

Anticonsumption beyond consumers: The role of small organic producers in environmentally oriented anticonsumption

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Abstract

Recent studies recognize that environmentally oriented anticonsumption gives power to individuals who are willing to express their environmental concerns. Yet, it goes beyond consumers' decisions and should also include producers' practices and discourses. In this study, we explore the food system context and the emergence of organic food as a more sustainable and healthy food production mode to describe the role of organic farmers in building social and material arrangements against conventional food production and consumption. Our empirical study involved an interpretative approach based on 29 interviews with Brazilian organic farmers and experts in organic production. The findings indicate that farmers explore two different discursive mechanisms to build arguments that support the hegemonic and conventional food production system. Farmers also perform two sets of supporting practices that allow the construction of an alternative approach to food production and consumption. We conclude that farmers' discourses and practices build an alternative food system, enabling conventional food anticonsumption. This study contributes to the literature of anticonsumption by expanding the traditional consumer-centric perspective through the inclusion of the producer perspective.

KEYWORDS

anticonsumption, farmers, organic food system, producers' discourses and practices, sustainability

1 | INTRODUCTION

Anticonsumption has largely been adopted to describe forms of rejection, distaste, and resentment, and to explain reasons for opposition to the consumption of brands, products, and organizations in both the large perspective (i.e., consumption in general) and specific perspective (e.g., acts against a brand or product in particular) (Cherrier, Black, & Lee, 2011; Lee, Fernandez, & Hyman, 2009; Zavestoski, 2002; among others). More recently, the extension of the anticonsumption field has come to comprise the inclusion of other actors beyond consumers to understand the "reasons against" a consumption target (Dalpian, da Silveira, & Rossi, 2015; García-de-Frutos, Ortega-Egea, & Martínez-del-Río, 2018; Kosnik, 2018). This

extension of the anticonsumption concept requires understanding that it is not only the result of a consumer decision-making process (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013), but rather an emerging collective discourse and practice directed toward a specific target.

In addition, recent anticonsumption theorization has prominently explored environmental sustainability as the anticonsumption target. Previous studies argue that consumers can choose to stop consuming products or brands that damage the environment or do not match their environmental preservation ideology (e.g., Black & Cherrier, 2010; Dobscha & Ozanne, 2001; Sandıkcı & Ekici, 2009). These studies typically describe anticonsumption in terms of consumer subjectivity, involving self-interest and motivations in fostering a more sustainable society (e.g., Black & Cherrier, 2010). However,

environmental sustainability practices are also dependent on social and cultural antecedents and meanings produced by multiple actors that stimulate and support anticonsumption (Dalpian et al., 2015). In light of this, García-de-Frutos et al. (2018) called for the adoption of multiple perspectives for understanding environmentally oriented anticonsumption, going beyond consumers' individual decision-making. It requires recognizing the role of distinct actors involved in environmentally oriented anticonsumption practices.

Indeed, anticonsumption practices are particularly complex in the food consumption context. While most anticonsumption practices involve stopping the purchase of specific products without the need for a substitute (e.g., stopping smoking as described by Suarez, 2014), when it comes to food it is different, that is, we need to find an alternative food production mode. In this sense, the rejection of nonenvironmentally friendly food systems involves the development of more sustainable alternatives, such as organic food (Goldberger, 2011; Morgan & Murdoch, 2000).

The organic food concept explores its potential to provide more sustainable and healthy food in substitution of the conventional and agrochemical intensive food production modes (Lockie, 2009; Morgan & Murdoch, 2000). The dynamic between conventional and organic food systems inspires the recognition that environmentally oriented food anticonsumption involves both product rejection and the construction of alternative modes of food production and consumption. It requires not only previously described consumers' anticonsumption practices and discourses against conventional food (Ashraf, Joarder, & Ratan, 2018; Black & Cherrier, 2010), but also the action taken by other actors to build alternative social and material arrangements able to support consumers' anticonsumption.

In this sense, we go beyond consumers' boundaries guided to answer the following research question: how do producers' practices and discourses contribute to environmentally oriented food anticonsumption? In particular, this study aims to analyze the role of organic farmers in building social and material arrangements against conventional food production and consumption. The conventional food production system is a technology intense mechanism, used to maximize economic efficiency in land exploration (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000). Following governmental and multinational large-scale production discourse, farmers came under considerable pressure to adopt the most productive technologies and the intense use of chemicals, even though they represent environmental risks (Burton, 2004). The combination of efficiency discourse and chemical promotion practices has been extremely effective during the last 50 years, dictating the pattern of food production (Altieri, 2018).

On the other hand, environmental concerns place this hegemonic model in check, raising concerns about health risks and destructive power on biodiversity (Dudley et al., 2017; Tilman, Cassman, Matson, Naylor, & Polasky, 2002). By presenting another approach, organic food emerges as an alternative system able to overcome the risks and damage of the conventional system. Following agroecology principles (Gliessman, 2014), organic food production involves coexistence with natural systems, avoiding chemical usage, and minimizing pollution and environmental damage (Altieri, 2018).

Despite some uncertainties about the real meaning of organic production (Sutherland, 2013; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007), organic food consumption represents a more environmentally oriented alternative in comparison to conventional food production (Goldberger, 2011; Lockie, 2009; Tilman et al., 2002).

To address the role of organic food producers in anticonsumption practices, this study adopted an interpretative approach through qualitative interviews with 29 Brazilian organic farmers and experts in organic production located in the south of the country. These farmers are small local producers, mainly oriented by agroecology principles and with certified organic production. We draw on the concept of environmentally oriented anticonsumption (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018) to recognize that food anticonsumption is restricted by the capacity of consumers and producers to build an alternative food system. Accordingly, we recognize the relevance of organic food producer's environmental concerns and sustainability values (Padel, Röcklinsberg, & Schmid, 2009) supporting the rejection of conventional food system as well as their sustainable practices (Gram-Hanssen, 2011) enabling the construction of an alternative food system. Thus, organic food system emerges as a more sustainable food production philosophy that allows the rejection of conventional and nonsustainable food systems.

The discourses and practices of organic farmers are the "seeds for change" (Gram-Hanssen, 2011) allowing the construction of an alternative approach to food production, that spreads to others and, consequently, impacts on practices in everyday food consumption. In this sense, environmentally oriented food anticonsumption is a process in which distinct actors' practices can, at the same time, influence other actors' practices as well as be influenced by others practices. More specifically, we detail the producers' protagonist role in environmentally oriented food anticonsumption empowering and enabling consumers anticonsumption practices. Inspired by Schatzki (2000) notion about the interconnection of nature and social life, we consider the food production and consumption as a dynamic metamorphosing mesh of practices and discourses that allow the understanding of environmentally oriented anticonsumption beyond consumers perspective.

It is important to note the interconnection between consumption psychology concepts (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Zavestoski, 2002; among others) and farmers behavioral dynamics (Burton, 2004; Goldberger, 2011; among others) to expand the scope of anticonsumption behavior from a consumer-centric perspective to a wide-ranging system of practices involving a different set of actors. In the following sections, we present the theoretical background, our empirical study, the main findings, a final discussion, and conclusions.

2 | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 | Evolution of the anticonsumption concept

Anticonsumption was introduced in the consumption studies field in the early 2000s, to describe consumer behaviors that appeared to be the antithesis of usual proconsumption behavior or culture. It involves the description of counter-consumption actions such as

rejecting or restricting consumption (Lee et al., 2009; Zavestoski, 2002). While consumer behavior is described in terms of why, how, and what people consume, to ask why, how, and what people reject to consume reveals an important and misunderstood face of the consumption phenomenon.

