



Revista de Administração da Universidade Federal de Santa Maria

ISSN: 1983-4659

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Universidade Federal de Santa Maria
Brasil

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A Trajetória das Cervejarias Artesanais Brasileiras em Busca de Legitimação e
Institucionalização: Uma Análise a partir de suas Práticas Estratégicas Discursivas

Revista de Administração da Universidade Federal
de Santa Maria, vol. 11, no. 4, 2018, pp. 1068-1087

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THE TRAJECTORY OF BRAZILIAN CRAFT BREWERIES IN SEARCH OF LEGITIMATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION: AN ANALYSIS FROM THEIR STRATEGIC DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

Received on: 05/05/2014

Approved on: 29/12/2016

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to identify and understand the discursive strategic practices focused on legitimizing and institutionalizing the Brazilian artisanal beer industry. To this end, we try to base, theoretically, the relation between strategy as a discursive practice and institutionalism and, methodologically, the critical discourse analysis approach. It was verified that the Brazilian artisanal beers industry is in a process of institutionalization on its environment and of legitimation with the consumers, through discursive practices that reveal power struggles with the large scale breweries. In this sense, the production of artisanal beers can be seen as an ideology, characterized by a strong opposition, confrontation and resistance position to practices already institutionalized in the Brazilian brewery market. Thus, it is revealed the possibilities of constructing an own field, structured through discursive strategies that can, in the limit, lead to an emancipation from the environment of the large scale breweries.

Keywords: Strategy as Practice; Institutionalism; Critical Discourse Analysis.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Strategy studies have proved to be a fertile and profitable area for organizational analysis. In fact, research involving this theme has contributed to the development of administrative sciences and to the improvement of business practice over the past 50 years. In this sense, there are important advances in epistemological, theoretical and methodological terms, which allow the configuration of a relevant field for the development of research in Management.

Nevertheless, a selective look at the strategy field allows us to observe that there are some limitations and gaps that have now been addressed from the convergence of strategy studies with the practice theory (JARZABKOWSKI; SPEE, 2009; VAARA; WHITTINGTON, 2012; VALADÃO; SILVA, 2012).

Diffused from the work of several sociologists and philosophers, the practice theory is a promising alternative for the understanding of strategies in organizations (GOLSORKHI et al., 2010; FELDMAN; ORLIKOWSKI, 2011). This approach distances itself from the traditional assumptions of strategic management by considering what the members of the organization actually do and placing the duality between strategic action and social structures at the heart of the explanations of the strategy phenomenon (WHITTINGTON, 2012; Jarzabkowski, 2004).

Different theoretical and methodological possibilities can be explored in considering the focus of practice on strategy studies. In particular, emerging perspectives consider the association of practice theory with institutionalism (WHITTINGTON, 2006; VAARA; WHITTINGTON, 2012) and with the discursive turn in organizational studies (LECLERCQ-VANDELANNOITTE, 2011). Insofar, as it is considered a duality between action and structure, it opens possibilities for a renewal of institutionalism in order to explain how certain institutional logics are created, reinforced and reversed by actions over the time (LOK, DE ROND, 2012; SMETS; MORRIS; GREENWOOD, 2012). In the same way, space is opened to consider an association among discourses, action and power, in order to consider the role of discursive practices on the strategizing, on institutional logics and on power relations in a given field (LECLERCQ -VANDELANNOITTE, 2011; FOUCAULT, 2010).

It is believed that the aforementioned dialogue between the abovementioned approaches opens space for the construction of alternative approaches for the study of strategy, in contexts marked by ideologies, power struggles and legitimacy search, as in the case of the artisanal beer industry in Brazil. Previous studies, such as Kalnin, Casarotto Filho and Castro (2002), Lamertz, Heugens and Calmet (2005), Ferreira et al. (2011), Flach (2012) and Moreira et al. (2013), investigate the craft beer industry, covering aspects such as the market, consumption, production technologies and techniques, management practices and strategies from the sector organizations. Nevertheless, a more detailed analysis of the literature reveals a lack of studies that address the institutionalization process, the search for legitimacy in the beverage sector and the conflicts of craft breweries with institutional logics established by the government and the large scale breweries. Therefore, the objective of this study is to identify and understand the discursive strategic practices focused on legitimizing and institutionalizing this organizational field in Brazil. So, at first, the relation between strategy as a discursive practice and institutionalism will be theoretically explored. Additionally, the theoretical-methodological approach of the critical discourse analysis will be presented, encompassing the discursive practices of the different agents and institutions inserted in this field. Thus, it will be possible to shed light on the strategic practices that make feasible the construction of the process of legitimization and institutionalization of the organizational field of the artisanal beer industry in Brazil, generating implications for theory and research in strategy as a practice.

2 STRATEGY AS PRACTICE AND INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

The study field of strategy as practice arises, in the 1990s, seeking a new vision at the strategy phenomenon. Under this new approach, there is the incorporation of the postulates of the so-called practice theory. Thus, research on strategy as practice promotes significant ontological, epistemological, theoretical and methodological changes in the field of strategic management studies (VAARA, WHITTINGTON, 2012).

The approach of strategy as practice reverses the assumption that strategies are what organizations have, and emphasizes how strategy is constituted as something members of the organization do (WHITTINGTON, 1996, 2006; JARZABKOWSKI, 2004; RASCHE; CHIA, 2009). This understanding admits the role of social practices within the process of strategizing, as well as the duality between strategists' action and macro-structures (RASCHE; CHIA, 2009; CHIA; MACKAY, 2007).

