

Living identities in the mosaic of consumption resistance practices

Valderí de Castro Alcântara¹, Bruna Habib Cavazza², Alyce Cardoso Campos³, José Willer do Prado⁴, Daniel Carvalho de Rezende⁵

¹ Universidade do Estado de Minas Gerais - valderidecastroalcantara@gmail.com

² Universidade Federal de Lavras - brunacavazza@gmail.com

³ Universidade Federal de Lavras - alycecardosoc@yahoo.com.br

⁴ Universidade Federal de Lavras - jwprado@gmail.com

⁵ Universidade Federal de Lavras - rezendedc@gmail.com

KEYWORDS

Social Theory of Discourse, Consumption Resistance, Practices, Interdiscursivity.

Received 18.06.2019

Reviewed 16.08.2019

Accepted 22.08.2019

ISSN 1980-4431

Double blind review



ABSTRACT

In this article, we aimed to understand how discourses and other social consumption resistance practices are articulated in the processes of identity reconstruction. The corpus was formed by in-depth interviews with consumption resistance practitioners. The analyses followed the directions of the Social Theory of Discourse, from the notions of social practices and discourse meanings. Our contribution is that the consumption resistance practitioners articulate discourses and other social practices in the processes of identity reconstruction marked by re-significances and contradictions, being therefore a hybrid and tensional field that forms a mosaic of consumption resistance practices. Specifically, we discovered that conflicting discourse orders influenced consumption resistance practices in an interdiscursive way, which articulated the reconstruction of identities. This included scientific, political, religious, animal ethics, environmental, social, and conscious consumption discourses.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Teoria Social do Discurso, Resistência ao consumo, Práticas, Interdiscursivamente.

RESUMO

Neste artigo, objetivamos compreender como os discursos e outras práticas de resistência ao consumo são articulados nos processos de reconstrução identitárias. O corpus foi formado por entrevistas em profundidade com praticantes de resistência ao consumo. As análises foram desenvolvidas seguindo os direcionamentos da Teoria Social do Discurso, a partir das noções de práticas sociais e de significados do discurso. Nossa contribuição é que os praticantes da resistência ao consumo articulam nos processos de reconstrução identitária discursos e outras práticas sociais marcadas por ressignificações e contradições, sendo, portanto, um campo híbrido e tensional que forma um mosaico de práticas de resistência ao consumo. Especificamente, apresentamos que ordens do discurso conflitantes influenciaram para que as práticas discursivas de resistência ao consumo fossem interdiscursivamente articuladas na reconstrução de identidades: discurso científico, político, religioso, da ética animal, ambiental, social e do consumo consciente.

1 Introduction

Consumption, its practices, actors, meanings and objects, among other elements act as constitutive of contemporary societies becoming a condition to understand certain themes, such as lifestyles, identities and symbols related to the exchange and consumption processes. In this direction, consumption represents a basic activity (Barbosa, 2006), that could be related to status, distinction, lifestyle, cultural meanings, values and social relationships, seduction and manipulation, massification and fetishism. For Bauman (2007), people currently are consumed and consume themselves in the processes inherent to a consumerist society and marked by the instability of identities.

In this context, the consumption issue in Brazil has undergone an expansion process since the 1990s, which reaffirmed the very notion of citizenship (Valadares et al., 2016). According to the authors, it occurred due to the increase of public policies on credit access and income distribution. Accordingly, the authors defend the thesis that this fact provides a “hedonistic consumer culture” marked by consumerism and the citizenship seen by inclusion to consumption. Here, the Bauman's (2008, p. 70) passage that the consumer society “[...] ‘challenges’ its members [...] as consumers” rather than citizens is emphasized. For Valadares et al. (2016), the citizen is resignified as a consumer in this new context. The phenomenon of the new middle class and that “[...] in Brazil, this part of society assumes a prominence air due to the several public policies directed to them” (Valadares et al., 2016, p. 968) also illustrate this context. This process is permeated and constituted of not only new power and domination relationships, but also by consumption resistance practices that may lead to new identities.

In Brazil, there are few studies on the theme, especially if we consider those ones seeking to understand the articulation between diverse social and discursive consumption resistance practices and the identity reconstruction processes. We observed a tendency for publications in the consumption resistance field to migrate from themes as power resistance (and more structural perspectives) to other themes as individual motivations (Kraemer et al., 2012). Using the Social Theory of Discourse, we argue in this article that the one-dimensional (macro or micro visions)

is not the most suitable way, pointing out to the need of dialectic view that hence considers individual or collective aspects and that should be studied through social practices (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2003).

In the perspective of the Social Theory of Discourse, we focused on the discourse moment, bearing in mind the understanding on the relationship between identities and resistance forms to hegemonic social consumption practices. Moreover, when seeking discussions from the view of social practices, discourses, discourse orders and hegemony, we clarify that the separation between individual and collective causes of consumption resistance cannot be discreetly overcome, since they are constituted by dialectical relationships and not by isolated categories.

Finally, the identity reconstruction processes related to consumer resistance practices remains as an open research field, especially through a theoretical-methodological perspective focused on the dialectic interaction between discourse and society, and between discourse and other social practices (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, in this context we try to answer the following question: How are discourses and other consumption resistance practices articulated in the identity reconstruction of its practitioners? In this sense, we aimed to understand how discourses and other social consumption resistance practices are articulated in the processes of identity reconstruction.

2 Identities, discourses and consumption resistance

Research approaching relationship between consumer practices and identities are still incipient in Brazil, especially those related to consumption resistance practices (including discursive practices) with the identity construction. Based on the study of Cherrier (2009), we state that identity is an important category to comprehend the consumption, and it is true that it is important for understanding consumer resistance practices. The relationship between consumption resistance and identities also appears in other studies (Dobscha, 1998; Cherrier, 2009).

A wide field are opened for research on identities and their diverse configurations and levels, since the identity issue has become a recurring theme in the areas of sociology, consumption, philosophy and organizations,

especially since the 1980s. In consumption studies, identity has become a category of great relevance for theoretical debates and empirical research (Barbosa & Campbell, 2006).