Nonetheless, defining anticonsumption involves demarcating the limits of the phenomenon. To clarify the distinction between anticonsumption and resistance, Lee et al. (2011) pointed out that the actions of resistance would involve complex practices to change the structure of domination. Resistance studies focus on power, involving products, practices, and social actors that perform associated actions to change a dominant structure of consumption. On the other hand, anticonsumption does not aim to change the market structure. Studies in this field focus on restricting, claiming, and rejecting actions, and describing cases of restriction and rejection actions involving the consumption of products, services, or brands (Lee et al., 2011).

Chatzidakis and Lee (2013) conceptualized anticonsumption as the practical reasons against consumption, which are expressed through actions of animosity toward the act of consuming a product or brand. This definition involving consumers' practices and actions makes visible the ontological perspective in which the phenomenon operates, solving the conflict between anticonsumption and resistance (Cherrier et al., 2011), demarcating its limits (Lee et al., 2011), and defining what it constitutes (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013).

Despite the efforts of conceptual definition, anticonsumption studies are not free from criticism. For instance, Arnould (2007) has argued that anticonsumption studies confound consumption and materiality, and as a result, consumers reject the materiality and not the consumption itself. In addition, Arnould (2007) understands that anticonsumption is an anachronistic and elitist point of view regarding consumption practices, describing the case of consumers from poor countries who are excluded from the market. Consumption in these countries would be limited by market access rather than anticonsumption behaviors. Although the market exclusion well described by Arnould (2007) shows the dark side of a capitalist dynamic, anticonsumption could be a useful tool to change this exclusion and poverty scenario and to support a balance between individual's market access rights and limits. As Diniz and Suarez (2018) described, anticonsumption refers not only to a voluntary exit from the market but it is also a reflection about consumption as a social act and its disequilibrium. In this case, anticonsumption even in peripheral countries—such as the African countries studied by Arnould (2007) or the Brazilian case studied by Diniz and Suarez (2018)—does not mean stopping consumption, but rather reflects how particular forms of consumption are rejected due to their individual, social, or environmental disequilibrium.

The anticonsumption concept becomes an important approach to understand harmful consumption, such as cigarette consumption (Suarez, 2014), soft drinks (Diniz & Suarez, 2018), and automobiles (Dalpian et al., 2015; Suarez & Chauvel, 2012). These previous studies also draw attention to the relationship between consumption restriction, health, quality of life, and environmental issues, going

beyond a simple description of consumer behavior against a disliked brand or product. Anticonsumption is revealed to be a multifaceted phenomenon and its understanding requires multiple perspectives (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018).

Consistent with the reviewed literature, anticonsumption is more than a simple rejection action but is an intentional behavior that can contribute to regulating a consumption disequilibrium. It involves not only stopping consumption, but also developing socially or environmentally orientated alternatives. One example is the case of car anticonsumption described by Dalpian et al. (2015), in which consumers reject cars and support bike consumption as an environmentally friendly behavior. In this sense, the anticonsumption concept becomes a relevant theoretical lens to understand efforts in supporting environmental sustainability.

2.2 | Anticonsumption as a theoretical lens for environmental sustainability analysis

Environmental sustainability is one of the key contexts in anticonsumption studies (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Dobscha & Ozanne, 2001; among others). This set of studies was namely on environmentally oriented anticonsumption (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018) and describe consumption actions that induce the transition to more sustainable modes of production and services. It also involves the rejection or opposition to products, brands, or forms of consumption that provoke environmental damage (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018).

The recognition of environmental sustainability as a main theme in anticonsumption studies, in a way that expands the limits of the concept, reveals innumerable scientific and practical nuances regarding sustainable consumption behavior (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018). First, it allows recognition that anticonsumption for environmental sustainability involves actions that are directed toward specific targets such as products, brands, companies, and nations (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). Second, it highlights that anticonsumption targets are chosen from the recognition of the damage caused by these targets and in parallel, can support alternative and more environmentally oriented choices (Black & Cherrier, 2010). Third, it enables the understanding of anticonsumption as more environmentally sustainable livelihoods and consumption patterns, manifested by the rejection of products or brands that cause harm to the environment or are incompatible with consumers' environmental ideologies (Sandıkcı & Ekici, 2009).

In this sense, the ontological conception that supports the description of “environmentally oriented anticonsumption” goes beyond the individual actions, involving the notion that these actions affect the world as a whole (Ostrom, 2010). Accordingly, understanding anticonsumption for environmental sustainability requires recognizing that the size, antecedents, meanings, and consequences of environmentally oriented anticonsumption practices have a wide and systemic social and environmental impact when compared with other individual-centric anticonsumption practices (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). In other words, environmentally oriented anticonsumption practices—such as rejecting a product that causes environmental damage—have an impact on both consumer life and the environmental system in which consumers live.

For example, while cigar anticonsumption has an individual (micro-level) effect (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013; Suarez, 2014), rejecting nonecofriendly products can provoke reactions at the meso- and macro-levels, such as organizational and governmental practices (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018). One explanation lies in the fact that the micro-, meso-, and macro-level interrelations are the essence of the environmental sustainability idea (Goodland, 1995).

To account for the multiple levels of analysis involved in environmentally oriented anticonsumption, it is necessary to recognize two distinct dimensions, independently adopted in previous studies: discourses and practices. As highlighted by Chatzidakis and Lee (2013), anticonsumption is part of a collective discourse emerging against a specific target. Anticonsumption even reflects behavioral aspects and self-motivation; it involves a cultural system rooted in discursive mechanisms (Cherrier et al., 2011). For example, Portilho (2005) identified that the proenvironmental attitudes among food consumers involve a discursive construction concerning the desire to transform past consumption patterns. Consumers' discourses are reinforced by organizational and governmental efforts to make consumers responsible for their consumption choices (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). In this sense, proenvironment discourses are not ontologically limited at the individual level, but they are a construction of collective discourse involving distinct actors. Consequently, to understand the multiple discursive dynamics requires recognizing the discourses of both consumers (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014) and other voices, including governments, organizations, and producers (Lockie, 2009). While the perspectives of consumers (Cherrier et al., 2011), organizations (Dalpian et al., 2015) and governments (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018) have been addressed in the literature, the voices of producers are still underdeveloped.

In addition, anticonsumption studies have emphasized aspects of practice while describing this phenomenon (Black & Cherrier, 2010). It involves mainly the description of consumption restriction practices for environmental preservation reasons. For example, Perera et al. (2018) described how young environmentalists effectively engage in anticonsumption practices. In another example, Suarez and Chauvel (2012) discussed how anticonsumption practices involve aspects of contingency, positional affirmation, and ideological manifestation through a collective perspective that society (not only individuals) needs to abandon nonecofriendly consumption practices. Accordingly, anticonsumption practices involve a communal dimension (Schatzki, 2002) in which the undertaken practices constantly provoke transformations and changes in the overall community (Gram-Hanssen, 2011). By adopting the notion of practice, we can describe both social and material arrangements (Schatzki, 2002) emerging from environmentally oriented anticonsumption practices. We understand that environmental sustainability takes shape in a socially constituted world, as part of a network of practices and construction arrangements.

2.3 | Construction of environmentally oriented alterative food systems

The growing number of food scandals (e.g., mad cow disease and bird flu) and insecurities concerning human interference in the natural

processes of plant development (such as genetic modified organisms) provoke concerns about food consumption (Jackson, 2010). These concerns are on the top of the large iceberg that is a food system, involving technological dynamics, cultural meaning, and the human need to eat as well (Goldberger, 2011). In a market-mediated society (Slater & Tonkiss, 2013), food culture is directly related to the type of food people can access, once the self-provisioning alternatives become the scarcest (Kosnik, 2018).

