

**Exploring organic food consumption,
within the context of Uruguay**

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Abstract

Food consumption has become a significant global issue due to the negative consequences that conventional food systems have on the environment. Therefore, there is a pressing need to encourage more sustainable food consumption choices – such as organic food – as a way of reducing the environmental impact of contemporary food diets. There is a lack of understanding about what drives Uruguayan consumers to buy organic food. This study aims to understand the underlying motivation of Uruguayan, regular, organic food consumers using the theoretical lens of personal values. Drawing on Schwartz's (1992) theory of human values, the research examines which personal values influence organic food consumption in Uruguay. The study also explores the meaning of the term 'organic,' perceived benefits, value priorities and value orientations of those who regularly consume organic food in Uruguay.

The research adopts a concurrent mixed-method design, that is predominantly qualitative to fulfil the objectives of this study. The qualitative strand explores, through thematic analysis, data from 38 in-depth interviews. The quantitative strand applies Schwartz's (1992) Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-RR) to measure these organic food consumers' personal values. A pilot study of five participants was carried out, using the PVQ-RR Spanish version, which had been previously validated and tested for accuracy of language. Special attention was given to the linguistic and cultural translation of the different value constructs, and the linguistic consistency of the value scale was checked within the pilot study.

The findings reveal that 'organic' food is synonymous with 'free-from synthetic chemicals' and associated with 'natural,' 'safe,' 'healthy,' 'living food,' 'authentic,' 'environmentally friendly,' and 'tastier.' The qualitative data revealed that 'food safety' and health benefits are the main drivers of organic food consumption. Elevated levels of 'distrust' in relation to pesticide residue on conventionally grown food is evident among the sample, which drives organic food consumption. The PVQ-RR survey results revealed that Benevolence, Universalism and Self-Direction are the main value types endorsed by organic consumers. The in-depth analysis revealed that consumers' have different underlying motivations for 'health,' which are not always driven by 'Security' values but could also be underpinned by Benevolence or Self-

Transcendence. This presents a challenge in the context of organic food when trying to fit the 'health' value within only the Security value type of Schwartz's circumplex model. The study contributes by highlighting that the measurement of 'health' as a value item within the PVQ-RR scale seems to be problematic within the context of organic food. This suggests a re-examination of the location of 'health' within Schwartz values circumplex and the measurement of other facets of health.

The study offers a theoretical contribution, as it suggests that the PVQ scale is insufficient to understand the different value priorities and orientations across distinct types of consumers in specific consumption contexts. Five types of organic consumers were identified based on their concerns, underlying motivations, value priorities and lifestyle. This understanding is helpful for policymakers and marketers when developing communication messages to target different consumer groups. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the recommendations to promote organic food and target different consumer groups more effectively. It also provides managerial implications to continue the current levels of trust in organic. These findings can be used by governmental institutions to understand organic consumers and grocery retailers to regain consumers' trust and promote organic consumption.

Keywords: Organic food consumption, Personal values, Value priorities, Value orientation, Sustainable food

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Declarations

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is the original, except where it is indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of this thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The idea has not been presented to any other educational institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

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Preface

How did this journey start?

This section explains the research journey I have been through during the last number of years, the reason that initially motivated this study, and how this has evolved. Although this is explained more intellectually in the following few chapters, I would first like to share my personal experience while doing this research.

Initially, my research focus was 'green consumption' and pro-environmentally friendly practices. I started looking at a wide range of pro-environmentally friendly consumption practices, such as recycling, reduced waste strategies, reduced energy consumption, buying environmentally friendly products, buying local and fuel-efficient means of transport. At first, I tried to understand what drives some consumers to 'go green and adopt environmentally friendly means of consumption. At the same time, it seems other consumers 'do not care' about the environment (Piscicelli, 2016), or do not care *enough* to make the necessary changes in their consumption choices and behaviours.

The literature on sustainable consumption and pro-environmental behaviour is vast (Jackson, 2005). Some researchers have tried to examine the phenomenon from a consumer perspective (Young et al., 2010), while others have looked at green marketing practices from a business, or supply perspective (Conin, 2010). For instance, some researchers have investigated environmentally friendly product choice. The impact of marketing on sustainability and green marketing as a branding strategy (Gordon, Carrigan and Hastings, 2011), whilst others examined pro-environmental behaviour from a consumer behaviour perspective, such as drivers for recycling, energy consumption and sustainable consumption (Dermody et al., 2015; McDonald et al., 2012; Connolly & Prothero, 2003). As highlighted by McDonald and colleagues (2012,) consumers have a significant role to play in adopting more sustainable ways of consumption. One of the ways of contributing to the environment is food consumption. More recently, researchers have looked at organic food consumption as one

type of sustainable food consumption. When reviewing this diverse range of material, I came across a body of literature that suggested that consumer's environmental concerns are inconsistent with their pro-environmental behaviour. This indicates that despite consumers being environmentally concerned, their concerns are not always reflective of their behaviour, and consumption choices. They might be willing to be 'green' in some areas of their consumption choices but not in others (Thøgersen, 2004; Whitmarsh, 2008a; 2008b; Whitmarsh & O'Neill, 2010). For instance, engaging in recycling but not willing to cut down on driving or being unwilling to stop using long haul-flights for their holidays, despite buying local food. I started to consider that there might be different explanations for this attitude-behaviour gap within each of the different consumption contexts – that I realised I needed to refine my research focus to a more specific consumption context. I came to the realisation that looking at a wide range of green consumption practices was going to be potentially problematic and would not allow the necessary depth to comprehend the complexities at play.

After considering my marketing background, the relative importance of each of the different consumer consumption choices, I decided to investigate sustainable food consumption, particularly organic food consumption. Food consumption continues to have a significant negative impact on the environment, and organic food consumption is still a relatively small sector despite consumers pro-environmental awareness and market growth. There is still much to understand about the consumer to encourage more sustainable food choices, such as organic food.

Given the evidence for an attitude-behaviour gap (Ajzen, 2001), I started examining consumer's self-identity (Sirgy, Sparks & Shepherd, 1992), and delved deeper into the pro-environmental self-identity (PESI) literature (Whitmarsh & O'Neil, 2010). This theory could also offer an explanation to understand organic food consumption, and why consumers might not always reflect their environmental concerns in all their consumption choices. I started to explore the problem from the perspective of self-identity and the role that self-identity plays in pro-environmental consumption. I have researched the concept of self-identity widely in relation to pro-environmental consumption choices.

However, in the initial stages of my literature review, I personally went through two 'significant life events' (SLE) (Anthis, 2002). In a brief period, I had the most rewarding and fulfilling event in my life, and just a few months after welcoming my first daughter into the world, I went through a life-threatening experience. On reflection, I realised that these two life experiences changed the perception, beliefs, and views I had about myself, in other words, my self-identity. I came out of these experiences, with a different perception of myself, with a 'new' self-identity, with a new image about myself. I confirmed, first-hand, what the literature suggests, that self-identity is a fluid construct (Soron, 2010; Sirgy, 1980). always evolving and capable of meaningful change during our lifetime. However, despite this self-identity change, I realised that my core priorities remained the same, and that my core beliefs were what guided me through these experiences and influenced my choices. I realised that my personal values have always been there, with me, and remained unchanged, even in challenging times. This left me reflecting about to what extent self-identity underpins our consumption choices, or whether there was something else, at a deeper level of core beliefs, that could better explain my consumption choices. This realisation led me onto the next stage of engagement with the literature: leading to the consideration of 'personal values' as more stable guiding principles that underpin consumer behaviour (Schwartz, 1992; Rokeach, 1973). It is this notion that offers the basis for the research that followed and that is detailed in this thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter explains the study's rationale and offers a summary of the relevant literature concerning *sustainable food consumption* and its interrelationship with organic food, as well as the importance of the organic food market, and the need to gain a deeper understanding of organic food consumers within the context of Uruguay. The reasons for choosing this country as the site of the research are also outlined.

This thesis centres on organic food consumption (OFC), the definition of which is discussed later, but is broadly understood as food that is produced following organic standards, such as avoiding the use of certain chemical pesticides, fertilisers, and additives while also caring for the soil and ecosystem (IFOAM, 2019; Willer et al., 2020). Within the category of organic food, the study focuses specifically on the fresh fruit and vegetables (FFV) category (Amekawa, 2010). This is the main organic food category in Uruguay and, in general, around the globe (AO, 2017 cited by Mascitelli & Phan, 2018). According to TNS (2004) fruit and vegetables are also the main entry point to organic food consumption for most consumers and are the most popular organic food category, accounting for 54.3% of household purchases, followed by organic dairy (37.2%) and organic meat (15.6%).

Sustainability, sustainable food consumption and organic food

Current environmental challenges have increased the advocacy for *sustainability*. The early literature defined sustainability as aiming to meet the need of today's societies without compromising future generations' ability to meet their needs (Schaefer & Crane, 2005). The concept of sustainability implies that it is possible to maintain a balance between the environment, society, and business growth, by consuming our fair share of natural resources to meet our needs, but without ignoring the needs of future generations (Peattie & Collins, 2009; Prothero et al., 2011; United Nations, 2010; Young, 2010; Pepper et al., 2009). The first three aspects - the environment, society, and business growth – focus on possible outcomes, whilst the final identify *consumption* as the process through which these outcomes are generated. Here *consumption* is used in a broad sense – denoting both production activities and final use of what is produced, hence emphasising the connection between producer and

consumer. Therefore, when considering *sustainable consumption*, issues related to supply and demand must be seen as interlocking and, at times, as overlapping, elements.

It could be argued that sustainable consumption is related to the idea of responsible consumption, which is also concerned with being responsible to the planet and others (Sorón, 2010). This intersects with other notions identified in the literature, such as being environmentally conscious (Dembrowski & Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995), socially responsible (Gonzalez et al., 2009), socially conscious (Webster et al., 1975; Pepper et al., 2009), mindful consumption (Seth et al., 2011), and pro-environmentally friendly (Steg & Vlek, 2008). Sustainable consumption is hence a wide concept that includes the notions of fair trade (de Pelsmacker et al., 2005), ethical consumption (Connolly & Prothero, 2008), animal welfare, and environmentally friendly products (Grunert and Juhl, 1995; Janssen et al., 2009).

It can also be applied to *sustainable food consumption*, which is about consuming the food we need but seeking to minimise negative environmental consequences by using the least possible natural resources to avoid depletion for future generations (Barański et al., 2014). This suggests that food consumption may not have previously been undertaken from such a position and that concerns were evident.

Food consumption has indeed become a significant global issue due to the negative consequences that conventional food systems have on the environment (Jackson, 2005; Bond, 2005; Sorón, 2010; United Nations, 2010; Thøgersen et al., 2015; Dermody et al., 2018; Rizzo et al., 2020). The negative impact of conventional food systems on the environment is well documented (DEFRA, 2008; Assadourian, 2011; IFOAM 2019; Willer & Lernoud, 2019; Willer et al., 2020). The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) (2019) have repeatedly warned about the progressive deterioration of the environment because of the current levels of consumption in general, and particularly food consumption, which represents 30% of the household carbon footprint.

In addition to this, the food consumption rate is increasing globally because of a rise in population, with 9.7 billion expected by 2050 (de Nooy van Tol, 2016; UN, 2019). As highlighted by Vermir et al. (2020), domestic food consumption now accounts for more than

60% of global greenhouse emissions, which increases the urgency to shift consumers' eating choices toward more environmentally sustainable production choices – and this may include moving to organic foodstuffs.

Therefore, two critical issues the world currently faces are the environmental degradation caused by the level of consumption in general, and the need to encourage more sustainable choices. Simultaneously, the global food industry faces the contradictory situation of having to increase food production to meet the needs of a growing population, while at the same time reducing its environmental impact from greenhouse gas emissions (Sandstrom et al., 2018). Organic food production could help address the food supply challenges and offer a way of reducing the environmental impact of modern food diets (Hoffmann, 2011; Reisch et al., 2017; Rizzo et al., 2020).

Encouraging more sustainable food choices is at the heart of the European Green Deal, which presents a strategy that could allow Europe to become carbon neutral by 2050. This plan aims to reduce greenhouse emissions to net-zero, while still maintaining economic growth (Siddi, 2020). Equally, encouraging more sustainable ways of consumption, such as organic food, has been one of the key items on the UK government agenda as part of its sustainable development strategy (UK Government, 2008; DEFRA, 2008), and it is also an area of concern across Latin America (United Nations, 2010; ECLAC, 2012; FiBL, 2019). This presents the following question:

How could we encourage more sustainable food consumption?

Several types of sustainable food consumption are currently growing in popularity among consumers, such as plant-based diets, reduced meat consumption, buying seasonal produce, locally produced produce, and buying organically grown food (Hughner et al., 2007; Reisch et al., 2017). However, food consumption still accounts for over 60% of greenhouse gas emissions (GHE) (Reisch et al., 2017; Vermeir et al., 2020), whilst food production, particularly when considering agriculture, deforestation, and land-use changes, is the second highest source of GHE globally at 24% (Willett et al., 2019).

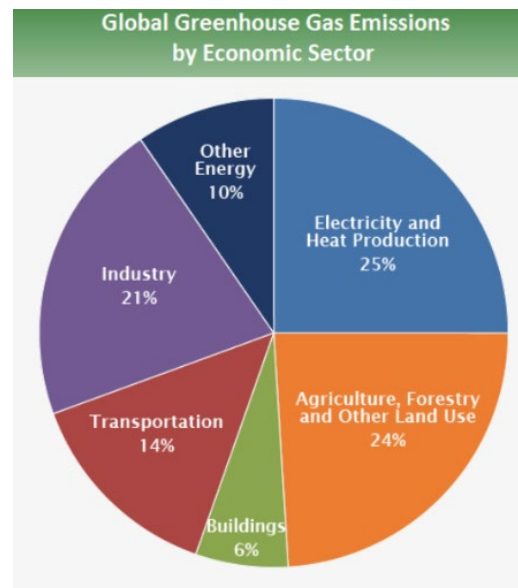


Figure 1: Global greenhouse gas emissions by economic sector

Source: IPCC, 2014

Global challenges and the role of organic food

Research shows that conventional food production is creating increasing pressure on the environment by the application of chemical pesticides, contamination of water sources and depletion of natural resources (Hughner et al., 2007; CEPAL, 2012; United Nations, 2010; Hoffmann, 2011; Azzurra et al., 2019; Reisch et al., 2017; Willer et al., 2020). There are also suggestions that GHE from agriculture could be reduced with organic farming, which could mitigate over 40% of the world's agricultural GHE emissions (Willer et al., 2020; United Nations, 2010). Therefore, as suggested by Hoffmann in his report for the United Nations (2011), organic agriculture may represent a viable climate-neutral farming method and an alternative solution to the pressing global need for more environmentally friendly and sustainable ways of producing food (Harper & Makatouni, 2002; Tago et al., 2014; de Nooy van Tol, 2016; Torma et al., 2018; Rizzo et al., 2020).

Another of today's world challenges is the economic imbalance between developed and developing countries. Poorer countries suffer from lack of water, or water contamination due to chemical waste, chemical pollution, hunger due to lack of food, and low access to fertile land. Several world organisations are focusing on eradicating hunger, soil recovery and conservation of natural resources (de Nooy van Tol, 2016). Fostering sustainability and

encouraging sustainable food consumption such as organically grown food could be a way of repairing the damage caused by agricultural industrialisation, chemical pesticides, and intensive farming methods, particularly in developing countries (Lee et al., 2014; Biel, 2016; Yadav, 2016).

Therefore, it seems imperative to encourage more organic food consumption, not only because it is more environmentally friendly than conventional food, but also because it is more sustainable in terms of the use of natural resources without limiting those of future generations (Thogersen, 2010; Entem, 2007; Magnusson et al., 2003; Janssen, 2018). Organic farming protects the environment by reducing the amount of chemicals applied to the soil, thus avoiding soil and water pollution from toxic chemicals used in conventional food production. In this way, organic food protects the ecosystem, natural resources, animals, and other living organisms. In addition, with organic farming there is less soil degradation, more carbon is kept on the soil, and biodiversity is supported, which is also good for the environment (Afe et al., 2018; Biel, 2016; Kirchmann et al., 2008; Nandwani & Nwosisi, 2016; FAO, 2019; FiBL, 2020). This also explains why organic food is sometimes referred to as 'sustainable', because it aims to use the necessary natural resources without damaging the environment or depleting natural resources for future generations. This agrees with Sahota (2010), the president of Ecovia Intelligence, who believes that organic farming is the most sustainable form of agriculture. However, it should be noted that the absence of chemicals may not be enough for organic practices to claim to be environmentally friendly, but the farming method, use of water and natural resources should also be considered. However, it is not the purpose of this study to ascertain the environmentally-friendliness of organic food production, as this would vary depending on the farming methods.

Due to the increasing global population, there will be a shortage of supply if food production is not doubled in the next 40 years (de Nooy van Tol, 2016; FAO, 2016; Reisch et al., 2017). The challenge is to find sustainable ways of producing enough food for the growing population with the least negative impact on the environment (Reisch et al., 2017; Restrepo & Prager, 2000; Oroian et al., 2017). Within the sustainable agriculture literature, many authors claim that organic farming could provide a solution to this challenge, by applying pro-environmental farming methods (Ehrlich & Daily 1995; Dimitri & Oberholtzer, 2009; Dutilh &

Kramer 2000; Willer & Lernoud, 2019). However, other research findings suggest that to be able to feed the world population, the focus should not only be on increasing the organic yields, but also on producing crops that are more nutritious, and healthier by having fewer chemicals (FAO & WHO, 2019, Rodale Institute, 2019).

There is, however, a consensus that organic farming is a sustainable form of agriculture. Most authors claim that organic farming is sustainable due to the lack of chemical pesticides, care for soil health, and lower greenhouse emissions (Yiridoe et al., 2005; de Nooy van Tol, 2016). However, it could also be argued that depending on the specific farming techniques used, organic food could generate higher greenhouse emissions because of having fewer yields per hectare, consequently having to use a larger area of land.

There is some degree of scepticism among scholars (Restrepo & Prager, 2000) about whether organic farming can address the challenges caused by a growing population, and its potential to eradicate hunger particularly in developing economies. One of the reasons for this debate is due to some scientific evidence (Balmford et al., 2018). that organic food has lower crop yields compared to conventional farming methods, which is not ideal with a growing population. Researchers from a conventional agricultural school of thought, believe that only conventional agriculture could provide enough food for a growing population due to its higher productivity yield (Restrepo & Prager 2000; Kirchmann et al., 2008). One of the arguments used is that despite all the benefits of organic farming, there is a reduced harvest compared to conventional farming methods, and a less efficient use of land (Bergström et al., 2008). Consequently, sceptics of organic food believe that organic farming could be less water-efficient, with yields per hectare much lower than conventional methods, which results in having to use more land, and which may therefore question the environmental friendliness claim of organic farming (Balmford et al., 2018). However, some studies such as the study by Balmford et al. (2018) compared land cost per unit production of organic versus conventional land, which did not clearly present the results that led them to these conclusions.

Nevertheless, it is beyond the remit of this research to explore the veracity of these claims, but it is worth acknowledging that there are some scholars that are sceptical about organic farming in terms of its efficiency and sustainability credentials. Although this thesis does not

aim to explore the *efficiency* of organic production, it could be said that, based on other extensive research findings (Fibl, 2020, IFOAM, 2017), organic farming is more environmentally friendly than conventional farming given its lack of chemical pesticides and the use of environmentally friendly practices that care for the soil and living organisms, as a part of the same ecosystem (Nandwani, 2016; IFOAM, 2017). This is the primary reason organic food could be considered as a sustainable food alternative.

Different understandings of the term *organic food*

Despite consumer demand for organic food having grown significantly in the last 20 years (Aschemann et al., 2007), there are various understandings of what the term *organic* means, and no common definition (Zakowska-Biemans, 2011) despite the term first being used in the twentieth century.

The original notion of organic farming goes beyond environmental concerns (Schösler, de Boer & Boersema, 2013). It was underpinned by The Reform Ideological Movement that was against industrialisation, technology, capitalism, and materialism that were taking place at the time. Instead, this ideology encouraged a more natural lifestyle, with more contact with the land and going back to a more basic way of living (Schösler, de Boer & Boersema, 2013). Later, other ideological movements suggested a link between adopting a more natural way of living and adhering to alternative natural food diets with spiritual practices (Vogt, 2007). For example, a Swiss movement of organic biological agriculture led by Dr Hans Muller in 1940 aimed at preserving countryside living underpinned by Christian values. In addition, the philosopher, Rudolf Steiner, proposed *biodynamic farming*, similar to organic farming but incorporating cosmic and spiritual beliefs (Vogt, 2007). This account aims to explain the understanding that organic food is part of a different lifestyle, or as a way of living more naturally, as a philosophy of life. Schösler et al. (2013), suggested that this way of living rejects processed and/or industrialised food, and instead it tries to foster independence and self-sufficiency relying on nature and self-determination to abstain from meat and ‘unnatural foods.’

As suggested by Harper and Makatouni (2002), and other scholars, there is not much research exploring the meaning of the term *organic*, and what consumers understand by the term *organic food*. To begin to address this absence is one of this study's objectives. Some researchers identify that consumers use the term *organic* as a synonym for *free range*' (Harper & Makatouni, 2002), others found it similar to *natural*' or *healthy* (Tago et al., 2014; Fotopoulos et al., 2003) while others suggest that *organic* is a wider concept. It seems that most definitions of organic have as a common denominator "the absence of chemicals" (Hughner et al., 2007) while other definitions also expect the use of farming methods that care for the environment and animal welfare (Harper & Makatouni, 2002), and some understand organic as a 'philosophy' (Schosler et al., 2012, Red the Agroecologia, 2003).

It can also be said that organic food is understood as that which has been produced following certain standards of organic farming (Yiridoe et al., 2005). However, there are some discrepancies about what *organic farming* is, and different standards might be used in various countries. As highlighted by Yiridoe and colleagues (2005), there is a lack of consistency on organic standards and certification processes across different countries.

Some scholars consider organic food to be a type of *credence good* - a product that has non-tangible attributes that consumers cannot prove exist, even after consumption, such as it being environmentally friendly (Janssen & Hamm, 2012; Lee & Hwang, 2016; Wang et al., 2017). For this reason, the certification process and eco-labelling is an important source of trust for consumers, and evidence of quality (Lee & Hwang, 2016; Nuttavuthisit, & Thøgersen, 2017).

The International Federation for Organic Agricultural Movements (IFOAM) believes that organic farming is based on four pillars: health, ecology, fairness, and care. This is also embedded in the understanding expressed by FAO, which is the following definition adopted for this study:

holistic production management system that avoids the use of synthetic fertilisers, pesticides, and genetically modified organisms, minimizes pollution of air, soil, and water, and optimizes the health and productivity of interdependent communities of plants, animals, and people (FAO, 2007; FiBL, 2020).

This definition of organic goes beyond the idea of *free from chemicals*, by following a series of practices to look after the soil, the ecosystem, and all other living organisms to ensure the sustainability of the land, future soil production capacity and the environment (Schosler et al., 2012; FAO, 2007).

In the context of Uruguay, organic food or farming is sometimes referred to as agroecological. This is derived from the notion of agroecology, which emerged across Latin America in the 1970s, originally in Mexico and then other Latin American countries (Javier and Marasas, 2015). Agroecology is a philosophical holistic approach (Juarez, 2014; CIDSE, 2018) that aims to develop strategies for the adoption of more sustainable agroecosystems (Amekawa, 2010; Agroecology Network (RAU), 2019). It is sometimes used as a synonym of organic farming, although it is slightly different. Organic farming focuses on avoiding synthetic chemicals, while agroecology is also concerned with soil management, living organisms, social equality, and being in harmony with the ecosystem, so it is a wider concept than organic can be.

Food production practices in Uruguay

Uruguay is currently experiencing increased consumer awareness of the negative impact of food production as agro-chemical waste has caused elevated levels of water contamination. There is pollution of natural resources and lack of trust in the government, multinational corporations, and private retailers (Gazzano & Gómez Perazzoli, 2017).

In relation to the use of agro-chemicals, there has been a steady increase in the importation of pesticides from 1,700 tons in 1990, to 3,650 tons in 2000 and reaching 25,845 tons in 2014. Even though Benech, the Minister of Agriculture, agrees that there is a need to reduce the use of pesticides in agriculture, the levels are still significantly high compared to other countries. Benech goes on to admit that Uruguay needs to increase the production of organic food (La República, 2019; Presidencia, 2019). Moreover, as highlighted by Carcamo (2020), despite the government initiative to reduce the use of agro-chemicals in Uruguay by 30% in the last 5 years, the levels are still extremely high. Table 1 below illustrates this point.