Santos (2013, p. 4) states that, in order to understand the identity formation processes, it is important to identify who you are not, since “the identity concept presents a comparative nature, considering that the individuals are defined effectively only in relation to the demarcation of other subject”. It cannot be understood in a one-dimensional way only as an agency, but need to be always seen in the relationships between social agency and structure mediated by social practices – insofar as it defends discursive perspectives, such as the Social Theory of Discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2003).

From this discursive view, the concept of identity formation and reconstruction is central rather than peripheral to the development of consumer resistance (Cherrier, 2009), without, however, leaving aseptic this process that influences and is influenced by power relationships and hegemonic disputes in dialectical relationships between discourse and society (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, resistance identities (Castells, 2003) emerged important categories rebuilding conversely to hegemonic discourses, conflicting with social resistance practices (Cherrier, 2009). In this process, identities can be multiple and “this plurality is a source of tension and contradiction both in self-representation and in social action” (Castells, 2003, p. 3).

In this context, we state that several identity tensions may arise, being a plural, dialogical and dialectical process, and consequently, contradictory. According to Ybema et al. (2009), the social processes involved in the identity formation are complex, recursive and reflexive.

Recent studies have focused on the identity issue to discuss and study consumer resistance practices, including Cherrier (2009). The article contributes towards our proposal by studying the discourse of voluntary simplicity and culture jammer in the consumer resistance context – the relationship between anti-consumption practices in the construction of identities is shown in the study, dealing with “hero identity” and “project identity”. Thus, for Cherrier (2009), the concept of identity formation is central for the development of consumer resistance. According to the author's study, it is possible to argue that the identity

formation is permeated by several struggles, including those ones that articulate discourses and other resistance practices.

Ybema et al. (2009) show that the relationship between discourse and identity can be analyzed based on diverse discursive perspectives that conceive identities as constructed by language practices and other social practices. Recent research “explores how identities are formulated or reformulated, embraced or resisted, inscribed or proscribed” (Ybema et al., 2009, p. 303). As shown, resistance practices requires the analysis of discourses and practices from different social fields which can be inferred in the participants' speeches from these practices.

3 Methodological pathways

The research is qualitative (Denzin & Lincoln, 2006) analytic-descriptive and interpretive. The research participants were selected in a non-probabilistic way. In-depth interviews (Flick, 2002) were conducted at participants' work and study sites (e.g. university) or performed by Skype. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The general profile of participants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Profile of participants

Identification	Age (years)	Sex	Occupation
Participant 1	27	Male	Ph.D. student of Administration - Professor
Participant 2	32	Female	Master's student in Administration
Participant 3	37	Female	University professor
Participant 4	24	Female	Master's student in Administration - Professor
Participant 5	32	Female	Innovation Manager
Participant 6	37	Male	Ph.D. Student of Administration
Participant 7	36	Male	Programmer
Participant 8	27	Female	University professor
Participant 9	29	Female	Animal caretaker
Participant 10	31	Male	Trade representative
Participant 11	20	Female	University student
Participant 12	25	Male	Self-employed

Participant 13	32	Male	English teacher - University Student
Participant 14	35	Male	Manager
Participant 15	19	Female	University student
Participant 16	27	Female	Manager
Participant 17	31	Female	Federal civil servant

The questionnaire was developed based on the adopted theoretical framework and also on some questions found at Stammerjohan and Webster (2002), Lee et al. (2009) and Kraemer, Silveira and Rossi (2012) that focused on the following items: (i) meanings of consumption and consumerism; (ii) identification of consumption resistance practices; (iii) identification of the engagement period, influences and family participation; (iv) understanding whether practitioners intend to extend practices, adopt new ones or just maintain them; (v) identification of perceived obstacles, and the pressures to give up and the steps carried out to start performing the practices; (vi) changes in personal relationships and meanings related to the adoption of resistance practices; (vii) identification of practitioners participation in groups, associations and/or movements related to consumption resistance and active participation in social networks; (viii) information sources to adopt consumer resistance practices; (iv) identification if already witnessed or suffered discrimination regarding consumption resistance practices; (x) identification of antagonists of the consumption resistance practices; and (xi) understanding of how consumer resistance practices relate to the practitioners' identity.

In the analysis, we understand that Fairclough (2003) comprehended language as a social practice. Therefore, we aimed to study its role in the reproduction and transformation of social practices. New paths were explored, seeking to understand how identities constitute resistance to hegemonic consumer practices, articulating and reconfiguring new relationships between consumption and society.

The consumption resistance practices do not only articulate discourses, but also other moments of social practices, such as action and interaction, social relationships, people, material activity, and other moments according to Fairclough (2003). Thus, the Social Theory of Discourse approach

does not deny or minimize the importance of Belk's (1988) proposal that material elements are involved in the identity construction. Later, practices are related to broader practices, such as cultural, symbolic, and economic practices. For Brei and Böhm (2014), this perspective allows analyzing critically ideological representations and discursive symbols that are part of the society. For the analyses of the social practice dimension named "discourse", which is mostly emphasized in this article, we seek for the three discourse meanings presented by Fairclough (2003): actional, representational and identificational meaning. This is done from the moment that the author considers the genres (form of action), discourses (form of representation) and styles (form of being) (Fairclough, 2003).

4 Articulating identities in the mosaic of consumption resistance practices

The research context (based on the interviewees' speeches) refers to the discourses, objects, values and other hegemonic social practices of the consumption society – marked by consumerism and discard logic (Bauman, 2008). Among these practices, we highlight the consumption of canned food as well as food and other animal origin products, the disposal of packaging, and, issues related to environmental damage and social inequalities, large multinationals dominance and products tested on animals, companies accused of crimes from several types (Schor, 2007), and other hegemonic relationships (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Fontoura & Mafra, 2016) that participants address (often called by them as "system", "consumer society" or "consumerism"). It is (against or alternatively) in this context that consumption resistance and anti-consumption discourses and practices are articulated (sometimes conversely) in the identity reconstruction of participants.

