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SUBJECT AREA: ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGY AND BEHAVIOR

The Habitus of an Expanding Network: the characteristics of the São Francisco Valley viticulture arrangement

O Habitus de uma Rede em Expansão: as disposições do arranjo vitivinícola do Vale do São Francisco

El Habitus de una Red en Expansión: disposiciones de la red vitivinícola del Valle São Francisco

André Luiz Maranhão de Souza Leão¹
Brunno Fernandes da Silva Gaião²
Ildembergue Leite de Souza³
Sérgio Carvalho Benício de Mello⁴

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ABSTRACT

Over the last few decades, fine wines have begun to be produced in the São Francisco Valley – and the activity has established itself and led to a viticulture productive arrangement in the Brazilian semi-arid region. Given the importance of this viticulture network, and as an attempt to better understand it, we took up bourdieusian theory to explain the subjective characteristics that permeate the dynamics of (inter)actions

amongst network stakeholders. To this end, we used Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory as a basis. The research corpus was made up of in-depth interviews carried out with representatives from five out of six wineries located in that productive area. Interviews were analyzed through speech analysis based on categories taken from the bourdieusian theory. Our findings indicate four subjective characteristics amongst network stakeholders: the effort towards speech coherence;

1. Doctor in Administration and Professor at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco – UFPE, Researcher of the Group of Studies and Researches in Innovation, Technology and Consumption – GITEC and Scholarship Student of CNPq Productivity in Research [aleao21@yahoo.com.br]
 2. Doctor Student of Administration at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco – UFPE and Member of the Group of Studies and Researches in Innovation, Technology and Consumption – GITEC. [brunno_gaião@hotmail.com]
 3. Master in Administration from the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco – UFPE and Member of the Group of Studies and Researches in Innovation, Technology and Consumption – GITEC. [ildembergue.leite@gmail.com]
 4. Doctor in Business Studies from the City University London, England. Professor at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco – UFPE, Researcher of the Group of Studies and Researches in Innovation, Technology and Consumption – GITEC and Scholarship Student of CNPq Productivity in Research [sergio.benicio@pq.cnpq.br]
- Authors' addresses: Av. Prof. Moraes Rego, 1235 - Cidade Universitária, Recife - PE – CEP 50670-901 – Brazil

a “good neighbor” attitude; a belief in the role of the network towards local development; and the perception and repetition of disadvantages and prejudices. Limitations and directions for future research are considered.

Keywords: Viticulture Network. São Francisco Valley. Bourdieu. Habitus.

RESUMO

Nas últimas décadas, teve início a produção de vinhos finos no Vale do São Francisco, atividade que se consolidou, dando origem a um arranjo produtivo vitivinícola no semiárido brasileiro. Diante da importância dessa rede de vitivinicultura, e na tentativa de melhor entendê-la, adotamos o pensamento bourdieusiano para explicitar as disposições subjetivas que permeiam a dinâmica de (inter)ação dos agentes dessa rede. Para tal, utilizamos a teoria do *habitus* de Pierre Bourdieu como base teórica. O *corpus* da pesquisa foi constituído por entrevistas em profundidade realizadas com representantes de cinco das seis vinícolas instaladas naquele campo produtor. As entrevistas foram tratadas por meio de análise de discurso pautada em categorias da teoria bourdieusiana adotada. Nossos achados indicam quatro disposições subjetivas dos agentes dessa rede: busca por uma unidade no discurso, postura de “boa vizinhança”, crença no papel da rede para o desenvolvimento local e percepção e reprodução de desfavorecimentos e preconceitos. Limitações e indicações de futuras pesquisas são consideradas.

Palavras-chave: Rede vitivinícola. Vale do São Francisco. Bourdieu. *Habitus*.

RESUMEN

En las últimas décadas se ha iniciado la producción de vinos finos en el Valle São Francisco, actividad que se ha consolidado, dando origen a una red productiva vinícola en el semiárido brasileño. Por la importancia de esta red de vitivinicultura, y en un intento de comprenderla mejor, adoptamos el pensamiento bourdieusiano para explicar las disposiciones subjetivas inherentes a la dinámica

de la (inter)acción de los agentes de esta red. Para ello, utilizamos la teoría del *habitus* de Pierre Bourdieu como base teórica. El *corpus* de la investigación fue constituido por entrevistas en profundidad realizadas con representantes de cinco de las seis bodegas ubicadas en aquel campo productor. Las entrevistas fueron analizadas mediante el análisis del discurso guiado en las categorías de la teoría bourdieusiana adoptada. Nuestros hallazgos indican cuatro disposiciones subjetivas de los agentes de esta red: búsqueda de una unidad en el discurso, la postura de “buena vecindad”, la creencia en el papel de la red para el desarrollo local y la percepción y la reproducción de las desventajas y los perjuicios. Se consideran las limitaciones y necesidades de la investigación.

Palabras clave: Red de vino. Valle São Francisco. Bourdieu. Habitus.

I INTRODUCTION

The discussion about networks is increasingly getting more space in the contemporary academic production. Networks are a key element in the articulation of the information society, or post-industrial society, which has chosen the information, instead of the material goods of production, as the key element for the new technical-scientific paradigm we now face, in which technology, innovation and knowledge form the new productive economy (CASTELLS, 2007; HENRIQUE, 2005; MARTELETO, 2010; WERTHEIN, 2000).