In addition, hegemonic food systems emerge in line with the globalization of food chains, involving multinationals that control the production around the world (Swinnen, 2007). This hegemonic system, supported by the intensive use of pesticides, transgenic seeds, and monoculture, creates a standardized food production mode, recognized as the conventional food production mode (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000). From another side, we can observe the emergence of an alternative logic following an ecological orientation and aiming to stimulate local and short distribution chains, based on natural production inputs and the absence of agrochemical application (Gliessman, 2014). These alternative perspectives have crystallized mainly around the agroecology philosophy and organic production system (Altieri, 2018). Given its alternative positioning, this system confronts the hegemonic model of food production, distribution, and consumption (Ploeg, 2008).

Confrontation between hegemonic and alternative systems does not reveal a production and consumption conflict. Rather, alternative food systems take form precisely through an association between producers and consumers (Blanc & Kledal, 2012; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). Transverse production and consumption in the construction of alternative food systems allow us to recognize a more complex relation in conventional food anticonsumption.

Consumers, farms and organizations' interconnections are a prerequisite to foment alternative food systems (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). This dynamic between producers and consumers is supported by common practices and discourses rejecting the prevailing agriculture ideologies (Press, Arnould, Murray, & Strand, 2014). Following Press et al. (2014), producers associated with alternative systems—for example, organic food production—have an ideology orientation that stimulates the rejection of conventional agriculture. This ideological element also supports the adoption of alternative production modes and resembles those elements manifested by consumers in environmentally oriented anticonsumption (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Press et al., 2014). In other words, environmentally oriented alternative food systems—such as organic food systems—emerge from the rejection of the conventional and hegemonic system by producers and consumers.

2.4 | Organic food production as a path to environmentally oriented anticonsumption

The organic food system emerges as a sustainable alternative to the conventional system given its capacity to provide an answer to

climate change and to respect the biodiversity, water, soil, and air quality, as well as producers and consumers' well-being issues (Gram-Hanssen, 2011). However, the environmentally oriented character of organic food goes beyond the production format. It involves practical and discursive positions that operates in counter position to the conventional food system. In practical terms, organic producers contribute to reduce the negative environmental and social impact of conventional production when reject the conventional production mode (Gram-Hanssen, 2011). In this sense, the organic food system is not a mere question of certification and rules of production. It involves deeper aspects such as ethics and values—discursively manifested—that reinforce the connection between organic farming and orientation toward sustainability (Padel et al., 2009). In face of this character, organic food production is considered a more environmentally friendly production mode, when compared with conventional ones, and represents a way to meet society's needs for low-impact agriculture, as well as consumers' specific preferences (De Bernardi, Tirabeni, & Scagnelli, 2018).

Looking specifically at producers, we can observe that organic farmers usually follow ethical and moral norms that conflict with those followed by conventional food producers (Press et al., 2014). Discourses of sustainability and naturalness work both as an inspiration source and as a boundary for organic farmers' activities, represented in practices such as respecting and enhancing production process, that follow the natural cycles and habitat diversity, using strictly naturally derived compounds and renewable resources, and considering ecological and social impacts of farming (Padel et al., 2009). Additionally, the philosophical perspective of organic foods is based on the principles of living nature, seeing man as part of a self-organizing nature. It implies a singular change in the production orientation, from a perspective of nature exploration to a holistic perspective of sustainability and respect to nature (Press et al., 2014).

Hence, the organic food system represents a promise to consumers that organics deliver additional environmental benefits when compared with conventional food, not only in material terms but also in ethical terms. Following Petrescu et al. (2017), even uncertified producers (from farmers' market or self-producers) are positively evaluated by consumers because of their ability in developing a more sustainable market. Consumers' positive evaluation of organic producers represent the link that makes possible to society to perform a behavioral transition toward the development of an emerging sustainable market, especially those based on local producers, and consequently the rejection of conventional system (Petrescu et al., 2017).

Organic food system involves a network of producers and consumers and its adequate comprehension requires considering the agroecological food system as an interconnected production—consumption process (De Bernardi et al., 2018). This integrative perspective interconnects organic farmers with consumer in a system assembled to represent an alternative and more sustainable alternative to conventional food (Thøgersen, 2010). The sustainability label associated with organics works as an instrument that

helps to connect consumers and producers around environmentally oriented production-consumption choices (Padel et al., 2009). At the same time, organics label can orient and empower consumers and producers to make sustainable decisions (Petrescu et al., 2017). While consumer empowerment plays a significant role in supporting sustainable pathways in anticonsumption context (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018), producers are integrated in this system enabling consumers to choose environmentally oriented products and rejecting conventional ones.

By proposing an approach involving environmentally oriented anticonsumption with alternative food systems, we highlight the role of distinct actors in discourses and practices of abandonment and rejection, as well as the construction of more environmentally sustainable alternatives to replace those considered unsustainable. Consumers, as human beings, need to feed themselves to survive and this process is mainly a market-mediated process (Slater & Tonkiss, 2013), in which abandoning or rejecting conventional food systems requires the consumers' access to an alternative system. Organic farmers become important actors in providing consumer access to alternative modes of food production. This theoretical argument supports our empirical investigation on the role of organic producers in anticonsumption practices and discourses, as presented in the following sections.

3 | RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Our empirical study followed an interpretative perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). We were especially interested in building an understanding of the ideological nuances and practices of organic food producers. Using a qualitative approach, we pursued a multiplicity of social and material arrangements (Schatzki, 2002) to identify a web of discourses and practices (re)produced by organic farmers in South Brazil.

We, therefore, conducted an immersive examination of the cultural field recognized as organic food. Following Sutherland and Darnhofer (2012), organic food production is a field constituted in terms of district cultural elements, such as habitus, ideologies, views about nature and behaviors. As an emerging field, it is in constant conflict with the conventional agriculture system (Morgan & Murdoch, 2000) and assumes a counter-hegemonic position similar to those described by previous studies on environmentally oriented anticonsumption (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018). Organic farmers are constantly developing symbolic meanings and artefacts to demarcate organic food as a production philosophy (Gliessman, 2014), which allows us to identify clear borders between this field and other food production systems as well as its own internal cultural dynamic.

Based on that logic, we started our field immersion in January 2016, which comprised two stages. The first stage had the objective of familiarizing the authors with the field through bibliographic analysis and contextual observation. This stage was important to orient the authors regarding dynamics, as they had previous experience in studies of organic consumers' behavior but limited

comprehension of organic production dynamics. For the bibliographic analysis, we conducted a systematic review involving research in scientific databases (Scielo, Scopus, ISI Web of Science, and Google) querying the words “organic” + “food” + “production.” We filtered the results, excluding papers from agricultural sciences and obtained 51 studies describing sociological, managerial, and behavioral aspects of organic food production. We analyzed each study to identify key themes, after which we discussed the results in a set of meetings to build a common interpretation of the field. In parallel, we conducted a set of visits to organic farms, companies that process organic food, and organic fairs located in the southern Brazilian state Rio Grande do Sul. This specific context was relevant because Rio Grande do Sul is the main Brazilian region in terms of organic production and consumption (ORGANIS, 2017). Additionally, contrary to other regions in Brazil where organic production is under a conventionalization process (Goldberger, 2011) through the expansion of large organic farms and long supply chains (Buainain & Batalha, 2007), organic producers in southern Brazil are mainly small farmers, oriented by agroecological philosophy and short market chains (i.e., selling direct to consumers in local fairs). The visits took place during the first semester of 2017, allowing us to talk informally with producers and consumers. During the visits, we also took notes with personal observations of context. Later, we shared these views in seminars that included the authors and students involved with the project, allowing triangulation of distinct personal interpretations and contributing to the reliability and validity of field interpretation (Kirk & Miller, 1986).

