



Eleonora Guadagno

With a foreword by Antonello Bonfante

Harvest Herstories

A brief essay on Women and Viticulture in Italy

IL Sileno
Edizioni



Eleonora Guadagno

Harvest herstories

A brief essay on Women and Viticulture in Italy

*With a foreword by Antonello Bonfante,
Senior Researcher at CNR-ISAFOM, Italy*



Geographies *of the*
Anthropocene

OPEN
ACCESS 
PEER-REVIEWED
SERIES

il Sileno
Edizioni
ISSN 2611-3171

Harvest herstories
A brief essay on Women and Viticulture in Italy

Eleonora Guadagno

is a monographic volume of the Open Access and peer-reviewed series
“Geographies of the Anthropocene” published by Il Sileno Edizioni

www.ilsileno.it/



Copyright © 2024 by Il Sileno Edizioni
International Scientific Publisher, VAT 03716380781
Via Piave, 3/A, 87035 - Lago (CS), Italy, e-mail: ilsilenoedizioni@gmail.com

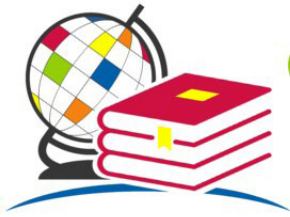
This work is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial - No
derivative 4.0 International License.



The work, including all its parts, is protected by copyright law. The user at the time of
downloading the work accepts all the conditions of the license to use the work, provided
and communicated on the website

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

ISBN 979-12-80064-47-9



Geographies of the Anthropocene

OPEN
ACCESS



PEER-REVIEWED
SERIES

ISSN 2611-3171

Geographies of the Anthropocene

Open Access and Peer-Reviewed series

Editor-In-Chief: Francesco De Pascale, Department of Human and Social Sciences, eCampus University, Italy.

Associate Editors: Salvatore Cannizzaro (Department of Humanities, University of Catania, Italy); Sebastiano D'Amico (Head of Department of Geosciences, University of Malta, Malta); Fausto Marincioni (Department of Life and Environmental Sciences, Università Politecnica delle Marche, Italy), Leonardo Mercatanti (Department of Culture and Society, University of Palermo, Italy); Francesco Muto (Department of Biology, Ecology and Earth Sciences, University of Calabria, Italy), Charles Travis (School of Histories and Humanities, Trinity College Dublin; University of Texas, Arlington, U.S.A.).

Editorial Board: Mohamed Abioui (Ibn Zohr University, Morocco), Valentina Castronuovo (Italian National Research Council – Institute for Research on Innovation and Services for Development, Italy); Andrea Cerase (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy), Valeria Dattilo (University “G. D’Annunzio” Chieti-Pescara, Italy), Lorenzo D’Agostino (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, U.S.A.); Dante Di Matteo (University E-Campus, Italy); Jonathan Gómez Cantero (Departamento de Meteorología de Castilla-La Mancha Media, Spain), Eleonora Guadagno (University of Naples “L’Orientale”, Italy); Davide Mastroianni (University of Siena, Italy), Giovanni Messina (University of Messina, Italy), Joan Rossello Geli (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain), Gaetano Sabato (University of Palermo, Italy), Carmine Vacca (University of Calabria, Italy), Nikoleta Zampaki (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece).

International Scientific Board: Marie-Theres Albert (UNESCO Chair in Heritage Studies, University of Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany), David Alexander (University College London, England), Lina Maria Calandra (University of L'Aquila, Italy); Salvatore Cannizzaro (University of Catania, Italy), Fabio Carnelli (EURAC Research, Bolzano, Italy); Carlo Colloca (University of Catania, Italy), Gian Luigi Corinto (University of Macerata, Italy), Girolamo Cusimano (University of Palermo, Italy), Bharat Dahiya (Director, Research Center for Integrated Sustainable Development, College of Interdisciplinary Studies Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand); Sebastiano D'Amico (University of Malta, Malta), Armida de La Garza (University College Cork, Ireland), Elena Dell'Agnese (University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy; Vice President of IGU), Piero Farabollini (University of Camerino, Italy), Massimiliano Fazzini (University of Camerino; University of Ferrara, Italy; Chair of the "Climate Risk" Area of the Italian Society of Environmental Geology); Giuseppe Forino (Bangor University, Wales, UK), Virginia García Acosta (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, CIESAS, México); Cristiano Giorda (University of Turin, Italy), Giovanni Gugg (LESC, Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative, CNRS – Université Paris-Nanterre, France), Luca Jourdan (University of Bologna, Italy), Francesca Romana Lugerì (ISPRA, University of Camerino, Italy), Cary J. Mock (University of South Carolina, U.S.A.; Member of IGU Commission on Hazard and Risk), Enrico Nicosia (University of Messina, Italy); Gilberto Pambianchi (University of Camerino, Italy), Silvia Peppoloni (Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia, Italy; Secretary General of IAPG; Councillor of IUGS), Isabel Maria Cogumbreiro Estrela Rego (University of the Azores, Portugal), Andrea Riggio (University of Cassino and Southern Lazio, Italy), Jean-Claude Roger (University of Maryland, College Park, U.S.A.; Terrestrial Information Systems Laboratory, Code 619, NASA Goddard Space Flight Center, Greenbelt, U.S.A.); Vito Teti (University of Calabria, Italy), Bruno Vecchio (University of Florence, Italy), Masumi Zaiki (Seikei University, Japan; Secretary of IGU Commission on Hazard and Risk).

Graphic Project and Layout Design:

Rosetta Capolupo, Luigi Frascino e Michela Damiano.

Website: www.ilsileno.it/geographiesoftheanthropocene

The book series “Geographies of the Anthropocene” edited by the Scientific International Publisher “Il Sileno” (Il Sileno Edizioni) will discuss the new processes of the Anthropocene epoch through the various worldviews of geoscientists and humanists, intersecting disciplines of Geosciences, Geography, Geoethics, Philosophy, Socio-Anthropology, Sociology of Environment and Territory, Psychology, Economics, Environmental Humanities and cognate disciplines.

Geoethics focuses on how scientists (natural and social), arts and humanities scholars working in tandem can become more aware of their ethical responsibilities to guide society on matters related to public safety in the face of natural hazards, sustainable use of resources, climate change and protection of the environment. Furthermore, the integrated and multiple perspectives of the Environmental Humanities, can help to more fully understand the cultures of, and the cultures which frame the Anthropocene. Indeed, the focus of Geoethics and Environmental Humanities research, that is, the analysis of the way humans think and act for the purpose of advising and suggesting appropriate behaviors where human activities interact with the geosphere, is dialectically linked to the complex concept of Anthropocene.

The book series “Geographies of the Anthropocene” publishes online volumes, both collective volumes and monographs, which are set in the perspective of providing reflections, work materials and experimentation in the fields of research and education about the new geographies of the Anthropocene.

“Geographies of the Anthropocene” encourages proposals that address one or more themes, including case studies, but welcome all volumes related to the interdisciplinary context of the Anthropocene. Published volumes are subject to a review process (**double blind peer review**) to ensure their scientific rigor.

The volume proposals can be presented in English, Italian, French or Spanish.

The choice of digital Open Access format is coherent with the flexible structure of the series, in order to facilitate the direct accessibility and usability by both authors and readers.

To Antonietta who inspired this narration
among the different stories

*What I wanted was every last thing, every layer of speech and thought,
stroke of light on bark or walls, every smell, pothole, pain, crack, delusion,
held still and held together – radiant, everlasting.* Alice Munro – *Lives of
Girls and Women*, 1971

The book benefited from funding provided by the Laura Bassi scholarship reward in April 2024. The Laura Bassi Scholarship was established in 2018 with the aim of providing editorial assistance to postgraduates and junior academics whose research focuses on neglected topics of study, broadly construed, within their disciplines.

This volume also benefited from the “publication funds” (date 2.10.2024) from the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Naples “L’Orientale”.

The Author declares she has used the aid of Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools for a preliminary check on the English rendition of this text.

Cover: “VEGETA. Vulnerability, Environment, GEnder, Territory and Agriculture”. Credit: E. Guadagno, via Piklr 2024.

Abstract

This research provides an in-depth examination of the multifaceted roles of women in Italy's viticulture industry, focusing on the challenges, stigmatizations, and "glassing" processes they face. Women are depicted not merely as laborers but as creators and stewards of diverse, often "marginalized," spaces.

Moving the discussion from the EU's and Italian's normative frameworks and official data sources, the study maps the different associations and entities involved and advocating for women's roles in viticulture, analyzing both production and valorization on a national scale. It aims to offer a deeper understanding of the complexities which surround women's participation and challenges in the field of viticulture, laying the groundwork for future research and deeper reflection, especially in light of climate change effects.

In order to contribute to the field of geography, the research highlights the spatial dimension of the intersectional vulnerability faced by women in Italian viticulture. The idea is to inspect women's roles in the construction of alternative spaces, adding a crucial dimension (gender) into the understanding of the evolution of human geography and cultural landscapes. Despite a lack of literature and detailed data, the research intends to open the way for further inquiries and to introduce analytical elements to the existing debate. This approach is anchored in official statistics, observations, questionnaires, and interviews conducted since 2018.

The results acknowledge the contributions of all participants, aiming to present a novel perspective within a heavily scrutinized domain, transcending prevalent marketing narratives associated with "liberal feminism" and stereotypes.

The exploration presents a richly diverse context, characterized by varied experiences and narratives. The research does not seek definitive answers, but generally aims to define a new paradigm on the cultural, social, and environmental dimensions that construct societal "spatiality." Ultimately, this essay invites readers to engage in a critical way with the intersectional dynamics shaping women's experiences in viticulture and fostering a deeper understanding of the diverse roles they play within this intricate ecosystem.

Keywords: Gender, viticulture, vulnerability

<i>Foreword</i>	13
<i>Premise</i>	16
<i>Introduction</i>	23
1. Main legal aspects	34
1.1 <i>The EU level</i>	36
1.2 <i>The national regulation</i>	41
2. Methodology	52
2.1 <i>The semi-structured interviews</i>	53
2.2 <i>The sample</i>	56
3. Sources and data	60
3.1 <i>An overview of official data</i>	63
3.2 <i>Viticultural workforce</i>	67
3.3 <i>Education and training</i>	74
3.4 <i>Italian wine association's and women representation</i>	78
4. Evidence from the “ground”	88
4.1 <i>Work-life (in)balance</i>	88
4.2 <i>Work-related difficulties</i>	89
4.3 <i>Associationism and representativeness</i>	90
4.4 <i>Climate change related pressure</i>	91
4.5 <i>Some results</i>	92
5. Open conclusions	95
<i>Bibliography</i>	101
<i>Figures and Tables Index</i>	122
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	124

Foreword

By Antonello Bonfante, Senior Researcher at CNR-ISAFO, Italy

The emancipation of women has been, and still is, one of the great social challenges of our time. In Italy, the journey towards equality has gone through fundamental stages, such as the right to vote in 1946, access to public office and professions in 1963, and the reform of family law in 1975, which enshrined legal equality between spouses. These milestones have broken down historical barriers, paving the way for a new understanding of women's work and leadership. It has been a journey of conquests and resistance, of stories of women who have fought to assert their role in society and in the world of work, often challenging ingrained stereotypes and overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Today we can recognize how much this long journey has made our society richer and more diverse. Women and men have been able to build new possibilities and shared values, seeking no longer just individual independence, but authentic collaboration. As a famous verse by the poet Alda Merini states, "*I was born when you told me I was beautiful, I lived when you told me I was brave.*" This book tells the story of the courage of so many women who, often invisible, have built an invaluable cultural and human heritage. *Harvest Herstories* invites us to explore a specific, but deeply symbolic theme: the role of women in Italian viticulture.

In this book, Eleonora Guadagno takes us on a journey through the vineyards of Italy, revealing the crucial role that women play in this iconic sector. This is more than just an examination of the challenges women face; it is an exploration of how they are shaping the future of winemaking. Guadagno uncovers the hidden stories of women who not only work in the vineyards, but also create innovative and vibrant spaces in the world of wine. Through compelling stories and in-depth research, *Harvest Herstories* offers a fresh and stimulating perspective on Italian viticulture.

This text explores the fascinating evolution within the Italian wine industry. Although often imagined as a world steeped in tradition, with scenic vineyards and ancient cellars, a silent revolution is taking place, led by women. They are no longer simply daughters or wives of winemakers; instead, they are emerging as oenologists, sommeliers, and entrepreneurs. These women bring new perspectives and renewed energy to the sector, emphasizing sustainability and deep respect for the land.

For centuries, the role of women in the world of wine has been confined

to the background, within the domestic walls or in the fields, far from the spotlight and recognition. Yet, with silent tenacity and unparalleled passion, women have made a decisive contribution to the Italian winemaking tradition. Mothers, daughters, sisters, guardians of ancient knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, have shaped with their hands the character of unique and inimitable wines.

In fact, viticulture, a sector traditionally associated with male strength and peasant wisdom, is now also opening up to the female perspective, offering women a ground for expression and innovation. This is not just a change of roles, but a real cultural transformation. Women, through their commitment and dedication, are redefining the relationship with the land, transforming this ancient work into a symbol of resilience, passion, and creativity.

As the book argues, these women are not simply workers, but authentic creators of spaces and meanings, guardians of traditions and innovators capable of enriching the world of wine with a unique sensitivity.

But what emerges from these stories is also a message of collaboration and complementarity. Men and women should not compete, but rather complement each other. Each, with their own abilities and peculiarities, can contribute to a harmony that goes beyond the logic of separation and competition. Collaboration between genders is not an abstract ideal, but a concrete value, which can inspire profound changes, not only in the world of work, but in society as a whole. As Fabrizio De André sings, "*Women and men of a small planet, companions and companions on the journey,*" we are all part of a single humanity, and together we can face the challenges of our time. This book is therefore an invitation to reflect, to discover and to appreciate the contribution of women in a field that has often relegated them to marginal roles. Today, more than ever, it is necessary to recognize that progress is built not through competition, but through synergy and mutual respect. Only in this way, in fact, can we hope to build a truly inclusive society, capable of valuing differences and harmonizing talents.

I therefore leave readers to discover these stories of lives lived among the rows of Italian vineyards, of women who, day after day, carry on with strength and dedication an ancient but never predictable job. I hope that these pages will inspire deep reflections, not only on the role of women in viticulture, but also on the meaning of our common human journey.

While he was teaching her how to make love, she was teaching him how to love. (Fabrizio De André)

Enjoy the reading.

Premise

Agriculture—particularly viticulture, as it will be evidenced—stands at the intersection of both environmental and gender concerns within a broader social context. Gender disparities, as known, still permeate this economic sector, yet it also serves as a focal point for livelihood initiatives and various “feminine” or “eco-feminist” endeavors and experiments.

Different questions arise from these assumptions. In a landscape where women and gender minorities face unequal access to land, how can alternative models be developed? How can we establish connections between environmental challenges and gender inequities in wine production? What insights do women actively engaged in viticulture offer? How can their perspectives and expertise enrich viticultural practices and, more broadly, our relationship with the land and environment? And how might these perspectives contribute to fostering sustainable, equitable viticulture practices?

This essay isn’t solely aimed at women or written exclusively by a woman for women. Instead, it suggests that a different and variegated audience might find valuable insights within its pages, prompting wider reflections. The text emphasizes the importance of examining in a critical way and potentially revising one’s perceptions of reality which is often distorted by biases and preconceived judgments, particularly those related to the galaxy of “gender.”¹ While the focus is on analyzing the intersections of the female experience with specific circumstances, it doesn’t exclude other perspectives or limit its relevance to “women” alone. Moreover, it is clear that the text is not only about “women,” but about all groups and spaces of action that become marginalized as a pivotal element of power structures. The policy proposals that are imagined to be more incisive (there is time later to ensure their effectiveness at any rate) turn out to be extremely rhetorical and do not go to the actual dimensions of discrimination, but almost seem to “normalize” it.

This brief essay draws inspiration from personal experiences within the wine industry, such as participating in grape harvests in Beaujolais and joining movements against the use of pesticides and phytosanitary products in Bordeaux. Furthermore, it stems from numerous research endeavors, both individual and collaborative,² since 2018, which have immersed me in

¹ In order to refer to a geographical approach to gender, I here refer to the work of Borghi & Dell’Agnese (2009).

² These researches have resulted in different papers. See: Guadagno (2023); Gabellieri, Gallia

narratives, imagery, and practices within various Italian viticultural contexts, such as the participation in different institutional forums and events concerning the topic;³ additionally, since 2023, I have been a member of the international scientific committee of the French-based research and publication group *Agrigenre. Le genre dans les mondes agricoles & Ecologisation des pratiques*.⁴

These qualitative studies, principally carried out in Italy, involved thorough examinations of diverse regions, facilitating interactions with key stakeholders or individuals deeply embedded in the wine world. These included vineyard owners, winemakers, and industry experts whose insights not only answered research inquiries but also unveiled the daily challenges, concerns, and aspirations inherent in their craft. These exchanges have underscored the importance of scrutinizing a reality often oversimplified and commodified for marketing and commercial purposes. The world of wine, with its millennia-old traditions and contemporary struggles, warrants nuanced and critical scrutiny, transcending facile promotional narratives – above all in Italy – where the cultural landscape and the social-economic dimensions are intricated and complex (Gambi, 1994; Blondel, 2006). As Canigiani argues, “it is a widespread awareness that we cannot delude ourselves into thinking that we are preserving the landscape, preserving the material signs imprinted in it by history while the flow of time changes its meanings and values” (2008, p. 135).

Particularly, I intend to explore here a specific (even if overlooked) aspect: the role of women in viticulture. In fact, while much has been written and documented in consideration of “feminine” agriculture and the relative practices, challenges, and orientations within the agricultural sector, there is still a lack of specific analysis within the particular context of viticulture even if women’s contributions to this field are significant and diverse. That’s why all facets of those aspects deserve a comprehensive study and recognition.⁵

& Guadagno (2023); Iovino, Guadagno & Bagnoli (2023).

³ I took part in the “Campania.Wine” events in 2022 and 2023 (as a relator), to “TeatrodelGusto” festival (Naples, 4–5 May 2024) and to “Vigneto” Italia (Naples, 2–4 June 2024).

⁴ <https://agrigenre.hypotheses.org/>. The last access of all websites is May 2024.

⁵ A considerable amount of literature, fiction, and programs are dedicated to the world of wine from a “feminine” perspective. Among these is the podcast “Filles de Vignes,” broadcast on the French-based web radio RadioVino as well as on all podcast platforms. It is available here: <https://www.radiovino.fr/fdv> or here: <https://www.fillesdevignes.com>. All the translations of the citations in the text have been made by the author. I also mention here the publication (and all the references included)—although it has a very different perspective from the one being adopted in this pamphlet—by journalist and sommelier Barbara Sgarzi (2022), whom I had the opportunity to interview on May 17, 2024. Her work, “Vino, Donne e Leadership” (“Wine, Women and Leadership”), masterfully highlights how even traits of vulnerability can become key elements of success under certain circumstances (following the hypothesis

The wine sector, indeed, beyond its beauty and appeal (often related to specific marketing aimed at economic “distinction” to put it in Bourdellian terms), reveals a myriad of crucial economic, social, and environmental issues, which are historically structured and overlapped.⁶ This is because wine is not only an agricultural product, but it is anchored in culture, traditional know how, territories, landscape, and – of course – a whole word of marketing and tourism.

In his 2002 work published on “Social Register,” *The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture*, David Harvey considers that:

Wine consumption has many dimensions that open paths to profitable exploitation. For many it is an aesthetic experience. Beyond the sheer pleasure (for some) of a fine wine with the right food, there lie all sorts of other referents within the Western tradition that track back to mythology (Dionysus and Bacchus), religion (the blood of Jesus and communion rituals) and traditions celebrated in festivals, poetry, song and literature. Knowledge of wines and “proper” appreciation is often a sign of class and is analyzable as a form of “cultural” capital (as Bourdieu would put it). Getting the wine right may have helped to seal more than a few major business deals (would you trust someone who did not know how to select a wine?). Style of wine is related to regional cuisines and there by embedded in those practices that turn regionality into a way of life marked by distinctive structures of feeling (it is hard to imagine

by stated by Brené Brown who reached notoriety following her TED Talk “The Power of Vulnerability” in December 2010). The book, from the voices of the interviewees, discusses the concept of networking and empowerment in a sustainable, equitable, and inspirational perspective. It aims at sharing virtuous stories from Italian and global vineyards, presenting the results of the hard work by women, where challenging paths and “difficult” life stories are not uncommon. On the same topic, but in the French context see: Gasparotto (2021) and Gasparotto & Garillot (2022).

⁶ It is interesting to note that these aspects were already highlighted by a botanist and naturalist from Naples who lived in the first half of the 19th century and later became the first director of the Botanical Garden of Naples. In his “Proposal for a Systematic General Description of the Grape Vines and the Wines of the Kingdom of Naples,” he stated in the Foreword: “Among the various objects worthy of particular attention by agronomists, the cultivation of the vine holds a significant place. Although the fruits of the vine and the many products derived from it did not serve as the basis for immediate human subsistence, the instinctive desire to procure alcoholic beverages, even among ‘savages,’ underscores the importance of this cultivation. The principal liqueur derived from the fruit, whose origins are lost in the mists of history, further justifies the prominent place we assign to this cultivation.”

Zorba the Greek drinking Mondavi Californian jug wine, even though the latter is sold in Athens airport). The wine trade is about money and profit but it is also about culture in all of its senses (from the culture of the product to the cultural practices that surround its consumption and the cultural capital that can evolve alongside among both producers and consumers). The perpetual search for monopoly rents entails seeking out criteria of speciality, uniqueness, originality and authenticity in each of these realms. If uniqueness cannot be established by appeal to ‘terroir’ and tradition, or by straight description of flavour, then other modes of distinction must be invoked to establish monopoly claims and discourses devised to guarantee the truth of those claims (the wine that guarantees seduction or the wine that goes with nostalgia and the log fire, are current advertising tropes in the USA). In practice what we find within the wine trade is a host of competing discourses, all with different truth claims about the uniqueness of the product (p. 100).

That’s why its complexity renders the sector very fascinating even if a demanding area of study, necessitating a multidisciplinary approach and, at the same time, a broader sensitivity towards the spatial, economic, environmental, and social dynamics that frame and define it.

Finally, this essay moves from the assumption that the “world of wine” represents much more than a reality linked with a “mere” beverage to be enjoyed: it is a universe replete with history, culture, labor, and individual and collective struggles and passion, deserving exploration and understanding in all its intricacies and nuances.

In any case, if there is anything “geographical” it is precisely the wine-vine pair that is symbolic, especially in Italy, of the territory and all the material and immaterial elements that structure it, even in its conflicting features.⁷ The study of viticulture, as recalled by De Blij in his *Wine: A Geographical Appreciation* of 1983, appears essential for geography as a discipline capable of understanding the criticalities of a sector so closely tied, and yet vulnerable, to the environment and the effects of human activity. It is also capable of analyzing the territories and the actors who inhabit them and articulating their needs, inasmuch as:

⁷ These aspects have been extensively emphasized by a geographical literature that has long dealt with such issues, all of which are evidently related to those of landscape. See in this regard—in alphabetical order—Gambi (1972; 1977; 1994); Grillotti di Giacomo (1992, 2000); Sestini (1947; 1957; 1963a; 1963b); Sereno (1983; 1985; 1998; 2001); Vallega (1985); Zerbi (1987; 1993; 1994; 1996) and, more recently, Cangiani (2008).

Not only does it involve considerations of climate and soil, the availability of water and the threat of disease, local and regional methods of cultivating the vine, and widely varying harvesting practices; the geography of viticulture also extends to the development of distinct cultural landscapes, the perpetuation of regional traditions and preferences, processes of diffusion, market competition, and even political issues. Viticulture and viniculture [...] can be studied from many viewpoints, but none provides the particular spatial perspective, so essential to both endeavors, as effectively as does geography. Choosing a bottle of wine is best done with some knowledge of region and place of origin, system of classification, and environmental conditions during the year of production. All three of these specifics are fundamentally geographic (pp. 1-2).

Moreover, Ray Johnson and Johan Bruwer (2010) described “winescape” as the multidimensional perception of a wine region, where elements such as vineyards, wineries, wines, landscape, and cultural heritage are seamlessly integrated. In light of these implications, the present study will focus on the intricacies of gendered labor within the viticulture industry. Despite a dearth of literature and precise data, as I will show, the objective is to pave the way for further research avenues and introduce novel elements of analysis into the debate (see for example Benedetto & Corinto, 2015). In consideration of “gendered viticulture” concepts, this book wants to present some challenges and issues arising from this definition; however, within the limited space of this essay, the discussion will be restricted to examining the role of “women” in viticulture, considering it irrespectively of individual gender orientations that seem very complicate to detect.⁸

It is evident how much the topic of gender inequality is related to the policy debate on environmental issues, particularly regarding non-binary identities (Kumar, 2021; Shukla et al., 2024). Fortunately, the recognition of queer identities is increasingly permeating social, political, economic, and institutional spheres (Russel et al., 2023; Worthen, 2023; Roberson et al., 2024). These perspectives, at least in the conceptual-theoretical frame, aim to

⁸ In the world of viticulture, as well as agriculture more broadly, there is a lack of documented data or scientific research regarding various sexual orientations. Instead, references are made to testimonials and gray literature (among the others: <https://terres-et-territoires.com/cest-tout-frais/temoignages-faire-son-coming-out-en-milieu-agricole>, <https://www.bonappetit.com/story/rise-and-root-farm-michaela-hayes-hodge>) as well as the Queer Farmer Network based in US (<https://www.queerfarmernetwork.org/>).

raise awareness about the intersections of environment, gender identity, and other forms of subalternity (Weder & Samanta, 2021; Kosanic et al., 2022), highlighting multiple systems of oppression (Kilpatrick et al., 2023), while paradoxically strengthening networks of support and promoting collective action (Seymour, 2020; Dalton, 2023; Goldsmith et al., 2022).⁹

Therefore, the approach I will use is grounded in official statistics (at the national and EU level) and is enriched by observations, questionnaires, and surveys addressed to individuals, professionals, and trade associations' representatives in consideration of numerous fieldworks conducted since 2018; the insights from individuals who self-identify as "women" (regardless of biological sex) have been useful to construct the results and the discussion of this research.

It is important here to express gratitude to all the individuals who have generously contributed to this ongoing dialogue, namely all the people that agreed to be interviewed, who spent time talking with me, giving suggestions and data, and agreed to answer to my questions, adding different perspectives to the book's structure. Their participation has enriched its narrative which aims to provide a new perspective on the topic, and tries to overcome the dominant marketing narratives linked to "liberal feminism"¹⁰ and the numerous stereotypes to which they often adhere.

Undoubtedly, within this symbolic and socio-environmental context, we traverse a highly diverse landscape, marked by overlapping and varied experiences and perceptions. This heterogeneity underscores the complexity inherent in our exploration, encapsulating a broad spectrum of human encounters and societal dynamics. Our final objective is not to provide (impossible) definitive answers, but rather to start a deeper analysis on a subject which stands at the interplay of cultural, social, and environmental

⁹ On the issue of the imposition of gender dichotomies, we refer to the theoretical framework of Maria Lugones (2008) who, taking up Anibal Quijano's (1992) conception of power relations, defines the "current social organization as based on a modern/colonial system of gender difference and subalternity (see also: Oyewùmi, 1997).

¹⁰ Instead of digging into the systemic and structural roots of gender inequalities, "feminist" neoliberalism tends to center its attention on the individual empowerment, portraying them as self-entrepreneurs requiring correction, adaptation, and advancement. This point of view seems to disregard oppressive structures, power dynamics, inequalities, discriminations, and—on the other hand—collective efforts to contrast patriarchal structures (Prügl, 2010; 2011; 2015). The primary emphasis within this approach based on individualism is likely to create a competition among both individuals and institutions rather than to construct solidarity and networking mechanisms. Neoliberal feminism endorses market values and the proportion of competition among workers to enhance productivity and drive-up company profits instead of championing equality principles to all workers and society (Lapeyre et al., 2021).

dimensions and relations in their construction of “spatiality” (Massey, 1994).

Indeed, this discourse tries to extend far beyond surface observations or results from the fieldwork, delving into the intricate interconnections between individuals, work, social segregations, territories, and communities. It is within this web of relationships that we seek to unravel the nuanced complexities of our subject matter. Through this research, even if limited to Italy, we will focus on different aspects of the topic in consideration of a particular point of view through which to view the intricacies of our shared collective and “political” elements as also underlined, even if in a different perspective, by Donadoni (2023).

In order to frame this premise, I paraphrase a paragraph from philosopher and novelist Giulia Siviero, who in her book *Fare Femminismo (Making Feminism)*, 2024, p. 16), writes, referring to her work: “I used the word ‘women’ because I aimed to stay true to the historical period and the selfidentification of the protagonists.” The book narrates stories from feminist activism and the women’s movement (both feminist and transfemminist), acknowledging their differences, but aiming to underline their collective value and, also, points of contact. Some women recognized the significance of their relationships with other women and acted in the public sphere without explicitly identifying as “feminists.” Here, we strive to adopt a perspective that values those relationships and actions, imbuing them with political significance. As the writer and journalist, founder and editor for twelve years of *Tuttestorie*, a magazine of “stories, readings, women’s plots,” Cutrufelli writes (2024):

Feminism, or rather feminisms, are political movements. They are “politics.” But this politics is more complex, broader than what is commonly understood as such. It is not only (so to speak) the administration of the polis. It is also this, but it goes beyond. It is a politics that connects life, the care of living (the *buen vivir* of Latin American movements), and social organization. It is a politics attentive to the earth and nature, which are not mere “resources” to be exploited for profit (as taught by the Indian environmentalist Vandana Shiva). And it is also attentive to other living species, with whom we must coexist. The “politics” of feminisms is all this and much more (p. 127).