The concept of networks permeates various domains of knowledge and of human practice, being present in fields such as the information science, sociology, economics and politics. In the current organizational sphere scenario, networks appear as a format, or a model, broadly diffused, calling the attention of professionals and researchers of the field (TOMAÉL; ALCARÁ; DI CHIARA, 2005).

In the organizational perspective, collaborative networks allow the organization and interaction of various stakeholders that

share the same values and objectives, in order to access the flow of information and benefits resulting from the collective action. In this sense, it is possible to realize the importance of the role performed by networks in the dissemination of information and in creating and sharing knowledge (MARTELETO; SILVA, 2004; TOMAÉL; ALCARÁ; DI CHIARA, 2005).

One of the applications of the network concept takes place in the study of local productive arrangements. There is an increasingly strong idea that the success of these arrangements is directly related to the links between companies, which form networks (COSTA; COSTA, 2007).

In the past few years, countless works are focusing on Bourdieu's thought, more specifically on his concept of "social capital", to analyze the reality of networks in several scenarios (ALBAGLI; MACIEL, 2002; COSTA; COSTA, 2007; PASSOS, DIAS, CRUZ, 2005). This concept was highlighted in studies about networks; however, it is noteworthy that most of these works are limited to the analysis of this single component of Bourdieu's practice theory, without considering other possibilities to apply his theory to better understand the dynamics of a network functioning. The bourdieusian theory goes beyond the idea of "social capital", introducing elements such as other capitals (economic, cultural and symbolic), "field" and "*habitus*", allowing to understand the dynamics of a given study subject group (ALBAGLI; MACIEL, 2002; SETTON, 2002).

In this context, in the past few decades, the São Francisco Valley region is coming to view as one of the main fine wine producing regions of Brazil, thanks to irrigation projects conducted in the region. The network of undertakings installed in the region in Pernambuco state, near to the city of Petrolina, is highlighted for its extraordinary productivity, above the usual average of grape harvests. The viticulture area of the São Francisco Sub-middle region, formed by six producers, one of them inside the territory of Bahia state, is though still considered too young and without tradition in the production of fine wine, being regarded by many as a great potential

region, but still under the process of formation and consolidation (GUERRA et al., 2009).

In order to better understand the viticulture network of São Francisco Valley, this work aims to explain the subjective characteristics that permeate the (inter)action dynamics of the agents of this network.

We do have to highlight that, despite the complementariness of the field and *habitus* elements, both are addressed by Pierre Bourdieu in distinct and specific theories – the theory of the fields and the theory of the *habitus* (LAHIRE, 2002). Thus, in our work, we have decided to orient our efforts specifically towards the better comprehension of the *habitus*, trying to better understand the subjective characteristics of the agents that compose the viticulture network of São Francisco Valley. Therefore, we will treat the field as an element of complementariness to the *habitus*.

In order to accomplish the purposes of this work, the first step was to expand the knowledge about the context and the idiosyncrasies involving the wine production in São Francisco Valley. In order to improve the understanding of the model structuring the relation among the network members and to characterize their interaction dynamics, the following step consisted of going deep into issues regarding local productive arrangement configurations in the perspective of collaborative networks. Then, we introduced a discussion on the concepts developed by Bourdieu in his *habitus* theory, and how they apply to the study of the viticulture network at issue. We then exposed the aspects related to the methodological procedures of the research, and at last the verified results will be presented and analyzed.¹ Accordingly, through this study we try to contribute by deepening the knowledge on the viticulture of São Francisco Valley, in addition to progress the knowledge on the field of Networks and Local Productive Arrangements studies.

2 THE VITICULTURE NETWORK AND THE SÃO FRANCISCO VALLEY

The viticulture in São Francisco Valley region appeared in the 1980's, when the São

Francisco Valley Winery started to produce wines in the region, at the Milano Farm, in the municipality of Santa Maria da Boa Vista. The project was based on the production of light wines, derived from European and North-American vine stems, using the specialized manpower of technicians coming from Rio Grande do Sul (LIMA et al., 2005).

Following the success of the São Francisco Valley winery undertaking and the consolidation of its brand, Botticelli Wine, the interest of other industry companies was awakened for the potential of the region. Currently, six wineries are established in the region. The following table shows each of them:

Municipality/State	Farm	Company(ies)	Establishment	Wine production	Brand
Santa Maria da Boa Vista/PE	Milano	Vinícola Vale do São Francisco S/A	1970	1986	Botticelli
Lagoa Grande/PE	Bianchetti	Adega Bianchetti Tedesco Ltda.	2000	2001	Bianchetti
	Garibaldina	Vitivinícola Lagoa Grande Ltda.	1990	2001	Carrancas Garziera
	Planaltino	Vinibrasil	2004	2004	Rio Sol
	Ducos	Ducos Vinícola Ltda.	2001	2003	Château Ducos
Casa Nova/BA	Ouro Verde Farm	Vinícola Ouro Verde (Miolo <i>Wine Group</i>)	-	2002	Terranova

Chart 1 – Wineries of São Francisco Valley.

Source: Adapted from Vital (2005).

The wineries of São Francisco Valley region, object of the herein proposed study, differ from the other wine producers spread all over the world. The São Francisco Valley sub-middle region, thanks to the dry climate and the irrigation projects, has a higher level of productivity. The region wineries produce 2.5 harvests per year, different from the other world production, which produces a single harvest per year (LIMA et al., 2005; VITAL, 2005).