The second stage involved a set of long interviews (McCracken, 1988) to obtain the perspectives of organic farmers. An interview guide was accordingly constructed with two main themes: (a) views about organic food and its relation to nature and conventional agriculture and (b) motivations and barriers in terms of organic production and commercialization. Later, we conducted the interviews in the farmers' houses (Rio Grande do Sul region countryside) or at their stalls at organic fairs in Porto Alegre (the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul) during the second semester of 2017. The selection of interviewees considered whether the producers had some certification that guarantees organic production adoption. In addition, we chose farmers who clearly embodied following the principles of agroecology, adopting the sustainable organic farming both as production technic and philosophical orientation (Altieri, 2018). Selected informants differ in terms of city, gender, and age, but share common features following local-specific factors. They are small farmers that find in food production a “way of life” in which all family members are involved as work force and social life transit around the farm. Their product diversification involves fruits, vegetables, and greens commercialized in the most of cases directly to consumers in local farms markets—in line with the notion of alternative food networks (De Bernardi et al., 2018).

The number of interviews followed the data saturation criteria (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), which determined that a set of 25 interviews with organic farmers should be conducted. This was complemented by performing four additional interviews with

experts in the organic context to confirm the data saturation. Specifically, we interviewed the Ecovida Network manager—an organization that mutually certifies organic production—an agronomist in a governmental organization that supports organic production, the director of a manufacturing company that produces organic ice cream and the owner of an organic products store. In total, our data set comprises 29 interviews, as detailed in Table 1. The research team conducted the interviews in Portuguese (the native language of Brazil) with each interview lasting approximately 40 min.

Data interpretation followed the premise that each interview expressed the interviewees' views as well as articulating the cultural field (organic food) in which they are involved (Thompson, 1997). The data set was interpreted using the technique of category analysis (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) and with the support of Nvivo QRA Software. This process was predominantly inductive, identifying emerging categories in the data set with no specific constructs or theories in mind in the beginning of the process. After observing the existence of conventional food rejection discourses, we looked for some definitions about anticonsumption to strain the emerging analysis with the existing literature.

Data coding started with the first author coding the interviews individually (each interview as a portion of data) with terms capable of identifying emerging and common narratives. Our coding protocol was inspired in Saldaña (2015), involving, first, a holistic reading to get a global comprehension of the data set. After, we adopted a descriptive coding summarizing in a word or noun the basic topic of each text passage (e.g., rupture, conscience). Looking for terms that could manifest discursive elements, we reread the data set highlighting “in-vivo codes,” words or expressions that express the language of informants (e.g., never go back, market mechanism). Finally, we identified “process codes” to catch the action in the data, allowing some specific aspects of the practices to manifest (e.g., rejecting, providing access).

Next, the emerging narratives and actions (identified with codes) were regrouped in 10 categories following their discursive or practical character. This process was conducted in multiple rounds of discussion among the authors' teams. At this moment, we also revised the notes and theoretical sources constructed during the first data collection stage. This approach allowed a triangulation of different sources of data and distinct subjective interpretation among multiples researchers view as a form to comprise evidence of verisimilitude and trustworthiness of our research.

Finally, we identified a strong discursive construction against conventional food that was able to guide the interviewees' practices. In detailing this process, the categories were organized in terms of two discursive mechanisms: (a) the rejection of conventional food production; and (b) beliefs against conventional foods—and two practices of support—(a) the construction of organic food production as a possible alternative; and (b) the construction of alternative networks to supply consumers with organic food. The following section will detail these themes in relation to the anticonsumption concept.

TABLE 1 Interviewee profile

Name	City	Activity	Organic farming experience (years)
<i>Organic farmers</i>			
1. Jerusa	Estrela	Horticulture	5
2. Márcio	Cruzeiro do Sul	Horticulture	8
3. Márcia	Cruzeiro do Sul	Horticulture and orcharding	2
4. Daniel	Lajeado	Horticulture and baking	10
5. Márcia Ferrari	Arroio do Meio	Horticulture	10
6. Arnaldo	Nova Santa Rita	Horticulture and grains	15
7. Ivandro	Cotiporã	Horticulture	5
8. Salete	Porto Alegre	Horticulture	12
9. Leonardo	Coronel Pilar	Horticulture	5
10. Sonia	Viamão	Horticulture and grains	14
11. Lucía	Viamão	Horticulture and grains	17
12. Lorita	Gramado	Herbs and tea	30
13. José	Eldorado do Sul	Horticulture	22
14. Clécio	Venâncio Aires	Horticulture	20
15. Alcione	Dona Francisca	Horticulture and grains	4
16. Raissa	Garibaldi	Horticulture and restaurateur	16
17. Paris	Garibaldi	Horticulture and orcharding	7
18. Gilmar	Antônio Prado	Orcharding, juice, and sauce	22
19. Nivaldo	Eldorado do Sul	Horticulture and baking	22
20. Rodrigo	Pareci Novo	Orcharding	20
21. Laura	Cerro Grande do Sul	Horticulture and orcharding	5
22. Damian	Garibaldi	Horticulture and orcharding	18
23. Ignácio	Arroio do Meio	Horticulture and tea	20
24. Evandro	Rio Pardo	Horticulture	4
25. Leandro	Lajeado	Horticulture	3
<i>Experts in the organic market</i>			
26. Cesar	Bento Gonçalves	Entrepreneur in organic market	5
27. Leandro	Ipê	Organic certifier	30
28. Marcos	Lajeado	Organic production agronomist	10
29. Luiza	Porto Alegre	Organic products store owner	3

4 | DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 | Discursive mechanisms in producers' anticonsumption

Previous studies in the anticonsumption field prominently describe the involvement of discursive mechanisms in anticonsumption activities (Cherrier, 2009; Valor, Díaz, & Merino, 2017; Varman & Belk, 2009). In her article about anticonsumption discourses, Cherrier (2009) identified two consumer resistant identities—hero and project—that function as a discursive mechanism against consumer culture. Varman and Belk (2009) identified reflexivity regarding the postcolonial condition and nationalist ideologies as discursive mechanisms in the anticonsumption movement opposing Coca-Cola in India. While they emphasize discourses of refusal to buy

through the expression of consumers' revolutionary ideologies, reflexivity, and identity, the analysis of organic farms allowed the identification of similar discourses at the level of producers. We identified two mechanisms that generate the producers' discourses against the conventional food system.

4.1.1 | Rejection of conventional food production

Rupture with conventional production mode

First, data analysis demonstrated several discursive elements that aim to manifest farmers' conventional food production rejection as a motivational aspect to start producing organics. In most cases, the farmers stated that they no longer wanted to use conventional means of production: "Either I changed, or I would stop producing" (Paris). Like Paris, other interviewees expressed in their discourse the

desire for system rupture and most of them had adopted the use of conventional techniques and agrochemicals in the past. The rupture process is similar to that identified by Varman and Belk (2009) involving the desire to provoke disruption of the postcolonial condition. It involves a strong conviction to challenge the dominant ideologies that orient the rural world (Burton, 2004) and disrupts the conventional production mode. As an example, one of our interviewees confessed that when he started organic production he did not talk to his neighbors. He justified this decision as due to apprehensiveness about being considered a liar, because his neighbors, also farmers, would not believe that someone could produce without agrochemicals. After gaining the support of a local cooperative interested in buying organic products, he felt comfortable in announcing the transition. Damian, who also participated in an organic farmers' cooperative with 53 members, explained that the collectiveness discourse in the cooperative empowers the group in promoting the organic system and in supporting each other to overcome the challenges of disrupt the conventional production system.

The rupture is followed by a discursive argument that nothing would make them return to conventional agriculture: "I would not choose anything else if I were not organic producer, I never want to think about conventional production again" (Josita). The interviewee Evandro tied his rupture position to an ideological orientation:

If you ask me: would you go back to the conventional agriculture? Never! Never again! Neither high financial gains nor anything. It's about a new ideology. We end up having a new perception about food production, not just looking for financial gains, but looking mainly for the environmental and health aspects involved in food production (Evandro).