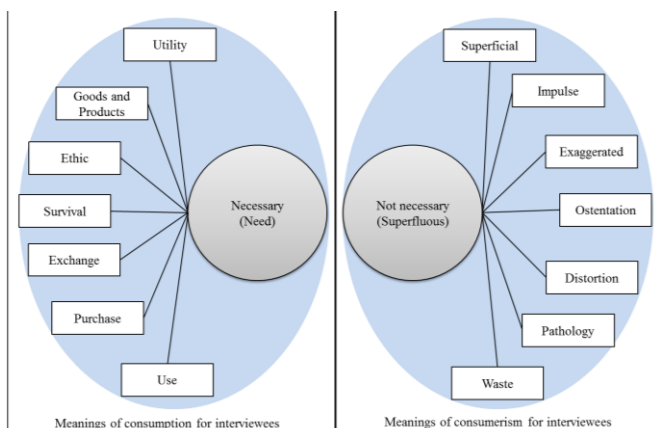
4.1 The meaning of the words consumption and consumerism for the participants

Regarding the category 'meaning of words', within the representational meaning of discourse, Fairclough (2003) states that it builds part of disputes within other hegemonic disputes. It was possible to verify convergent elements that are interdiscourses with several discourses reproduced

in social networks and in means that divulge alternative forms of consumption and consumption resistance - being even interdiscursively related to text conceptions, such as those from Bauman (2008).

The participants articulated some elements related to consumption, such as monetary exchange, purchase, necessity, use, and others (usually linked to a notion of necessity), and related to consumerism, such as superficial, exaggerated, unnecessary, ostentation, superfluous, waste and distortion, among others (usually related to what is unnecessary). These words are articulated by the participants in order to demarcate and differentiate consumption from consumerism. Inspired by the term ‘antagonistic cut’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001), an antagonistic line between the terms could be established between them (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Meaning of the words consumption and consumerism for the participants



Thus, from Laclau and Mouffe (2001), the words consumption and consumerism “can be attached to many possible meaning patterns because their meaning depends on how they are linked with other words” (Fontoura & Mafra, 2016, p. 336). We have a conceptual differentiation demarcated by the survey participants where consumption (linked to a necessity) was identified to something legitimate whereas consumerism was not – the separation is carried out from a moral, environmental and social point of view that resembles the distinction made by Bauman (2001) regarding desire and need.

As a legitimation element of resistance practices, a restricted bias on consumption is presented by the participants, instead of being understood as a material and symbolic human practice, a construct of identities and social

interactions (Barbosa, 2004; Santos, 2013) and by an especially moral (consumption as distortion) and pragmatic (consumerism as necessity) demarcation between consumption and consumerism – which sometimes articulates environmental and social discourse orders. It was also noted that the lexical choices are not independent of discourse orders. This contributes to the understanding of participants' beliefs, values and ideologies, with emphasis on terms such as need, acquisition, exchange, waste, ostentation, and exaggeration, among others. For the social theory of discourse (Fairclough, 2003), these articulations of social and language practices are relevant because they affect hegemonic struggles – the participants are contrary to the practices and discourses articulated by the word consumerism and most of them support the consumption understood as necessity. Thereby, for them, the notion of “consumerism resistance” would be more coherent than the literature’s notion of consumption resistance.

4.2 Social consumption resistance practices

Our research identified a diversity of used practices (Table 2) being the most frequent ‘boycott’, ‘vegetarianism’, ‘veganism’ and ‘consumption reduction’.

Table 2. Consumption resistance practices

Participant	Practice
Participant 1	Organic or family farming products Reduction of consumption
Participant 2	Reduction of general consumption Boycott Products from small producers and/or tied to artisanal production
Participant 3	Products from small producers and/or tied to artisanal production Avoid buying from large companies Reduction of general consumption
Participant 4	Do not consume cosmetics that test on animals
Participant 5	Reduction of general consumption
Participant 6	Reduction of general consumption Boycott Consume products from small producers and/or tied to artisanal production
Participant 7	Vegetarianism Reduction of general consumption
Participant 8	Vegetarianism Boycott Avoid consumption of leather goods
Participant 9	Reduction of general consumption Boycott

	Vegetarianism Consume cleaning products from companies that do not test on animals
Participant 10	Boycott Consume products from companies that do not test on animals.
Participant 11	Vegetarianism; Do not consume anything made from leather or wool Do not consume cosmetics that test on animals
Participant 12	Vegetarianism
Participant 13	Boycott Veganism
Participant 14	Vegetarianism Boycott Reduction of general consumption
Participant 15	Vegetarianism
Participant 16	Decrease in consumption
Participant 17	Vegetarianism Boycott

As one can notice, the boycott issue stands out as one of the most significant practices. It was cited by 9 of 17 practitioners as one of the resistance practices. Participant 2 stated that she does not purchase Chinese and brand-specific products like Apple: “I avoid because it is an American brand and it means a lot about consumerism” (Participant 2). She believes that it does not mean so much, but there could be changes if more people were involved.

Interviewee 2 stated that he has boycotted the sportswear company Mormali due to the company's relationship with the local community where he lived. Other interviewees also highlighted a boycott against companies like Zara, Coca-Cola, Nike, among others. According to the interviewee 9, the boycott is an ongoing practice in his life being usual for him to perform this practice against several companies. According to Hogg, Banister & Stephenson (2009), boycott is one of the most relevant practices because rejection is at the heart of anti-consumption and it is related to the rejection of a brand or a set of brands.

Vegetarianism and veganism were also prominent among the studied practices and refer to the rejection especially of the meat consumption market (in the vegetarians case) and consumption of animal production derivatives (in the vegans case), especially in Brazil, although few studies are focused on these practitioners. These practices are guided by several discourse orders, such as moral, religious, social, economic, environmental and health, and they can be articulated to create the

social identity of its practitioners. In this article, we focused on the idea of these practices as resistance to hegemonic consumption, in the case of meats and diverse products from animal origin. Participant 7 pointed out that his involvement in vegetarianism started approximately two years ago and that the adhesion process was gradual.

