases of cultural districts are characterized by one production chain. We can think about the sector of ceramics in Faenza or Florence's artistic restoration (Lazzaretti, 2001). Even though the literature on the topic is still at the beginning, it is possible to identify more interpretative branches. Valentino's work considers the topic of cultural districts in a wide manner, since according to him, the cultural sector is presented as a whole made up of cultural goods, performing arts, contemporary arts, music, design, fashion and taste industry (Valentino, 2003). On one hand, this system connects all necessary activities to the valorization of local resources; on the other hand, it puts in contact these activities with the offer of services, competence and infrastructure present on the territory (Valentino, 2003). According to Valentino, the cultural district should organize itself around its "most valuable cultural good". It has also the duty to bring an advantage to the cultural section and to the territory on which it exercises its effects. The importance of Valentino's work resides in the fact that he integrated the cultural district with a net of relations, whose central node is represented by the process of valorization of the main asset, made up of cultural goods. The other nodes represent other resources of the territory (environmental and cultural manifestations), human resources (professionalism and talents), social (identity and values) and infrastructures (from transport to leisure time).

To sum up, the cultural district is considered: a) *a complex system* (because it involves different actors and subjects); b) *a relational system* (its functioning depends on the quality of relations created within it); c) *a planned system* (subject to a top-down planning); d) *a participated system* (able to put in touch different subjects). Also Walter Santagata's approach (2001), as well as Valentino's approach, is wide; according to him, audio-video industry (cinema and television), visual arts (painting, sculpture and photography), figurative arts (design, fashion and crafts), live shows (theatre, opera and ballet), cultural goods (museums and archeological archways) and taste (eno-gastronomy) make part of the cultural sector. Contrary to Valentino, Santagata emphasizes the importance given to the cultural capital of a specific place, namely local culture, traditions and sediment social capital, explicit and implicit knowledge, intellectual, aside from its tangible forms (Sacco, Ferilli 2006). When talking about the topic of cultural districts, it is important to mention Pier Luigi Sacco and his definition of "evolved cultural district". According to him, this district has the ability to govern knowledge's production processes created within it (Sacco et al., 2013a). The attention is stronger on the intangible capital than on the tangible one. This aspect makes this vision an innovative one. The evolved form of cultural district is, according to Sacco, influenced by works on the "creative class" (Florida, 2002), on the attitude towards innovation and on Sen's motivational re-orientation (Porter, 1998). Sacco concludes that this is especially true if we analyze cases of cultural districts' international success, where the intangible heritage is insufficient or completely absent. Austin, Liverpool, Stockholm and Valencia are example of this. The focus' transfer from culture to creativity, from tangible heritage to intangible one, which happens in Sacco's evolved district, seems to anticipate, in a primordial form, the concept of creative regions. For these reasons, wine regions can represent a prototype of cultural district, in which different creative industries cooperate, because wine tasting only could not represent the source of wine regions success, but also other components are necessary as the exploration of landscapes, regional gastronomy and regional history and built heritage (Gombault, 2011).

## **Methodology**

Nowadays, in a scenario of global competition, regional resources assume great importance. In a global market, territories compete with each other, trying to become more attractive, in order to accelerate social and economic development. The context where local meets global is called "glocalization" (Robertson, 1995). In this context knowledge assets, such as local traditions, culture, savoir-faire, assume the role of strategic assets. When territories are exposed to global competition, a glocal strategy, based on regional resources, shows its effectiveness, so as to the development of a creative region becomes a valid glocal solution. Wine regions can represent a prototype of creative region, where different creative industries cooperate, think about the implications of wine tourism (Zamora, La Coste 2007) in order to develop a positive social and economic impact on local communities, enterprises and territory (Mitchell et al., 2012).

The importance of these local productions and places of origin in cultural, social and economic terms has stimulated the present work.

Particularly, this work aims to answer a primary research question, also with the help of the responses and results arising from the three sub-questions introduced.

The main research question is: “what is a creative wine region?”

The three sub-questions are:

- a. how do wine producers develop a creative wine business?
- b. how does wine industry create links with other local actors?
- c. who are the actors involved, and their role, in the development of creative region?

The three sub-questions, introduced to support the main research question, highlight the importance of a fundamental element, in the process of “construction” of a creative region, namely the cooperation.

It is possible to identify three levels of research from the above-mentioned questions:

- *micro*, related to the attitude of the single organizations involved in the research;
- *intermediate*, related to the ability of the creative companies to establish some strategic partnerships among them, able to exert positive effects for their business model.
- *macro*, in this case the research perspective widens. The productive and cultural world are not the only factors taken into consideration: the local institutions, responsible for the management, the protection and the promotion of the territory are taken into account too.

The fixed goal to achieve through this work is represented by the will to understand and describe what a “creative region” is, which its characteristics are, which creative movements and processes are generated within it and which subjects are involved in this mechanism. In order to do that, it has chosen to observe this phenomenon through the story of some particular territories: the vineyard landscapes. In order to answer the main research question, it has compared, through a qualitative research approach, two regions, which characterize and distinguish themselves in a different way one from each other, due to the important and characterizing weight of a local resource of extraordinary value: wine. The choice of the case studies to be compared is the result of the union of the some tools in particular: the first one characterized by an “institutional” nature and the second one characterized by a more personal concept. The first tool is represented by the “Diagnostic Territorial Framework”; the interaction among three different points of territorial analysis, as the “constitutive factors” (territory, population, regional economy); “the primary factors” (heritage, landscapes, gastronomy, handcraft, wine and all events linked to these regional resources); the “support factors” (touristic infrastructure, transport, accommodations, information services) (Solima, 2011). The second method, partly used, has been characterized by a more “personal” research, focused on the most famous wine regions and well known in the collective unconscious. This process is the result of the interaction between some research keys such as “wine region”, “creative region” and “international reputation”. The third tool, which has been a very useful cause for reflection in the choice of the wine-growing regions to compare, is represented by the classification of the territories, based on their relationship with cultural heritage and every form of creativity, provided by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT, 2015); Moreover, the choice of these two wine regions came from their potentialities, as: old wine-growing tradition; the extension of lands under vineyards; presence of “quality marks” (DOC, AOC for example); notoriety as touristic destinations. Consequently, it chosen two “stars” among world wine regions through the interaction of these three tools: Chianti (Italy) and Saint-Emilion (France).