Concerns about the risk of conventional food

Producers explore the link between a new ideological perspective on food production and alternative gains such as health and environment sustainability as a discursive argument for rejecting the conventional food system. In this sense, the rupture does not involve only the assumption of a new production mode, but first the reproduction of arguments that justify the abandonment of the conventional food system, involving mainly environmental and health concerns. For example, our interviewee Marcia Ferrari explained that after seeing her neighbors going to hospital after applying agrochemicals, she became concerned about the health risks associated with using this kind of product on her farm. Health risks function as a strong discursive argument to reject the conventional food system. This finding shows similarities with anticonsumption discourses by consumers, in which they make use of ecological and health reasons as arguments to build their abandonment discourses (Suarez & Chauvel, 2012).

Rejection as a reflexive discourse

Rejecting the conventional food system also involves a reflexivity process to validate the discursive arguments. For example, Daniel

refused to keep producing in the conventional way and migrated from the countryside to be a factory worker. There, he became aware of alternative forms of production and decided to return to the family farm with one condition: to produce organic food and stop using agrochemicals. For him, the process of going to the city opened his mind to reflect on the type of food he would like to produce. In a similar reflexive case, Lucia explained that after her husband was contaminated when handling a pesticide, the family reflected on what kind of production system and mode of life they would like to have. Similarly, Jerusa said, "When we reflect about the risks in agrochemical use, we get to build arguments to overcome the barriers in changing the production system" (Jerusa).

Discourses manifesting reflexive arguments that operate in a dialect perspective that reject conventional food system while supporting the organic one, as Arnaldo says:

All this we are seeing, from environmental disasters to health crises, which in my view is a consequence of a process of environmental imbalance. The relationship that man has with nature, are some elements that make me to reject the conventional system and stay following organic production trying to multiply it" (Arnaldo).

As stated by Press et al. (2014), the conception of producing food through the application of agrochemicals, transgenic seeds, and other materialized technologies works as an ideological orientation rarely questioned by farmers. In adopting organic production modes, producers disrupt with the hegemonic agriculture discourses and manifest concerns about the risks of these production systems.

4.1.2 | Beliefs against conventional foods

Heroes promoting health and sustainability

Discursive mechanism to promote anticonsumption involves a set of beliefs about their power to promoting health and sustainability reproduced in farmers narratives. José explained that by having access to land, he has a great responsibility to produce healthy food and contribute to "mother earth." Salete expressed the understanding that she needs to promote a better life for others. When she was 50 years old, she decided to change her lifestyle completely and assumed agroecological principles as a mission:

I thought I had to add something to people's lives and agroecology looks to be the way to do it. Therefore, I seek to produce only sustainable and certified food. It makes me happy because I can deliver safe products to consumers, products that I know will not poison people (Salete).

Beliefs about their mission to supply healthier food function as a discursive argument against the conventional mode of production. Marcia pointed out that people are exposed to health risks when consuming foods produced with agrochemicals and organic

agriculture is contributing to mitigate this risk: “Organic products are an alternative to the infection and intoxication caused by agrochemicals” (Márcia). Assuming a position of “hero,” as described by Cherrier (2009), organic farmers’ discursive arguments express a belief that they can contribute in providing a healthier food system. They explore the heroic discourse under a dialectical position, in which conventional food is a health villain and to combat it involves the heroic act of producing organic food. Consequently, organic farmers’ anticonsumption discourses contribute to the general idea that conventional food is “unhealthy,” and that organic food is a “healthy” alternative.

Spiritual understanding about life

The dialectic relation between conventional food system rejection and beliefs about organic system benefits also involves the desire to “escape from the poison.” In observing these beliefs, we understand that while the health risk argument provides a rational/scientific basis to support conventional food system rejection, religiosity provides a spiritual/nonrational argument. Ignácio stated that “God gave me hands to work and not to poison me” (Ignácio). Laura also associated food production with her religiosity: “I believe that the power of food is in the production mode, understand me, the mode of production I use follows the mode directed by God and for sure has no agrochemicals” (Laura).

Spirituality is evoked to amplify anticonsumption discourses. In building a consistent counter position to the conventional perspective, producers encourage consumers to believe that more sustainable

forms of food production are possible. Similar to the consumer anticonsumption discourses identified by Valor et al. (2017), producers define the conventional food system as their adversary through rational and nonrational arguments. These beliefs engender the responsibility to supply a healthy and sacred alternative to conventional food materialized into organic food. Consequently, organic farmers’ discourses contest the conventional food system in face of their environmental and health risk while reinforcing the organic food system as a sustainable and healthy alternative.

To better detail the first dimension analyzed in this section, in Table 2 we summarize the two discursive mechanisms. In the following section, we detail how the discursive mechanisms of rejection and beliefs support a repertoire of practices enabling alternative sociomaterial arrangements.

4.2 | Producers’ practices supporting anticonsumption

Considering that practices are human activities incorporated and mediated by sociomaterial configurations (Schatzki, 2002), the second theme of analysis describes producers’ practices building and supporting a sociomaterial arrangement that enable food anticonsumption practices. Anticonsumption practices have been described as acts (Kozinets, Handelman, & Lee, 2010) of rejecting, reducing, and reclaiming (Lee et al., 2011) as well as the reasons, attitudes, intentions, and predispositions for these acts (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013). However, in the food context, these practices require

TABLE 2 Summary of discursive mechanism in producers’ anticonsumption

Dimension level	Mechanisms	Categories	Illustrative quotes
Discursive mechanisms	Rejection of conventional food production	Rupture with conventional production mode	“We started organic production in 1990. Before that we worked with conventional system. Then it reached a point that saturated the amount of poison used, that saturated there, and we realized that it was not fair or good, neither for us producers nor for those who would consume it, much less for nature” (Gilmar)
		Concerns about the risk of conventional food	“Hospitals are crowded because of pesticides and so people are realizing the harms of pesticides. Organic production can provide the same foods as conventional production, but without pesticides. That’s why people are looking for organics” (Daniel)
		Rejection as a reflexive discourse	“I started to visualize the world in a different way. That was a factor. I see in the farmers who use pesticides, even when I used to work, I realized that something was wrong, that I was being intoxicated. This reflection led me to see that I could produce differently. I decided, I wanted to do it by conviction” (Arnaldo)
	Beliefs against conventional foods	Heroes promoting health and sustainability	“Above all, we have a great commitment to produce healthy food and make our contribution to our Mother Earth. In the conventional system many produce merchandise, our commitment in the organic system is to produce healthy food” (José)
		Spiritual understanding about the life	“Nature created the human being, created animals, insects, etc. The human goes there and takes their food using pesticides” (Rosane)

the creation of an alternative sociomaterial configuration that enables consumers nourishment in substitution of the rejected conventional food system. Our data analysis reveals two sets of practices performed by our informants that contribute in making organic farming a possible and available sociomaterial alternative.

4.2.1 | Construction of the organic as a possible alternative

Environmental and social sustainability orientation

The interviewees expressed a predisposition toward nature preservation as a kind of practice orientation. While in conventional system, the hegemonic idea of a good farmer is obtaining high productivity and financial gains through the application of materialized technologies such as agrochemicals (Burton, 2004), organic farmers decisions seek to privilege environmental gains. Arnaldo explained that his crop had fungi problems due to the inclement weather, which, in the conventional system, could be solved through the application of pesticides. However, he said that the “nature needs to speak louder” and apply only biofertilizers and biopesticides.” This example demonstrate that food producers can follow two distinct paths: follow what our interviewer Arnaldo called “market mechanism”—external and hegemonic orientation to buy technological packets from agrobusiness companies involving pesticides and transgenic seeds to maximize the production—or building an alternative and environmentally orientated route. Our informant José also manifests that his practices are oriented to avoid the damage to the natural environment caused by large-scale food production, complementing that he found in organic production an alternative form to get profit in harmony with an environmental and social perspective: “I have a new perception, we don’t look only to the financial return, but also the environmental and social return” (José).

