TIME WORK FOR ORGANIC WINE CONSUMERS IN ROMANIA. FROM CELEBRATORY TO CUSTOMARY

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Abstract: This study tracks the social construction of time narratives in social media posts of marketers of organic and biodynamic wine. It attempts to elucidate how time cues and storytelling offer motives that can convince the emerging clientele of discerning customers. The study hence aims to discover time-related narrative affordances that underlie organic wine purchasing decisions. A total of 42 marketers' texts, 211 hashtags and 26 blog posts belonging to a total of 14 organic and biodynamic wine makers were selected using netnography and grounded theory, following criteria of visibility and attractiveness. The thematic analysis yielded 7 categories of time narratives. The findings section reveals their dimension as sense-making rhetoric devices and drivers of buying decisions. These temporal cues capture a forlorn time infused when winery was a craft, not an industry and portray wine as nostalgic forget-me-not, mental postcard and moment-catcher in the temporal scaffolding of holidays, as well as everyday occurrences. Posts construct organic wine as savoir-vivre and wine lovers as bon viveurs, in relationship to the application of time-proof routines and know-how. With organic wines associated to slow living and foodie activism, time narratives as projects of moral authentication are presented. The empirical investigation offers input to organic wine marketers who select the style and wording of their promotional rhetoric to persuade consumers to pass from celebratory, occasional buying to steady commitment. It discusses time narratives that singularize authenticity as drivers of brand distinctiveness and differentiation.

Key words: organic wine marketing; time agency; regionality; storytelling; authentication.

Introduction

This empirical inquiry reveals narrative time cues that marketers of Romanian organic wines employ on Facebook, and their echo on consumers. Romania has one of the oldest traditions of wine production in Europe, dating back 2700 years, when historians documented Sabazios, the local god of wine of the proto-Thracian population (Zamfir, 2013). According to the Association for Wine Producers and Exporters, in a country where natural household wine from rural areas still threatens the sale of commercial bottled assortments, there are currently more than 1000 winery operators in Romania, which is the twelfth producer worldwide and the sixth in Europe, in terms of volume (Agro Business, 2019).

Romania has yet to fulfil its untapped potential in the niche segment of organic wine production and distribution, even if the surface covered with organic grapevines grew 12 times from 2009 to 2017, to over 2000 hectares at present, according to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural development report (2018). A recent quantitative study on a nationally representative Romanian sample (Nielsen, 2018) found premium wine consumers, including organic and biodynamic brands, are predominantly aged over 35, male and with above-average incomes. The trouble with Romanian wine consumers is that they tend to use organic wines and premium wines in general only during celebrations or as gifts. Hence, for business development strategies, beyond the extension of customer portfolio, organic winemakers need innovative marketing techniques to increase frequency of consumption within a larger effort aimed to strengthen existing customer loyalty. Embracing a time perspective framework can provide such a solution, as the below specified argumentative line unfolds.

Most frequently mentioned decision-making criteria for wine purchasing, either premium or regular, where: the producer, the grape varieties, the wine colour and the consumption timing (Nielsen, 2018). However, if the analysis is narrowed down to Romanian Millennials (currently aged 25-35), the four main factors for wine purchasing were: the price, social network recommendations, the product design (including labelling) and the awarded prizes (Ṣiṣcanu, 2019). The same factors of image, display and social recommendations count as most relevant for Generation Y in the US market, whose members are much less involved, experienced or subjectively knowledgeable compared to their predecessors (Chrysochou et al., 2012). The importance of personalized work-of-mouth highlights the role of social media as collaborative, crowdsourced web 2.0 venue for sharing and exchanging recommendations (Kolb & Thach, 2016).