However, Whittington (2006) and Vaara and Whittington (2012) argue that there is a need for greater epistemological and theoretical deepening in strategy as practice research, as well as the establishment of relations between the practice approach and institutional theories, valuing how activities are embedded in a societal or macro-institutional context. Therefore, it is necessary the articulation of different levels of analysis, in order to shed light on the specificities of the strategy in a broader perspective, involving both micro-level actions and the institutional environment (WHITTINGTON, 2006; JOHNSON, SMITH, CODLING, 2010).

In the midst of different approaches for institutional theory, an alternative notion is to define the concept of institution as standards for social practices that: a) are distributed over time and space; b) are routinized and c) are legitimized in terms of an institutional logic. Institutions take the form of scripts that are marked by organizing principles composed of particular sets of rules, beliefs, and practical goals (JARZABKOWSKI; MATTHIESEN; VAN DE VEN, 2009). Thus, institutions have a central logic, approach a series of material and symbolic practices, and provide logic to the action of organizations and individuals (JARZABKOWSKI; MATTHIESEN; VAN DE VEN, 2009), which approximates to the conception of strategy as a social practice.

The relation between institutional theory and the practice theory allows us to establish a duality between action and institution, delimited as a continuous process, marked by central concepts (BARLEY; TOLBERT, 1997): a) codification, in which, from the socialization, the agents internalize rules and interpretations of appropriate behaviors to certain institutional contexts; b) scripts habilitation in the action context, whether in a conscious or non-conscious way by the agents; c) the reflection and the degree to which the agent reviews or replicates scripts informed by institutional logics. This conception is based on Giddens' (1984) structuration theory and considers the reflective capacity of agents who, immersed in situations of technological change, economic crises and other crisis events, are prone to be reflective and modify institutional logics through their actions. The notion of logics, therefore, is not purely top-down; people in real contexts and with past experiences reproduce, question, combine, and modify these logics. These agents, in turn, engage in a process of bricolage or hybridism, where different institutional logics are (re)combined according to practical and localized demands (BARLEY; TOLBERT, 1997).

Recent studies have incorporated the perspective of practice to analyze the relation between organizations and institutions. Smets, Morris and Greenwood (2012) have shown how institutional changes can emerge from the activities of practitioners who find themselves in conflict situations with institutionalized logics. Lok and De Rond (2012) show how practices breakdowns can result from tensions between institutionalized scripts and practice performance. In essence, these studies show that institutional logics and agents do not always coexist in harmony, creating

conditions for the emergence of conflicts. The studies of Coraiola, Mello and Jacometti (2012) and Almeida and Sales (2011) explore, on the national level, the relation between institutional theory and strategy as practice, highlighting some of the implications of Giddens's structuration theory in understanding the relation between structure and agency and in the apprehension of how are configured the interactions among practices (at the micro level), these being space-temporally defined and situated, and the institutional logics (at the macro level), in their role of influence and (re)construction of these practices and of themselves. Given this context of potential conflicts, it is created an opportunity to investigate the relations between strategic practices and institutional logics in environments marked by power struggles (BOURDIEU, 1990; BOURDIEU; WACQUANT, 1992; NORD, 2005; GOMEZ, 2010), as is the case of the Brazilian artisanal beer industry.

3 STRATEGY AS DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

To present the perspective of strategy as a discursive practice, we start with a transposition of the Foucauldian view of discourse for strategic thinking, associating the latter with the discursive practices approach. This movement, which has been widely explored in the literature on strategy as practice and within organizational studies, suggests that discourse exhibits strong relations with power and produces and mediates strategic, organizational, and social phenomena (LECLERCQ-VANDELANNOITTE, 2011).

Discourses are elements of great relevance in the construction of organizational reality and involve the production of texts and narratives (LECLERCQ-VANDELANNOITTE, 2011). This construction, based on a Foucauldian view, can be conceived to the extent that discourses can be both instruments and effects of power, both obstacles and starting points for opposition strategies (FOUCAULT, 2010).

Foucault also introduces the concept of genealogy, aiming to establish an approach to explain the control, selection, classification and distribution of discourse production through power relations (LECLERCQ-VANDELANNOITTE, 2011). In genealogical analysis, the emergence and transformation of a social practice results from the transformation of past and rival practices among each other, revealing a building process of a dynamic complex of social practices (ALLARD-POESI, 2010). In short, discourse is not a means of representing objects, but rather performative in producing the assumption take for granted that the organization is separate from the environment, which informs strategic management thought (EZZAMEL, WILLMOTT, 2008).

According to Allard-Poesi (2010), the application of Foucauldian vision to strategy as practice opens space to consider strategies as discourses that involve a set of ideals and practices that condition the means of relating and acting on particular phenomena. Hence, strategy is incorporated into social practices that update and reproduce their discourses, thus constituting a system of power-knowledge.

At the same time, Ezzamel and Willmott (2008) argue that the Foucauldian analysis does not only seek to capture and catalog the specific details of strategizing (how strategists think, speak, reflect, act, interact, get emotional, behave and politicize). Rather, it is concerned with the appreciation of how strategy, as a discursive practice, operates to build the (instrumental) organizational world. In this sense, there is a relation among strategy, power and discourse, as it is recognized that it is from the discourse that objective and subjective aspects associated with the plurality of concepts and approaches of strategy making are articulated (EZZAMEL; WILLMOTT, 2008).