Table 1: Imports of pesticides chemicals in active tons

IMPORTACIONES DE PLAGUICIDAS, EN TONELADAS DE ACTIVO					
	HERBICIDAS	INSECTICIDAS	FUNGICIDAS	OTROS	TOTAL
1990	S/D	S/D	S/D	S/D	1.762
2000	2.325	182	713	430	3.650
2010	11.880	1.085	1.151	865	14.981
2014	19.058	1.718	1.409	3.660	25.845
2015	12.085	468	1.083	2.502	16.139
2016	11.635	485	869	8.526	21.516
2017	10.200	407	751	4	11.363
2018	12.488	371	1.003	1.951	15.814
2019	10.629	289	870	37	11.827

Source: RAPAL, 2019

In addition, there is concern about the elevated level of toxicity of many pesticides still in use. According to a report by RAPAL in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture (MGAP), Uruguay still uses as many as 81 different agro-chemicals that are considered highly toxic and banned in many countries. 41 of these pesticides used in Uruguay were banned by the European Union many years ago. Carcamo (2020) warns about the toxicity and high health risk that these substances represent for individuals' health and urges the government to inform the population. This concurs with previous reports that have highlighted a need to explore organic food consumption (CEPAL, 2012; Gazzano & Perazzoli, 2017).

Why focus on organic food consumption?

Some believe that the purchase of organic food is driven by such pro-environmental concerns, but it is unclear to what extent organic food consumers care for the environment. In addition, there may be other goals that drive organic food consumption. Several researchers (Rana, & Paul, 2017; Schifferstein & Ophuis, 1998; Zanolli & Naspetti, 2002; Botonaki et al., 2006; Chrysosoidis & Krystallis, 2005; Harper & Makatouni, 2002; Magnusson et al., 2003; Makatouni, 2002; Padel & Foster, 2005) claim that health is the main factor driving organic consumption, but they offer little insight to understand why health is important for organic consumers. It is not clear what consumers understand by the term *health*. Furthermore, there may be other value priorities for organic consumers that have been overlooked. For example, organic food consumption could be influenced by other personal values such as *Benevolence*

to a greater or lesser extent. It is also necessary to consider whether value priorities and value orientations can be different in different contexts and countries.

The focus on organic food consumption rests on several reasons. Firstly, the global increase in the organic food market, which has reached an estimated value of 90 billion (Rizzo et al., 2020). Secondly, increased consumer awareness of the impact of our food choices on the environment (Frehner et al., 2021). Some researchers specifically consider organic food consumption as one type of pro-environmental behaviour (PEB) (Eberle et al., 2021). However, not all authors agree with this notion, and some argue that most consumers buy organic food because of possible health benefits and overlook its environmentally friendly attributes (Magnusson, et al., 2003; Chen, 2007).

The literature suggests that there is no clear understanding of what motivates organic food consumption (Ditlevsen, Sandøe & Lassen, 2019; Dimitri & Dettmann, 2012). These authors suggest that organic consumers are not only driven by altruistic environmental concerns but also by egoistic concerns. Other researchers (Baudry et al., 2016) believe organic food consumption is driven by other motives, such as perceived quality and taste. If such issues are present, it is also possible that there are others, such as fear from perceived health risks and distrust of conventionally grown food. These reasons are not apparent in the existing literature, which may be an oversight concerning what influences organic consumption choices.

Finally, in terms of academic attention in Uruguay, there is a lack of research on organic food in Uruguay, particularly from a consumer behaviour perspective. However, there is one study that looked at the organic food sector in Uruguay, but the report generated is an industry analysis using quantitative data to describe the market. What such a market analysis underscores, it is the requirement to consider the consumer perspective. It could also be argued that because of the potential broad environmental impact of food production, particularly agriculture, consumers are putting additional pressure on food producers to adopt more sustainable practices, such as those encapsulated in the definition of organic farming above (Reisch et al., 2017). Additionally, according to a recent report on sustainable food predictions (ECOVIA Intelligence, 2021), the COVID-19 pandemic has further heightened

consumer interest in organic food, and this will continue to increase as consumers seek to boost their immunity, health, and wellness. The future success of organic food will depend on the increase in consumer demand (Yiridoe et al., 2005). Therefore, it is important to gain an in-depth understanding of consumers' motivations to consume organic food in Uruguay.

The changing organic food market patterns

The global organic food market has evidenced continuous sales growth (7% year-on-year) from 2017 (Environmental Leader, 2018), and it is expected to grow more quickly (14% year-on-year) by 2025 (Business Wire, 2020). According to the Research Institute of Organic Agriculture (FiBL) and IFOAM, (2020), the global organic food market has already exceeded 100 billion US dollars (USD) in 2018 (nearly 97 billion euros), with an organic farmland area covering 69.8 million hectares and integrated by 2.9 million producers worldwide. This represents a significant growth given that the organic market was worth USD 15.2 billion in 1999 (Testa et al., 2018). Furthermore, market research data predicts that the organic global food market will be worth USD 220 billion by 2020 (Research & Markets, 2020).

It is believed that the main driver for the current rate of growth has been the United States of America and Europe reaching sales of 40.6 billion euros, followed by Germany (10.9 billion euros) and France (7.9 billion euros) (Willer 2020). Until recently, organic food consumption was most prevalent in developed nations (CEPAL, 2012; Willer et al., 2019; FiBL, 2020). It is expected, however, that the increase in future organic consumption in developed countries will be moderate compared to developing countries, which offer more potential to grow (EIA, 2013; WBCSD, 2008 cited in Thogersen et al., 2015). This is also in line with other scholars forecasting that organic food consumption within developed countries will remain stable (CEPAL, 2012; EIA, 2013 cited in Thogersen et al., 2015; IFOAM, 2019; Willer et al., 2020). In line with this, developing countries such as China, India and Brazil have already seen significant growth in organic food consumption in recent years.

At a regional level, in Latin America, organic agricultural land covered 8 million hectares in 2018, which represents 11% of organic agricultural land globally (FAO, 2020; FiBL, and IFOAM, 2020). The countries with the most extensive coverage of organic land are Argentina (3.6

million hectares) and Uruguay (2.1 million hectares - representing almost 15% of total agricultural land in Uruguay). Moreover, Uruguay's proportion of organic farmland is high compared to other countries (Willer et al., 2020; FiBL, 2020), making it the country with the second-highest proportion of organic land (Red de Agroecologia, 2019). This shows the commitment of Uruguayan farmers to organic practices and the organic market. Equally, there has been a growing demand for organic produce from Uruguayan consumers (Yadav, 2017; Bioguia, 2015).

Given such changes, it is unsurprising that researchers have identified the need to conduct more research on organic food within developing countries (Soares et al., 2008, Thogersen et al., 2015; Lian & Yoong, 2019) in order to understand the motivation of organic consumers in developing countries and how this might differ from those in developed countries (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006 cited in Thogersen, 2012).

Organic food consumption motives in different contexts

Literature on organic food consumption in Uruguay is scarce with no insight on motives in understanding organic food consumption. To date, there appears to be only one study (Soriano, 2012) that quantitatively examines the organic market to identify consumers' perceived benefits and retailers' needs. As such, it is a descriptive market analysis.

A few studies from other countries have considered the motives behind organic food consumption. However, the approach taken is to examine the attributes of organic food, but very few have considered the personal values of consumers, particularly within developing countries. Research looking at the motives behind organic food consumption has revealed some discrepancies across different countries, which could suggest that underlying motives vary in different countries. This could be because consumers in different contexts have different value priorities and have diverse needs; they seek different product attributes and want to achieve different goals. This could also change according to their life situation and living circumstances (Zakowska-Biemans, 2011). For instance, research suggests that environmental concerns and animal welfare are the main reasons why consumers in Germany and Denmark buy organic food. However, for Greek consumers, environmental concern is not

a reason (Chrysohoidis & Krystallis, 2005 cited in Zakowska-Biemans, 2011). In addition, other researchers have found that taste is a leading attribute for Italian consumers (Zanoli & Zapetti, 2002).

Another example where context plays a significant role can be found in research conducted in Greece (Fotopoulos et al., 2003). This study indicates that the consumption of organic produce is linked to social class. Some consumers believe that if a product is organic this is linked to high quality, and they want to buy the best quality. However, this research does not delve into the meaning of quality. In linking organic food consumption to social class there is recognition of broader social and structural issues.

However, as suggested by Thøgersen (2010) existing research seems to underestimate the influence of macro and structural factors on organic food consumption. Situational and contextual factors could influence consumers value priorities and, as a result, influence consumption in general, and organic food consumption in particular. For instance, research conducted in Germany by Hoffmann and Schlicht (2013) showed that when consumers are aware of a negative externality such as pollution, they are willing to pay more for organic food. This research relied on quantitative data but did not explore the underlying reasons for this preference (Hoffmann & Schlicht, 2013).

The contextual situation of Uruguay has undergone several changes in the last decade, particularly after the influx of foreign investment, which has changed agricultural practices. A new farming model that relies on chemicals and intensive agricultural practices has created some negative externalities. Consequently, the main issue of concern in Uruguay, and Latin America, is the level of toxicity of chemicals used in conventional food systems, the degradation of the soil, and contamination of natural resources such as rivers (United Nations, 2010; CEPAL, 2012).

Moreover, the public has become aware of incidents with chemical residues beyond the standard limit. For example, pollution and contamination of natural resources that have prompted consumer behaviour change in part of the population (Bioguia, 2018; 2017). This change could be seen related to several desires, for instance, the desire to go back to nature,

or a frugal self-sufficient lifestyle as a way of avoiding the effects of pollution and contamination. However, organic consumers have not been considered by most of the research in the domain, nor have their motives.

The potential contribution of personal values theory

Research has demonstrated that personal values play a key role in influencing what people choose to buy, and how they behave (Schwartz, 1992). There is general agreement that personal values are more long-term and stable constructs than, for instance, self-identity, and these hence have a significant role in decision making, and behaviour and consumption choices. Therefore, these values are a suitable lens to try to understand organic food consumption.

This study therefore aims to understand the underlying motivation of organic food consumers from the lens of personal values theory. This underpins the study's aims to unveil the value priorities and value orientations of organic food consumers. The suitability of this theory to the task is predicated on the basis that research has demonstrated that personal values are a psychological construct and a tool to understand consumer behaviour and their underlying motivations (Schwartz, 1992; Rokeach, 1973).

Personal values can thus help understand why certain desirable goals are prioritised over others, and how personal values can be expressed through organic food consumption. To do this, it is necessary to first understand the meaning of organic food, which attributes are attached to organic food, which desirable goals and beliefs are linked to organic food, and to what extent these reflect higher end values as guiding principles in life. To enable this, the study explores consumers organic food consumption rather than simply their organic food choices.

Consumers' organic food consumption versus organic food choices

This thesis focuses on consumers organic food consumption rather than on organic food choice and explores this from the perspective of regular organic food consumers. This notion of *regularity* enables the exploration of underlying personal beliefs, consumers' perceived

benefits, and the meaning that consumers attach to organic food consumption rather than just a single purchase. This research does not consider the buying decision making process and the different external variables that might influence this choice, such as availability or price. The chief concern is to understand organic food consumption as a sustained practice (hence the notion of regular) from a consumer behaviour perspective, underpinned by deeply rooted values and to explore how these are expressed differently through organic food consumption.

The reason for taking this position is that research on consumption of organic food indicates a higher level of involvement with the product and explores a wider scope than looking at food choice regardless of who consumes organic food (Chekima et al., 2019). In line with this, research shows that organic food consumers are highly involved with the product whilst food choice research focuses on the decision-making process that takes place *before* purchase or choice. Consumption involves not only the purchase but also considers the overall experience, the meaning attached to consuming the product, how the person feels, the emotions involved, the perceived benefits and expected outcomes during and after the consumption experience.

According to Connolly and Prothero (2008) consumption should not be understood as an isolated rational process but as a sociocultural practice that holds wider symbolic meaning, and potentially contradictory behaviour, which they called “coherent inconsistencies.” Given this, it is important to understand what is associated with organic food consumption, the meaning of organic for the consumer, the perceived benefits, feelings, and beliefs associated with the particular consumption, and any potential tension occurring from this, as opposed to understanding only the purchase decision-making process. Most food-choice conceptual frameworks, however, focus on the decision-making process and, at the time of purchase, the interrelationship between several internal and external variables within the situational context, and this renders them inappropriate for this study.

The research problem summarised

Despite the increasing popularity of organic food, and consumers positive attitudes towards it, the market is still relatively insignificant compared to that of conventional products (Aertsens et al., 2011; Fibl, 2020). To continue growing the organic food market, it is necessary to appreciate the organic consumer, what they understand by the term organic, and what drives their organic consumption choices. The literature indicates that there is some confusion among consumers about the meaning of *organic* (Shahriari et al., 2019; Yiridoe et al., 2005). For instance, research has revealed that for some consumers organic food consumption is related to a desire to connect with nature (Schösler, de Boer, & Boersema, 2013; Schultz et al., 2004), but not for all. In addition, previous research suggests that it is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of what consumers mean by organic food (Chrysochoidis, 2000; Hughner et al., 2007). Moreover, recent literature indicates that there is no clear understanding of what drives consumers towards organic food (Ditlevse, 2019; Massey, O’Cass & Otahal, 2018). Equally, given that the term organic could be perceived differently within different contexts, current research may not be enough, as consumers may hold different meanings for organic within different contexts. Therefore, one of the objectives of this study is to explore Uruguayan’s understanding of the term organic and how this meaning may be different to what the literature suggests.

A number of studies have shown that organic food is considered healthy because of the perceived health benefits. However, little is known about what healthy means for distinct types of consumers (Von Essen & Englander, 2013), or within different contexts (Ditlevsen, Sandøe, & Lassen, 2019). The literature has overlooked the opportunity to explore why health is important for organic consumers. As highlighted by Ditlevsen and colleagues (2019) it is necessary to clarify the concept of health, since its meaning could differ in different contexts and situations. The health literature suggests that there are several distinct definitions of health, starting from the traditional view of health as absence of disease, to a more contemporary conceptualisation of health as being closely related to wellbeing and perceiving health as a holistic phenomenon (Smith, 2008; von Essen & Englander, 2013; Svalastog et al., 2017). It seems important to understand the links between organic food and the notion of health, and more importantly why health is important for consumers, and the underlying

motivations for this pursuit for health. As stated by von Essen and Englander (2013) choosing a healthy diet goes beyond the nutritional; it could be a means of conveying consumers' values and lifestyle to others.

Furthermore, Adams (2005) presented the notion that personal health and the health of the environment are interrelated and are underdeveloped areas of research. Other researchers believe that organic food consumption is driven at a psychological level by the notion of well-being (von Essen, & Englander (2013), self-identity, personal values (Hansen, Sørensen, & Eriksen, 2018; Johe & Bhullar, 2016). This study aims to contribute by providing insights about organic food consumers through their personal values about organic food, exploring the meaning of organic, and consumers underlying motivations to purchase organic produce.

In recent years, there has been an increase in consumer knowledge about organic food, consumers' positive attitudes towards organic food, and continuous growth of organic food consumption (Aertsens et al., 2010). However, the market has considerable potential to continue growing, and proportionally total sales remain low (Tleis et al., 2017). Researchers suggest that to encourage more consumers towards organic food, it is necessary to understand why consumers prefer organic food (de Magistris & Gracia, 2012).

The bulk of the existing research on the motives behind organic food consumption has been explanatory, applying a quantitative research methodology. Previous research investigated the motives for buying organic food by examining the preferred attributes of organic food, key factors, and consumer attitudes towards and perception of organic food. Few studies have looked at organic food consumption from the lens of personal values, but those that have were predominantly from a quantitative perspective (Thøgersen et al., 2015; Dreezens et al., 2005; Grunert & Juhl, 1995). This suggests that it is necessary to gain a more in-depth understanding of the personal values that might help explain organic consumption. It should be noted that a different contextual background may lead to diverse needs and priorities (Aertsens et al., 2000). For this reason, consumers within developing countries such as Uruguay may have different value priorities than those in developed countries. In support of this, research conducted in Greece by Chrysohoidis and Krystallis (2005) revealed that environmental friendliness was not an important value, while in other countries universalism

as a value type influences organic food consumption. This study explores the underlying values that drive consumers towards organic food within the context of Uruguay as a developing country.

Previous studies have revealed that despite organic food being environmentally friendly, environmental concerns may not always translate into purchase intentions (Aschemann-Witzel & Aagaard, 2014). Instead, other factors such as consumers' health consciousness or food safety might be more important (Michaelidou & Hassan, 2008; Chiao-Chen & Lin, 2016). Therefore, a more in-depth understanding of organic consumers, within their specific context, is necessary to fully comprehend their underlying motivations.

Research aim

The aim of this study is, therefore, to explore organic food consumption in Uruguay. Its main purpose is to obtain a deeper understanding of why Uruguayan's consume organic food from the lens of personal values and explores which personal values underlie organic food consumption.

Research objectives

1. To explore the meaning of the term *organic food* for Uruguayan regular consumers of organic food (RCOF).
2. To identify the personal values of RCOF that explain why they consume organic food.
3. To develop a typology of distinct organic consumer profiles.
4. To develop marketing recommendations to promote organic food consumption. This information will be useful for organic food producers, retailers, policy makers, marketing professionals and campaigners.

The role of the researcher: Positionality statement

The role and positionality of a researcher influences how a study is developed, and how the researcher arrives at the conceptualisations that underpin the research. This is because the researcher's values, beliefs and experiences guide the entire research process. As Court and

Abbas (2013) mention, the previous journey of the researcher – in other words the position they come from – influences their research questions, data generation and interpretation.

My journey as an organic food consumer started eight years ago, after being treated for a life-threatening illness. At the time, my main motivation was to regain my health, and avoid synthetic chemicals or contaminants in my food that may have a negative effect on my health. Although my health was the general reason for my organic consumption, it was mainly the perceived health risk that conventional food posed that motivated me to buy organic food, rather than the health benefits of organic food per se. For me, organic food would help me avoid contaminants, and help me to gain some sort of control over the lingering fear of a life-threatening illness. However, I was aware that other consumers would approach organic consumption choices from other perceived health benefits, such as enhanced nutrition. While reviewing previous literature, I realised that ‘health’ may not be always related to security, but it could be important for diverse reasons.

This episode that relates to the specific motivation for this study also needs to be understood within the wider personal context that shapes my approach to research. I am an academic researcher, who lived in Uruguay for 30 years, moved to the UK in 2007 and have bought organic food there since 2014. These aspects of my identity have influenced my choice of topic and context for my research. As a result of this link between my research and personal experience, I was able to contribute a unique insider-outsider perspective (Court & Abbas, 2013). In this respect, qualitative researchers have to make sense of somehow contradictory perspectives, arising from an inward position of being tuned-in to participants experiences, while at the same time being aware of their potential own presumptions that may influence their understanding of what was said (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994 cited in Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

I believe that being an insider allowed me to be a different type of researcher when investigating this topic, providing me with a more in-depth view of the phenomenon. This concurs with Dwyer, and Buckle (2009) who point out, that in being an insider the researcher gains depth and breadth of understanding. Furthermore, sharing the same native language as the participants, cultural background, and social context, facilitated the interpretation of the data, and allowed me to illustrate the ‘true voice’ of each participant. However, there was a fine balance between understanding what was being said as a consumer myself, and the

issues of objectivity that is often sought from a researcher. To maintain objectivity, I followed a strict process of data analysis following the six steps process suggested by Braun and Clarke (2013) and allowed time for reflexivity. This requires critical self-reflection and careful examination of the ways in which my values, beliefs and experiences may influence the process of data gathering and interpretation (Court & Abbas, 2013).

In addition, it is important to consider that one of the roles of any qualitative researcher is to manage the complexities of the social interaction between researcher and participant, through which the interview data is co-produced, and reconstructed during the interpretation phase (Heyl, 2005 cited in Court & Abbas, 2013). The researcher is part of the data generation process in any qualitative research. From this co-creation of knowledge, and the insider perspective, any qualitative research is exposed to the risk of subjectivity. To overcome this challenge, I have consistently engaged in a good degree of reflexivity, considering to what extent my beliefs, values and presumptions may influence my interpretation of data, and, therefore, the co-creation of knowledge. When conducting the interviews, I was also aware of the fine balance between offering certain degree of rapport, to create a comfortable environment for the interview, whilst at the same time avoiding the sharing of personal information about myself, and not communicate any particular inclination that I have which may influence participants' answers.

To conclude, I would say that every aspect of my research was influenced by my shared identity, values, and beliefs, but engaging in self-reflection increased the objectivity of this research, while enhancing the depth of understanding it sought to create.

To offer context for this research, chapter 2 outlines the background around Uruguay, including its farming practices, food distribution, and consumer food consumption patterns.

Chapter 2: Contextual background of Uruguay

A brief description of Uruguay and the role of agriculture

Uruguay is a small country located on the east coast of South America between Argentina and Brazil, with a population of 3,493,000 inhabitants (WHO, 2017), 40% of whom live in the capital, Montevideo. The country's total area is 176,215 km² (WHO, 2017), of which over 16 million hectares is dedicated to agricultural use (Gazzano & Perazzoli, 2017; Red de Agroecologia, 2019), representing 90% of the country's land area (IFOAM, 2019). The area used for crop farming has increased significantly in the last twenty years, however, 70% of farmland is natural pastures, which is seen as one of Uruguay's competitive advantages (Uruguay XXI, 2018).

Agriculture is an important contributor to gross domestic product (GDP) in Uruguay representing 12% of GDP and 75% of exports (MGAP, 2018). In recent years, GDP has grown 4% year-on-year. This growth has been driven by the agricultural sector (Uruguay XXI, 2018). The country's economy is, hence, closely related to agriculture. A good proportion of the population is involved in agri-business, rural activities, and other indirectly linked sectors such as livestock nutrition, logistic related activities, transportation, and distribution. Agriculture in Uruguay is also the main source of food for the domestic population and a source of raw materials such as wool, and wood. Given the importance of the agricultural sector for the country, it is imperative to encourage sustainable use of natural resources.

The most notable change in the sector took place 10-12 years ago when soybean production increased by 120% (Gazzano & Perazzoli, 2017). This has been driven by the opportunity to satisfy the increasing demand for commodities from countries such as China (ECLAC, 2010). Globalisation has cemented opportunities to export such commodities to other countries. This has led to a shift from extensive farming to industrial intensive farming (Rastrepo & Prager, 2000), and to increase soyabean and wheat production, which are now the two main crops grown in Uruguay as seen in Figure 2 (MercoAgro, 2017).

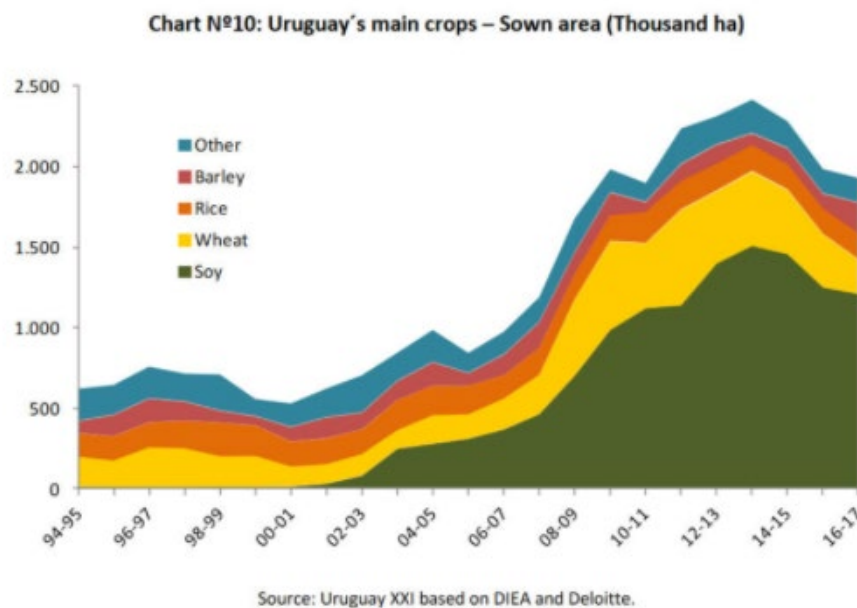


Figure 2: Uruguay's main crops – sown area (thousand ha)

Source: Cited in MercoAgro, 2017

Today, Uruguay is one of the top six exporters of soybeans in the world (Uruguay XXI, 2018), and one of the main countries to produce soya to feed the growth of China. However, this intensification and expansion of crop-farming have had a negative environmental impact due to the significant increase in greenhouse emissions from increased levels of fertilisers, particularly nitrogen-based, in the soil (CEPAL, 2012). Thus, the organic vegetable sector appears to be an opportunity to develop a more sustainable alternative.

Safe levels of agrochemical use

An issue of concern, according to the CEPAL (2012) report on sustainable development, is that the intensity of fertiliser application per hectares of farmland has more than doubled across countries in Latin America in twenty years from 11.6 tons in 1990, to 23.3 tons in 2010. More recently the importation of herbicides also increased by 30%, pesticides by 20%, and fertilisers again doubled in less than 5 years, as shown in the table 2 below.