Consumers' increasing preference for attending events dedicated to wine-tasting, wine tours, concerts, festivals, exhibitions and even trail running and cycling races revolving around vineyards (Ro.aliment, 2018; Nielsen, 2018) suggest this emerging market gradually shapes its consolidation phase focused on shared experiences that display a dialectics of resistance to conventional business models and value chain processes thereof. These highly specific, somewhat atypical patterns of evolution require closer scrutiny. Because wine is an "experience good" (Storchmann, 2011; Higgins et al, 2015), the interactive exchange of impressions weighs heavily across purchasing decisions of new and returning customers. Shared experiential depictions are especially impactful in the phase of initial acquaintance with a new product, such as organic wine in the Romanian market. A study that explores hedonic learning by master sommeliers' discursive and narrative practices (Latour and Deighton, 2019) reveals the importance of combining narrative, synesthetic and imagery-driven elements to create a holistic mindset or wine IQ.

In this context, the current study aims to investigate novel approaches to cultivating customer loyalty for organic wine consumers in a nascent market. As tastes and preferences are transient, it also aims to bridge the gap between

consumers' discerning mechanisms and marketers' actions in the case of small-scale individual wine-makers. To do so, it needs to understand the underlying vocabularies of motives of social media consumers who are gradually growing fond of organic wine and make the transition from casual to regular buyers.

Considering the above-mentioned objectives, the research questions are the following:

- How is the dialogue between marketers and consumers of organic wine shaped across social media concerning the lived experiences of wine tasting across time?
- How do consumers associate organic wine with time use styles? What does this association communicate about their worldview and tribalisation trends?
- What do marketers' posts coupled with readers' reactions thereto say about the drivers behind the purchasing behaviour in the case of organic wine consumers?

1. Theories

1.1. Organic wine, regional terroir and habitus

The biodynamic production principles regard the vineyard as a wholesome, self-sustained system, attuned to natural and cosmic rhythms by ancient agrarian practices that follow a calendar of moon phases. Organic wine-making excludes any artificial chemical products such as herbicides, fertilizers, fungicides or pesticides. In exchange, organic farming includes natural fertilizers (e.g. manure, horns, bones, macerated animal hair, minerals etc.) and pesticides. Local vine varieties are preferred they adapt more readily and do not require protective intervention (Mann et al., 2012). Biodynamic wines include those that only use wild (non-selected) yeasts, thought to best render the particularities of the terroir. Some biodynamic wines are left unfiltered and all vineyard works are done manually (Wiedmann et al., 2014). Organic wines started to be produced and marketed in

Romania under commercial labels 12 years ago, and all 14 wine manufacturers currently active on the organic and biodynamic niches have foreign capital. These operators obey the standards including in EU regulations (EC 834/2007 and EC 889/2008) (Palasca, 2019) regarding the entire wine-making process.

Emerging wine-producing regions use alternative means for "origin branding" that emphasize heritage and landscape characteristics centring on the wider "rural idyll" (Alonso and Northcote, 2009, Howlard, 2008). These associations serve to forge a "vintage" identity for their industry, which essentially masks its youth for their region. In what manner this strategy is consonant with consumers' expectations remains to be elucidated.

Terroir expresses the varietal character of wine, defined as tributary to the region's cultural heritage (Cappeliez, 2017). This concept invokes images of organic relations between people and a specific land with a unique character, a symbolic territory that enacts habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) as persistent way of being in the world,

culturally embedded social practices and taken-for-granted assumptions and judgment of taste about what is legitimate and what is undesirable that structure cognition, action and praxis.

Wine making is an area in which the distinction Old - New World is still vivid in academia and practice (Wongprawmas and Spadoni, 2018). Regionality is the New World conceptual alternative to Old World (notably French) terroir (Nallaperuma et al., 2017). Both contingent realities illustrate specific cultural identities that resist globalization as local governance ideologies founded on values of solidarity and rootedness (Demossier, 2011; Cappeliez, 2017). The terroir revendicates its legitimacy from the historic past of communities that promote the prestige of their vineyards to tourists and consumers: "The historical terroir concept viewed wine production as a complex dance with nature with the goal of interpreting or translating the local ecology, displaying its qualities to best advantage" (Barham, 2003: 131). The concept is seeded in a discourse of enduring quality and boasts the distinctiveness of agrarian techniques and artisanship. In so doing, it is relevant for this study as it intertwines time and space in a multifaceted approach that reunites persuasive and hermeneutic dimensions.