The proposal of Allard-Poesi (2010) allows verifying a series of intervening possibilities when making strategy, from the Foucauldian approach. Once embedded in a field of power, strategic practices emerge as the result of multiple conditions and random events. Then, strategy can be seen as a heterogeneous set of discursive and material practices, governed by rules that structure what can be interpreted, read, said or done about reality (ALLARD-POESI, 2010).

Starting from these assumptions, it is possible to understand discursive practices as: how strategists make use of the discourse in its strategizing process (narrative, rhetoric, metaphor, discursive activities [justification, legitimation and naturalization]); how alternative discourses are used to support or challenge strategy, defining its meanings (dynamics of power and resistance); how meaning plays an important role in how strategies are understood and whether they are implemented (strategy as a discursive construction) (HARDY; THOMAS, 2013).

4 THE STRATEGIZING AND THE THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Analogous to the movement known as the “practice turn” in social theory (WHITTINGTON, 2006; ORLIKOWSKI, 2010), there has been, in linguistic studies, a “discourse turn” (ALVESSON; KÄRREMAN, 2000; VAARA, 2010b), characterized by the search of the sense present in different discursive productions. According to this new perspective, the meaning would not be in the text itself, but in a wide network of meanings underlying the different discourses present in the text and in the context in which they are inserted. So, it would be possible to understand a series of neglected elements in superficial linguistic analyzes (VAARA, 2010b).

For Philips, Sewell and Jaynes (2008), the discourse analysis arises in the heart of this movement, offering a theoretical and methodological framework that allows to examine: a) processes through which organizational and managerial phenomena are reproduced and transformed; b) how organizations and specific practices are discursively constructed; and c) how linguistic processes at the micro level, such as conversations and rhetoric, are at the core of organizational activity (VAARA, 2010b).

Although the discourse analysis is increasingly common in organizational research (CORNELSEN, 2009; CEDERSTRÖM; SPICER, 2013), this diffusion has not yet been effectively observed in the study field of strategy in organizations (PHILIPS; SEWELL; JAYNES, 2008) and in the study field of strategy as social practice (VAARA, 2010a). However, Philips, Sewell and Jaynes (2008) point out that a specific form of discourse analysis, characterized as critical discourse analysis, has significant potential to contribute to strategy research.

Critical discourse analysis, insofar as it allows a better understanding of the discursive aspects of the strategy and of strategizing from a critical point of view, can help to apprehend different approaches to strategic thinking (PHILIPS, SEWELL, JAYNES, 2008), including strategy as social practice (VAARA, 2010a). The origin of the critical discourse analysis refers to the studies from Fairclough (1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2005, 2010; CHOULIARAKI; FAIRCLOUGH, 2010), which allow us to examine the constitutive role of discourses in society (VAARA, 2010a). To establish a relation between the micro level of everyday language use and the macro level of social structure, Fairclough treated the use of language as a form of social practice - discourse is defined and limited by social structures, while discursive practice will define the social structures that limit it. Thus, it is through discourse as a social practice that the social structure is manifested (PHILIPS; SEWELL; JAYNES, 2008).

The critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal assumptions taken for granted in the social, societal, political and economic spheres and to examine the power relations among various types of actors and discourses (VAARA, 2010a). Discourses are not seen as neutral in terms of ideological content, but as the central locus of ideology. Vaara (2010a) demonstrates that one can not understand texts and discourses without considering the social and historical context in question. In this sense, Fairclough (2010) points out that discourses should be analyzed at the level of textual elements (micro), discursive practice (production, consumption and interpretation of texts) and social practice (institutional and situational context).

Philips, Sewell and Jaynes (2008) point out that there are three categories of social phenomena that are produced through this relation among text, discourse and social context: the category of the subject's positions, that is, the places in the social space from which the actors produce the texts; the category of the culture spheres, involving social constructions that emerge from structured sets of texts and discursive acts that define social relations, from rhetorical skills or the access to channels of discourse production and distribution; and the category of discourse as an object, placing discourses as part of the practical order. Thus, engaging in discursive practices becomes an eminently political act, involving power struggles within and outside the organization, determining the nature of the discourses, the positions of the subjects, and the control of the objects resulting from that discourse.

Vaara (2010a) further demonstrates that researchers in the critical discourse analysis recognize the importance of intertextuality, visualizing the texts as part of long textual chains. Thus, the meaning created in a particular discursive act can not be understood without consideration of "common knowledge" or what has been said before about the object of discourse. This aspect is also related to interdiscursivity, involving how specific genres and discourses are interconnected and constitute particular "discourse orders", that is, sets of relations between discourses in a given social context. These discourse orders can be seen as discursive reflections of the social order, helping to understand the discursive aspects of social structures (VAARA, 2010a).

Critical discourse analysis can provide insights into the central role of formal strategic texts, the discursive construction of strategic concepts, and the present subjectivity in conversations involving organizational strategizing, legitimation processes in and through strategic discourse, and the ideology of strategic discourse as a body of knowledge and praxis (VAARA, 2010a). In a nutshell, Vaara (2010a) argues that this approach allows mapping and understanding the role of discursive practices that permeate the processes and activities that constitute strategy and strategizing in contemporary society.