Some factors contribute for the development of the winery industry in the region: the government support and the provision of investment credit from Banco do Brasil, Banco do Nordeste and BNDES, the inflow of foreign capital in the activity, the production technology brought from the US and fostered by researches conducted by Embrapa, and the last few years of exchange rate favorable in the competition with European and North-American products (LIMA et al., 2005; VITAL, 2005).

There are though various obstacles to overcome to consolidate the São Francisco Valley Region as a national reference in the production of table wines. The main challenges are the fact that the southern and southeastern markets of the countries, major wine consumers in Brazil, actually do not know the wines produced and bottled in the Northeastern region, and the competition of wines imported from Chile and Argentine, benefited by the commercial agreements of the Mercosur, in addition to the lack of territory brand, which serves as origin certificate for the wines (VITAL, 2005).

3 LOCAL PRODUCTIVE ARRANGEMENTS AS COLLABORATIVE NETWORKS

In the current socioeconomic scenario, outstanding because of the increasing competitiveness to boundaries never ever

imagined, the need of companies having strong inter-organizational relations is urgent, in view of the better utilization of potentialities offered by the collective action. This economy internationalization movement can be blamed for the increasing specialization and differentiation of territories, which become sources of competitive advantages because of local specific resources, practices and interdependences, translated into the increasing need of organizations strengthening the inter-organizational relations, aiming to enhance the potentialities resulting from the collective action (SGARBI et al., 2010; BENKO, 1999). Under such circumstances, characterized by some as the scenario of the knowledge era, society or economy (LASTRES; CASSIOLATO, 2003a), studies are attempting to establish and to explain the existing relation between competitive performance of companies and their geographic proximity (TEIXEIRA et al., 2006).

Accordingly, the notion of local productive arrangements (LPAs) is becoming stronger and is being applied to various different scenarios, thanks to its great capacity of creating competitive advantages for its components (CEZARINO; CAMPOMAR, 2006). Such arrangements have specific features of this type of productive configuration, elements making them different from other collective organization models. The LPAs concentrate, in a given region, the production of goods and services, and can be defined as “territorial clusters of economic, political and social agents – with focus on a specific set of economic activities” (LASTRES; CASSIOLATO, 2003b, p. 3). The collectivity of the arrangement is a source of competitive advantage for its members, attracting new companies interested in establishing in the region (SANTOS; DINIZ; BARBOSA, 2004).

Some of the elements characterizing the local productive arrangements are: a) the territorial dimension, which defines the specific spatial cut in which the productive and political actions are developed; b) the diversity of the arrangement activities and actors, involving not only companies, but also their associative representations, public and private organizations

related to the activity, such as the qualification and formation of human resources, for instance; c) the tacit knowledge shared by the member actors of the arrangement; d) interactive innovation and learning, offering the possibility of introducing new products and processes to be adopted by the arrangement; e) the governance, regarding the different ways of coordinating the various agents involved in the arrangement; f) the degree of fixation, which addresses the articulation of the arrangement stakeholders with the elements of the local environment (LASTRES; CASSIOLATO, 2003b).

A way to see an LPA is as a type of network configuration, which can also be presented in different ways, as clusters, cooperation networks, small and middle scale companies’ networks, consortia of companies, among others. In this sense, “[...] networks constitute a organizational form possibly identifiable in various types of productive and innovative clusters; their focus fundamentally reveals the interaction manner among the various agents” (LASTRES; CASSIOLATO, 2003b, p. 22).

The use of the word “network” per se can take to an abstract notion, crystallizing in a more generic way as a set of knots which interconnect through varied relationships, allowing a higher exchange and flow of persons, goods and information. Such relations are based on the idea of various models of integration and coordination among specific units, from atomized subjects to complex organizations, but all of them, regardless of their analysis degree, are based on social relations (MACHADO-DA-SILVA; COSER, 2006).

Configurations based on the idea of inter-organizational networks are increasingly highlighted insofar as their role of mediation of transactional interdependences and of cooperative, competitive and conflictive relations among organizations is noticed. In the attempt of better understanding this complex phenomenon of network formation, different research methodologies have been used, among which we can highlight the analysis of social networks

(SNA) and the structural network analysis (MACHADO-DA-SILVA; COSER, 2006).

The social network analysis (SNA) is based on three general principles which guide this type of study: the concern with the amplitude and limits of the network regarding the local space; the understanding of dense networks and expanded networks within the specific context; and the notion that, due to the network configuration and the links between actors, it is possible to analyze the individual and collective behavior of each and all of them (MARTELETO, 2010).

Beyond the dominant SNA methodology, it is very important to also introduce the perspective of analysis based on the investigation of the networks as a social structure, permeated by sharing, competition and conflict relations. Such perspective allows a more sensitive approach to the complexities inherent to the interactions developed in a network environment, which is better accessed not by paying attention to individual behaviors, but by analyzing relational patterns, supported by a specific socio-historical context, also involving relations among economic actors and other organizations, such as the government and research institutes. This manner of facing a network from a social and subjective viewpoint is increasingly gaining space in academic studies on administration (MACHADO-DA-SILVA; COSER, 2006; MARTELETO; SILVA, 2004).