The place-fixing discursive tactics construct terroir at the meeting point of geology, vineyard habitat and cultural assets of regional identity (Charters, 2006). The controlled toponymical origin protects this reputation by a patrimonial process of localism opposed to globalization and commodification trends. The regional wine appellations in Western Europe are less regulated in Eastern Europe (Overton & Murray, 2013) but obey the same pre-Fordist logic of tradition, locality and nonstandardization: "Even though the reality of industrial scale production may exist, the illusion of small-scale, intensive and traditional winemaking pervades the imagery of wine marketing worldwide" (Overton & Murray, 2013: 705). Hence the need to study consumers' preferences from a cultural capital point of view, since regional organic wines are at the forefront of branding practices for the wine world. Marketers take advantage of the evocative value of region of origin by displaying this location in a prominent place on the wine bottle label (Chamorro et al, 2015). The regional wine branding is a strategy adopted from the Old World to the New World producers (e.g. U.S., Australia, South Africa, New Zealand) that proves helpful for small vineyards wanting to promote their wine style heritage and distinctiveness (Nallaperuma et al., 2017; Famularo et al, 2010).

Authors such as Peace (2011) criticize the narrative of the wine culture and regional terroir as discursive pastiche that fetishizes the symbolically meaningful relations between people, places and products by turning them into a marketing strategy. In the same critical vein, this author argues that persuasive terms like "traditional", "authentic", "genuine", "real", "historic" and "original" are rhetorically overworked into clichés belonging to a language of claims that targets a population of well-off middle-class consumers with healthy lifestyle aspirations and declaratively (if not yet practically) ecological mindsets. Other studies (Schäufele et

al., 2018; Mann et al., 2012) by and large support this customer profile for organic wines.

As Trubek (2008: 94) writes: "the taste of place has become a transnational mode of discernment. Increasingly, the taste of place is an intervention into the vast array of placeless and faceless foods". Marketers of organic wine and slow food advocates propose the locavore myth of individual, self-reliant landownership intergenerationally inherited and endowed with the idealisation of the past. Vulnerable as it were, this counter-cultural movement features as antidote to "frankendrinks" (Kniazeva, 2005) and the tasteless globalized no-land value chains of international, heavily technologized wine-making.

1.2. Marketing tools, social media and consumer portrayal

Innovative communication tools and place marketing are effective in reaching new consumer niches and thus adding value to the wine market worldwide (Wongprawmas and Spadoni, 2018; Vrontis et al., 2016; Richardson and Dennis, 2003). The impact of word-of-mouth marketing and crowdsourced advertising in relationship to drinks promotion was studied for brands from the nineteenth century, with the example of Mariani Wine (Emery, 2017).

Several cross-country findings point to the impactful uptake of multi-channel marketing practices to stimulate online and offline wine purchasing behaviour (Pucci et al. 2019). Also, customer segmentation (e.g. according to the level of objective and subjective knowledge) and a differential strategy applied to distinct target groups (or clans and tribes, in the netnographic terminology) appear as essential for newcomers and established wine-makers (Hristov and Kuhar, 2015; Brunner and Siegrist, 2011). New consumer typologies require further sociological elucidation and methodological input for the (re)design and assessment of marketing toolkits.

Potential consumers display information seeking behaviours to assist their wine purchasing decisions with the role of risk absorbers or uncertainty reducers. The hedonistic and informative components of online communities surface saliently especially in emerging economies wherein the tradition of wine consumption is scarce and reserved for the upper social strata, hence the marquee purchased as gift or for own consumption can be a proxy for affluence and self-validation in a logic of ostentatious or conspicuous consumption (Overton & Murray, 2013).