5 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The qualitative research approach (DENZIN; LINCOLN, 2000; GODOY, 2013) was adopted as a starting point for the understanding of strategic discursive practices in the context of the sector of artisanal beers production in Brazil. The qualitative method has been considered as the most appropriate for the investigation of issues associated with the nature and the dynamics of the strategy as practice in organizations, mainly due to its circular and reflective character (HUFF; NEYER; MÖSLEIN, 2010).

Aiming at the constitution of the corpus of the research, data were collected through documentary research, through videos and texts published on the web about the topic addressed in this study. Searches of materials published on the web were conducted between 09/22/2013 and 11/28/2013. For the research, we used search tools available on the internet. Initially, search-

es were carried out using the following keywords: “beer”, “artisanal”, “Brazil”. Materials obtained from this search were analyzed based on the presence of discourses about legislation related to the brewing industry and market structure, ways of artisanal beers production and, positions of marketing and consumption of artisanal beers in the Brazilian market. In this sense, it is considered the production and publication of material on the web as mechanisms for the creation and dissemination of discourses intended to transform the reality of beer production and consumption in the Brazilian market.

The discourses analyzed in this study were extracted from interviews in text or video produced by representatives of eight craft breweries and five movements related to the production and consumption of artisanal beers in Brazil (Table 1).

Table 1 - Data Sources

Agents	
A Brewery Representative	E Brewery Representative
B Brewery Representative	F Brewery Representative
C Brewery Representative	G Brewery Representative
D Brewery Representative	H Brewery Representative
Groups	
Movimento SlowBier Brasil	Beba Menos, Beba Melhor
Bebendo Bem	Acerva Mineira
Blog Confraria Conveniência	

Source: organized by the authors.

In the second stage, specific searches were performed, considering as keywords the names of the movements, brewers and breweries mentioned in Table 1. These searches were carried out with the intention of deepening narratives of these agents identified in the first stage of data collection. It should be noted that, because of confidentiality reasons, brewers’ representatives will be identified by fictitious references.

Subsequently, the discourses were analyzed through the critical discourse analysis approach (FAIRCLOUGH, 1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2005, 2010). Hence, the three levels of analysis were considered: 1) institutional context of the beer industry in Brazil; 2) discursive practices of agents and groups involved in the production and consumption of artisanal beers in Brazil; and 3) actions developed by agents and groups in search of the legitimacy of the craft brewery in Brazil. These three levels refer to the recommendations developed by Fairclough (2010) and Vaara et al. (2010b) to analyze the discourses, considering: the textual level (textual elements), the level of discursive practices (the production and interpretation of texts) and the level of social practice (situational and institutional context of textual production). In addition, this procedure was structured in order to fulfill the research objectives, and assuming, as support for the analysis, the approaches and conceptions articulated in the theoretical framework that grounds the present work.

6 STRATEGIC DISCURSIVE PRACTICES IN THE BRAZILIAN CRAFT BEER INDUSTRY

In this section, the results of the research will be presented and discussed. First, the context of the brewery industry in Brazil will be presented, as interpreted by agents present in the artisanal beer segment. Next, we try to understand the position of these agents in creating a field marked by discursive practices, struggles of power and ideologies. Finally, we identify some actions and organizations of agents inserted in the craft beer industry, in order to support the configuration of strategic discursive practices heading for legitimizing this organizational field in Brazil.

6.1 The context of the craft beer industry in Brazil: the construction of the organizational field and the search for institutionalization

Studies have shown that beer has spread in Brazil even in the colonial period, under the influence of England, until then the largest producer of this beverage in the world (SANTOS, 2003; FLACH, 2012; MOREIRA et al., 2013). With the establishment of English merchants in Brazil, and through the great commercial and cultural influence exerted by England on Portugal, beer was spread among the richer classes of the Colony (SANTOS, 2003).

Santos (2003) points out that the dominance of English beer in Brazil, especially porter and pale ale beer kinds, persisted until 1889. From the end of the 1880s, German beer, sold in bottles, gradually earned the preference of the Brazilian consumer. The national preference for beer from Germany coincided with the growth of this country's beer throughout Europe from the second half of the nineteenth century. This is due to the appearance of clear, golden, low fermentation beer, with softer aroma and greater visual appeal served in glasses. These *lager* beers, born in the Bohemian region and spread by Bavarian breweries, became increasingly popular in relation to the traditional darkish and high fermentation beers produced in England (SANTOS, 2003).

During this period, the production of the drink in Brazil began to grow under the influence of German beer, but with lower quality and lower prices. The first industrial breweries appeared in Brazil in the 1880s, starting with the opening of companies such as Companhia Cervejaria Brahma in the state of Rio de Janeiro and Companhia Antarctica Paulista in the state of São Paulo (SANTOS, 2003). For decades, these two breweries have positioned themselves among the leaders of the Brazilian market, until, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, they have merged to create Ambev (MOREIRA et al., 2013). The Ambev creation can be visualized, in the context of the Brazilian economy opening from the 1990s, within the efforts to create and strengthen large national companies. In addition, this merger is part of a movement by major international breweries, such as Anheuser-Busch and Heineken, which triggered a series of mergers and acquisitions intended for increasing product variety, scale economies and access to new markets (MOREIRA et al., 2013).