Table 2: Agrochemical imports in Uruguay

Type	Sugar harvest 2000-2001	Sugar harvest 2014-2015
Rainfed crops (ha)	341000	1500000
Soybean (ha)	12000	1334000
Forestry (ha)	58000	1800000
Industrialized milk (thousands of liters)	1047	2927
Fertilizer imports (ton)	300000	800000

Source: IDEA, 2015 (as cited in Alonso et al., IANAS/UNESCO, 2019)

As mentioned by the United Nations latest Regional Implementation Forum for Sustainable Development (United Nations, 2010), it is particularly relevant for Latin America to consider safe use of chemicals to control insect and pest-borne diseases in crops and fertilisers in farming. The report recognises that despite some progress being made regarding the monitoring of adequate levels of chemical toxicity, in some Latin American countries this remains a problematic situation. For instance, as pointed out by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2002), very toxic pesticides, such as dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane (DDT), lindane, endosulfan and aldrin are still commonly used in several Latin American countries despite efforts to prohibit them (United Nations, 2002; ECLALC; April 2010; CEPAL, 2012). Moreover, as highlighted by a report of the United Nations (2008, cited by Hoffmann, 2011), organic farming will also bring food security and occupational safety benefits given that over 300,000 farmers have fatal incidents because of agro-chemical use in conventional farming. It is therefore imperative to develop suitable ways of managing and monitoring safe levels of toxic chemicals, to avoid negative environmental impacts such as pollution of water, soil and air (United Nations, 2010; CEPAL, 2012; Gazzano et al., 2017), as well as to support the health and wellbeing of those working in the sector.

Despite the introduction of the International Code of Conduct for the Distribution and Use of Pesticides (FAO, 2010), which provides guidelines for pesticide management, many countries are unable to fully comply with these safe pesticide regulations and standards due to their lack of financial resources and technical capability (United Nations, 2002). Uruguayan farmers have limited resources, and the cost of testing food for pesticide residue is beyond the financial resources of most farmers in Uruguay. Therefore, it could be argued that without carrying out the necessary testing to ensure a safe level of pesticides, consumers cannot be certain if the food they are buying has a safe level or not.

The unregulated use of chemicals has generated negative health impacts and alerted the population to the negative effects of agro-chemicals and raised consumers' awareness of potential health issues derived from chemical residues in their food. The media has covered a few stories on chemical poisoning with fatal consequences (Bioguia, 2018; 2017), which could have led to negative attitudes towards chemical residues in food. This has increased the public awareness of the wider risks that agro-chemicals could present for the ecosystem, food chain and consequently public health. This situation is likely to increase food safety concerns among Uruguayans that may not be prevalent in other countries, where most of the research on organic food consumption has been carried out.

Perceived health risk from pesticide residues

It is believed that pesticides represent a risk to human health. The increase in pesticide imports has raised health concerns among Uruguayans due to the alleged link between agro-chemicals and cancer (Carerra, 2017). A recent report from WHO (2017) gathered data from 11 countries and warns that there is now enough evidence that glyphosate can lead to cancer in animals. However, the evidence in humans is still limited, but it indicates that glyphosate (an herbicide) can cause DNA damage, which can lead to cancer (Carrington, 2017).

The number of new yearly cancer cases worldwide is predicted to increase from 14 million in 2012 to 20 million in 2030, with two-thirds expected to be in developing countries (Barrios & Garau, 2017). The percentage of cancer cases in Uruguay is higher than in the rest of the world at 297 cases per 100,000 people versus 267 cases in developed countries (Stewart & Wild, cited in IARC-WHO, 2014). Cancer is also the second leading cause of death in Uruguay, representing 24% of total annual figures (McGuire, 2016). According to recent research, there are 15,000 new cancer patients each year, in a total population of 3 million inhabitants, but with a much higher mortality rate than in developed countries at 8,000 deaths annually due to cancer (Barrios & Garau, 2017). These figures, coupled with the potential link between chemical residues in food and cancer, means consumers may be more risk-averse in their food preferences, and more conscious of their choices. Despite this growing health concern among

the population, the Uruguayan Ministry of Agriculture continues to promote the use of pesticides (Carerra. 2017), as is the case in many other developing countries.

Carrington (2017) highlights the outcomes of a UN report written by Elver and Tuncak (2017) that warns about the negative impact of pesticides on humans and the health of the environment. It explains that the main issue with pesticide residues for the consumer is that foods may contain not just one pesticide but a cocktail of several pesticides that have been sprayed onto the food. Although it is difficult to assess the effect of pesticide residues on human health, there is evidence to suggest that the combined effect could be highly toxic (Elver & Tuncak, 2017; Gandioli, 2020). The report indicates that pesticides are responsible for over 200,000 deaths a year due to serious poisoning (Carrington, 2017). The report also draws attention to general denial from the pesticide manufacturers and agro-industry. This is a concern given that, in developing countries, pesticide poisoning is higher than ill-health from infectious diseases (Carerra, 2017). There have also been a number of fatal incidents with pesticides. For instance, in Peru, the Taucamarca tragedy where 48 children died from pesticide poisoning after consuming considerable amounts of the pesticide methyl parathion (Rosenthal, 2003). Another concern is that some of the most toxic pesticides such as parathion have been phased out in developed countries but are still used in some developing countries (Gandioli, 2020).

In addition, the media seems to have instilled further health concerns about the effect of agro-chemicals in food. For instance, reporting the death of a girl who had a fatal reaction after eating an apple with elevated levels of chemical residue. The farmer explained that the apples were not ready to be publicly sold (Bioguia, 2011). Another story concerns a rural fumigator spraying pesticides from a plane (Bioguia, 2020; Gomez Wagner, 2016). Given prolonged fume inhalation, including from some pesticides that are now banned, the fumigator suffered decreased lung capacity, a neurological syndrome that affects the peripheral nervous system, and died in 2018 (Infobae, 2018).

Chronic illness is the main cause of death (78%) in the Americas, within which cardiac issues account for 38% of all deaths, cancer for 25%, and respiratory issues for 8.3% (PAHO, 2011 as cited in CEPAL). In Uruguay particularly, with its aging population of over 65 years old, the two

main causes of mortality are cardiovascular disease and cancer (FAO, 2010). Between the years 2012 and 2014, the mortality rate from cancer was globally the second highest. Around 15,000 new cancer patients are diagnosed each year, which is a significant increase from the 1,800, on average, per year before 2010. This increase in cancer diagnosis, some researchers suggest, coincides with the increase in the use of pesticides seen in recent years (MGAP, 2019; Carerra, 2017). This could elevate safety concerns among the Uruguayan population, which might be linked with health concerns.

Water quality and contamination

The use of agro-chemicals is one of the main causes of water contamination in the country (CEPAL, 2012; United Nations ECLAC, 2010). In addition to air pollution, chemical contamination of natural water sources is a major issue in Uruguay, as in many other countries in Latin America (CEPAL, 2012; WHO, 2019). The increase of pesticide use for soyabean production brings a real risk of contamination not only to the soil, but also to natural water sources. Research carried out in 2010 by NGO Vida Silvestre (cited in Alonso et al., 2019) sought to determine the pesticide residues on commercially important fish species. The findings revealed that pesticide residues such as Edusolfan , which was banned in 2011, and phosphorous were found in different fish species in both rivers and reservoirs.

Despite sources claiming that Uruguay's water quality is excellent (IMM, 2009), this reality has changed in the last 10 years. It is believed that the recent growth within the agricultural industry is harming water quality. Water contamination is hence a growing concern among the population. For example, there is a strong shared negative belief that tap water is not ofdrinking quality and is perceived to have a strong taste of chlorine and turbid colour. Research has revealed that most people believe the water may have traces of pesticides and fertilisers used for farming, elevated levels of nitrates and chlorine (Alonso et al., 2019 cited in IANAS/ UNESCO, 2019). Consequently, 51% of the population buys bottled water (Alonso et al., 2019), while others have installed water filters connected to their domestic supply. This shows a lack of trust in the quality of tap water by most of the population.

At the same time, the expansion of the irrigated crop-farming land has had several negative consequences. According to CEPAL (2012), the amount of water needed for farming accounts for 73% of all water usage. This has led to water shortages in some areas and agro-chemical contamination of natural water sources, an elevated level of mercury, and degradation of natural water sources in all parts of the country (Gazzano et al., 2017; Alonso et al., 2019). Degradation of natural water sources not only has a direct negative effect on health issues where individuals have no access to drinking water and must drink polluted water, but also has a negative environmental impact where rivers are drying out, or results in contaminated water and soil (WHO, 2005 cited in CEPAL 2012). As a result of this scenario, Uruguay has seen a rise in health issues in the population (WHO, 2017; Rossing et al., 2020).

Privatisation policy and foreign direct investment.

A few years ago, in 2000, the government implemented a privatisation policy where the main national industries were sold to foreign investors. National companies within key sectors, such as the beef industry, were sold to support foreign direct investment (Rastrepo & Prager, 2000). Consequently, almost half (40%) of small farms have disappeared in the last few years according to agricultural census data (MGAP, 2010). Overall, over 1,000 farmers have been lost to the industry each year (Gazzano & Perazzoli, 2017). However, according to the MGAPIDEA (2018) data, the number of vegetable producers has increased 50% in only a few years.

This privatisation policy may have triggered a preference for local, smaller businesses, or farmers over larger grocery stores. It is believed that such local, smaller farmers would add a positive contribution to the food industry, particularly by having a shorter supply chain, allowing for fresher products, and potentially protecting the environment (CEPAL, 2012).

Uruguayan organic market

In Uruguay, organic farmland represents almost 15% of the total agricultural space, covering a total of 2.1 million hectares (Willer, 2020; FiBL, 2020; Red Agroecologia, 2019). This high proportion of organic land makes Uruguay the second country within Latin America after Argentina in terms of space dedicated to organic produce. While still a niche market, there is

a growing demand for organic food, particularly organic fruit, and vegetables, which is the main category of organic food consumed in Uruguay (Kormelinck, 2019). The horticulture sector in Uruguay gave employment to more than 15,000 people in 2013 (MGAP, 2014). Most of the vegetable producers have small family-owned farms with 1-3 hectares of land (MGAPIDEA, 2015).

The organic vegetable market is significantly larger than that of organic fruit (Soriano, 2012), and this is mainly due to a shortage of supply. The availability of organic dairy products within grocery retailers is extremely limited, and not present in all supermarkets (Bizzozero, 2019). The same scarcity is seen with organic meat (FAO, 2019). Organic vegetables are, however, often sold in organic street markets (see picture Appendix VI), or in direct-delivery box schemes, organic shops, and supermarkets (Soriano, 2012). This produce also often has a short chain of intermediaries and is frequently sold directly by the farmer.

However, the country also has 1,200,000 hectares of grassland for organic cattle raising, consisting of around 400 farms that are certified to produce organic beef, which is mainly for international markets (Red de Agroecología, 2019; Restrepo, 2000). Uruguay exports 70% of its organic beef production to many different countries (Uruguay XXI, 2020). However, within Uruguay, consumption of organic meat is exceptionally low. This is surprising, considering that Uruguay is mainly a beef producer, and beef consumption per capita is one of the highest in the world. Most of the population proudly identify themselves as ‘meat-eaters’, and typical Uruguayan dishes are often meat-based. This might indicate the potential of the organic meat market in the future, but it is currently a niche (MGAP, 2019; Willer, 2019). The domestic organic beef market is still small (Soriano, 2012), particularly compared to international markets or the conventional beef market. Nonetheless, the constant increase of health-conscious consumers represents a potential growth opportunity for the domestic organic market (La República, 2019).

Organic certification process in Uruguay

The organic certification process in Uruguay is called the ‘Participatory Certification’, coordinated, and carried out by the Uruguayan Agroecology Network (RAU) at the time of this study. In Spanish RAU stands for Red de Agroecología. The certification process is called

‘Participatory’ because when farms are inspected before certification, a team of 3 individual members of RAU is formed, consisting of: an agronomist, an organic producer, and an organic consumer member of the RAU. It allows consumers – members of RAU – to partake in the certification. This is something that many organic consumers appreciate.

The Uruguayan Agroecology Network (RAU, 2019; Kormelinck, Bijman, & Trienekens, 2019), was founded in 2005, and is the only organic certification in Uruguay. The RAU is an independent certification body but is recognised by the Ministry of Agriculture (MGAP). It is integrated by a total of 200 members of which 120 are organic farmers. Registered members also include agronomists and consumers registered, who take part in the Uruguayan Agroecology Network (RAU) certification process. The network has social, political, and economic activities. Producers have informal meetings to exchange information on markets, and farming techniques. Economic activities involve marketing initiatives, for instance the organisation of organic street markets.

The certification process is different in that small teams of organic producers, consumers and agronomists take part in the certification process, have a say in the certification process, and control compliance (Kormelinck, Bijman & Trienekens, 2019). This not only gives them a voice but also allows them to see the farm, meet the farmer, but also increases the transparency within the certification process. This is an important factor given the existing levels of distrust in relation to governmental organisations, and larger corporations. Consequently, it could be argued that this type of certification contributes to developing trust in organic farming.

Distribution network

Before explaining how the organic produce is distributed, it is worth clarifying the concept of food markets, which are part of Uruguayan culture, and consumers’ food shopping habits. There are around 120 street markets – called ‘ferias’ by Uruguayans - in Montevideo alone (El Pais, 2020), where conventionally-grown fruit and vegetables are sold by re-sellers that buy the merchandise from the *Mercado Modelo* the main fruits and vegetables market. Despite the substantial number of ferias in Montevideo, there are few selling organic fruit and

vegetables. Organic farmers tend to sell their products directly through home delivery, at organic ferias, or organic shops -such as *Eco Mercado*, which is a cooperative-type store owned by Eco Granja, a group of organic producers. The main organic street market is the Rodo Park organic food market (*Feria Organica del Parque Rodo* in Spanish), which brings together the largest number of organic farmers at the centre of the extremely popular Rodo Park. This organic feria has a community feel, where the organic farmers sell directly to the public, and they sell only organic produce, mainly fruit and vegetables, but there are also a few stalls with organic cheese and meat. The local ferias run twice a week, Tuesdays, and Sundays, while the retail shop Eco Mercado is open every day.

Uruguayan food diet

The Uruguayan food diet is mainly based on beef, with one of the highest beef consumption per capita in the world (OECD/FAO (2020), and milk (FAO, 2010). Barbecues are an iconic way of preparing the traditional dish *asado* as part of a food ritual for gatherings of family and friends. Whilst organic meat is exceedingly rare, as noted above, most meat is outdoor reared.

Uruguay vegetable intake is increasing, which could be due to a rise in health consciousness among Uruguayans (Uruguay XXI). Alternative food diets are also gaining popularity, particularly among upper-class, health-conscious consumers, but this market is still relatively low compared to other countries. Hence, whilst vegetarian and vegan consumption has increased in the last 5 years, it is still relatively low.

However, no research has looked at why Uruguayans are more health-conscious now compared to a few years ago. Research shows that there seems to be a change from the government towards the promotion of healthier food diets. 'Healthy' food is understood as that which has a positive impact on human health. For instance, a national campaign called Healthy Eating developed by the Health Ministry (Ministerio de Salud Publica, 2018) was used to encourage healthy eating aims and reinforce healthy eating habits among the Uruguayan population, raising awareness of the importance of having a balanced diet.

Organic consumption in Uruguay

During the last few years, there has been a growing concern about the negative effects of the agro-chemicals, pesticides and fertilisers used in fruit and vegetable production (Ecoesfera, 2015). Recent research and media debate about the extensive use of chemicals generally has fuelled increasing apprehension of their application in food production. As a result, this is thought to have encouraged the growth of the organic industry in Uruguay (Carcamo, 2020).

This growing concern for food safety in Uruguay in terms of the level of pesticide residue seems to have led to an increased concern for the overall environment and the return to a more natural lifestyle, often associated with being self-sufficient (Bioguia, 2016). Although consumers that engage in pro-environmental behaviours are still a minority, it is interesting to see how much this concern has grown in recent years (Gandioli, 2020). As a result of this growing concern, more Uruguayans are starting to consume organic food, and others are going a step further to grow their own organic vegetables. Consequently, it is important to understand what drives these consumers to eat organic food, and which personal values are guiding their consumption choices. It is not clear to what extent organic food consumption is underpinned by a genuine concern for the environment and a desire to be close to nature, or if it is underpinned by self-centred values such as health concerns. It would be useful to identify distinct types of organic consumers and which personal values are driving them to act upon their values.

Previous studies (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 2006) have revealed to what extent values motivate consumers' behaviour is culturally dependent. More specifically, it has been suggested that personal values are a lower of behavioural intentions within a collectivist culture, such as Uruguay, than within an individualist culture (Verplanken et al., 2009). For this reason, it is important to understand the role of personal values within a distinct cultural background and one that is located with a developing country, where environmental, agricultural and consumer issues provide a fertile location for research. To platform the study, it is first necessary to consider previous research more fully.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Organic food consumption research

This section discusses the existing literature on organic food consumption, and then considers the literature on personal values as the conceptual framework used in this study.

In the last thirty years, the rise of environmental awareness among consumers has given scope for the development of more environmentally friendly products, such as organic food (Entem, 2007; Singhal, 2017; Aschemann-Witzel, & Zielke, 2017). As mentioned earlier, some researchers consider that organic food consumption could be regarded as one type of pro-environmental behaviour (PEB), which is defined as the act of buying environmentally friendly products (Mainieri et al., 1997; Stern, 2000). Some studies have tried to identify which factors may encourage pro-environmental behaviour (Stern, 2000; Steg & Vlek, 2008; Schultz & Gouveia, 2005; Biel, 2002).

However, research has shown that some organic consumers are motivated by reasons other than environmental concern, such as the case of organic food consumption which is driven by self-centred motives (Singhal, 2017; Fotopoulos et al., 2003). This means that although organic food uses more environmentally friendly methods of farming, this might be overlooked by consumers who have other priorities and prefer organic food for other reasons and are looking for other benefits. So, it should not be concluded that consumers are fully aware of the environmentally friendly credentials of organic food, or that this is an important driver for organic food consumption. Hence, some consumers, despite their awareness of environmental degradation, may choose not to buy organic food.

In line with the above, several scholars have found that organic food consumption is driven by food safety concerns (Hsu et al., 2016; Lian & Yoong, 2019), health consciousness (Zanoli & Zapetti, 2002; Michaelidou & Hassan, (2008) and to a lesser degree environmental concerns about the impact that food production has on the environment (Harper & Makatouni, 2002; Nandwani et al., 2016; Rana & Paul, 2017).

However, only a few studies have tried to understand to what extent personal values influence consumers to prefer organic food (Mazzacano & Falzon, 2014). Moreover, most of the research done on organic consumers' personal values has been carried out in developed countries, where the context might be different to that of developing countries. Hence, this study aims to begin to bridge that gap and provide understanding.

The literature on organic food has revealed that the meaning of 'organic' could be interpreted differently in distinct cultures because meaning is shaped by distinct perceptions and cultural beliefs (Hughner et al., 2007; Mazzacano & Falzon, 2015). For instance, 'healthier' was found to be a driver of organic consumption across several studies, but the literature is not clear about the 'meaning' of this attribute or its connections with consumers' value systems. It is important to understand what consumers mean by 'healthier.' For instance, do they mean it is healthier because it is 'pesticide-free', or 'natural', or do they mean it is more 'nutritious.'

Areas of further research suggested by the literature

As highlighted by Hughner et al. (2007) most of the literature has looked at regular consumers of organic food (RCOF) and their demographic characteristics, using a quantitative methodology. Most of these studies applied large survey methods that are not suitable to unveil underlying motivations. This could only be done through an interpretative approach using qualitative methods. Hughner et al. (2007) go on to suggest that future studies could use a more integrated approach, to allow a more in-depth understanding of the various consumer segments within the "organic food" market. For instance, distinguishing regular, occasional, and non-frequent consumers is important, as it is also important to have a deeper understanding of the underlying motives for organic consumption for regular and occasional consumers. Having this in mind, this study will explore the motivational drivers for occasional, frequent, and committed organic consumers.

Some researchers have stressed the need to carry out research that looks at motivational and psychographic variables, from a holistic perspective, providing a deeper understanding of the meaning attached to certain beliefs that underpin organic food consumption (Schifferstein & Ophuis 1998). Given this, it is plausible that the organic food industry would benefit from a deeper understanding of the psychographic characteristics of organic consumers, such as

their values, attitudes, lifestyles, and perceptions, and how this may drive organic food consumption (Aertsens, 2009; Tleis et al., 2017).

Furthermore, Hughner et al. (2007) point out that it is necessary to understand the meaning that consumers attach to 'food safety' to understand organic food consumption. This study aims to provide this understanding within the context of the Uruguayan market. The findings from this study could be used to develop more effective marketing campaigns to encourage consumers to buy organic food. At the same time, findings would contribute to the organic food industry, and to policymakers to develop appropriate communication messages to encourage consumption.

In summary, the findings from this study will be helpful for consumers, the food industry (farmers and retailers alike), policymakers, and special interest groups. With a better understanding of consumers and their underlying motivations, the organic food industry could start to target more effectively the right consumer, with the right message, and use the appropriate communication strategies to drive consumption. For instance, there is not much research looking into the sources of information that organic consumers use before making their purchase decisions (Hughner et al., 2007), and how this may differ across regular and occasional food consumers.

Organic food choice

Understanding consumers' food choices is a complex task because consumer behaviour is driven by many factors that cannot be easily observed, and sometimes driven by complex unconscious mechanisms. Some studies have tried to investigate organic food purchase intentions by looking at 'food choice.'

One of the models that has been widely used to understand food choice behaviour was developed by researchers from Cornell University led by Furst and Connors. This theoretical model is shown below in Figure 3., which Furst et al. (1996) developed, suggests that there are several factors influencing food choice, in a specific food choice event. These factors were grouped as: 1) life course, 2) influences and 3) personal food system.

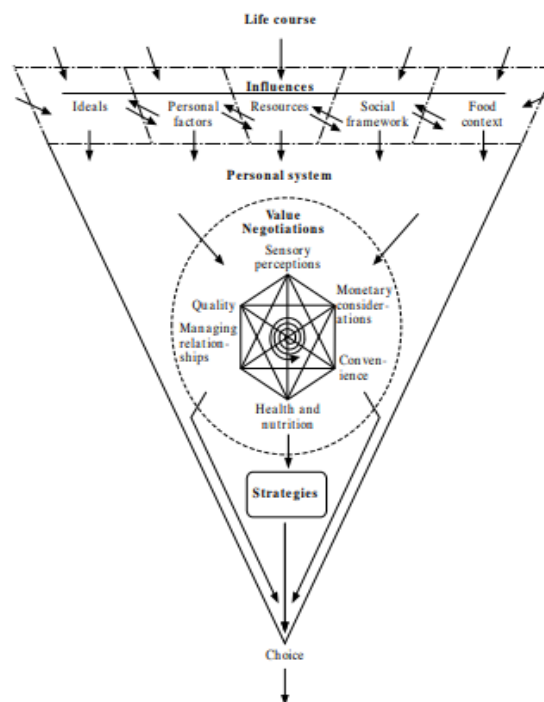


Figure 3: Food Choice model

Source: Furst et al., 1996

This model seems to suggest that personal factors influence value negotiations but as separate elements. It could be said that is not clear from this representation whether personal values would be included in 'personal factors' within the life course area, or as 'value negotiations' within the personal food system. The model seems to suggest that personal factors interrelate with environmental factors, making it difficult to separate or isolate them from each other to be able to ascertain the influence on food choice. Furst et al. (1996) recognise that individuals' values could concord with each other or conflict. In which case, the most salient value would emerge. However, this model does not offer sufficient depth to investigate which values are closely related to organic food consumption. For instance, there seem to be a limited number of values being negotiated within the "value negotiation" area. Some values that could be relevant for food choice are not considered e.g., 'food safety.' Furthermore, it does not consider attitudes or intentions to buy as an important influence on food choice.

Therefore, the main limitation of this model is that the factors such as personal values are not addressed in-depth and the process of how these may influence is oversimplistic. The values presented seem to be a limited number of values, overlooking other values such as environmental values, animal welfare, or family security to name a few. Moreover, the model is a broad generalisation of the process, not suitable to understand in depth why consumers may prefer organic food. Although the model outlines the general process of food choice, a more in-depth understanding is necessary to understand organic food consumption.

This thesis is not aimed at understanding the decision-making process at the time of purchase. Instead, the focus is on the 'consumption' of organic food, as a 'behavioural' act rather than a 'choice' process that happens at the time of purchase and where various elements could interfere with the decision-making process that led to actual 'purchase.'

The study aims to understand the underpinning consumer value priorities that lead to organic food consumption as well as an exploration of the meaning of organic food consumption, the perceived benefits, the emotional factors, and feelings arising from consumption itself. It aims to understand the perceived benefits, consequences and personal values linked to organic food consumption.

Therefore, the literature on 'food choice' may not be entirely relevant. The next section discusses consumer behaviour models that may provide a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon.

Understanding pro-environmental behaviours

This section draws on the literature on consumer behaviour frameworks and theories that have been used to understand organic food consumption. To promote more sustainable ways of consumption such as organic consumption, it seems imperative to understand what motivates consumer behaviour (Jackson, 2005, Entem 2007; Juarez, 2014), looking at different consumer behaviour frameworks for motivating pro-environmental behaviour, particularly concerning organic consumption.