“The way (the animal) is raised, the animal is seen very much as a commodity and not properly as an animal [...]” (Participant 7).

“Many people have no idea on the suffering of animals and joke, or they say that a single person will not influence anything, things like these, but I try to debate and explain my opinion as well.” (Participant 12).

Participant 8 informs that he adopted vegetarianism six years ago and that the decision was influenced by colleagues and studies on animal exploitation and food industry. The milestone for Participant 11 to stop consuming leather, wool products, cosmetics and others that are tested on animals was Royal Institute case, reported in the Brazilian press in October 2012, where tests were performed on animals, mainly dogs from the Beagle breed. According to the interviewee, the case was widely reported and worked as an alert to the cruelty in dealing with animals.

Other research has also identified that many people are contrary to the meat consumption because they consider it an act of violence and cruelty against animals (Cherrier, 2009) – thus, people that seek to articulate identities with consumption meanings aim at justice and equality, including issues related animal ethics. However, there are other elements:

“The main reason that led me to be a vegetarian is because I am against animal exploitation, but I know that vegetarianism encompasses many more positive things, such as improving my health and resistance to a completely unsustainable production mode [...]” (Participant 17).

Some vegetarians and vegans justified their practices based on animal testing and animal ethics –other participants who are not vegans or vegetarians also cite the “animal cause” to change their eating habits: “[...] I watched a video showing animals conditions after the tests and I considered it very cruel” (Participant 4).

The reduction of general consumption is practiced by all participants – whether in their food, use of technology, clothing, son on. Participant 14

seeks a simpler and less consumer-oriented lifestyle, living with his family in a community in Bahia, Brazil. The participant stated that the decision was influenced by readings, references and the search for a lifestyle less guided by the current market logic. He said that he is seeking to develop sustainable businesses today, but he has not moved away from technologies, such as mobile phones, computers and the internet.

To reduce consumption, the participant 3 pointed out to the environmental issue: “The two biggest environmental problems in the world are population size and population consumption. [...] consumption has to be reduced” (Participant 3). The reduction is generally highlighted by the environmental discourses, especially the statement that the exaggeration leads to environmental damages (Cherrier, 2009). Thus, social and discursive practices of conscious consumption are also articulated, such as the purchase of organic products as well as from family farming (according to participants 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 13).

The best practices are related to boycotts, veganism, vegetarianism, consumption reduction, among others, varying according to Fournier’s (1998) in terms of avoidance, minimization, and active rebellion behaviors.

4.3 Consumption resistance: interdiscursivity, social relationships and people

Fairclough (2003) argues that, besides the discursive moment, it is important to understand the relationship with other moments of social practices, such as social relationships and people (beliefs, values, attitudes). In this sense, it’s important to highlight the main personal influences as well as the diversed discourse order influences combined with the moment when participants have engage in the practices – highlighting here the process of social relationships and people in terms of Fairclough (2003), therefore presenting the interdiscursivity elements found in the study.

A great variety of fields and people had influenced the interviewees, starting from family issues, such as the case of the participant 3, who has pointed out to the family as her main influence. For her, unlike the majority, some issues related to consumption resistance practices have already been established at home since childhood.

Participant 17, vegetarian for 14 years also cites the family support “my parents were already

vegetarians when I decided to become one” (Participant 17). This participant also cites the influence of “a great friend who was vegetarian and influenced by practices from oriental culture, such as meditation” (Participant 17). For participant 10, the greatest influence for adhesion to these practices came from his wife.

We emphasize that the family had contributed positively only for a few participants, on the other side, for others it was actually hindered due to strangeness and little knowledge on the practices - according to the majority of vegan and vegetarian participants.

The core motivation of the interviewee 16 has more utilitarian roots, which approaches the economy category proposed by Stammerjohan and Webster (2002). She reports that she thought about starting this practice influenced by information on blogs and people’s experiences. This referred participant is still at the beginning of the practices and she is willing to strive for achieve the goal - here are elements of a project formation that may become an identity (Castells, 2003), depending on her involvement with the practices (Stammerjohan & Webster, 2002).

The monetary issue is not only a motivation, but also an important condition for the interviewee 1, since a lifestyle marked by consumption of non-hegemonic products is more expensive than the standardized consumer industry, especially in the case of feeding. About time, interviewee 1 stated that his or her adoption of these practices is more recent (last three years). In addition, participant 1 cited books and studies focusing on agroecology and family farming as the main influences.

Interviewee 5 also mentioned the financial issue: “from the moment I started to earn my own money [...] by being able to make choices, I chose to do it” (Participant 5). Conversely to the opinion of participants 1 and 5, interviewee 8 thinks that this idea of anti-consumption practices being more expensive is built by the market itself - and exemplifies that she does not spend more than average for engaging in boycott and vegetarianism practices.

Other cited influencers were engaged people (media and internet celebrities) as well as blogs, documentaries and scientific publications. Interviewee 4 mentioned as an example that bloggers who talked about beauty products, especially for hair, have influenced her to use only products that were not tested on animals.

Participant 12 cited the documentary "Earthlings" as another influence to avoid consuming products from animal origin.

It is necessary to mention the important role of social networks and the internet as an information source for the interviewees. Even those who have other fields/people as influencers, at some point have turned to blogs, pages and communities on the topics of interest: "First, I think the internet is, in the beginning of everything, where you start to get more information, followed by books, not much family" (Participant 13) and "[...] then I started to follow some of Facebook pages related to this, and it ended up influencing me too" (Participant 9).

This is important to highlight the communication technologies (Fairclough, 2003) used by several participants. In general, according to the participants, it is difficult to find information about these practices and they point out on the influence of marketing and advertising in relation to the products of the consumption society, especially multinationals. Cherrier (2009) also found participants who hold this view of consumption and marketing culture.