1.3. Time agency, storytelling and authenticity

The choices that social actors make about how to spend their time reflect their way of being in the world. Individuals manifest their autonomy and sense of purpose by time agency: that is, they decide how to best dispose of the time capital at hand. By customizing their pastimes, individuals enjoy self-determination, uncoerced to a certain degree (Beck, 1992). Time agency (Flaherty, 2003) becomes a fertile ground for studying organic wine consumers' preferences because the ritual of drinking wine is generally associated to a specific timing, or a collection of moments and various temporal experiences which the person can intentionally

modify in terms of frequency, duration, and sequence or allocation practices. This disposable time capital also known as free or discretionary time is performative in nature because it can be constructed and filled according to consumers' priorities.

Narrative techniques act as strategic communication tool for brand differentiation and competitiveness (Bassano et al, 2019; Cassar et al, 2018). Original provenance and authenticity represent core themes of consumer culture for wine lovers' digital communities (O'Neill et al, 2014; Maguire et al, 2013; Peace, 2011). These discursive motives install a language of claims as part of a regime of truth (Foucault, 1991) that legitimises a social version of knowledge that influencers such as marketers, producers' representatives, sommeliers, bloggers hold to count as true. As in the case of the authenticity claims, such regimes of truth institutionalise narratives as myths that serve to protect consumers against cognitive dissonance, by allowing them to savour and indulge in their choice without after-thought of appearing naïve, misinformed or hoaxed (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Gilmore & Pine, 2007).

An under-represented direction of study involves tracking wine consumers' preferences using narrative analysis of digital traces: comments, posts, tweets, visual content (photos, cartoons, videos). One such study (Matheson et al, 2019) classified wine consumers' feelings and attitudes towards organic wine across environment: home, restaurant, informal and formal social gatherings, festivals, aiming to synthesize the public perception trends regarding **wine** in terms of social status associations, emotional responses and consumption-specific concerns. Indeed, the relationship between interactive digital storytelling (e.g. through micro-blogging, forum posts and social media comments) and decision-making has not been explored so much from a customer management or commercial marketing perspective, but more so from a public health, situated ethics and educational outline. As such, "participant-produced digital stories constitute a rich and relatively unexplored source of qualitative data" (Rossiter & Garcia, 2010: 49).

2. Method

Considering the research objectives, the netnography lends well to the issue at hand because it is a non-invasive, immersive approach to consumer behaviour via online interactions (Kozinets, 2002). The researcher adapts ethnographic research techniques to the study of wine consumers' communities who interact via asynchronous, informal, cyber mediated communication (Kozinets, 2002). It is advantageous because it is applicable also for comparative translocal sites of the social (Rokka, 2010) and longitudinal studies, considering data traceability.

In order to inquire whether including time and narratives return results for marketing strategies, the online Web 2.0 environment provides easily quantifiable online presence metrics (Xun and Reynolds, 2010). The study considers the top ten most attractive posts featuring on the Facebook pages of the 14 organic and biodynamic wine producers in Romania. All 825 posts date back to the latest 12

months and are rated according to the three conventional evaluative indicators of likes, shares and comments. The assumption is that the most commented posts are the best purchasing predictors and have the highest weight in facilitating the transition between prospective, new and loyal customer behaviour. A recent netnographic study on fashion brands (Loureiro et al, 2019) validates this assertion, as it discovers that consumers react to hashtags, updated photos and videos by an intensification, acceleration and densification of direct interaction via comments, blogs, vlogs, following a cumulative logic that leads to sales.

The resulting 42 texts were checked for time references in connection to claims of authenticity and historicity by means of narrative techniques. Also included in the thematic analysis were 26 blog posts dating to the same period and belonging to the 6 of the 14 producers of organic and biodynamic wine who host a blog on their website (i.e. Petro Vaselo, Alira, Nachbil, Domeniile Franco-Române, Adamclisi and Crama Frâncu). These blog posts fulfilled the cumulative inclusion criteria of receiving a minimum of 10 comments, 40 likes and three shares each. The 68 texts range from 20 to 130 words and include 211 hashtags that are analysed using the same conceptualisation and categorisation across storytelling and time agency dimensions. For confidentiality reasons, the data set excluded personal identifiers apart from vineyard name.