Introduction

Wine stands out as one of the most internationally influential products in the landscape of global agri-food exchanges, with significant implications for landscapes across various scales (Dollfuss, 1970; Landini, 1999; Sommers, 2008; Dougherty, 2012).¹¹ From the production processes that are intertwined with the neoliberal competition within agricultural systems to the shifting roles of workers within the industry (Desmarais, 2007) and the strategic implications of production localization and marketing strategies, the wine industry reflects a complex interconnection of socio-economic and environmental factors.¹² Among these elements one can find challenges related to unequal access to land, difficulties in work, and an economic gap also linked to prejudices arising from gender disparities (Shortall et al., 2017; Shortall et al., 2021; Dunne et al., 2021; Sachs et al., 2021; Shortall & Marangudakis, 2022). The argument holds true for the wine industry as well where, traditionally, in many wine-producing regions, men have been more involved in vineyard management and work, while women were primarily engaged in cellar activities such as bottling and labeling or “desk” activities, namely administration or management.

However, in recent decades, a significant shift in this gender dynamic has occurred (Anderson et al., 2003; Campbell & Guibert, 2007; Anderson,

¹¹ According to Prof. Gambuti, Full Professor of Food Science and Technology at the University of Naples “Federico II” who was interviewed for the purposes of this survey (28.05.2024), the wine sector is one of the most interesting due to its “worldly” aspect: it is a production that can always be improved (thus presenting a continuous challenge). Moreover, its appeal lies in the “distinctive” elements related to quality and price, making it an ideal candidate to consider not only for its purely productive aspects but also for the promotional, image, and recognizability aspects associated with it. These elements are also evident in the great harvest of wine-related film and literary production. In this regard, please refer to the Wikipedia list “Films about Wine.”

¹² The theme of “foodscapes” (Gatrell, Neid & Ross, 2011; Mandelblatt, 2012; MacKendrick, 2014; Dansero & Nicolarea, 2016; Dansero et al., 2019; De Marchi, 2020; Autiero, 2022; Spadaro, Toldo & Dansero, 2022; Autiero & Petraroli, 2024) or local foodways (Battisti et al., 2023a; Battisti et al., 2023b; Berti et al., 2023; Cevasco, Hearn & Pescini, 2023), understood as the study of spaces of production or of trade of specific food products, is carving out increasing importance within geographic studies. We also refer to the work of the funded project of the General Directorate of Research of the Italian Ministry of University and Research (MUR) related to food issues entitled “Emplacing Food. Rethinking the Territorial Dimensions of Food, in the Challenges of Justice, Sustainability, Cultural Identity and Local Development” (<https://www.emplacingfood.unito.it/>).

Nelgen & Pinilla, 2017; Overton, Murray & Banks, 2012; Rainer, 2021).¹³ Increasingly more women are engaging in viticulture at all levels, from vineyard work to agronomy and oenology, taking on increasingly active roles and bringing innovative ideas and specific skills to an industry that drives not only economics but also in terms of “enotourism,” which, on the other hand, appears to silence and conceal those who actually carry out the work in these areas.¹⁴

Moreover, evidence from various contexts, specifically in Italy—demonstrates

¹³ The underrepresentation of women in farming organizations and on corporate boards is not merely a matter of statistics; there is tangible evidence of direct discrimination. Instances have been reported where women attending farming organization meetings were asked to leave prematurely or were excluded from men-only farming dinners and celebratory events (Shortall et al., 2017). This discriminatory behavior has far-reaching consequences for women in agriculture, including depriving them of the opportunity to establish a professional identity, typically cultivated through roles on professional boards (Shortall et al., 2019).

¹⁴ Unveiled at the 2023 Vinitaly expo, the report, spearheaded by Wine Monitor, Nomisma’s Observatory dedicated to analyzing the wine market, stands poised to bolster the wine supply chain through bespoke services and strategic consultancy. Nomisma – Wine Monitor’s 2023 report unveils a remarkable problem in the Italian winery landscape: the numbers account for a tripling in number and unleashing of numerous immersive wine tourism ventures for people fascinated by both wine and gastronomy. This surge is notably fueled by the pivotal contribution of women, although hurdles loom in this rapidly expanding domain. The heartbeat of Italy’s wine tourism pulsates through quaint, family-run wineries, constituting 39% of the total (predominantly in consideration of Campania, Puglia, and Umbria). Following closely, one can find the historic or architecturally significant wineries (about 14%), predominantly located in the northern regions of Veneto and Piedmont. Not to be overlooked are wineries boasting recognized or historic brands (accounting for 12%) with a stronger presence in the regions of Veneto and Sicily. Piedmont, Tuscany, Friuli, and Sicily generally captivate with wineries offering breathtaking landscapes and natural vistas (constituting 11% according to the report), while Puglia and Umbria excel in well-organized facilities catering to the regions’ visitors. Despite this portrait, the report reveals critical challenges for the entire sector: 44% of wineries seem to be excluded from tourist circuits, particularly in the areas of Friuli Venezia Giulia, Umbria, and Campania. Furthermore, half of these establishments are closed to the public on weekends and holidays. A pressing concern emerges in the search for skilled personnel: during the 2021–2022 period, a staggering 75% of wineries struggled to recruit qualified staff for tourist reception, particularly noticeable in Veneto, Sicily, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Puglia, Piedmont, and Umbria. The report underlines the importance of fostering synergies for the sector’s future growth, highlighting the pivotal role of the “Città del Vino” (Wine Cities) which stands as a network dedicated to the promotion and the enrichment of wine culture, fostering collaborative projects, and devising tourism marketing strategies at both national and international levels. According to Nomisma’s survey on the sample of 145 mayors and in consideration of the participation in Wine Cities, they want to adhere to the network in order to: champion wine culture and its promotion (76%), engage in collaborative projects for tourism marketing (65%), and possess the capacity to showcase the territory and its products (48%). See also: Pollice et al., 2023.

how the role of women in viticulture can also be a key element in the equitable use of natural resources and in reducing the environmental impact of the supply chain (Figure 1) (Gaard & Murphy, 1998; Bonewit & Shreeves, 2015; Barca, 2020; Armiero, 2021), with significant implications for reducing the sector's exposure to the impacts of ongoing climate change (Galbreath & Tisch, 2022; Rodrigues & Di Quarto, 2023).¹⁵



Figure 1. The biological vineyards of Raito, in the wonderful setting of the terraced vineyards of the Amalfi coast, with a shared mother-daughter property.

Source: Author (2022).

According to various data collected at both institutional and academic levels, while downscaling “macro” environmental impacts to regional scales is challenging, it is evident that viticulture is significantly affected by

¹⁵ The documentary value of the landscape from both historical and civic perspectives has been largely emphasized by studies such as Barbieri's (1971, 1989, 1991), which seems to make sense when reread precisely in light of the issues that connect viticulture, gender, and ecosystem risks.

meteoclimatic changes.¹⁶

Toward the aim of this research and in order to explore the intersectional vulnerability faced by the women in viticulture, the choice fell on the Italian context because of the strong connections and contacts that provided me with a body of data to present and analyze and also because of the importance of this sector in the history (as for Italian diachronic studies on vine and wine landscapes, their origins can be traced to the writings of Sereni, 1961, 1964, 1965 and in the works of Quaini, 2009a, 2009b; Agnoletti, 2010a, 2010b; Ferretti, 2011),¹⁷ and the problems arising considering climate change and the importance that the sector has in the economy of the peninsula.¹⁸

¹⁶ The wine sector will increasingly face constraints due to these alterations, such as thermal extremes which an anticipation of stages, as well as accelerated grape ripening, resulting in shorter plant development cycles. This element, in turn, alters the alcoholic content due to increased sugar accumulation and changes in the aromatic profile of the wine. Additionally, there is a risk of losing agricultural land suitable for viticulture, as vineyards may need to be relocated to higher altitudes (+500m asl) or latitudes to avoid drought-related issues. This shift will not only change vineyard distribution but also cultivation methods, including earlier harvest phases. If vineyards are relocated, the physical characteristics that contribute to the quality and distinctiveness of the wine would also be affected, leading to negative economic outcomes for the industry. In this perspective, winegrowers will face additional challenges related to soil fertility and composition degradation due to rising temperatures altering soil pH. More concerning is the potential alteration of the life cycles of certain pathogens, such as downy mildew, botrytis (grey mold), and powdery mildew, along with the possible emergence of new diseases. A crucial problem is the difficulty in relying on historical rainfall patterns, as water availability has become much more uncertain and less predictable. This unpredictability, with alternating extremes, is leading to the “tropicalization” of the climate, causing imbalances such as out-of-season hailstorms, storms, and floods, alternating with prolonged droughts and sudden heat waves. In addition to causing immediate runoff erosion and soil depletion, the irregularity of rainfall regimes will necessitate irrigation. This irrigation is needed not merely for production but to maintain the quality of grape clusters based on soil composition. However, this undermines the fundamental characteristics of terroirs, which rely heavily on the interactions between soil, plants, and climate to create the specific conditions required for producing quality wines (Bonfante et al., 2018; Bonfante et al., 2024).

¹⁷ On the subject, however, one can also go back over the older geographers such as Porena who explicitly recalls Humboldt and, not surprisingly, seeks to summarize the “aesthetic potential” of landscape (Porena, 1892).

¹⁸ In consideration of the estimates provided by the Italian Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), in 2020, Italy counted approximately 700,000 hectares of land dedicated to viticulture. These areas, spanning diverse forms and structures across the Peninsula, collectively form a remarkable mosaic of viticultural landscapes (Mazzanti, 2017; 2021). Specific locations (The Prosecco Hills of Conegliano and Valdobbiadene; the Viticultural Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato; Portovenere, Cinque Terre, and the islands Palmaria, Tino, and Tinetto) have also earned the prestigious (even if very critical) designation as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (Nonni et al., 2018; Visentin & Vallerani, 2018). At the national, regional,

Nevertheless, as it is testified by various international experiences, the wine sector in all areas and segments of production in Italy is slowly becoming more inclusive, offering career opportunities for different genders. Organizations and associations supporting women in viticulture, promoting gender equality in the sector, and providing support strategies, training, and networking opportunities have been founded.

Protecting the contributions of workers throughout the supply chain and ensuring fairness and profitability in the short, medium, and long term, is crucial for promoting a truly sustainable landscape, as a unified landscape requires a satisfactory coherence of underlying values, which cannot ignore social-spatial equity and social/gender justice (Massey, 1994; Bondi & Domosh, 2001; Rondinone, 2003). Despite these efforts, what are the challenges facing women in Italy within the viticultural sector? What obstacles and barriers do they encounter daily? In what ways can female inclusion make the sector more competitive and sustainable socio-environmentally?

According to Greta Gaard (2015: 23), on a global scale, women perform two-thirds of the total hours of work, produce half of the world's food, yet earn only 10% of the global income. Despite their significant contributions, these efforts remain largely invisible in the official narrative of the Anthropocene. This invisibility (Major, 1996), coupled with the devaluation of reproductive labor, means that although women are the primary producers of the value that sustains human life and reproduces its conditions of existence, they are currently the most vulnerable population to the catastrophic changes occurring within the Earth's system.

This heightened vulnerability is the result of a combination of greater poverty, violence,¹⁹ and reduced access to resources compared to men. Similarly, Australian political economist Ariel Salleh (2000; 2010) defines the labor of care, sustenance, regeneration, conservation, and intergenerational transmission of human, animal, and plant life, along with the geophysical

and local levels, a multitude of initiatives have been launched over decades, such as the "Itinerari del Vino" (Wine Trails), Wine Museums, and Wine Routes. These initiatives aim to collectively promote and enhance both the wine product and the relative landscapes (Pazzagli, 2014; 2020).

¹⁹ Reyes Rocha and Sexsmith (2024) argue that sexual harassment (WSH) is a pervasive issue in agricultural employment. They systematically review case-studies' literature on sexual harassment. In the USA (where most of the researches has been conducted) the study indicates that the rate of WSH against female farmworkers reaches 95%. Similarly, Laura Donadoni (Wine journalist and influencer, known on social media as TheItalianWineGirl) in her book "Intrepide. Storie di donne, vino e libertà" (*Fearless - Stories of women, wine and freedom*) published by Slow Food where she reports the stories of 12 women working in the wine world and collects their confidences, harassment and abuse they suffered (Donadoni, 2023).

conditions that make it possible and the knowledge that promotes interdependent relationships between production, reproduction, and ecology, as “meta-industrial.” Salleh calls the value produced by this labor “metabolic value,” emphasizing that its significance is not merely economic and highlighting its invisibility in hegemonic discourses on both the economy and climate change.

This perspective urges us to consider the Anthropocene as an incomplete narrative of global ecological change, focusing on industrial/agricultural production and associated technologies while obscuring the value of reproduction and related knowledge. Due to the sexual division of labor present in both wealthy and poor societies, this work is primarily performed by women, often unpaid, and is thus underestimated in official statistics and GDP calculations, as we will see below (also see: Barca, 2018).

Indeed, drawing inspiration from themes within political ecology, particularly in its eco-feminist²⁰ interpretation as discussed by scholars such as Pulido (1996), Barca (2020) or Torre (2020),²¹ this essay seeks to offer an exploration of the unique nuances of “feminine” viticulture. Indeed, the link between resource and women’s exploitation could be also evident in this context, underscoring the need to reframe “gender issues” through a different perspective when analyzing environmental policies and practices (Norgaard & York, 2005; Haraway, 2016; Oksala, 2018; Mir et al., 2021). Furthermore, it tries to delineate a space for reflection, embracing the concept of “intersectional vulnerability”²² as a lens through which to understand the

²⁰ According this view, the origins of socioecological crises are explored through a political and social lens, while discussions revolve around challenging prevailing models in human/patriarchal and ecological community relations, primarily within political contexts (see: Miller, 2017). It’s an interdisciplinary field where diverse research methodologies and theoretical frameworks coexist, bound together by the notion that comprehending social, economic, ecological, climate-related, racial, and gender disparities requires viewing them as outcomes of interconnected processes, necessitating a holistic socioecological approach (Bryan, 2024). Haraway (1988) considers nature as a political endeavor which is crucial for sustaining existing political and power structures; at the same time Moore’s analysis defines nature as a class-driven project, geared towards accumulation and resulting in significant social disparities (2016). This phenomenon spans across all sectors of productivity, with a growing focus on agro-industrial dynamics (Salleh, 1997).

²¹ In her work *Force of Reproduction*, Stefania Barca (2020) expands on ecofeminist ideology, offering a profound reconsideration of the ecological crisis and the concept of the Anthropocene, viewing it as a period shaped by patriarchal dominance. Barca advocates for the development of alternative narratives focusing on the fundamental significance of reproductive labor, encompassing both human and non-human aspects. This notion of reproductive forces seems to surpass incorporating the traditional concept of production forces as the driving force behind societal transformation.

²² Intersectional vulnerability occurs when discrimination arises from the complex interaction

multifaceted challenges faced by women in viticultural contexts (from the socio-environmental point of view.)²³

It is evident, nonetheless, that vulnerability should not be construed as an intrinsic attribute of women or any other social group, but rather as a shared characteristic among all human beings due to their corporeality and their position within society (Giolo, 2023). This perspective finds resonance in Judith Butler's work, who contends that human beings are inherently vulnerable by virtue of the precarious and contingent nature of life itself. However, there exists a social dimension to vulnerability stemming from structural inequalities and power dynamics within society (Butler, 1990; 1993; 2004a; 2004b; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2016). In this sense, the concept of socio-environmental vulnerability is primarily understood through cultural and historical lenses (Adger, 2006; Bankoff, 2018).

This indicates that the perception of vulnerability across various cultures and regions is heavily shaped by prevailing cultural and historical viewpoints. Bankoff's proposition of "vulnerability as a Western discourse" (2001) underscores these dynamics by challenging the notion of vulnerability and its associated semantic framework. Bankoff opposes a static perspective on vulnerability, which has often led to the stigmatization of global, national, and local "Souths" (also understood as "marginal areas"), linking vulnerability to specific conditions and contexts from a deterministic standpoint. This perspective is evident, for instance, in institutional or individual responses to so-called "natural disasters" (Guggenheim, 2014; Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2022).

The concepts of "sustainability" and "resilience," aimed at addressing "environmental degradation" and the impacts of "climate change," often reflect particular viewpoints and assumptions that may not be universally applicable and should instead be contextually understood (Cannon & Müller-Mahn, 2010; Cox & Hamlen, 2015). Consequently, efforts to involve local, grassroots actors in sustainability policies and practices frequently have limited effectiveness, often remaining largely "rhetorical"

of multiple factors, making it challenging to discern and isolate individual elements. Upon further examination, it becomes apparent that this phenomenon can be viewed as a singular intersectional factor, wherein various elements intertwine and mutually influence each other, akin to the composition of "bronze from tin and copper" (Solanke, 2010). On the intersectionality and justice see also: Crenshaw, 1989; Schiek, 2012; Yoshida, 2013.

²³ In consideration of women migrant workers (see: Giammarinaro & Palumbo, 2020), it's important to highlight a recent uptick in their numbers (evidently unrelated to the seasonal migration patterns typical in nearly all European countryside regions). This trend is underscored in the European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality's opinion on a long-term vision for EU rural areas: towards stronger, connected, resilient, and prosperous rural areas by 2040, dated June 17, 2022, 2021/2254 (INI).

in consideration of landscapes and their preservation (Manzi, 1999; 2007).
As Eugenio Turri recalls (1998):

This can only be accomplished by bringing it back to the realm of perception and viewing it as a reflection of our territorial consciousness [...]. When approached this way, the landscape becomes part of the creative process where humans and life generate their own references, their own self-referentiality [...]. In this context, the landscape can be seen as a fundamental visual reference for the purpose of territorial construction. This occurs when a natural space, initially anonymous and existing independently of human presence, is transformed into a cultural space, imbued with references, symbols, and designations—such as topographical naming, which signifies the recognition and selection of places of practical and symbolic value, thereby integrating them into the cultural language. This transformation also involves the addition of human-made objects, turning the landscape into a stage or theater where individuals and societies enact their stories [...]. This functional view of the cultural landscape suggests that its existence is recognized even before it is scientifically institutionalized [...]. The landscape thus serves as an interface between action and observation, between the act of doing and the act of seeing what has been done, between watching and representing, and acting and reflecting. According to the metaphor of the landscape as a theater, we can understand that man's relationship with the land is not only, or even primarily, about his role as an actor who transforms nature or the inherited environment, but perhaps more importantly, about his role as a spectator. Indeed, it is only as a spectator that he can gauge the impact of his actions, realizing his role as an actor who shapes and activates new scenarios: this is the mirroring of himself, the consciousness of his own actions. The ultimate fulfillment of his dual role as actor and spectator occurs when he is able to take satisfaction in what he has created, in his actions (pp. 15-17).

From this standpoint, women—along (or in intersection) with other “marginalized” groups in the sense I explained before—are more vulnerable due to their subordinated position within these power relations. Consequently, the struggle for women's rights and social justice necessitates not only the protection of those deemed vulnerable but also a reconfiguration of power

dynamics and a political and juridical response geared towards social justice and the recognition of fundamental rights for all. In this context, environmental ethics should be broadened to include the ethics of cultural and social assets, leading to an ethics of landscape and, more broadly, to a form of “geoethics” (Manzi, 1999, p. 377).

This collective dimension is emphasized in the work of D’Alessio (2024, p. 42), who points out that if feminism and feminist practices are not accompanied by women’s “design” in the world; they may risk falling into “liberalism.” This refers to a notion of freedom as “pure individual selfdetermination that does not allow for limits or constraints, does not pay attention to the collective dimension nor to the lives of others, but aims first and foremost at empowerment, i.e., obtaining power for oneself.”

In consideration of our interest’s area, one can notice that the presence of women in the wine industry is on the rise and that this marks a significant evolution in a traditionally male-dominated domain. However, despite this progress, there is still a lack of true recognition and real inclusive practices, particularly pronounced in certain geographical regions.²⁴ This deficiency can be attributed in part to the absence of robust regulations safeguarding work-family balance, a crucial factor in fostering equal opportunities within the sector (Shortall, 2002; Contzen & Forney, 2017).²⁵

²⁴ According to Chiara Soldati, President of Social Aspects of Alcohol Committee, Federvini (30.04.2024): “The real problem in rural areas is the lack of welfare. Female entrepreneurship should not be newsworthy and is often used merely for ‘marketing’ purposes. Agriculture faces significant cultural issues; at the management level, women often lack credibility, and at the workforce level, they receive little recognition. Despite many efforts and some positive examples, women face double or even triple vulnerability in this sector.”

²⁵ The pursuit of gender equality through CAP financial instruments is underscored by the identification of specific objectives outlined in art. 6, particularly in letter h), which aims to promote employment, growth, gender equality, including women’s participation in agriculture, social inclusion, and local development in rural areas, encompassing circular bioeconomy and sustainable forestry. This objective aligns gender equality and social inclusion with local rural economic development, serving as a necessary prerequisite for addressing the conditions perpetuating gender disparities. However, it still largely pertains to situations described in previous regulations, such as local-sized businesses and multifunctional enterprises (Cresta, 2008a; De Boni, 2023). Regarding the dissemination of information on access to measures implemented through national strategic plans, the regulation identifies stakeholders involved in promoting gender equality, whom national management authorities are required to consult. In this new regulatory framework, specific objectives identified and pursued within national strategic plans can be optimized through rural development measures outlined in Regulation 2021/2115. However, regarding the possibility of differentiating direct aid for women-managed businesses, the European regulatory framework remains unchanged, retaining specific measures for young people under 40 years old.

This challenge is compounded by the overarching need to face the escalating pressures deriving from national and international economic competitiveness and its continually evolving alongside the industry's qualitative and quantitative expansion.

Against this fact, it becomes imperative to analyze not only the sector's vulnerabilities but also its response to external forces, notably the increasingly palpable impacts of climate change, which will jeopardize the production and the rentability of the wine production as we have already noted, above all for small producers. In fact, as climatic shifts continue to pose significant threats to wine production, from altered growing seasons to frequent extreme weather events, the industry faces a pivotal moment in redefining its resilience strategies. Exploring the adaptive measures implemented to mitigate these vulnerabilities becomes paramount in understanding the sector's capacity to weather such challenges and sustain its trajectory of growth and innovation.²⁶

While the primary objective of this book remains to provide a comprehensive overview and insights into women's roles in viticulture in Italy, the narrative also aims to elucidate the myriad challenges, stigmatizations, and processes of "glassing" that women navigate. They are not merely laborers but also creators and stewards of spaces—sometimes considered "alternative," "peripheral," or "marginalized"—in the diverse landscapes within which they operate. However, to define and explore this terrain effectively, it is very important to establish a roadmap in order to present all the elements of the picture. The structure of the text reflects this many-sided approach.

It starts by anchoring the whole discourse in the EU and national normative and official data sources (in consideration of production, training, and education), providing some elements and also defining gaps in this literature. Subsequently, it critically maps out the different associations and entities involved in promoting "women's" viticulture, examining both production and valorization aspects on a national scale.

This organization aims to provide a wide understanding of the complexities

²⁶ The Commission has taken note of these considerations, highlighting the inadequacy (among other issues) of measures aimed at bolstering the rural fabric. This inadequacy stems from the significant disparities that persist in terms of gender equality and the vulnerability of certain groups within rural communities. Comments on the CAP strategic plan submitted by Italy, Ref. Ares (2022) 2416762, Mar. 31, 2022: "In line with the long-term vision for rural areas (COM/2021/345 final), the proposed strategy should be significantly improved to adequately address the persistent development needs of Italy's rural areas (deep rural-urban gaps with regard to basic services, infrastructure, unemployment, depopulation, poverty, social inclusion, gender equality, and vulnerable groups), ensuring that it effectively targets the rural areas most in need. The proposed interventions, outputs and financial allocations are very limited compared to the challenges they are supposed to address" (para. 21).

inherent in women's participation in the viticultural landscape. Ultimately, this essay presents the results of an inquiry, inviting readers to critically engage with the intersectional dynamics shaping women's experiences in viticulture and fostering a deeper understanding of the diverse roles and vulnerability they challenge within this ecosystem.

1. Main legal aspects

The investigation about gender inequality in viticulture needs to be understood in the wider context of women's overall "invisibility" in agriculture and the varying regulations and policies that affect them at different levels (Canfora & Leccese, 2023). This can also be framed considering the fact that gender disparities and subalternities emerge as structural due to traditional ownership regimes, participation in institutions, and access to education and land (Sousi-Roubi & von Prondzynski, 1983),²⁷ where—according to some authors—"patriarchal rules within the family were reinforced through government policies" (Prügl, 2012, p. 132).²⁸

Claudia Korol (2016) elaborates on how the concealment of reproductive labor arises not just from the failure to acknowledge unpaid domestic work but also from productive labor in its strict sense, which remains unrecorded in national accounts as it is perceived as an extension of tasks related to the reproduction of one's own life and family life. She articulates:

²⁷ Europe's agricultural landscape is predominantly shaped by an aging demographic, posing a significant threat to the industry's future economic sustainability and innovation. This concern is particularly relevant for women farmers (as current statistics reveal that only a mere 4.9% of farmers are women under the age of 35). Additionally, nearly 40% of women working in agriculture are over the age of 65, compared to just 27.6% of men, indicating the potential exacerbation of the gender disparity within the farming sector in the coming years (European Commission, 2021). For new female entrants into farming, the prevailing trend involves leasing land, as inheritance is infrequent, especially if they have male siblings. This pattern underscores a form of gender segregation, as women face unequal access to farming occupations. Consequently, the pathways available to them often necessitate significantly more financial resources than those available to men (Shortall et al., 2020).

²⁸ Research has consistently underscored the symbiotic relationship between family and farm dynamics. Both men and women within the family are integral participants in devising strategies to secure the future of the family farm (Shortall, 1999; Shortall, McKee & Sutherland, 2020). Furthermore, studies have demonstrated that farms with a higher likelihood of viability in Europe are those that depend on underpaid or unpaid family labor (Phipps, Macdonald, Lethbridge, 2005; Vrolijk et al., 2010). Notably, a staggering 93% of farms in the EU rely solely on family workers for their operations (Eurostat, 2020). This reliance often results in many women undertakings unpaid work on farms, which subsequently impacts their entitlement to pension rights and the potential of value-added agriculture (Whatmore, 1991; Brandth, 2002; Wright & Annes, 2016).

When discussing invisible labor among rural women, we refer not only to unpaid domestic work but also to what could be regarded as strictly productive labor, yet remains unaccounted for in national records because it is seen as an extension of tasks associated with biological reproduction and the reproduction of labor power (p. 92).

As we argue, in rural areas, beyond the invisibility of historically performed reproductive labor by women,²⁹ the fact that it is often women who engage in a portion of productive work remains obscured, giving rise to a “double invisibilization.”

Similarly, family members’ social contribution is not valorized as labor.³⁰ Nevertheless, it constitutes another sphere of work through which indispensable social ties are established and maintained for the technicaleconomic structuring of agroecosystems and the realization of the potential for optimizing the added value of family members’ work. The social integration of family workers into the networks and institutions of territories, through which they mobilize and access common goods and resources unavailable within their agroecosystems (material and immaterial), facilitates the intensification of work processes and a generation of new values (Betti, 2019).

Moreover, recent research has found that women and young farmers are generally under-served and not targeted by agricultural advisory service providers across Europe (Knierim et al., 2017). Intended to catalyze rural development and coping with those problems, initiatives have been meticulously crafted to delineate precise objectives for enhancing farm infrastructure and operations. Notably, within this framework, the European Union (Exadaktylos et al., 2018; Guerrina et al., 2018) has accorded special emphasis to bolstering support for inland and disadvantaged regions, although his approach of “environmental liberalism” has been widely discussed (Bernstein, 2001; Li & Reuveny, 2007; Prügl, 2005; 2012). These regions, often dealing with “marginal” territorial conditions, are susceptible to exacerbating income disparities among those engaged in the agricultural sector. Therefore, targeted interventions aim to

²⁹ Already in 1891, Angelo Cabrini, future unionist of the General Confederation of Labor in Italy, provided an overview of working conditions in the rice fields, when the foreman (referred to as a “slave driver”) had the task of recruiting “the army of rice workers, starting from fourteen-year-old girls up to widows. The pay for forty days of work ranged from 25 to 38 lire, obviously depending on the muscular strength of women destined to become “walking skeletons” (Cabrini, 1891).

³⁰ With reference to these aspects, we refer to Macri et al. (2023) who point out how historically—especially in the Italian context—the role of women in agriculture can be considered subordinate and linked to patriarchal structures.

ameliorate these challenges, addressing the nuanced needs of communities facing geographical and economic adversities, thereby fostering more equitable growth across the agricultural landscape and across the sector's workers. The continuous concern regarding the economic gap between rural areas persists in subsequent regulations focusing on improving agricultural structures and rural development as elements claimed—if not without criticism—even to the so-called “neo-rural” movements.³¹

These regulations allocate specific measures to inland and disadvantaged areas, targeting agricultural entrepreneurs operating consistently within these classified zones. Monica Lanfranco (2024), a journalist, communicator, and trainer on nonsexist language, asserts that truly generative, equitable, and transformative politics must be grounded in the

Concreteness of bodies and sexual difference, addressing the necessities and needs of sexed bodies at different stages of life. Without this vision, which embodies politics and directs it towards human well-being by creating an economy of sexual difference—opposing financialization—there can be no justice, equality, or peace on the planet (p. 141).