The choice of who was to compose the survey sampling to involve in this research, has been preceded by a series of reflections about “where”, “when”, “who” and “what” observe. In the end, interviewees have been chosen according to their representativeness (Merriam, 2001), the limited nature of the study, the coherence compared to the theoretical framework of reference and their availability to take part in this research. In all of the two wine regions, the same categories and the same organizations have been selected where possible. The only differences between regions, in the composition of the sampling, regard, more than wine producers and their consortiums, the cultural organizations working in the territory. To quote just an example, in Chianti it has been easier to find organizations which work in the field of modern arts and sculpture; whereas, in Saint-Emilion the presence of organizations active in the field of events and festivals is stronger. Concerning the point of view of the institutions involved in the research, in Saint-Emilion it has been easier to understand “who was doing what” and which were the expert institutions in the promotion of the territory. In Chianti, it has been more complicated since the political-administrative competence of the territory (two provinces), together with the emptying of competences in the promotional field to which Italian provinces



were subjected to in these last months. In total, 30 semi-structured interviews have been done, 15 for each wine region; these interviews have been organized right inside them in: wine producers and their Consortiums (twelve), cultural and creative organizations (thirteen between profit and nonprofit), public institutions (five among touristic boards, municipalities and provinces). In the qualitative research the interpretation is considered a determinant phase in the research process, at the same level of data collection. Qualitative interviews are a rich source of information and for this reason, they are not easy to analyze, since they could be object of different interpretations both from the side of the interviewee and from the side of the researcher. The analysis of the information and the interviews inside a qualitative study obviously follows a course designed by the epistemological approach. If it is “positivist”, the interview will be conceived as a way to collect information about a certain reality. If the approach is “interactionist”, we will look at the temporal and casual organization of facts and value judgments are given time by time. In this case, crucial information does not lie in answers to specific questions, but in the organization of the narration (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991). Furthermore, the analysis can follow deductive and inductive processes. In the deductive approach, dates are codified around determined categories of literature, whereas in the inductive approach (such as grounded theory), we read the transcripts of the research of preliminary categories, and then organizing extracts of the interviews according to these categories (della Porta, 2010). In this work, the perspective adopted has followed an “interpretivist and descriptive” approach.

## **Findings**

The observations collected during the study case, together with the analysis of the interviews to some of the actors who work on the territory, have showed the presence of dominant topics. The presentation has been organized in four topics.

### **Which strategy behind a creative dynamism?**

Competition is a central element in the world of wine. This is especially true in regions such as Chianti and Saint-Emilion, where the number of wine makers is tremendous high. Since a dominant topic emerged from the interviews, the question is: has competition stimulated the creativity of producers?

Before looking at the competitive strategies among companies, operating in the regions, it is vital to mention some theoretical references regarding the concept of “competition”. In managerial literature, this concept arouses intense interest in the scientific community. Generally, all the theories accept the fact that competition is strictly connected to the availability and the ability to use distinctive competences, which derive from material and immaterial resources (Fait, 1960). The first papers made part of the Resource Based Theory, attributable to Penrose (1960), in which it was underlined the overriding importance of the endogenous generation of resources. In following works, the importance of internally generated resources was emphasized. In fact, these resources assume a crucial importance in reaching the competitive advantage. In this context and in a paper by Vicari (1989), focused on the leading role of intangible resources and in the achievement of the competitive advantage, the accumulation of the resources knowledge and trust plays a decisive role. On one hand, the resource “knowledge” conforms to the ability of the company to turn the whole system in a functional one by reducing risks on the market, by using remarkable marketing, integrative and technological skills. On the other hand, the resource “trust” not only complies with the ethical aspect but also with the evaluation of competences. The immaterial resources (savoir-fair and winemaking culture) take on immense importance in wine sector, where implicit and localized knowledge represent the valuable source of the competitive advantage (Nosvelli, 2006; Santagata 2006). The answer to the question about the positive effect of competition among wine companies, on their ability to develop effective creative strategies, essentially depends on the strategies they pursue and on the financial resources at their disposition. In fact, wine companies can essentially follow two roads: 1) they can implement a traditional strategy, that uses quality to differentiate themselves from others; 2) they can take the road of creativity, creating an integrative and peripheral offer in comparison to the “core” offer (wine).

What happens in Chianti and Saint-Emilion? From the information provided by Italian and French producers, a strong inclination towards quality emerged. Quality, as the interviews highlighted, is still the major priority for companies. In fact, in both cases (Chianti and Saint-Emilion) this inclination is witnessed by the presence of many labels such as DOC and DOCG in Chianti and AOC and the system of “Cru” in Saint-Emilion. Other examples of company strategies are based on the research of quality and can be explained by the choice to use biological agriculture, in some cases biodynamic, or to produce fewer bottles than the potential

production or by the desire to work in native vineyards, similar to their terroir. Moreover, it is important not to underestimate the strenuous efforts made by the associations, such as Consortium in Chianti (at least the most representative five consortiums) and the Saint-Emilion Wine Council when trying to certify quality. Undoubtedly, these choices represent elements of differentiation from wines considered “popular” and “decontextualized”. However, these choices do not represent an element of differentiation between Chianti and Saint-Emilion because both regions’ producers pursue quality.

Old Wine world suffered two severe crisis: the first one dates back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was mainly due to Fillossera, which come from America, arrived in France and then spread across Europe. It caused the destruction of whole wine estates. The second crisis was provoked by the arrival of “new producers” on the market in the 1960s (New World wine producers). This mainly caused the reduction of the market share for producers of countries such as (Italy, France and Spain). The last crisis, as grave as the first one, was faced by promoting the constructive idea to offer more than wine production. As a result, wine tourism was created in Europe. This happened with substantial delay in comparison to other places such as California, where winemakers, thanks to the great entrepreneurship Robert Mondavi, readily understood that their offer could be widened by opening wine cellars.

*Chianti.* As in many other parts of Italy, cellars place the production and the selling of wine side by side with the opportunity to visit places of production, vineyards and wine cellars. Innumerable projects such as “Strade del Vino” and “Cantine aperte” are realized but this is not enough to differentiate from others and to attract customers. In Chianti, some companies, such as Barone Ricasoli, have chosen to combine the typical visit with exclusive tasting tours such as the “sunset tour” and the “gastronomic tour”. Furthermore, visitors have the chance to try typical products and dine in the company’s osteria. The peripheral offer of Chianti cellars seems to be orientated towards two different directions: gastronomy and relax. Regarding relax, many companies such as Barone Ricasoli, Badia a Coltibuono and Fattoria di Faltignano have decided to build agritourism inside their structures giving visitors the chance to spend a night there. Regarding gastronomy, some companies sustain wine production with the cultivation of other products such olive oil, saffron or raising livestock, necessary to the production of meat, cheese and cured meats and other products of local cuisine. In this region, wine and gastronomy are like “kindred spirits”: their union is natural and harmonious. For this reason, some wine cellars have decided to honour their customers by offering traditional cooking classics, realized with local products, aimed at promoting ‘humble’ dishes. Even if Chianti has focused on local products and gastronomy (especially wine and olive oil), this region has much more beauties. Many producers have concentrated their genuine efforts on their wine cellars’ design and architecture. In this region, it is easy to bump into wonderful medieval castles, abbeys and rural houses but also into innovative wine cellars, in perfect harmony with Tuscan hills dotted with vineyards, olive trees and poplars. The Castle of Brolio (the Barone Ricasoli’s estate), the Castle of Meleto and the Castle of Ama, together with Antinori winery and Badia a Coltibuono, are representative examples of companies which have decided to take advantage of the classic and modern architecture of their magnificent estates (fig. 2).

