

IRSA - CONGRESSO MUNDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIA RURAL (01/10/2025 A 20/01/2026) - IRSA 39 - TERRITORIAL MARKETS AS SPACES OF VALUE

**"NATURAL WINES" IN SERRA GAÚCHA AS A CONSTRUCTION OF
NESTED MARKETS AND COUNTERMOVEMENT**

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This paper aims to describe and analyze the "Natural Wines Movement" in Serra Gaúcha, Rio Grande do Sul state, Brazil, understood as a set of nested markets that constitute a countermovement to the dominant wine markets. For its operationalization, a non-probability snowball sampling method was used, in which participants were identified by qualified informants. The analyses were based on case studies conducted until sociological saturation, involving six families from five undivided family wineries that are part of the afore mentioned movement. The "Natural Wines Movement" fits the definition of nested markets by presenting specific characteristics: a) they are open, allowing the entry of new producers and internal expansion, contraction, or differentiation; b) they maintain integration with broader markets, although operating as a distinct segment; and c) they present their own dynamics, interrelationships, and forms of governance, which shape their social specificity. This structure creates a "nest" that protects and sustains alternative practices within the wine market. These markets are

distinguished, then, by the differentiated quality of their products, generally organic, artisanal, and natural, positioning themselves as an arena of resistance, or countermovement, to conventional markets. This resistance manifests itself in the valorization of human labor, environmental protection, and the promotion of social well-being, shaping a new productive ethic. Through the production of natural wines, family wineries express new forms of interaction with the environment and propose a social reorganization of markets, supported by solidarity and sustainable practices. In this context, the movement creates counter-hegemonic production networks that preserve social ties and challenge the logic of extreme commodification that characterizes the conventional wine sector.

Palavras-chave: natural wines; family wineries; countermovement; nested markets; rural development.