In addition, our interviewees understand that society faces a food shortage despite increases in production. They understand that they can act to minimize it with organic production: “Soybeans and sugar cane do not sustain, do not satisfy the population’s hunger, we need to produce healthy and accessible food” (Ignácio). Arnaldo also shared a similar view, explaining that:

There is a crisis in the conventional agrobusiness economical model, it is in risk, there is a disequilibrium. So that is why we need to defend another process of food production, a process that not only produce food, but produce clean food” (Arnaldo).

The predispositions and attitudes associated with more socially and environmentally friendly production modes support orient the rejection of conventional production practices and the search for alternative ones. Talking with the producers during the interviews or even in informal talks they unanimously emphatic that “don’t back to the conventional production mode.”

Producing with less impact

According to Jerusa, she found in organic system a mechanism to get money without the malefices of agrochemicals. For her, the development of new techniques for organics production allows the same productivity as conventional agriculture to be obtained, encouraging producers to change the production system. Marcos, who gives technical support to organics producers, also sees an impressive development in the material arrangement required for organic production in comparison to the past. It involves mainly the domain of technics and the offer of biopesticides as a substitution for agrochemicals. According to Lúcia, organics farmers need to (re)learn how to produce deconstructing established practices:

When I was a child, all food production was organic, so it was the main production mode. However, the green revolution imposed this production mode with intensive use of agrochemicals. It was easier to apply poison to the crop to control it. Now, we need to learn again that is possible to produce food without applying agrochemicals (Lucia).

To reduce the environmental impact, organic production techniques involve practices like the production of biological fertilizers and mixtures to prevent infestations of pests. Anderson explains that organics farmers “works with the balance of nature and look for alternatives, while the conventional only applies the pesticide even before the problem arises” (Anderson). Following informants’ view, organic production system needs to take in account some information that are not tangible in the economic terms, like environmental and social gains.

Cooperation practices to overcome limitations

The creation of cooperation networks between producers and consumers supports social arrangements. It is evidenced in the mutual collaboration between producers, consumers, and nongovernmental organisations to create structures of certification and regulation for organic production. As explained by Gilmar, his certification follows the participative guarantee system: “It is a trustiness relationship between consumers and producers. The certification is a necessity—we need to have some regulation to avoid opportunists who want to take advantage.” Leandro, the coordinator of one participative guarantee system, stated that this collaborative system allows small farmers to obtain a certification without paying an independent and expensive audit firm. In addition, Leandro sees in the participative system an opportunity for the reinforcement of a sense of community and ethical formation, bringing together producers and other social actors to promote, control, and guarantee the organic food system.

Social arrangements also allow material limitations to be overcome. Daniel noted that one of the main difficulties in organic production is obtaining nontransgenic seeds. Through these collaborative networks, producers can perform seed exchanges. It is interesting to note that the collaborative network involves not only

producers and consumers, but other actors such as local government, universities, and technical support bodies such as Emater, a governmental body that supports organic farmers with technical assistance.

Accordingly, the construction of organic systems as a viable alternative starts with producers' attitudes and their predisposition to search for an alternative production mode, taking form through new social and material arrangements and networks that go beyond consumers. In this sense, anticonsumption practices also involve the construction of an alternative food system—complementing the rejection, reduction, and reclaiming acts of consumers (Lee et al., 2011).

4.2.2 | Building alternative networks to distribute organic food

Providing consumers access to organic food

Networks represent the chains of action and interconnection that shape practices (Schatzki, 2005). As identified by Perera et al. (2018) in their study on the subjective experiences of young environmentalists who engage in green consumption, anticonsumption practices involve actions away from dominant market mechanisms and in favor of alternative offers. According to Arnaldo, one of the main difficulties faced by consumers in substituting conventional food for more environmental oriented options is access to the products. For him, the large number of intermediaries and distribution barriers separate consumers and producers who share the same animosity against the conventional food system. From a similar point of view, Clécio understand that large retailers are not able to connect organic farmers and consumers in a successful way:

There is an increasing awareness about the risks of conventional food and the tendency is to increase the demand for organic food. It's an opportunity for producers to supply this demand because the retailers are concerned about selling more to get profit, there is no concern for consumers health (Clécio).

To connect consumers directly, organic farmers developed a sociomaterial infrastructure that allow access consumers through short circuits of distribution. One example is organic farmers markets, which regularly take place in public spaces, usually with city hall support. There, farmers can sell their products and interact with consumers, as detailed by our interviewee Jorge: "Organic public markets are the best form of commercialization, since they allow a direct relationship with the final consumer, creating a close relationship and trust. We also reduce the environmental cost of logistics and waste generation due to the losses incurred in large retail." Jorge's comprehension relates to a contemporary logistic view in which conventional food chains generally involve long distribution networks, resulting in the waste of energy and natural resources to cross large distances to arrive in consumer houses (Ilbery & Maye, 2005). Farmers' efforts also involve building alternative food

networks. Through "Ecovida network," they created the "commercialization circuit," a pre-establish logistic route to transport products produced in a specific region—respecting natural conditions—to others in a round system. With this system, consumers can access products that are not locally produced without to resort to the conventional system. These alternative food networks contribute in fostering sustainability in food consumption models through an integrated way to support organic farmers and, at the same time, satisfy consumers' expectations (De Bernardi et al., 2018).

Reinforcing the alternative character of organic food system

Complementary to providing access to the organic food system, producers orient their practices to preserve its alternative character. It represents an attempt to avoid the conventionalization of the organic food system and preserving its sovereign (Patel, 2009). For example, Evandro travels every week from a small town to the province capital to sell organic food in a farmer's market. In Evandro's opinion, channeling the production to urban spaces producers can reach consumers directly, informing them about alternatives to conventional food. Farmers market, in this case, comprise both an exchange mechanism and a useful opportunity for producers to orient consumers in rejecting the conventional food system while supplying alternative nourishment.

"The alternative character of organic distribution involves also the plastic reduction: We provide a fresh product, which does not need packaging. In the supermarket the product is full of toxic plastics, it is bad" (Gilmar). He adds that the producers carry out campaigns to encourage the abandonment of plastic bags (predominant in Brazil) substituting by returnable bags.

Another alternative approach is agriculture supported by the community (CSA hereafter), in which consumers pay producers monthly to deliver a basket of products to consumers' houses. The type and size of the basket respect climate conditions and crop seasonality. This distribution system has created a tool to avoid the conventionalization, once eliminates intermediaries and other market agents that tend to co-opt the circuit for their own propose (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). Complementary, following the informant Gilmar, the preservation of the alternative character reinforces the confidence relation between consumers and producers: "without a mutual confidence, there will be opportunistic people who will want to take advantage, selling fake organic products." In this line, Gilmar reinforces that the certification is important, but cannot be the unique element to guarantee the alternative character of organic food system: "we create a participative mechanism of certification, which did not exist before in other countries, where you have to be part of groups of guarantees formed producers and consumers. Everyone visit everyone, so each one ends up being the other's inspector." Producers and consumers supporting and supervising each other practice involve social and material configurations in networks able to reduce the material distance between production and consumption but also the social distance between producers and consumers. It means complementing the material rejection, reduction, boycotting, or reclaiming actions (Kozinets et al., 2010;

Lee et al., 2011) with a food system that incorporate alternative material and social practices. To better detail the dimension analyzed in this section, in Table 3 we summarize the two practices of support.