Currently, the beer market in Brazil is made up of four major players: a) InBev-Anheuser-Busch, created after the merger among Brazilian Ambev, Belgian InterBrew and North American Anheuser-Busch; b) Heineken, which began operations in Brazil after the purchase of Femsa, owner of the Kaiser brewery; c) Brazil Kirin, of Japanese capital, who acquired the Brazilian Schincariol brewery; and d) Petrópolis Brewery, national capital and founded by former employees of Schincariol. The brewer's market in Brazil reflects the long-established

preference for *lager* beer, here called “*pilsen* type”, smoothed and cheapened by the addition of non-malted adjuncts and focusing on large-scale production (MOREIRA et al., 2013).

However, since the end of the 1980s and especially nowadays, a new brewing modality has grown in Brazil, considering an artisanal focus and different logics from those legitimized in the brewery industry. Inspired by the microbrewery revolution observed in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, the Brazilian beer industry is based on a strategy of producing small volumes of beer with high added value (KALNIN; CASAROTTO FILHO; CASTRO, 2002). Care in manufacturing, attention to and return to brewing traditions, products sophistication and the link between beer production and regional communities are central aspects of artisanal production (LAMERTZ; HEUGENS; CALMET, 2005).

The scenario created by the growth of artisanal beer production in Brazil is marked by initiatives seeking legitimacy and institutionalization of new practices associated with the consumption and production of the beverage. According to the data obtained in the research, this search is, however, marked by confrontations among craft breweries and: a) the current tax structure for the sector; (b) the market logic created by large scale companies; and (c) the established interpretation of how beer is produced and consumed.

According to the interpretation of agents present in the artisanal beer segment, the market dominated by large companies is reflected in a tax structure that imposes barriers to the viability and consolidation of artisanal production:

When we arrived, there was already a tributary universe made for the large scale company. And we have got nothing from any government. We are treated equally to bigger that has a huge scale. (Brewery Representative A).
Five years ago there was practically no such craft beer market. So, all the legislations are made for large scale breweries. And the micro ones do not fit it. Today it is practically unfeasible to have a microbrewery. Taxes are calculated according to the price of beer on the gondola. So, if your beer costs more, you will pay a higher tax. But our beer is more expensive not because we want bigger profits. It is more expensive because the volume of our purchase is smaller. The price of our raw material is higher. (Brewery Representative B).

The exposed narratives reveal the construction of discursive practices, initially heading for a questioning interpretation of the Brazilian tax structure, considered as inadequate for this emerging sector. The agents also question the regulations of the product by the Ministry of Agriculture, the main regulator of the institutional environment. The norms established by the State are indicated as obsolete and in line with the pattern of consolidated beer in Brazil, reinforcing the hegemony of the large scale industry:

[Microbreweries have the ability to] launch new products quickly, which would not be feasible for a large brewery. But the Ministry of Agriculture has been slow to release labels for different beers. When it is a beer that until then was internally unknown, they do not have the necessary knowledge to release. We have labels that have been waiting for release for two years and probably will not be released. (Brewery Representative B)

Allied to the regulatory structure, it is identified a discourse that points to the need to establish a culture that is receptive to the mode of production and consumption of artisanal beers:

Our law does not open space because it goes back to the problem of culture. We do not have a beer culture. So our law is extremely outdated near other countries. The beer arrived here 200 years ago but grew just on the last 100 years. Until recently beer was high class drink. Classes C and D did not drink beer, drank cachaça, wine. So we do not have openness to varieties of styles in legislation, the Brazilian market did not have that until recently. (Brewery Representative H).

Therefore, it is verified the construction of a dominant interpretation for the brewery industry in Brazil, characterized by a regulatory and tax structure created for the logic of mass production, for the large company and for the standardization of beer as a product. This interpretation reflects a culture in which artisanal beer finds no fertile ground for dissemination. Given this scenario, narratives are developed to support opposition movements, in order to simultaneously legitimize the production and consumption of artisanal beers and combat the logic established by the current scenario of the brewery industry.

6.2 Discursive practices of the artisanal beer industry in Brazil: formation of a field of power and ideologies struggles

The analysis of the documentary material raised from the research allowed us to identify attempts to create discourses that make opposition to the dominant interpretation for the brewery industry in Brazil. In this sense, there is a search for the construction of oppositional discourses in relation to the act of consuming and producing beers, as well as on relationship forms between breweries and the market.

Regarding the beer consumption, the configuration of the field of power and ideologies struggles is shaped by a discursive order that fights the naturalization and banalization of the act of consuming beers:

The act of drinking is to bring awareness. We are educated to drink without thinking; come down round, drink and not think. But is not it better to drink thinking? It is so much better to drink in slow motion, drink 10 different beers in one night. Not that drinking beer without thinking is wrong, but it is not the only way [...]. We are very dominated by big corporations and we are forgetting what regional things are. Everyone's sick of being carried away by the hand, being carried away by the propaganda. The guy wants to make his decision. So these beers that are non-invasive, wanting to wash the guy's mind, will naturally conquer the palate. The guy starts drinking special beer, he does not drink Skol again. (Brewery Representative A)