Therefore, for participants, the Internet and social networks (with outstanding restrictions) are fundamental for the dissemination of information: "The social network helps a lot in this exchange of information" (Participant 9) and "I have more access to this information in social networks" (Participant 12). We also observe that consumption resistance itself occurs through social network posts by participants – which is not possible on television (traditional mass media). The view that free TV (the mediatic discourse) offers few information and actually encourages consumption appears in several interviews: "I think that on TV we have an incentive to consume, specially for those (companies / products) that have the power to pay for advertisement" (Participant 2) and "Free TV encourages more consumption of these products that have a garbage more money to advertise" (Participant 9).

"Free TV is "crap" regarding that. It influences the rampant, exacerbated consumerism, not mentioning the ethic in consumption, not mentioning the use of biodegradable products. Meat advertisements are shown on a regular basis." (Participant 10).

Cherrier (2009) also found a negative view of TV in his research, in which one participant stated

that its content is an insult to his intelligence, especially the commercials that call people to consume. For almost all respondents of our research, free TV does not offer information or incentive to anti-consumption and consumption resistance, on the contrary, its mediatic discourses are seen as a strong means of reaffirming traditional consumption practices and consumerism, always favoring those who have greater purchasing power to convey their ideas. Specifically, we noted the prominence that mass media (television) operate in terms of hegemonic theories (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) to convey hegemonic consumer discourses in Brazilian famous TV programs.

This item is inserted into the relationship between information technologies and discourse circulation (Fairclough, 2003). It emerges as a tension in the way as participants articulate the use of information technology and seek simple life or resist to the market – participant 14's response is that he has chosen a conscious choice and seek to use these means to broaden and spread their ideas and values. Finally, another tension is that even so, for participant 16, social networks appear as fundamental for providing information on resistance practices, but according to participant 16 and in the way considered by Bauman (2008), they also contribute to the consumption increase by particularly providing a wide range of audiovisual information on brands and different products.

For two respondents, the Buddhism adoption and its precepts was crucial to engage in consumption resistance practices (religious-spiritual influence):

"It is not a restriction (of Buddhism) but as we end up meditating on other things, such as the suffering of beings in general, including these animals, we ended up paying more attention to this." (Participant 07).

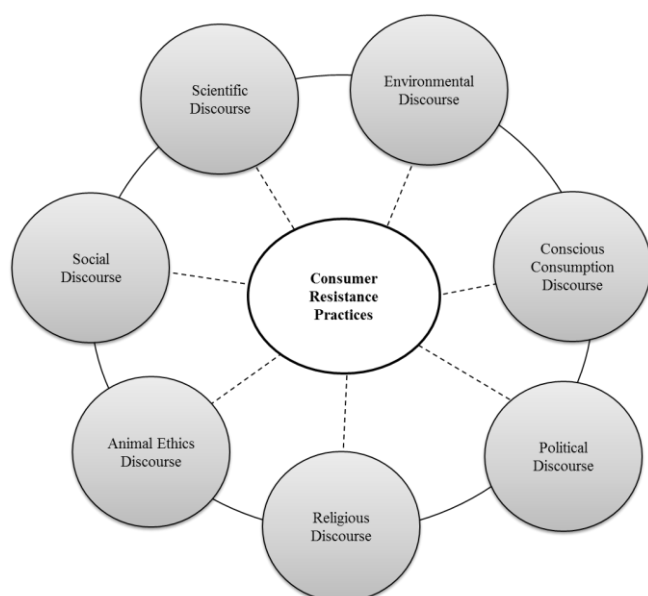
"[...] as I lived at a Buddhist temple for a while, when I left there, it was more or less when the whole story began." (Participant 13).

It is worth mentioning that some of the participants attribute influence to their university admission and the contact with colleagues and teachers as well as the development of studies and research in knowledge areas, such as agroecology, environmental management, family agriculture, productive chains, social sciences, among others. By emphasizing its role, many began or expanded the practices from the university, such as the

interviewee 2. Highlighting the university role, participant 6 states that boycott and voluntary simplicity come from social relations developed in the university.

Several influences marked by information from posts on social networks and documentaries, internet, books, university, friends and other direct or indirect influencers were observed. Regarding the interdiscursivity analysis, Fairclough (2003) states that the analysis of the particular mixture of genders, discourses and styles in discourses are moments of social practices. In this sense, interdiscursivity makes it possible to analyze how different discourses are articulated together to legitimize and give “reasons” to the consumption resistance and anti-consumption practices. Figure 2 highlights some discourses mobilized around consumer resistance practices.

Figure 2. Discourses mobilized interdiscursively around the consumption resistance practices



Even if some mobilized discourses or practices are already currently exploited by the hegemonic consumption market itself and denotes the existence of contradictions (Cherrier, 2009), it is worth noting that contradictions were remembered by participants 2, 5, 8, and 14. Thus, even if according to Lee et al. (2009, p. 145) “Anti-consumption literally means against consumption, yet the word is not synonymous with alternative, conscientious, or green consumption; neither does anti-consumption merely comprise the study of ethics, sustainability, or public policy”. However, elements from diverse movements are articulated

in the practice of participants, such as environmentalists, pro-animal rights, and discourses of green consumption and sustainability, among others.

Finally, we find that discourses of several orders influenced the discursive practices of anti-consumption and consumption resistance to be interdiscursively articulated around some central elements, such as scientific, political, animal, environmental, social, conscious consumption, and religious discourses. Several participants mobilize more than one discourse. For instance, it is mentioned the idea that consumption culture has ecological impacts and social inequality as mentioned in Elgin’s (1981) classic texts and on Lasn’s (1999) studies about voluntary simplicity on culture jam. As affirmed by participants 1 and 8, these choices also articulate political discourses and practices over the global political view, inequalities and how it is possible to change. Similarly, Cherrier (2009) identified in his researches people who also made a politically opposition to the system (understood as the capitalist consumer society).