1.1 The EU level

Among other scholars, Criado-Perez (2019) analyses that rural women have increasingly been recognized as rights bearers since the 1980s, leading to a significant shift in public policy frameworks for rural development, where their previously overlooked role as producers has been brought to the fore. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the advocacy of feminist movements for gender equality finds resonance in initiatives concerning agroecology and food sovereignty, countering gender inequalities and being careful not to reiterate and increase those among women. The idea is that we need to work on the mechanisms and structures that produce these inequalities among women, regardless of social stratification (Bryan et al., 2024).

Indeed, after the IV United Nations World Conference on Women (1995), the European Union adopted the principle of gender mainstreaming (European Union 1996), which assigns a significant role to gender differences in all its

³¹ On this topic but also in different contexts, see: Eizner (1974); Chevalier (1993), Rouvière (2015), or Giancrisofaro & Villa (2023).

intervention policies and commits member states to act on the same principle (Canfora, 2023). Specifically considering gender equality, in 1986 the Council passed Directive 86/613/EEC on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity, including agriculture, in a self-employed capacity and on the protection of self-employed women during pregnancy and motherhood. However, in order to find specific references to gender disparities in rural areas and dedicated support measures, it is necessary to refer to Regulation No. 1257/1999 on rural development. This regulation introduces references to socioeconomic inequalities, particularly with regard to overcoming gender disparities.³²

The reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in the early 2000s takes on a new form aimed at overcoming the fragmentation of individual interventions. It places agricultural activities and their surrounding context within rural territories, acting as both a driver of competitiveness for businesses and development for marginal territories (according to Council Directive, 2000/78/EC).³³ The implementation—alongside other specified objectives—formed a comprehensive objective that should have been integrated into the definition of support measures outlined in the regulation executed through programming tools established by the member states.

However, the focus primarily shifted towards mainstreaming rural development programs, causing the concept of reshaping gender dynamics within agricultural contexts to diminish in significance. Notably, the Agricultural Council's conclusions neglected any mention of women's contributions to agricultural labor, instead framing rural women's activities as "diversified" labor and connecting their role in the rural economy to empowerment. The Council acknowledged the need to continue advancing the integration of women across various sectors encompassing emerging employment opportunities within integrated rural development, such as new information technologies, telecommuting, local services, rural tourism, leisure services, childcare, and environmental conservation endeavors.³⁴

³² Art. 2 lists the areas covered by support for agricultural activities and their conversion, including the maintenance and consolidation of the social fabric; the development of economic activities and the maintenance and creation of jobs; the improvement of working and living conditions; and finally, "the abolition of inequalities and the promotion of equal opportunities between men and women, particularly through support for projects conceived and implemented by women" (Regulation No. 1257/1999).

³³ See the Report on the communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on the programme of action for the mainstreaming of gender equality in Community development cooperation (COM(2001) 295 – C5-0464/2001 – 2001/2193(COS)).

³⁴ According to Sabbatini, women play a crucial role in promoting multifunctionality and generational turnover within agriculture (Sabbatini, 2006; Bertolini, 2014).

More recently, European Parliament and Council passed the Directive 2010/41/EU on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity and repealing Directive 86/613/EEC. Subsequent regulations, such as Regulation No. 1305/2013, which remained in force until December 2022, reformulated the framework for rural development measures around six priorities identified at the EU level. Among these priorities was the promotion of gender equality, including the participation of women in agriculture, within the context of social inclusion and rural economic development.

However, despite these efforts, the integration of gender aspects into agricultural policies remains challenging, especially during the legislative process. The European Parliament plays a crucial role in advocating for gender equality within agricultural policies, often through amendments and proposals aimed at addressing gender disparities.

Similarly, in the development of regulations for the CAP 2023–2027 (Reg. (UE) No. 2021/2115)³⁵ (Figure 2), references to women in rural activities were initially absent from the Commission’s original proposal but were later included following amendments proposed by the European Parliament.³⁶

³⁵ The emphasis placed on achieving gender equality through the financial mechanisms of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) arises from the delineated objectives, particularly articulated in Article 6, specifically in sub-paragraph h. This aims “to promote employment, growth, gender equality, including women’s participation in agriculture, social inclusion, and local development in rural areas, including the circular bio-economy and sustainable forestry.” This formulated goal links gender equality and social inclusion with the local development of rural economies, representing a crucial aspect that serves as a prerequisite for mitigating the conditions contributing to gender disparities. However, it still appears to reference situations, as described in Regulation No. 1305/2013, pertaining to locally operated farms and the multifunctionality of farming practices (see: Sanlorenzo, 2011).

³⁶ In this sense, at the EU level, the “SWIFT” “a Horizon Europe project designed to advance gender equality in farming and rural areas in Europe from an intersectional, feminist and human rights-based perspective has been promoted. Marta Rivera-Ferre, the project coordinator, said: “Despite the crucial contributions of women to European agriculture, they remain discriminated against in different ways. SWIFT will analyse and amplify women-led innovations and empower those acting for change in farming and rural areas” (https://eu-cap-network.ec.europa.eu/publications/promoting-gender-equality-european-agriculture-and-rural-areas_en). In Italy, The CREA—Center for Research on Policies and Bioeconomy—has contributed insights on gender dimensions in the new CAP 2023–2027 and on local governance models in agricultural-rural contexts. The report reflects the complex reality of female agricultural labor through evidence gathered during the experimental project titled “Change Land.” These activities form the basis of collaborations that CREA has been engaged in for some years with ActionAid Italy, aiming to address the social factors of isolation and vulnerability faced by female laborers. In particular, CREA has implemented the BRIGHT project, with the main objective of experimenting with a “Collaboration Pact” between

However, the emerging programming stresses that a central aspect of gender policies should prioritize access to training, particularly in light of digitalization (2003/C 100/03).

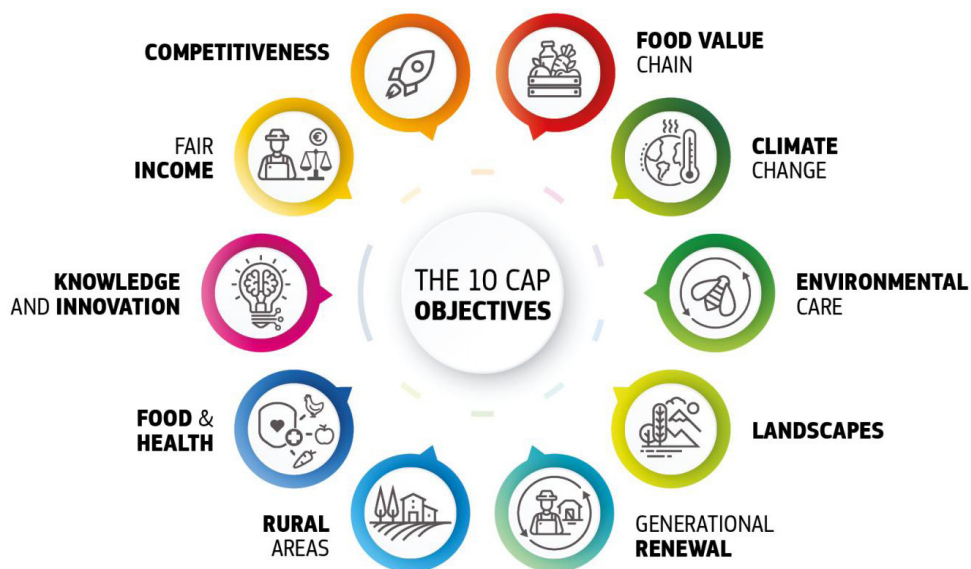


Figure 2. The CAP ten objectives.³⁷

Source: https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/common-agricultural-policy/cap-overview/cap-2023-27/key-policy-objectives-cap-2023-27_en.

While progress has been made in acknowledging and addressing gender disparities in agricultural policies, challenges persist in effectively integrating gender considerations into legislative frameworks and ensuring their

public and private sectors to provide services to female laborers in rural areas. This project is part of the activities of the National Rural Network included in Project Sheet 18.3, which aims to deepen the critical aspects of implementing collaboration tools among institutional stakeholders to address the work and life difficulties that female laborers are forced to endure.

³⁷ For the period 2023-2027, the common agricultural policy (CAP) is built around ten key objectives. Focused on social, environmental, and economic goals, these objectives are the basis upon which EU countries designed their CAP Strategic Plans.

implementation at the national level (Shortall & Marangudakis, 2022); an extant example is represented by the implementation of the measures outlined in the Italian National Recovery and Resilience Plan (PNRR) concerning gender equality, which involve a plurality of aspects, ranging from increasing female employment to measures aimed at reducing the burden³⁸ of family care responsibilities and strengthening support services to build a real “ecologisation” of the politics and the practices (Hurtado & Porto-Gonçalves, 2022).³⁹

³⁸ The “triple burden” concept encapsulates the multifaceted challenges confronting women in capitalist and patriarchal societies. It encompasses the dual responsibilities of productive and reproductive labor, where women undertake both wage labor outside the home and domestic tasks within it, a phenomenon termed the “double burden.” Additionally, women often shoulder the burden of managing public policies, particularly in low-income contexts, overseeing areas such as education, social welfare, housing, and healthcare, in a form of labor termed “institutional work.” Silvia Federici (2018) argues that the nuclear family’s emergence facilitated capitalist development by relying on women’s caregiving roles, highlighting the essential nature of domestic work in maintaining, reproducing, and replacing labor power. Overall, the “triple burden” concept underscores the extensive and undervalued contributions of women to both the private and public spheres of society (Federici, 2018).

³⁹ On the topic of gender-responsive agriculture in Italy, particularly concerning the regulatory framework, let us delve into the comprehensive insights offered by Irene Canfora and Vito Leccese’s 2023 edited volume, “Le donne in Agricoltura.” This volume undertakes a systematic analysis of the mechanisms for enacting gender policies within the agricultural sector. The overarching nature of these policies, as stipulated by the Sustainable Development Goals of Agenda 2030 and mirrored in Italy’s National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRP), necessitates focused attention on the still disjointed legislative landscape. Within these pages, readers will discover an exploration of the primary regulatory challenges shaping gender imbalances in agriculture, laying a groundwork for forthcoming legislative endeavors. The contributors not only scrutinize existing hurdles but also propose regulatory remedies aimed at navigating the transition towards a sustainable agri-business ecosystem, with a paramount emphasis on achieving gender parity. By melding legal and economic frameworks, this analysis offers a holistic approach, anchored in the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy for 2023–2027, encompassing discussions on agricultural activity diversification and the pivotal role of women within the sector. The analysis underscores the imperative for comprehensive data on women’s labor within the agricultural sectors and advocates for interventions geared towards enhancing the safeguarding of women agricultural workers, with a particular focus on the circumstances faced by immigrant women. Furthermore, it focuses into the salary collective bargaining within the agricultural sector and endeavors to foster women’s empowerment throughout the entirety of the agribusiness supply chain. For this reason, the analysis also digs the pivotal role played by enterprises in the process and underscores the significance of recognizing women as often overlooked yet integral “invisible family members” within farms. Lastly, the volume puts forth a nuanced regulatory framework that intricately considers the unique dynamics of rural contexts, aiming to provide robust structural support aimed at alleviating the weight of invisible labor burdens on women while simultaneously advancing women’s employment opportunities within the agricultural sector.

1.2 The national regulation

According to the Global Gender Gap Index of 2023,⁴⁰ Italy has reached the 79th position (out of 146 considered countries), marking a notable decline from its relatively higher standing at 63rd place in the previous years. Figure 3 shows the Italian scores, compared to global averages, over the four key dimensions.

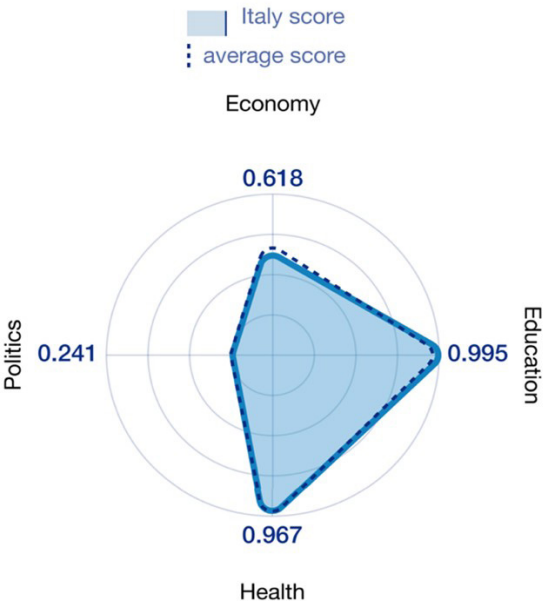


Figure 3. Gender gap in Italy

Source: Global Gender Gap Report, 2023 (Word Economic Forum, 2023)

This regression is clearly and easily attributed to the subdued participation and representation of women in the political sphere, where Italy now occupies the 64th spot, a significant drop from its previous 40th ranking, with a

⁴⁰ This is based on the data of the previous year. The World Economic Forum introduced the Global Gender Gap Index in 2006 with the aim of assessing advancements towards gender equality and evaluating the disparities between countries across four key dimensions: economic opportunities, education, health, and political leadership. The Global Gender Gap Index examines the gap between men and women across four fundamental categories (subindexes): Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment. The highest possible score is 1 (gender parity) and the lowest possible score is 0 (imparity), thus binding the scores between inequality and equality benchmarks.

dishearteningly low participation rate of just 24.1%. However—apart from this aspect—hopefully there is a glimmer of progress in economic opportunities, as Italy has inched up from the 110th to the 104th position, although it remains below the global median value.⁴¹ In addition, taking into account Gender Equality Index 2022,⁴² Italy ranks 14th in the EU on the Gender Equality Index. Its score is 3.6 points below the EU’s score (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022).

Since 2019, Italy’s score (56.9 points) has improved the most in the domain of power (+ 4.7 points), moving up the country’s ranking from the 14th to the 12th place. Improvements in the sub-domain of political decisionmaking (+ 6.0 points) and social decision-making (+ 5.2 points) have especially powered this change. Since 2010, Italy’s score has increased considerably in the domain of power (+ 31.7 points), which is one of the largest improvements across all member states. This is mainly due to an increase in score in the sub-domain of economic decision-making (+ 48.9 points). Since 2019, Italy’s score has decreased by 0.5 points in the domain of work, in which it currently scores 63.2 points and consistently ranks last among all EU member states. This is mostly due to high levels of gender inequality in the sub-domain of participation at work, ranking 27th with a score of 68.1 points.

Those elements find confirmation if compared to the national disparity rate in consideration of economic sectors. In Italy, as of 2022, the average disparity rate was recorded at 9.8% according the Italian National Statistics Institute (ISTAT, Table 1), with the agricultural disparity rate remaining well above the average.⁴³

⁴¹ While Italy’s standing in education access remains largely unchanged, holding firm at the 60th position compared to the previous year’s 59th, it’s noteworthy that the nation has made substantial strides in health, surging from the 108th to the 95th spot. This remarkable improvement reflects a staggering 96.7 percent increase. A deeper dive into the report’s data underscores the arduous journey ahead in bridging gender disparities worldwide. Projected estimations reveal that achieving global gender parity is a monumental task, slated to take until the year 2154, a distant horizon that spans a daunting 131 years. These projections don’t even factor in the additional 169 years estimated to reach economic parity or the 162 years anticipated for political parity.

⁴² Based on the data of the current year.

⁴³ The threshold above which a sector is characterized by a gender disparity rate exceedingly at least 25% of the average value is 12.2%. At the national level, to promote female entrepreneurship in agriculture, the 2022 Budget Law has mandated the simplification of the support measures under Title I, Chapter III, Legislative Decree 185/2000. Additionally, for 2022, it has increased the fund allocated to women-led businesses by 5 million euros.

Economic sectors	M	F	Total	% M	% F	Disparity rate
Agriculture						
Agriculture	353	131	484	73	27,0	45,9
Industry						
Construction	934	90	1.024	91,2	8,8	82,4
Extraction	25	3	29	88,1	11,9	76,1
Water	196	42	238	82,2	17,8	64,4
Energy	80	31	112	72,1	27,9	44,2
Manufacturing	2.752	1.081	3.832	71,8	28,2	43,6
Services						
Transportation and warehousing	825	226	1.050	78,5	21,5	57
Information and communication	386	180	566	68,2	31,8	36,5
General services Public Administration	744	394	1.137	65,4	34,6	30,8
Total	9.946	8.178	18.123	54,9	45,1	9,8

Table 1. Average disparity rate In Italy (2022). Employed persons by economic activity and gender—(absolute values in thousands, percentages and disparity rate)

Source: Annex 1 to Inter-ministry decree no. 365/2023.

When considering work-life balance, the Italian legal system implemented the recently discussed directive by adopting Legislative Decree No. 105 of June 30, 2022.⁴⁴ The legislature acted within the prescribed timeframe, but without fully embracing the directive's principles and without conducting a comprehensive reflection on the concept of work-life balance, as the directive had intended (see Alessi et al., 2022; Scarponi, 2022). The intervention, as outlined in Article 1, aims to improve the balance between work and private life for parents and caregivers, identified as a crucial area for promoting shared caregiving responsibilities between men and women and for closing the gender gap in both the workplace and the family.

Notably, the term *conciliazione* ("conciliation") is frequently used, which carries a more negative connotation of compromise, compared to *equilibrio* ("balance"), which would be a more accurate translation of work-life balance (Esposito, 2022). Following the introductory article, a series of measures introduce changes to legislative texts concerning the Italian legal framework on work-life balance, addressing both care policies and flexibility in working hours and organization. The aim is to institutionalize policies that have already been tested, with some improvements, alongside innovative interventions. However, there is a missed opportunity for a more thorough overhaul, reflecting a somewhat cautious approach toward the complete implementation of the Family Act.

An additional regulatory tool poised to significantly mitigate this imbalance is the recent implementation of the National Strategy for Gender Equality 2021–2026, aligning with the broader European agenda on Gender Equality 2020–2025. This strategy not only includes a dedicated fund for women-led SMEs but also reinforces measures within the agricultural sector to facilitate access to credit and the establishment of a gender certification service. These measures are expected to become "rewarding," potentially influencing market dynamics.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ As Singer (1981) points out, the awareness of the norms that govern situations provides reference points that influence expectations and what one "feels entitled" to do/receive.

⁴⁵ In an effort to reduce the gender gap from 2021 the "Gender Equality Certification System" has been introduced under the ownership of the Department for Equal Opportunities of the Prime Minister's Office, aimed at accompanying and incentivizing companies to adopt appropriate policies to reduce the gender gap in all areas most critical to women's professional growth. This system would have as its objective the implementation of the National Strategy for Gender Equality 2021–2026. National Strategy for Gender Equality 2021–2026: opens a new window that aims to achieve, by 2026, a five-point increase in the ranking of the Gender Equality Index compiled by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), which currently sees Italy ranked 14th among EU countries. Nowadays there are almost 600 certified enterprises (considering all sectors). See: Cincio (2023).

Moreover, according to some research conducted in 2021 by Museo del Risparmio, Intesa San Paolo & Episteme and published in a report under the title “Women and Family Management,” it emerges that 37% of women in Italy do not have a bank account.⁴⁶ This percentage rises as the level of education decreases, reaching 100% among women with a lower level of education.⁴⁷ Additionally, in the past year, 37,000 new mothers resigned from their jobs, compared to 14,000 new fathers. These recent figures are part of a longstanding trend. In 2019, before the pandemic, ISTAT found that women in Italy earned an average of 3,000 euros less per year than men in the same job position. Women also earn less because part-time work, which they mainly request (73.2%), is involuntary in 60.4% of cases. Consequently, the average income of Italian women is 59.6% of that of men, with long-term effects: the pensions of Italian women are 36% lower than those of men (Episteme, 2021).

In the light of this brief excursus, several factors must be highlighted that indicate a disregard for women’s contributions in agriculture.⁴⁸ For instance, in 1934, the Serpieri Coefficient (which was only abolished in 1964) was implemented. This coefficient mandated that women working in agriculture should receive less than 60 percent of the wages paid to men for equivalent work. The Agrarian Reform of 1950, however, enabled numerous farmworkers (as “wives” of allottees) to transition their status from “salaried” to “coadiuvanti” (co-workers), with all the accompanying anomalies, which persisted until 2019; in that year, the legislature attributed the same tax and social security characteristics to them as to the landholders (L. 145/2018, art. 1, c. 705, see: Macrì et al., 2023)⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ On the topic: Pahl (1996).

⁴⁷ This phenomenon mirrors a global financial disparity between men and women: worldwide, 58% of women have a savings account with a formal financial institution, compared to 65 percent of men. In Italy, the situation is particularly concerning for women who stopped their education after compulsory schooling: most of them do not have their own bank account and instead use their partner’s account. In contrast, 83% of women with a university degree have a bank account in their own name. One might wonder whether Italian women do not manage money because they do not earn enough, due to cultural barriers, or both. The female unemployment rate in Italy is high for an advanced country, and the pandemic has exacerbated this situation, especially in sectors where women are predominantly employed. The pandemic has further marginalized women from financial management: 800,000 people lost their jobs in Italy, including 447,000 women.

⁴⁸ Previously, in 1919, the “Sacchi” Law heralded a significant stride by abolishing the institution that had restricted married women’s financial autonomy. This legal milestone granted married women the right to independently manage their own property, marking a pivotal moment in the evolution of gender equality and property rights.

⁴⁹ This is also included in the innovations of the constitution that would take effect in 1948. Article 3 enshrines the equal social dignity and equality before the law of all citizens, without

Moreover, in Italy, it's important to highlight the centrality of the Law 215/92, which aims to support the establishment and growth of businesses managed by women.⁵⁰ This law offered assistance to small businesses led by women, partnerships, or cooperatives where at least 60% of the members are women, and corporations where at least two-thirds of the shares and board of directors are held by women. It also provided financial support for the acquisition of equipment, machinery, software, patents, and other innovative initiatives. This support included both non-repayable grants and low-interest loans, which had to be repaid over a period of 10 years.

Additionally, Italy has national legislation, largely influenced by the European Union's directives, aimed at facilitating the entry of young people into agriculture. This legislation is implemented at the regional level through the Rural Development Plan. This Plan offers funding for various activities to assist young people in establishing themselves in agriculture or modernizing and diversifying their farms. While these factors have contributed to the consolidation of women's presence in agriculture (as will be detailed in the data section), they have also been accompanied by an increasing representation of women within trade associations and in leadership positions within companies and consortia (as will be discussed later). This trend has been supported by the introduction of paragraph 17 bis (art. 53, L. 128/98) in 2016, which mandates that "the distribution of directors to be elected is carried out on the basis of a criterion that ensures balance between the sexes." Furthermore, aligning with the EU's stance, the Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development (DG AGRI) upholds the principle of gender equality, particularly in relation to the second pillar of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) across various programming periods. In the Strategic Plan for Rural Development

distinction of sex; Article 29 asserts the moral and legal equality of spouses; Article 37 stipulates that a working woman has the same rights as a worker and, for equal work, the same wages, although the same article specifies that the working conditions to which a woman is subject must allow for the fulfillment of her "essential family function;" Article 51 enshrines equality for access to elected or public office. In addition, Law 860 of 1950 established the prohibition of dismissing female workers during the gestation period and until the child is one year old. Finally, the initial step in the protection of working mothers, dates back to 1902 with Law 242, which introduced one month of maternity leave after childbirth. In 1956, under Law 741, the President of the Republic ratified the International Labor Organization's Convention No. 100 concerning Equal Remuneration between Men's and Women's Labor for Work of Equal Value, which was approved in Geneva on June 29, 1951. Finally, on January 9, 1963, the Law on the Prohibition of Dismissal of Female Workers for Cause of Marriage was passed.

⁵⁰ Agriculture and food processing businesses are among those eligible to benefit from the provisions of Law 215/92. This element may underlie some companies only "nominally" run by women, as we will see.

(PSN), which has underpinned all national policies related to initiatives for the advancement and development of rural areas since 2007 (later elaborated on a regional level), an early emphasis on gender policies is evident, also referring to European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

For instance, the adoption of the “Women’s Package” aimed at “eliminating every barrier to the participation of women in agriculture” is highlighted (PSN, 2010, 82). However, it’s noteworthy that in the Italian regional Rural Development Programs (RDPs) of the 2007–2013 programming period, there is a lack of specific operational actions addressing gender issues, as highlighted by Del Prete & Zumpano (2014) and Zumpano (2015). In the subsequent planning period (2014–2020), there is a lack of specific focus within the regional plans, as noted by Cresta (2008b) and Macri et al. (2023). Moreover, a study from 2018 underscores how the opportunity to acknowledge female entrepreneurship has been neglected, and overall, the inclusion of female employment in agriculture and rural areas as strategic programmatic themes within the Rural Development Programs (RDPs) has been lacking (RRN/ISMEA, 2018, p. 18).⁵¹ This regrettable trend (summarized in Figure 4) persists in the current programming and the newly introduced regional complements, where there continues to be a lack of specific initiatives for the development of rural areas.

⁵¹ Thanks to section 9 of article 68 of the DI 73/2021, converted into law with the conversion law 106/2021, the facilitative measure managed by ISMEA aimed at young farmers has been extended to women. As stated on the Istituto di Servizi per il Mercato Agricolo Alimentare – ISMEA website, “The Decree Sostegni bis, converted into Law 23 July 2021, n. 106, extends the measure ‘Più Impresa’ also to female entrepreneurship. The measure is dedicated to young people and women who intend to take over the management of a farm or who have been active in agriculture for at least 2 years and intend to improve the competitiveness of their business without age limits. In the relevant legislation, where it says “young people,” it now includes “young people and women” (<https://www.ismea.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/11152>). It is worth noting that with the Decree of April 20, 2021, issued by the Ministry of Agricultural Policies (MIPAAF) and published in the Official Gazette no.135 of June 8, 2021, the facilitative measure in favor of youth and female entrepreneurship in agriculture is regulated. In particular, the implementing modalities of the measure called “Più impresa” are established, aimed at promoting generational turnover in agriculture and expanding existing agricultural businesses managed by young people and women.

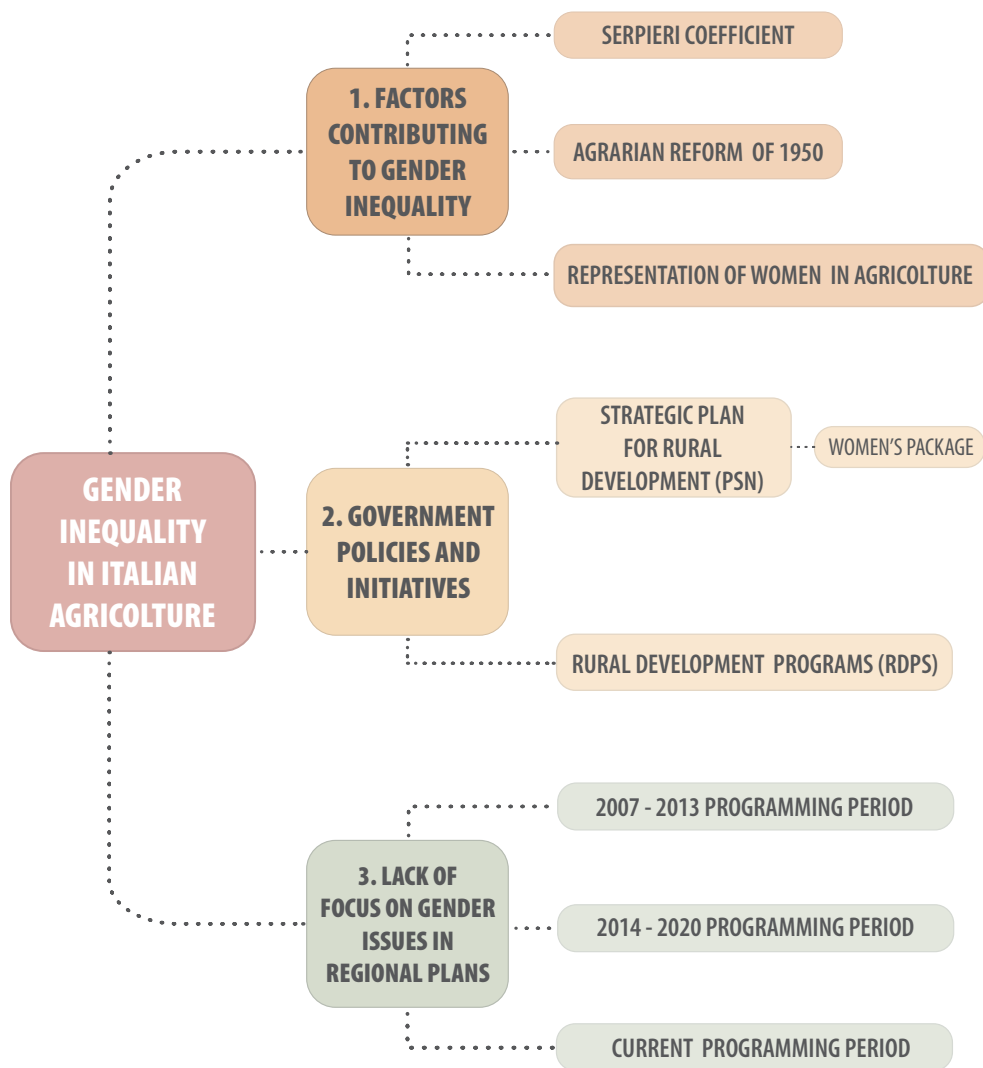


Figure 4. Obstacles to gender equality in agriculture in Italy

Source: Author's.