Data mining and ensuing descriptive coding are performed on textual social media and blog posts as research units. The sense-making processes that surfaced during thematic analysis revealed the following seven thematic categories: (1) weekend, (2) weekdays and casual moments, (3) seasonality, (4) historicity, (5) events and celebrations, (6) the temporal dimension of technology, artistry and craftsmanship, (7) quality time and memorability.

3. Findings

The data-driven thematic analysis portrays the role and scope of social media communication in its narrative and time-bound component regarding organic wine. It scrutinizes the realm of inter-subjectivity and traded meanings by which digital storytelling reveals shared understandings of cultural identity to a wine community. The findings are grouped according to the respective time category.

3.1. Events and celebrations

A miscellaneous pattern of omnivorous consumption emerges, as producers invite consumers to a broad range of indoor and outdoor wine-tasting events, ranging from popular pizza diners, steak houses and premium restaurants, to retro parties, poetry recitals, astronomy lectures concerts, sports festivals or theatre shows. Representative posts thereof ensue: "Fun, trail run, 12h cycling, wine and live music!" (Catleya, E5), "Fun, nature, relax and great people!" (Terra Natura, E2); "In the wedding season, meal arrangements can incorporate so beautifully the

memories of a good wine" (Nachbil, E2). The use of events boosts experiential attributes: ex: poetry recital and astronomy lecture under the clear night sky

Another time promotion strategy targets holidays and international days: "For the international Picnic Day, why not fetch a blanket and picnic basket, a bottle of Sauvignon Blanc and go out to the nearest park. Closing your phone would be a good idea too" (Domeniile Adamclisi, E6); "For the International Laughter Day, post your best joke here and win an exquisite wine gift" (Domeniul Bogdan, E5); "Celebrate the International Family Day! Reignite the love flame and invite your partner to a romantic dinner" (Agape, E3).

3.2. Weekend

References to the weekend abound in the organic wine marketers' posts. Some examples follow: "How do you pair rucola? Simple! Pour a glass of ruby-red, velvety Merlot and set dinner to start the weekend!" (Lechburg, E2); "Uncork the weekend!" (Domeniile Franco-Române, E7); "Our way to express our love for the weekend" (Crama Frâncu, E5); "Let's make this weekend about Pinot Noir" (Nachbil, E4).

3.3. Weekdays and casual moments

Marketers' discourse attempts to institutionalize wine drinking for a wide array of everyday situations, as the following excerpts attest: "Every Monday is a chance to start a sparkling week! #TimetoParty" (Nachbil, E3); "Enjoy being healthy every day!" (Lechburg, E2); "After a full day, it can be easier than you think to create a moment of relaxation. A glass of red wine while you immerse yourself in a good book and detach yourself from the everyday hustle" (Domeniile Adamclisi, E3); "Every day we can find reasons to celebrate, with our nearest and dearest" (Vitis Metamorfosis, E4); "A day without wine is like a day without sun" (Louis Pasteur, in: Catleya, E5); "The perfect way to start the week" (Petro Vaselo, E2); "For an inspired make-up session you can try a classical tutorial or, better still, open a bottle of Eleganza and let yourself be fabulous" (Alira, E5)

3.4. Seasonal references

This category highlights the escapist trope of reconnecting to natural seasonal flows, coupled with gregarious values: "A refreshing Rosé and dear friends. A true #summer story!" (Domeniile Franco-Române, E3); "What are you doing next holiday? We await your visit at the cellar!" (Domeniile Franco-Române, E1); "Warm May evenings @Lechburg wines" (Lechburg, E1); "There is nothing quite like having a springtime picnic under the shade of the trees at Emiliana Organic Vineyards!" (Terra Natura, E1); "I was amazed at this return to the simple things, to traditions that matter, as antidote to our world of immediacy and inconsequential speed" (Petro Vaselo, blog, E2); "A dream-like place, where you can find refuge and time to unwind, away from the maddening crowd!" (Alira, E3).