4.4 Identities of resistance and design in front of the consumer society

In the case of identities, the first issue was to consider the family influence (mainly because socialization processes do not determine, but influence identity constructions). For the majority, the family institution was not determinant, even influencing the adoption of these practices (participant 3) and with some strangeness regarding the adoption of practices (participants 2, 7 and 12). Interviewee 12, a vegetarian, said that the family was “worried about my health, if that could not harm it” (Participant 12). According to interviewee 15, the family “reacted with rejection because some of my family still have very close minds to adopt this practice” (Participant 15). Interviewee 16 also reported that her mother and sister doubted she would succeed.

Acceptance appears as an obstacle faced by many of the respondents. For participant 8, “the greatest difficulty really is the people’s acceptance” (Participant 8). Participant 15 also reports this: “I faced difficulties with the people around me until the point that they understand and accept my new position; I face these difficulties up to the present” (Participant 15). Therefore, besides

proving to him – or herself that change is possible, the individual must prove to the other not only the viability of this change but also its validity:

“I think the biggest problem faced by those who decide to change is this process of showing to the other that you can change, even though you have spent a lot of your life consuming a product.” (Participant 04).

“People think you have to be born vegan or anticapitalist to have this attitude today.” (Participant 04).

From what we observed, this process of identity change is not easy and some have thought about giving up or even have failed to keep the practices. For instance, as affirmed by the interviewee 15: “I already gave up once, but it was just a moment of weakness and I already keep it again” (Participant 15). Participants 5 and 3 also cited difficulties. However, even with the difficulties, all stated that they intend to maintain the current practices and the majority intend to expand. For instance, all vegetarians intend to become vegans.

Overall, all interviewees expressed a desire to influence others to adhere some practices, even minimally. Many have stated that this is a project they intend to accomplish throughout their lives. These data reveal the idea of building a project identity and not only a resistance identity. It is necessary to emphasize that the construction of an identity project has to be understood as a reflexive action (Cherrier, 2009). In this sense, Cherrier (2009) identified project identities in his research that he also interprets based on Manuel Castells, indicating that this refers to the search for meanings in life - this is evidenced when the participants reveal that the practices are daily parts and constituents of their lives and their identities - which seek to distance themselves from hegemonic consumption practices. Dobscha (1998) found in his research that daily consumption resistance practices helped his interviewees to shape an identity that is precisely outlined by opposition to the dominant consumer market and culture.

In our research contact, about the representativeness of these practices for their own identity, we noticed that, rather than the practices themselves, the ideological, contextual and behavioral burden attached to them is an element incorporated into their personality, functioning as a ‘lens’ through which interviewees perceive the world around them, as can be identified in

participant 11's testimony: “Today I see all animals as equals, as beings that feel pain, and changed my way of thinking about everything, not only with regard to veganism, I opened my mind for everything” (Participant 11). As the interviewee 1 points out, it must be considered that any change involves an ideological burden, a whole conception, a new worldview that affects its own attitude towards society.

Furthermore, some have revealed that change is not a break that occurs overnight. Some participants (e.g., 2 and 5) stated that the change process is gradual and can lead to some conflicts, both personal and related to the environment. For interviewees 5, 12 and 15, it is evident that there are identity elements in relation to consumption resistance. Interviewee 12 states this considering her identity as a vegetarian:

“That is part of my identity for sure! For me, being a vegetarian means being a more compassionate person, concerned not only with the ethical issue, but also with the environment, since the impact of meat consumption unbalances nature and its resources. I consider this a social phenomenon that is happening in front of us and that only grows with time by the awakening of the conscience from each one and that will greatly improve the world.” (Participant 12).

For the interviewee 15, the notion that these elements are part of her current identity is clear, denoting the progressive aspect/idea of a project (Castells, 2003). Interviewee 5 also highlighted this fact and added that the adoption of these practices represents independence, freedom and respect.

“This is part of what I am today, these practices mean evolution as a human being and spiritual, I think we are always living to become better people in all aspects of our life and I want to do everything possible to improve.” (Participant 15).

“To be a vegetarian for myself is to put into practice what I think, to have thinking and action in a coherent way. The vast majority of people I live with say that they are against the way slaughterhouses and breeding sites exploit animal life, but in practice they keep to eat their steak or chicken steak in their daily lives. I understand that it is not easy to stop consuming a type of food that is culturally so present in our lives, so I do not judge those who do not mind stopping consuming them even against the present cruelty in the production way. [...] Being a vegetarian, I feel

much happier about the choices I make in my life.” (Participant 17).

Moreover, participant 8 reports an interesting issue regarding food consumption: “There is still an attachment to the need for something to look like meat, it bothers me a lot yet” (Participant 8). She states that there is an idea that vegan products need to look like meat, whether in flavor or appearance. This is explained because meat is part of the hegemonic pattern (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) from national food, so that even designing food (dishes, recipes, etc.) without using it becomes limited, given that the hegemony consensus (Fairclough, 2003) considered it the “normal” mode of food consumption. Allied to this, the interviewee 7 states that when he presents himself as a vegetarian, people ask if he can eat fish. In addition, he cites that in public places like cafeterias, almost all the snacks options have meat. All of this aspects compose the practices, discourses and habits that are strongly articulated in the hegemonic food consumption.

At this point, it is important to highlight that, for the interviewees 7, 8 and several others (participants 9, 13 and 14), the tension elements in the reconstruction of a resistance identity as stated by Castells (2003) are prominent, specifically regarding food consumption. This is revealed in the discursive representations created from them, i.e., they are seen as “different”, “not normal”, “boring” (interviewee 14 also mentioned this in relation to his choice for a simple life in an ecovillage), “strange”, among other adjectives that in the terms of Howard Becker’s (2008) deviation sociology, places them as outsiders, being labeled in the eyes of society. It should be noted here that “deviation” refers to non-compliance with typical patterns of a given society, such as meat consumption or the habit of buying constantly.