In 2021 to enhance the visibility of women and their role in rural areas and to support efforts that may overcome major structural challenges that disempower women and discriminate against them, the Centro di ricerca *Alimenti e nutrizione* CREA—as part of the National Rural Network—is holding a series of meetings on “Rights, Development and Rurality: The Collective Strength of Women:” from the series of meetings emerged how women, through their daily actions, have made a significant contribution to changing the external perception of agriculture, aligning it more closely with today’s societal concerns (food security, fair and healthy food, biodiversity recovery, safeguarding of territories and landscapes, etc.).

These contributions stem from autonomous entrepreneurial choices, but also, more often, from innovations introduced in the management of family farms, which are based on a familial model with much more modern and inclusive traits than in the past. The numerous testimonies collected and presented during our meetings have highlighted how, in addition to the three functions identified by Corrado Barberis (2013) in outlining the role of women in relation to men in agriculture (substitutive function and, subsequently, competitive function), we could add another: the cooperative function, where the division of labor on the farm is the result of shared management and where roles and tasks between males and females are guided by principles of equality and the competencies needed.

With regards to the wine sector, the dedicated domestic regulation (L. 238/2016, Organic Regulation of Vine Cultivation and Wine Production and Trade) primarily emphasizes organic standards for vine cultivation and wine production and trade,⁵² but it lacks explicit attention to gender-related aspects, such as the participation of women in the industry.⁵³ While this legislation establishes guidelines for organic practices in viticulture and wine production, it does not contain provisions specifically addressing gender equality or the role of women in these fields. The “seasonality” inherent in viticulture remains a significant challenge, particularly in terms of family planning and care

⁵² On the problems linked to standardization and homologation of foodscapes (and their impacts on “identity construction” and “tourism”): one can see, among the others, Lazzaroni et al. (2023).

⁵³ According to one of the respondents: “In the context of SMEs, which have been relatively understudied, entrenched family dynamics and traditional power structures often persist, neglecting the well-being of both male and female workers, and disregarding the importance of work-life balance. In many viticultural enterprises, these dynamics persist despite theoretical and practical distinctions from traditional latifundium structures in cereal farming. Trade associations must address these challenges to foster a more equitable and sustainable agricultural sector.”

responsibilities, which are traditionally managed by women. This oversight is notable as it suggests a failure to recognize and rectify gender disparities within the wine sector.⁵⁴

Whereas the law may promote sustainable practices,⁵⁵ it neglects the importance of ensuring equal opportunities and representation for women in viticulture and wine production.⁵⁶ Looking ahead, there is a clear imperative to advocate for gender-specific considerations in national legislation concerning viticulture and wine production and to foster rural development and valorize the territories,⁵⁷ in term of production of spaces and landscapes (Manzi, 1977, 2004, 2007; Quaini, 2009a, 2009b). By acknowledging and rectifying gender inequalities, policymakers can cultivate a more inclusive and equitable environment for all individuals involved in the wine industry.

In conclusion, the discourse surrounding gender inequality in viticulture also reveals a complex interplay of historical norms, governmental policies, and societal perceptions that perpetuate the invisibility and undervaluation of women's labor.⁵⁸ Drawing from scholarly perspectives and empirical evidence, we have examined how traditional ownership regimes, institutional participation, and access to education intersect to marginalize women within agricultural contexts. Despite incremental strides at both the EU and national levels to address gender disparities, the gap between policy rhetoric and practical implementation persists, as evidenced by the ongoing challenges faced by rural women in accessing equal opportunities and recognition for their contributions.

Moving forward, it is imperative to prioritize the integration of gender

⁵⁴ An interviewee stated (05.05.2024): "The real problem with agricultural work, and viticultural work in particular, is the seasonality. After the grape harvest, we are unemployed for a long time, so we 'naturally' take care of children and the elderly. In a rural setting, there is no one else to look after them, and there are no subsidies available."

⁵⁵ As it emerges from the document "Il settore vitivinicolo nel PSN 2023-2027: esigenze, strategia e strumenti di intervento," developed within the framework of the National Rural Network Program 2014–20 and the Biennial Action Plan 2021–2023.

⁵⁶ For a detailed analysis of the sector, both in terms of structure and competitive positioning, please refer to: Pomarici & Sardone (2020) and Pomarici & Sarnari (2021).

⁵⁷ Considering all the factors "assigned from time to time to human communities of different conditions and potentials, to particular objects and phenomena, or to integral environmental complexes" (Gambi, 1973, p. 49).

⁵⁸ Barbara Sgarzi's discourse on this topic is truly significant (17.05.2024). Wine journalist and sommelier, distancing herself from the common rhetoric that portrays women as "naturally" inclined towards landscape care, sensitivity, and environmental protection (traits often linked to wine tourism, land preservation, sustainable practices, and multifunctionality), argues that "women in viticulture today are generally well-educated, adaptable, and inclined to use AI and new technologies alongside traditional techniques."

considerations into legislative frameworks and policy implementations, ensuring that initiatives aimed at promoting rural development and gender equality are not only comprehensive but also effectively enforced. This necessitates a concerted effort to bridge the divide between policy intent and on-the-ground realities, fostering an inclusive agricultural landscape where all individuals, regardless of gender, have equal opportunities to thrive.

Moreover, targeted interventions and support measures tailored to the specific needs of women in agriculture, particularly within viticulture (also, thanks to training policies),⁵⁹ are essential to dismantling existing barriers and fostering more equitable and sustainable agricultural practices. By acknowledging and addressing the systemic inequalities that persist, we can work towards a future where rural women are valued, empowered, and recognized as equal participants in shaping the agricultural sector's future.

As Cinzia Sciuto writes in the Introduction of the *Micro Mega* special issue “Liberiamoci dal patriarcato” (*Let's get rid of patriarchy*) (2024):

Patriarchy is not a legal institution that it is enough to abolish on paper to erase. It is a “long-lasting” structure made up of cultural, social, economic, legal, and religious elements in a web that women all over the world have relatively recently begun to unravel, and whose ultimate defeat will not take the form of a triumphant march toward Progress, but will be the result of the very arduous daily struggle, made up of steps forward and dangerous setbacks, that we are waging and that challenges us even in our intimate lives, in our personal relationships (p. 3).

⁵⁹ As Paola Sacco, President of Confagricoltura-Alessandria stated (06.05.2023): “Women in agriculture are increasingly receiving training, and it is the responsibility of trade associations to provide the tools necessary to facilitate this cultural integration.”

2. Methodology

Embarking on this study, while acknowledging its inherent limitations in capturing the entirety of a complex phenomenon, demanded a methodological approach characterized by depth and nuance. Our path commenced with an immersive dive into the narratives of lived experiences, started in 2018 with a small cohort of 27 individuals. The results of those meetings served as the bedrock upon which our subsequent inquiries were constructed, each narrative illuminating facets of the intricate web of challenges and triumphs experienced by women in the wine sector. Building upon this foundation, our methodology evolved, transitioning towards a more structured interrogation through semi-structured interviews, formalized with precision in 2023.

As our inquiry expanded, so too did our sampling strategy, deliberately casting a wide net to capture the diversity of voices resonating within the industry. Employing a snowball sampling technique, our participant pool swelled to include a mosaic of perspectives, painting a comprehensive portrait of the sector's landscape (see par. 3.1). These interactions, whether with industry veterans or emerging voices, enriched our tapestry of insights, infusing it with the vibrancy of the different experiences.

Guiding our inquiry were four cardinal axes, intricately interwoven with the concept of intersectional vulnerability pervading the experiences of women in viticulture:

- *Work-family reconciliation and family planning*: Analyzing the intricate balancing act between professional aspirations and familial responsibilities, we explored the strategies employed by women to navigate this delicate equilibrium. The section on work-family reconciliation and planning dives into personal aspects such as relationships and children, addressing the potential challenges of balancing family responsibilities with career aspirations, which is particularly relevant in traditionally male-dominated sectors such as viticulture.
- *Work-related difficulties*: Peering beneath the surface of professional life, we confronted the manifold challenges encountered in interpersonal dynamics, be it familial relationships, interactions with colleagues,

or negotiations with institutional structures. The section on social difficulties acknowledges the presence of discrimination based on gender or LGBTQ+ status within the industry, prompting reflection on its causes and potential solutions. This highlights the importance of addressing systemic inequalities to create a more inclusive working environment.

- *Engagement with professional associations:* Within the tapestry of industry networks, we scrutinized the role of professional associations, varying in their commitment to fostering gender inclusivity, and assessed their efficacy in amplifying the voices of women within the sector. Association membership is explored next, shedding light on the role of professional networks and their effectiveness in supporting women's advancement within the industry. Questions about satisfaction with membership and suggestions for improvement indicate a focus on enhancing the support provided by these associations.

- *Labor management considering climate change impacts:* Against the backdrop of a changing climate, we confronted the evolving dynamics of labor management, probing the adaptive strategies employed to mitigate the impacts of environmental flux on both human resources and agricultural practices. Environmental difficulties related to climate change are also addressed, recognizing the significant impact of environmental factors on wine production. The questions explore respondents' awareness of these challenges and their efforts to mitigate them, underscoring the industry's need to adapt to changing environmental conditions.

2.1 The semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were organized as follows (Table 2), providing a comprehensive framework for understanding the experiences of women in the wine industry, addressing both personal and systemic challenges while also exploring opportunities for support and resilience-building. By organizing our research along these thematic axes, we aimed to partially enucleate and picture the multifaceted nature of challenges encountered by women in the wine sector, while also delineating potential pathways towards greater

resilience and empowerment within the industry. At the conclusion of the open-ended question (largely oriented on personal experiences within the sector), participants were asked to use a Likert scale (1 to 5) to provide a quantitative description of their responses. Alternatively interviewed people directly answered to the direct questions.

It is important to acknowledge potential biases in this sample, which may stem from my position as a researcher, my initial geographic location, and my existing networks, also because many of the meetings took place during the Campania wine fairs) and is only meant to illustrate some interesting aspects for analysis.

Profiling and motivation	<i>Gender</i>
	<i>Origin</i>
	<i>Main activity</i>
	<i>Education level</i>
	<i>Relationship with the company you work for</i>
	<i>Size of the company</i>
	<i>How long have you been working in this job?</i>
	<i>Motivations that led you to work in this field?</i>
Work-Life balance	<i>Are you in a relationship?</i>
	<i>Children</i>
	<i>Is having children in this sector problematic?</i>
	<i>Have you ever thought that having (had) children could be an obstacle to your career?</i>

Association membership	<i>Are you a member of any association?</i>
	<i>If yes, which one?</i>
	<i>How long have you been a member of the association?</i>
	<i>What role do you have within the association?</i>
	<i>Reasons for joining: shared values</i>
	<i>Reasons for joining: market visibility</i>
	<i>Reasons for joining: networking in the territory</i>
	<i>Reasons for joining: dialogue with institutions</i>
	<i>How satisfied are you with your membership in the association?</i>
	<i>What would you like to improve within the association: communication</i>
	<i>What would you like to improve within the association: training</i>
	<i>What would you like to improve within the association: marketing events</i>
	<i>Are you a member of other associations?</i>
	<i>If yes, which ones?</i>
	<i>Are you a member of a consortium?</i>
	<i>If yes, which one?</i>
	<i>Are you a member of a union?</i>
	<i>If yes, which one?</i>
Social challenges	<i>Difficulties in the sector: have you ever felt discriminated against because of your gender?</i>
	<i>Difficulties in the sector: have you ever felt discriminated against because of your gender (or for belonging to the LGBTQ+ community)?</i>
	<i>In what contexts?</i>
	<i>What are the reasons, in your opinion, behind this discrimination?</i>
	<i>How do you think these obstacles could be overcome?</i>

Environmental aspects	<i>Difficulties in the sector: how much are the effects of climate change impacting your work?</i>
	<i>From which perspective?</i>
	<i>For what reasons?</i>
	<i>What measures are you taking to address these issues?</i>
	<i>Do you consider yourself attentive to the present and potential impacts of climate change?</i>
	<i>Do you consider yourself attentive to possible solutions to address climate change?</i>
	<i>Do you consider yourself attentive to possible innovative solutions to address climate change?</i>
	<i>Do you consider yourself attentive to possible traditional solutions to address climate change?</i>
Additional Comments	<i>Is there anything else you would like to add?</i>

Table 2. Semi-structured scheme

Source: Author's.

2.2 The sample

A total of 56 individuals were interviewed through face-to-face meetings, telephone conversations, or online surveys. As illustrated in the accompanying graph (Figure 5), the sample comprises exclusively self-identified “women”, with ages ranging from 21 to over 70 years old: the decision not to include a control sample is connected to the investigation of how capitalist forces of reproduction influence women’s environmental practices, drawing on the interpretative framework established by Barca (2020).

The majority of participants hold a university degree, followed by those who have completed a PhD or a master’s degree, all in line with a trend of cultural and intellectual dynamism (especially of the younger generation). A smaller segment has only completed high school. The professional roles of these individuals vary, including co-owners of family businesses, employees,

and independent business owners, but many of the respondents, however, are owners of companies mainly located in the Southern regions of Italy. They manage business ranging from less than one hectare to over five hectares in size (principally in Northern areas). The geographic distribution of the sample provides a broad representation of Italy's diverse regions, encompassing the northern, central, and southern areas, as well as the islands (summarized in Figure 5).

In addition to the sample, I also had the opportunity to talk and conduct in-depth interviews with 10 crucial actors in the sector (with institutional or recognized roles who kindly helped me gain a more consistent overview of the topic, suggested insights, and provided a unique perspective on the issue. Their perspectives contribute to the entire corpus of interviews I have gathered since 2018. Among them: Valentina Carputo, Delegate of the Campania Region of the Association "Le Donne del Vino" (07.12.2023); Giuliana De Carlo, researcher at University of Naples "Federico II" and owner of a winery (24.04.2024); Chiara Soldati, "Cavaliere del Lavoro", President of Social Aspects of Alcohol Committee, Federvini (30.04.2024); Paola Sacco, President of Confagricoltura-Alessandria (06.05.2024); Tommaso Iori, National Coordinator, Federazione Nazionale Vignaioli Indipendenti (08.05.2024); Barbara Sgarzi, wine journalist and sommelier (17.05.2024); Marzia Pinotti, wine journalist, sommelier and enologist (23.05.2024); Angelita Gambuti, Professor of food science and technology at University of Naples "Federico II" (28.05.2024); Titina Pigna, Vice-president of the "La Guardiense" Consortium (31.05.2024); Laura Donadoni, wine journalist and expert (12.06.2024).

These varied viewpoints were instrumental in structuring this book, aiming for a kaleidoscopic approach. Through this qualitative approach, I gained insights into the nuances of the phenomenon of women in viticulture, including both challenges and coping strategies. The evidence and discussion of the results will be analyzed in Chapter 4.

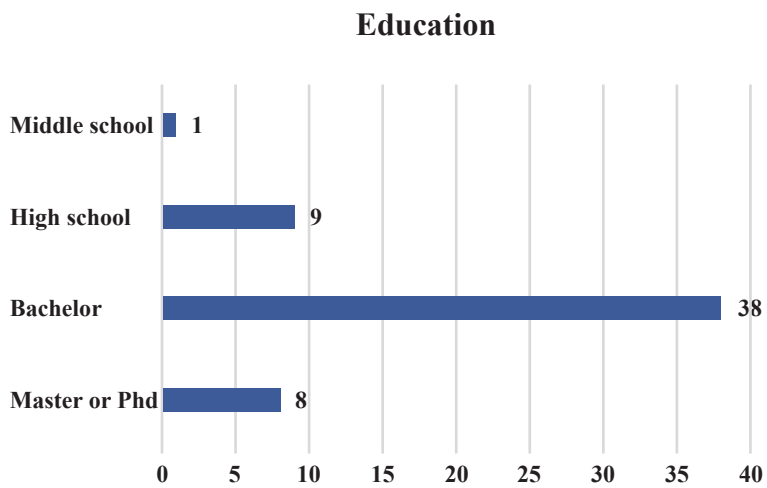
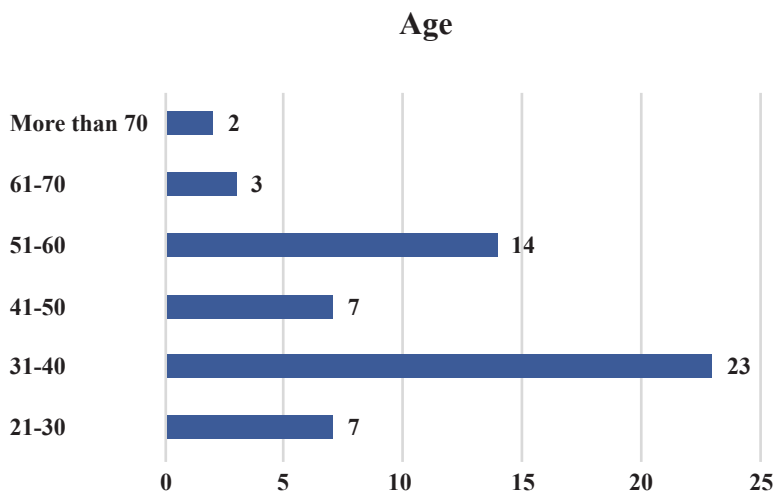


Figure 5. Sample data in a nutshell

Source: Author's.

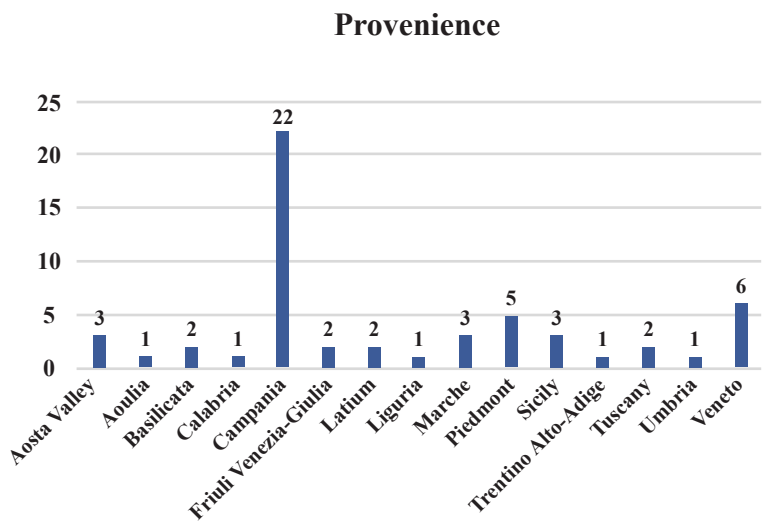
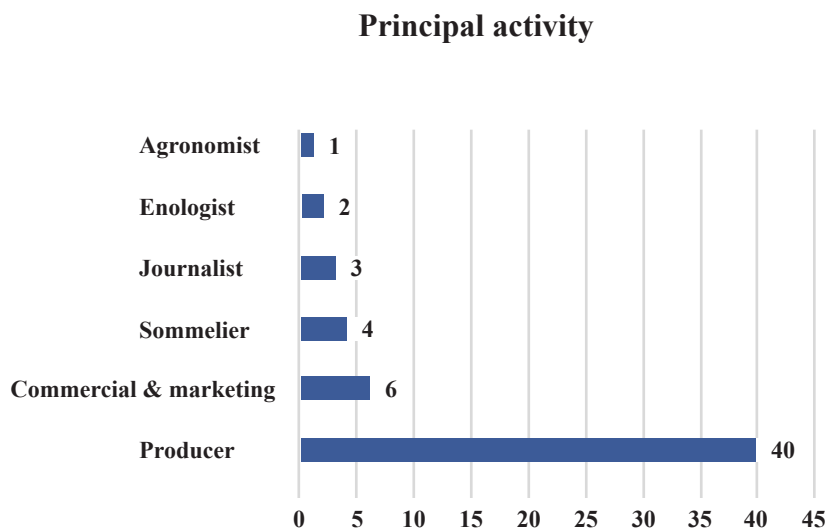


Figure 5. Sample data in a nutshell

Source: Author's.

3. Sources and data

Before presenting the results and embarking on an analysis of the compiled data, it is important to have a preliminary overview on official data. This entails a meticulous review of diverse sources and datasets relevant to the engagement of women in viticulture, complemented by an intricate mapping exercise of the trade associations committed to advancing gender diversity within their spheres. This preparatory phase not only contextualizes our forthcoming analysis within the wider framework of gender inclusivity efforts in viticulture but also enriches the depth and scope of our insights, laying a robust foundation for meaningful exploration and interpretation of the data (or the lack of data).⁶⁰

During antiquity, in certain cultures, women were forbidden from drinking wine, and violators of this rule faced the threat of death.⁶¹ Wine (and alcohol in general) was considered a beverage reserved solely for men.⁶² Regarding their role in the wine industry, women were long relegated to subordinate tasks such as assisting with vineyards or handling administrative duties on wine estates, as they were perceived as physically weak. They were simply seen

⁶⁰ An analysis of the “gap in knowledge and data production” (Coker, 2020) regarding women’s role and status in viticulture (and agriculture in general) is intriguing due to the associated narratives, its creation, and its development within the political sphere.

⁶¹ According to archeological sources, ever since the discovery of *Vitis selvatica* in the Caucasus between 10,000 and 5,000 years ago, the relationship between wine and women has been controversial, with prohibitions on consumption carrying severe legal consequences. For example, in Greek symposia, only *hetairai* (“courtesans”) could participate, play, and dance, while in ancient Rome women were forbidden from drinking wine, with transgressions punished harshly. Valerius Maximus (1st century) in his opera *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, returns several times to the women-wine pair (liber 2, ch. 5, par. 6, p. 58, line 22; liber 2, ch. 5, par. 6, p. 74, line 23), the latter element understood as likely to corrupt them beyond vice, with a propensity to “crime”: *et sane quaecumque femina uini immoderate appetiti, omnibus et uirtutibus ianuam claudit et delictis aperit* (“For indeed, whatever woman covets the immoderate use of wine, shuts the door to all virtues, and opens it to all vices,” liber 6, ch. 3, par. 9, p. 290, line 4). Only in the imperial age were women allowed to drink sweet wines such as *vinum passum* (Pasquier, 1988). In contrast to Mediterranean societies, in Celtic and Etruscan culture—as noted by Arnold (1999) and Pallottino (1975)—women participated in feasting.

⁶² In her book *Girly Drinks. A World History of Women and Alcohol* (2021), Mallory O’Meara uncovers the untold (social) history of women—distillers, drinkers, and brewers—who have been at the center of the creation of alcoholic beverages, from Sumerian beer’s goodness to Ada Coleman, the most famous bartender in the Twenties.

as the “vintner’s wife,” assistants, or mere laborers. Additionally, as reported by O’Meara (2021) in any culture they were not allowed to step foot in the wine cellar because, according to men’s beliefs, their menstruation cycles could “spoil the wine.” Women also faced numerous sexist prejudices, such as the idea that they were not strong enough to work in vineyards or capable of making good decisions regarding winemaking. Gradually, women transitioned from mere vineyard workers to positions of significant responsibility. A first wave of women, for example, took over the management of estates in the 18th and 19th centuries.

However, it was only after 1950 that we began to see women establishing their own wine estates, without being a “wife of,” “daughter of,” or “widow of.” This time, it stemmed solely from their passion and their own desire to create their domain, and the presence of women in the wine world is increasingly democratized, although many of them say they have to make twice the effort to prove their legitimacy. In fact, as noted anthropologist Amalia Signorelli points out, between the end of World War II and the 1960s, the Italian countryside revealed a great transformation that had relevant sociocultural implications also from the point of view of “female subjectivity” although the sources have often “scotomized” this process. In fact, from what we detect from both data and policies, the struggle for land (as well as the partisan Resistance) would seem to have been read in a “familist” key (i.e., through the filter of their family roles) (in this regard look to: Viviani, 1955, 1965; Lombardi, 1960; Tentori, 1960; Pizzorno, 1965; Seppilli, 1970). Moreover, even in coeval economic research, women appear only as holders of productive roles to accompany “family” roles, as in the case of the ambiguity of the aforementioned term “coadiuvante” (Cutrufelli, 1975; Padoa Schioppa, 1977). Another element emphasized by Signorelli, in assonance with the “familistic” role, is also the consideration of the role of women flattened and stereotyped to the care of the home and land and custodianship of “traditional values,” these being perceived as “women’s things” (Signorelli, Trittico & Rossi, 1977; Cornelisen, 1976; Schiavo, 1984; Signorelli, 1996).

Nowadays, the situation seems to be a bit different and increasingly more women can be found in important positions, such as managing estates, leading wine syndicates, starting business and companies in the wine industry, or even as authors and influencers. Many women today own vineyards and produce wine, whether in Italy, in France, the United States, Argentina, or even South Africa which are now important competitors worldwide. However, how to measure this phenomenon?

The need for an effective capability to collect and disaggregate data by

gender is paramount in the larger context of restructuring the framework for monitoring data to evaluate diverse objectives outlined in strategic plans. This emphasis on data disaggregation is underscored in a study commissioned by the European Parliament, authored by Franić & Kovačiček, titled *The Professional Status of Rural Women in EU* (2019). The study highlights it as a crucial tool to bring to light the often-overlooked contributions of women in agriculture (see, among the others: Macri & Scornaienghi, 2014; Bertolini, 2014; Del Prete, 2016).

Additionally, the European Court of Auditors, in its Special Report 10/2021 on “Gender Mainstreaming” in the EU Budget, identifies a systemic flaw in European measures due to inadequate monitoring. This concern is echoed in response to the Commission’s new strategy for gender equality 2020–25. Despite apparent efforts to enhance integration, the report highlights that “fundamental prerequisites and specific actions are still lacking” (para. 102). Within the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), especially during the period 2014–20, the Court of Auditors drew attention to a significant omission: “the direct payments regulation does not incorporate gender equality and restricts Member States’ capacity to address this aspect.” This concern extends to the proposed reforms of the 2021–27 CAP, where member states are depicted as having limited flexibility to adjust subsidy distribution concerning gender equality concerns, as the framework for payments is predominantly dictated by proposed EU legislation.

Furthermore, the report underscores a critical issue regarding the lack of comprehensive data on farm funding, including distinctions between farm types, income, and direct payments recipients. Citing national studies (such as those from Sweden and Ireland), the paper reveals challenges faced by women farmers in accessing aid payments, suggesting that the absence of systematic gender analysis could perpetuate existing inequalities. However, as emphasized earlier, efforts to tackle broader data acquisition and monitoring are now poised for systematic improvement to ensure the comprehensive implementation of the system outlined in the national strategic plans.

Expanding on the discussion, data from Eurostat collected annually under Regulation 2018/1091, specifically from the 2016 surveys of farm characteristics related to the CAP context indicator C.23 “Age structure of farm heads,” as reported by the Commission in its Communication Recommendations to Member States on their Common Agricultural Policy strategic plans (COM (2020) 846, Dec. 18, 2020), reveal a concerning trend: there is a limited representation of women as farm heads among young farmers.

3.1 An overview of official data

Generally speaking, in Italy, only 4% of the population works in agriculture. As specified by De Boni (2023), when considering the available Italian data, we must take into account the findings of the “Censimento Agricoltura” (Agricultural Census); conducted every ten years, it reveals a significant decline in the number of agricultural enterprises over the last decade, totaling 1,133,023 (-500,000 units in 2020 if compared to 2010). However, there has been an expansion among larger enterprises (more than 100 hectares). This trend aligns with increased land consumption and soil use, greater rural abandonment, and the natural reclamation of some areas.

Accordingly, the 2020 Censimento indicates that women comprised 38% of the agricultural workforce (compared to 36.8% in 2010), with female labor experiencing a greater increase in terms of working days compared to male labor (+30.0% versus +13.9%), particularly within family labor (+54.7%) compared to non-family labor, where the variation for women is negative (6.5%). However, despite these shifts, their contributions often remain invisible in official statistics, partly due to the fact that in 2020, 93.5% of agricultural enterprises were managed by an individual or were family-run businesses.⁶³ Within these agricultural enterprises, the participation of women in managerial roles has become more entrenched; a trend also noted in other surveys conducted over the past decade. Women now lead in 31.5% of agricultural businesses (compared to 30.7% in 2010),⁶⁴ and the latest three agricultural censuses indicate a consolidation of women’s roles as entrepreneurs in Italian agriculture over the past twenty years, with continued but albeit slower growth in the percentage of female farm owners.

Notwithstanding these figures, from 2005 to 2016, the gap between the percentage of women-led businesses in Italy compared to the EU widened: women-led businesses are primarily concentrated in the central-southern regions, where farms also tend to be smaller in size. In this sense, women-led farms also tend to be smaller in terms of agricultural area compared to those led by men (7.7 hectares versus 12 hectares, a 36% difference). Despite larger

⁶³ Women lead 34.5% of agritourism enterprises, while 40% of those with didactic farms are also conducted by women. The problems of this topic in France are highlighted by Wright & Annes (2014).

⁶⁴ When it comes to women in their leadership role within a company, it’s important to acknowledge that official statistics likely underestimate women’s influence in decisionmaking processes where they run businesses jointly with their husbands or partners. Given the lack of data on co-management at present, we must rely on what is evident regarding women who are formally designated as leaders.

farms being more prevalent in the North of the country, progress has been made over the past twenty years. In 2000, half of the female-led farms had less than 1 hectare of agricultural area, while in 2020, only one out of five did (and this problem might be critical in consideration of the potential and current effects of climate change in terms of losing fields and in terms of economic sustainability if the economic funding ends). However, male-led farms with less than 1 hectare of agricultural area also increased during the same period. Women are more commonly found in older age groups within the agricultural workforce, where the managerial role aligns better with family responsibilities. Census data confirm this trend, showing a significant increase in the proportion of women aged 65 (and older) in agriculture.