Figure. 2 The architecture of Chianti wineries



*Castello di Brolio di Barone Ricasoli*



*Monti in Chianti per Badia a Coltibuono*

Chianti is also a synonym for luxury. Some wine cellars have decided to become luxury resorts and perfect venues for unforgettable weddings such as in the cases of the Castle of Meleto and the Castle of Ama. The

latter also stood out for its home and personal fragrances such as the Eau de Parfum “Iris Mater”. Being a member of the exclusive “Club 1141” by Barone Ricasoli, the first Italian wine club, is the ultimate expression of luxury. The prestigious club accords its members special privileges such as the chance to buy from an old vintage.

Even though gastronomy has achieved unprecedented success, there are many other farms that for financial, historical and family reasons and for their owner’s sensitivity have decided to use art and culture as element of competition, in fact:

“... *Tuscany is an open air museum, it is it is naturally inclined to creativity. We must find a balance between innovation and tradition, the key turn is the enhancement of cultural heritage*” (wine maker).

Some have drawn upon the historical heritage of their family, opening museums; others have organized watercolours courses as in the case of Barone Ricasoli. Others have aimed at recovering ancient methods of cultivation and dry-stone walling, in collaboration with universities (Fattoria di Lamole); others host events and local crafts course.

On the contrary, some companies have decided to use creativity in order to stand out from the crowd. One notable example of this is represented by Fattoria Nittardi, once owned by Michelangelo Buonarroti. This farm is famous for its creative labels (realized by more than 64 eminent characters such as Dario Fo and Yoko Ono) and for its exclusive packaging, the silk paper. Moreover, over the years, in the farm a Garden of Sculptures has been laid out. However, in Chianti, few companies are promoting an innovative activity, which is really common in Napa Valley: the participation of visitors in the harvest. Few wine cellars are involved in such an innovative activity, able to involve tourists in the most creative and complete way possible (fig. 3).

Figure. 3 Label and Sculpture Garden of Nittardi Winery



Dario Fo (2010)



Klinger, “Zentus Cholericus”

*Saint-Emilion*. As in Chianti and in the rest of Europe, the châteaux of Saint-Emilion have warmly welcomed tourists by opening their doors in order to face the serious crisis caused by new producers. This information was clearly highlighted during the interviews. As in Chianti, also in Saint-Emilion, various activities in which producers are involved are organized. Examples are “Open cellars” and “Château of day”. However, the free or guided visit to the wine cellars and the wine tasting are not enough to fight off the fierce competition. Some châteaux, such as Franc Mayne, have chosen to enrich the visit with creative strategies such as sound cellars and light paths.

However, in the old Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion, winemakers take advantage of two significant elements: architecture and gastronomy. Architecture is a fundamental element that differentiates this amazing landscape, dotted with these classic medieval châteaux, from others. Nowadays, modern structures, perfectly integrated in the landscape and designed by famous architects such as Mario Botta, are pulled alongside the châteaux. In Saint-Emilion, the term château immediately calls to mind a place with a peculiar architecture. In these regions, examples of classic architecture are Château Ausone, Pavie, Canon, Soutard, De Ferrand, De Pressac and many others. Over the last years, local winemakers decided to break the rule of classicism and embrace modern paths when planning their wine cellars. Representative examples are Château Cheval Blanc, La Croizille, La Dominique (designed by the architect Jean Nouvel) and Faugeres (designed by the architect Mario Botta). These are places where the modern architecture and the advanced technology represent an element of attractiveness (fig. 4).

**Figure. 4 Châteaux with remarkable architecture**



*Château De Candale*

*Château La Croizille*

Château La Croizille, a company that made part of the sample, is the perfect union between tradition and modernity. Its aesthetic choices have been taken by respecting the environment: the exterior paint colours similar to the limestone of terroir, the decorations that resemble landscape hills, the tasting room with big windows on vineyards, exhibitions in the modern wine cellars of an ancient well, represent a responsible choice taken in order to join tradition and modernity:

*“... we want put cultural heritage inside the modernity. We think that is necessary to innovate just to work better in the tradition” (Château La Croizille).*

The architecture of the châteaux of Saint-Emilion has become a real brand that identifies this region, making it different from others in the rest of the world. Concerning gastronomy, many châteaux such as Château Ambe Tour Pourret have organized local and gourmet cooking classes or dinners in wine cellars such as Franc Mayne and La Croizille. Some others have decided to open restaurants inside their Châteaux. Example of this is the restaurant “L’Atelier De Candale”; others have decided to absorb restaurants inside their structures. This happened to the restaurant Terrasse Rouge that was absorbed by the Château La Dominique. Music, especially jazz and classic, seems to be the second great passion felt by Saint-Emilion producers. In fact, concerts and other music events are often held in the châteaux, as it happens in Châteaux Franc Mayne, Angelus, La Dominique. In Saint-Emilion, some people have decided to combine wine and an historical location namely the Cordeliers cloister and electro music. In this place, it usually happens that DJ liven up exclusive nights and happy hours with the unique sparkling wine produced following the “champenoise method” in Bordeaux lands. Many young people, thanks to the innovative idea to associate wine to electro music, have approached this sparkling wine produced by this “uncharacteristic” château. In every part of the world, the term “cru” is used to define an exclusive product but Saint-Emilion is the birthplace of Grand Cru. We can think about the feeling of exclusivity (reflected in the price of bottle) some brands call to mind, such as Château Cheval Blanc, Ausone, Pavie e Angelus. Some others belong to worldwide famous brands like Chanel; others have realized perfumes with wine aroma as in the case of Franc Mayne. Others such as Château Fombrauge (owned by Bernard Magrez) offers the visitor the once-in-a-lifetime chance to produce wine for a day, according to his/her preferences, from the flavour until the label (fig. 5).