5 | RESULTS DISCUSSIONS

Departing from the notion of environmentally oriented food anticongestion, our results demonstrated how producers' practices and discourses contributes with environmentally oriented food anticongestion. Looking specifically at the organic food producers in Brazil, we can observe that they act to build an alternative social and material food system, oriented by health and environmental gains in comparison with the hegemonic conventional food system. As previously described by Padel et al. (2009), sustainability values are a relevant aspect in guiding organic food producer's behavior. We observe that, from producer's perspective, alternative food system construction operates in a dialectic counter-position of rejecting the conventional food system. In this sense, while supporting organic food, they act against the conventional food production and consumption. Similar to Gram-Hanssen (2011) study on households' energy consumption, the change provoked by the rejection of conventional food system is the first step—seeds for change—to several other practices that will enable the construction of an alternative food system, more environmentally and health-oriented.

In line with previous studies, we demonstrated that food anticongestion practices are restricted by the capacity of consumers and producers to build an alternative mode of feeding (Goldberger, 2011; Kosnik, 2018; Morgan & Murdoch, 2000). It is critical in a

market-mediated society (Slater & Tonkiss, 2013) where people can rarely provide self-nourishment and depend on the existence of an accessible food system. These results expand the concept of environmentally oriented anticongestion (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018), recognizing that food anticongestion is restricted by the capacity of consumers and producers to build an alternative food system. The producer's action in rejecting the conventional system and building an alternative one has double impact on food consumption dynamic: stimulate consumers rejecting the hegemonic system and support them to access an alternative option.

Our findings support the notion that environmentally oriented food anticongestion is a process that operates in a dichotomous relation, in which distinct actors (not only consumers) reject conventional and nonsustainable food systems while act to build an alternative and more sustainable oriented system. Considering our specific approach on producers, we highlight their protagonist role, not only supplying more sustainable food, but also empowering consumers to reject the conventional food system. To detail this process, we outline a framework based on two distinct dimensions: discursive mechanisms and practices of support. These dimensions operate in a flow that interconnect social and material elements (Schatzki, 2000) through anticongestion discursive mechanisms and performing a set of practices in place of the conventional food system.

More specifically, the first discursive mechanism involves the rejection of the conventional food system, which provokes rupture with conventional production mode, concerns about the risk of conventional food and the construction of a reflexive discourse that allows the emergence of an alternative ideology toward a healthy and environmentally oriented food system. The second discursive

TABLE 3 Summary of producers' practices supporting anticongestion

Dimension level	Practices	Categories	Illustrative quotes and evidence
Practices of support	Construction of organic food production as a possible alternative	Environmental and social sustainability orientation	"It is cool the concern that producers have about people's health and the preservation of the environment. It's rewarding and there's no money to pay" (Leandro)
		Producing with less impact	"Organic production profit is over 50% and environmental gain over 90%" (Marcia)
		Cooperation practices to overcome limitations	"The Ipê Ecological Center is an NGO that works with advising farmers so that they can pay for conventional production and migrate to organic production. The Center emerged more than 30 years ago with the meeting of farmers seeking to change the form of production without the use of pesticides and with sustainability" (Leandro)
	Construction of alternative networks to supply consumers with organic food	Providing consumers access to organic food	"People will not abandon conventional foods without an alternative product. The process of organics is an ideology, but if you don't have any organics available you will say the product is good but go to the supermarket to buy products with pesticides" (Leandro)
		Reinforcing the alternative character of organic food system	"Agroecology is a form of resistance. But also to show that we are not just resisting, we are producing. It's a big myth that we need monoculture to feed the world" (Newspaper interview with Bela Gil, agroecologist activist)

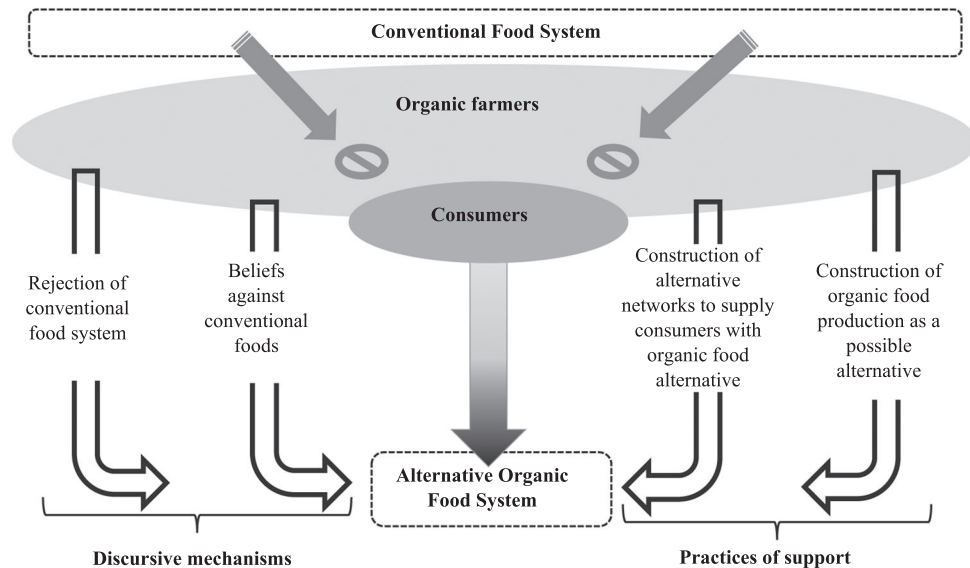


FIGURE 1 Organics farmers role on environmentally oriented food anticonsumption process

mechanism is the producers' beliefs against conventional foods, which support a more spiritual understanding about life and reinforce a heroic identity about promoting health and sustainability. These beliefs are supported by rational and scientifically supported arguments (e.g., agrochemicals can have health risks) and nonrational arguments supported by religiosity. The discursive mechanisms produce arguments that classify the conventional food system as an adversary and stimulate the producers to advocate for a responsive strategy to change the conventional system.

Practices of support build the social and material arrangement that allows the rejection of the conventional food system in two distinct ways. Through the construction of organic food production as a possible alternative, producers put into action an environmental and social sustainability orientation, producing with less environmental impact, and cooperating to overcoming limitations on the alternative system. Producers' practices change in favor of a more sustainable food system create the necessary conditions to abandon hegemonic production practices. In complement, the construction of alternative networks to supply consumers with organic food is vital to providing consumers access to organic food. Producers' act to build alternative distribution networks to connect consumers and producers that reinforce the alternative character of the organic food system.

The interaction of these two dimensions can be interpreted as responsible to connect consumers who reject conventional food system with an alternative and more environmentally oriented food system. The Figure 1 synthesized the organic farmers role in supporting the consumers environmentally oriented anticonsumption actions while supporting consumers engagement in alternative food systems.

5.1 | Theoretical contribution

Our study contributes to anticonsumption literature in three distinct ways. First, we demonstrated the target of nonconsumer actors in rejecting discourses and practices. In this sense, the anticonsumption

target of organic food producers is not food production as a market structural force (as a capitalist force of domination). This resistance phenomenon can be clearly observed in social movements, such as voluntary self-provision (Galt, 2017; Kosnik, 2018). As such, organic farmers' discourses are against the specific mode of food production recognized as conventional and considered unhealthy and unsustainable.

Although previous studies have pointed to the producers' actions in opposition to a hegemonic food system (e.g., Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007), our analysis on the role of organic farmers' individual discourses and practices addresses how they operate at an anticonsumption level, supporting consumers in their opposition to conventional products while providing an alternative food system. While Shaw et al. (2006) described anticonsumption as a powerful means of consumer empowerment to influence producers to find sustainable solutions, we highlight the role of producers in influencing consumers and providing the conditions to allow consumers to reject the conventional food market. Environmentally oriented food anticonsumption can, therefore, be expressed through participation in social and material arrangements against conventional food rather than a dichotomy perspective of consumers against producers and brands.