The literature reviewed suggests that 'environmentally concerned' consumers appeared in the late 60s and 70s because of the general mistrust in society (Grunert & Juhl, 1995). In this time, a series of studies revealed that environmental concern was a major determinant for organic consumption, followed by health concerns (Grunert & Juhl, 1995). Some researchers believe that the level of environmental concern among organic consumers could be an important driver for frequent or committed organic consumers (Entem, 2007; Sparks & Sheperd, 1992). As highlighted by Sparks and Sheperd (1992), organic consumption can be triggered because of environmental concerns.

However, more recent literature has also revealed that organic consumption is not always the result of concern for the environment, but other matters may play a key role, such as health concerns. For instance, some consumers may have elevated levels of health consciousness that could be the main driver for organic consumption (Singhal, 2017). Organic consumption could also be a result of the lack of trust in conventionally grown produce (Sparks & Sheperd, 1992) could also lead to food safety concerns.

Addressing the 'attitude-behaviour' gap

Existing research on pro-environmental behaviour suggests that despite growing concern about the environment, this is not being translated into sustainable consumer behaviour (Connolly & Prothero, 2003; Prothero et al., 2011; Young et al., 2010). This gap could also apply to organic food consumption. Research has shown that even those consumers who state they are environmentally concerned may not always act accordingly and engage in types of behaviour that may not be consistent with their positive attitudes towards the environment (Young et al., 2010). This is referred to in the literature as the 'attitude-behaviour' gap (Prothero et al., 2011; Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2008).

This 'gap' suggests that despite consumers being aware of the environmental impact of their consumption choices, and having positive attitudes towards pro-environmental behaviour, this is not always reflected in their actions, or intention to buy more environmentally friendly products. This could mean that they may not care enough to make the necessary behavioural changes to adopt more environmentally friendly consumption practices, or that they have

other more salient priorities, based on what they believe is important in life, which is guided by their personal values.

Several researchers have addressed this 'attitude-behaviour' gap by looking at demographic, external and internal factors, such as attitudes, values, and beliefs as determinants of pro-environmental behaviour (Stern et al., 1993; Thøgersen, 1999; Dunlap, 2000;). A few theories and various conceptual frameworks have been applied to find an explanation for the existing gap between having concerns for the environment and displaying behaviour (Barr, Gilg & Ford, 2005; Connolly & Prothero, 2008; Carrington, Neville & Whitwell, 2010; Csutora, 2012) However, this 'gap' is still a concern that needs further understanding (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Barbarossa & Pastore, 2015). Some authors have criticised the scope used by previous studies to understand this 'attitude-behaviour' gap, from a rational perspective, overlooking other motivational factors that may play a greater role in influencing behaviour (Stern, 2000; Bamberg & Schmidt, 2003; Jackson, 2005; Whitmarsh, 2010). One of the internal factors that could be used to investigate consumers pro-environmental behaviour is personal values, which are the lens this study uses to understand the underlying motivations of organic food consumption.

This gap is also observed among 'green' consumers who reflect pro-environmental behaviour in some contexts but struggle to do so in more 'complex' contexts (Barr et al., 2006). For instance, consumers who have environmental concerns may not be willing to act in an environmentally friendly way, such as buying organic food, which is less damaging for the environment. Another example is the findings from a study by Barbarossa and Pastore (2015) that showed that limited availability and perceived high price are some of the reasons for this 'gap' among green consumers. This could be the case with organic food products. Therefore, it could be argued that understanding why this gap occurs is essential to understanding organic consumers and to encouraging organic food consumption.

To try to explain this attitude-behaviour gap, some authors have looked at the role of self-identity concerning consumer choices and, in particular, organic consumption. Previous studies have attempted to understand the role of consumers psychographic characteristics such as self-identity, on purchase intentions, This concept could be understood as the beliefs

one hold about oneself (Sirgy, 1980). It is agreed that self-identity plays a significant role in people's motivations to behave in certain ways. The reason for this is based on the notion that how we think of ourselves can influence how we intend to behave – and how we do behave. Previous research revealed that consumers who think of themselves as environmentally friendly consumers, or as a 'green' consumer, are more likely to engage in recycling behaviour, buy organic food, and resist the temptation of fast fuel-inefficient cars (Michaelidou, 2008; Whitmarsh, 2010; Johe & Bhullar, 2016). Sparks and Shepherd (1992) tested this idea in the context of organic food. They found that consumers' self-identity exerts a significant influence on intentions to consume organically, over and above the contribution of the attitude constructs included in Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). It has become evident that the way we think of ourselves can have an important influence on pro-environmental consumption, such as organic food choices.

However, the issue with self-identity is that it is a 'fluid' construct, that may change significantly during our life course, and particularly after certain life events (Sirgy, 1980; Johe & Bhullar, 2016). For instance, the identity one holds about oneself might change after having children, when a new identity as a 'parent' is formed, which could clash with the previously held identity. Due to the abstract, fluid and always evolving nature of self-identity, it could be difficult to demonstrate the influence that self-identity may have on our consumption choices. Therefore, it could be suggested that more 'stable' constructs within the core of self-identity are more useful to understand organic food consumption, such as personal values.

In line with this notion, there have been several researchers that demonstrated that consumers' personal values could be a more longstanding construct to understand consumer behaviour and research has demonstrated its influence on behaviour as an antecedent of attitudes (Dietz et al., 2005, Stern & Dietz, 1994; Schwartz, 2012).

Why personal value theory is relevant to this study

Personal values theory will be explained in more detail in the next section, but this section discusses why it is suitable for this study. Firstly, it should be noted that only a few researchers

have looked at organic food consumption from the perspective of personal values (Grunhert & Juhl, 1994; Thøgersen, Zhou & Huang, 2016).

The literature suggests that the theory of personal values is a valid conceptual framework to understand organic food consumption (Thøgersen et al., 2015; Yadav, 2017). This is based on the notion that personal values influence our consumption choices (Vinson et al., 1977). According to Schwartz (2012), this is because personal values are guiding principles that consumers use to make decisions and achieve their goals. There is some discrepancy among researchers about how human values influence behaviour. Some researchers claim that values influence the importance given to product attributes (Gutman, 1982), which then influence behaviour and other researchers suggest it is through product attitudes that values influence behaviour (Grunert & Juhl, 1988).

There are slightly different understandings of personal values in the literature that are discussed later in this chapter. This thesis will adopt the following understanding, from Schwartz (1992), who claims that personal values are “desirable trans situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 21). This definition suggests that they serve as motives, guiding our behaviour (Schwartz, 1992).

Most of the existing literature on organic food has examined consumption choices mainly from an information-processing perspective, identifying the main ‘motives’ to buy organic food. However, not much research has been done to try to understand why those ‘motives’ are important from the lens of personal variables, such as personal values (Yiridoe et al., 2005; Hughner et al., 2007; Thøgersen et al., 2015). Moreover, most of the literature is framed within the US context, and Europe, but not much research has been conducted in developing countries where the contextual background is different. In line with this, some researchers suggest that future research should look at consumer preferences and motivation taking into consideration that these might differ across distinct cultural backgrounds (Hammerling, Hamm & Spiller, 2015).

In addition, personal values could be used to identify different segments of organic food consumers that display similar personal values to guide their organic food choices. The overall argument of this study is that organic food consumption could be more fully understood if there is an attempt to identify the personal values that may guide organic food consumers in their food choices.

Consumer motives for organic consumption

The literature on organic consumption is extensive. Many studies have identified various 'themes' as the underlying 'motives' behind organic consumption. To facilitate analysis of this material, a table that presents findings on organic consumption on what motivates consumers to buy organic food, the methodology used, and the context where the study took place has been developed.

Table 3, organised in descending chronological order, shows the literature on organic is not in agreement about what are the main motives behind organic consumption nor about how these motives influence attitudes and purchase intentions towards organic consumption. As Michaelidou and Hassan (2008) highlighted, more research is needed to fully understand the underlying motivation for organic food consumption. The existing research on understanding to what extent health consciousness or food safety influences consumers to buy organic is insufficient and vague. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute with an in-depth understanding of this subject area.

Table 3: Summary of Key findings from selected studies on organic consumption and key 'motives'

Authors & Date	Findings	Methods	Location
Lian & Yoong (2019)	Food safety concerns, health consciousness, and environmental concern are the main motives underpinning purchase intentions for organic food consumers.	398 questionnaires	Malaysia
Nguyen et al. (2019)	Concerns regarding the environment, health, food safety and their knowledge of organic food, all significantly impacted their attitude towards the purchase behaviour of organic meat. Interestingly, their positive attitude did not necessarily translate into their actual purchase of organic meat.	Survey instrument from a sample of 609 organic meat consumers	China
Prentice, Chenb & Wang (2019)	Surface food attributes in general have no significant influences on either quality assessment or purchase intention; whereas the attributes that are reflective of food safety and environment, issues do.	Survey. 778 valid responses were obtained	Vietnam
Testa, Sarti & Frey (2019)	Although attitudes towards buying organics is positively affected by health consciousness and perceived behavioural control, consumer knowledge about organics is found to influence purchase intentions.	79 consumers were surveyed using an online questionnaire	Iran and US
Thøgersen, Pedersen, Paternoga, Schwendel & Aschemann-Witzel (2019)	The study revealed a general preference for organics over conventional and for domestic over imported products, with exceptions to the latter in emerging markets. Among imported foods, there is a tendency to prefer foods from economically developed over less developed countries, also in the two Asian countries.	An online consumer survey was conducted in three European and two Asian countries. In each of the five countries, a sample of about 1000 consumers, participated in the research	Italy
Shahriari, Torres, Zúñiga & Yarlou (2019)	"Price" in Iran and "authenticity/naturalness" in the US are the strongest predictors of attitude toward organic food. Eating culture, consumers' knowledge, perceptions, and concerns in society could be the underlying reason for the differences in the importance of values between two societies.	Structural equation modelling was used to analyse data from 217 respondents from Iran and 210 from the US	China

Pham et al. (2018)	Food safety concerns, health consciousness and media exposure to food messages played integral roles in the formation of attitudes towards organic food. Perceived barriers (i.e., high price, inadequate availability, poor labelling, and extra time required) significantly impeded both attitude and purchase intention towards organic food.	Structural equation modelling was used to analyse quantitative data from 289 respondents	Romania
Oroian et al. (2017)	Health concerns, sensory appeal, sustainable consumption, and weight concerns are the main reasons for consuming organic food products in Romania.	Quantitative research. Data was collected from 568 participants	Vietnam
Rana & Paul (2017)	Health-conscious consumers show a growing preference for organic food over conventionally grown food. This shift in the attitude of modern consumers is greatly influenced by the rising incidence of lifestyle diseases, such as heart disorders and depression.	Literature review. Final sample 146 research articles.	Multiple countries
Nuttavuthisit & Thøgersen (2017)	Trust is an important determinant for consumers to intentions to buy organic food. Consumers to buy organic need to believe it will bring important benefits over conventionally grown food. They also need to trust that the organic claims are true. There was not a unique & clear understanding of the term 'organic' among consumers.	Quant x 177. Focus groups x 2 and 10 Interviews	Brazil
Hidalgo-Baz, Martos-Partal & González-Benito (2017)	Messages related to the environment have greater scope than those related to health, and they influence both environmental and health perceptions strongly.	Laboratory experiment/ Ad appeals	Spain
İlter & Yılmaz (2016)	Health concerns were the main determinant for purchase intentions of organic consumers, despite perceptions that organic products are expensive and not easily available. Found some trust concerns about the reliability of organic foods, and food safety.	Survey 882 consumers	Turkey

<p>Katz-Gerro et al., (2016)</p>	<p>Looked at Schwartz’s universalism, benevolence and conformity, and Stern’s biospheric value. Findings: Biospheric value has separate effects on environmental behaviour. Suggest treating separately Benevolence, universalism and biospheric values. Important differences between countries with regards to value types and environmental behaviour. Some values operated differently in different countries. Suggest exploring the links between values and pro-environmental behaviour within different national and cultural settings. Suggest future research looking at the link between Schwartz’s conformity value and environmental concern.</p>	<p>Quantitative</p>	<p>Germany, India, Israel, South Korea</p>
<p>Yadav (2016)</p>	<p>Altruistic value (environmental concern) and egoistic value (health consciousness) influence organic consumption. These values influence attitudes, and it then influences purchase Intention</p>	<p>Survey</p>	<p>Canada</p>
<p>Thogersen et al. (2015)</p>	<p>Consumers’ attitude towards organic food is linked to beliefs about healthiness, taste, and environmental friendliness. Consumers’ attitudes are positively related to Universalism values</p>	<p>Quantitative approach. Results from a survey were analysed using structural equation modeling</p>	<p>Brazil and China</p>
<p>Kareklas (2014)</p>	<p>Buying organic food may satisfy both an egoistic goal (i.e., desire to be healthier) as well as an altruistic goal (i.e., desire to improve the environment). Simultaneously both goals are fulfilled. societal-focused factors may play a more dominant role when considering the purchase of green/organic products. Green purchase decisions are more likely to include an altruistic component An ad featuring both egoistic and altruistic appeals produced more favourable attitudes toward the brand and company, and greater purchase intentions, than either an egoistic ad treatment or a neutral control ad.</p>	<p>Quantitative research. Structural equating modelling was used to analyse factors that drive organic food beliefs.</p>	<p>Italy</p>

Kareklas, Carlson & Muehling (2014)	Egoistic (e.g., personal health) and altruistic (e.g., environmental) orientation, both influence organic consumers attitudes and purchase intentions. Importance to consider both motivations could be determinants of purchase intentions.	302 online surveys	USA
Hoffmann & Schlicht (2013)	Looked at how situational factors such as situational/environmental factors such as consumer's concern about pollution may influence intentions to buy organic. Findings: factual concernment is a crucial driver for buying organic food and a possible variable for segmenting organic consumers in addition to health concerns and ecological concerns.	512 survey- female & male	Germany
Hoppe et al. (2013)	Looked at Beliefs, Attitudes & Values of organic consumers. Individual attitudes towards buying organic are based on benefit beliefs (e.g., Healthier, tastes, eco-friendly). Buying organic food is primarily driven by beliefs about benefits such as healthy in the first place and followed by environment friendly and natural. Other beliefs related to visual attributes or risks were identified but with less influence on purchase intentions. Food quality is a relevant attribute in buying organic food. Consumers from different types of shops (supermarket vs farm shop) hold different motivational value types. TPB model- Perceived uncertainty and subjective norm are not significant influence - showing 3rd people opinion is not decisive in buying intentions. Persona evaluation based on beliefs and values is more decisive.	450 interview & Survey PVQ Schwartz Portrait Value	China and Brazil
Thogersen & Zhou (2012)	Early adopters of organic show a high level of education and income and give high priority to Universalism values. No other value type was so significantly related to organic consumption. Past experience has an important effect on attitudes towards buying organic. Social norms play no influence on the formation of intentions.	Survey. 771 consumers agreed to participate	Holland

Thøgersen & Zhou (2012)	<p>The early adoption of organic food in China is positively related to what Schwartz termed 'universalism values.'</p> <p>The personal attitude towards buying organic food in China is strongly linked to beliefs about its healthiness, taste, and environmental friendliness.</p> <p>Social norms play a minor role in the intention to buy organic food, probably because the early adopters have few role models and face few expectations in this respect.</p>	Survey - Belief's list	China
Griskevicius, Tybur & Van den Bergh (2010)	Altruistic values influence consumers' intentions to buy green products when shopping in public but not when shopping in private.	Quantitative research. 168 students took part in the first experiment, 93 in the second and 156 in the third one.	USA
Aertsens et al. (2009)	Values are important stable motivators for behaviour. Egocentric values are stronger motivators for organic food purchases than altruistic values.	Literature review	European countries, USA, Australia, Canada
De Magistris & Garcia (2008)	Consumers' attitudes towards the health attribute of organic food and toward the environment are the most important factors when buying organic food products. Healthy conscious consumers are more likely to have more positive attitudes towards organic food products and towards the environment, which increases the likelihood of buying organic foods	Structural equation modelling, survey x 200	Italy

Krystallis et al. (2008)	Attitude towards organically grown food is negatively associated with power values and positively associated with universalism values. Self-esteem values are important for consumers buying organic products. Found lack of trust in organic certification which influences their beliefs about the certainty of organic being 100% organic, and perception of expensive. Individualistic values should not be ignored.	Qualitative – MEC with 400 consumers- 1423 Quantitative- Schwartz 17 item (PVQ)	Greece Germany, Great Britain, Denmark, and Spain
Chen (2007a, b)	Health beliefs about organic food and perception of better quality than conventional food, have positive effects on the intention to purchase organic food.	A national consumer surveys. A total of 608 surveys were returned and analysed with structural equation modelling.	Norway
Entem (2007)	Environmental attitude is a significant explanatory variable in the prediction of frequent organic food shoppers and membership in environmental groups. Health attitudes and environmental attitudes are linked, suggesting that people who are health conscious are more likely to be also more environmentally concerned. Benevolence and universalism predicted regular consumption of organic food.	Quantitative research. Regression analysis was used to analyse data from 389 respondents.	USA
Honkanen et al. (2006)	The findings indicated that environmental concern motives and specific attitudes towards organic food are the main drivers for intention to purchase organic food.	Quantitative research. 1603 respondents took part in the survey questionnaire.	Slovenia
Chrysosoidis & Krystallis (2005)	The most relevant motives underpinning buying organic products are healthiness and perceived better taste of the organic food. However, they also found that environmental concern also influences organic foods to some degree.	Quantitative research. Factor analysis was used to analyse respondents' data.	Denmark

Dreezens et al. (2005)	Attitudes towards GMF and OGF are influenced by specific values and beliefs.	Survey. The overall sample consisted of 241 participants	Taiwan
Kuhar and Juvancic (2005)	The two main attributes of organic are related to perceived quality (taste and visual attractiveness) but also consumers' environmental concerns are responsible for driving organic food consumption.	A survey questionnaire was administered to 1027 households.	Greece
Millock et al. (2004)	Attitudes towards taste, freshness, and health aspects of organic have a stronger influence on buying organic than environmental and animal welfare attitudes.	A combination of questionnaire data and real market purchase data on organic food (2000 households)	Norway
Fotopoulos et al. (2003)	The main product attributes of organic wine are linked to values of pleasure, healthiness to have a longer life. The attributes of healthiness, quality, information, attractiveness, and good taste were the main motivational benefits for buying organic wine.	'Laddering'- interviews. Means end chain	Greece
Magnusson et al. (2003)	Personal health concerns have a major significance than environmental concerns on consumers' pro-environmental attitudes. Egoistic motives are found to influence organic food purchases.	Quantitative research. 1154 questionnaires were completed	Sweden
Chinnici et al. (2002)	Interest in organic food is mainly due to health concerns more than environmental concerns. Consumers who are driven by health concerns are willing to pay more for organic products.	Survey x 552	India
Zanoli & Naspetti (2002)	Consumers who value ecology (defined as "harmony with the universe and sustainable future") tended to consume organic food regularly.	Qualitative research. 60 respondents were interviewed	Thailand

Torjusen et al. (2001)	Found that attitudes towards the health attribute of organic foods have been statistically significant to explain organic foods choice.	Quantitative research. Multivariate analysis was used to analyse data from the survey	Italy
Grunert & Juhl (1995)	Looked at the relevance of Schwartz values for understanding organic consumption. Positive attitudes towards environmental issues are positively correlated to the buying of organic foods and the frequency of purchase. Found that Danish teachers that were more environmentally concerned were more likely to purchase organic foods.	174 questionnaires	Denmark

Table 4: Major conclusions from the literature

Key conclusions	Studies
Values are important stable motivators for behaviour , hence relevant to understanding organic consumption.	Aertsens et al. (2009); Rana & Paul, (2017); Grunert & Juhl, (1994); Thøgersen et al. (2016); Schwartz, (2012)
Consumer concern for health and well-being is the main factor influencing their intentions to buy organic food	Schiffenstein & Ophuis (1998); Zanolini & Naspetti (2002); Rana, & Paul, (2017); Botonaki et al., (2006); Chrysosoidis & Krystallis (2005); Harper & Makatouni (2002); Magnusson et al. (2003); Makatouni, (2002); Padel & Foster (2005)
Consumer concern for the environment influences consumers attitudes toward organic food.	Gan et al. (2016); Hughner et al. (2007); Kareklas, Carlson & Muehling (2012); Squires, Juric & Cornwell (2001); Wandel & Bugge (1997); Ahmad, Shah, & Ahmad (2010); Honkanen, Verplanken & Olsen (2006)
While other studies have found that ' universalism ' values of Schwartz are closely linked to the consumption of organic food.	Thogersen et al. (2014); Katz & Gero, (2017); Thogersen et al. (2015)
Consumers holding ' benevolence ' values were linked to organic consumption among regular consumers. These values are closely linked to collective beliefs, while self-direction and hedonism values are linked to individual beliefs.	Schwartz (2007); Hoppe et al. (2017)
Organic food consumers display high scores to self-transcendent value orientation (universalism and benevolence values)	Katz-Gerro et al., (2016); Thøgersen et al., (2015); Hoppe et al., (2013), Thogersen & Zhou, 2012
Organic food consumers display high scores on egoistic values	Magnusson et al., 2003

<p>The notion of food safety was found to be a very significant motive of attitude towards organic food in certain contexts, while health consciousness appears to be the least important motive contradicting some of the previous studies, about other motives such as ethical self-identity.</p>	<p>Lian, & Yoong (2019); Michaelidou & Hassan (2008); Tarkiainen & Sundqvist (2005); Brunso & Scholderer (2001)</p>
<p>Value priorities and their meaning can be different within different contexts.</p>	<p>Thøgersen et al. (2016); Thøgersen et al. (2015); Hoppe et al. (2013)</p>
<p>Egocentric values are stronger motivators for organic food purchases than altruistic values.</p>	<p>Aertsens et al. (2009)</p>
<p>More recently the literature has shown that both egoistic motives and altruistic motives are important drivers of organic consumption. Buying organic food may satisfy both an egoistic goal (i.e., desire to be healthier) as well as an altruistic goal (i.e., desire to improve the environment). Simultaneously both goals are fulfilled.</p>	<p>Yadav, (2016); Kereklas, (2014); Rana & Paul, (2017); Enter (2007)</p>

From the review of the literature, several motives have been identified by other researchers were 'taste', environmentally friendly', 'food safety', concern for animal welfare, 'local' 'wholesome, nostalgia, and curiosity (Asioli et al., 2011; Hughner et al., 2007; Huang, 1996). Among these 'motives' some of them have received more attention by researchers such as 'health concerns or taste, and environmentally friendliness' of organic produce, whilst other motives have received less attention. For instance, food safety has not been widely researched. Given this, it would be worth looking at organic food consumption within developing countries where consumers have been exposed to food safety issues. As highlighted by Nuttavuthisit and Thøgersen (2017) the issue of consumer trust and its possible antecedent - 'food safety concern' - have received little attention, so looking at whether 'food safety' is important for organic consumers or not, could unveil another important 'motive' underlying organic consumption. The issue of food safety has also been found by Dreezens and colleagues (2005) as a key factor influencing the intention to buy organic food. In this study, they found that consumers' attitudes and beliefs about organically grown foods (OGF) were opposite to genetically modified (GMF) foods.

Health benefits

Most of the research on organic food suggests that health concerns are an important driver to buy organic (Zakowska-Biemans, 2011). However, there is a lack of in-depth understanding about why health concerns arise in the first place. It is not clear from the literature what drives consumers to seek health benefits from organic food. The literature suggests this could be due to a desire to prevent illness or avoid chemical pesticides or could be part of a wider

healthy lifestyle embracing the 'naturalness' and chemical-free characteristic of organic or could be due to the belief that organic has enhanced nutritional properties.

Recent literature seems to suggest that health and nutritional benefits are the two main underlying motives for contemporary organic food consumption (Magnusson et al., 2001; Schifferstein & Ophuist, 1998; Huang, 1996; Zanolli & Naspetti, 2002). However, despite this commonly held belief that organic is 'healthier' (Williams, 2002) there is not enough medical or nutritional evidence - to the knowledge of the author - to support the claims that organic food is 'superior' or 'healthier' than conventionally grown food (Smith-Spangler, 2012; Mazzacano, and Falzon, 2015; Massey, O' Cass, and Otahal, 2018). However, recent research by Newcastle University supported the claim that organic food is significantly more nutritious containing more antioxidants than conventionally grown food (Leifert, 2015). A recent literature review carried out by Baranski, and colleagues (2017) revealed nutritional differences between organic and conventionally grown food. This claim agrees with consumer's beliefs that organic food has enhanced nutritious properties. Therefore, it is important to find out the roots of this belief, where it comes from, what makes consumers believe that organic is healthier, and what they mean by 'healthier.' Furthermore, it seems also imperative to understand what consumers mean by 'healthy', 'better quality' or 'nutritionally' superior to conventionally grown foods This study will investigate this.