Figure. 5 “B-Winemaker” at Château Fombrauge



Source: [www.saint-emilion-tourisme.com](http://www.saint-emilion-tourisme.com)

Moreover, in Saint-Emilion, some producers have aimed at displaying works of contemporary art. Examples are Château La Dominique, La Croizille and De Candale. Château Fombrauge have housed a museum.

Finally, others, such as Château Guadet, participate in cultural programmes such as “1 Château pour 1 artiste” (in which Châteaux host one or more artists who realize works of art for it) or promote events such as “La nuit de la connaissance”, held at the Cultural Institute Magrez.

In the end, since Saint-Emilion has system of underground canals and caves, more than 200 kilometers long, the châteaux have placed their cellars in these places. Les Cordeliers is a typical example of the creative use of heritage. Located in one of the most visited historical sites of Saint-Emilion, the cloister combines the production of the sparkling wine, kept in the wine cellar carved out by monks under the old church, with wine tasting in the garden.

### **Cooperation among local actors**

Another fundamental topic has emerged from the analysis of interviews carried out during the case study and the study of the economic and producing contexts of the territories: the cooperation among local actors. Does wine industry create effective partnership relations to enhance the economic development of the sector and the whole territory in Chianti and Saint-Emilion? Before answering this question, it is important to introduce some theoretical papers.

The topic of the cooperation among companies and local actors has been discussed for a long while by the scientific community and it still arouses intense interest. Among the most important papers, according to whom, competition of the productive system is based on the interdependence among companies characterized by a physical, social and cultural proximity, on the presence of cultural capital (Throsby, 2001) and on the production of culture-based goods (Santagata, 2004). However, the success of a relational system, typical of cultural districts (Valentino, 2003) also depends on the creation of a competitive range of different cultural products, on the ability to attract the demand, able to guarantee a return in private investments and on the vertical and horizontal integration of cultural industries and local actors. Other theories have highlighted that the cooperation among companies, working in the same sector and actors operating in complementary sectors (for instance, the tourism industry and the wine industry) does not necessarily exert positive effects on the territory. In fact, some research (Courtney et al., 2008) have shown that when more “traditional” companies are involved, such as the farming ones, integration is often unproductive. However, in the majority of cases, local products such as wine can be considered “complete cultural experiences”, result of a combination of more elements, which creates a sense of loyalty in the consumer, growing the reputation of the product and its territory.

*Chianti.* In the collective consciousness, Chianti is a landscape that recalls overwhelming feelings and emotions, too difficult to be put into words. Beauty, tranquility and peace are some of the elements called to mind by this place. Not by chance, the motto coined by the Agency for Tourism Terre di Siena is “Chianti, elogio alla lentezza” (Chianti, praise of slowness). Chianti region is much more: in this extraordinary land, innumerable cultural activities take place. Undoubtedly, wine take the lion’s share, dominating the market and occupying a leading position in territorial marketing. Wine is present in every cultural event held on the territory. An example is the Expo of Chianti Classico which takes place every September in Greve in Chianti for more than 25 years. This event, which witnesses the participation of more 55 local wine producers, was born as an exhibition market but it deeply changed during last editions: it returned to land. According to the responsible for the project, the return to land has produced a radical change. In fact, tourists, taking part in the event, have the chance to confront himself/herself with the producer, who tries to instill the passion for his work in her/him. Thus, not only the product, easily found in every wine shop in the world but also a new enthralling experience awaits visitors.

The cooperation between local producers and institutions is the value added, in fact:

*“...there is a sense of cooperation between local actors [ ... ] we have always tried to offer an integrated proposal to discover wine and the natural and cultural beauties of Chianti”* (local Institution).

Over the course of editions, the festival was enriched by cultural moments such as art exhibitions, street band performances, art craft displays, visits to castles and taste itineraries of local products. Therefore, wine has been a relevant factor, able to generate cultural events and attract visitors from all over the world. Every year, festival and events, which have as protagonists wine and its relationship with art, culture and territory, are: “Mostra del Chianti” in Montespertoli; “Chianti Star Festival” in San Donato in Poggio; “Chianti Festival” in Castelnuovo Bardenga, Gaiole and Greve in Chianti; “La Festa dell’uva a Impruneta” and

“Chianti d’Autunno” in Castellina in Chianti. Anyway, the perfect match is represented by wine and food. Events such as “Il Festival del Quinto Quarto” is a gastronomic event devoted to the discovery of the poor and simple gastronomy. In fact, the “quinto quarto” was that part of the animal refused by wealthy people but eaten by the lower class. Chefs have now reconsidered it. It is important not to underestimate the action taken by organizations such as Slow Food, which is engaged in the promotion of local typical products through events and markets. Chianti is also the land of starred chefs who search for a creative and quality cuisine (for example, the restaurants of the estate “Castel Monastero” around Siena, which host the famed Michelin Star-rated chef Gordon Ramsay. Moreover, music establishes fruitful collaborations with wine; examples are the festival “Blues Divino” and the music festival “Chianti in musica”. With regard to sports, over the last years, the bike race “Eroica” achieved an unprecedented success, seeing the participations of cyclists from all over the world. During this event, participants go through the roads of the castles this territory is rich of, having the chance to visit Chianti in an alternative way. Furthermore, visitors can also have the chance to embark on tours focused on the discovery of the new architecture. An example is the project *New Art Project and Wine in Tuscany*. The project, promoted by the Association Città del Vino, aims at entertaining visitors with a new tour in order to get to know wine cellars designed by great architects. In Chianti, Fattoria La Massa in Panzano in Chianti and Badia a Coltibuono and Gaiuole in Chianti have supported the project. Other elements such as contemporary art joins with wine. This especially happens during music events while tasting wine in the magnificent location of *Chianti Sculpture Park* and the Parco Arte Collinare nel Chianti, where, at the end of the visit, a glass of wine produced in local companies, is offered to visitors. An example of a wider cultural project is “Ecomuseo nel Chianti”, promoted by the Fondazione Musei Senesi, aimed at integrating the heritage of all participant municipalities, made up of vineyards, olive trees, museums, cultural industries, infrastructures and prestigious local products. Another successful project is “TUSCIELECTA-Arte contemporanea nel Chianti”. I rightfully claim that this project is a successful one because it has been mentioned in all the interviews. It promotes contemporary art, harmonizing it with the surrounding landscape. Many farms, which still host contemporary works of art among their vineyards, have been involved in the project together with squares and streets.