In line with previous studies that identified social movements, organizations, and governments as potential actors for enabling environmentally oriented anticonsumption (Dalpian et al., 2015; Lockie, 2009), our results indicated the individual power of small organic farmers in enabling anticonsumption through practical and discursive mechanisms. The power of producer anticonsumption discourse is in enriching the dialectic dynamics between the rejected system and the qualities of the alternative system. In addition, while previous studies (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Kozinets et al., 2010; Perera et al., 2018) demonstrate how consumers perform a set of anticonsumption practices, we highlight that producers perform a set of market practices that enable consumer anticonsumption.

Our second contribution is to expand the anticonsumption boundary beyond the current “individual consumer-centric perspective on anti-consumption” recognizing the producers’ anticonsumption discourses and practices. While the central perspective of anticonsumption studies has been to focus on consumer discourses (Cherrier, 2009; Diniz & Suarez, 2018), attitudes (Iyer & Muncy, 2009; Sudbury-Riley & Kohlbacher, 2018), behaviors (Lee & Ahn, 2016; Lee et al., 2009), and practices (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Perera et al., 2018), our results follow a poststructuralist tendency of consumption system description (Sassatelli, 2004), in which producer and consumer roles are not clearly structured. The actors’ position in the market follows network organization (Schatzki, 2002) around hegemonic and alternative dimensions. Accordingly, even if anticonsumption is eminently associated with the consumption dimensions, we need to consider the group of actors that configure the network of consumption and, consequently, anticonsumption actions.

In the specific case of environmentally oriented anticonsumption, it is even more urgent to expand the limits of the concept beyond consumers. Indeed, previous studies have emphasized the political and collective dimension of proenvironment movements, which involves actors that are usually invisible at the consumption level (Dalpian et al., 2015; De Bernardi & Tirabeni, 2018). Consequently, to understand these actions demands that researchers go beyond the visible consumer dimension and consider a wider framework, involving nonconsumer actors and nonconsumption practices as equally relevant aspects of the anticonsumption phenomenon. Although the recent literature has indicated the presence of multiple actors forming a macro-environmentally oriented anticonsumption level (García-de-Frutos et al., 2018), our findings expand the consumption-centered perspective highlighting a production level social and material arrangement that also shapes environmentally oriented anticonsumption.

In this sense, we cannot ignore the production level in the anticonsumption debate. From the production point of view, anticonsumption does not only involve negation (rejection, reduction, and reclaiming), but—recognizing the nature of production actions in generating an output—the denial of the hegemonic model to produce an alternative model. Arnould (2007) criticized the anticonsumption concept considering its ontological limitation once people cannot negate consumption. In expanding the anticonsumption borders to the production level, we show that anticonsumption actions do not only result in rejecting the consumption of a specific target (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013), but the construction of alternative modes of production and consumption, without eliminating consumption as an ontological dimension. Anticonsumption involves a dialectic relationship among forms of production and consumption in which negating a contestable production model enables the actors to produce an alternative model. Without this dialectic relation, the ontological consumption dimension disappears and carries with it not only the consumption action but also the anticonsumption actions that operate on this ontological dimension.

Finally, our last contribution involves the interconnection between psychological consumption marketing concepts and rural

food producers. Our findings reveal that anticonsumption actions involve behavioral attitudes against the conventional food system. At the consumption level, previous studies have identified a set of psychological elements such as reflexivity (Varman & Belk, 2009) and heroic identity (Cherrier, 2009) orienting anticonsumption discourses. Producers demonstrate similar behaviors reproduced in their discursive mechanism. In addition, similarly to consumers (Chatzidakis & Lee, 2013), producers demonstrate attitudes, beliefs, and predispositions that orient their practices. This reinforces that consumers and producers share the same elements when processing anticonsumption behavior. Even though the similarity between the anticonsumption behavior of consumers and producers sounds obvious, it reinforces that understanding the psychological aspects of the marketing phenomenon involves multiples actors and roles in an amalgam of pro- and anticonsumption.

5.2 | Practical implications

Our results orient consumers and public policy makers that rejection of a food system goes beyond the simple rejection of goods, as it involves vital conditions for human life and, therefore, the refusal to consume certain foods means the existence of alternative. Food producers need to include in any project involving the development of health or sustainable feeding. Farmers can provide sociomaterial arrangements useful to support consumers rejection of the hegemonic food system in favor of healthier a sustainable one.

We also indicate that environmentally oriented food anticonsumption needs to overcome the rhetoric “shopping for change” (Johnston, 2008) involving fetishized approaches that valued “local” and “organic” only as a label and perpetuating the individualistic view about food consumption. We suggest the necessity to recognize the environmentally oriented food anticonsumption as a systemic perspective that need to align producers and consumers discourses and practices toward a real sustainable orientation.

6 | FINAL REMARKS

This study describes the role of organic farmers in building environmentally oriented anticonsumption food production practices through pro-organic discourse and the construction of social and material arrangements in substitution of conventional food systems. It contributes to the field through the extension of the scope of anticonsumption, highlighting the role of other relevant actors in anticonsumption discourses and practices. Organic food producers’ acts confront the conventional and hegemonic model of food production while supplying an alternative system. Our findings support a fluid and poststructuralist perspective of anticonsumption that goes beyond the current consumer-centric perspective. Producers are not the anticonsumption target in the organic food system, but allies that act together with consumers to construct viable environmentally oriented anticonsumption. Our study also allows the understanding of the new connections between production and

consumption in terms of anticonsumption that go beyond subjective and individual consumer decisions (Black & Cherrier, 2010; Lee et al., 2009; Sudbury-Riley & Kohlbacher, 2018; Zavestoski, 2002). Further studies could apply multiagentic methodological approaches, like ethnographic studies, to analyze the mutual connections and influences between consumers and producers.

It is important to note that although farmers build an anticonsumption position in rejecting the conventional food system, they are not resisting agricultural systems as a whole, which reinforces the distinction between resistance and anticonsumption (Lee et al., 2011), since producers do not resist food production as a capitalist market force. This lack of resistance can be clearly observed in the search for alternatives outside the market (Kosnik, 2018) or in attempts to reconfigure the system of market-shaping exchanges (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007). In the organic farmers' case, the discourses and practices manifest a rejection of the conventional food production system, not an attempt to "exit the market." In addition, while previous studies identify a tacit commitment by consumers to support rural producers in both material and symbolic ways (Allen, Fitzsimmons, Goodman, & Warner, 2003; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007), organic farmers do not necessarily have this support; on the contrary, they offer material and symbolic support for consumers to perform environmentally oriented food anticonsumption.

Moreover, it is important to note that while we identify organic foods as an alternative food system, they are also subject to economic power forces able to change their original meanings (Goldberger, 2011). We need to recognize producers' economic interests in redirecting food consumption in favor of organic as complementary to environmental concerns. Future studies can uncover eventual economic power forces transforming environmentally oriented anticonsumption and a possible co-optation of the sustainable discourse. In addition, by evoking the rural producer role in food consumption studies, we stimulate researchers to search for a renegade group of actors equally relevant to a more sustainable world.

Finally, our results demonstrate the need to reflect on the limitations of the anticonsumption definition. The suffix "anti" cannot be interpreted as a simple negation of a specific consumption phenomenon. Further studies need to consider that it also has a productive effect, involving consumers and producers engaged in multiple discourses and practices producing something new. We suggest that future studies explore this notion in line with other emerging theoretical lenses (e.g., institutional entrepreneurship, citizenship, and market practices) enabling a broader social and cultural view of anticonsumption.

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CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors declare that there are no conflict of interests.

ETHICS STATEMENT

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

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