The existing research suggest that there is not much agreement on what are the main 'attributes' that consumers look for in organic food and why these are important. Most research (see Hoppe et al., 2017 for review) has revealed that organic consumption is intricately linked to consumers' beliefs that organic food has attributes such as 'healthier', "tastier", "more natural" and "environmentally friendly'. Some authors believe that how consumers perceive organic food, and the attributes closely associated with 'organic' are the

same reasons why they choose to consume organic. They demonstrated that individual attitudes towards buying organic food are primarily related to the belief about the benefits that organic consumption might bring to them: healthier, environmentally friendly, and natural - in this order.

Some research has shown that crucial factors underlying consumers' motivations to buy organic food are consumers' positive attitudes towards certain organic food attributes (such as being pesticide free) and positive attitudes towards the environment. This is in line with the notion that 'health awareness' (Botonaki et al., 2006; Chrysosoidis & Krystallis, 2005; Botonaki et al., 2006; Rana, & Paul 2017) and 'environmental awareness' (Zanoli & Naspetti, 2002) are the two main drivers of organic consumption. However, the literature has not provided unambiguous evidence about whether those attributes vary in different contexts and the meaning attached to each of these attributes. This study aims to bridge that gap by exploring the meaning of the different attributes associated with organic among Uruguayan consumers and the link between those attributes and life values. It is, therefore, key to understand organic consumer's values to understand consumer behaviour within the Uruguayan context.

Environmental concern

The review of the literature (see Table 4) revealed that some authors would argue that environmental concern is the main reason leading to organic consumption (Wilkins et al., 1994; Grunert & Juhl, 1995). It could be argued that it might have been the main reason some years ago. It would be important to understand if communications appeals should also emphasise other benefits such as environmentally friendliness of organic food or food safety assurance. Some scholars looked at organic food consumption by drawing from pro-

environmental behaviour and looking at pro-environmental concern as the underlying motive influencing organic consumption. A few studies explored the role of environmental concern on organic consumption (Wilkins et al., 1994; Grunert & Juhl, 1995; Dietz et al., 2005). While, in the last ten years the literature has started to find other motives such as health consciousness, or food safety as one of the most important drivers of organic consumption (Thøgersen et al., 2015; Chen et al., 2015; Paul & Rana, 2017; Michaelidou & Hassan, 2008). This shift could have been driven by a change in consumers attitudes towards organic food and healthy eating in recent years (Mintel, 2016; Rana & Paul, 2017). It is worth highlighting the claims that Rana and Paul (2017) made from their study. They believe that consumers are starting to recognize that previous generations were healthier, mentally more capable, and more spiritual, perhaps because of a less stressful lifestyle. This could suggest that organic food might be perceived as a return to the roots, providing a good degree of connectedness with the original way of growing and eating food in the past (Autio, et al., 2013; Chinnici et al., 2002; Rana & Paul, 2017; Hughner et al., 2007).

Overall wellbeing

As highlighted by Apaolaza and colleagues (2018) some previous studies have suggested that consumers perceive happiness and pleasure as a motivational drive that is closely linked to organic food consumption. However, they suggest that wellbeing has not been looked in relation to organic consumption. This study aims to look at not only the drivers but also the consequences of organic food consumption, by exploring how consumers feel about organic food consumption.

Positive attitudes

Attitudes provide a positive or negative assessment of something, while values are a broader concept. The relationship between attitudes and values is that attitudes are influenced and underpinned by personal values (Katz-Gerro, 2016) and they help to express those personal values through the chosen behaviour. It is believed that values are a key element of attitudes. Some studies have found that positive attitudes towards organic food are related to positive beliefs about healthiness, taste, and environmental friendliness (Thogersen & Zhou, 2012).

Homer and Kahale (1988) proposed the value-attitude-behaviour hierarchy that shows how values influence behaviours both directly and indirectly through attitudes. As Dreezens and colleagues (2005) suggest, values influence attitudes by highlighting some beliefs as more important/salient than others. For example, if 'someone holds two opposing beliefs such as 'organic food is good for the environment' and 'eating organic is too expensive' if the person appreciates the value of universalism (protection for nature), then most probably the first belief will be more salient and would influence the behaviour of buying organic despite being perceived as expensive. While if the person appreciates other values in life, such as power, they may decide not to spend money on this. Therefore, it is important to understand the underpinning values related to specific attributes associated with organic food in Uruguay.

Consumer's responsibility: Food sovereignty

The literature suggests that the 'motives' that influence organic consumption could be rooted in belief surrounding the consequences that consumption may bring. As Mazzacano and Falcon (2014) point out, it is necessary to know what makes consumers believe that organic is a 'better' alternative than conventionally grown food. For instance, the belief that organic

food is pesticide-free is a key determinant for organic consumption in China (Thøgersen et al., 2015). However, this same belief does not hold the same level of importance in Brazil. It is believed that Chinese consumers are more aware of the dangers of pesticides due to various food scandals in the last few years. This reveals the importance of understanding the local situation and how it can impact on consumers' beliefs and behaviour. As highlighted by Karaklegas and colleagues (2014) outbreaks of salmonella, Escherichia coli, and mad cow disease could have raised consumer concern about food production and its impact on consumers health (Hughner et al., 2007). This situation is similar to what has happened in Uruguay in recent years. Therefore, it would be important to identify the beliefs, values and motivations that drive consumption of organic food in Uruguay.

Uruguay's government has tried to associate 'organic' consumption with 'food sovereignty.' This concept goes beyond the traditional definition of 'organic' and beyond the way organic food has been grown. It is based on the idea that the soil, air, and water are all natural resources that every human being has the right to use, they are what is called the common natural resources. This concept implicitly empowers the organic consumer as being responsible, autonomous, self-governing for their consumption choices, free to choose what is best for them. It implies being responsible not only for the consumer but also with regards to the planet. This concept of food sovereignty is used in many advertising campaigns for organic food in Uruguay. Other communication campaigns use the term 'responsible consumption', but it would be helpful to explore further the meaning of 'organic' among Uruguayans, and what they associate 'organic' with.

Connectedness with nature

Schultz and colleagues (2004) investigated the implicit connections with nature and its role in explaining why some people care about the environment. They developed the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure connectedness with nature. They demonstrated that connectedness with nature is relatively stable across time and that it is positively associated with biospheric concerns and negatively associated with egoistic concerns. Their study (Schultz et al., 2004) suggested that those consumers who feel closer to nature, and who associate themselves as being part of the natural environment, are likely to be extremely concerned about environmental issues. However, those with a weaker association between themselves and the environment tend to be less concerned about the environment and tend to focus on issues that directly affect the individual, underpinned by self-interest motives.

These findings might be relevant to explain why some organic consumers are more concerned about the environment to the extent of going beyond buying organic food, but also growing their own vegetables, and adopting a more self-sufficient lifestyle. However, the literature does not explore in-depth to what extent these associations with nature are related to organic food consumption or mainly with growing own vegetables that might not necessarily buy organic.

Recent literature has suggested that health attitudes and environmental attitudes are interrelated (Entem, 2007). Which could mean that the more health-conscious a consumer is, the more likely it is that they would also be environmentally conscious and care for the planet, under the understanding that the health of the planet would impact the individual's health as both are interconnected. This will be explored further within this present study, under

connectedness with nature, as it is important to understand the interrelationship and negotiation of different motivational drivers.

The relevance of personal values within organic food consumption

The literature on organic food consumption has tried to answer this question of what influences organic consumption, from various perspectives and theoretical backgrounds. Some authors have looked at the role of self-identity (Johe and Bhullar, 2016); ethical identity (Michaelidou, 2008); personal determinants, beliefs and attitudes (Thøgersen et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2014; Aertsens et al., 2009; Ahmad et al., 2010); trust (Nuttavuthisit and Thøgersen, 2015); the influence of environmental concern (Mainieri et al., 1997); environmental attitude (Magnuson et al., 2001; Entem, 2007); and from the perspective of the theory of planned behaviour (TPB) (Sparks and Shepherd, 1992; Aertsens et al., 2009; Hoppe et al., 2013).

A few studies based in Europe have investigated how the purchase of organic food is related to consumers' basic value priorities (Dreezens, Martijn, Tenbult, Kok, & de Vries, 2005; Honkanen, Verplanken, & Olsen, 2006; Thøgersen, 2011; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2006). Values are believed to represent motivations as they are the guiding principles that help consumers chose and justify their actions and behaviour (Grunert & Juhl, 1995). For instance, Hoppe and colleagues (2017) have revealed that personal evaluation based on beliefs and values is more decisive than subjective norm and perceived uncertainty. Beliefs about risks and costs have been proved to be less influential. Benevolence values appear to be linked to collective beliefs, while self-direction and hedonism values are linked to individual beliefs (Schwartz, 2007; Hoppe, 2017). While other studies have found that 'universalism' values as coined by

Schwartz are linked to consumption of organic food (Thøgersen et al., 2014; Katz-Gerro, 2017).

Moreover, a wide range of research particularly in Europe, has tried to explain organic consumption by looking into the role of personal values (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992; Stern, 1999; Thøgersen, 2010; Thøgersen, 2011; Thøgersen & Olander, 2006). Other scholars looked in particular at environmental values (Dietz et al., 2005; Grunert, and Juhl, 1995; Krystallis et al., 2005, Yadav, 2016; Aertsens et al., 2009; Thøgersen and Zhou, 2012; Thøgersen et al., 2014), while others have focused on ethical values (Carrigan et al., 2004; Honkanen et al., 2006; Carrington et al., 2010).

Researchers claim that personal values are developed during our first years in life, and they tend to be relatively stable during our lifetime, and therefore they have a significant influence on consumer behaviour (Katz-Gerro et al., 2017; Schwartz, 2012; Aertsens et al., 2009; De Groot & Steg, 2008). A vast majority of studies looking into the relationship between values and buying organic have used Schwartz (1992, 1994) theory of values. One of the values that were predominant among organic consumers was the 'universalism' understood as the understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection of the people and nature (Katz-Gerro et al., 2017; Thøgersen & Zhou, 2012). However, these value priorities could be different in different countries where cultural value priorities are different (Thøgersen & Zhou, 2012).

Moreover, consumer values are at the centre of the consumer. It is also generally accepted that values are part of self-identity (Jackson, 2005; Hitlin, 2003). Research has demonstrated that values are a strong driver of behaviour when they are central to self-identity (Gatersleben

et al., 2014). According to Sirgy, (1920) self-identity is a cognitive structure that constitutes the beliefs we hold about ourselves.

Values could be considered to be more relevant to consumer behaviour for this research, over and above other constructs such as self-identity for the following reasons. The literature suggests that self-identity is a fluid construct, which changes and varies with time during one's lifetime, some authors would agree with the notion that Self-identity is always being developed (Hurth, 2010; Soron, 2010; Jackson, 2005; Pierro et al., 2003; Sirgy, 1920). Some authors claim that self-identity is constructed through the narratives of our daily lives, implying that it is created and shaped through our daily experiences, and the social interaction we have with others. Whilst, self-identity is a very fluid concept, values are more long-term and stable constructs than self-identity (Aertsens et al., 2009; Oyserman & Markus, 1998). Therefore, for policymakers or marketing communications professionals, personal values offer a reliable outlook because understanding consumer values provide longevity from the consumer perspective, and it draws from a more stable underlying consumer motivation. Therefore, it could be argued that it is worth looking into values as a key factor that influences behaviour, and that some values may remain the same during our lives. Another reason to investigate values is that individuals take into consideration a small number of values, and they are relatively stable during our life. For this reason, values provide a reliable and effective way not only to understand consumer behaviour, but also to make sense of similarities and differences among consumers.

Values are antecedents of many other consumer variables such as attitudes and purchase intention (Stern, 2000; Stern & Dietz, 1994). As highlighted by Dietz and colleagues (2005)

values differ from other concepts that authors have investigated to understand consumer behaviour.

Theory of Human Values The theory of human values (Schwartz, 2012) has been applied to explain a wide array of consumer behaviours across various contexts such as charity volunteers, religious behaviour, community activities, addictions, political orientation, and purchase of environmentally friendly products such as organic foods (Jackson, 2005).

Personal values theory is a valid framework to explain the link between values and organic food consumption (Aertsens et al., 2010; Thøgersen, 2007). This is mainly because research has shown that personal values are stable and longstanding constructs that influence our consumer behaviour (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992; 2012). Research has shown that personal values influence consumer behaviour and consumption choices by having an impact on our beliefs, attitudes and norms as explained earlier on the Value Belief Norm theory (VBN) (Dietz et al., 2005; Stern et al., 1999) and the theory of human values (Schwartz 2012; Rokeach 1968, 1973).

Personal values theory has been applied in numerous studies to provide an explanation of consumer behaviour within various contexts such as organic food (Krystallis et al., 2008; Grunert & Juhl, 1995), sustainable consumption (Vermeir, & Verbeke (2008); pro-environmentally friendly behaviour (Thøgersen & Olander, 2002); ethical and socially conscious behaviour (Pepper et al., 2008; Grunert & Juhl, 1995;), sustainable consumption (Vermeir, & Verbeke (2008); pro-environmentally friendly behaviour (Thøgersen & Olander, 2002); ethical and socially conscious behaviour (Pepper et al., 2009). It has been widely

demonstrated that personal values influence individuals' attitudes and behaviours (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990; Stern et al., 1993; Stern, Dietz, Kalof & Guagnano, 1995).

The different values a person hold can be ordered by their level of importance, and relevance to every situation. This hierarchical feature of values is one of the aspects that distinguish values from attitudes or norms (Schwartz, 2007).

As shown by previous research, values are suitable for segmenting consumers because they are a key influential factor for consumer behaviour more than other personal factors and are more closely linked to motivations than attitudes (Schwartz, 1992; Wedel et al., 1998 in Krystalis et al., 2008).

Personal values are considered beliefs that refer to the desired goals in life that one strives to achieve (Schwartz 2006). The theory of human values, developed by Schwartz (2007), claims that values are desirable goals, serving as principles or standards that guide their choices and evaluation of actions, events, etc. Values are key drivers for behaviours and attitudes (Schwartz, 2012).

Several studies that consider which values influence consumers' attitudes towards organic food have shown that a few values, driven by altruistic motives, such as ecology, universalism, benevolence, and equality are key (Katz-Gerro et al, 2017; Aertsens et al., 2009; Hughner et al., 2007). Benevolence and universalism were found to influence regular consumers of organically produced food (Krystallis et al., 2008).

As indicated in Tables 3 and 4 the literature on organic consumption is extensive. Some researchers have shown that most purchases are driven by self-interest motivations (egoistic values) (Fisher, Van-den Bosch & Antia 2008; Zanolli & Naspetti 2002) These could be of different types such as health concerns (Soler, Gil & Sanchez 2002; Schifferstein & Ophuis 1998), or safety or price concerns (Gonzalez; 2012).

Other authors claim that organic purchase decisions are not only driven by personal motivations but also by others interests and environmental (altruistic values) (Kareklas, Carlson & Muehling 2012; Squires, Juric & Cornwell 2001; Wandel & Bugge 1997; Wilkins & Hillers 1994). Similarly, studies have shown the influence of environmental concern on consumers' attitudes towards organic food (Ahmad, Shah, & Ahmad 2010; Honkanen, Michaelidou & Hassan, 2008; Verplanken & Olsen, 2006; Squires, Juric & Cornwell 2001; Wandel & Bugge 1997).

Studies employing a comprehensive instrument for measuring human values find that buying organic food is most strongly related to what Schwartz (1992, 1994) terms 'universalism values', and when universalism is controlled, no other value is both positively and significantly related to the purchase of organic food (Thøgersen, 2011; Dreezens et al., 2005). Similar findings have been reported in the United States (Zepeda & Deal, 2009) and regarding ethical (Shaw, Grehan, Shiu, Hassan & Thomson, 2005) and Fairtrade products (Doran, 2009). According to Schwartz (1992, 1994), the motivational goal of universalism is understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection of the welfare for all people and nature. Hence, the relationship between universalism and buying organic food is consistent with organic food

being perceived as a more sustainable alternative to conventional food (Thøgersen, 2011, cited in Thøgersen, & Zhou, 2012).

As suggested by Mhlophe (2016) research has demonstrated a link between environmental concerns and consumer purchase intentions for organic food. It is generally believed that environmental concern is driven by altruistic concerns, as research has shown consumers with altruistic concerns care for other people, animal welfare and the environment, in wider terms the society and biosphere (Thogersen, 2011; Harper & Makatouni 2002). Research has revealed a link between environmental concerns and a positive attitude towards organically produced food and green advertising (Haytko & Matulich, 2008, cited in Karaklas, 2014).

However, recent research suggests that both motivational orientations, self-interest (egoistic) and self-transcendent (altruistic), could be an important influence for the consumption of organically produced meat (Umberger, McFadden & Smith 2009, cited in Kareklas, 2014). Within this notion, it is believed that the benefits pursued with egoistic purchase intentions (e.g., health interest) are not conflicting but attuned with altruistic purchase intentions (e.g., good for the environment). Therefore, it could be argued that consumers may believe that organically grown food is not only healthier but also good for the environment. In which case, buying organically grown food could fulfil egoistic and altruistic purposes at the same time (Kareklas, 2014). As shown by recent research carried out by Kareklas, (2014,) egoistic and altruistic considerations both simultaneously influenced consumers' attitudes and purchase intentions to buy organic food. Nevertheless, Kareklas and colleagues (2014) have shown that societal factors play a key role in the purchase of organic food, hence it is believed that organic consumption is more likely to be driven by an altruistic concern.

It is suggested that future research needs to be carried out to understand whether personal health concerns may outweigh environmental concerns (Magnusson et al., 2003) and whether the importance of altruistic versus egoistic concerns varies within public versus private consumption settings (Kareklas, 2014).

Personal Value theory

Value as a concept for study has been approached and researched from many different perspectives such as sociology, psychology, philosophy, and economics. However, the notion that will be adopted for this study is that of social psychology and 'personal values' as discussed in the following section.

Rokeach (1973) defined the term personal value as a long-lasting belief that a specific mode of conduct is preferred over another mode of conduct in life. From this perspective, values are generally understood as important life goals or standards that serve as steering principles in life (Rokeach, 1973). Schwartz (1992) similarly understand that a value is: "a desirable trans-situational goal varying in importance, which serves as a guiding principle in the life of a person or other social entity" (p. 21). In other words, values could also be understood as enduring beliefs about desirable modes of conduct that guide decision-making and are ordered hierarchically according to their relative importance (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990).

Personal values are beliefs linked to emotions; desirable goals that motivate action; guiding principles to guide our actions; they go beyond situations and contexts; they are ordered by relative importance or priority; the relative importance of multiple values guide behaviour when they are relevant to a certain context Schwartz (1992, 1994, 2012).

From the above, it could be interpreted that values can be understood as symbolizing motivations because they serve as the 'guiding' principles people use to choose their actions, appraise people, the self, and experiences in life (Grunert & Juhl, 1995). Given this, it could be said that personal values guide many of our behaviours and consumption choices. Hence, they could be more useful for marketers when developing communications campaigns, than self-identity construct which may change with time, as it is constructed as we go along our daily experiences.

It is generally agreed that personal values provide a guideline on a desirable mode of behaviour or end-state quality to it, guiding conduct, attitudes, judgements, and comparisons across specific objects and situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate goals (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005).

Values have specific qualities that make them relevant antecedents of pro-environmental behaviour (Thøgersen, 2011; Stern, 2000). As Schwartz (2012) suggests they relate to broad orientations linked to one's personality. So, trying to understand the role of values on pro-environmental behaviour is trying to understand the deep-rooted motivational basis for such behaviour.

Several researchers have demonstrated that personal values influence environmental attitudes and environmental behaviour (Katz-Gerro et al., 2017; Schwartz, 2012; Schultz et al., 2007; Poortinga, 2004; Stern 2000; Stern et al., 1993; Rokeach, 1973). Some authors have looked at how specific values influence specific environmentally conscious behaviour (Dietz et al., 1999; Stern et al., 1993). Various researchers (Karp, 1996; cited in Poortinga, 2004;

Dunlap, Grieneeks & Rokeach, 1983) revealed that Schwarz's values have significantly influenced several pro-environmental behaviours, such as recycling behaviour, among other green consumption choices aiming to protect the environment. Other studies showed that values significantly influence people's willingness to take action to protect the environment (Stern & Dietz, 1994), and influence activist environmental behaviours such as citizenship (Stern, Dietz, Abel, Guagnano & Kalof, 1999).

Within the context of pro-environmental behaviour, this type of behaviour is underlined by a conflict between individual and collective interests, where values may play a significant role (Axelrod, 1994; Karp, 1996). Rokeach (1973) and Schwarz (1994) have developed value scales to successfully understand the general environmental concern. However, there is some disagreement about what type of values are driving pro-environmental behaviour. Some scholars argued that pro-environmental behaviour is driven by values that go beyond self-interest but instead are led by altruistic or moral reasons (Prootinga, 2004). However, others suggest that some of these pro-environmental behaviours could be driven by a self-serving interest. For instance, some consumers may be driven to care about the environment because they care what others may think about them, in which case it is a self-serving interest. (Jackson, 2005) This gives place to the concept of "subjective norm," which is defined as 'the beliefs I hold about how significant others think I should behave' (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

Stern and colleagues (1999, 1998) believe that pro-environmental beliefs and behaviour are related to social-altruistic and or biosphere values. They suggest that there is scope for separate biospheric value orientation, which is the appreciation for nature and the planet on its own and distinctive from altruistic values.

It has become evident from previous research (Ozanne & Dobscha, 2006) that not only green values, but also strong social norms are needed to encourage pro-environmental behaviour. Without social norms, people cannot judge whether adopting a new energy service is accepted/expected or not.

It is also important to understand how a person may negotiate various conflicting values that may exist within a given situation. Since conflicting values cannot be achieved at the same time, it could be argued that the person would decide which value to act upon, according to the perceived importance placed on the values (Herker, 1993). An individual may also decide to emphasise different values for himself and society in general at different times.

As noted by Dembrowski and Hanmer-Lloyd (1994) opposing values may arise and co-exist at the same time when choosing a product. In these situations, the person decides according to the importance given to specific values. Hence, one can conclude that the importance given to pro-environmental behaviour depends on the competing values and the significance placed on environmental-related values.

Smith (1998) proposes that green marketing could provide a bridge for the emerging gap between people's environmental concerns, and their desire to maintain the western consumer lifestyle.

It is generally accepted that the concept of values integrates elements both at a sociocultural and at a personal level (Kluckhohn 1951; Scholl-Schaff 1975; Graumann & Willig 1983; Schuermann 1988a). As sociocultural factors are beyond the immediate domain of the

individual, values must also encompass some broad situational and external factors. Values at an individual level can be understood as "internalised values" (Scholl-Schaff, 1975), which are gained in complex socialisation and cultural process (Schuermann, 1988a). Therefore, this study proposes to explore the role of values on pro-environmental behaviour within a different cultural context.

Thogersen (2010) tried to understand why organic food consumption varies across different countries. His study revealed that the amount of organic food consumption is influenced by external structural factors such as political and legal framework, financial support to farmers, labelling system, soil conditions, the distribution system and pricing. In addition, research suggests that cultural factors such as food preference and culture's degree of environmental concern play a key role.

Schwartz Basic Human Values Theory

This study will use Schwartz theory of values as the lens to understand consumer value priorities and value orientations to investigate how they guide consumers behaviour. There appears to be no research that looks the at underlying motivation of organic consumers using personal values from a qualitative perspective in Uruguay. Therefore, this study aims to bridge this gap by unveiling the higher end goal – underlying motivation - behind the reasons that consumers mention for buying organic. For instance, health concerns could be the main driver for organic consumption but for distinct reasons as explained earlier. It is important to understand not only the reason for buying organic (goal or value priority) but the underlying motivation (value orientation). This study will investigate this and will provide a contribution to this gap in knowledge.

According to Schwartz (2012), values are cognitive depictions of what we believe are important personal goals or motivations, that people communicate through their behaviour. What distinguishes one value from another (wisdom versus success) is due to the motivation or goal that symbolize (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994). Therefore, this thesis will adopt the notion of values as 'guiding principles' in life that would influence ones' behaviour and choices. When we consider our values, we consider what is essential for us in life. We all embrace different values (e.g., success, security, friendship) with different priorities in our lives. For instance, for me, a particular value might be extremely important whereas for another person might be the least important. Therefore, it is essential to understand not only which values (beliefs) a person may hold in life but also the degree of importance, to what extent is a priority, that would influence my behaviour towards the achievement of such a desirable goal.

Schwartz (2012) has identified six characteristics of all values: The psychology of values, particularly the Schwartz model (1990), suggests that fifty-eight single values can be arranged into ten value types. Schwartz's Values Theory (Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Smith & Schwartz, 1997) recognises 10 personal value types: **benevolence, universalism, self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, and tradition**. Schwartz (1987; 1992) suggests that these ten values are interrelated and influence each other. This number was then extended to a total of nineteen value types as some were added for instance universalism was split into universalism: tolerance, universalism: concern, universalism: nature.