The mass beers are labeled as being a product to consume "without thinking". In the section above, the Brewery Representative A picks up the slogan of a large company of the sector in Brazil: when "come down round", the beer marketed by the large industries promotes a "brain-washing", given a new meaning to the consumer behavior while taking him to a conspicuous consumption act and, to some extent, trivialized. On the other hand, it is verified the formation of a discursive practice that seeks to position the consumption of artisanal beers in another way, structured through a conscious and engaged act. This course is illustrated by the possibility of drinking "thinking" in "slow motion". In this scenario, the consumer would have the autonomy to "make the decision", free of influences from large corporations and advertising. Complementarily, this alternative positioning also manifests itself through the emergence of discursive practices that seek to foster responsible consumption, which values quality over quantity:

Nowadays, we are experiencing a new way of looking at beer consumption. If before the drink was simply linked with the act of simply getting drunk or refreshing on hot days [...]. Beer is being seen as a great accompaniment to gastronomy and its conscious consumption is encouraged by companies in the sector that have a more responsible bias. We do not drink more beer just to get drunk, but to experience different aromas and flavors, worthy of an ancient culture. (Blog Bebendo Bem).

When you buy those bales of Crystal, opt for two or three bottles of quality beer, run away from the Ambev beers [...]. I understand that the routine of drinking a lot is hard to drop, but believe me, a 500mL bottle of Dunkel beer is worth several 'Glacial-Skol' waters. We have the value factor that affects in the hour, that doubt of buying one or 12 cans, but even, it is worth paying a little more for a bottle where the ingredients are well selected, the production is careful and the labels are well thought. It is the preference for quality instead of quantity. (Blog Confraria Conveniência).

In this respect, by valuing a “new way of looking at beer consumption”, where one stops drinking to “get drunk or to cool off on hot days” and starts to consider beer as a gastronomic product and directed to a more responsible consumption, the agents position the artisanal beverage in a differentiated and questioning ideological prism. From the production point of view, this prism is further reinforced by discursive practices that combat the excessive standardization of mass beers and foster the rescue of brewery cultures and the personality incorporation of the brewer in the product:

We have to produce our beers, we have to rediscover styles lost in time. You come on the market there are 10 brands of two or three styles very similar. So, for us to break this market-imposed limitation, we have to produce our own beers and encourage small breweries to also produce [...]. Brewing has a whole history of style, of the brewer taste, has a whole affection, it is impregnated with personality. When I take out that personality and I put a soulless thing and that it is very easy to be sold (with very great drinkability) I am not doing it anymore, it is the machine that is doing it. This is not artisanal. Whatever is thought of with good ingredients, with good practices, then it does not matter if it is with machine or without machine (machine is important), with personality is what matters. (Brewery Representative H).

Within this new set of production practices, we can highlight, on the one hand, the production of discourses that emphasize the need to break with the “market constraint” and the “massification of style”, so that it is possible to produce beers that enable “rediscovering styles lost in time”, which incorporate ideologies associated with craft production. In this sense, discursive practices that point to assertions that aim at guiding the action of artisanal producers (“make the beer you like”, “define an identity for your beer”), legitimized and reproduced by different brewer masters, synthesize this inclination of microbreweries to the rescue of styles and traditions around the drink, recovering the ideological character of the production by re-signifying what the agents denominate as “brewing culture”, configured as a practice of resistance.

Finally, the relations between brewery and the market also demarcate aspects of power struggles and between different ideologies. From the point of view of the craft beer industry, it is verified that, from the incorporation of the brewer personality to the drink, a new marketing strategy of the product arises, based on the search for a certain autonomy of the brewery in relation to the demand and to market rules:

*[We are] a family brewery. So, me, my father and my brother, we produce according to what we want. We do not do market research; the opinion of the brewer is what matters. We decide and make it happen (Representative of Brewery C).
Never detract from your beer because the market is asking for more, or because the price*

is getting better. Beer is a bit of you that you are serving to the consumer. It is your art in liquid state. (Representative of Brewery G).

The speech propagated by the microbrewery reveals, to a certain extent, the search for a marketing alternative, in which the brewer stands as an agent endowed with a certain autonomy, being “his opinion what matters” in the market service. This movement also implies a practice of resistance, while it seeks to “never detract [the] beer because the market is asking for more, or because the price is getting better”, ideologically positioning itself to provide not a simple product, but rather “art in liquid state”. Besides, the differentiation in beer marketing acts can also be observed from marketing strategies:

Since 2005, when we started, we have been growing on average 30% a year. It's a controlled growth. We could grow more, but not in a healthy way, without changing the quality of the product. We do not go into the brewer's market. We do not sponsor a point of sale, painting the facade. We want the establishment to buy our beer because it believes it to be a good product, which will yield more customers to it. (Representative of Brewery B).

The emphasis on “controlled growth”, designed not to “change the quality of the product”, given in the discourse, seeks to lead to a quality orientation, besides taking from the focus consolidated expansion strategies in the brewery industry and focused on scale production and acquisitions. In addition, one can observe an opposition to the commercialization practices generally adopted by the large scale industry. As a marketing strategy, they adopt a set of discursive practices to construct the image of a beer that is impregnated with tradition, quality, personality and originality:

It is not to fight, to say that my beer is better than yours, but to teach drinking; the beer style is like this. In this style one expects these characteristics, in that style others are expected. From the moment you teach, you do not teach to drink mine or yours, but to drink quality products. (Representative of Brewery H).
We speak the truth instead of advertising. Anyone goes there in Colorado and see how it's done. I have already called several colleagues, everyone saw the recipe, the manufacturing process, there is no black box. Anyone who will make it with a different touch from mine. There is room for everyone, and the important thing is to support the small business, otherwise the world will forget it. (Representative of Brewery A)