4 PIERRE BOURDIEU AND THE THEORY OF *HABITUS*

Supposing a network analysis attitude based on a relational reality, permeated by the dynamics of interaction among various actors living together in a same space, the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu presents itself as an appropriate approach to understand social networks in general, in their entire complexity. Accordingly, this section aims to introduce a brief collection of Bourdieu's general thought, and then address its theory of *habitus*, possibly applicable in the studies of networks.

4.1 Pierre Bourdieu's thought

Born in 1930, in a rural region of France, Pierre Bourdieu became known as one of the most important thinkers of the late 20th century. With over 35 books and 400 articles published, Bourdieu was not restricted to the discussion of topics and problems specifically regarding sociology, influencing various fields of the social sciences, such as anthropology, education, cultural studies, and science philosophy, the later mainly approached based on his continuous reflections on the epistemological fundamentals of social science practices in regard to the criticism of fragmented conceptions originating from the subject/object dichotomy (SCOTT, 2009; SANTOS, 2007).

In regard to the core of his thought, Bourdieu oriented his studies towards the construction of a modified branch of the Structuralism. It is noteworthy though that his sociology stays apart from the traditional Structuralism, refusing the determinism and the objectivist reduction of stable and unchangeable structures that despise the presence and action of agents living there. Thus, the bourdieusian thought stays in between the pure subjectivism and the pure structuralism, pursuing evidences of the existence of an underlying structure to the social, analyzed through a critical view, intended to expose the mechanisms of domination and (re)production of ideas (THIRY-CHERQUES, 2006; 2008; WACQUANT, 2006; BOURDIEU, 2010). In the words of Loïc Wacquant, student and partner of Bourdieu, his sociological work attempts to "forge a dispositional theory of the action capable of reintroducing the inventive capacity of agents into the structuralist anthropology" (WACQUANT, 2007, p. 64).

The major contribution of Bourdieu for the sociology, or at least the one most broadly diffused, was the elaboration of the theories of the *habitus* and of the field. Through those theories, Bourdieu introduces the idea that the society is formed of various fields, within which the agents reproduce specific *habitus* in a constant battle for power, determined by the domain of interest

capitals inside each of the fields (ARAÚJO; ALVES; CRUZ, 2009; SCOTT, 2009).

This work specifically focus on the theory of *habitus*. However, to introduce it, some descriptive aspects of the notion of field need to be addressed insofar they become necessary to understand the *habitus*. Accordingly, two conceptual categories present in both dimensions, the agent and the capital, are also raised, even though in the pursuit to emphasize their roles in understanding the *habitus*.

4.2 The theory of the *habitus*

The concept of *habitus* is very central and remarkable in the work of Bourdieu. Discussed by various authors, the word *habitus* originates with Aristotle, and was used by other thinkers along the time, such as Mauss and Heidegger, but has never received so much attention until Bourdieu redeemed the word in the attempt to “break up with the structuralist paradigm, without falling into the old philosophy of the subject or of the consciousness” (BOURDIEU, 2010, p. 61). Therefore, his intention was to express his disagreement with the Althusserian view of the agent reduced to the role of the structure support, as well as of the *homo economicus* coming from the consciousness philosophy and of the methodological individualism ((BOURDIEU, 2010; BOURDIEU, 2007a).

In the words of Bourdieu:

[...] one of the main functions of the habitus notion is to discard two supplementary mistakes which principle is the scholastic vision: on one side, the mechanism according to which the action is the mechanical effect of the coercion of external causes; on the other side, the finalism according to which, above all because of the rational action theory, the agent acts freely and consciously, and as said by some utilitarians, with full understanding, and the action is the product of a calculation of chances and gains. (BOURDIEU, 2007a, p. 169).

Adopted in the practice theory to represent a system of dispositions, ways of feeling and

thinking, the *habitus* is a kind of action matrix that makes us see the world in a certain way, and guides our action under certain circumstances. The concept addresses the internalization of social structures, translated into the individual and collective history, absorbed to such an extent that they become imperceptible by the agents, converting themselves into an infra-conscious logic of practical rationality (BOURDIEU, 2007a; SETTON, 2002; WACQUANT, 2007).

Upon giving special attention to the differentiation between *habitus* and concepts such as “habit”, “custom” and “praxis”, Bourdieu tries to show that the *habitus* does not relate only to a kind of conditioning. The *habitus* is an internalized disposition, generating practice, and it can be regarded as structure of and structuring the social dynamics, which explains Bourdieu’s belief in a form of Structuralism permeated by the agency, not the pure structuralism of Lévi-Strauss (BOURDIEU, 2010; CASTILHOS, 2007).

In the role of conditioning and conditioner of the agents practice, the *habitus* is constituted by the way of apprehending, comprehending and judging the world, being formed of three central elements, synthesized by Thiry-Cherques (2006; 2008):

- *ethos* – unconscious values that guide the everyday moral, materialized in the practical state;
- *eidós* – specific way of thinking the reality, based on the pre-reflexive belief;
- *hexis* – physically incorporated principles, expressed by the body in specific postures and expressions.

One of the major contributions brought by the concept of *habitus* was the possibility of discussing again the dichotomy between objectivity/subjectivity in social sciences. To Bourdieu, the social dynamics is translated by the dialectal relation between the objectivation of positions regarding the social space – space called “field” by Bourdieu - and the subjectivation of individual dispositions (*habitus*), reflex of the same positions, and which are noticed through the behaviors and attitudes of the individual

(OLIVEIRA, 2001; WACQUANT, 2006; BOURDIEU 2007b). Therefore, it is possible to state that “the *habitus* is the internalization or incorporation of the social structure, while the field is the exteriorization or objectivation of the *habitus*” (THIRY-CHERQUES, 2008, p. 172).