What distinguishes one value from another is the type of goal or motivation that underpins the value (Schwartz, 1994). Therefore, Schwartz and Bilsky (1992) proposed that the personal

values should be displayed along two bipolar motivational domains, along the two bipolar dimensions, reflecting the underlying motivational domains for each value. These motivational domains are called value orientations.

Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) arranged the values in a two-dimension circular structure with two axes: 1) self-enhancement versus self-transcendent and 2) openness to change versus tradition. In other words, the first bipolar motivational domain is presented along the vertical continuum: **self-enhancement** versus **self-transcendence**, which contrast individualistic interests focused on self, versus collective interests, focused on the welfare of others. This shows the degree to which values are self-oriented (hedonism, power, achievement) or other-oriented (benevolence, universalism). The second bipolar motivational domain is presented along the horizontal continuum: **openness to change** versus **conservation**, which contrasts opposite values: independence and obedience. This shows the degree to which values involve change (stimulation) or conservation of the status quo (conformity, tradition, security).

Those values that are located close to each other are believed to be complementary, whilst those situated opposite are believed to be competing values. The quest for a specific type of value, may conflict or complement the quest for other values. Schwartz believes that values could be in harmony with one another (i.e., conformity and security) or conflict with, at least, one other value (i.e., benevolence and power). Tradition and conformity are within the same triangle because they are driven by similar motivational goals (Schwartz, 2012).

Although the theory identifies ten values, the boundaries between the motivational domains are sometimes blurred and one value could flow into the next, which can be reflected as part

of the following shared motivational domain (Smith & Schwartz, 1997; Schwartz, 1992, 1994). For each of the ten personal values, there is an important goal that is the underlying motivation.



Figure 4: Schwartz taxonomy of motivational value domains

Source: Schwartz, 2000; 2001

Schwartz has demonstrated the distinctiveness of the 10 basic values and the structure of their relations, through the analysis of more than 200 samples across more than 60 nations (Schwartz et al, 2001). In relation to organic consumption, it was found that benevolence, self-direction, and universalism were the most important for organic consumption. Whereas power, tradition and stimulation are the least important (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2000). This value structure was found to be stable across various countries. However, individual differences in the significance of each value have been found within different

societies and cultures (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). This supports the need to understand the value priorities within different contexts such as Uruguay, which presents a different contextual scenario to that of much of the literature.

To be able to measure those values and their relevance, Rokeach developed Value System Survey, which was then the basis for Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) containing fifty-eight survey items. This is currently the most widely used instrument to measure these 10 values, which formed the basis for the other instrument, developed later the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) but measuring the same 10 values. Both instruments aim to predict behaviour across various contexts (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). This survey shows the level of importance that each person assigns to each value along a 9-point scale.

The theory of basic values was later refined, and in 2012 Schwartz identified 19 basic individual values instead of the original group of 10 value types by dividing the motivational continuum into more specific values, as seen in the following Figure 5.

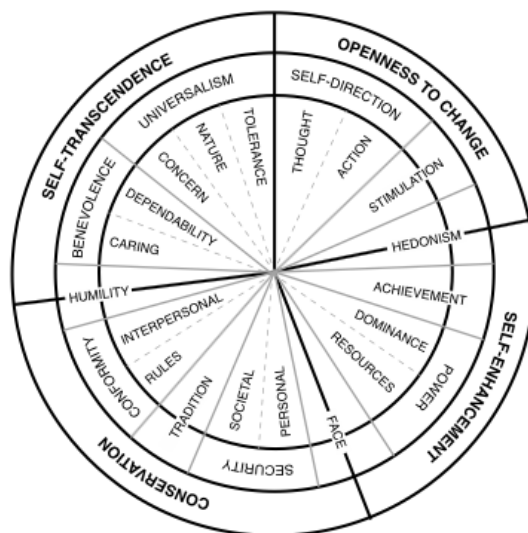


Figure 5: Schwartz circular motivational continuum 19 basic values

Source: Schwartz et al., 2012, p. 669

It could be argued that one limitation of the Schwartz Value Survey is that it has not focused on altruism as a specific and separate value on its own (Dietz et al., 2005), research has shown that altruism seems to be an important link towards environmentalism. It could be explored if it is included within the 'universalism' value type. Therefore, future researchers could further expand the Schwartz framework by capturing the dimension of altruism.

To understand the 'meaning' of these values, it is worth providing a brief description of these values in Table 5 as presented by Schwartz (1992):

Table 5: Definitions of motivational value types and the goals they represent

Value type	Goals represented
Self-direction	desire to be free from external control or constraints on one's thoughts or actions
Stimulation	seeking arousal by participating in exciting, new, and challenging activities
Hedonism:	pursuing pleasurable experiences, especially sensual gratification
Achievement:	wanting to be competent and to be recognized for one's accomplishments
Power:	desire to exert control over people and resources
Security	desire to avoid danger or instability
Conformity	need to avoid violations of social norms and expectations
Tradition	accepting the established patterns of thought and behaviour that reflect one's culture
Benevolence	desire to promote the welfare of people with whom one has frequent personal contact
Universalism	desire to promote the welfare of all people (including strangers) and a concern for the protection of nature

Source: Adapted from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000)

It would be part of this research to explore which of these values are driving consumers to buy environmentally friendly products such as organic food. Various authors suggest that values play a key role in dietary consumer choices. Several authors within the literature on organic have applied Schwartz value theory to try to understand the motivational drivers underpinning organic consumption (Thøgersen et al., 2014; Chrysosoidis, & Krystallis, 2005; Dreezen et al., 2005; Grunert, & Juhl, 1997). As Aertsens (2009) suggests, few studies have found that health consciousness is related to the values of 'security' or safety (underpinned by the motive of health). 'Hedonism' as a value could be motivated by seeking pleasure for oneself, with taste being the main attribute towards this value type. 'Stimulation' was also found to be an important value where people are motivated to experience new products,

learn about organic, look for excitement, novelty, and challenge in life. Another key value was 'universalism' as appreciation and protection of people and nature. Organic is perceived as environmentally friendly by most consumers and it could be expected that this value type is related to organic consumption. Benevolence is another important value as it centres on the importance given to preserving the welfare of others. Universalism and benevolence values are the most important in influencing consumers to buy organic food (Thøgersen et al., 2015; Thøgersen, 2009).

Some authors have demonstrated the influence that values such as hedonism and stimulation could have on nutrition (Homer & Kahle, 1988), environmental and humanitarian values influence the desire to adopt a vegetarian diet (Povey et al., 2001). Many others have demonstrated the link between values such as inner harmony, universalism, and benevolence have on environmentally conscious consumer attitudes (Thøgersen & Olande, 2002; Grankvist & Biel, 2001; Grunert & Juhl, 1995). More specifically some have sought to look at the role of universalism on Germans purchasing behaviour towards environmentally friendly products including (Katz-Gerro et al., 2016) and looking at the role of self-esteem values on Greek consumer decision to purchase organic products (Chrysosoidis & Krystallis, 2005).

Research carried out by Krystallis, and colleagues (2008) found that most consumers strongly believe that organic food is expensive compared to non-organic food. Their study also revealed that consumers' trust in organic food is questioned among Greeks who held the belief more strongly that 'organic is not really organic' (Krystallis et al., 2008, p.180) than the belief that organic produce is free of chemicals.

Research carried out by Stern (2000) suggest that 'pro-social' behaviour - seen among individuals with 'altruistic' value orientations - is encouraged by the values of universalism, benevolence, and conformity. Schwartz claims that benevolence is the desire to promote the welfare of others, whereas conformity is driven by the desire to promote pro-social behaviour to avoid negative consequences for not doing so. It is believed that power and security will contradict pro-social behaviour as it focuses on their own interests and more egoistic motives. It also becomes clear that what some authors called self-transcendent or self-enhancement (Schwartz, 1997), others refer to the same principles as egoistic or altruistic values (Stern, 2000).

It is believed that when the main driver for organic purchasing is the impact on the environment, universalism values are likely to be salient. However, when the main driver is to protect the family, it is believed that benevolence values are more salient (Krystallis et al., 2008). Research also suggested that when the main driver is personal health or enhanced taste it is likely that the values of hedonism, security and stimulation values are predominant (Krystallis et al., 2008, Stern, 2000) Therefore, it is believed that organic purchasing could be encouraged by more than one motive and a combination of various values.

As highlighted by Krystallis and colleagues the significance of individualistic values should not be overlooked. Even though universalism and benevolence seem to be the main drivers behind organic purchasing the combination of various, or all the societal and individualistic values, that could encourage organic purchasing should be examined. Therefore, this study investigates not only the values of self-transcendence but also self-enhancement.

Stern - Egoistic, Biospheric, Altruistic

Stern (1999) has carried out extensive research to try to explain environmentally friendly behaviour and attempted to develop a theoretical model to explain them (Stern, 2000; Gardner & Stern, 2002). Much of Stern's research focused on understanding what he called 'pro-social' behaviour – seen among individuals with 'altruistic' value orientations - and personal moral norms as important antecedents of pro-environmental behaviour. Stern argues that the Value-Belief-Norm (VBN) model provides 'the best explanatory account to date of a variety of behavioural indicators of non-activist environmentalism' (Stern, 2000, p. 412).

The VBN theory (Stern, 1999) claims that pro-environmental behaviour can be driven by personal moral norms concerning such behaviours. There is some evidence to suggest that there is a degree of interrelationship between Schwartz value theory (Schwartz, 2012, 1997) particularly on the value orientations and Stern's (2000, 1999) understanding of egoistic and altruistic values (Stern, 2000), and this research aims to explore this further.

Research carried out by several authors, suggest that these norms are triggered in individuals who are concerned that the current environmental situation presents a threat to society, species, and biosphere (Widegren 1998; Stern, Dietz, Kalof & Guagnano 1995; Stern, Dietz & Kalof 1993; Van Liere & Dunlap 1978; Schwartz, 1972 - all cited in Stern, 1999).

Nonetheless, in contrast to previous studies looking at the spill over effects between pro-environmental behaviours (PEBs) (e.g., Thøgersen & Ölander, 2006; Barr et al., 2006), it was

found that pro-environmental values (measured using the NEP scale) were not found to predict any of the PEBs.

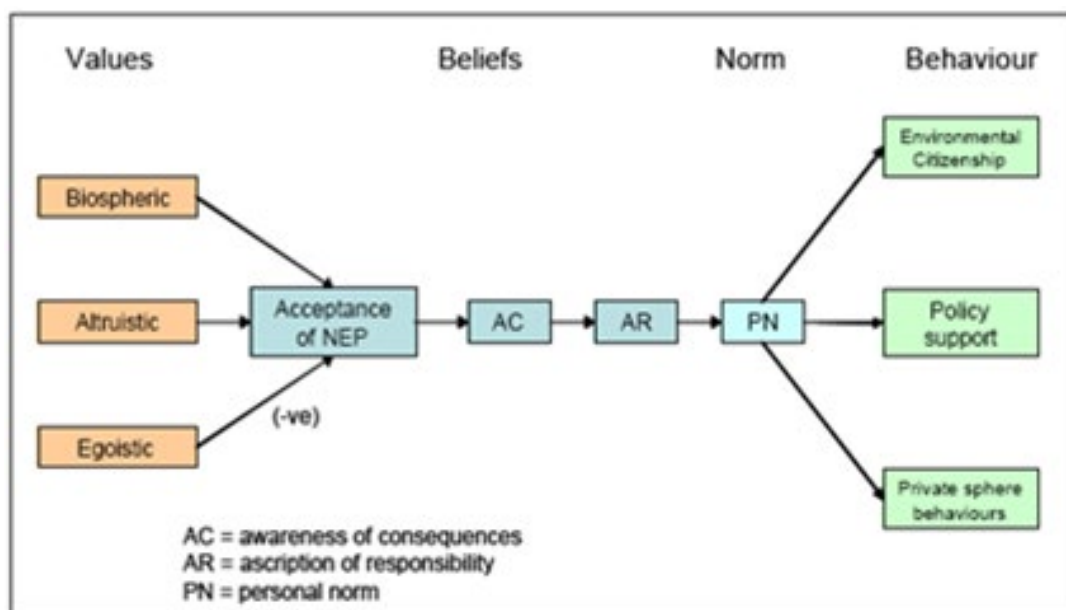


Figure 6: Stern's Value-Belief-Norm Model

Source: Jackson, 2005

In the initial formulation of this approach, Stern, and colleagues, (1993) suggested that there are three types of values ('value orientations') that are specifically linked to pro-environmental behaviour, which are: self-interest, altruism towards other humans, and altruism towards other species and the biosphere.

These three bases for environmental concern are logically distinct and are noted in environmental philosophy and the environmental movement literature (e.g., Merchant 1992). For example, Stern and colleagues (1998) developed separate altruistic and biospheric

value scales but the distinction between these values could not be empirically confirmed until recently by research done by De Groot and Steg (2007). Their study supported the distinctiveness between egoistic, altruistic and biospheric value orientations. The distinction may be important, however, in more strongly environmentalist populations such as U.S. students (Karp, 1996; Stern, Dietz & Kalof 1993) or the public in some other countries (cited in Stern, 1999).

Some scholars (Yadav, 2016; Thøgersen et al., 2015) have made evident the need to understand which personal values underpin consumers' intention to buy organic food. It is generally believed that consumers who engage in pro-environmental behaviour have some altruistic reasons to do so. However, some scholars have suggested that this is not always the case, and some pro-environmental behaviours could be motivated by self-interest/egoistic values. For instance, it could be argued that consumers with some degree of environmental concern may be motivated by altruistic values, whereas those with health concerns could be mainly driven by egoistic values. However, other studies (e.g., Thøgersen et al., 2015) have revealed that buying organic vegetables is driven by the value type 'universalism' from Schwartz typology of values.

Research suggests that consumers with strong biospheric values tend to be more concerned about the environment (De Groot & Steg, 2008; Stern, 2000) and place a major significance on purchasing environmentally friendly products to reduce the negative impact on the environment. Biospheric values could also be linked to the level of desired connectedness with nature.

Measuring values: Means-end theory

Means-end Theory (MET) suggests that consumer behaviour is goal-oriented (Gutman, 1982). Gutman (1982) argues that consumers' real motive to buy products is to achieve certain goals. The goals could be to obtain certain persona, social and moral values. For instance, feeling good with oneself or protecting their family. It is believed that these values are the so-called 'ends' that consumers pursue when buying products (Jackson, 2005). As highlighted by Aertsens and colleagues (2009) after applying the means-end-theory it is possible to relate each product attributes with one of the ten values identified by Schwartz (1992). They found some specific Schwartz values that were intricately linked to organic food consumption.

Means-end theory could be a suitable framework for understanding the desired end-states/goals (values) that drives organic consumers' food. A means-end chain could be linked to Schwartz values once these are unveiled. As suggested by Aertsens and colleagues (2009) once the means-end chain is developed each product attribute can be related to one of the ten values identified by Schwartz (1992).

It seems that MET goes a step beyond looking at the antecedents of 'motives' by looking at the attributes of the product that link to these motives, or in other words the consequences/benefits of the attributes. While other studies have started exploring the motives driving organic consumption and then understanding how they relate to higher-end values or value orientations such as Schwartz value orientations.

The means-end theory (Gutman, 1984) claims that consumers view products as means to achieve a certain goal/end, and this is linked in three hierarchically interlinked levels: product

attributes, consequences of use and personal values. A means-end chain can be seen as a map that connects product 'attributes' to their resulting 'consequences/benefits' and the 'higher-end values' that are being pursued and aiming to achieve (Mulvey et al., 1994; Reynolds & Gutman, 1988). This 'map' is sometimes called by the literature as A-C-V (attribute-consequence-value) model as seen in Figure 7.

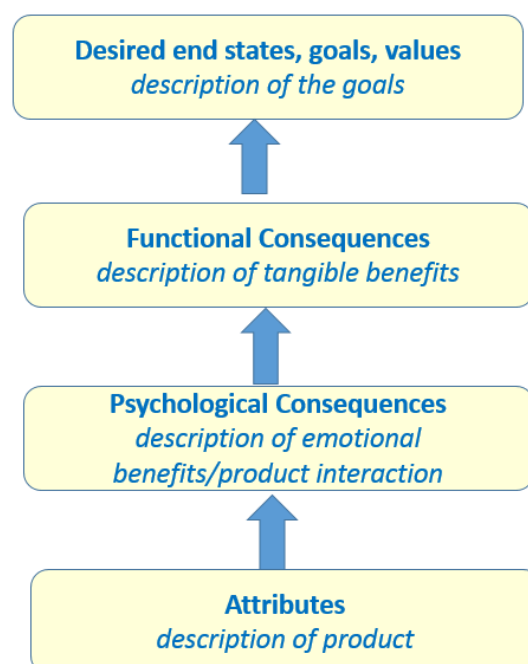


Figure 7: Means-end hierarchy - ACV model

Source: adapted from Gutman, 1982

It is believed that people preferences for certain products can be established because of the 'laddering' relationship between products attributes, consequences and how these consequences may lead to achieving personal values. According to Reynolds and Olson (2001, cited in Jackson, 2005). This model allows for a qualitative study of consumer preferences

than other models. It is argued that this theory would help explain the underlying feelings, perceived benefits and personal values driving pro-environmental consumer decisions (Jackson, 2005; Gutman, 1982).

It is worth noting that in addition to its uses in conventional marketing and advertising research, the means-end theory can be used to understand consumer behaviour (Reynolds & Gutman, 1988; Gutman, 1982). Furthermore, it is believed that this theory provides a potentially valuable tool for understanding 'pro-social' or pro-environmental consumer decisions (Stern, 2000).

However, this relatively novel approach has had some critique due to unresolved issues with the methodology. Another criticism of this means-end chains (MEC) method is that it may fail to unveil all the relevant dimensions of consumers; perception and thinking, for instance, it overlooks non-verbal imagery, sporadic information or meaning attached to product attributes and perceived benefit (Puustinen & Kanto, 2009; Grunert et al., 1995). Another critique is that the epistemological foundations of MEC are confusing. Despite starting with a qualitative approach, it inevitably quantifies the results, which presents some inconsistencies.

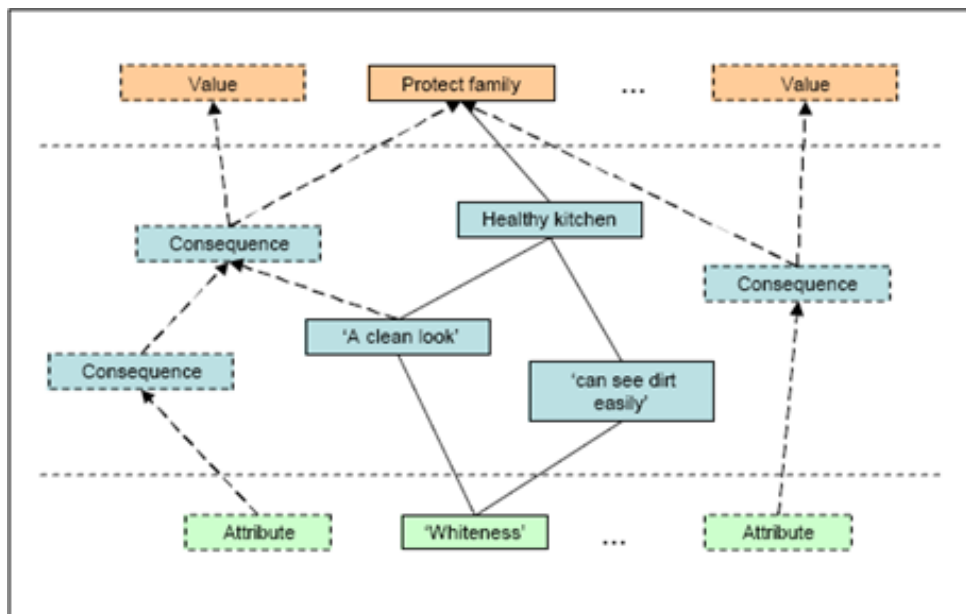


Figure 8: Hypothetical Means-End Map for Fridge Freezer Purchase

Source: adapted from Jackson, 2005

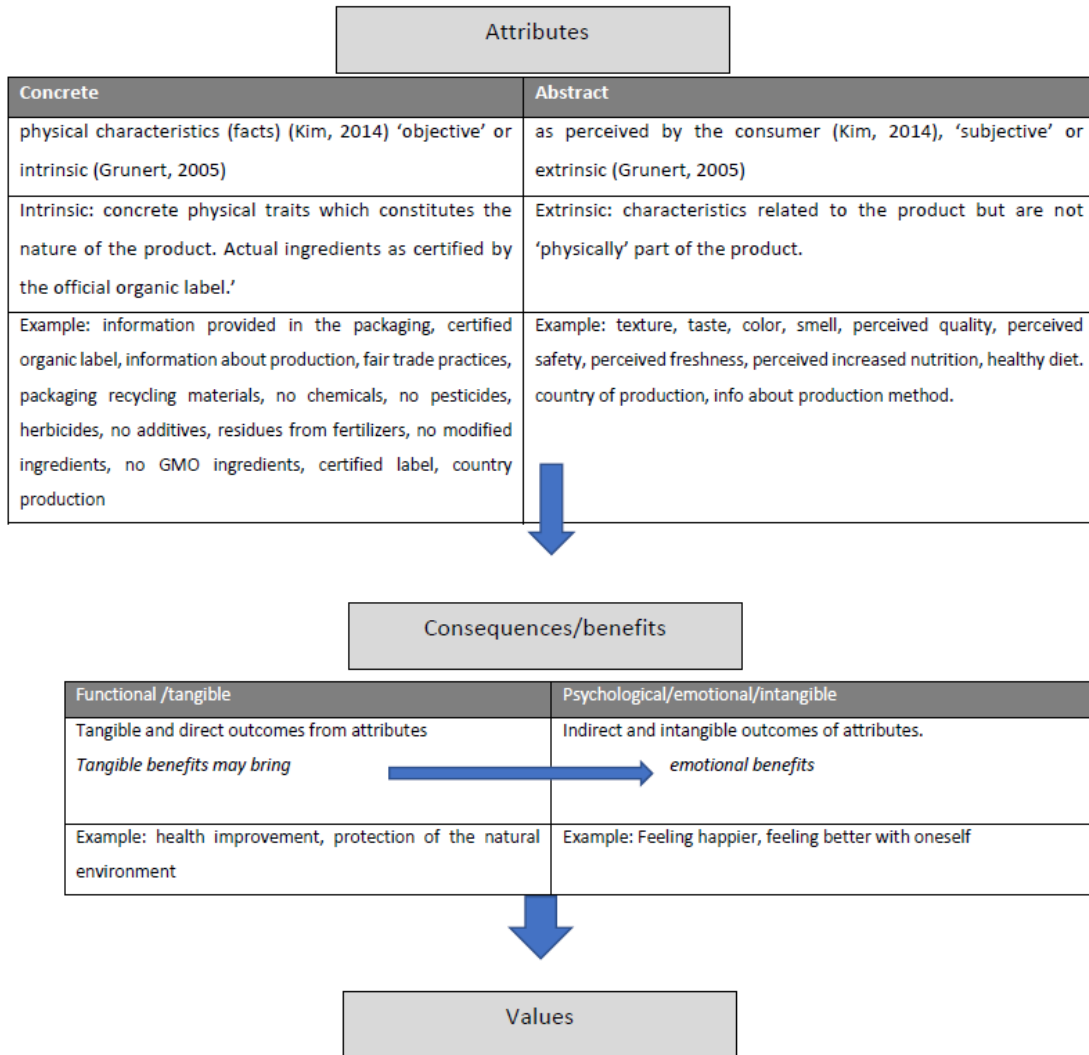
The figure 8 above illustrates that a MEC is a hierarchical cognitive framework that shows how the attributes of a product help consumers to achieve their desired goals or end-states. It is useful to try to identify the real reasons why someone chooses a specific product over another one. At the lower level of this hierarchical cognitive framework, the specific product attributes, and the perceived relationship with perceived functional consequences of using the product can be found. These functional consequences could be related to other more psychological and social consequences. At the higher level, the consequences may be associated with desired end-states representing a consumer's life goals and personal values (Gutman, 1982).

This theory assumes that personal values, understood as sought-after goals in life, are guiding principles that also guide consumption choices. It is also presupposed that to cope with the vast number of products on offer today, consumers arrange them in groups to facilitate their choices (Fotopoulos et al., 2003). It is believed that consumers group products according to their attributes, but which attributes the individual will focus on is influenced by their values (Gutman, 1982). This may explain why different consumers may look for different attributes when buying organic.

Applying MEC to organic consumption could be helpful because few studies had looked at the significance of these attributes when buying organic food. The 'means' to achieving the ends are the product attributes and characteristics. As suggested by Kim (2014) some of the attributes of organic food could be self-centred (i.e., chemical-free) while others could be self-transcendent (i.e., organic production effective use of land). These attributes are linked to consequences or perceived benefits (e.g., healthy, or good for the environment) which are linked to desired end-states/ life goals /values (e.g., family, healthiness, happiness). At the same time, it is important to understand the value orientation of those value types, in order words, understanding if they are driven by self-centred/egoistic, self-enhancement/altruistic or biospheric value orientation (Stern, 2000; Schwartz, 1992).