*Saint-Emilion*. A varied program of cultural events has been put in place in the first wine landscape to enter the World Heritage List but only the most ambitious ones have emerged from the interviews. Among all the events that take place from March to December on the territory, there some that have the great ability to attract visitors and local actors; they are the *Saint-Emilion Jazz Festival* and *Philosophia Festival*. Now at its fourth edition, the Saint-Emilion Jazz Festival was created by Dominique Renard, great connoisseur of jazz music, wine and member of the Jurade. During the event, held in amazing locations, the performances of international artists come alive, culture is at the service of wine and gastronomy and châteaux play a vital role. Among the most interesting initiatives of this festival, we find the “musical tasting”, during which seven Grand Cru of Saint-Emilion (Château Pavie and Cheval Blanc) have to think about tunes which will then sung and played on the piano for an audience of 250 people in the Dominican Room. This festival boasts among its sponsors the most important châteaux of Saint-Emilion. It goes without saying that the intimate friendship between the creator of the festival and the owners of the châteaux makes things easier. Thanks to successful marketing strategies, the festival is broadcast in more than 40 countries, thanks to Mezzo TV channel, making Saint-Emilion famous worldwide. The European Festival Philosophia was created by Eric Le Collen who also organized the “Battle of Castillon”, the biggest open show in Aquitaine and which reached its ninth edition this year. Philosophia festival is a moment during which people confront themselves with the great topic of the contemporary thought such as love, poverty and power. During these events, many conferences, debates and cine-conferences are organized. They all take place in historical sites or in Saint-Emilion vineyards. Among the sponsors, we find some of the most important châteaux such as “Les Grands Cru Musicaux”, “Grand Heures de Saint-Emilion” and the “Festival Vino Voce”.

On the contrary, some events are organized by the single Château such as Hautre Sapre, which is renowned for its piano concerts. Saint-Emilion is not only music but also gastronomy and there are not few the events where châteaux host cooking classes (one example is represented by the event “Je cuisine au Château”). Among the effective collaboration between wine and restaurants, we remember the collaboration between Château La Dominique and the Restaurant La Terrasse Rouge, between the Hostellerie de Plaisance (where the starred chef Philippe Etchebest worked) and Château Pavie. We also remember the *atelier culinaire* Château Ambe Tour Pourret. During these regional and gourmet gastronomy events, it is possible to learn how to combine wine with traditional local products such as the macarons of Saint-Emilion.

Furthermore, the discovery of vineyards in this region is for every taste and every budget. Visitors can discover this region by walking, by riding, by train or by bus or on board of a Harley-Davidson or an exclusive limousine. Among vineyards, they can bump into sports events such as semi-marathons and rally car races. Another attractive initiative, held in October, is the “Mongolfiées de Saint-Emilion”. This event was born after the encounter between the owner of Château Gaudet and the president of the Tourism Office of Saint-Emilion, Petrus Lignac and the pilot Patricia Lamy.

*“The Tourism office does a great job, but I think that private local companies should cooperate much more each other in order to offer a better discovery of our wines, places and beauties”* (wine maker).

In fact, local châteaux have established a long-term relationship with the Tourism Office, whose president is a winemaker, but there is little cooperation among wine makers. Many projects were created thanks to this collaboration; the most important is “Château of the day”, through which the tourist has a list of châteaux that can host him/her every day. This region is also rich of contemporary art exhibitions, photo and art exhibitions as those hosted in the gallery of the Union of producers of Saint-Emilion and theatre performances such as “Le vin show-theatre”. However, being Saint-Emilion a medieval village, many activities are organized to discover the cultural heritage of the discovery. They target children and adults and the most known are “underground Saint-Emilion”, “Saint-Emilion medieval city”, “Saint-Emilion UNESCO & the Heritage Night”, “Bordeaux and Saint-Emilion UNESCO World Heritage sites”.

One of the element that unequivocally identify the territory of Saint-Emilion is the “Jurade”. This one-thousand-year-old institution has the duty to rigorously monitor the quality of the wine of Saint-Emilion, promoting it all over the world. Nowadays, influential members of the Jurade support two special events: The Spring Festivals (in June) and the Saint-Emilion's Harvest Fest in September. During these events, the members of the Jurade don the traditional red clothes, parading in groups in the village until the end of the harvest is announced on the King's Tower (fig. 6). The Jurade is composed of fifty-four members, chosen among those who promote this appellation in the rest of the world such as Prince Albert II of Monaco. The Jurade is the supreme symbol of viticulture in Saint-Emilion. According to the director of the Tourism Office, Saint-Emilion nurtures the burning ambition of becoming a proper destination of local tourism. Finally, it can be imagined that events could be a good proxy of the degree of cooperation among local actors.

Figure. 6 Scene of Saint-Emilion Jazz Festival and Jurade Cerimony



Source: [saintemilionjazzfestival.com](http://saintemilionjazzfestival.com)

Source: [saint-emilion-tourisme.com](http://saint-emilion-tourisme.com)

### **Governance, Institutional Leadership and Collective Action**

The third topic emerged from a detailed analysis of the interviews and the study case concerns the role of local actors engaged in the government and promotion of the territory. The integration and cooperation among actors working on the territory is the most efficient way to gain a valuable cultural experience, able to use the resources of the territory carefully. In this context, the participation of the social community plays a prominent role but at the same time, the presence of an element of territorial coordination is fundamental. From the analysis of literature on cultural and tourism districts, a good strategy of local development can be devised in two ways: through a “top-down” process, characterized by the planning intervention of local institutions, or through a “spontaneous” mechanism, created by the participation of the local community

encouraging the development from the bottom (Le Blanc, 2010). The theme of the participation has assumed crucial importance in every part of the world since the 90s but reality proves it difficult to obtain (Gedikili, 2009). In fact, especially in rural areas, the participation of local communities in the processes of local development must be promoted and coordinated by peripheral institutions that work with regional and national institutions in different ways (Derzken, 2010). In this context, the associative organizations (often private), such as agencies and consortiums, take a decisive role among the productive world, local communities and institutions. Courlet (2008) defines “public action” this new way to govern the territory, a model in which local stakeholders have the chance to prove their administrative competences at the service of a plan of development. However, this process is mainly favoured in those local realities where the presence of the “social capital”, as Putnam (1993) defined it, is strong.

*Chianti.* To discuss critically a region, whose territorial borders are not well defined and still challenged with arms and marketing strategies between Florence and Siena, means going beyond the brand famous all around the world. It especially means looking at the singularities and difficulties of the territory. This brand, one of the most known “made in Italy” brands, faces a complicated situation. Chianti is a tiny plot of land at the center of Tuscany, challenged between the provinces of Florence and Siena; this element has its own consequences in terms of organization and territorial identity. Even though, this place seems to be the birthplace of the “campanilismo”, a sort of local pride, remarkable efforts have been made at an institutional level to reduce these differences, making Chianti a single territory. However, the cultural events are still different from one place to another and independent among them. These events do not favour the birth of sense of community.