In this relation, another critical notion is the capital one, which appears in the bourdieusian theory as the power disputes performed by the agents’ interests and investments in the field where they are structured. Hence, this is about a notion that localizes the agent in a social field, while refers to his dispositions in a given *habitus*.

To Bourdieu, there are four types of different capitals, which the agents can possess in different measures. These are (BOURDIEU, 2007b; ARAÚJO; ALVES; CRUZ, 2009):

- cultural capital – comprises the intellectual qualifications (knowledge, information, skills);
- social capital – corresponds to the total social accesses of relationships and contacts;
- economic capital – comprises the material wealth (properties, estate);
- symbolic capital – formed by the rituals of acknowledgement, prestige and honor.

The power disputes and relations can be translated as the pursuit of positions by the agents, through the accumulation of interest capitals within the field at issue. By using specific strategies, explicit or not, the agents try to preserve and conquer positions within the structure in which they are integrated. Consequently, the agents who occupy domination positions try to use the symbolic violence to privilege interests of preservation or reproduction of the prevailing order, in detriment of the interests to change the field configuration (BOURDIEU, 2010; BOURDIEU, 2009; OLIVEIRA, 2001; THIRY-CHERQUES, 2006; 2008).

Through the identification of different *habitus* present in a field it is then possible to understand the generating matrix behind the actions of these agents, allowing to better understand the attitudes assumed by these agents in view of other agents. Hence, the

characterization of *habitus* offers the opportunity to extrapolate the basic structural mapping of the traditional structuralism, turning subjacent aspects underlying the interaction of a group explicit.

4.3 Expanding the “use” of Bourdieu in the study of networks

Before starting to address the methodological procedures, and following the presentation and discussion of the results, a brief explanation is necessary. Despite the countless possibilities offered by Bourdieu’s work to analyze and question the most diverse social phenomena, studies related to networks have been restricted to the mere use of the concept of “social capital” in their academic discussions.

Hence, because we believe the potential of Pierre Bourdieu’s work to analyze economic and productive phenomena is undeniable, and because it provides the fundamentals to safely address the structural aspects of such phenomena, we consider the attempt to promote a bigger approximation between the studies on networks and the bourdieusian thought in its whole complexity pertinent and extremely enriching (SWEDBERG, 2004).

Corroborating with what was said about the existence of social aspects, many times neglected by researches, Marteleto states that:

[...] the study of networks thus highlights an aspect of the contemporary social reality that is still little explored, i.e., that individuals, endowed with propositional resources and capacities, organize their actions in political spaces due to socializations and mobilizations suggested by the network development itself. Even being born in an informal sphere of social relations, the effects of networks can be perceived out of their space, in interactions with the State, the society and other representative institutions. (MARTELETO, 2001, p. 72).

Therefore, the relevance of expanding the studies of networks seems clear to us, so that

they ultimately address issues other than only the mapping of agents constituting a specific network, taking into consideration the historical construction of the *habitus* based on disagreeing interests relating to each other, establishing a field with formal and informal rules, based on the coordination and dispute of interests CHALITA, 2008).

5 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This work adopts a qualitative research attitude, presupposing the interpretivism as paradigmatic orientation; hence, there is no intention to explain the phenomenon object of the study, but rather to understand its particulars. This was our choice because of the nature of the proposed study and the characteristics inherent to the type of approach chosen in the moment of defining the study (DENZIN; LINCOLN, 2005).

We have defined the limit of the network object of our study as being comprised by the agents of the viticulture of the São Francisco Valley region. The *corpus* was formed by interviews with five individuals, representing five of the six wineries existent in the São Francisco Valley region. Due to accessibility issues, it was not possible to interview the representative of one of the wineries. The interviewees were: Flávia Helena Cavalcanti (CAVALCANTI, 2009), enologist of the Ouro Verde Winery (Miolo Wine Group); José Gualberto Almeida (ALMEIDA, 2009), owner of the Vale do São Francisco Winery (Botticelli); Izanete Bianchetti Tedesco (TEDESCO, 2009), enologist and owner of the Bianchetti Winery; João Santos (SANTOS, 2009), technical director of the Santa Maria Winery (Vinibrasil); Mábio Dutra (DUTRA, 2009), enologist and general manager of the Lagoa Grande Winery (Garziera)².

Such *corpus* of research was constructed through semi-structured individual interviews, oriented by an interview script that included more general aspects of the consumption and of the consumers of wine, and of the viticulture productive arrangement of São Francisco Valley, besides the actions of the winery itself. This

approach allowed the researcher to obtain from the interviewees information beyond those possibly obtainable with the mere application of questionnaires or forms. Semi-structured interviews provide more freedom to the interviewer and to the interviewee, contributing to bring out more specific and detailed information, thus enriching the study (BAUER; GASKELL, 2005). Accordingly, starting with the interviews done with five agents, we could identify other agents related to the network object of this study, and understand how they are seen by the interviewees.

Regarding the analysis of data, the interpretation was conducted by using the technique of discourse analysis, which can be defined as a careful reading which goes beyond the text, trying to also understand the context at issue, to examine the contents, the organization and the functions of the discourse. To conduct such analysis, the research support software Nvivo 8 was used, helping in the organization, management and codification of analyzed data (BAUER; GASKELL, 2005).