The underlying understanding behind means-end-theory is that consumers buy more than just the tangible product, they buy the perceived 'benefit' that is expected or promised from these attributes. As Kim (2014) suggests, consequences are the expected outcomes to be obtained from the attributes, or the benefits expected from consuming the product. This could be clearly seen on the next table.

Figure 9: Applied means-end theory to organic consumption



Values within different contexts

Research on personal values across cultures, specifically research carried out by Imhoff and Brussino (2013) in Argentina has demonstrated that the cultural characteristics of each country or society influence how these personal values are expressed. This was an expected outcome of their research as human values are culturally shaped and variations could be due to different ways of responding to different societal dilemmas. They claim that values are rooted in beliefs from a certain group about what they feel is good or bad, and these beliefs are influenced by the idiosyncrasy of the country (Imhof & Brussino, 2013).

The literature has reported significant differences among consumers from developed and developing countries as they hold different motivations for buying organic food. As suggested by Rana and Paul (2017) consumers from developed countries seem to be strongly influenced by environmental concern, knowledge, and health. They may buy organic food to satisfy individualistic needs, self-esteem and self-actualisation needs. Whereas in developing countries, consumers may have diverse needs and motivations for buying organic foods such as food safety (Lian & Yoong, 2019; Thogersen et al., 2016).

Some scholars (Thogersen, 2010; Hoppe et al., 2013; Rana & Paul, 2017) have emphasised the need for future research studies among developing countries. This knowledge and understanding of the motivations of organic consumers in Uruguay will help marketers develop more targeted campaigns and marketing strategies. This study aims to provide this understanding and fulfil this gap in the literature.

Therefore, despite previous research looking into the role of values on organic food consumption, this research will look at personal values within the context of Uruguay, where there is no existing research done on this topic. Furthermore, as Thøgersen and colleagues (2015) point out, there is very limited research published on consumers' buying motives within emerging economies. They also highlight that the emphasis and findings might be different within each country's unique context. Therefore, we must understand organic food consumption from a different perspective, to understand the value priorities of organic consumers and the meaning attached to organic food within the context of a developing country such as Uruguay.

Some researchers have explored whether Schwartz's (1994) vertical motivational dimension, self-transcendent versus self-interest is influenced by the individualistic- collectivistic (Schwartz, 2006; Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Ogliastri et al., 1999; Triandis, 1995) cultural dimensions. Research done in Argentina - which is culturally similar to Uruguay due to its geographic proximity, has revealed a major incidence of individualistic values compared to other countries within the region (Hofstede, 1980; 2001; Ogliastri et al., 1999). However, as noted by Imhoff and Brussino (2013), internal comparative research revealed a bigger proportion of 'collectivistic' than 'individualistic' citizens (Omar & Florencia, 2008; Castro & Nader, 2006; Omar, 2006). According to Imhoff and Brussino (2013), this could explain their research findings that have revealed different value preferences among the self-transcendence value items, compared to research findings from other countries. This suggests the importance of looking at the context within which these values are relevant because as it is said before the meaning of these value items could be different within different contexts. To understand the influence of context on consumption it is necessary to

look into the symbolic nature of consumer choices (Thøgersen et al., 2015; Arnould & Thompson, 2005). In line with this, it could be said that as consumer behaviour is rooted within a cultural context, hence consumer's buying motives could be deeply rooted in product symbolic meaning. This may explain why despite globalization, and consumers buying similar products across the globe, they might buy them for different motives (Thøgersen et al., 2015). This point highlights the importance to understand organic consumption within the context of Uruguay developing economy.

Key issues derived from the literature

The literature on organic consumption has looked at why people consume organic, by trying to understand the motives that drive organic consumption. However, as Ditlevsen and colleagues (2019) point out it remains uncertain what exactly influence organic food consumption. Theories have been applied to understand the motivation behind organic food consumption. The most widely used is the theory of planned behaviour (TPB), looking at the influence of attitude (Asif et al., 2018; Scalco et al., 2017; Thøgersen et al., 2015; De Magistris & Gracia, 2012; Sadati et al., 2012; Saleki et al., 2012;), applying means-end chain (Chen, Lee & Huang, 2015; Baker, 2004; Russell et al., 2004; Fotopoulos, Krystallis & Ness, 2003; Makatouni, 2002;); ethical values (Honkanen et al., 2006); value-attitude-behaviour model (Hause, Nussbeck & Jonas, 2013). However, not many authors have looked at personal values to understand why people eat organic food. This study aims to make a theoretical contribution to organic food by looking at organic food consumption from the theoretical perspective of personal values (Schwartz, 2012).

The literature has clearly shown the relevance of personal values for understanding consumer behaviour, over and above other constructs that may also influence consumer behaviour, because values are longstanding constructs, more deeply held than attitudes and preferences. The theory of personal values offers a reliable outlook for this study because understanding consumer values provide longevity from the consumer perspective, and it draws from a more stable underlying consumer motivation.

A vast number of studies indicate the importance of health as one of the main motives for buying organic food, which could be related to the value of 'security'. Another important 'motive' suggested by the literature has been the consumers' perception that organic food has improved 'taste', and this could be linked to the value of 'hedonism' according to the theory of personal values by Schwartz. In particular, Schwartz values theory is a relevant conceptual framework to understand the motivation behind organic consumption, because it not only looks at value items but also at value orientation as the underpinning motivation. Understanding consumers' inner drive is important when trying to understand why consumers behave the way they do.

Despite some research has been done on organic food (Asif et al., 2018), it mainly focuses on identifying the 'motives' or 'reasons' for buying organic food but this is mainly done using quantitative research methods and the data does not provide a deep understanding, but a description of the phenomenon. Moreover, not many researchers have tried to use personal value theory to understand why consumers prefer organic food. This theory could bring new insights into why attributes such as 'healthy' or 'natural' are important for organic consumers. Some researchers suggest that values on the dimension of 'universalism' – caring for the environment, and others - plays a key role in influencing organic consumption choices, among

more regular consumers (Thøgersen, Zhou, & Huang, 2016). However, other researchers have provided contradictory findings suggesting that health is the main driver for organic consumption (Jensen, 2018; Von Essen, & Englander, 2013). Some recent research suggests that a more thorough understanding of health is necessary (Ditlevsen, Sandøe & Lassen, 2019). The importance of understanding the cultural 'meanings' of organic consumption and the symbolic nature of consumer choices has been noted (Thogersen et al., 2015; Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Therefore, it is important to have a more in-depth understanding of the meaning of health within the Uruguayan context and explore potential links between value items and value orientations, in other words between value items and higher-end values that drive our behaviour towards the end goal.

It can also be concluded that recent literature has shown that health-conscious consumers, with a healthier diet/lifestyle, are more likely to show positive attitudes towards organic food and the environment. Recent studies have suggested that consumers might be motivated by health consciousness but also by environmentally consciousness at the same time. The literature has suggested that future research needs to understand whether personal health concerns are more important than environmental concerns (Magnusson et al., 2003) and whether these concerns are underpinned by altruistic or egoistic value orientations, which could vary within public versus private consumption settings (Kareklas, 2014).

It seems sensible that marketing communications campaigns to encourage organic consumption should emphasize the health benefits of organic food, focusing on key attributes such as healthiness, quality, and taste instead of mainly focusing on environmental consequences. Given that there has not been yet a scientific study that looked at the effect

of organic food on human health; it may seem risky to claim organic is healthier than conventionally grown food. Nevertheless, we do have evidence that organic is grown with no pesticides, synthetic chemicals and this may influence consumers' perception that organic food is 'healthier'.

From the literature, it is evident that organic and even 'healthier' could have different interpretations, different connotations, and different associated benefits in various contexts. Therefore, this study needs to explore the 'meaning' not only of the term 'organic' but also of the key terms associated with organic food such as 'healthier'. It is essential to understand what consumers mean by 'healthier' for instance. Therefore, this research aims to explore consumer's understanding of 'organic' understanding about the underlying motives, and the meaning attached to organic within the context of Uruguayan consumers

The study aims to unveil and deeply explore organic consumer's motivations by trying to understand consumer's value priorities as main drivers of behaviour, and how those link to higher end-state values, or value orientation in this respect behaviour could be underpinned by what Schwartz called 'motivational domains or value orientations.

Furthermore, from the literature review, it could be seen that most of the research on organic is based on European countries, with a few exceptions, such as Katz and Gerro who found that value priorities could be different within different contexts. For this reason, it is important to apply value theory within the context of a developing country outside Europe, such as Uruguay. As the literature suggests, within different contexts, not only the attributes and benefits associated with organic food could have different meanings but also the term

'organic' could have a different interpretation in different contexts. (Hughner et al., 2007; Chryssochoidis, 2000). It seems sensible to question whether the existing findings are relevant for consumers from other countries, going through vastly different 'realities', from different contextual environments typical of some developing countries. As suggested by recent research carried out by several authors (Rana & Paul, 2017; Katz and Gerro, 2017) in developing countries the reasons for purchasing organic food, and values priorities might be different if they have different needs and different motivation arising from different life realities. In particular, the findings from Katz and Gerro (2017) should be highlighted, as they found that some value types were organised differently in different contexts. They go on to suggest that future research on values and environmental behaviour should consider contextual differences, as these might be crucial to understand consumer behaviour. It is therefore, that this study will contribute to knowledge by looking into organic consumption motives from a different perspective, within a different context, organic consumers within Uruguay.

It is also shown by recent research that organic consumption can be influenced by the current trend of consumers wishing to adopt a more holistic healthy lifestyle including not only healthy eating but also sport, and psychological wellbeing (Goetzke et al., 2014). The reason for this could be the rising number of health-conscious consumers, concerned about the significant increase of lifestyle related illnesses such as cancer, who are also desiring organically grown food over conventionally food as a prevention (Baudry et al., 2018; Rana & Paul, 2017; Mintel, 2016).

It should be noted that the only recently have researchers started to acknowledge that organic consumers could be driven by both health concern and environmental concern. Therefore, this study aims to explore to what extent conflicting value orientations may arise, underpinned by egoistic values and altruistic values at the same time (Umberger, McFadden & Smith 2009; Kareklas, 2014).

It has also been demonstrated that an increased knowledge surrounding organic food may result in more positive attitudes towards organic food (Hoppe et al., 2013). This might be because consumers are now better informed about how organic food is produced, and the difference with conventionally grown food, and hence they are in a better position to take an informed decision to buy organic food products. This could suggest that educating consumers about the benefits of organic food, might be a strategy to encourage organic consumption. This could be done with education at schools, and through product labelling, such as eco-labelling. But before doing so, it is important to understand the connotation and meaning of the various attributes associated with organic, and organic production and certification process in each context. For instance, research carried out by the author and colleagues (Topolansky Barbe, Gonzalez-Triay & Hensel, 2013) has revealed that trust in the eco-label certification process is the most important factor in influencing the purchase decision process of German green consumers. This might not be the case for Uruguayans for instance. Hence the importance of understanding the cultural 'meanings' of organic consumption and its various aspects.

The next chapter explains the methodology used to carry out the fieldwork to answer the research objectives.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter provides a discussion of the philosophical foundations of this study, the research methodology, and the research methods applied to address the research questions outlined earlier. It aims to explain and justify the choices made about the methodological approach, methods of data collection, and data analysis used to meet the aim and objectives of this study. The last section of this chapter discusses the reliability, and validity of the data. The ethics and limitations of this study are also considered.

Social science research

This research sits within the wider context of social science, which applies scientific methods, theories and concepts seeking to understand individuals, and groups of individuals (Williams & Vogt, 2011). The word “science” or “Scientia” in Latin, means knowledge therefore ‘social science’ could be said to be knowledge about individuals, and their personal or collective behaviour (Williams & Vogt, 2011; Tashakkori, & Teddlie, 2010). Social science research employs a scientific research process in that it follows a systematic collection of data and applies an objective perspective. While social science adopts the same methodological rigour as scientific research fields, such as natural science, there is one element that makes it distinct from other science research: it involves studying people or groups of people (Gibbs, 2013; Williams & Vogt, 2011; Grix, 2002). This means that the unit of analysis is different to other scientific fields, investigating human beings instead of nature for instance (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

More specifically, this study considers the personal values of regular organic food consumers in Uruguay, who are the unit of analysis

Research philosophy

The literature refers to research philosophy and research paradigm interchangeably, however, their meaning is slightly different. A research paradigm is understood as the *general orientation about the world* and nature of research that a researcher holds (Brown & Dueñas, 2020; Creswell, 2003,). This refers to the beliefs held about the ontological, epistemological, and methodological positions that underpin the research. In other words, a theoretical paradigm is the underlying beliefs that guide the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). However, paradigms are ‘human constructions’; meaning that ‘they have been developed by our minds and therefore subject to human error’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). As a result, paradigms are not open to proof; they are implicit, and sometimes taken for granted as well as difficult to identify (Bhattacharjee, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Research philosophy refers to the *principles and assumptions* about how the data should be collected and analysed (Gibbs, 2013). A clear understanding of the philosophical position is essential to research because it will guide the researcher’s decisions at each step of the research process. It could be said that every decision taken during the research process is underpinned by the philosophical stance of the researcher. At the same time, the research philosophy is influenced by the way reality is viewed (ontology), and the beliefs about how we can learn about reality (epistemology). Therefore, the researcher’s philosophical position will guide the research methodology, which is the strategy or plan about how we can acquire knowledge (Silverman, 2005). Methodology should not be confused with the ‘methods’ of

data generation, as these are the specific tools or techniques used to make data. It could be said that while the methodology is the research strategy, the methods of data generation are the tactics – i.e., the specific procedures to obtain the necessary data.

A point worth noting is the existing interrelationship between the different elements of research: ontology, epistemology, methodology, methods, and sources of data (Grix, 2012; Creswell, 2009). As a result, the researcher's view of the world (ontology) affects the whole research process, particularly 'what' and 'how' is studied. This interconnectedness should be considered when designing the research study and is illustrated in the figure 10 below.

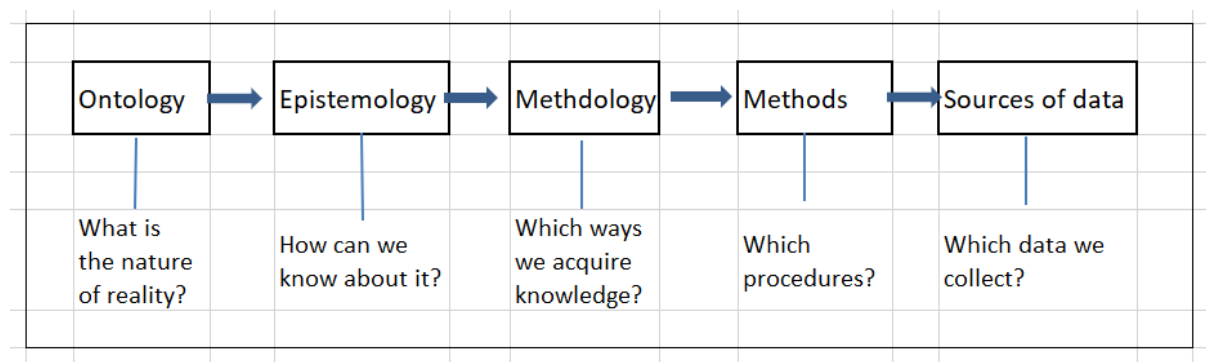


Figure 10: Interrelationship between the key elements of research

Source: adapted from Hay, 2002 p. 64, as cited in Grix, 2002

Ontology and epistemology

This section provides a brief discussion of ontology, epistemology, and research paradigms from the perspective of social science research. In doing so, it aims to explain the ontological position of the researcher and justifies the rationale for adopting an interpretivist research philosophy, and a phenomenology research approach to address the objectives of this study.

The ontological position of the researcher refers to the researcher's beliefs about what constitutes reality, and whether they perceive reality as independent or dependent on the observer (Saunders, 2012). Ontology is the 'study of being' (Crotty, 1998, p.10), and the starting point of all research, which interrelates to epistemology and methodology (Grix, 2002). In simple terms, ontology refers to our beliefs about how we see the world (Levers, 2013; Bhattacharjee, 2012). It could also be understood as a philosophical discipline that studies what constitutes reality and what is considered 'real' (Creamer, 2018). As Bryman (2006) suggests these beliefs can present contradictory understandings of reality, and whether reality is understood as objective or subjective.

One argument from an ontological perspective is that 'reality' is objective, (objectivism) and therefore, it exists independently of the observer; while the opposing argument would be that 'reality' is subjective (subjectivism) and therefore dependent on the observer and negotiated within the group, which is the ontological stance underlying this study. From this perspective, 'reality' might be different among different observers and participants, and therefore the researcher cannot understand reality without seeking to interpret participants' experiences.

From an ontology perspective, it could, therefore, be argued that researchers may have different understandings of reality, different ways of seeing the world. From an epistemology perspective, researchers may also have different approaches to knowledge. Lastly from a methodological perspective, researchers may again adopt different practices for obtaining knowledge, and finding the answers they seek.

This study adopts 'subjectivism' (Interpretivist) as its ontological position because the researcher believes that 'reality', particularly in relation to a social phenomenon and the meanings derived from the context, are socially constructed and subject to interpretation by the observer (Leavy, 2014; Spiggle, 1994). This means that for the researcher there is not one absolute reality, but instead, the position taken is that there may be several understandings of reality. The reason for this is that reality is dependent on the observer who elaborates a subjective interpretation of reality. Objectivism, on the other hand, argues that there is only one absolute reality, that it is tangible (in the sense of fully comprehensible), and exists separately from the observer.

Epistemology is 'the study of knowledge' (Levers, 2013, p. 2) or might be construed as our beliefs about what is the best approach to learn about the world and its social reality (Bhattacharjee, 2012). As such, this is about the beliefs surrounding what is knowledge, how we come to know and 'how do we make sense of our world' (Levers, 2013). For example, should we use a subjective or objective perspective to understand or study the world (Grix, 2002)?

From Table 6 it could be seen that researchers who endorse an objectivist ontology will be driven by a positivistic epistemology, and researchers who adopt a subjectivist ontology will be led by a non-positivist (interpretivist) epistemology. This study stems from a subjectivist ontological position and therefore adopts an interpretivist research philosophy.

Table 6: The two main research paradigms

	Positivism (Objectivism)	Interpretivism (Subjectivism)
Ontological position	Reality is objective and tangible	Reality is socially derived through interaction and interpretation, related to subjective meanings
Epistemological position:	Knowledge is part of the natural laws. It is possible to predict events.	Knowledge is to understand the subjective meanings people attach to objects
Methodologies:	Surveys, Structured Interview, etc	Unstructured interview, ethnography, Focus Groups
Aim of research	Predict, describe, explain	Understanding, exploring a phenomenon
Type of knowledge	Laws, rules, Absolute	Meaning, relative (context, time etc.)

Source: adapted from Morgan, 2007, and Guba & Lincoln, 1994

Based on their ontological and epistemological perspectives, researchers could adopt any of the *four* research paradigms (or philosophies) explained below (Creamer, 2018; Saunders et al, 2016). The two most prevalent paradigms contemporary in social sciences are positivism and post-positivism, which some suggest is comprised of interpretivism and pragmatism (Bhattacharjee, 2012; Levers, 2012). Given the stance taken in this study, interpretivism is detailed.

Interpretivism

In the last 25 years, social science research has seen a shift in the research paradigm where researchers have moved away from positivism and towards interpretivism (Morgan, 2007). Much of the popularity of the interpretivist philosophy in social science is grounded on the

criticism of positivism, and their quantitative research methods used to understand reality. (Myers, 2008). Interpretivist researchers tend to focus on qualitative analysis over quantitative analysis.

Interpretivism – is also by some seen to contain constructivism, which is also used synonymously by others – proposes that reality is subjective to the individual experience and therefore it needs to be interpreted within the context in which it exists (Creswell, 2016; Levers, 2013). From this perspective, it is believed that individuals derive subjective meaning from their life experiences and events. These subjective meanings are varied and developed through social interaction. Therefore, the researcher needs to understand the participants' views of the experience, or reality (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In line with this, researchers believe it is important to understand the meaning of objects, events, and experiences from the viewpoint of the research participants. In this paradigm, knowledge is derived from specific circumstances, from the meaning and interpretation of reality. At the same time, the researcher also derives an interpretation of their findings and aims to 'make sense' of the meaning's others attached to the world around them. It could be due to this emphasis on interpretation, qualitative research is also sometimes termed interpretative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

An interpretivist research philosophy underpins this study, which seeks to understand the meaning of organic food and the personal values that may influence organic food consumption in the context of Uruguay as a developing country. Adopting an interpretivist research philosophy is aligned with the research objectives for the following reasons: Researchers rely on 'interpretation' as a means of translating the data generated into

something meaningful (Spiggle, 1994). For instance, one of the objectives of this study is to understand the meaning of 'organic' food within the context of a developing country, Uruguay, from the perspective of regular organic food consumers. Participants attach different meanings to organic food depending on their prior experience, knowledge, and perception, so this implies that there is not one single understanding of 'organic' but several. Therefore, a subjective ontological perspective and an interpretivist philosophical approach are essential to understand reality from the participant perspective and try to make sense of their reality. Understanding these different perspectives is essential to achieving the objectives of this study. Similarly, participants may not even be aware of the relationship between their perceived health risk from agro-chemicals and their intention to buy chemical-free products such as organic food. An interpretivist approach is necessary to understand the real 'why' behind consumption choices (Spiggle, 1994).

Interpretivist researchers believe that an in-depth understanding of consumers can only be achieved using an interpretative approach (Krauss, 2005). Moreover, contradiction can also be found in participants responses, which may reflect the conflict between what they think they *should do*, and what *they do*. For instance, organic consumers could say that they buy organic food because it is healthy, but the concept of 'healthy' could have different connotations for different participants, and within different contexts. For some participants 'healthy' could be closely related to the notion of 'natural', while for others it could be closely related to perceived 'enhanced nutrition'. Therefore, in the context of this study, an interpretivist approach will allow the researcher to go beyond the superficial appreciation of reality, to unveil a deeper level of understanding of organic food consumption using personal

values as the theoretical lens. For these reasons, interpretivism was deemed as the most suitable research philosophy for this study.

Nevertheless, there are some limitations of interpretivism. The potential for bias is a risk in any qualitative research, but it seems higher with interpretivism, due to the potential misinterpretation, or the challenges that may arise with trying to understand the participants' reality from the researcher's viewpoint. The researcher's ability to avoid biased information is crucial for the integrity and validity of the data, and research findings.

The interpretivist research philosophy recognises the following types of qualitative research methods: phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, hermeneutic, and intensive approaches using methods of data collection such as observation, depth interviews or focus groups (Gibbs, 2013). For this study, the phenomenological approach is applied, as the epistemology of this study. The methods of data generation mostly used by phenomenologist researchers are in-depth interviews, focus groups and observations (Morgan, 2007), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Phenomenological research

Phenomenology is an approach to qualitative research, a branch of interpretivism and as the word implies, is the study of phenomena, experiences, and events as directly perceived and felt by the individual, described from the individual's perspective (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

From a phenomenological viewpoint, the world cannot be considered separate from the participant and researcher but instead, both are part of it (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Phenomenology is based on the beliefs of Edmund Husserl that the emphasis of a study is on

a phenomenon - concept or idea - to be explored, studying the lived experiences of individuals, because our existence is based on subjectivity, and the world is subject to interpretation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). At the same time is important to highlight that our interpretation of the world is influenced by our past experiences, social interactions, personal values, and other personal characteristics. It is also believed that individuals have a subjective and objective involvement with the phenomenon. Therefore, a phenomenology approach sits on a continuum between qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

From this viewpoint, it is important that the researcher (or indeed the research participants) is deeply submerged in the life experience and seeks meaning from a particular phenomenon. In this study, it could be argued that applying a quantitative approach to understanding the personal value priorities of regular organic food consumers is inappropriate if the study aims to seek meaning and a deeper level of understanding. Instead, phenomenology will provide a deeper understanding of organic food consumption – as the phenomenon of study.

Once the ontological and epistemological positions are defined, the next step is to choose the methodological approach that will be adopted to generate and analyse data. In other words, which methodology will be used in the fieldwork, and following this, the specific research methods chosen to achieve the research objectives.

Methodological approach

This section discusses quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research approaches and provide a justification for using the latter. Researchers must find the research approach that is most suitable for their study. Selecting the most suitable approach will depend on its

potential to successfully address the research questions and achieve the research objectives (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). This should be the focus of any methodological considerations (Grix, 2002).

Most research studies usually follow either a quantitative, qualitative approach (Saunders et al., 2012) or a combination of both (Bryman, 1992; Creswell, 2003). However, these research approaches primarily stem from different ontological positions, they rely on distinct types of data, and look for different types of answers (Saunders et al., 2003).