*“...Municipalities should be promoters of cultural projects in this region, winemakers are already moving in this direction”* (local Institution).

In Chianti region, as in the whole Tuscany, in 2011, the provincial Agencies were closed and the Region was entrusted of the promotion of the territory. In order to do that, regional agency “Toscana Promozione” was created. Moreover, in Chianti, various municipalities and hamlets independently organize events to promote the whole territory. In this region, as well as in other wine regions, “Pro loco” (associations engaged in the tourism promotion of their territory) and consortiums (associations of producers who contribute to the valorization to the appellations and the whole territory) perform a fundamental role. In the Florentine Chianti and in Senese Chianti, a sense of general confusion about “who has to do that” has emerged from the interviews. According to the opinion of the interviewed, it has not yet clear how the regional institution has to organize, coordinate and promote events on the territory. As a result, institutions are distant from people and often they are judged inefficient. This situation does not favour the collaboration between private and public institutions. In this context, we also find consortiums and cultural associations that link local communities with different organizational levels and institutions present on the territory. Moreover, in Chianti the local community has a strong sense of participation (we also assume that from the love for the territory), the social capital seems structured but a sense of coordination, which may be carried out by a mid-level institution exclusively engaged in the promotion of the territory, is missing. In conclusion, Chianti cannot be considered the result of a “top-down” model for its territory, its history and its administration but a varied system in the competences and in the responsibilities that needs to be greatly improved.

*Saint-Emilion.* The situation radically changes in the Gironde department, a jurisdiction made up of eight small municipalities. Among these, Saint-Emilion is undoubtedly the most important. The main economic activities of this medieval village are wine and tourism. The cultural and tourism offer in Saint-Emilion share a strict relation with the Tourism Office. The latter, created in 1930, is one of the oldest in France and enjoy an exclusive autonomy and independence in comparison to others. The Tourism Office in Saint-Emilion has an associative nature and for this reason, it is not bound to territorial institutions’ ties. Its budget amounts to 2 million euros and just the 5% come from municipalities. According to its director, this independence is fundamental to the office, necessary to the creation of an efficient and quality tourism offer. Consequently, people are deeply satisfied with the actions taken by the office, defining it “absolutely essential”. The Tourism Office promotes a series of events that combine wine (the most prestigious resource) with the cultural heritage, the gastronomy, music, sport and much more. This organization collaborates with more than 400 structures on the territory, among which restaurants, artisans, wine shops, and with more of 150



châteaux. The link with local producers is so strong and witnessed by the fact that the President of the Office, Guy Petrus Lignac is the owner of Château Gaudet.

There is a strong necessity to work together: “... *it is the job of all of us that makes the difference , we must not wait for others to do something for us*” (wine maker).

According to the interviewed, the project “Château of the day” is the most successful one among those launched by this office. How does it work? Every year, a calendar is created; it exactly says which château is open to visits, in order to avoid people to find it close. Furthermore, on the website of the office, we can look at the remarkable efforts made by the office in terms of territorial and tourism marketing. This office is a point of reference for everyone, able to overshadow others.

For instance, the City Hall is especially focused on the recovery of historical buildings but this is also due to insufficient financial resources. In fact, in France, winemakers pay taxes directly to the State, thus we can easily understand that in a territory devoted to wine, the resources that a local authority has are relatively scarce. Another important actor of this territory is represented by the Saint-Emilion Wine Council, which has the duty to promote the most prestigious products of this land, wine and its denomination. The Council also preserves the historical institution of the Jurade. Moreover, the population is well aware of the economic and touristic importance of their region. Saint-Emilion is the most concrete example of a cultural and tourism offer, in which the role of coordinator and intermediary between private and public sector and between châteaux is performed by the Tourism Office.

### **The brand UNESCO: what effects on rural areas?**

The last topic carried out, concerns the role of the brand UNESCO and the value of the cultural heritage. Chianti and Saint-Emilion are two representative examples of cultural landscapes that have had the ability to bring a thousand-year-old practice to modernity: vine culture and the production of prestigious wines. In these regions, a special consideration is given to the cultural heritage of the territory. The same cannot be said for the two territories to be entered in the World Heritage List (WHL). The topic of “the brand UNESCO” awakens insatiable curiosity since more than twenty years. It also provokes animated discussions within the scientific and political community. In literature, there are innumerable papers that have tried to understand in different ways that substantial benefits could ever derive from an award by UNESCO (Gombault et al., 2012). On one hand, some scholars such as Buckley (2008) and Yang et. Al. (2010) have tried to find a cause-effect link between the UNESCO award and the variation of tourism flows in a territory. However, a general rule was not found. On the other hand, other scholars, using secondary data, have focused on the topic of the improvement of the tourism offer (Hall, Piggin, 2002; Hall, Piggin, 2003; Poria et al., 2013) and on econometric analysis (Prud’homme, 2008). Moreover, some research state that this important award is a reasonable opportunity of development (DCMS, 2008). Others claim that awards has not caused any social or economic development (Prud’homme, 2008).

*Chianti*. How is it possible that one of the most celebrated wine landscape in the world does not nurture the ambition to be recognized as world heritage? This relevant question has been addressed to the organizations making part the research. Regarding the first question, acceptable explanations may justify the absence of this territory in the WHL. Some of those are vastness of the territory, the absence of clear territorial borders and the belonging to different provinces. These explanations may impede people of thinking about this territory as unique. The second and more important explanation, emphasized by interviewed subjects, is represented by the well-founded fear of turning Chianti into “an open sky museum”. It is necessary to remember that I make a distinction between wine producers and the rest of people in the sample. According to subjects of the sample, the award of Chianti in the WHL would be a synonym of quality and a way to appreciate the admirable job done during these years. Inside the sample, while provincial institutions strongly stress the importance of Chianti as one of the most famous vineyard landscape in the world, emphasizing greater efforts than benefits coming from to stay on the WHL, the prospective changes completely in the small towns included in the research:

*“...there was a moment in which wine producers have strongly supported the thesis that the Chianti is a landscape alive and not static, there was the fear of ending up in a museum... this is the concern of local wine producers. We hope that the our region could enter in WHL, it would be a source of pride for us. The UNESCO label would be the evidence of what we always thought of our region”* (local Institution).