The role performed by the theory in the development of this study has to be highlighted. Presupposing an inductive character and a logic of the “construct model”, the bourdieusian theory provided the conceptual bases to conduct the analysis of the specific categories present there. In view of the existence of a bourdieusian method, we though considered important to point out that such method was not adopted in the course of this research. Therefore, we can state that the theory of *habitus* of Pierre Bourdieu was used under a perspective of “general theory” (LEÃO; MELLO; VIEIRA, 2009).

Accordingly, our analysis has first focused on the identification of the network agents and on the use of their capitals, then allowing us to analyze their subjective dispositions. It is noteworthy that the *hexis* could not be analyzed in this research. This analysis was not possible because of the nature of the data collection, exclusively based on profound interviews, which did not allow the collection of data regarding the principles internalized by the body related to the *habitus* of each of the interviewed agents.

6 RESULTS

Considering that the proposal of this article is to characterize the subjective dispositions guiding the dynamics of inter(action) of viticulture producers of São Francisco Valley region, our efforts were concentrated on the identification of aspects regarding the *habitus* (*ethos* and *eidos*) of the network agents, as well as on the verification of the relations among such agents by means of their capitals.

6.1 Agents and capitals

Initially, the analysis of the *corpus* started with the identification of agents comprising the viticulture network of São Francisco Valley, and also of outsider agents, but who kept some kind of relation and performed some kind of influence on the network. Internally, the agents found were those six producing companies and the *Vinhovaf*, an association formed by producers (institutional agents), and the managers and specialists of each of the wineries (individual agents). At this point, it is important to highlight the small number of wineries in the region, when compared to other wine producing regions of the country, which can be one of the reasons for the difficulties faced by the companies of São Francisco Valley.

As for the outsider agents, those identified were Embrapa, foreign investors, specialists, consumers, competitors, and finally the governments of Pernambuco and Bahia States, and the federal government. The interviewees showed to be unsatisfied with the attitude of the Federal Government regarding the viticulture network, which gets little incentive and suffer from a heavy tax burden, while at the state level, they get a more effective support from the governments. In the specific case of the competitors, we should call the attention to the fact that they were treated differently in the interviews, sometimes referred to as a broader group of producers (European, Chilean, Argentinean, Gauchos from Rio Grande do Sul state, for instance), other times as specific competitors (Salton, Carreteiro).

Through the analysis, it was possible to notice that the power relations within the viticulture network were based on the economic and symbolic capitals of each of the companies. Companies with more financial resources seems to stand out in relation to the others, investing in technology, in the increase of the production volume and in advertisement. An aspect that seems to be relevant, however, is the importance the wineries tradition and the recognition have to conquer a market share, which favor the wineries of the southern region of the country. The little tradition of São Francisco Valley region in producing fine wine ends up hindering the growth and recognition of the network. This is clear in the piece of text where one of the interviewees says that:

[...] we have price competitiveness, with some of the best cost-benefit ratios of the country. We have a reserve wine, a wine that stays in the barrel and goes to the market, here for sixteen Reals. While, there is a reserve wine from the South which costs approximately twenty five, twenty something Reals. There is a sparkling wine that is sold in the market for nineteen Reals, while in the South most of them cost at least twenty five Reals, and there are those costing fifty five Reals. (E1; P.15; L.39-44).³

Still in regard to the symbolic capital existent in the network, it is possible to perceive issues related to the distinction of some companies due to the awards received by their wines in competitions, which is evident in the words of one of the interviewees who says:

[...] we have strongly invested in research, we have our grapevines already planted, we have our product in the marketplace, and since 2003 we have been gaining national and international awards, we are the biggest wine exporter of Brazil, right? We manage to export for nearly twenty countries. (E4; P.10; L.2-5).

As for the other capitals, we can say that the high cultural capital is a feature present in all the agents, which can be explained by the field of

activity in which they are integrated. The fine wine production requires a broad specific knowledge of the activity peculiarities, which not only includes technical aspects of the beverage production and consumption, but also the knowledge of the market. Such aspect is expressed in the following text, removed from one of the interviews, in which the interviewee shows to know technical specificities of the viticulture:

[...] for the richer wines in terms of aromas, primary and secondary: for primary wines, the characteristics of the grapes themselves; for white wines, there are some floral, fruity aromatic characteristics; for red wines, grapes should not be macerated too long, otherwise too much tannin is extracted, thus, for red wines, pursuing a younger wine. (E1; P.7; L.33-37).

In its turn, the social capital in the network can be identified in the attempt of wineries to internally articulate. *Vinhovásf*, the association of São Francisco Valley producers, is the concrete expression of this pursuit for the producers strengthening as a harmonious group. Such element is perceived in the interview of one of the agents when he states that:

[...] as for *Vinhovásf*, what we are doing so far in the partnerships is to take part in fairs, events, always as a group. Thus (...) we have a stand where all the *Vinhovásf*'s wineries showcase their products. This is also a way to reduce costs, because individually the cost is higher. (E3; P.4; L.14-17).

Despite the positive discourse, though, it is possible to notice that there are still difficulties in conducting collective actions, which is clear by the smaller participation of some agents in the associations, and by the difficulty faced by companies in defining the types of wines of the Valley, which for some of the interviewed agents is crucial to strengthen the region's viticulture.