Therefore, we observe that the participants still face the contradictions imposed by the hegemonic forms of production, consumption and distribution marked by the capitalist exchange system (Bauman, 2008). Among the contradictions, we highlight the adoption of some resistance practices, however, other hegemonic practices mobilize high economic values. Cherrier (2009) recalls based on Foucault and Bourdieu that resistance to the very domain can be incorporated by cultural producers to increase their own hegemonic practices of domination. In their research, Binkley and Sam (2008) critically

indicate that anti-consumption and resistance practices constitute identities, however, based on Bauman’s view, they consider that practices are not capable of reinforcing identity projects that seek to consolidate.

This study, regardless some contradictions, interprets them – bearing in mind the guidelines of the Social Theory of Discourse (Fairclough, 2003) – as a part of articulations of resistance discourses and practices that, as well as identities, are not monolithic (totally centered, free of tensions and contradictions), but rebuilt among practices and discourses that generate tensions, conflicts and contradictions, although not being always consensual and linear. Therefore, there are plausible identity notions that come from the studies of Castells (2003), being possible to present hence that consumption resistance and anti-consumption articulate material social, cultural, mental and hybrid language practices in the processes of identity reconstruction, marked by resignificances and contradictions, being therefore, a field of hybrid practices and discourses that can be metaphorically represented by a mosaic. In the discursive context, these identities are discursively formed in the relationship with different discourses, such as: scientific, political, animal, environmental and social ethics, conscious and religious consumption, which indeed can conflict with a certain practice.

Further on, identities are also constructed in opposition to other identities (legitimizing and hegemonic identities). Therefore, in the identity construction, some antagonists (actors, companies, practices, institutions and opposing discourses) were marked by resistance practices: capitalist system, multinational companies (Nike, Mornaii, Apple and Zara), capitalist market, agribusiness industry and canned foods, large supermarket chains, open television networks and their programs, advertising and marketing, people who do not understand (including family and friends), critics and questioners on social networks, among other elements, practices and discourses. As they have been placed as “deviants” and “resistance” to the legitimizing elements of current consumer society, the formed identities are often marked by stigmata and treated with prejudice by people – many interviewees have revealed such experience: “I have been very embarrassed, for example, even in the family, at lunch when I do not accept the meat, right?” (Participant 09).

“In the beginning, I faced mainly criticism from friends and even from health professionals. I suffered a lot of bullying from people through jokes that try to ridicule those who do not eat meat.” (Participant 17).

These elements reveal aggressions and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998) against these people marked by expressions and representations that stigmatize the identities of practitioners, especially not recognizing their alterities - an essential issue in the identity process. Therefore, jokes (Nascimento et al., 2015) are used as discrimination elements and discursive demarcation of practitioners' identities: “[...] It happens every day, right?” (Participant 08). In this context, it is interesting to highlight that there is a lack of empathy with the practitioners, as stated by the interviewee 1. From this inability to understand the practices they engage, the criticisms and prejudiced jokes are constant.

5 Concluding: the mosaic of consumption resistance practices

We observe that identities are constructed by articulating these practices and discourses (in the tension between consumption and consumerism) bearing in mind the possible transformations of people or their adaptation to institutional identities, in this case marked by the consumer lexicon (Castells, 2003). The meanings of words and their contexts indicate that these identities will be constructed permeated by the hegemonic relationships of the consumer society, especially regarding the consumption idea to belong to the social life (Bauman, 2008). In the Brazilian context, the perceptions of the interviewees corroborate the strong presence of consumption. In fact, for them, consumerism is seen negatively in citizens' lives, as discussed by Valadares et al. (2016). However, they also show that there is the construction of other identities that articulate consumption resistance practices.

The contribution of this study is that consumption resistance practitioners articulate discourses and other social practices (material, cultural, mental, political) in the processes of identity reconstruction marked by re-significances and contradictions, being therefore a hybrid and tensional field that forms a mosaic of consumption resistance practices. These elements are marked by re-significations and contradictions. Therefore, as

well as in the study by Taylor et al. (2016) about feminism and consumption, the contradictions are present in these movements and are perceived by practitioners, causing even identity tensions. In this sense, Taylor et al. (2016), states that participants comprehend that even if resistance does not represent a threat to the hegemonic consumer system and consumerism, social resistance practices can break with reproduced and naturalized power relations. Thus, based on Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) and Fairclough (2003), discourses and other social practices are articulated before the hegemony of contemporary consumption (an universalized representation and seen as natural) and represent, present and argue for other practices. This article, therefore, argues that the resistance and domination discussions did not lose their explanatory forces in the face of the poststructuralist views of understanding the anti-consumption (Cherrier, 2009).

We found that conflicting discursive orders have influenced the discursive consumption resistance practices to be interdiscursively articulated, linking with several discourses such as: scientific, political, animal, environmental, social, conscious consumption, and religious. According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) and Fairclough (2003), several social practices (materials, discourses, social relationships, people, action and interaction) build networks of practices, which we interpret as a mosaic.

We have identified a mosaic for many reasons. First, by bringing together a variety of small pieces (discourses and practices) to form a larger structure (networks of consumer resistance practices), its construction involves creativity, dedication, and constant reorganization of elements. Mosaics are constructed with different materials (glass, paper, ceramic, granite, ivory, tiles, sand, beads, etc.), thus, with different economic and cultural values, consumer resistance practices also articulate different social relationships, people, objectives, discourses, among other elements. The mosaic contradictions can be visibly represented by the diverse fragmentations that compose it, as well as the contrasts of colors and forms. Similarly, practices are not forms of art/representation/hegemonic practice in our society and are considered as “inferior value” by several people. Mosaics can be constructed to represent religious, social and political themes or only more subjective

expressions. In the end, what is formed can be more homogeneous or more heterogeneous and interpreted in different ways, since depending on the observer's location, only a partial vision of the project is observed. Thus, the consumption resistance practices and the identities are similarly constructed and reconstructed, as well as mosaics of values, meanings, discourses and other social practices with various "colors", "relationships" and "forms".