Educational attainment among women in agriculture tends to be polarized towards extremes, with lower levels of innovation and computerization observed compared to men. While agriculture exhibits fewer gender disparities compared to other sectors, there remains a significant gap to address. Nonetheless, the dynamics observed in the past decade, along with targeted measures to promote female entrepreneurship, offer hope for improvement.

The Rete di Informazione Contabile Agricola (RICA) provides valuable insights into disaggregated data, revealing a significant presence of women in sectors such as horticulture, viticulture, and mixed crop/livestock farming. This presence can be attributed to factors such as seasonal work demand, limited land hectares, and the reliance on family labor (2020). According to RICA data, women are present in various capacities across all agricultural enterprises, encompassing family members, relatives, employees, or seasonal workers, with a staggering presence rate of 99.7%. Notably, a significant portion of enterprises features multiple operators, often spouses.

The age distribution within these enterprises reveals a prevalence of individuals aged between 40 and 65 years, constituting 63% of the workforce. Young women, under 40 years old, with an average age of 28 years, represent approximately 12% of the total, with 9% of them under 25 years old. Conversely, less than a quarter of female entrepreneurs are over 65 years old, with an average age of 74 years. Additionally, just over 3% of female farmers hold a university degree. This data underscores the significant connection between women's status and regions in southern Italy, where they represent 35% of the total number of enterprises, compared to 25% in the northern regions and 32% in central Italy.⁶⁵ This trend could possibly be influenced by the

⁶⁵ It's notable that in Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol ownership of agricultural property, particularly "maso" properties, tends not to favor women (it is only in 2021 that the Constitutional Court ruled that the "Maso chiuso" concerning the succession of agricultural

allocation of structural funds or funding opportunities (Figure 6). Furthermore, this correlation is particularly pronounced in “green,”⁶⁶ “smart,” and digitally advanced enterprises, as emphasized by Unioncamere (2022).

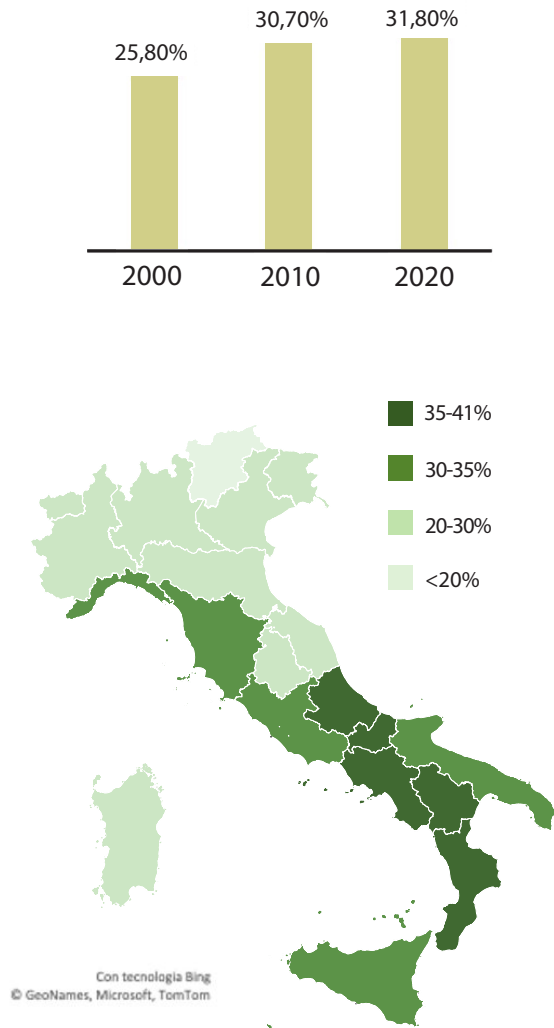


Figure 6. Agricultural enterprises managed by women: Evolution and distribution (2020 data and % on the total)

Source: Author’s on RICA.

property to the first-born male is illegitimate). Conversely, in Molise, there’s a notable presence of women in farming—the highest percentage at 40% of the region’s farmers.

⁶⁶ According to ISTAT, out of nearly 50,000 biologic enterprises, approximately 29.6% are led by women.

Considering governance aspects, it can be observed that in all regional agricultural departments and regional agricultural development entities, leadership is generally entrusted to men (in 18 out of 20 regions);⁶⁷ there are men currently leading the Ministry of Agricultural, Food and Forestry Policies (MIPAAF) as well as its two secretariats.

All national professional organizations—beyond provincial and regional branches—listed on the MIPAAF website (Confagricoltura, CIA: Confederazione Italiana Agricoltori, Confederazione Nazionale Coltivatori Diretti (Coldiretti), COPAGRI) are led by men, as are the national associations representing the cooperative movement, also listed on the Ministry’s website (Confcooperative, Lega delle Cooperative, AGCI: Associazione Generale delle Cooperative Italiane, UNCI: Unione Nazionale Cooperative Italiane, UN.I.COOP Association: Unione Italiana Cooperative).

Therefore, as highlighted by Macrì et al. (2023):

The considerable neglect towards the principle of equal opportunity in the RDP is also accompanied by a low gender representation throughout the institutional hierarchy that characterizes rural development policy governance: few women in terms of political representation, very rare in the coverage of top roles in institutions (ministries, regions) (p. 47).

This rather discouraging panorama, however, should be contextualized within the fact that since the 1970s, many of these organizations and federations have established internal movements dedicated to women:

- in 1976, “Donne e Impresa” (Coldiretti);
- in 1999, “Donne in Campo” (CIA);
- in 2012, “Confagricoltura donna”;
- Observatory for Women’s Employment in Agriculture, established in 1988 within the Ministry of Agriculture.

The provided data present a nuanced perspective on the changing role of women in Italian agriculture. Over the past decade, there has been a significant uptick in women’s participation in the agricultural workforce, along with a notable increase in their engagement in managerial positions within agricultural businesses, particularly evident in family-run enterprises. Despite

⁶⁷ All the data should be considered as current in date 31 May 2024.

these advancements, disparities persist in educational attainment and levels of innovation between men and women in the agricultural sector.

Geographically, women-led farmsteads are predominantly concentrated in the central-southern regions, where farm sizes tend to be smaller. Nevertheless, there has been progress over the past twenty years, with a gradual rise in the proportion of female farm owners. However, the status of women in agriculture is notably linked to regions in southern Italy, where they constitute a larger share of agricultural enterprises compared to the northern and central regions, potentially influenced by factors such as structural funds or funding opportunities. Despite these trends, leadership positions within regional agricultural departments and national professional organizations remain predominantly occupied by men, underscoring broader gender inequality issues in rural development policy.

3.2 Viticultural workforce

Considering the oenological sector, it is very difficult to pinpoint women's participation and representativeness in terms of land ownership, enterprise ownership, management, and participation as workers, oenologists, sommeliers, or in other roles (often truly difficult to enucleate in a single definition) related to the economic sector.

It is possible to refer to ISTAT for general data, but obtaining a complete overview of the data for the sector is almost impossible, especially considering the differences in the activities carried out by women, where the data sources often do not align in terms of date or origin. The Italian wine industry is highly complex and fragmented: in Italy, small-scale producers predominate (with an average vineyard size of just over 2 hectares per company) often not involved in bottling. On one hand, the modest size and significant number of competitors—often very close, even geographically—prevent direct contact with the consumer, thus relying on industrial operators (bottlers) and external commercial entities (specialized retailers or large-scale retail chains). On the other hand, small businesses manage to maintain close ties with the territory, a key characteristic in the Italian wine market.

The wine industry serves as a bridge between producers (including imports and cooperatives) and sales channels: between direct sales and intermediary wholesalers, the latter are the main players in distribution. From these, the final consumer purchases wine through modern distribution, largely identified with large-scale retail and through traditional retail. Currently, the production phase

of wine—the practical one, in direct contact with the land and the vineyard—is increasingly perceived as diverging from bureaucratic and managerial aspects in the common imagination. The oenological world is growing exponentially and often follows directions disconnected from actual production trends. As in all economic sectors, the primary sector included, efforts aim to break down all geographic and cultural barriers to approach markets from all countries, already strongly interconnected by increasingly significant volume of commercial exchanges. The Italian production landscape is gradually shifting towards environmentally sustainable practices: organic and biodynamic methods are increasingly asserting themselves such as “social agriculture.”⁶⁸

These production techniques, certified in the case of organic farming, significantly reduce the use of chemically synthesized products in viticulture and winemaking, aiming to purify the production soil and ensure the high quality of the final product. These production techniques are chosen by the producer, involving higher overall processing costs compared to “classic” production and, generally, lower quantitative output. The adoption of environmental values by producers also represents a key element for winemakers and the wine industry, as they allow for repairing (or partially offsetting) the impact of the wine supply chain on the environment (Maicas & Mateo, 2020).

According to the Istituto di Servizi per il Mercato Agricolo Alimentare (ISMEA), Italy has always been one of the main players in the global wine sector. For years, it was the world’s leading producer, but in 2023, this leadership was lost due to very low production. However, Italy maintains its

⁶⁸ According to Bertolini (2014), the realm of organic farming involves more than just its female participants; it recognizes them as vital collaborators, particularly in productions aimed at non-specialized channels beyond Large-Scale Retail (GDO). Women, in particular, are instrumental in devising production and marketing strategies centered around short supply chains and direct consumer engagement. They establish on-farm sales outlets, roadside stalls, and foster partnerships with agritourism ventures, eateries, and school cafeterias. Furthermore, an essential avenue for sales, aligned with short supply chains and direct production-to-consumption links, is represented by consumer groups advocating alternative consumption patterns. In Italy similar groups, notably Solidarity Purchasing Groups (GAS) or Collectives (GAC), have seen significant growth and influence. Moreover, “social agriculture” extends beyond traditional production roles to foster social inclusion. By welcoming workers with disabilities, various handicaps, or those marginalized by society, such as drug addicts or former inmates, farms play a vital role in community integration. Within this domain, agriculture is innovating, recognizing and valuing female skills in new ways. This holistic approach addresses societal needs by integrating disabled individuals into training programs and providing therapeutic support to vulnerable populations. Additionally, agricultural initiatives promote social cohesion by repurposing land seized from mafia and criminal organizations. Despite their often-modest scale, these efforts carry significant social importance, bridging rural-urban divides and aligning agricultural practices with broader societal objectives.

primacy in terms of export volume, although in value, it remains a distant second to France. The declining trend in domestic consumption, coupled with a significant increase in demand from the United States, has pushed Italy to third place among consumer countries (Table 3 illustrates the production's estimates both from ISTAT and MIPAAF in the period 2018–2023). Here are some key figures: 13.8 billion euros in total turnover (10% of agri-food turnover), 241,000 wine-producing businesses, 675,000 hectares of vineyards, 33,000 wine-producing companies, over 55% of which are wine cooperatives. 55% of production is certified with geographical indications (IG). There are 527 recognized protected designations of origin (PDO) and protected geographical indications (PGI), including 77 DOCG, 332 DOC, and 118 IGT. Per capita wine consumption in 2023 was 37 liters. Regarding trade in 2023, exports amounted to 21.4 million hectoliters (-1%) valued at 7.8 billion euros (-0.8%), while imports reached 2 million hectoliters (+1%) valued at 574 million euros (+22%).

(hl/1000)	18 I	19 I	20 I	20 M	21 I	21 M	22 I	22 M	23 I
Abruzzo	3,112	3,088	3,087	3,494	3,087	3,348	3,129	3,085	1,787
Basilicata	86	86	86	73	86	87	86	97	86
Calabria	337	305	294	97	270	117	270	130	268
Campania	1,376	1,391	1,412	715	1,451	673	1,476	536	819
Emilia Romagna	7,34	5,766	6,611	7,89	5,907	7,117	6,139	7,208	6,215
Friuli Venezia Giulia	1,709	1,709	1,839	1,853	2,019	2,019	2,209	2,204	1,711
Lazio	1,289	1,443	1,481	784	1,489	854	1,429	713	982
Liguria	78	84	89	40	80	41	73	40	84
Lumbardy	1,719	1,327	1,505	1,541	1,37	1,318	1,21	1,106	1,263
Marche	878	878	878	889	878	853	1398	932	578

Molise	467	451	488	235	512	243	513	234	527
Piedmont	2,658	2,525	2,571	2,703	2,507	2,77	2,413	2,731	1,949
Puglia	9,806	9,773	9,667	9	9,595	10,368	10,846	10,133	6,859
Sardinia	841	629	630	475	630	449	684	533	542
Sicily	4,989	5,685	5,796	3,66	6,169	4,577	5,881	3,514	4,802
Tuscany	2,597	2,627	2,601	2,209	2,185	2,05	2,439	2,338	1,799
Trentino-Alto-Adige	1,355	1,153	1,133	1,294	1,126	1,237	1,325	1,289	1,226
Umbria	630	629	644	378	582	346	597	400	360
Valle d'Aosta	20	19	19	19	16	15	19	18	19
Veneto	12,866	10,293	11,038	11,717	10,927	11,75	11,87	12,602	10,624
Total									
Italy	54,15	49,859	51,916	49,066	50,885	50,232	54,005	49,843	42,499
North	27,744	22,875	24,804	27,059	23,952	26,267	25,257	27,198	23,091
Center	5,393	5,576	5,651	4,26	5,133	4,103	5,862	4,383	3,718
South	21,013	21,407	21,46	17,748	21,8	19,862	22,886	18,262	15,69

Table 3. Regional and areal total production estimations from ISTAT (I, 2018–2023) and MIPAAF (M, 2020–2022)

Source: [inumeridelvino.it](https://numeridelvino.it), 2023.

Within this framework, female entrepreneurship and workforce occupies vast spaces with ample room for growth, as evidenced by the constant increase in the feminization rates of the sectors involved.⁶⁹

Accessing a single, authoritative source of data can be challenging, as mentioned earlier. However, insights can be gleaned by aggregating data from various institutions. In Italy, women lead 28% of agricultural businesses with

⁶⁹ An investigation into how women perceive changes in wine consumption behavior was conducted (Rea, 2009).

vineyards and/or wineries, 24.8% of wine retail businesses, and 12.5% of wholesale businesses. They manage 12.3% of industrial wineries and constitute 26.5% of Italy's 73,700 wine companies (2017 data from CRIBIS, a part of the Crif Group specializing in business information). A more recent survey, the 2022 Nomisma Wine Monitor "Viaggio nell'Italia del vino," provides a detailed look into women's presence in Italian wine businesses. Women represent 14% in the vineyard and winery, mirroring the female membership of Assoenologi. Indeed, ISTAT tells us that 30% of sommeliers are women. Women also play a significant role in agriculture, leading 21% of the Usable Agricultural Area (UAA) but contributing 28% to the agricultural GDP (Censis 2018). The average size of women-led agricultural enterprises was 11 hectares in 2018.

Additionally, women have been environmentally engaged, with 27.4% managing organic or in-conversion vineyards in 2016, compared to the Italian average of 11.8%. According to Divinea (2021), women book 66% of winery experiences, a statistic corroborated by Winedering (2022), which indicates that women are 14% more likely than men to convert inquiries into bookings and represent 53% of winery visitors. In Italian wine tourism, women are prominent in welcoming visitors: 28% of wine businesses open to the public have exclusively female staff, 27% have a majority of women, and only 6.1% have an all-male staff. As per the 2023 Nomisma report mentioned earlier, wineries in the wine tourism sector have significantly expanded and diversified their offerings over time. These experiences now prioritize visitors' well-being and relaxation, with enhancements such as larger green spaces; comprehensive food services including lunch and tasting options; cultural elements such as exhibitions and guided tours; as well as sports activities such as vineyard routes, cycling tours, and jogging (*metterei virgole*). Additionally, a range of educational and experiential events related to the world of wine are now available.

The Nomisma survey underscored the vital (and in my view, highly significant) role of women in shaping both the supply and demand for wine tourism experiences. Despite men holding the majority of managerial positions in Italy's tourist wineries (55%), it's noteworthy that the management of wine-related hospitality is predominantly led by women (73%). Women in the industry excel in offering a diverse range of wine hospitality experiences that extend beyond mere wine tasting. This includes activities focused on wellness, dining options (28%), culinary classes (40%), hospitality services (36%), sports facilities such as access to swimming pools (15%), and organizing visits to nearby attractions, or participating in cultural events (50%). This reflects

the (very critical) idea conveyed on the website that “women are effectively transforming the allure of wine into a comprehensive stay experience, enriched with cultural and culinary activities immersed in the rejuvenating beauty of nature.”

As wine reaches the consumer, the representation of women increases: they make up 80% of marketing and communication staff, 51% of sales personnel, and 76% of hosts for wine tourists. Moreover, women exhibit a heightened attention to wine packaging compared to men. Countries where women significantly influence the wine market include China, Japan, India, and Asia in general (Empaia-Censis, 2023).⁷⁰

The data indicate a significant shift towards greater gender diversity, with a notable portion of vineyards now managed by women. This marks a departure from traditional gender roles within viticultural families, where women historically held more supportive roles rather than leadership positions in vineyard management. However, the data also highlight an increasing prominence of women in welcoming visitors to wineries and assuming pivotal roles in wine tourism. In traditional viticultural families, both men and women may have overseen the hospitality and tourism aspects of the wine business, with roles often aligning with societal gender norms. Typically, family-run vineyards heavily relied on family members for staffing, with women frequently occupying managerial or administrative positions rather than operational ones.

According to the data kindly provided by Assoenologi (17.06.2024), there are 509 women who actively participate in the association (out of 4,500 associated members). Since its formal institution in 1973 (with the name *Associazione Enotecnici Italiani*), it has registered women from 1980, with an ascending trend as shown by the growing number of new women associated every year (Figure 7).

⁷⁰ On this point, and on the role of internationalisation of wine firms in the Chinese market through digital platforms see: Hu, Galli & Sebastiani (2023).

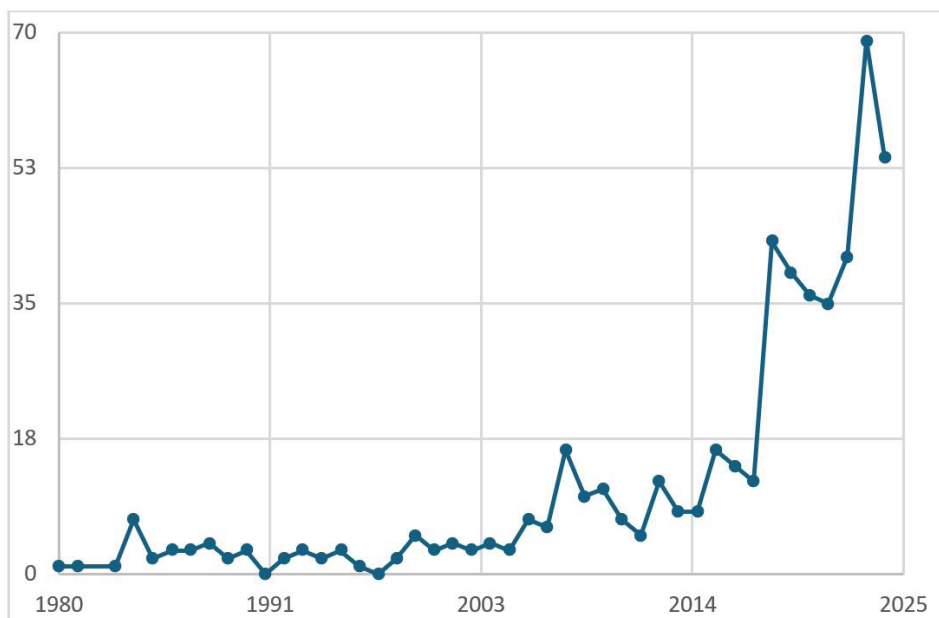


Figure 7. New adhesions of women to Assoenology/year (1980–June 2024)

Source: Author's on Assoenologi data 2024.

It is evident that the broadening of the employment fabric partly dampens differences while simultaneously amplifying related issues. This paragraph shed light on women's inclination to utilize marketing strategies such as communication and event organization, both within individual farms and across the broader territory.

The statistics underscore the significant presence of women in leadership positions across various sectors of the wine industry, signifying their active participation in decision-making and ownership roles. Additionally, the data highlights the crucial role women play in agriculture, particularly in managing usable agricultural areas and driving substantial economic contributions to the sector.

Collectively, these data points emphasize the diverse and impactful contributions of women to the Italian wine industry, spanning leadership, production, marketing, consumer engagement, and their notable influence on global wine markets.

3.3 Education and training

When discussing foundational education in the realm of viticulture and oenology, it's imperative to acknowledge a historical context dating back to the late 19th century. During this period, male wine schools with boarding facilities, notably the Avellino Institute, the Alba, and the Conegliano Veneto Institute, were established by royal decree, offering comprehensive five-year programs. These institutions, subsequently integrated into agricultural technical institutes as part of educational reforms, now offer diplomas in agricultural, agri-food, and agro-industrial fields. Despite the absence of official statistics on gender-specific enrollment in these five-year programs (see, for example, *Almadiploma*⁷¹), anecdotal evidence suggests a notable uptick in female participation.⁷² This narrative underscores a broader shift towards greater gender inclusivity and interest among young women in pursuing studies and careers within viticulture and oenology. While official statistics may be lacking, on-the-ground observations and institutional insights highlight a promising trend towards increased female representation in these traditionally male-dominated fields.

According to official data available on AlmaLaurea,⁷³ in the Italian academic system there twenty degree programs (first and second level) connected to wine making are offered, bearing the various titles concerning “Viticulture

⁷¹ A comprehensive database of graduates aiming at facilitating employment placement by disseminating the database to companies. This initiative is designed to enhance graduates' access to opportunities in the workforce, streamlining the recruitment process for both employers and job seekers. Additionally, the database provides valuable tools for university orientation. The database also serves as a means of monitoring the employment and/or training choices of graduates after acquiring their degrees. By tracking career trajectories and outcomes, institutions can assess the effectiveness of their educational programs and identify areas for improvement. This feedback loop fosters continuous growth and adaptation to meet the evolving needs of students and the workforce.

⁷² Interviews conducted with administrators from the “Francesco De Sanctis – Oscar D’Agostino” Institute in Avellino shed light on this trend. Notably, this institute boasts a distillery and a 23-hectare agricultural enterprise overseen by Prof. Scotto di Vetta. The enterprise, which encompasses the cultivation of wine grapes and the sale of its produce, revealed a growing number of young women enrolling in these educational pursuits year after year.

⁷³ Established in 1994 by a team of researchers from the University of Bologna, led by Professor Andrea Cammelli in Statistics, the AlmaLaurea Interuniversity Consortium is composed of 77 Italian universities and the Ministry of Education, Universities and Research. Its core mission revolves around conducting statistical analyses concerning the Italian higher education landscape.

and Enology” or “Enological Techniques.”⁷⁴ The number of the people who graduated from these courses between 2001 and 2022 can be seen in the following graph (Figure 8). During the same period, among the total number of graduates from Italian Universities (171,806 in 2001 up to 281,095 in 2022), more than half are women (about 57% in 2001 and about 60% in 2022). A strong differentiation in the gender composition of the various disciplinary fields is noted, confirming the greater propensity of women to choose humanities paths compared to sciences, particularly those in the STEM area.⁷⁵

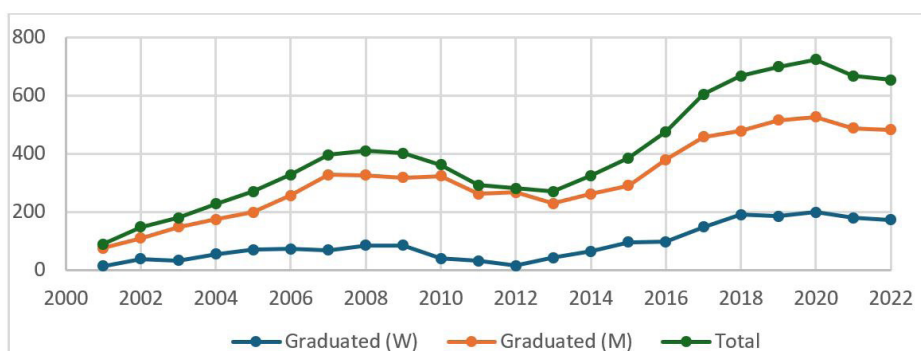


Figure 8. The evolution of total graduates and gender distribution across university courses concerning viticulture or/and oenology.

Source: Author’s on Almalaurea data (2023).

Over the years, there has been a noticeable upward trajectory in the total number of graduates in courses related to viticulture and oenology, suggesting a growing fascination with these fields of study. This trend speaks to an expanding interest and recognition of the importance of viticulture and oenology within

⁷⁴ The educational programs encompass both bachelor’s and master’s degrees, offering a comprehensive range of qualifications. These courses are dispersed across the country, spanning 23 different locations. Among these, 10 are situated in the North, 9 in Central Italy, and 4 in the South. Moreover, the geographical distribution strategically aligns with key production areas, such as Asti, Marsala, San Pietro in Cariano, and Avellino, ensuring proximity to practical learning environments and industry hubs.

⁷⁵ In 2022, Almalaurea published the report “Laureates and Laureates: Choices, Experiences, and Professional Achievements.” This thematic Gender Report draws on annual surveys that provide data on the profiles and occupational conditions of graduates. It analyzes factors influencing educational choices, including family background and pre-university studies. The report also highlights the performance of female graduates, measured by both the speed of obtaining their degree and the grades achieved.

academic circles and perhaps the industry as a whole. Furthermore, both male and female graduation numbers have experienced a steady increase across the board. However, it's noteworthy that male graduates have consistently surpassed their female counterparts in most years. Nonetheless, there's a promising sign of progress as the gap between male and female graduates appears to be gradually closing, particularly in recent years. This shift may indicate evolving societal attitudes and efforts towards achieving gender parity in traditionally male-dominated sectors like viticulture and oenology.⁷⁶ The pinnacle of this upward trend in graduation numbers was observed in 2020, with a record-breaking total of 724 graduates.

Conversely, the year 2001 marked the lowest point in this data series, with only 88 graduates. Such fluctuations highlight the dynamic nature of academic interest and perhaps external factors influencing enrollment and completion rates over time. In sum, these data encapsulate more than just numerical figures; they embody the evolving landscape of gender representation and the shifting currents of interest in viticulture and oenology-related fields over the specified years. They signify a journey towards greater inclusivity and recognition of the contributions of both men and women in this specialized domain of study.

In conclusion, the historical context of viticulture and oenology education, dating back to the late 19th century, lays the groundwork for understanding the contemporary landscape. While male-dominated wine schools once prevailed, recent trends indicate a notable increase in female participation, signaling a broader shift towards gender inclusivity. Official data on enrollment in viticulture and oenology programs in Italy underscores this trend, revealing a steady rise in graduates over the years. While male graduates have historically outnumbered their female counterparts, there is a promising trajectory towards greater gender parity, particularly in recent years. These trends reflect evolving societal attitudes and efforts towards inclusivity within traditionally male-dominated sectors⁷⁷ and, ultimately, a journey towards greater gender representation and recognition of the contributions of both men and women in the field of viticulture and oenology.

The narrative is vividly portrayed in the accounts of Italian-American Laura Donadoni, a distinguished writer, journalist, and “wine educator.” In her publications from 2021 (*Custodi del Vino*, “Wine Keepers”) and 2023 (*Intrepide*

⁷⁶ One of the interviewees (29.04.2024), a graduate in viticulture and enology, stated that, in her opinion, female winemakers are “less accepted” because the role of the winemaker is culturally misrepresented and confused with that of the laborer. This misconception leads to the belief that women are not suitable for this position.

⁷⁷ Barbara Sgarzi (17.05.2024) states that, for example, even among sommeliers and wine journalists there is discrimination and a patronizing attitude toward women in these professions.

“Fearless”), Donadoni astutely highlights the intricate challenges that women face in emerging and establishing their presence within an industry that, as she elucidates, is a dichotomy of being both “archaic” and remarkably “novel.” Donadoni’s insightful observations effectively underscore the complexities that women encounter as they strive to assert themselves in the wine industry, shedding light on the multifaceted nature of their journey towards recognition and equality. Her compelling narratives serve as a poignant reflection of the evolving landscape of the industry and the ongoing quest for gender inclusivity and empowerment.

Finally, it is possible to broadly refer to the data provided by Donatella Cinelli Colombini, the President of the Associazione Donne del Vino, which indicates that the presence of women in the Italian wine sector is inversely proportional to their proximity to the production side (2022, p. XIII). The estimation provided (Figure 9) tends to underline that the relation with the consumers (in hospitality and in communication terms) is strictly a women’s prerogative, while the mere “production” (in vineyard and in winery) describes a segment dominated by men. But is this a true picture?