The social capital present in the network can also be analyzed from the viewpoint of the relation between the network and the outsider agents. Accordingly, the main aspect evidenced

by the interviewees was the need of a stronger articulation with the federal government, in order to demand its support, which would mainly occur through the reduction of the tax burden on the wine production and trading in the country, which we can perceive in the statement that:

[...] we should say that we have a good relation with the Government of Pernambuco, which has an understanding, and has been adopting state policies along the years, in special in this administration, where he has understood and is trying to reduce the tax burden under his responsibility. (E2; P.2; L.7-11).

6.2 Dispositions and the habitus in the interaction among agents

Specifically in regard to the dispositions of the network, interviews were analyzed searching for elements that compose the habitus guiding the actions of the Valley companies.

In regard to the ethos, it was possible to notice in the agents' reasoning the importance of constructing a viticulture identity of the São Francisco Valley, capable of being achieved by means of the appreciation of the features of young and varietal wines produced there, thus showing the need of typifying the region's wine. In general, the agents showed concern about the construction of such typification, as we can see in the statement of one of the winery owners, when he says that "it is important to typify the wine and we are working to make wines typical of São Francisco" (E2; P.2; L.21-22).

The understanding that investing in research is important for the evolution of wines produced in the São Francisco Valley was another highlighted element of the *ethos*. This appreciation of research can be noticed in the statement of one of the agents, according to whom:

[...] research shall always continue, always deepening, because research cannot stop: in the production of new cultivars, elaboration of new products, we cannot stop. The man should not stop researching, because if he stops, he falls behind. (E2; P.10; L.3-6).

During the interviews, the struggle against prejudices suffered by the country's northeastern wines also called our attention, and the situation is highlighted by one of the agents when he says: "Yes, there is prejudice, even from people of the South region, in general. When we say the Northeast produces wine, it is kind of.... 'they won't do it well'..." (E1; P.12; L.16-18). It is important to notice that, as a way to counteract this prejudice, self-affirmation attitudes are performed by some companies, which decide to manufacture wines far away from the natural features of the region just motivated by the need of showing the Valley production potential. This issue is shown in the statement of an agent:

Then, on trying to imitate the wines of other regions, I think we lose. In short, I think the São Francisco wine should not privilege the use of wood. And that is what we do. We are now doing with wood to prove we can do it [...]. (E2; P.6; L.38-41).

In this text, the need of the Valley wineries self-affirmation before other wine producers becomes evident; an attempt thus of conquering the respect of competitors and consumers.

At last, another aspect that has called our attention was the fact that, in general, interviewees said there is no internal competition among the companies of the Valley. For all the research informers, companies comprising the São Francisco Valley network need to work together, in order to strengthen the region as a whole. This "good neighborhood" policy is evident when one of the agents says that "here, we still don't have that, this direct competition for the market. What I observe is that we are always trying to help each other, you know?" (E1; P.16/17; L.45/1-2).

Regarding the *eidós* of the viticulture network, it is formed by beliefs related to the great potential of São Francisco Valley region for the production of young fine wines. Such conviction is noticed in the discourse of one of the agents:

The Spanish company, which is our partner, looked to the São Francisco Valley also with other yes, and has chosen among the Miolo units the one

in São Francisco Valley to work with. Then, it is because it has potential. No one invests by chance and no one shoots in the dark, especially the guys with a growth vision. Then, they have to search for something that has.... that is different. Here it is different. (E1; P.22; L.15-20)

The agents also revealed that they believe in the great potential of the Brazilian fine wine consumer market, which is noticed in the talk of one of the interviewed producers: "we have a huge potential market, and ... When the Brazilians start to drink their own wine, there will be shortage of wine in the market" (E1; P.3; L.12-14). Producers though believe that the concretization of such potential market will only occur when the wine consumption is popularized, which necessarily requires the reduction of taxes now applicable to the manufacturing of wines, hindering the industry growth in the whole country.

The interviewees also expressed the belief that the wine production benefits the social and cultural development of a region, all the agents agreeing on the importance of the viticulture network presence for the growth of São Francisco Valley. This perception of the benefits that the wine production could bring to the region becomes evident in the words of an interviewee when he says "we have here a project that can create sustainability, not around wine, but around tourism, around the region's development" (E4; P.1; L.19-21).

Beyond the aspects comprising the *habitus*, the analysis was also dedicated to issues regarding the exiting power relations among the internal agents of the network and the outsiders. As previously mentioned, the economic capital is decisive in the power relations established among the wineries in the Valley. Companies with bigger financial resources seems to stand out in relation to the others, which is noticed in the talk of one of the research interviewees, who says: "two companies that I mention here in the Valley, have a huge potential: Rio Sol, which is ViniBrasil, and Miolo Terranova. For me, today, these are the most outstanding wines, representing the Valley". (E1; P.8; L.9-11).

Furthermore, we have noticed that the formatting of the São Francisco Valley Wines Institute – Vinhovasf – expresses power relations among the companies' managers, ones more influential than others. The Institute's president, manager of one of the wineries, slightly shows in his interview the differences of power and influence taking place within the structure of Vinhovasf. Some companies are stronger than others, while others do not effectively take part in the Institute's articulations, characterizing an institutional hierarchy, as we can see in the following text:

There is the Institute of Wine, precisely. I am the president of the Institute of the Wine, João Santos, from Vinibrasil, is the vice-president, and Izanete Biachetti, Mábio Dutra, who represent other wineries, also have a great participation. We are stimulating that other wineries, not the ones mentioned, more actively participate, such as Terra Nova, from Bahia state, Ducos, which belongs to an European group. (E2; P.7; L. 15-19).