The study explored a still open and promising field in Brazil based on the Social Theory of Discourse. This is why we also hope to move towards new studies in view of the wide and hybrid field of social and discursive consumption resistance practices (the mosaic) and that is experienced daily by the participants, facing difficulties and contradictions, however, also with the perception that they are encouraging changes in society within the imposed limits.

Based on the results, the study also presents possibilities for quantitative research, namely: to analyze which of the discourses (which can be transformed into constructs) most influence the decision on practices of resistance to consumption, which elements differentiate consumption from consumerism and which elements (profile, income, gender, class, among others) influence and mediate the adoption of consumer resistance practices - these studies can be performed using structural equation models, widely used in marketing.

In addition, there can be developed researches that measures the influence of social networks on consumer resistance practices, the effect of boycotts on business value and how many companies view these practitioners as potential niche markets.

As limitations, we highlight the profile of respondents, who are mostly university students, and the treatment of consumer resistance practices in general. That is, without separating in the debate practices of vegetarianism, veganism, boycott and reduction of consumption.

Finally, as managerial implications, the study brings several reasons raised by social actors (practitioners) to justify the practices of resistance to consumption, so it helps companies to be more attentive to their decision making in order to avoid boycotts or reduction in consumption. However, we emphasize that the objective of the study is not to serve as an instrument for the expansion of consumption by companies, on the contrary, it

seeks to give voice and space in academic discussions for different practices of resistance to consumption.

6 References

- Barbosa, L. (2004). *Sociedade de consumo*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar.
- Barbosa, L., & Campbell, C. (2006). *Cultura, consumo e identidade*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora.
- Bauman, Z. (2001). Consuming life. *Journal of consumer culture*, 1(1), 9-29. doi:10.1177/146954050100100102.
- Bauman, Z. (2007). *Zygmunt*. Tempos Líquidos. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- Bauman, Z. (2008). *Vida para consumo: a transformação das pessoas em mercadoria*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- Becker, Howard S. 2008. *Outsiders*. Estudos de sociologia do desvio. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of consumer research*, 15(2), 139-168. doi:10.1086/209154.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *O poder simbólico*. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1998.
- Brei, V., & Böhm, S. (2014). '1L= 10L for Africa': Corporate social responsibility and the transformation of bottled water into a 'consumer activist' commodity. *Discourse & Society*, 25(1), 3-31.
- Castells, M. (2003). *A era da informação: economia, sociedade e cultura – O poder da identidade*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra.
- Cherrier, H. (2009). Anti-consumption discourses and consumer-resistant identities. *Journal of Business Research*, 62(2), 181-190. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2008.01.025.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (2010). Critical discourse analysis in organizational studies: towards an integrationist methodology. *Journal of Management Studies*, 47(6), 1213-1218. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2009.00883.x>
- Denzin, N. K.; Lincoln, Y. (orgs). *Planejamento da pesquisa qualitativa: teorias e abordagens*. 2 ed. Porto Alegre: ARTMED, 2006.
- Dobscha, S. (1998). The lived experience of consumer rebellion against marketing. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 25(1), 91-97,

- Elgin, D. *Voluntary simplicity: toward a way of life that is outwardly simple, inwardly rich*. New York: Morrow; 1981.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research*. London: Psychology Press
- Flick, U. *Introdução à pesquisa qualitativa*. 2 ed. São Paulo: ARTMED, 2002.
- Fontoura, Y., & Naves, F. (2016). Movimento agroecológico no Brasil: a construção da resistência à luz da abordagem neogramsciana. *Organizações & Sociedade*, 23(77), 329-347. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1984-9230778>
- Fournier, S. (1998). Consumer resistance: societal motivations, consumer manifestations, and implications. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 25(1), 88-90.
- Hogg, M. K., Banister, E. N., & Stephenson, C. A. (2009). Mapping symbolic (anti-) consumption. *Journal of Business Research*, 62(2), 148-159.
- Kraemer, F.; Silveira, T.; Rossi, C. A. V. Evidências cotidianas de resistência ao consumo como práticas individuais na busca pelo desenvolvimento sustentável. *Cadernos EBAPE.BR*, v. 10, n. 3, p. 677-700, 2012.
- Laclau, E.; Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Toward a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 2001.
- Lasn, K. *Culture jam: how to reverse America's suicidal consumer binge – and why we must*. New York: William Morrow; 1999.
- Lee, M. S., Fernandez, K. V., & Hyman, M. R. (2009). Anti-consumption: An overview and research agenda. *Journal of Business Research*, 62(2), 145–147, doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2008.01.021.
- Nascimento, M. C. R., Teixeira, J. C., Oliveira, J. S., & Saraiva, L. A. S. (2016). Práticas de segregação e resistência nas organizações: uma análise discursiva sobre os “rolezinhos” na cidade de belo horizonte (MG). *RAM. Revista de Administração Mackenzie*, 17(1), 55-81. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1678-69712016/administracao.v17n1p55-81>
- Schor, J. B. (2007). In defense of consumer critique: Revisiting the consumption debates of the twentieth century. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 611(1), 16-30.
- Stammerjohan, C., & Webster, C. (2002). Trait and situational antecedents to non-consumption. *ACR North American Advances*. 29(1), 126-132.
- Taylor, J., Johnston, J., & Whitehead, K. (2016). A Corporation in Feminist Clothing? Young Women Discuss the Dove ‘Real Beauty’ Campaign. *Critical Sociology*, 42(1), 123-144.
- Valadares, J. L. et al. (2016). O “cidadão hedonista”: diálogos sobre consumo e cidadania na sociedade contemporânea. *Cadernos EBAPE.BR*, 14(4), 966-983. doi:10.1590/1679-395147138.
- Ybema, S., Keenoy, T., Oswick, C., Beverungen, A., Ellis, N., & Sabelis, I. (2009). Articulating identities. *Human Relations*, 62(3), 299-322. doi:10.1177/0018726708101904.