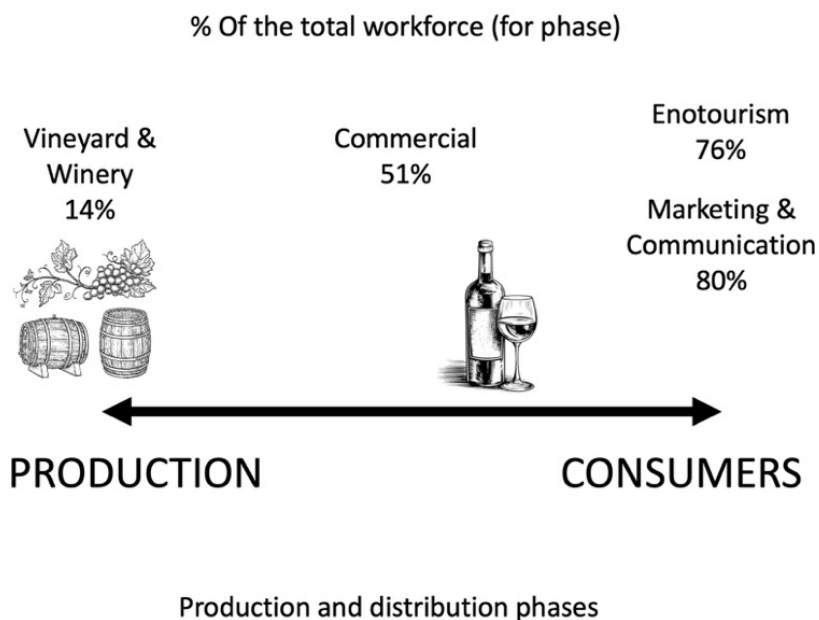


Figure 9. Women presence in Wine sector according to productive segment (2021 estimation)

Source: Author from Cinelli Colombini data (2022, p. XIII).

3.4 Italian wine association's and women representation

Considering the consortia, out of the 133 reviewed on the ministry website as of 2024, only 14 have a female president (Figure 10). This stark disparity highlights a significant imbalance of power within the delicate role of consortium governance, underscoring a deficit in both democracy and representation.

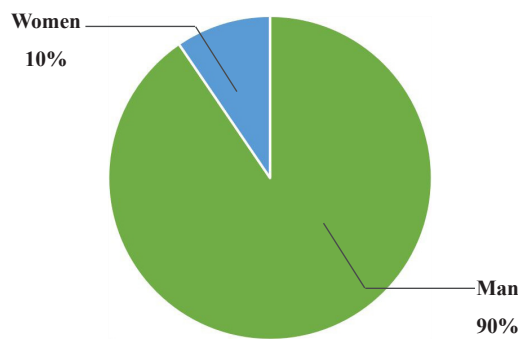


Figure 10. Consortia leadership (June 2024)

Source: Author's.

The Consorzio di Tutela is tasked with the promotion, protection, and enhancement of the “Denominazione di Origine.” Additionally, under certain conditions, national legislation entrusts the Consortium, along with other entities, with real power to manage and direct the designation, as well as the production specifications.

As we have already discussed, there are many trade associations within the agricultural sector that strive to safeguard “gender.” Within the wine world, there are numerous associations dedicated to the viticulture and oenology sector; among these, at national scale (although almost always structured on a regional and/or provincial scale), there are:⁷⁸

⁷⁸ This overview only highlights nationally recognized formal trade associations. It does not include all the associations, local or regional, that in various capacities are involved in wine promotion (from the perspective of consumers and producers).

- Agivi – Associazione Giovani Imprenditori Vinicoli Italiani;
- Anformape – Associazione Nazionale Fornitori Macchine Accessori e Prodotti per l’Enologia;
- Associazione Italiana Sommelier;
- AssoDistil – Associazione Nazionale Industriali Distillatori di Alcoli e acquaviti;
- Assoenologi – Associazione Enologi Enotecnici Italiani;
- ASSOVINI – Associazione Nazionale Produttori Vinicoli e Turismo del Vino;
- Confederazione italiana della vite e del vino;
- Federdoc – Confederazione Nazionale Consorzi Volontari Tutela Denominazioni Vini Italiani;
- Federvini – Federazione Italiana Industriali Produttori, Esportatori ed Importatori di Vini.
- FiVi – Associazione Vignaioli Indipendenti;
- Movimento turismo del Vino;
- Oenoppia – prodotti per l’enologia;
- OIV – Organizzazione internazionale della vigna e del vino;
- Società Italiana Viticoltura ed Enologia;
- Unione italiana Vini;
- Viniveri – Vini secondo natura;
- VinNatur;
- Vi.Te. – Vignaioli e territori.

Among the associations,⁷⁹ in 2024, only 2 out of 18 are directed by women (Agivi and Federvini):⁸⁰ it is particularly noteworthy to observe that the president of the association dedicated to advocating for young entrepreneurs within the sector is a woman. This serves as a compelling demonstration of the dynamic presence and leadership capabilities of young female winemakers, as previously discussed.

The nationally recognized and most important association dedicated to women in agriculture, however, is definitely *Le Donne del Vino* (“The Women of Wine”) (Figure 11) also associated with the International Organisation of Wine and Vine.⁸¹

⁷⁹ This review may not be exhaustive. It derives from comparison with institutional partner sites and visibility on platforms.

⁸⁰ In any case, it is significant to note that in FiVi, the presidency was held by a woman for nine years prior to this: “FiVi has always maintained an inclusive attitude where the issue of a specific claim has never been raised, especially since the federation shares a common cultural heritage. However, it is true that beyond the ‘natural’ balance in top roles, there may be underrepresentation in practice, even among member companies” (Tommaso Iori, National Coordinator, Federazione Nazionale Vignaioli Indipendenti; 8.05.2024). Matilde Poggi is now the only woman in viticulture to reclaim an international office: in 2022 she was designated president of the Confédération européenne des vigneron·ne·s indépendants. In her interview with Donadoni (2023, p. 65), Poggi astutely observes the contrasting attitudes toward gender in Northern and Eastern Europe, where it is not a focal point of discussion, unlike in Italy, where the discourse still revolves around “pink quotas” (namely, the percentage of positions reserved by law for women in public and private organizations: companies, educational institutions, decision-making, and government bodies).

⁸¹ The commemorations of OIV’s centennial on International Women’s Day 2024 shine a light on women’s contributions to the vine and wine sector. Three influential female figures shared their experiences: Arina Antoce (Professor of Oenology, Romania) discussed the progress and challenges for women in the industry. Despite improvements, disparities persist, with women often facing hurdles in accessing opportunities. She emphasizes the need to celebrate women’s capabilities and encourages greater recognition of their contributions. Monika Christmann (OIV Honorary President Hochschule Geisenheim University, Head of Institute for Oenology, Germany) reflects on her journey in a male-dominated field. Overcoming stereotypes, she pursued innovative approaches in winemaking and technology, eventually becoming a chair at Geisenheim University. She highlights the increasing presence of women in viticulture and enology, signaling positive change. Azéline Jaboulet-Vercherre (Wine Historian, President of the OIV Award Jury, France) discusses historical gender biases and the slow pace of change in the agricultural sector. She celebrates the achievements of women in challenging societal norms and calls for continued efforts to promote gender equality. For more information: <https://www.oiv.int/press/100-years-oiv-spotlighting-womens-role-vine-and-wine-world>.



Figure 11. “Le Donne Del Vino” Logo,

Source: <https://ledonnedelvino.com/>

Established in 1988, Le Donne del Vino made its official debut during Vinitaly 1988 with approximately 20 members, rapidly expanding to over 1,000. Today, it stands as the largest association of women in the global wine industry, boasting more than 1,080 members across Italy. This diverse membership includes producers, restaurateurs, wine shop owners, sommeliers, journalists, and wine experts, with Daniela Mastroberardino serving as President. Members are distributed throughout all of Italy, organizing local initiatives under the guidance of regional delegates. The association’s primary objective is to promote wine culture and knowledge, with a particular focus on highlighting the pivotal role of women in the wine sector. Leveraging the wealth of women’s experiences and expertise involved in various complementary sectors related to wine production and appreciation, Le Donne del Vino seeks to enrich wine knowledge and culture. Membership is open to individuals with professional experience in vineyards, wineries, gastronomy, journalism, communication, marketing, and related fields, emphasizing the significance of communication in the association’s endeavors.

On an international scale, in 2019, Le Donne del Vino established an international network comprising ten similar associations from other parts of the world. Notably, during the 2nd World Convention of Women of Wine held

at Simej Milano in November 2022, an international collaboration agreement was signed with representatives from various countries, including Amuva—Argentina; The Fabulous Ladies’ Wine Society—Australia; 11 Frauen und ihre Weine—Austria, Chile; Wow—Croazia; Femmes de Vin—Francia; Baia’s Wine—Georgia; Vinissima—Germania; Women in Wine—New Zealand; Las Damas del Pisco—Perù.

Beyond economic initiatives, Le Donne del Vino is distinguished for its charitable endeavors. Annually, delegates orchestrate live events and social media campaigns across diverse regions, unified by the hashtag #donnevinounmondounito (#womenandwineoneworld). This interconnectedness underscores the importance of forging connections and fostering a global network to enrich wine culture and advocate for women in the wine sector. Additionally, the association has launched a new hashtag, #winewindow, aimed at uniting wine enthusiasts and fostering virality. Spearheaded by Fiammetta Mussio and the Donne del Vino of Piedmont, this project harnesses the allure of Italian vineyard landscapes to attract wine lovers, offering them immersive experiences with producers, outdoor treks, label tastings, and wine shopping.

In the post-COVID-19, as wineries restricted visits, vineyards and landscapes have assumed newfound importance in the wine-related tourism. #winewindow seeks to highlight agricultural landscapes shaped by millennia of human labor, transforming them into tourist attractions. As part of the year dedicated to Women, Wine, and Environment, Le Donne del Vino, in partnership with the TCI Italian Touring Club, proposes eco-sustainable tourism, including camper stopovers overlooking vineyards.

Collaboration with universities and educational institutions has spurred a significant expansion of educational initiatives, particularly in marketing and communication. The D-Vino project, initiated in the academic year 2021–2022, aims to introduce wine education directly into tourism and hotel institutes under the auspices of Le Donne del Vino. Additionally, members are currently compiling the first Italian recipe book featuring traditional local dishes paired with wine or native grape varieties. Efforts to preserve the local identity and historical heritage of Italian vineyards include tastings of wines from “relic vineyards” and “ancient vineyards.” Le Donne del Vino actively promote wine tourism and combat violence against women through fundraising, conferences, and awareness campaigns such as #tunonseisola (#youarenotalone). In 2022, the first course for the prevention of sexism in wine companies was introduced, aimed at recognizing behaviors that create a hostile climate, limit people’s freedom, and place relationships on a level other than the professional one. In

the USA, sensitivity towards this issue has increased greatly since #MeToo; to date, 12 federal states have introduced mandatory training courses for employees. There are no costs for companies, but there are sanctions for non-compliance.

In 2019, the association introduced the “FUTURE” project, a pioneering initiative aimed at providing complimentary education opportunities for women under the age of thirty engaged in the wine industry. This initiative, backed by all 900 members of the organization including wine producers, wine shop proprietors, restaurateurs, sommeliers, journalists, and industry experts, offers a comprehensive range of scholarships, webinars, internships, and workshops either within their own establishments or in collaboration with their workplaces. The program is recognized as a vital means of imparting the interdisciplinary skills essential for success in this sector. Additionally, members contribute by offering online English courses, seminars, tutorials, webinars focusing on digital communication, and guidance for developing enotourism experiences. The organization is also actively involved in promoting national and regional initiatives, with a concerted effort to showcase and celebrate the diverse regions and unique characteristics of every corner of Italy. The association’s website also provides a platform for members to search for job opportunities, offer employment or internships, and share opportunities for exchanges, purchases, and information. This initiative aims to foster a virtuous cycle, generating synergies, opportunities, and mutual benefits among members.

The study “Women, Wine, and the Preservation of the Cultural Identity of Wine Regions” was conducted by Marta Galli,⁸² the operational director of the Sustainable Wine Business and Enogastronomic Tourism Observatory at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan.⁸³, presented in Florence on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of Women of Wine, which originated in this city in 1988. The research revealed that Women of Wine perceive the values promoted by the association as a common and shared heritage. Among these values, the environment, a theme central to the focus of the years 2020 and 2021, strongly influences the individual experiences of the members. They are not just colleagues but also friends, and belonging to the association allows them to exchange experiences, knowledge, and opportunities. Feeling part of a group moving in the same direction strengthens the desire to make individual contributions more effectively and promises more significant results. During interviews, members emphasized the importance of

⁸² <https://ledonnedelvino.com/le-donne-del-vino-festeggiano-35-anni-a-firenze/>.

⁸³ <https://centridiricerca.unicatt.it/centrimark-notizie-osservatorio-sustainable-wine-business-and-enogastronomic-tourism>.

collective action to preserve their territory and biodiversity (also see: Anzivino, Galli & Sebastiani, 2021).

Interestingly, the role of smaller associations such as “Sbarbatelle,”⁸⁴ comprised of winemakers under 40 years also cannot be overlooked. This association, born in Piedmont in 2018, presents itself with much less “institutional” traits than its larger sister. It is distinguished by an informal, much more “social” approach: there is no official website, but rather it presents a Facebook page and an Instagram profile (Figure 12).



Figure 12. “Sbarbatelle” logo

Source: https://www.facebook.com/Sbarbatelle/?locale=it_IT

From one of the meetings organized by the Sbarbatelle (held in 2019) the initiative “Vignaiolo 2.0” emerged (Figure 13).

⁸⁴ The term that could be translated as “greenhorn” actually refers not only to the young age of the members, but also to a wordplay mainly concerning the fact that “barbatella” refers to a cutting, layer, or shoot of the vine that has emitted the “beard,” namely the roots, and which is used in vineyard planting. The number of members could not be obtained; however, they all belong to the world of wine through various approaches (producers, oenologists, sommeliers, etc.).



Figure 13. Vignaiole 2.0 logo

Source: <https://www.vignaioleduepuntozero.com/>

According to their website, their constitution seems to be “backwards:”

We are winemakers. We do men’s work with the care and determination that distinguishes us women. We are not afraid to get our hands dirty, but our manicure is always perfect. The vineyard and the winery are our habitat. Don’t ask us to go on vacation in September, we might answer you wrong [...]. Imagine the scene: a quiet evening, all around the same table telling each other about our daily adventures (and misadventures). And between one glass and another, HE popped up. Who has never had to deal with some wine “scientist”? Usually male, 30 to 45 years old, accompanied by a girlfriend (definitely teetotal or drinking only “Proseccchino”) or some friend who wants to amaze.

The “Le donne della Vite” (The Women of Vine, Figure 14) association, stands out as a unique experiment in establishing a women’s trade association, since its inception in 2016 in Tuscany. Comprising a diverse group of individuals related to the world of vines, including growers, researchers, agronomists, producers, winemakers, sommeliers, restaurateurs, wine shop owners, and journalists, the association aimed to elevate the role of women in the wine industry. It sought to provide a supportive community for women

working in this sector and encourage their engagement with the public through cultural, educational, and outreach activities. Guided by ethics, aesthetics, and beauty, the association prioritized the protection of the landscape and the operator, the preservation of historical and cultural routes, and the upholding of human values and professionalism at all levels. Their activities encompassed a wide range of events such as conferences, seminars, courses, technical visits, and themed evenings, all designed to be original and impactful.



Figure 14. “Le donne della vite. Cultura e diffusione” logo.

Source: https://www.facebook.com/Sbarbatelle/?locale=it_IT

In conclusion, the realm of gender representation within trade associations in the agricultural sector, particularly in viticulture and oenology, reflects a combination of advancements and persistent challenges. Despite the existence of numerous associations, only a small fraction is led by women, highlighting the imperative for ongoing efforts to foster inclusivity and diversity. One notable organization, “Le Donne del Vino,” stands out as a beacon of female leadership and collaboration in the wine industry. Boasting a diverse membership encompassing various wine-related professions, the association cultivates a culture of knowledge-sharing, empowerment, and advocacy. Through diverse initiatives spanning from educational programs to charitable endeavors and international partnerships, these associations showcase the potential of collective action to drive positive change. Nevertheless, lingering questions remain regarding the effectiveness of such associations in realizing genuine

gender equality and empowerment. Further exploration into the perceptions, opportunities, and challenges faced by these organizations is essential to advance discussions surrounding gender representation in the wine sector.

While many of those I interviewed perceive these associations as valuable platforms for women to express themselves freely, Stevie Kim, the director of the Vinitaly International Academy, presents a compelling argument in her testimony to Donadoni (2023, p. 79). She calls for a transformative change in the association's membership policy, suggesting the inclusion of men. This proposal marks a significant departure, aligning perfectly with the author's perspective. Such a bold move would not only revolutionize the association but also position it as a champion of inclusivity and gender equality within the wine industry, transcending barriers of discrimination.

These examples of associationism and trade associations underscore the pivotal role that women play in gender representation. However, it is crucial to examine the boundaries of this visibility: do these associations serve as platforms for empowerment, or do they inadvertently perpetuate segregated dynamics? How do women working in this field perceive these specialized associations, and what opportunities do they offer for progress and collaboration? Why is it so necessary to have "separate" associations? Why are apex roles held by women still considered surprising?

4. Evidence from the “ground”

Beyond the inspirational stories often cited, disconcerting data emerge from the fieldwork, prompting reflections not only on the world of wine or agriculture but on Italian society as a whole. Referring to the corpus of interviews and questionnaires (for a description, see Section 2.2), the survey results will be analyzed considering the four thematic axes:

- Work-family reconciliation and family planning;
- Work-related difficulties;
- Engagement with professional associations; and
- Work management in consideration of climate change impacts.

Analysis of the data collected through the surveys provides a detailed overview of the situation for women winemakers in Italy, highlighting demographic factors, professional characteristics, and perceptions related to discrimination and climate change challenges. The respondents, mainly owners or co-owners of wineries, show a strong connection to their main activity, often driven by passion, curiosity, and, in some cases, family pressures. Most of them operate holdings larger than five hectares, distributed across various regions of Italy. It is notable that out of 56 respondents, 55 stated that their work started out of passion. Some (7) associate this passion with family pressure and others (5), with a desire for redemption.

4.1 Work-life (in)balance

First, regarding work-life balance aspects, the results show that 23 out of 56 respondents have children and 2 of them would like to have children. Despite this, 42 respondents believe that it is extremely complicated to have a family in the industry, and 37 out of 56 believe that having children was or would be an obstacle to their careers (not being able to drink/taste wine, for example, during pregnancy and breastfeeding is a problem for many of the jobs in the sector, as well as the need to be on call at all times during harvest—including night hours—for winemakers, workers, or agronomists). Many respondents

highlighted the lack of family services in rural areas (both for the elderly and for children) especially given the “family” nature of many businesses (and the fact that “there are no boundaries”). In this sense, Laura Donadoni also points out how the “mental load” can be detrimental to women in these contexts. Maternity-related issues are significant, with many acknowledging that having children can be a potential obstacle to their careers, particularly in a traditionally male-dominated sector. Additionally, they underline out how “seasonality” affects motherhood, especially for female workers. The timing of agricultural activities and inadequate support infrastructure are cited as significant barriers for female workers. According to Barbara Sgarzi, the issue of motherhood is “the elephant in the room;” it is problematic for various reasons: the timing of the harvest, the lack of infrastructure, and the lack of subsidies for precarious/seasonal or “off the books” female workers. These issues are related to the lack of adequate welfare policies and the impossibility of joining the schools or daycare, for example. At the same time the role of “courage” as the only useful value in family choices is emphasized by 13 of the respondents, highlighting the need for targeted policies and support mechanisms to address the specific needs of workers managing family responsibilities alongside their careers.

4.2 Work-related difficulties

Regarding employment, respondents generally felt discriminated against because of their sex (the weighted average of responses on a Likert scale is 3.2 out of 5), whereas “gender” discrimination appears to be considered unimportant (0.9/5). This suggests that while discrimination based on sex is acknowledged and significant, issues related to broader gender identities and expressions (such as non-binary ones) are often overlooked or marginalized within the industry that does not include much “diversity” (even in terms of ethnicities). The issue of “gender” remains in this sense unclear, and the presence of queer workers appears to be a distant and largely unspoken topic, possibly due to fear of traditional structures within this realm. “I know an owner who is lesbian, and it is not a problem. If she was a worker, I bet she could have many troubles,” one respondent says. According to another interviewee, “The question of gender, or rather of genders, is not prominently discussed within the world of agriculture. It remains an archaic environment where other orientations find little acceptance, especially among those in subordinate roles rather than farm owners.” Nevertheless, the reasons for such discrimination are primarily attributed to “socio-cultural aspects,” as

highlighted by 36 respondents. Reasons related to discrimination based on sex are primarily attributed to “consortiums and institutions” (such as unions, but also municipalities, provinces and other local authorities) by 37 out of 56 respondents. This institutional bias underscores systemic challenges within regulatory and administrative bodies: “At the consortium they always ask me to talk to my father”; or “At the union I feel not represented, they are all men” are answers offered by respondents.

Discrimination was reported within “families” by 11 out of 56 respondents, particularly in southern regions (9 out of 11), as indicated by some responses, crossed with the place of origin. Cultural and social norms seem to exacerbate discrimination and may dictate traditional roles and limit opportunities for women in agricultural professions. Comments such as “my father/my brother does not want me to work in the field”; “my father says that it is not a work for a lady, so I work in marketing and administration” have been common among the interviews. Additionally, discrimination against subordinates (who “do not obey” because “I’m deemed incapable of managing a vineyard”) was mentioned by 8 out of 56 respondents (5 of them in southern regions). These issues can stem from entrenched prejudices, gender stereotypes, lack of sensitivity to gender identity or sexual orientation, and inadequate education on gender issues. Economic treatment and interactions with agricultural intermediaries were also cited as contexts where disparities may be evident. To Prof. Gambuti, women are generally less accepted, especially in roles such as winemakers or laborers, but discrimination is observed across all sectors of the industry, and that is more frequent in Italy and traditional old wine producing countries (it’s less present in USA, for example). Some respondents also mentioned encountering problems with co-workers and facing “patronizing” attitudes (as noted by one sommelier respondent), and these issues are apparent in all the sectors of the industry, for instance. Proposed solutions to overcome these obstacles include education, mentioned by 25 respondents; promoting cultural change, noted by 29; and generational turnover, which was mentioned by 2 respondents.

4.3 Associationism and representativeness

According to the survey results, 18 out of 56 respondents belong to associations, but only 10 of the “women’s” ones (7 “Donne del Vino”; 3 “Sbarbatelle” where 8 of the latter belong to more than one association) with “FIVI” (Federazione Italiana Vignaioli Indipendenti) and “Coldiretti”

among the most frequently mentioned. 21 respondents belong to consortia, while 13 belong to trade unions. Reasons for membership mainly concern “sharing values” (on average, the value on a Likert scale is around 4/5 for respondents) as well as network in the territory, less relevant is network in the territory (3.5/5) and visibility in the market (3.3/5) and interlocution with institutions (2.9). The members of the responding associations are, on average, satisfied with their participation and overall would like within them more communication and more training, considered lacking (below average, 2.8/5 and 2.3/5, respectively) and more marketing events (considered totally insufficient, 1.8/5).

What needs to be noted, however, is that the participation of the sample in women’s associations (as well as in associations in general) is not representative at all, and there is clear criticism among the respondents (although it is unclear why there is such a high concentration in the sample). Many respondents point out that gender associations create “segregation,” functioning as purpose-built worlds for “wives, daughters, sisters of...” rather than fostering inclusive professional environments. Marzia Pinotti emphasizes that “as far as I know within some associations there is a different treatment: women should not stand out; they should be good and quiet. I am not against women’s associations providing some space for women to express themselves, but that should not be the only meeting place.” Laura Donadoni suggests that “gender” associations be transformed into “equality associations,” meaning that they can also include men and anyone who wants to fight for inclusiveness in the field precisely to prevent these associations from remaining confined to themselves. In conclusion, while association memberships offer valuable networking and value-sharing opportunities, there are significant challenges and criticisms, particularly concerning the role and impact of women’s associations. Moving forward, addressing these critiques involves ensuring inclusivity, avoiding reinforcing gender stereotypes, and enhancing the effectiveness of these associations in supporting all members of the agricultural and wine community.

4.4 Climate change related pressure

Climate change presents a significant challenge for producers in the wine industry, as reported in the survey. Changes in rainfall patterns, prolonged droughts, increased heat waves, and a rise in pathogens are among the observed effects. Producers have responded with solutions such as precision viticulture techniques and emergency irrigation. Moreover, there is a strong environmental

awareness among many producers, who are committed to addressing these challenges through a combination of innovative approaches and traditional methods to combat climate change. The survey findings underscore the concerns of respondents about the impact of climate change on their work. On a Likert scale, respondents rated their concerns at an average of 3.8 out of 5. Qualitatively, concerns include alterations in alcohol content and modifications in aromatic profiles (21 out of 56 respondents), while quantitatively, concerns involve annual production levels (35 out of 56 respondents). A significant number of respondents (32 out of 56) are particularly worried about increased instability in rainfall patterns, coupled with extreme heat waves and periods of drought, whereas others prioritize the proliferation of pathogens.

The survey also highlights challenges specific to small businesses, which are vulnerable to climate-related events. Many women interviewed benefit from specific funds; however, these funds often do not adequately account for the risks and economic sustainability in the medium to long term, as noted by Professor Gambuti. Regarding attitudes towards gender and climate change, some respondents (12) emphasize that women are more sensitive to climate change impacts, while others (7) believe that climate change affects men and women equally. Overall, the trend towards adopting innovative techniques to mitigate climate change impacts is encouraging within the vineyard and winery sectors. This trend is supported by official data, with 38 respondents indicating the use of precision viticulture, filter nets, and the reintroduction of traditional practices such as mulching and reduced leaf removal: these approaches illustrate a blend of innovative techniques and traditional wisdom aimed at mitigating climate risks is prioritizing sustainable practices to combat climate change, an “out of the box” way of thinking as pointed out by Laura Donadoni. Titina Pigna, on the other hand, emphasizes the propensity of women toward digital as having a “more open” mindset, less bound by stereotypes. This commitment underscores the industry’s proactive stance towards environmental stewardship despite facing significant challenges.

4.5 Some results

The results of this fieldwork offer a comprehensive perspective on the realities faced by women in viticulture in Italy, transcending the anecdotal insights often taken as examples in the press to reveal deep challenges that intersect with broader social dynamics, giving some face and body to the official

data provided by census. While highlighting the passion and dedication these women put into their craft, the research also highlights significant obstacles that affect their professional and personal lives. One major issue highlighted by the study is the struggle for work-life balance, which is particularly felt in an industry characterized by seasonal demands and rural settings lacking adequate family support services. Many women feel that having children may hinder their careers due to the challenges of the timing of agricultural activities and insufficient rural infrastructure. These findings underscore the need for comprehensive policies that support familyfriendly practices and address the specific needs of women who find themselves managing the dual roles of caregivers and professionals.

Sex discrimination emerges as another critical issue, with respondents acknowledging substantial biases within the field. Institutional barriers and cultural norms would appear to perpetrate unequal treatment, affecting access to resources, opportunities and broader social acceptance of women in traditionally male roles. The survey highlights disparities in economic treatment, discriminatory attitudes of colleagues and superiors, and the marginalization of gender identities across traditional boundaries. Addressing these problems requires educational initiatives, cultural changes and targeted support mechanisms to combat systemic discrimination and promote inclusion.

The role of professional associations also deserves to be examined: a considerable proportion of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with existing networks especially those that are “women’s”. While membership in associations offers valuable networking opportunities and platforms for sharing values, criticism focuses on the perceived segregation within women’s associations, which some say reinforce traditional gender roles rather than challenge them. Calls for greater inclusion, more training opportunities, and better communication within these associations highlight the desire for reforms that empower all members of the wine and farming community. In addition, the survey highlights the issues and vulnerability related to the effects of climate change, which poses a significant threat to the sustainability and productivity of vineyards. Respondents express concern about changing weather patterns, increasing extreme events, and their implications on grape quality and production volumes. Despite these challenges, respondents demonstrate a commendable commitment to adopting innovative techniques and sustainable practices, such as precision viticulture and traditional methods such as mulching, in order to mitigate climate risks and promote environmental stewardship.

Finally, while women working in the sector in Italy demonstrate resilience,

passion, and commitment to excellence, their experiences highlight systemic challenges that require varied and often changing solutions. Addressing the issues of work-life balance, discrimination, associational inclusiveness, and climate resilience requires a collaborative effort from policymakers, practitioners, and society at large. By promoting a more equitable and inclusive environment, we can enable women in viticulture to thrive professionally, contributing to the sustainability and diversity of the Italian wine industry.

The intersectional vulnerability that emerges, while not annihilating the agency of the female workers in question, is evident: the four axes identified (work-life balance, sex discrimination, associationism and representativeness, climate change) are not simply overlapping elements as in a mille-feuille cake, but would appear to be intertwined, so much so that they engender new aspects of vulnerability and amplify the effects of existing aspects.

In this regard, the solutions proposed by the interviewees and privileged witnesses align in the same direction: to overcome the invisibility, discrimination, and vulnerability that women face, there is a need for policies that go beyond “welfare”—which “do not guarantee the economic sustainability of the company,” as a producer recalls—and focus on the real development of rural territories. This implies, for example, according to Chiara Soldati, “more training and access to credit”; for Prof. Gambuti, “more culture on the part of men and women in the sector and more economic cooperation”; and according to another interviewee, more “social infrastructure” and “attractiveness for rural areas.” Laura Donadoni adds that this also means extending welfare policies to the most marginal areas, providing logistical solutions for the care of minors and the elderly, and implementing ad hoc courses within universities to bring minority genders closer to technical work to promote diversity and inclusion. Finally, it implies giving more space to women on the boards of directors of consortia and consortium associations to allow for greater representation.