According to wine makers, instead, the award may constitute a serious impediment to the process of evolution that has characterized the area during these years, turning Chianti into the great place everyone knows:

*“...the Chianti is an Italian heritage, but if heritage means to block all at present, landscape, environment and above all agriculture, we say not”* (wine maker).

*Saint-Emilion*. The situation radically changes if we approach the first wine landscape to enter the WHL as example of “living evolutionary landscape”. The old jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion enter the World Heritage List in 1999 and since then, many things changed. A series of administrative organs, aimed at the protection of the cultural landscape, made their apparition (the city urban plan was develop in 2001). The UNESCO award has favoured the creation of a strong bond between the local community and its resources.

According to the whole sample:

*“...the UNESCO label is very important for Saint-Emilion, because it has brought our region under a different light [...] here there is not only wine but also a lot of cultural heritage”*.

A first-rate job has been done by the Tourism Office that enormously takes pride in its territory; in fact, they just use the brand UNESCO when making marketing decisions. Additionally, local people derive great satisfaction from being part of the world heritage. More than personal feelings and sensations, it is important to look at the figures concerning the sample. Reading with close attention the Tourism Office’s annual report from 1999 (year of the entrance in the WHL) until today, it is possible to notice a massive increase in the number of tourists visiting the region. This figure has also been confirmed by the Director of the Office, who estimated a substantial increase of 20% in the number of tourists from 1999 until today.

According to the Tourism Office’s Director, the UNESCO award represent for Saint-Emilion a key of success, because:

*“...people that come from Bordeaux could choice Saint-Emilion or Médoc, the UNESCO represents an element of differentiation for us in comparison with other wine regions”*.

In the end, it seems that the award has favoured the development of events and festivals focused on the relationship between wine and other creative industries in the region. As we have seen before, it is not possible to establish a direct link between the UNESCO award and probable positive effects on the territory. Anyway, what happens in this territory has not be undervalued.

## **Discussion of results and conclusions**

This work is part of the current debate on different levels of competitiveness among companies, sectors and local systems with particular attention to the importance of competitive advantages within a globalized economy. In this socio-economic context, characterized by a vigorous competition among territories, the necessity to enhance local resources, as the only reliable source of competitive advantage, emerges strongly. For this reason, the goal of this paper is to see what features characterize a special local system such as creative regions. In order to do that, it has not analyzed urban contexts, already studied by literature as natural contexts for creativity, on the contrary, it has been chosen rural areas, in particular wine regions. This decision derives from the desire to consider wine more than just a fundamental local economic resource or an important part of gastronomy. Wine’s features are exalted as features of a “cultural and creative product”. If wine is a creative product, the industry of wine rightfully belongs to the category of creative industries. The theory used in this work is intrinsically linked to the school of thought that praises Walter Santagata, considering his papers a “vademecum”; this theory characterizes the attitude of the Southern European countries. From literature about regional development and effects of cultural policies on the territory, it is clear that the action of “planning” a creative region is an ambitious project. It requires special features; among them, concrete expressions of creativity play a significant role. However, the development of creative regions means implementing a strategy based on the cooperation among local actors, those with cultural and institutional competences. In this context, wine regions are representative prototypes of creative

regions, where wine industry promotes a collaborative climate among local agents, belonging to the productive, cultural and institutional world.

The analysis has involved a sample made up of 30 elements (divided into two territories), among cultural and creative organizations, public institutions, wine companies and private agencies actively engaged in the promotion of territory. Realizing this work has meant proving right a motto used by everyone, in various circumstances: “never trust appearances”. Looking at Chianti and Saint-Emilion’s landscapes from the outside, dotted with hills, medieval villages, hamlets, churches, castles and villas, we think they are the best representatives of tradition, a far cry from creativity. However, the study case and the analysis of the interviews have shown that in these regions creativity is effectively stimulated.

From the comparison between Chianti and Saint-Emilion, a composite picture of two similar regions has been built up. In both cases, the adopted competitive strategy focuses on three elements: wine, gastronomy and architecture. However, it is important to highlight the differences between these areas. In both regions, wine producers have turned the severe competition into an element of creative dynamism. Anyway, if the majority of them have concentrated on the quality of products as tool to stand out from the crowd, some have chosen a peripheral creative vision.

On one hand, wine producers in Chianti have paid close attention to activities engaged in the promotion of wine and other local products such as oil, saffron, cheese, cured meats and food service through agritourism and accommodation. On the other hand, in Saint-Emilion, wine producers have widened their peripheral offer focusing on those activities concentrated on wines, such as visits to vineyards, châteaux and tastings. They have strongly emphasized classic concepts of French viticulture such as “cru” and “terroir”.

In both regions, there are cases, which for personal, financial reasons and for their owners’ deep sensitivity, suggest activities linked to representative arts such as music and modern art. Other creative activities such as the involvement of tourists in the grape harvest are done in Chianti, whereas in Saint-Emilion, visitors undertake activities connected to the creation of personalized wines such as “B-Winemaker”. Moreover, another important element is embodied by a strong feeling of competition with neighbouring regions. In Chianti, people foster the intense awareness of representing a brand famous worldwide. For this reason, they do not fear the nearest rival, Val d’Orcia. The same cannot be said in Saint-Emilion: this place is in stiff competition with near Médoc. Concerning the way producers start collaborations with local actors, I have observed that in both cases, producers are not very keen on cooperating with each other. From the point of view of a total and intersectorial competition, both regions encourage the deep awareness that the visitor’s quality of experience not only depends on the features of the main attraction (wine) but also on services’ quality and efficiency such as hotels, restaurants, transport and cultural events. In both regions, practical initiatives, in which wine producers work with local actors and institutions collaboratively, are widely developed in order to lay the basis for a complete cultural offer.