3.5. History

Historical references to provenance are strategies of authentication that sometimes incorporate patriotic national considerations and serve to construct narrative memorability, legitimacy and credibility. Here are some social media excerpts: "Have a taste of history visiting the archaeological sites of ancient necropolis, Roman aqueducts and Byzantine fortresses. Our vineyard is in the vicinity, a blessed space where history unites with wine cultures" (Crama Frîncu, E3); "Wine is one of the most vivid expressions of culture and civilization. Wherever there is wine, you will find respect for nature. Romania has safeguarded this tradition for 2500 years and continues to do so (Domeniile Adamclisi, E1); "We believe wine is the expression of its own terroir: the sun, the wind, the rain, the earth, people, history, culture and each people's story. This bottle of Primordial Chardonnay encapsulates a fascinating world, with a thousand-year tradition, from the renowned Dobrogea historical region" (Domeniul Bogdan, E3); "Take tradition forward! Choose your tribe and belong!" (Alira, E1); "During the Belle Époque, prince Anton Bibescu, Marcel Proust and their friends savoured Corcova wines at Paris. In 2007, the Bordeaux oenologist Laurent Pfeffer founded Catleya, whose name stands for an orchid symbolising love and pleasure from Proust's books. Share our #JoiedeVivre!" (Alira, E7).

3.6. The temporal dimension of technology, artistry and craftsmanship

The discursive construction of temporality follows a sequence of moments from the onset of production to the consumption, with a narrative underpinning structure. The temporal site of wine-making contains embedded cues: "Crama Frîncu is a classical among moderns: made in accordance to tradition, with the help of latest technologies" (Crama Frîncu, E2)"; "The quality depends on the ratio of the leaf area to the quality of the grapes. We control the grape yield by careful pruning, rigorous shoot thinning and reduction in the number of bunches in the early summer (Agape, E1); "We strictly monitor the ripening of the grapes is strictly monitored and focus our attention on several parameters: chemical, physical, sensorial. Based on all these factors we decide the right moment for harvest" (Catleya, E1); "In biodynamic viticulture, choosing the perfect timing for each activity is an art" (Nachbil, E1).

This temporal logic displays an anti-Fordist outlook on viticulture and wine production that proposes alternatives to the mechanical standards of uniformization, efficiency-driven, high volume and low cost. The premodern slow time turns to artisanal methods of production to respond to consumers of natural, home-produced wine who long for homemade wine. The nostalgia of city dwellers with rustic, rural origins infuses the promotional rhetoric. The techne discursive trope thus features long-standing wine making technologies that provide a guarantee for authenticity

3.7. Quality time & memorability

The marketers' references to memorable experiences of wine drinking rely on downshifting and reflexion, standing back and letting time flow by. There is a contrasting tension between the controlled production process illustrated above and abandoning control for consumption: "We gloss over so many experiences, all piled up, engulfed, compressed; it's important to have some sort of an anchor, that stands out. You don't only buy a wine, but a memory, a keep-safe against forgetting" (Nachbil, blog, E5); "Breathe the scented air, feel the flavours and savour a wholesome treat, hear the leaves quiver – feast on the unique sense of eternity" (Terra Natura, E4); "Take your time and discuss good movies with a glass of wine" (Alira, E2); "It's time to indulge! Call your friends for a girls' night in with a delightful Rosé" (Alira, E3); "Stories flow differently with good friends, good food and matching wine!" (Domeniul Bogdan, E2); "Enjoy classical music with a glass of Flamma Baricat, full of character! (Alira, E4)

Wine functions in this context as memento of a beautiful experience, a postcard memory shared with loved ones and rekindled by the wine artisan's imprint. The temporary respite from the urban hectic rhythm invokes slow living, togetherness and conviviality. Slow living is manifest in unitasking and the capacity to control sequence by avoiding overlapping, interspersed or fused activities.

3.8. Time agency

Time agency proposes a reverence for the past that binds together producers and consumers within a traditionalist outlook with an innovative twist. Analysed social media content speaks about attempts to seek in-group resemblance by means of time capital. Winemakers act as taste makers, community leaders, entrepreneurs who safeguard the spirit of place. Time attributes are value statements and cultural contrivances that act as unique selling propositions for boutique organic and biodynamic wines.