5. Open conclusions

In order to conclude this brief essay, we could consider actual analysis provided by Signorelli (1996) about the women employed in agriculture during the 1950s.

Of the women who reap and plow, who manage the rental of the combine harvester and get the mortgage to build the new house, who find ways to combine school attendance and safeguarding the honor of their teenage daughters, these women are not even talked about. There is no recognition of their existence. It may happen that it is admitted that women sometimes do what it is incumbent on men to do; but they do it only when and because men are unable to do it and, of course, they do not do it “as a man would do it.” [...] Women’s replacement work can take place experimentally; it can be an opportunity to essay innovations not so much technological as sociological and cultural, precisely by virtue of its ‘nonexistence’ and thus its irrelevance to what is the formal and stable arrangement of the system (p. 250).

Many things have since changed, but the permanence of a systemic reproduction of the power among genders and over the natural resources still must be challenged.

In this regard, this research provides an overview of the multiple roles of women in the Italian wine industry (producers, sommeliers, winemakers, etc...), focusing on the challenges, stigmatizations and processes of “glassing” that they face and that often render them “invisible”: women—considered from a biological sex perspective—are not represented as mere workers, but as creators and managers of different spaces, often made marginal by policies, or valued only from the point of view of capitalization.

Starting the discussion within the regulatory frameworks of the EU and Italy and using official data sources (often limited from a “women’s” point of view), the study maps the different associations involved in defending the role of women in viticulture in Italy. Both production and advocacy on a national scale are analyzed, offering a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding women’s participation and intersectional vulnerabilities in viticulture. This lays the groundwork for future research

and deeper reflection, especially in light of the effects of climate change.

In this sense, the research highlights the spatial dimension and reproduction of intersectional vulnerability faced by women in Italian viticulture. But at the same time, and despite (or because of) this vulnerability, the essay analyzes the role of women in the construction of alternative spaces characterized by technology and digitization, adding a crucial gender-related innovative dimension to the understanding of the evolution of human geography and cultural landscapes. Finally, despite the lack of literature at the national scale and detailed data, the research aims to give some key elements the way for further investigation (even in other geographical contexts) and introduce new perspectives on analytical elements already present into the existing debate.

According to the inquiry and all the observations conducted since 2018, the multifaceted roles of women in Italy's viticulture industry are characterized by profound challenges and systemic issues that underscore their intersectional vulnerability. This research provides a comprehensive examination of these roles, drawing from a rich corpus of interviews and questionnaires. The study explores the complexities of women's participation in viticulture, illuminating the social, cultural, and environmental dimensions that shape their experiences.

The analysis begins by highlighting the significant challenges related to work-life balance faced by women in the industry. The fieldwork reveals that many women find it extremely difficult to manage family responsibilities alongside their careers. The demands of pregnancy, breastfeeding, and the necessity to be on call during harvest times create substantial obstacles. The inability to taste wine during pregnancy and the seasonal nature of agricultural work further exacerbate these difficulties. The lack of family services in rural areas, where many wineries are located, adds another layer of complexity. These findings underscore the need for comprehensive family support services and policies that address the unique challenges faced by women in this sector.

Work-related difficulties are another critical aspect of the intersectional vulnerability experienced by women in viticulture. The research reveals substantial biases and discrimination based on sex, perpetuated by cultural and social norms, institutional barriers, and discriminatory attitudes from colleagues and superiors. Economic disparities and patronizing behaviors further hinder women's access to resources and opportunities. The weighted average of responses on a Likert scale indicates a significant perception of discrimination, highlighting the systemic nature of these biases. Addressing these issues requires educational initiatives, cultural changes, and targeted support mechanisms to combat systemic discrimination and promote inclusion.

Engagement with professional associations presents both opportunities

and challenges for women in the industry. While some women benefit from networking and value-sharing within these associations, many express dissatisfaction with the existing networks, particularly women's associations. These associations are often criticized for reinforcing traditional gender roles rather than challenging them. The presence of women's associations, in fact, seems part of a functional process of avoiding a collective production of knowledge and paradigm shift that trivializes and de-potentiates the also alternative bearing of the feminist proposal going towards a paradoxical "feminist liberalism". The call for greater inclusivity (even in term of ethnicity diversity), more training opportunities, and better communication within these associations reflects a desire for reforms that empower all members of the wine and farming community. By transforming gender-specific associations into more inclusive equality associations, there is potential to foster a more supportive and equitable professional environment. In summary, while discrimination based on sex is widely recognized and acknowledged as a barrier to equality within the agriculture and wine sector, broader issues related to gender diversity and non-binary identities remain largely unaddressed. Addressing these challenges will require concerted efforts across education, cultural reform, and generational shifts to create a more equitable and inclusive industry environment.

Finally, climate change poses significant challenges for producers in the wine industry, further complicating the intersectional vulnerabilities of women. Changes in rainfall patterns, prolonged droughts, increased heat waves, and a rise in pathogens are among the observed effects that impact viticulture. The fieldwork underscores the concerns of respondents about the impact of climate change on their work, with alterations in alcohol content, modifications in aromatic profiles, and increased instability in rainfall patterns being significant worries. Small businesses, in particular, are more vulnerable to climate-related events, necessitating targeted support to enhance their resilience. Despite these challenges, the respondents demonstrate a commendable commitment to adopting innovative techniques and sustainable practices to mitigate climate risks and promote environmental stewardship. The broader social dynamics revealed by the fieldwork prompt reflection on Italian society as a whole. The research exposes deep-seated issues of gender discrimination and the inadequate provision of family support services, which have significant implications beyond the viticulture industry. The findings call for systemic reforms to promote inclusivity and sustainability. Comprehensive policies and initiatives that support women in balancing family and professional responsibilities, combat systemic discrimination, and enhance climate resilience

are essential for fostering a more equitable and sustainable viticulture industry.

Therefore, while climate change poses substantial challenges to wine producers, the industry's proactive response through innovative practices and environmental consciousness demonstrates resilience and a commitment to sustainable stewardship. Addressing gender perspectives and supporting small businesses will be crucial in fostering inclusive and adaptive responses to climate change within the wine industry. In conclusion, the intersectional vulnerability faced by women in Italy's viticulture industry is shaped by a complex interplay of social, cultural, and environmental factors. The challenges related to work-life balance, work-related discrimination, engagement with professional associations, and the impacts of climate change underscore the need for multifaceted solutions. Addressing these challenges requires a collaborative effort from policymakers, practitioners, and society at large. By promoting a more equitable and inclusive environment, women in viticulture can thrive professionally and contribute to the sustainability and diversity of the Italian wine industry.

The inspirational stories often highlighted in the media, while important, only scratch the surface of the profound challenges women face in this industry. The fieldwork provides a deeper understanding of the systemic issues that need to be addressed to promote gender equity and support the professional and personal growth of women in viticulture. The study's findings call for targeted interventions that go beyond welfare policies to focus on the real development of rural territories. This includes providing more training and access to credit, fostering cultural changes within the industry, and enhancing social infrastructure to make rural areas more attractive and supportive for women. Efforts to promote inclusivity must also extend to addressing broader gender identities and expressions. The presence of non-binary genders in the viticulture industry remains a distant and largely unspoken topic, indicating a need for greater sensitivity and education on gender issues. By creating a more inclusive industry environment, we can ensure that all individuals, regardless of gender identity, have the opportunity to contribute to and benefit from the viticulture industry.

The commitment to address climate change impacts and promoting sustainable practices is encouraging. The proactive stance of many producers in adopting innovative techniques and traditional methods to combat climate risks reflects a dedication to environmental stewardship. Supporting these efforts through targeted funding and resources will be crucial in ensuring the long-term sustainability of the industry. This research ultimately invites readers to critically engage with the intersectional dynamics that shape

women's experiences in viticulture. By fostering a deeper understanding of these dynamics, we can work towards creating a more equitable, inclusive, and sustainable viticulture industry in Italy. This involves reconceptualizing the framework and shifting the paradigms, as neoliberalization of sustainability necessitates. Indeed, "environmental problems are complex and multifaceted, and a truly transformative approach requires critical reflection on taken-for-granted worldviews informing mainstream approaches" (Tulloch and Neilson, 2014, p. 36).

The findings and proposed solutions offer a roadmap for addressing the systemic challenges faced by women in this field, highlighting the need for comprehensive and collaborative efforts to promote gender equity and support the professional and personal growth of women in viticulture. Beyond the specific challenges faced in viticulture, the fieldwork prompts reflection on broader social dynamics in Italian society. The survey results reveal deeply rooted issues of gender discrimination, inadequate family support services, and the need for systemic reforms to promote inclusiveness and sustainability. These findings underscore the importance of addressing these challenges through comprehensive policies and initiatives that support women in balancing family and work responsibilities, combat systemic discrimination, and improve climate resilience. The solutions proposed by the interviewees and privileged witnesses are in line with overcoming the invisibility, discrimination and intersectional vulnerability of women in the industry. Key proposals include:

- Enhanced training opportunities and access to credit: Improving training opportunities and facilitating access to credit for women in the sector can help address economic disparities and promote professional growth.
- Cultural change and economic cooperation: Promoting cultural change within the sector and fostering economic cooperation can combat systemic biases and support the inclusion of women in all aspects of viticulture.
- Improving social infrastructure: Developing social infrastructure, such as family support services in rural areas, can help women balance family and work responsibilities.
- Extension of welfare policies: Extending welfare policies to more marginal areas and providing logistical solutions for child and elderly care can address the specific needs of rural women and addressing the

gender gap in family responsibilities can be crucial by providing practical support such as corporate policies that support work-life balance.

- Representation in decision-making bodies: Increasing the representation of women on the boards of consortiums and consortium associations can ensure that their voices are heard and their contributions valued.
- Promoting diversity and inclusion: Implementing ad hoc courses within universities to bring minority genders closer to technical work can promote diversity and inclusion in the sector. This could include training programs on LGBTQ+ rights, raising awareness of gender issues, and promoting values of respect and diversity.
- Innovative practices for climate resilience: Encouraging the adoption of innovative practices and traditional methods to combat climate risks can improve the sustainability of vineyards and wineries.

As is evident, then, beyond the legal and economic dictates, beyond the pale of individual virtuous initiatives, caring for the territories beyond the “winescapes,” making them truly “sustainable” and “resilient” to climate change, implies reducing the vulnerability of all components of the social structures that perform it. In consideration of those aspects, it is possible to refer to what McGreevy et al. (2022, p. 1013) in the framework of “degrowth” and “care” consider that: “Establishing equitable labor agreements and legal regimes is critical to the long-term success of these efforts, especially for [...] vulnerable populations often employed in the agribusiness sector.” This implies a replacement of the “techno-scientific ideal of controlling the sustainability of the agribusiness system and the neoliberal nuance of ‘food security’” by recognizing the role of those whose indispensable contributions to food production are often overlooked, such as women, children, migrants, and many others. As Doreen Massey recalls (1994):

The intersections and mutual influences of “geography” and “gender” are deep and multifarious. Each is, in profound ways, implicated in the construction of the other: geography in its various guises influences the cultural formation of particular genders and gender relations; gender has been deeply influential in the production of “the geographical” (p. 177).

Bibliography

Nota bene: The last access of all websites has to be considered May 2024.

- Adger, W.N. (2006). Vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change*, 16(3), pp. 268-281. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2006.02.006>.
- Agnoletti, M. (2010b). *Paesaggio Rurale. Strumenti per la pianificazione strategica*. Milano: Edagricole.
- Agnoletti, M. (Ed.) (2010a). *Paesaggi rurali storici. Per un catalogo nazionale*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
- Alessi, C., Bonardi, O., Calafà, L., & D'Onghia, M. (2022). Per una trasposizione responsabile della direttiva n. 2019/1158, relativa all'equilibrio tra attività professionale e vita familiare per i genitori e prestatori di assistenza. *RGL*, 1.
- Almalaurea (2022). *Laureate e laureati: scelte, esperienze e realizzazioni professionali*. [Online] Available at: https://www.almalaurea.it/sites/default/files/2022-05/6_almalaurea_rapportocompleto_laureatelaureati.pdf.
- Anderson, K., Nelgen, S., & Pinilla, V. (2017). *Global Wine Markets, 1860 to 2016: A Statistical Compendium*. Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press.
- Anderson, K., Norman, D., & Wittwer, G. (2003). Globalization of the world's wine markets. *The World Economy*, 26, pp. 659-687.
- Armiero, M. (Ed.) (2021). *Environmental Humanities*. Roma: DeriveApprodi.
- Arnold, B. (1999). 'Drinking the Feast': Alcohol and the Legitimation of Power in Celtic Europe. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 9, pp 71-93. Doi: 10.1017/S0959774300015213.
- Autiero, A. (2022). Cibo e trasformazioni urbane: il caso di Porta Capuana a Napoli. *Geografia e cibo: ricerche, riflessioni e discipline a confronto*, *Numero monografico delle Memorie Geografiche della Società di Studi Geografici*, Firenze, pp. 463-270.

- Bankoff, G. (2001). Rendering the World Unsafe: 'Vulnerability' as Western Discourse. *Disasters*, 25, pp. 19-35. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7717.00159>.
- Bankoff, G., & Hilhorst, D. (Eds.) (2022). *Why vulnerability still matters: The politics of disaster risk creation*. Routledge.
- Bankoff, G. (2018). Remaking the world in our own image: vulnerability, resilience and adaptation as historical discourses. *Disasters*, 43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12312>.
- Barberis, C. (Ed.) (2013). *Capitale umano e stratificazione sociale nell'Italia agricola secondo il sesto censimento generale dell'agricoltura 2010*. Roma: ISTAT.
- Barbieri, G. (1971). Per una politica toscana di tutela del paesaggio. In: *Proposte per la Regione Toscana. Tutela del paesaggio, centri storici e coordinamento degli studi regionali*, Atti dell'Istituto di Geografia, Quad. 1, Florence, pp. 5-22.
- Barbieri, G. (1989). Evoluzione del concetto e della funzione dei parchi nella politica del territorio e dell'ambiente. Tesi per un dibattito. *Le ragioni dei parchi e l'Italia protetta*, Atti dell'Istituto di Geografia, Quad. 15, I part, Florence, pp. 9-41.
- Barbieri, G. (1991), I grandi quadri ambientali: paesaggi terrestri e aree culturali. In: Barbieri G., Canigiani F. e Cassi L, (Eds.), *Geografia e ambiente. Il mondo attuale e i suoi problemi*, Torino: UTET Libreria, pp. 33-86.
- Barca, S. (2018). The ecologies of labour. In: S. Cristiano (Ed.), *Through the Working Class: Ecology and Society Investigated Through the Lens of Labour* (pp. 25-34). Venice: Ca' Foscary U.P.
- Barca, S. (2020). *Forces of Reproduction: Notes for a Counter-hegemonic Anthropocene*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Battisti, L., Dansero, E., Epifani, F., & Graziano, T., (2023). Emplacing food, ovvero ripensare il rapporto cibo-spazio. Prospettive di ricerca, *Rivista geografica italiana*, CXXX, Fasc. 4, dicembre 2023, Issn 0035-6697, pp. 5-16. Doi: 10.3280/rgioa4-2023oa16842
- Battisti, L., Menegat, S., Rota, F.S., Lombardini, C., Chiarello, R., Maccarone, E., & Bagliani, M. (2023b). Il rapporto cibo-spazio e la sfida della sostenibilità ambientale in Italia: una scoping review. *Rivista geografica italiana*, CXXX, 4, pp. 37-60. Doi: 10.3280/rgioa4-2023oa16845

- Benedetto, G. , & Corinto, G., 2015. The role of women in the sustainability of the wine industry: two case studies in Italy. In: A. Vastola, ed. *The Sustainability of Agro-Food and Natural Resource Systems in the Mediterranean Basin*. New York: Springer, pp. 173-187.

- Berti, G., Cuomo, F., Dansero, E., Di Benedetto, S., Galli, F., Monteleone, S., & Pettenati, G. (2023). Le Food policy in una prospettiva multi e transcalare. *Rivista geografica italiana*, CXXX, Fasc. 4, dicembre 2023, Issn 0035-6697, pp. 17-36. Doi: 10.3280/rgioa4-2023oa16843

- Bertolini, P. (2014). L'evoluzione della presenza femminile nell'agricoltura italiana ed i nuovi tratti dell'imprenditoria delle donne. *Working paper, DEMB WORKING PAPER SERIES*, Dipartimento di Economia Marco Biagi – University of Modena and Reggio Emilia.

- Betti, E. (2019). *Precarie e precari. Una storia dell'Italia repubblicana*. Rome: Carocci.

- Blondel, J. (2006). The 'Design' of Mediterranean Landscapes: A Millennial Story of Humans and Ecological Systems during the Historic Period. *Hum. Ecol.*, 34, pp. 713–729. Doi:10.1007/s10745-006-9030-4

- Bonewit, A., & Shreeves, R. (2015). *The Gender Dimension of Climate Justice*. European Union. [Online] Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/536478/IPOL_IDA\(2015\)536478_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/536478/IPOL_IDA(2015)536478_EN.pdf)

- Bondi, L., & Domosh, M. (2001). Other figures in other places. In C. Minca (Ed.), *Introduzione alla geografia postmoderna*, Padua: Cedam, pp. 215-236.

- Bonfante, A., Alfieri, S.M., Albrizio, R., Basile, A., De Mascellis, R., Gambuti, A., Giorio, P., Langella, G., Manna, P., Monaco, E., Moio, L., & Terribile, F. (2017). Evaluation of the effects of future climate change on grape quality through a physically based model application: a case study for the Aglianico grapevine in Campania region, Italy. *Agric. Syst.*, 152. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agsy.2016.12.009>

- Bonfante, A., Monaco, E., Vitale, A., Barbato, G., Villani, V., Mercogliano, P., Rianna, G., Mileti, F. A., Manna, P., & Terribile, F. (2024). A geospatial decision support system to support policy implementation on climate change in EU. *Land Degradation & Development*, pp. 1-12. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1002/ldr.5042>

- Borghi, R. & Dell'Agnese, E. (2009). *Genere*. Milan: Unicopli.

- Brandth, B. (2002). Gender Identity in European Family Farming: A Literature Review. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42(3), pp. 181-200.
- Bruwer, J., & Johnson, R. (2010). Place-based marketing and regional branding strategy perspectives in the California wine industry. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 27(1), pp. 5-16.
- Bryan, E., Alvi, M., Huyer, S., & Ringler, C. (2024). Addressing gender inequalities and strengthening women's agency to create more climate-resilient and sustainable food systems. *Global Food Security*, 40, 100731. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gfs.2023.100731>
- Butler, J. (1988). Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), pp. 519–531. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3207893>.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2004a). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London, New York: Verso.
- Butler, J. (2004b). *Undoing Gender*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2011). *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (2012). Precarious Life, Vulnerability, and the Ethics of Cohabitation. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 26(2), pp. 134–151. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.5325/jspecphil.26.2.0134>.
- Butler, J. (2013). Bodily Vulnerability, Coalitions and Street Politics. In Rancière, J., Kuzma, M. (Eds.), *The State of Things*, London: Koenig Books, pp. 161-197.
- Butler, J. (2016). Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in Resistance*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 12-27.

- Cabrini, V.A. (1891). La vita delle risaiuole. Episodio della tratta delle bianche nella democrazia capitalistica. *Critica sociale*, 1.

- Campbell, G., & Guibert, N. (Eds.) (2007). *Wine, Society and Globalization: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Wine Industry*. New York-Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Canfora, I. (2023). Le donne nella politica agricola europea per lo sviluppo rurale. In: I Canfora & V. Leccese (Eds.). *Le donne in agricoltura. Imprese femminili e lavoratrici nel quadro italiano ed europeo*. Turin: Giappichelli, pp. 1-13

- Canfora, I., & Leccese, V. (Eds.) (2023). *Le donne in agricoltura. Imprese femminili e lavoratrici nel quadro italiano ed europeo*. Turin: Giappichelli.

- Canigiani, F. (2008), *Ambiente e paesaggio*, Florence, Nicomp.

- Cannon, T., & Müller-Mahn, D. (2010). Vulnerability, Resilience and Development Discourses in Context of Climate Change. *Natural Hazards*, 55, pp. 621-635. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-010-9499-4>.

- Chevalier, M. (1993). Neo-rural phenomena. *L'Espace géographique*. Espaces, modes d'emploi. Two decades of *l'Espace géographique*, an anthology. Special issue in English. 1993. pp. 175-191.

- Ciancio, F. (2023). Non ascoltiamo abbastanza le donne che parlano di vino. *Domani Cibo*, 30.09, p. 11.

- Cinelli Colombini, D. (2022). *Prefazione*. In: B. Sgarzi, *Vino, donne, leadership*. Milan: Corriere della Sera, pp. XIII-XV.

- CCE (2002), *La situazione dell'agricoltura nell'Unione europea, Relazione 2002*. [Online] Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0852:FIN:IT:PDF>

- Coker, P. (2020). Understanding the concept of knowledge gap and knowledge expansion: A theoretical perspective. *Research journal's Journal of Management*, 7, pp. 78-92.

- Contzen, S. & Forney, J. (2017). Family farming and gendered division of labour on the move: a typology of farming-family configurations. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 34. Doi: 10.1007/s10460-016-9687-2

- Cornelisen, A. (1976). *Women of the shadows*, Boston-Toronto: Viking.
- Cox, R. S., & Hamlen, M. (2015). Community Disaster Resilience and the Rural Resilience Index. *Am. Behav. Sci.* 59, pp. 220-237. Doi: 10.1177/0002764214550297
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine. *Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. The University of Chicago Legal Forum, pp. 139-167.
- Cresta, A. (2008a). La dinamica tipologica delle aziende agricole al femminile, *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, XIII, I, pp. 125-142.
- Cresta, A. (2008b). Donne in agricoltura evidenze. Empiriche nel Sannio Beneventano, *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, XIII, I, pp. 589-612.
- Criado-Perez, C. (2019). *Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men*.
- Cutrufelli, M.R. (1975). *Disoccupata con onore*. Milan: Mazzotta.
- Cutrufelli, M.R. (2024). La presa di parola politica delle donne. In: *Liberiamoci dal Patriarcato*. Milan: MicroMega, pp. 125-129.
- Dalton, D. (2023). Have we left behind the rainbow warriors? The Climate Emergency and its impact on global queer people and their communities. In: *Gender, Sexuality and the UN's SDGs: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, Cham, Springer International Publishing, 2023, pp. 17-40.
- D'Alessio F. (2024). Oltre il patriarcato ancora non sappiamo. In: *Liberiamoci dal Patriarcato*. Milan: MicroMega, pp. 42-55.
- De Blij, H.J. (1983). *Wine: A Geographical Appreciation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc.
- De Boni, A. (2023). Il contributo delle donne alla multifunzionalità dell'agricoltura. In I. Canfora, & V. Leccese (Eds.), *Le donne in agricoltura. Imprese femminili e lavoratrici nel quadro italiano ed europeo*. Turin: Giappichelli, pp. 15-30.
- Del Prete, A. (2016). *La complessità della dimensione femminile in agricoltura*. CREA. https://agronotizie.imaginenetwork.com/materiali/Varie/File/Programmi_eventi/Eventi_2016/crea-report-donne-in-agricoltura-2014.pdf

- Del Prete, A., & Zumpano, C. (2014). Percorsi alternativi di sviluppo rurale: politiche rurali e multifunzionalità al femminile. In: *Atti del Convegno ISTAT su "Donne e agricoltura: un connubio di qualità"*, April 2014.
- Desmarais, A (2007). *La Via Campesina: Globalization and the Power of Peasants*. London: Pluto.
- Divinea (2021). <https://divinea.com/esperienze>.
- Dollfus, O. (1970), *L'espace géographique*, Paris: Presses Univ. de France.
- Donadoni, L. (2021). *I custodi del Vino*. Milan: Slow Food.
- Donadoni, L. (2023). *Intrepide. Storie di donne, vino e libertà*. Milan: Slow Food.
- Dougherty, P.H., 2012. *The Geography of Wine. Regions, Terroir and Techniques*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Dunne, C., Sietou, C., & Wilson, P. (2021). Investigating the economic visibility and contribution of UK women in agriculture through a systematic review of international literature. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 86, pp. 330-345.
- Eizner, N. (1974). De la « communauté rurale » à la « collectivité locale » In Jollivet, M. (dir.), *Sociétés paysannes ou lutte de classes au village? Problèmes méthodologiques et théoriques de l'étude locale en sociologie rurale*, Armand Colin, Paris.
- Enpaia-Censis (2023). *Il valore dell'agricoltura e dei suoi protagonisti*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.enpaia.it/rapporto-enpaia-censis/>.
- Episteme (2021). *Le Donne e la gestione del risparmio*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.museodelrisparmio.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Ricerca-LE-DONNE-E-LA-GESTIONE-DEL-RISPARMIO.pdf>.
- Esposito, M. (Ed.) (2022). *Gender policies report*. INAPP, Roma. [Online] Available at: https://oa.inapp.org/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.12916/3743/INAPP_Esposito_Gender_policies_report_2022.pdf.
- European commission (2021). *Females in the field*. [Online] Available at: https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/news/females-field-2021-03-08_en

- Eurostat (2020). *Agriculture statistics - family farming in the EU*. [Online] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Agriculture_statistics_-_family_farming_in_the_EU

- Exadaktylos, T., Guerrina, R., & Guerra, S. (2018). Gender, ownership and engagement during the European Union referendum: gendered frames and the reproduction of binaries. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.1332/251510818X15395099987095>

- Federici, S. (Ed.). *Re-enchanting the World: Feminism and the Politics of the Commons*. Oakland: PM Press.

- Ferretti, F. (2011). Emilio Sereni geografo: il paesaggio mediterraneo tra fuoco, terrazze e giardini. In: M. Quaini (Ed.), *Paesaggi agrari: l'irrinunciabile eredità scientifica di Emilio Sereni* (pp. 48-56). Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale.

- Franić, R., & Kovačiček, T. (2019). The professional status of rural women in EU. Brussels: European Parliament. [Online] Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/608868/IPOL_STU\(2019\)608868_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/608868/IPOL_STU(2019)608868_EN.pdf)

- Franić, R., & Kovačiček, T. (2019). "The professional status of rural women in EU." [Online] Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/608868/IPOL_STU\(2019\)608868_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/608868/IPOL_STU(2019)608868_EN.pdf)

- Gaard, G. (2015). Ecofeminism and climate change. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 49, pp. 20-33. ISSN 0277-5395. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2015.02.004>.

- Gaard, G., & Murphy, P. D. (Eds.). (1998). *Ecofeminist Literary Criticism: Theory, Interpretation, Pedagogy*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Gabellieri, N., Gallia, A., & Guadagno, E., 2023. *Enogeografie. Itinerari geostorici e geografici dei paesaggi vitati, tra pianificazione e tutela ambientale*. Rome: Società Geografica Italiana.

- Galbreath, J., & Tisch, D. (2022). Sustainable development in the wine industry: The impact of the natural environment and gender-diverse leadership. *Sustainable Development*, 30(6), pp. 1749-1765.

- Galli, M. (2020). *Le Donne del Vino in prima linea per il patrimonio culturale*. Milan: Osservatorio Sustainable Wine Business and Enogastronomic Tourism, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano.

- Galli, M., Sebastiani, R., & Anzivino, A. (2021). Sustainability and Omnichannel Strategies in the Italian Wine Industry. In: C. Simões (Ed.), *Corporate Responsibility, Sustainability and Markets*, New York: Springer International Publishing, pp. 32-47)
- Gambi, L. (1972). I valori storici dei quadri ambientali. In *Storia d'Italia*, vol. I, *I caratteri originali*. Turin: Einaudi, pp. 3-60.
- Gambi, L. (1973). *Una geografia per la storia*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Gambi, L. (1977), *Strutture rurali e vita contadina*, in *Cultura popolare dell'Emilia-Romagna*. Milan: Silvana Editoriale d'Arte, pp. 11-33.
- Gambi, L. (1994). Le stagioni vigneto. *IBC*, 1-2, pp. 30-33.
- Gasparotto, L. (2021). *Vigneronne*. Paris: Grasset & Fasquelle.
- Gasparotto, L., & Garillot, A. (2022). *Intrecci di vite. Elogio della caparbietà dei vignaioli*. Faenza: Ampelos.
- Giancristofaro, L. & Villa, M. (2023). Neo-ruralismo agricolo, nutrizionismo, foraging e resistenze culturali nelle Alpi e negli Appennini: due case study etnografici a confronto. *Dada Rivista di Antropologia post-globale*, 1, *Antropologia dell'agricoltura*, pp. 87-112.
- Giolo, O. (n.d.). Vulnerabilità, discriminazione e intersezionalità. Una relazione problematica. In M.G. Bernardini & V. Lorubbio (Eds.), *Diritti umani e condizioni di vulnerabilità*. Trento: Erickson, pp. 31-44.
- Goldsmith, L., Raditz, V. & Méndez M. (2022). Queer and present danger: understanding the disparate impacts of disasters on LGBTQ+ communities, *Disasters*, 46, 4, pp. 946-973.
- Grillotti di Giacomo, M.G. (1992). *Una geografia per l'agricoltura*. Rome: Reda.
- Grillotti di Giacomo, M.G. (2000). *Atlante tematico dell'agricoltura italiana*, Rome: Società Geografica Italiana.
- Guadagno, E. (2023). «Il senso della vite»: paesaggi, pratiche, attori e tutela ambientale. In: A. Pase, A. Bondesan, and S. Lucchetta (Eds.), *Elementi, animali, piante mobilità dei costituenti, delle forze e degli*

organismi, Nodo 1: Atti del XXXIII Congresso Geografico Italiano, pp. 63-71.