The topic of tasks, responsibilities and territorial governance shows a different picture between Chianti and Saint-Emilion. In Chianti, people feel a great sense of confusion about “who has to do what”. According to their opinions, it is not yet clear how the Regional office is going to organize, coordinate and promote the territory. Consequently, institutions are totally detached from people and they are often judged inefficient by whom working on the territory. Thus, this unstable situation does not favour the collaboration between the private and public sector. Associative institutions such as consortiums, cultural associations, which join local communities with the different institutional and organizational bodies present on the territories, belong to this context. Moreover, from the analysis of people’s words, in Chianti, the sense of belonging to the local community is strong, the social capital is well structured but the presence of a coordinating body, such as park or a foundation engaged in the promotion of Chianti, is missing. Centralizing the promotion of a territory in the hands of an agency detached from people does not help the integration neither among private citizens nor among the public and private sector. However, the Department of Culture of Greve in Chianti has been highly praised for its day-to-day involvement in the promotion of the territory and especially for its illuminating insight in understanding that tourism has its own laws and cannot follow the slow bureaucratic machine. Moreover, local and national institutions should overcome some practical problems arisen from a detailed reading of the interviews. One problem is the lack of commitment by institutions to promoting the territory through the aid of territorial marketing. In fact, since the cultural offer is truly varied and disorganized, investing money in public relations to inform visitors about events in Chianti, without any administrative or border distinction, would be of paramount importance. The second problem concerns the scarcity of infrastructural resources of the territory. In Chianti, the absence of the railway transport system does not facilitate the discovery of the beauties and the excellences of this place. As a matter of fact, this place can be just visited by car with tourists driving through scenic but winding hill roads. In conclusion,

Chianti for its historical, territorial and administrative feature cannot be considered the result of a “top-down” development but a varied system for competences and responsibilities. This system needs to be substantially improved.

In Saint-Emilion, the situation radically changes. Here, tasks have been clearly assigned to local actors. All of them have recognized the territorial leadership of the Tourism Office, which represents the focal point of the cultural and tourism offer. The interviewed have expressed great appreciation towards the admirable job done by this office and thus absolute authority has been given to it. The valuable role performed and its dynamism can be easily perceived by looking at the website, rich of information about events and cultural recommendations. This office is able to coordinate local actors, recommending a varied cultural offer and it could easily represent the example of a typical “destination marketing organization”. Therefore, Saint-Emilion is a representative example of what is defined “community destination”. A destination of this kind is characterized by a strong integration among local actors and is launched on the market as brand. Furthermore, other features focus on the uniqueness of the territory and the centrality of the state body, elements which can be found in Saint-Emilion, which seems to have a more integrated plan of promotion than Chianti. However, also in Saint-Emilion, local actors grapple with pressing problems. The first one lies in the necessity of making available a bus for tourists at the station in order to take them at the center of the village. Today, this does not happen: tourists arriving in Saint-Emilion (especially the youngest with a limited budget) have to carry their luggage for steep roads before getting to the center. The railway transport system is another ‘sore spot’. Even though visitors can buy tickets on the trains and find all the information they need at the Tourism Office, in my opinion, the railway station should be reopened since it is the first thing tourists see at their arrival. Reopening the railway station of Saint-Emilion would mean putting visitors immediately at ease, providing them with all the information and services needed. This may significantly enhance their visit, increasing the level of satisfaction. The last problem concerns the excessive seasonality of the tourism and cultural offer of Saint-Emilion. From November to March, the village is almost deserted; during this period, a series of vigorous actions should be taken in order to keep up high levels in terms of creativity.

Another topic of this work concerns the recognition of “cultural landscape” by UNESCO of nine wine territories around the world. Among these, we just find Saint-Emilion. During the interviews, we wondered about the advantages derived from being part of the WHL for Saint-Emilion and the potential advantages Chianti would gain from being part of the WHL. In spite of being well aware of the fact that in literature on the topic, scholars have totally different visions about the effects of this award on territories, it has been interesting to hear the opinions of the interviewed. The answers have outlined a complex situation.

In Saint-Emilion, the first wine landscape to be entered in the World Heritage List in 1999, all the interviewed have expressed great appreciation towards the UNESCO award. As I have already said, since 1999, the number of tourists has enormously increased, encouraging the development of creative projects on the territory. Therefore, the award has transformed the territory for good, not only as wine landscape but also especially as a region rich of history, art and culture.

In Chianti, there are contrasting opinions. First, there are various reasons why Chianti does not make part of the World Heritage List. They are: a) the vastness of the territory; b) the administrative responsibility (it is important to remember that Chianti is collocated in two provinces); c) the scarcity of financial and human resources to promote and enhance a project like this. Concerning the potential advantages deriving from the award, people aired conflicting opinions. People agree on the fact that the award would result in a small increase of Chianti’s notoriety being it already famous. However, it is important to point out the differences among opinions within the sample. On one hand, public bodies and cultural and creative institutions think that the brand UNESCO would represent a “proof of quality”. On the other hand, vine growers are completely indifferent to the brand. They are also contrary to it because they fear the brand may introduce further limits and Chianti would be transformed in an “open sky museum”.

Despite the fact that Chianti and Saint-Emilion are different among each other, they are representative examples of creative regions since: a) both of them have organized their social, productive, cultural and touristic offer around their most prestigious resource (wine); b) both of them are open to a collaboration among local actors (less among producers); c) there is an on-going professionalization of cultural offers; d) creativity is also expressed by the lively social fabric. However, this is not enough. The element that would allow the models “Chianti and Saint-Emilion” to deal with a global setting as real competitor of territories, which in collective consciousness represent the archetype of creative wine region such as Napa Valley (California, USA), is the cultural landscape. The “model Napa” (based on a static cultural and touristic offer and little “site-specific”, see the choice of some producers to build cellars not coherent with

the history and the local architectonic style) is gradually losing its popularity. Therefore, an element of success for Chianti and Saint-Emilion may reside in a creative presentation of their extraordinary cultural heritage. Napa Valley everything seems to be well organized according to a “script” or a “scenography”, whereas Chianti and Saint-Emilion, which enjoy the presence of an amazing cultural landscape, have the possibility to stimulate a “complete”, “specific”, “localized”, “loyal”, “unique” and “authentic” cultural offer. Aiming at the authenticity and the uniqueness of the localized cultural heritage is the major challenge for creative regions. In conclusion, promoting the cultural heritage creatively and pursuing a strategy based on heritage, creativity and tourism (see the case of “Les Cordeliers” in Saint-Emilion) might be the key to success for the development of a new model of creative wine region.

### **Limitations and future paths of research**

This work tries to describe and understand what a creative wine region is, but some limitations emerge. The first observation that can be raised in this work is represented by the choosing to focus on the role of single node of an ambitious project, which necessarily requires the involvement of many others actors. Wine industry are an essential component in developing a creative wine region, but they will never realize this project with their work only. So, observe and describe what is the role of others creative industries and others economical and institutional actors involved in this process, could be an important starting point for future research. The sample of research does not consider the opinions of other consortia of wine producers present in Chianti, it is another limitation. The last limitation, is represented by the choice of two wine regions of the Old world wine, excluding the interesting creative cases of the New world wine. The comparison between some wine creative regions developed in the Old world wine with the New world wine, could show different approaches in order to develop a creative wine region. Observe and describe differences and similarities between Old world and New world, could surely represent an interesting point to be analyzed in future research.

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