Conclusions

Wine narratives expressed via social media are important because they reflect the customer-centric orientation required of wine marketers to gain insight into consumers' decision-making processes. These reflective, argumentative and deliberative practices are often sprout with doubt, hesitation, cognitive dissonance and rumination. The participatory, many-to-many mode of dissemination acts as credibility catalyst.

A particularity of the emerging showcased market is the lack of specialisation: organic and biodynamic vine growers are also wine makers and rarely have any connection to retailers or large distribution chains. Their digital communication hence targets the direct relationship to end-consumers. There is a nuanced balance to negotiate between the traditional heritage of localism and the need for agile adaptation to changing consumer groups and the accommodation to

expansion ambitions. Boutique producers plan to permeate a larger commodity chain in retail or HoReCa instead of selling only to locals at cellar door or on premise. They achieve this by events as networking opportunities and by their promotional rhetoric.

More grounded theory is needed to explore inductively, bottom-up approaches to tribalization, particularly in the context of urban dwellers' fantasy migration to rural idyll and pursuits of digital self. Statements such as: "Nature is not enslaved by technology, nor are we enslaved by time" (Alira blog, E6) point to slow living and post-consumerist creeds wherein storytelling and underlying worldviews become essential arguments. In the explored rhetoric stances, time functions as binding factor that morphs synesthetic experiences of the five senses: "time to see the picturesque hillside vineyards, to hear the shiver of the nearby forest and its soothing breeze, to be transposed and reimmersed in a distant idyllic reality of savour and flavour, delightful smell of vines and robust scent of moist earth" (Petro Vaselo blog, E7).

The audience appreciates time narratives, as the visibility and attractiveness indicators reveal. Consequently, such digital storytelling tactics function as predictors of the likelihood to convert wine appreciation into purchase. They also act as means to stabilize changing consumer preferences, by creating a tradition that enacts forlorn values of solidarity and simplicity divergent from the corporate urban social world that buyers are generally accustomed to.

The explored excerpts point to drinking wine as a postcard memory, a moment suspended in time that testifies to a form of resistance to hectic life rhythm. Infused in this nostalgic rhetoric are social imageries and prescriptive contents regarding wholesome lifestyles and a slow living philosophy. The current study concludes that the marketers' approach needs to be not only statistically oriented, but taking a stylistic and aesthetic, even philosophical stance: because wine is an experiential product. Hence, an enlarged framework is necessary to incorporate time agency and storytelling across innovative methodological approaches, which acknowledge that rhetoric and discourse breed emotions which convert to purchasing decisions. As per the well-known Italian aphorism "Si non e vero, e ben trovato", people want to buy the story, even if it's fantasy, plausibly out of an escapist drive that complements their hedonic pursuit.

In a country whose wine branding was built with very inexpensive wine, usually sold bulk, organic producers strive to communicate impressions of conviviality and warmth to convert exceptional consumption and celebratory regimes of time use into frequent or everyday practice.

Organic wine lovers form a post-modern tribe (Rokka, 2010) whose online co-presence unfolds as a virtual community of taste. It materializes in a hub for the dissemination of insight and sharing of time cues that help customer acquisition and retention. These spaces of fragmented little mass conceptualize consumers from a more empowering stance, as traders of intelligibility and amateur "judges of experience" whose wine decisions reflect lifestyle choices. As Matthews and

Sunderland (2013) argue, stories are listenable, appealing and endearing if they tell something about us. This research design runs the challenge of recontextualizing in a marketing-oriented paradigm aimed at wine purchasing behaviour stories as a repertoire of discursive artefacts. A second challenge is to safeguard the in-depth approach to rhetoric modes and tone of voice whilst expanding the scale of analysis to bring scalability for more practical usability. Beginning from this exploratory stage, aggregate data of larger samples can trace typologies and patterns in a comprehensive, mixed methodology.

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