There is, thus, a pattern in the discourses of artisanal brewers, which seeks to link the act of marketing these products to a practice of education for conscious and engaged consumption, since “teaching [...] to drink quality products”. This education strategy for the conscious consumption of artisanal beers also reveals the clash between the small brewery and the large industry, as according to artisanal brewers, the former “speak the truth instead of advertising”. Finally, discursive practices of artisanal brewers seek higher price justification, based on a logic that rejects competition in the traditional sense and promotes the quality of the product:

Competition spoils everything. It damages everyone. Competition usually involves price when we are talking about large industry. What happens? It wins who has the lowest price and the lowest price press everyone down there. The brewer earns less, the guy who grows barley has to grow poorer quality barley, the guy who transports the barley wants to do it as quickly as possible. The only loser is the consumer. And the consumer wants to be surprised by the beer. (Representative of Brewery A).
Today a Colorado beer costs, on average, R\$10.00 with 600 mL, since a Skol litter costs about R\$ 4.00. With such a large monetary difference it is difficult for the consumer to

drop his litter beer and try something new that he does not know if he will like it and is still more than double price what he drinks. So here's the title of the post 'Drinking less and Drinking better worth?' and with a single word I answer: YES. The secret of this change is the quality of beer. We can not compare a beer that is made in large quantity, using cheap ingredients, with a microbrewery that uses the best to produce fantastic beers. Drinking artisanal beer is a one-hand way, so run, it's worth! (Movimento Beba Menos, Beba Melhor).

The higher prices of artisanal beers are based, in the first place, on the discourse of quality and health of the beer production chain. Still in this discourse of quality as an instrument for justification of higher prices, it is verified the establishment of counterpoints between mass and artisanal beers, based on a differentiation that marks the acts of production, commercialization and consumption of beer.

Therefore, in view of the conflicts between the established brewery industry and craft breweries, it is possible to identify a set of actions and organizations that, taken by the latter, seek to legitimize the institutional logic fomented by the artisanal brewing of beer, which will be explored in the next topic.

6.3 Artisanal beers and the practices of agents in the search for legitimacy

The data obtained in the research revealed movements and organizations that seek to reproduce discourses destined to consolidate the field of craft breweries in Brazil: the creation of institutions focused on the defense of the interests of craft breweries (Associations of Artisanal Brewers - ACervAs); the creation of the movement known as SlowBier Brasil; and the creation of the "Drink less, drink better" movement.

The ACervAS are non-profit associations and have the purpose of meeting artisanal brewers, seeking to promote brewing culture, teach and transmit to consumers the values inherent in the consumption of artisanal beer and articulate the interests of the agents inserted in this organizational field.

The SlowBier Brazil movement is inspired by the SlowBier movement born in Europe and *The MicroBrewery Revolution* in the United States. The philosophy of this movement defends, according to the website of SlowBier Brazil, the "rescue of history, culture and the pleasure of making and drinking good drinks, naturally associated with quality gastronomy". It is therefore the incorporation of external speeches, especially from Germany, England and the United States, in order to seek internal legitimacy for the production and consumption of craft breweries. This incorporation, however, occurs in conjunction with symbols that seek to give Brazilian traits to the external discourse to legitimize it to consumers. In this sense, the articulators of the movement in Brazil use the image of the sloth instead of the snail, symbol of the international movement.

The third and last structured practice for building the legitimacy of artisanal beer in Brazil involves an initiative of the Abadessa Brewery, from Rio Grande do Sul, entitled "Drink less, drink better". This practice, inspired by a campaign of the German Association of Brewers (*Di Deutschen Brauer*), seeks to add awareness to the act of consuming beer. Currently, different Brazilian craft breweries, such as Wals, Bamberg and Falke Bier, adopt the movement stamp on their products. Like Slow Bier, this movement seeks the incorporation of external discourses, emulating practices from abroad to seek legitimacy and identity for the Brazilian market of artisanal beers.

Based on the discourses propagated by these three initiatives, it is possible to identify some of the pillars that the microbreweries seek to sustain their legitimacy in Brazil. The first pillar refers to the search for collaboration with institutional agents, in order to build a regulatory

environment more receptive to artisanal production:

It is necessary at this moment to reaffirm the great step taken by the associated brewers in Minas Gerais, which was to approach to MAPA (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply), a regulatory organization that is often seen as an enemy or a hindrance, in which we seek the support of its technicians so that the artisanal product, among them the homemade, is no longer considered illegal. As a result of our step, MAPA technicians in Minas Gerais sought the support of Acerva Mineira to learn more about the different styles of the beverage, as well as productive, microbiological and technological aspects, so that, with the correct information, they could have subsidies for nationally give opinions in the modification, expansion and improvement of the regulatory norms of the segment (Acerva Mineira).

The second pillar is related to education for the beer consumption, which seeks to reinforce a quality discourse and disseminate among consumers new conceptions related to the act of producing and drinking beer. In this context, the discourse from SlowBier Brasil is relevant, pointing, in addition to quality, a discourse of environmental inclination to legitimize artisanal beers:

The microbreweries manufacture giving preference to socially and environmentally responsible practices in their production process, in addition to produce without adding artificial preservatives, based on the Law of German Purity from 1516 that admits only malt, hops and water in the beer composition, generating a food with greater integrity. It is also no secret that the artisanal manufacturing process generates far fewer impacts on the environment than the industrial process. (SlowBier Brasil).