Outside the network, it is evident that the power of the state, when applying high taxes on the production of wine, perpetrates a symbolic violence on the region's viticulture products, which also occurs to other national competitors of the Valley network. Upon applying lower taxes to imported Mercosur wines and higher taxes on national products, the State privileges Chilean and Argentinean wines, for instance. On the other hand, the inflow of some other national products in the market of our South American neighbors, such as household appliances, is privileged in detriment of other products, such as wine. Brazilian regions and other countries with older tradition in the production of wines – and thus having more market power – perpetrate a symbolic violence when depreciating the Northeastern wine, making the São Francisco Valley network the target of prejudice, which is shown in the talk of one of the interviewed agents: “We receive the visit of some restaurant owners from various regions of the country, of some sommeliers too, and we feel a certain prejudice against the Northeastern wines” (E1;

P.2; L.25-27). On the other hand, the members of the Valley viticulture network also perform a symbolic violence when they despise light and cocktail wines produced in the region, treated as inferior beverages. This is explicitly shown when the same agent says that “we don't produce light wine. We only produce dry and fine wine. From a winery, right? No production of ordinary wine at all” (E1; P.2; L.16-17).

7 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Upon finalizing the interviews analysis and with the starting point being the context in which the São Francisco Valley viticulture is integrated, we could perceive that the network agents still try to consolidate and affirm themselves in the network itself, and before the market and the competition, observing difficulties resulting from the lack of support from the State, at the national level, and from the prejudice against the region. Accordingly, our findings show four subjective dispositions of such agents, presented as follows:

In the internal sphere, the **pursuit for a discourse unit** among agents is clear, because they believe in the region's aptitude for the production of “young wines” and in the commercial value of their products' features (*eidós*). Wineries assume a contradictory attitude, though, when trying to manufacture “guard wines”, motivated by the need of conquering the recognition of the viticulture market (*ethos*). This kind of contradiction weakens the discourse spread among producers regarding the importance of appreciating the types of wine produced in the region (*ethos*).

It is also noteworthy the statement of agents saying that the region's companies are not competitors (*ethos*). This “**good neighborhood**” attitude makes explicit the discourse of interviewees defending the network growth as a whole, i.e., there is a perception that the joint development will imply the individual growth of each winery. Here, we should question to which extent this reasoning is real, because there is still a gap between the discourse and the action. Hence, the disparity between the two economically and

structurally better off wineries and the other companies, with lower economic capacity and scale, but installed in the same region, stands out. The first two seem to be more aligned in terms of objectives and strategies, which contributes to reinforce the distance in relation to the other members of the network (social capital). The lack of alignment among the wineries is also present in the discourse about the configuration of Vinhovasf, producers' association, which despite the good intentions still seem not to effectively act as an aggregating element of the network. The institute thus seems to be marked by institutionalized power relations.

We could also notice that producers **believe in the role of the network for the local development**. This is evident in the recognition of the importance of research investments to improve the quality of wines produced in the Valley (*ethos*), as well as a conviction about the relevance of the viticulture activity for the economic development of the region as a whole (*eidós*).

As for the power relations among agents, some tensions became explicit, expressed through symbolic violence, both suffered and practiced by the agents comprising the Valley's network, which we referred to as **perception and reproduction of the denial of benefits and of prejudices**. The wineries suffer symbolic violence from unfavorable tax policies practiced by the Federal Government, and from the attitude of competitors who despise the Valley's wines and depreciate the productive potential of the region. On the other hand, the network's producers perform the symbolic violence when assuming a negative attitude in relation to the less elaborated wines of the local competitors, referred to as lower quality beverages.

At last, it is necessary to stress that this article proposed to analyze the dispositions of the agents comprising the São Francisco Valley network; therefore, issues related to the field characteristics and to the positions in the network were not explored in depth. We then can see the opportunity to conduct a more complete study comprehending and discussing in a more detailed

way all the aspects involving the network. We also suggest the conduction of studies addressing the context of this arrangement from the viewpoint of other agents related to it, such as the State, the support institutions, the competitors and the consumers.

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NOTAS

1. More than just a theoretical choice, Bourdieu's thought was used as reference about the researcher role in making science (BOURDIEU, 2001). Such choice is reflected in the text of this work, since, for axiological issues, we decided to assume the 3rd person plural to write, positioning ourselves in the text. Accordingly, in consonance with Bourdieu, Boaventura de Souza Santos states that “the social scientist cannot get free, in the act of observing, from the values that inform his general practice and, thus, also his scientist practice” (SANTOS, 2006, p. 36).
2. We highlight that the parts of the interviews to be afterward presented, throughout this article, will not mention the interviewee, because we have assumed the commitment of not disclosing their names during the research.
3. After each portion of text, codes in between parenthesis identify the quotations. Code *E* indicates the interview in chronological order; *P* indicates the page, and *L*, the line of transcription in the page. Example: “E3; P4; L.16-20” means that the text was withdrawn from the 3rd interview, at page 4, between lines 16 and 20 of its transcription.