- Guerrina, R., Haastrup, T., Wright, K. A. M., Masselot, A., MacRae, H., & Cavaghan, R. (2018). Does European Union studies have a gender problem? Experiences from researching Brexit. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 20(2), 252–257. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2018.1457881>
- Guggenheim, M. (2014). Introduction: Disasters as Politics – Politics as Disasters. *The Sociological Review*, 62(1suppl.), pp. 1-16. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12121>.
- Haraway, D.J. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), pp. 575–599. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066>
- Haraway, D.J. (2016). *Staying with the trouble: Making kin in the Chthulucene*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2002), The art of rent: Globalization, monopoly and the commodification of Culture, *Social Register*, 38, pp. 93-110.
- Hu, L., Galli, M., & Sebastiani, R. (2023). How digital platforms affect the internationalisation of wine firms in China. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJRDM-11-2022-0438>
- Hurtado, L.M., & Porto-Gonçalves, C.W. (2022). Resistir y Re-Existir. *GEOgraphia*, 24(53). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.22409/GEOgraphia2022.v24i53.a54550>.
- Iovino, G., Guadagno, E., & Bagnoli, D., 2023. Food for Thoughts: The District Approach to Rural Areas Development—A Case Study in Campania. *Sustainability*, 15, 16263. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su152316263>.
- ISMEA (2023). [Online] Available at: <https://www.ismeamercati.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeAttachment.php/L/IT/D/1%252F3%252Ff%252FD.978dc467753b7f4ff855/P/BLOB%3AID%3D12665/E/pdf?mode=download>
- Istat (2023). Quando le donne scendono in campo. [Online] Available at: <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/280917>
- Kilpatrick, C., Higgins, K., Atkin, S., & Dahl, S. (2023). A rapid review of the

impacts of climate change on the queer community, *Environmental Justice*, 7th UCU LGBT+ Research Conference: Proud / Loud / Heard...? Exploring LGBT+ identity, being and experiences, University of Manchester, Manchester, United Kingdom <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2023.0010>

- Knierim, A., Labarthe, P., Laurent, C., Prager, K., Kania, J., Madureira, L., & Ndah, T.H. (2017). Pluralism of agricultural advisory service providers – Facts and insights from Europe. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 55, 45-58. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.07.018>

- Korol, C. (2016). *Somos tierra, semilla, rebeldía. Mujeres, tierra y territorio en América Latina*. GRAIN-Acción por la Biodiversidad-América Libre.

- Kosanic, A., Petzold, J., Martín-López, B. & Razanajatovo, M. (2022). An inclusive future: disabled populations in the context of climate and environmental change, *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 55, 101159, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosust.2022.101159>.

- Kumar, P. (2021). Heteronormative exclusions in environmental concerns: Queer ecology as critique. In: *Environment and Sustainable Development*, London: Routledge India, pp. 65-80.

- Landini, P. (1972). Paesaggio e trans-scalarità. *Bollettino della Società Geografica italiana*, XII(IV), pp. 319-325.

- Lanfranco, M. (2024). Femminismo, singolare e universale. In: *Liberiamoci dal Patriarcato*. Milano: MicroMega, pp. 137-142.

- Lapeyre, N., Laufer, J., Lemièrre, S., & Pohic, S., eds., 2021. *Le Genre au travail. Recherches féministes et lutte de femmes*. Paris: Syllepse.

- Lazzeroni, M., Pettenati, G., Privitera, D., & Zilli, S. (2023). Discorsi e pratiche della tipicità. Il cibo come ambito di costruzione identitaria, patrimonializzazione e sviluppo locale. *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, (4). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3280/rgioa4-2023oa16850>

- Li, Q., & Reuveny, R. (2007). The Effects of Liberalism on the Terrestrial Environment. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 0054. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07388940701468492>

- Lombardi, L. (1960). Il lavoro femminile nell'economia napoletana. *Cronache meridionali*, 9.

- Lugones, M. (2008). Colonialidad y Género. *Tabula Rasa*, 9, pp. 73-101.
- Macri, M. C., & Scornaienghi, M. (2014). *Singolare, femminile, rurale*. Rome: INEA.
- Macri, M.C, Tudini, L., Zumpano, C., & Valentino, G. (2023). L'attrattività del settore primario per le donne. In: I. Canfora & V. Leccese (Eds.). *Le donne in agricoltura. Imprese femminili e lavoratrici nel quadro italiano ed europeo*. Turin: Giappichelli, pp. 31-61.
- Manzi, E. (1977). L'urbanizzazione del paesaggio agrario del Mezzogiorno attraverso la cartografia. In: *Atti del XXII Congresso Geografico Italiano* (Vol. I, pp. 167-193). Cercola-Naples: Istituto Grafico Italiano.
- Manzi, E. (1999), I geografi italiani e il paesaggio: la proposta implicita di tutela, *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, XII (4), pp. 363-381.
- Manzi, E. (2004). *Paesaggi culturali tradizionali, in Italia. Atlante dei tipi geografici*. Firenze: Istituto Geografico Militare, pp. 656-661.
- Manzi, E. (2007). Paesaggi italiani tra identità difficile e “supplenza” europea. In A. Ghersi (Ed.), *Politiche europee per il paesaggio: proposte operative*. Rome: Gangemi Editore, pp. 53-71.
- Massey, D., (1994). *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: NED ed. University of Minnesota Press.
- Mazzanti, R. (2017). *La geografia della vite. Vol. I: Storia, ampelografia, ecologia, fitogeografia*. Pisa: Pisa University Press.
- McGreevy, S.R., Rupprecht, C.D.D., Niles, D. et al. (2022). Sustainable agrifood systems for a post-growth world. *Nat Sustain* 5, pp. 1011-1017. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-022-00933-5>.
- Miller, P. (2017). *Patriarchy*. Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group.
- Mir, S., Aslam, S.B., & Manal, M. (2021). Exploitation of Women and Land: An Ecofeminist Study of Noor by Sorraya Khan, *Pakistan Languages and Humanities Review*, 5, 2, pp. 27-37.

- Moore, J. (2016). The Rise of Cheap Nature. In Id. (Ed.) *Anthropocene or Capitalocene?* Oakland: PM Press, pp. 78-115.
- O' Meara, M. (2021). *Girly drinks. A world history of Women and Alcohol*, Hanover: Square Press.
- Nomisma (2023). *Wine Monitor's 2023 report*. Online] Available at: <https://www.nomisma.it/press-area/nomisma-wine-monitor-export-di-vini-dop-italiani-nel-2023/>
- Nonni, F., Malacarne, D., Pappalardo, S. E., Codato, D., Meggio, F., & De Marchi, M. (2018). Sentinel-2 Data Analysis and Comparison with UAV Multispectral Images for Precision Viticulture. *GI_Forum*, 1, pp. 105-116.
- Norgaard, K., & York, R. (2005). Gender equality and state environmentalism», *Gender & Society*, 19, 4, 506-522. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243204273612>
- Oksala, J. (2018). Feminism, capitalism, and ecology, *Hypatia* 33, 2, pp. 216-234.
- Overton, J., Murray, W.E., & Banks, G. (2012). The Race to the Bottom of the Glass? Wine, Geography, and Globalization. *Globalizations*, 9, pp. 273-287.
- Oyewùmi, O. (1997). The invention of Women. Making an African sense of Western Gender Discourses. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Padoa-Schioppa, F. (1977). *La forza del lavoro femminile*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Pahl, J. (1996). Sbarcare il lunario: le coppie sposate e il denaro. In: S. Picone Stella & C. Saraceno (Eds.), *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*, Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 157-171.
- Pallottino, N. (1994). *Cattlelords and Clansmen: Kinship and Rank in Early Ireland*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press.
- Pasquier, A. (1988). Intriduction au theme du symposion. In J.-P. Mohen, A. Duval & C. Eluere (Eds.). *Les Princes Celtes et la Mediterranee*. Paris: La Documentation Franchise.
- Pazzagli, R. (2014). *Il Buonpaese. Territorio e gusto nell'Italia in declino*. Gezzano: Felici.

- Pazzagli, R. (2020). *La “nobile arte”. Agricoltura, produzione di cibo e di paesaggio nell’Italia moderna*. Pisa: Pacini.

- Pollice, F., Rinella, A., Ivona, A., Rinella, A., Graziano, T., & Epifani, F. (2023). Narrazioni digitali, tradizioni alimentari e pratiche turistiche. Una riflessione critica a partire dall’evento ‘Borgo diVino in Tour’ dell’Associazione ‘I Borghi più belli d’Italia’, *Rivista geografica italiana*, CXXX, 4, pp. 110-132. Doi: 10.3280/rgioa4-2023oa16854.

- Phipps, S., Macdonald, M., & Lethbridge, L. (2005). Taking Its Toll: The Influence of Paid and Unpaid Work on Women’s Well-Being. *Feminist Economics*, 11, pp. 63-94. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1354570042000332597>

- Piano Strategico Nazionale per lo Sviluppo Rurale (2010). [Online] Available at: https://www.reterurale.it/downloads/cd/PSN/Psn_21_06_2010.pdf

- Pizzorno, A. (1965). *Comunità e razionalizzazione*. Turin: Einaudi.

- Pomarici, E., & Sardone, R. (2020). EU wine policy in the framework of the CAP: post-2020 challenges. *Agric Econ*, 8, 17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40100-020-00159-z>

- Pomarici, E. & Sarnari, T. (2021). Fabbisogni e strumenti di intervento nel settore vitivinicolo italiano alla luce degli obiettivi della nuova PAC. ISMEA - RRN 2014-2020, Mipaaf, Roma. [Online] Available at: <https://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/22419>

- Pomarici, S., & Sardone, R. (2020). EU wine policy in the framework of the CAP: post-2020 challenges. *Agric Econ*, 8(17). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40100-020-00159-z>

- Pomarici, S., & Sarnari, T. (2021). *Fabbisogni e strumenti di intervento nel settore vitivinicolo italiano alla luce degli obiettivi della nuova PAC*. ISMEA - RRN 2014-2020, Mipaaf, Roma. [Online] Available at: <https://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/22419>

- Porena, F. (1892). Il paesaggio nella Geografia. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, III (5), pp. 72-91.

- Prügl, E. (2005). Mainstreaming gender in the EU’s agricultural market and rural development policies. *Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the International Studies Association*, 1-5 March, Honolulu.

- Prügl, E. (2010). Feminism and the Postmodern State: Gender Mainstreaming in European Rural Development. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 35(2), pp. 447-475. <https://doi.org/10.1086/605484>
- Prügl, E. (2011). *Transforming masculine rule: Agriculture and rural development in the European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Prügl, E. (2012). The Common Agricultural Policy and Gender Equality. In: G. Abels & J.M. Mushaben (Eds.), *Gendering the European Union*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 121-134.
- Prügl, E. (2015). Neoliberalising Feminism. *New Political Economy*, 20(4), pp. 614-631. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2014.951614>
- Pulido, L. (1996). A critical review of the methodology of environmental racism research. *Antipode*, 28(2), pp. 142-159.
- Quaini, M. (Ed.) (2009a). *I paesaggi italiani. Fra nostalgia e trasformazione*. Roma: Società Geografica Italiana.
- Quaini, M. (2009b). In vino veritas. In: *I paesaggi italiani. Fra nostalgia e trasformazione* (pp. 49-54). Roma: Società Geografica Italiana.
- Quijano, A. (1992). Colonialidad y modernidad/raciolanidad. *Perù indigena*, 13 (29), pp. 11-20.
- Rainer, G. (2021). Geographies of Qualification in the Global Fine Wine Market. *Economy and Space*, 53(1), pp. 95-112.
- Rea, A. (2009). *Scenari di marketing del vino. Una prospettiva al femminile*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Reyes Rocha, F.A. & Sexsmith K. (2024). Workplace Sexual Harassment in Waged Agricultural Employment: A Literature Review. *J Agromedicine*, 29(3), pp. 516-530. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1059924X.2024.2338857>
- RICA (2020). Principali risultati economici delle aziende agricole gestite da donne. [Online] Available at: <https://rica.crea.gov.it/download.php?id=1638>
- Roberson, Q., Ruggs, E.N., Pichler, S., & Holmes IV, O. (2024). LGBTQ systems: A framework and future research agenda, *Journal of Management*, 50, 3, pp. 1145-1173.

- Rodrigues, D.D., & Di Quarto, F. (2023). Sistemi agro-alimentari in transizione: gli effetti del cambiamento climatico in alcune regioni italiane, *Rivista geografica italiana*, CXXX, 4, pp. 61-72. Doi: 10.3280/rgioa4-2023oa16846.
- Rondinone, A. (2003). *Donne mancanti. Un'analisi geografica del disequilibrio di genere in India*. Florence: Firenze University Press.
- Rouvière, C. (2016). *Retourner à la terre. L'utopie néo-rurale en Ardèche depuis les années 1960*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires Rennes.
- RRN/ISMEA (2018). *La partecipazione femminile nella politica di sviluppo rurale*. Documento, Rete Rurale Nazionale/ISMEA, July 2018.
- Russell, S.T., Bishop, M.D., & Fish, J.N. (2023). Expanding notions of LGBTQ+, in *Annual Review of Sociology*, 49, 2023, pp. 281-296.
- Sabbatini, M. (2006). Competitività e strategie emergenti nelle imprese agricole. *Paper presented at the XLII convegno della Società Italiana degli Economisti Agrari (SIDEA)*, Assisi.
- Sachs, C., Jensen, L., Castellanos, P., & Sexsmith, K. (2021). *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Agriculture*. New York: Routledge.
- Sachs, C., Jensen, L., Castellanos, P., and Sexsmith, K., eds., 2021. *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Agriculture*. New York: Routledge.
- Salleh, A. (2000). The Meta-industrial Class and Why We Need It. *Democracy & Nature*, 6(1), pp. 27-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/108556600110179>.
- Salleh, A. (2010). From Metabolic Rift to “Metabolic Value”: Reflections on Environmental Sociology and the Alternative Globalization Movement. *Organization & Environment*, 23(2), pp. 205-219.
- Salleh, A. (Ed.) (1997). *Ecofeminism As Politics: Nature, Marx and the Postmodern*. London: Zed Books.
- Sanlorenzo, G. (2011). Il ruolo della donna nell'agricoltura contemporanea, multifunzionale e innovativa. *Agriregionieuropa*, 7 (26), pp. 96-100.
- Scarponi, S. (2022). Parità, cosa cambia con la legge 162. *InGenere*, February 2022.

- Sciuto, C. (2024). Ai lettori. In: *Liberiamoci dal Patriarcato*. Milano: MicroMega, pp. 3-4.

- Schiavo, M. (1984). *Italiane in Belgio*. Naples: Liguori.

- Schiek, D. (2012). “Multiple discrimination” - what are the challenges? [Online] Available at: http://www.era-comm.eu/oldoku/Adiskri/11_Multiple_discrimination/2010_11_Schiek_EN.pdf

- Seppilli, T. (1970). *I ruoli maschili e femminili e l'istituto familiare in un comune in transizione dell'Italia centrale*, Perugia: Istituto di etnologia ed antropologia culturale dell'Università di Perugia.

- Sereni, E. (1961). *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*. Bari-Roma: Laterza.

- Sereni, E. (1964). Tecniche e nomenclature della vite e del vino. *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere, La Colombaria*, 29, pp. 101-214.

- Sereni, E. (1965). Per la storia delle più antiche tecniche e della nomenclatura della vite e del vino in Italia. *Atti dell'Accademia toscana di Scienze e Lettere*, 29, pp. 73-204.

- Sereno, P. (1983). *Il paesaggio*. In N. Tranfaglia (Ed.). *Il mondo contemporaneo. Gli strumenti della ricerca*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, pp. 1247-1264.

- Sereno, P. (1985). Geografia e storia del paesaggio. *Studi storici*, Roma, april-june, pp. 469-485.

- Sereno, P. (1988). Configurazioni, funzioni, significati: ancora sul concetto di paesaggio geografico. *Annali dell'Istituto "Alcide Cervi"*, 10, pp. 161-185.

- Sereno, P. (2001). *Il paesaggio, bene culturale complesso*. In: M. Mautone (Ed.), *I beni culturali. Risorse per l'organizzazione del territorio*, Bologna, Pàtron, pp. 129-138.

- Sestini, A. (1947). Il paesaggio antropogeografico come forma di equilibrio. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, VII (12), pp. 1-8.

- Sestini, A. (1957). *Il paesaggio italiano*, in *L'Italia fisica (Conosci l'Italia, I)*. Milano: TCI, pp. 304-310.

- Sestini, A. (1963a). *Appunti per una definizione del paesaggio geografico*. In E. Migliorini (Ed.). *Scritti geografici in onore di Carmelo Colamónico*. Naples: Loffredo, pp. 272-286.
- Sestini, A. (1963b). *Il paesaggio*, Milan: TCI, (*Conosci l'Italia*, VII). Milano: TCI, pp. 9-12.
- Seymour, N. (2020). Queer ecologies and queer environmentalisms. In: *The Cambridge companion to queer studies*, pp. 108-122.
- Sgarzi, B. (2022). *Vino, donne, leadership*. Milan: Corriere della Sera.
- Shortall, S.A. (1999). *Women and Farming. Property and Power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780333983713>
- Shortall, S., & Marangudakis, V. (2022). Is agriculture an occupation or a sector? Gender inequalities in a European context. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 62, pp. 746-762. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12400>.
- Shortall, S., Mckee, A., & Sutherland, L.-A. (2019). The Performance of Occupational Closure: The Case of Agriculture and Gender. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soru.12279>
- Shortall, S., Sutherland, L.-A., Mckee, A., & Hopkins, J. (2017). *Women in Farming and the Agricultural Sector*. Final Report for the Environment and Forestry Directorate, Rural and Environment Science and Analytical Services (RESAS) Division, Scottish Government. [Online] Available at: <https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/research-and-analysis/2017/06/women-farming-agriculture-sector/documents/00521489-pdf/00521489-pdf/govscot%3Adocument/00521489.pdf>
- Shukla, K., Patil, Y.B., Estoque, R.C., & López De Haro P.A. (Eds.) (2024). *Quality of Life and Climate Change: Impacts, Sustainable Adaptation, and Social-Ecological Resilience*, Hershey: IGI Global.
- Singer, E. (1981). "Reference groups and social evaluation", In: M. Rosenberg (Ed.), *Social Psychology: Sociological perspectives*. New York: Transaction books, pp. 66-93.
- Signorelli, A. (1996). Il pragmatismo delle donne. La condizione femminile nella trasformazione delle campagne. In S. Picone Stella & C. Saraceno (Eds.), *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*. Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 223-251.

- Signorelli, A., Tritico, M.C. & Rossi, S. (1977). *Scelte senza potere. Il rientro degli emigrati nelle zone dell'esodo*. Roma: Officina.
- Siviero, G. (2024). *Fare femminismo*. Milan: Nottetempo.
- Solanke, I. (2010). Multiple discrimination in Britain: Immutability and its alternative. [Online] Available at: http://www.era-comm.eu/oldoku/Adiskri/11_Multiple_discrimination/2010_09_Solanke_EN.pdf.
- Solanke, I. (2010). Multiple discrimination in Britain: Immutability and its alternative. Available at: http://www.era-comm.eu/oldoku/Adiskri/11_Multiple_discrimination/2010_09_Solanke_EN.pdf (24 aprile 2015).
- Sommers, B.J., 2008. *The Geography of Wine: How Landscapes, Cultures, Terroir, and the Weather Make a Good Drop*. New York: Plume.
- Sousi-Roubi, B., & von Prondzynski, I. (1983). Women in agriculture. *Women of Europe Supplement No. 13*, November. X/338/83/EN.
- Tenore, M. (1854). *Proposta di una descrizione sistematica generale de' vitigni, delle uve, e de' vini del Regno delle due Sicilie*. Naples: Napoli: Tip. del Ministero di Stato degli affari interni nel reale Albergo de' poveri.
- Tentori, T. (1960). *Donna, Famiglia, Lavoro*, Rome: Centro Italiano Femminile.
- Torre, S. (2020). Il metodo del vivente. L'ecologia politica e la rielaborazione del discorso geografico. *Geography Notebooks*, 3, pp. 201-215.
- Tulloch, L. & Neilson, D. (2014). The neoliberalisation of sustainability. *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education*, 13(1), pp. 26-38. Doi: 10.2304/csee.2014.13.1.26
- Turri, E. (1990). *Semiologia del paesaggio italiano*. Milan: Longanesi, 1990.
- Turri, E. (1998), *Il paesaggio come teatro. Dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato*. Venice: Marsilio, 1998.
- UNIONCAMERE (2022). [Online] Available at: <https://www.unioncamere.gov.it/comunicazione/comunicati-stampa/imprese-agricole-sempre-piu-green-ma-la-meta-non-scelta>

- Vallega, A. (1985). Paesaggio. *Gli strumenti del sapere. I concetti*, vol. 11, Turin: UTET, pp. 606-608.
- Visentin, F., & Vallerani, F. (2018). A Countryside to Sip: Venice Inland and the Prosecco's Uneasy Relationship with Wine Tourism and Rural Exploitation. *Sustainability*, 10(7), 2195. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3390/su10072195>
- Viviani, L. (1955). Il lavoro femminile nelle società meridionale. *Cronache meridionali*, 6.
- Viviani, L. (1956). Le condizioni di lavoro delle maestre. *Cronache meridionali*, 1-2.
- Vrolijk, H., De Bont, C., Blokland, P., & Soboh, R. (2010). Farm viability in the European Union: assessment of the impact of changes in farm payment. *Rapport - Landbouw-Economisch Instituut*. [Online] Available at: <http://edepot.wur.nl/138917>
- Weder, F. & Samanta, S. (2021). Advocacy for sustainability communication: Unseen potential of queer communicators in environmental, climate change and sustainability science, *Sustainability*, 13, 24, 13871.
- Whatmore, S. (1991). *Farming Women: Gender, Work and Family Enterprise*. London: Macmillan.
- Winedering (2002). I grandi trend del 2022 secondo CNBC, [Online] Available at: <https://business.winedering.com/it/blog/news-6/i-grandi-trend-del-2022-secondo-cnbc-70>.
- Word Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap Report*, [Online] Available at: <https://www.weforum.org/publications/global-gender-gap-report-2023/>.
- Worthen, M.G. (2023). Queer identities in the 21st century: reclamation and stigma, *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 49, 101512.
- Wright, W., & Annes, A. (2014). Farm Women and Agritourism: Representing a New Rurality. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 54(4), pp. 478-499.
- Wright, W., & Annes, A. (2016). Farm Women and the Empowerment Potential in Value-Added Agriculture. *Rural Sociology*, 81(4), pp. 545-571.
- Yoshida, K. (2013). Towards intersectionality in the European Court of Human

Rights: the case of B.S. v Spain. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 21, pp. 195-204.

- Zerbi, M.C. (1987). *Gli indicatori ambientali nella ricerca geografica*. In: G. Corna Pellegrini (Ed.), *Aspetti e problemi della geografia*. Settimo Milanese: Marzorati, vol. I, pp. 725-770.
- Zerbi, M.C. (1993), *Paesaggi della geografia*. Turin: Giappichelli.
- Zerbi, M.C. (Ed.) (Ed.), *Il paesaggio tra ricerca e progetto*. Turin: Giappichelli.
- Zerbi, M.C. (1996). *Indicatori ambientali e paesaggio nella ricerca geografica*. In E. Manzi & Schmidt Di Fiedberg M. (Eds.), *Terra, ambienti, uomini. I geografi e gli indicatori ambientali*. Milan: Marcos y Marcos, pp. 133-148.
- Zumpano, C. (2017). Le donne nel sistema agricolo italiano. In *Annuario dell'Agricoltura Italiana 2015, Vol. LXIX*. Rome: Consiglio per la Ricerca in Agricoltura e l'analisi dell'economia agraria.

Figures and Tables Index

» Figure 1. The biological vineyards of Raito, in the wonderful setting of the terraced vineyards of the Amalfi coast, with a shared mother-daughter property.....	25
» Figure 2. The CAP ten objectives.....	39
» Figure 3. Gender gap in Italy.....	41
» Figure 4. Obstacles to gender equality in agriculture in Italy.....	48
» Figure 5. Sample data in a nutshell.....	58
» Figure 6. Agricultural enterprises managed by women: Evolution and distribution (2020 data and % on the total).....	65
» Figure 7. New adhesions of women to Assoenology/year (1980-June 2024).....	73
» Figure 8. The evolution of total graduates and gender distribution across university courses concerning viticulture or/and oenology.....	75
» Figure 9. Women presence in Wine sector according to productive segment (2021 estimation).....	77
» Figure 10. Consortia leadership (June 2024).....	78
» Figure 11. “Le Donne Del Vino” Logo.....	81
» Figure 12. “Sbarbatelle” logo.....	84
» Figure 13. Vignaiole 2.0 logo.....	85
» Figure 14. “Le donne della vite. Cultura e diffusione” logo.....	86

» Table 1. Average disparity rate In Italy (2022).....	43
» Table 2. Semi-structured scheme.....	54
» Table 3. Regional and areal total production estimations from ISTAT (I, 2018-2023) and MIPAAF (M, 2018-2022).....	69

Acknowledgments

This research has been realized at the Department of Human and Social Sciences at the University of Naples “L’Orientale.” The book benefited from funding provided by the **Laura Bassi scholarship** awarded in April 2024. This scholarship, established in 2018, aims to provide editorial assistance to postgraduates and junior academics whose research focuses on neglected topics of study, broadly construed, within their disciplines.

I’m very grateful to all the people who kindly contributed to this essay with suggestions and witnesses, moral and material support. Among them, Dr. **Antonello Bonfante** who agreed to be part of this project; **Floriana Galluccio**, **Elio Manzi**, **Mariachiara Scappaticcio**, **Salvo Torre**, **Nicola Gabellieri**, **Marzia Mauriello**, **Arturo Gallia**, **Annachiara Autiero**, **Roberta Mingo**, **Daniele Bagnoli**, **Fausto Di Quarto**, **Gianpiero Petraroli**, and **Stefano Guadagno** for the scientific commentaries, contacts, and the bibliographic suggestions. I deeply thanks all the people who spent their time to answer to my questions, especially: **Valentina Carputo**, Delegate of the Campania Region of the Association “Le Donne del Vino;” **Chiara Soldati**, President of Social Aspects of Alcohol Committee, Federvini; **Paola Sacco**, President of Confagricoltura-Alessandria; **Tommaso Iori**, National Coordinator, Federazione Nazionale Vignaioli Indipendenti; **Barbara Sgarzi**, wine journalist and sommelier; **Marzia Pinotti**, wine journalist, sommelier, and enologist; **Angelita Gambuti**, Professor of Food Science and Technology at University of Naples “Federico II”; **Titina Pigna**, Vice President of the “La Guardiense” Consortium; **Laura Donadoni**, wine journalist and expert, and **Giuliana De Carlo**, researcher at the University of Naples “Federico II” and owner of a winery.

This research provides an in-depth examination of the multifaceted roles of women in Italy's viticulture industry, focusing on the challenges, stigmatizations, and "glassing" processes they face. Women are depicted not merely as laborers but as creators and stewards of diverse, often "marginalized," spaces.

Moving the discussion from the EU's and Italian's normative frameworks and official data sources, the study maps the different associations and entities involved and advocating for women's roles in viticulture, analyzing both production and valorization on a national scale. It aims to offer a deeper understanding of the complexities which surround women's participation and challenges in the field of viticulture, laying the groundwork for future research and deeper reflection, especially in light of climate change effects.

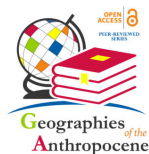
In order to contribute to the field of geography, the research highlights the spatial dimension of the intersectional vulnerability faced by women in Italian viticulture. The idea is to inspect women's roles in the construction of alternative spaces, adding a crucial dimension (gender) into the understanding of the evolution of human geography and cultural landscapes. Despite a lack of literature and detailed data, the research intends to open the way for further inquiries and to introduce analytical elements to the existing debate. This approach is anchored in official statistics, observations, questionnaires, and interviews conducted since 2018.

The results acknowledge the contributions of all participants, aiming to present a novel perspective within a heavily scrutinized domain, transcending prevalent marketing narratives associated with "liberal feminism" and stereotypes.

The exploration presents a richly diverse context, characterized by varied experiences and narratives. The research does not seek definitive answers, but generally aims to define a new paradigm on the cultural, social, and environmental dimensions that construct societal "spatiality." Ultimately, this essay invites readers to engage in a critical way with the intersectional dynamics shaping women's experiences in viticulture and fostering a deeper understanding of the diverse roles they play within this intricate ecosystem.

Eleonora Guadagno is Research Fellow in Geography, University of Naples "L'Orientale", Department of Human and Social Sciences. She obtained her Ph.D. at the University of Poitiers, France and since then she has authored numerous publications on the topics of agricultural landscapes, coastal vulnerability, hydrogeological risks, climate-change related mobility, and contamination of urban and peri-urban areas.

Antonello Bonfante is Senior Researcher at CNR-ISAFOM (since 2011). Expert in the "Innovation" cooperation area as part of the MOU signed between FAO, CNR, CREA, ENEA and ISPRA, he is currently member of the Campania region's regional observatory on precision agriculture (ORADP). He also has been a contracted Professor in Pedology at University of Salerno (Dep. of Chemistry and Biology, Degree course in Environmental Science, 2013-2018) and past president of III Division (Use and Management of Soil) of the Italian Society of Soil Science (SISS) (2019–2022).



IL **Sileno**
Edizioni

ISBN 979-12-80064-47-9