Still regarding to education, but with a bias towards responsible consumption, the “Drink less, drink better” movement seeks to disseminate the “less drunk, more pleasure” speech in the act of consuming beers, as already highlighted in this section.

The third pillar refers to the sustainability of the business, through collaboration and creation of events that are capable of sustaining, from an economic and marketing point of view, the production of artisanal beers:

It's a business like any other; the difference is that he [the brewer] is in love [...]. I do not want to have exclusive clients, because I do not drink only Colorado, I drink my friends' beers too. I think the cool thing about our little beer world is the camaraderie around beer. (Representative of Brewery A).

We believe that the only way to grow is to grow together, we have to exchange information, if we lack raw material, we lend. (Representative of Brewery D).

We have to join because our market is so small that one has to sell the other, because in the artisanal market the person wants to try, taste, know new flavors. (Representative of Brewery E).

Therefore, different actions and discursive practices that support the process of legitimacy construction of the production and consumption of artisanal beers in Brazil have been observed.

Figure 1 presents a synthesis of the results, considering: (1) the agents' interpretation about the context; (2) the emerging discourses of the artisanal beer segment for consumption, production and market, as well as the conflicts with the dominant logic for beers in Brazil; and (3) movements and organizations focused on the dissemination of discourses generated in the artisanal beer segment.

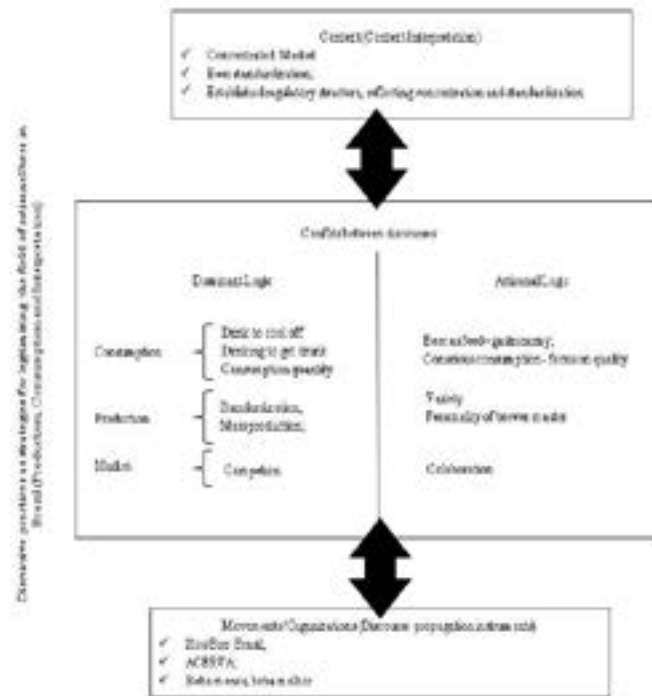


Figure 1 - Synthesis of results: context, discourses and movements related to the search for institutionalization of the artisan beer segment
Source: organized by the authors.

As seen throughout this section of analysis and discussion of the results, and based on what is synthesized by the figure, the practices, carried out by the agents inserted in this organizational field, aim to conform the action of these agents to the institutional environment, conferring possibilities for the institutionalization of its activities and the positioning of their small breweries as an alternative space for the production and consumption of beers in Brazil.

7 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The objective of this study was to identify and understand the discursive strategic practices intended for legitimizing and institutionalizing the Brazilian artisanal beer industry. In order to do so, we sought to theoretically ground the relation between strategy as discursive practice and institutionalism and, methodologically, the approach of critical discourse analysis, so that it would be possible to apprehend the discursive practices of the different agents and institutions inserted in this organizational field.

The discourses of the artisanal beer industry agents revealed different perspectives about the initiatives for the institutionalization and legitimation of the production, consumption and commercialization of the beverage in Brazil. As a long and conflictive process, marked by struggles of power and between different ideologies, the agents constructed discursive practices that allowed a confrontation of the actions disseminated and institutionalized by large breweries, denoting resistances that contributed to their positioning against the institutional environment.

From this, the agents undertook actions seeking to legitimize the production, consumption and commercialization of artisanal beers, re-signifying discourses and practices already consolidated in the Brazilian context.

The results provide evidence that the Brazilian artisanal beer industry is in a process of institutionalization in the environment and legitimation with consumers, through discursive practices that reveal power struggles with large breweries. In this sense, the production of artisanal beers is itself guided by an ideology, characterized by a strong opposition, confrontation and resistance to already institutionalized practices in the Brazilian brewery market. Thus, it was revealed the possibilities of constructing an own field, structured through discursive strategies that can, in the limit, lead to an emancipation in relation to the environment of the large industries of the sector.

This study has important implications for strategy as practice theory and research, as it throws light on little explored perspectives in the strategizing field. On the one hand, by integrating the levels of institutionalization practices (macro), the discursive practices of power and ideological struggles (meso) and the practices of agents seeking to legitimize artisanal production (micro), this study operates in a position that surpasses some criticisms pointed to the theory of strategy as practice. On the other hand, when analyzing the case of an industry that has not been explored in the literature, it is possible to understand other objects that were little addressed by the academy, such as the artisanal beer sector in Brazil, revealing the potential of strategy as practice for conducting research in the Organizational Studies field.

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