Quantitative studies tend to apply a positivist or post-positivist approach (Yilmaz, 2013; Wisdom & Creswell, 2013), using quantitative data, statistical analysis and predicting 'law-like' generalisations of the results. Researchers tend to establish patterns of behaviour and like to obtain results that can be extrapolated to the entire population. For this reason, they tend to carry out surveys using large sample sizes, formal questionnaires, or structured interviews. This type of research applies a 'deductive' rationale, where the starting point is an existing theory, and the main aim is to 'test' this theory. This is done by developing hypotheses and, generating data that are used to confirm or reject the existing theory/hypotheses. The researcher believes that there is an external reality that can be observable from a rational perspective and separated from the unit of study (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Brannen, 1992). Other scholars that criticise quantitative research argue that results are descriptive in nature, but they fail to develop meaningful insights to gain an in-depth understanding of participants and the phenomenon of study. It could be claimed that not all problems can be investigated through quantification. Interpretive analysis used by qualitative researchers could provide insightful information (Bryman, 2006) in such situations. Some researchers argue that

statistical analysis and correlations do not offer enough explanation to understand the real 'whys' behind individual behaviour. Sometimes it is necessary to comprehend the real motives that lead individuals to do something. Because of the nature of social science research that deals with individuals, it could be difficult to obtain a thorough understanding from a quantitative perspective, particularly if the aim is to understand individuals' beliefs, attitudes, values, or emotions that are subjective, and not easily observable from an outsider's perspective (Mariampolski, 2001; Spiggle, 1994). As this study explores the meaning of organic food, personal value priorities, personal value orientations - which are all subjectively held - using only a quantitative approach would not be enough to achieve the study objectives, it would not offer enough explanatory insight.

Qualitative studies tend to apply an interpretative framework (Creswell & Poth, 2016), to 'make sense' of the meaning individuals attach to a social phenomenon and understand how the inferred meaning may influence behaviour. Inference and interpretation of data are essential to identify the real "why" of behaviour (Spiggle, 1994). Qualitative studies aim to understand the research problem by applying exploration and interpretation of the meaning people attach to events, and objects (Yilmaz, 2013; Bazeley, 2020; 2009). To do so, the researcher should get closer to the unit of study and try to 'make sense' of their reality from the participants' viewpoints. The data generated is not numerical, but conceptual, gathered using open-ended questions, to identify themes that would expand existing theory (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). The most common methods of data generation are in-depth interviews, focus groups, observations. Qualitative studies tend to apply an 'inductive' rationale, where the starting point is the data, and then build up hypotheses or theories from the data

(Creswell, 2003). The researcher must be aware that their interpretation bias is influenced by their personal, cultural background.

If we contrast both research approaches – quantitative and qualitative - it could be argued that the quantitative research approach seeks to quantify data, and answer questions regarding; ‘how many’ and ‘how much’ while qualitative research seeks to understand by exploring the ‘whys’ and ‘how’ behind behaviours, attitudes, and emotions of participants (Silverman, 2005).

The contribution of mixed methods

For many decades, research methods were split into the quantitative versus qualitative methodology ‘debate’, underpinned by two divergent epistemological positions: objectivism/positivism versus subjectivism/constructivism (Levers, 2013; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). This has been particularly the case in social science research.

More recently a growing number of scholars (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2017; Creamer, 2017; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017; Guest, 2013; Creswell, 2003; Niglas, 2004; 2001; Guba & Lincoln, 1994) were not at ease with the idea of classifying research methodology into two (or three) distinct research methods. Instead, they suggest that any research study can be situated within a ‘*qualitative-quantitative research continuum*’ (Bazeley, 2017; Niglas, 2004) depending on the research design. Depending on its position within the continuum, a study could be mainly quantitative (QUANT), mainly qualitative (QUAL) or combine both methods, which is referred to as a ‘mixed methods’ approach (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). Mixed

methods can be qualitatively driven (QUAL), quantitatively driven (QUANT), or mixed with an equal emphasis on both (QUAL-QUANT), which is located at the middle of the continuum.

This study is qualitatively driven (QUAL) – using in-depth interviews, with the additional contribution of quantitative data from the Schwartz questionnaire (quant) concerning participants' value priorities.

Using mixed methods provides a broader understanding of the phenomenon being studied, or the subject of the study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Moreover, it is believed that applying more than one methodological approach can often lead to important insights that would not have been possible otherwise and often is the only way of moving research forward (Williams & Vogt, 2011). This could explain why in the last few years, the mixed methods approach has been the fastest-growing field (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017).

The popularity of mixed methods extends worldwide, however, there is recent increased popularity particularly within developing countries (Harris, 2021). Despite this recognition, mixed methods research still accounts for a small proportion of the work published within developing countries (Harris, 2021). In line with this argument, Fetters and Molina-Azorin (2017) believe that researchers should consider the relevance of research philosophies from non-European/North American contexts. It is also argued that the research questions, methods of data collection, meaning and interpretation of the data are shaped by differences in culture and norms in developing countries (Harris, 2021). This suggests that there are vast opportunities for research and contribution to knowledge in developing countries. Furthermore, research from developing countries suggests that adopting a pragmatic position

is necessary, for instance being able to adapt the research questions and design according to the context (Harris, 2021). For instance, in line with this, in this study, after the third interview, it became evident that there was a lack of trust in conventional food. As a result, one question was added to the interview protocol used with all other participants to explore the notion of trust and distrust concerning organic food and conventional food.

Alongside the necessity for such flexibility, there is also considerable benefit from adopting a mixed-methods approach. Greene and colleagues (1989) have highlighted several different purposes for integrating research methods:

- a) Triangulation – aims to corroborate if the findings from one method are similar to the findings from the other method. It should be noted that one of the pre-requisites for triangulation is that there should be parity of information from both research approaches.
- b) Complementarity – aims to enhance and clarify the results from one method with the results from the other method.
- c) Development – aims to use the results from one method to expand or inform the other method.
- d) Initiation – aims to find contradictions, new perspectives, and recasting of questions or results.
- e) Expansion – aims to expand the breadth of findings.

In the current study, mixed methods were applied to obtain a complementary overall picture of the value priorities, and orientations of organic food consumers. When generating the quantitative data, the aim was to identify the value priorities, and value orientations of

organic food consumers. When creating qualitative data, the aim was to obtain a depth of understanding by exploring how organic consumers' value priorities and orientations influence organic food consumption.

Another purpose of using mixed methods is to improve construct validity, which is the degree to which a construct is accurately measured and interpreted (Sullivan, 2009 cited in Harris, 2021). This is particularly relevant when the constructs are abstract and difficult to measure, such as the case of personal values. In this case, using a qualitative method to elucidate the results of the quantitative methods could be extremely helpful.

Gray (2014) also claims that it is often the case that multiple methods are needed to achieve triangulation. Studies applying mixed methods for triangulation seek to investigate the same research questions from both types of research approaches: quantitative and qualitative. It is important to note that for triangulation both types of research should be equally important and focused on the same research questions. This is not the case for this study, because both strands of enquiry seek to answer different research objectives. One was aimed at measuring value priorities, while the qualitative aimed at understanding and exploring which personal value priorities and value orientations may influence organic food consumption. The purpose of using mixed methods in this study does not fit with triangulation because, from the initial stages of this research, the approach was qualitatively driven, and in terms of the focus of enquiry there was no parity across both methods.

Complementarity of mixed methods

The rationale for using mixed methods in this study was to gain a more comprehensive perspective, from the combination of research approaches. There is something of value in mixing the two methods.

Quantitative research aims to achieve a breadth of understanding, and the focus is the generalisability of the results. On the contrary, qualitative research intends to achieve a depth of understanding (Palinkas et al., 2015). Whilst a quantitative research approach aims to 'quantify', a qualitative research approach seeks to understand, explore, and 'delve' deep into individuals' mindsets to obtain more meaningful insights (Mariampolski, 2001). For this reason, a qualitatively driven approach (QUAL – quant) was deemed the most suitable to explore the underlying reasons behind organic food consumption. For instance, participants may sometimes struggle to make sense of their own feelings, fears, or insecurities as some of them might be held at a subconscious level (Spiggle, 1994). In these circumstances, using a qualitative approach would allow the researcher to unveil attitudes, beliefs, and value priorities for organic food, and obtain an in-depth understanding of organic food consumers. This thorough understanding of the organic consumer is essential to be able to achieve this research aim and objectives. However, to achieve the second objective of this study, it was deemed appropriate to use the Schwartz PVQ value scale as a valid instrument to identify what are the value priorities and value orientations that influence organic food consumption. This strand of the research relies on quantitative data, and therefore this study has used a mixed-methods approach. Before committing to an approach, the researcher should assess whether the research aim fits with the approach.

Both methods complement each other; therefore, using mixed methods provides a more comprehensive picture. Using only questionnaires is not enough to obtain an in-depth understanding of organic food consumers, and their consumption practices.

However, whilst the study draws on ideas from Schwartz personal values theory, it seemed insufficient to only use the Schwartz value scale. Schwartz value scale offers a valid way of measuring the relative importance of personal values, and at the same time being the only value scale to do so. This is because the value scale measures three layers of personal values by asking respondents to rate their relative importance, at a specific level and the aggregated top-level measuring the value orientations. It starts by measuring the importance given to 57 value items which are aggregated to measure 19 value types, which are aggregated again onto 4 higher-end values, or value orientations according to Schwartz (2012). This value scale is the only one that measures the relative importance of several types of values with their underlying motivational domain.

However, a point worth noting is that the richness of insights gained from the qualitative strand of research covered a wider range of themes and offered a deeper level of understanding than the quantitative data collected from the Schwartz PVQ. The interview covered a wider range of research areas than what was measured by the quantitative survey. During the interview, conversations with participants revealed a deeper understanding, and richer insights than what would have been obtained through the Schwartz PVQ alone, which specifically measures the relative importance of a series of personal values as guiding principles in life (Schwartz, 2012). Hence the combination of the two approaches offered

complementarity – and more depth that might have been achieved by the use of one in isolation.

Relationship between Qualitative and Quantitative

This section explains how both methods used -qualitative and quantitative- are interrelated and work together to fulfil the research objectives. The researcher brought these two research methods together to lend further insight.

One of the advantages of using mixed methods, is the opportunity to look at the interplay between qualitative and quantitative data (Bryman, 2006). Throughout the data analysis process, a process of six steps was followed to complete the thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2008). During the data analysis stage, the qualitative data was analysed first, using thematic analysis and NVivo software; followed by the quantitative data analysis using SPSS. The researcher used the quantitative data to lend further insight to what participants had discussed during the interviews. At the same time the richness of qualitative data allowed the researcher to explore the meaning of each of the value construct and identify any potential discrepancies.

Once the qualitative data analysis was completed using NVivo, the researcher moves onto using SPSS to analyse the quantitative data collected with Schwartz's PVQ-RR scale, which lend further insight to the qualitative data analysis. Through this interplay of both data types, the researcher could identify if there were any contradictions, and to try to understand why this might be.

The level of interaction between both methods is led by the degree of integration that is deemed most appropriate in order to achieve the research objectives of this study. In this study, the integration of both methods occurred during the data generation stage but also

during the data analysis stage. This means that data generation started with the qualitative strand conducting interviews to 38 participants, who completed the Schwartz's PVQ-RR survey at the end of the interview.

The study was predominantly qualitative because the objectives of this study are best served by qualitative data. The main aim of the study is to 'understand' organic food consumption, qualitative methods – particularly in-depth interviews – are most appropriate to unveil consumers' hidden motivations. In other words, a qualitative approach would generate the most suitable type of data to fulfil the research objectives. However, to gain further insight onto participant's values, the study also applied Schwartz value scale.

The integration of both methods will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Mixed methods integration

According to Fetters and Molina-Azorin (2017), a crucial aspect when using mixed methods is the idea of 'integration'. This idea means more than combining qualitative and quantitative research findings and, therefore, obtaining a more comprehensive understanding. Integration is understood as "the linking of qualitative and quantitative approaches and dimensions together to create a new whole or a more holistic understanding than achieved by either alone" (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2017, p.296). In line with this, Brazeley (2010) claims that integrating types of data could be necessary to achieve research goals and obtain more insightful findings than when analysed in isolation from one another. However, some researchers claim that when referring to integration within the context of mixed methods, more clarity is needed to explicitly address the dimensions of integration (Silverman, 2005). It is argued that the term 'integration' is vague, and could imply different meanings, so several authors suggest it is necessary to clearly define the dimensions of integration (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2017; Bryman, 2006; Brannen, 1992). An integration trilogy for mixed methods

is proposed, which is defined as an “overarching concept that includes all the dimensions... at a philosophical, methodological and methods levels...” (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2017, p.293). This trilogy provides an overarching conceptualisation of the different possible designs for mixed-method research (Greene, 2015 cited in Fetter & Molina-Azorin, 2017). The literature suggests that research methods could be integrated into an endless number of options (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013; Brazeley, 2010; Williams & Vogt, 2011). This characteristic of mixed methods offers boundless possibilities for combining quantitative and qualitative data. However, this could also be a challenge. Despite the flexibility of using mixed methods, it can also be very overwhelming for researchers particularly early researchers (Hitchcock & Nastasi, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to develop a clear framework that offers clear guidance to researchers conducting mixed methods studies.

The researcher can integrate the methods at three different dimensions: Firstly, the different types of data analysis can be integrated during the *interpretation* stage. This means that the researcher will look at the results from both elements of research and will arrive at conclusions from this combination. The researcher draws conclusions based on both types of findings but should also assess the fit of the two strands of research. This can be used for example for confirmation, complementarity, expansion, or discordance. If the results from each method are divergent, the researcher should look at ways of reconciliation. Secondly, the mixed methods of analysis can be integrated during *data analysis* – meaning that both data sets are merged to obtain an overall picture. Thirdly, they can be integrated, during the *data generation* stage – where the researcher gathers both types of data to compare, expand, connect, and validate a model.

This study has applied integration at the data interpretation stage. This means that the researcher has interpreted the qualitative data, and themes identified, in conjunction with the results from the Schwartz PVQ questionnaire, and the statistical analysis. The concluding analysis of the results and the discussion of the findings took into consideration the interpretation of both types of data: quantitative and qualitative.

Research design

This section outlines how the research was carried out, and the details of the research design. This stage involves the selection of the specific research methods that are suitable for the research problem. To make this decision the researcher should consider the following: the level of interaction between qualitative and quantitative; the relative importance of the strands of research, what is the process for mixing the strands (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The research design is the 'blueprint' for the data generation and analysis aimed at answering the research objectives. It is particularly important to consider the aim of the study, the research objectives, the units of analysis, and the time frame.

Concurrent research design

Mixed methods research can take place either concurrently or sequentially (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2011). A 'sequential' research design carries out one type of data analysis first and uses the findings to inform the other type of data analysis. A 'concurrent' analysis (also called convergent, or parallel), is when the qualitative and quantitative analysis does not take place in any consecutive order, and both are independent of each other. This type of research design is planned in such a way that the data generated for each strand of research – qualitative/quantitative – takes place at the same time. The concurrent/parallel is the most

common mixed-method research design. The aim of concurrent mixed methods design is to compare, expand, enhance the understanding from the other strand of research. This study has followed mixed methods with a concurrent, exploratory, and explanatory research design (Creswell, 2015 as cited by Fetters, 2017).

The table 7 below summarises the research design of this study, and the rationale for the choices made.

Table 7: Research design details

Research design details	
Type of information	Qualitative data
Information needed	The meaning attached to organic food
Research method	In-depth Interviews (QUAL); Schwartz Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) (quant)
Number of Interviews	38 participants
Respondents Overall Profile	Regular organic food consumers (ROFC) between 30-60 years old, are the main decision-maker for food shopping
Respondents age & gender	Male and female consumers in Uruguay
Sampling criteria	Buy OF regularly – at least once a week for at least 1 year
Data collection instrument	Unstructured, open-ended protocol; (QUAL); PVQ) (quant)
Length of interview	55 minutes to 2 ½ hours
Data analysis	Interviews were transcribed verbatim/thematic analysis; PVQ using Schwartz approach to scale calculation/statistical analysis
Location	Montevideo, Uruguay

Sampling technique

The sampling strategy used in this study was *purposeful*, also called a judgmental or expert sample. Purposeful sampling is a non-probabilistic sample, commonly used within qualitative

research (Saunders et al., 2003). It aims to identify and select individuals that meet the researcher's criteria by having specific characteristics, or a certain level of knowledge, or experience with the subject of study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). When selecting the sample, it is also important to consider the participant's availability, willingness to take part, and communications skills (Palinkas et al., 2015). This is important because qualitative studies aim to obtain a deeper level of understanding therefore participants should be able to clearly express their thoughts and opinions. It differs from a 'convenience' sample in that participants are not chosen based on their location, and ease of access for the researcher. 'Convenience' sampling aims to recruit participants who are easily accessible to the researcher (Palinkas et al., 2015). Purposive sampling was deemed the most appropriate sampling strategy, to ensure that the selected participants were suitable and had the potential to provide relevant information to meet the aims of this study.

To take part in this study, participants had to fulfil the following 2 conditions: a) regularly (once a week) buying organic food for at least 1 year and b) are the person responsible for food shopping within their household. The notion of being a regular consumer of organic food (RCOF), is seen in the literature (Pino et al., 2012, Hughner et al., 2007; Zanolli, 2002). To distinguish 'regular consumers of organic food' the definition of Zanolli and Naspetti (2002) was adopted. They considered 'regular' consumers to be those who bought organic food at least once a week. This study also Hughner and colleagues (2007) claim that to be 'regular' consumers, organic food is part of a way of life' (p.98), hence the requirement to have engaged in the practice for a year at least, which they suggest is more likely to derive from an ideology underpinned by certain personal values. Consequently, it seems relevant to understand which personal values influence organic food choice.

The initial filter questions had the intention to avoid sporadic organic food consumers. Most of the participants were recruited from the organic farmer's market. While doing their food shopping participants were asked the filtering questions:

- a) How often do you buy organic food?
- b) Are you responsible for the food shopping in your household?

Based on their responses, they were invited to participate in the research. They were asked for their contact details to arrange a suitable time for the interview. Most participants were recruited from the main organic food street-market, called 'Feria Organica del Parque Rodo' ("Rodo Park organic food street-market"), other participants from Eco Mercado organic shop.

To facilitate the recruitment of participants further, a snowball sampling strategy was also employed. This involves asking participants at the end of the interview if they knew anyone else with the same characteristics, who might like to take part in the study. Most participants enjoyed talking about organic food and sharing their knowledge and experiences. It was evident that most of them felt passionately about organic food, which made participant recruitment much easier than anticipated. More participants were willing to take part than was necessary, or possible to interview. Six additional interviews were conducted once initial indications of saturation were evident (at the 36th interview) to ensure that no further issues were surfaced.

Sample size and characteristics

The sample was initially 42 regular organic food consumers. However, after reviewing the data it was noted that some participants did not complete the Schwartz values survey, nor did it appear through their responses that they fully met the sampling criteria, for instance

identifying that they did not regularly purchase organic food in the questionnaire. Therefore, the sample was reduced to 38 regular organic food consumers. This was deemed appropriate for the aims of this study based on previous qualitative research and is in line with recommendations that qualitative sample size could be from 5 to 25 individuals that have lived the phenomenon by Polkinghorne (1989 cited in Creswell & Poth, 2018). This would allow exploration, understanding and measurement of organic consumers' personal values.

Respondents were predominantly female (84%) [male (16%)]. All participants lived in the capital Montevideo. Most participants had dependent children under the age of 18 years old (24 participants = 63%) [14 participants (37%) had no dependent children in their household].

Previous studies have shown that organic consumption has grown in popularity among new parents who buy food for their families or after the arrival of a new baby (Iqbad, 2015; Loureiro et al., 2001). Other studies (Hughner et al., 2007; Stobbelaar et al., 2007) suggest that parents with children, particularly women, seem to be more interested in buying organic food for themselves or their children. At the same time, other studies have revealed contradictory findings with regards to the relationship between consumers demographic characteristics and organic food consumption (De Magistris & Gracia, 2007). For instance, Iqbad, (2015) found that although an important percentage of organic food buyers have children in their household, the relationship between gender and consumption was not significant. On the contrary, other researchers claim that having dependent children in the household is an important driver for buying organic food (Hughner et al., 2007; Loureiro et al., 2001 😊), and their findings suggest that most organic consumers are usually women with dependent children living in the household (Renne et al., 2007).

Table 8: Sample Characteristics

Case Profiles	Age	Marital Status	Children	Education	Occupation	Diet	Health Issues	ENV Awareness	Pro-ENV Behavior (PEB)	Commitment	Time	Income
1 ADELA	35	Married	Yes	HE	housewife	DF/GF/L	Yes	Yes	GROW	High	6 years	High
2 A PENELOPE	43	Married	Yes	FE	House/athlete	Healthy	Yes	No	No	Low	2 years	Mid
3 ALVARO B	36	Single	No	HE	Waitress	Healthy	No	Yes	GROW	Moderat	3 years	Low
4 ALVARO N	51	Married	Yes	HE	Agr. Engineer	Healthy	No	No	GROW	High	6 years	Mid
5 ANA E	50	Married	No	SE	supermarket	Vegan	Yes	Yes	REC	High	10 Years	Low
6 ANA F	43	Married	Yes	HE	Accountant	Healthy	No	Yes	No	Moderat	5 years	Mid
7 BEATRIZ S	50	Married	Yes	HE	housewife	DF- Heal	Yes	Yes	No	Low	2 years	High
8 BELEN A	42	Single	No	HE	Psychologist	Vegeteri	Yes	Yes	No	High	8 years	Mid
9 CLAUDIA V	50	Married	Yes	HE	Marketing	Normal	Yes	No	No	Moderat	3 years	High
10 DANIELA	47	Married	Yes	HE	Doctor	Healthy	No	Yes	No	Moderat	8 years	High
11 DIEGO R	42	Married	Yes	HE	chef	Healthy	No	Yes	GROW	High	10 Years	Mid
12 DOMINIC	37	Single	No	HE	Bus.Owner.	GF/DF/L	Yes	Yes	No	High	8 years	High
13 ELISA DE A	34	Single	No	FE	chef	Vegeteri	No	Yes	REC	High	6 years	Low
14 FLOR G	42	Married	Yes	HE	housewife	Healthy	No	No	No	Moderat	3 years	High
15 FLORENCIA M	36	Married	Yes	SE	housewife	Healthy	No	Yes	REC/GRO	High	10 Years	Mid
16 HELENA M	35	Married	Yes	SE	Admin	Healthy	No	No	No	Moderat	3 years	Low
17 INES DE A	53	Married	Yes	FE	Empleada Pub	Healthy	Yes	Yes	REC/LOC	High	10 Years	Mid
18 JIMENA G	38	Single	Yes	HE	Admin	Healthy	No	Yes	REC/GRO	High	5 years	Mid
19 LUCIA DE M	42	Divorced	Yes	HE	Teacher	Healthy	Yes	Yes	GROW	High	5 years	Mid
20 LUCIA S M	44	Married	Yes	HE	Business own	Healthy	No	No	No	Low	2 years	High
21 MADELAINE	32	Married	Yes	FE	Chef	Vegan	Yes	Yes	REC/GRO	High	10 Years	Mid
22 MARIA E P	57	Married	Yes	HE	School Head	Healthy	No	No	No	Low	2 years	Low
23 MARIANOT	36	Single	Yes	FE	Admin	Healthy	No	Yes	No	Moderat	3 years	Mid
24 NATALIA B	34	Single	No	HE	Biologist	Healthy	No	Yes	REC	High	10 Years	Mid
25 NELIDA MARSI	63	Single	No	FE	retired	DF/GF/L	Yes	Yes	REC	High	21 Years	Low
26 PATRICIA M	43	Married	Yes	HE	Lawyer	Healthy	Yes	No	No	Moderat	3 years	High
27 PIERINA	46	Single	No	HE	Bus owner	Vegeteri	No	Yes	No	Moderat	5 years	High
28 RODOLFO P	65	Married	No	HE	Political Journ	Healthy	No	Yes	REC/GRO	High	20 Years	High
29 ROLANDO B	35	Married	Yes	HE	"Profe de Edu	Healthy	No	Yes	No	Moderat	5 years	Mid
30 SILVIA	55	Divorced	Yes	SE	Yoga instruct	Normal	Yes	Yes	GROW	High	10 Years	Mid
31 TANES A	52	Married	Yes	SE	Yoga instruct	Vegan	Yes	Yes	GROW	High	10 Years	High
32 VALENTINA	45	Married	Yes	HE	housewife	Vegeteri	No	Yes	REC	High	8 years	High
33 VALERIA G	42	Married	Yes	HE	Broker	Healthy	No	No	No	Low	2 years	High
34 VANESSA G	41	Married	Yes	HE	housewife	Macrobi	Yes	Yes	No	High	10 Years	Mid
35 VICTORIA M	58	Married	Yes	HE	housewife	Healthy	Yes	Yes	REC/GRO	High	10 Years	High
36 VICTORIA S	44	Married	Yes	SE	Admin	Healthy	Yes	No	No	Low	2 years	Mid
37 VIVIANA S	35	Married	Yes	SE	Retail	Healthy	Yes	Yes	REC/GRO	High	10 Years	Low
38 YOLANDA	62	Married	No	FE	retired	GF/DF	Yes	Yes	REC	High	20 Years	High

Note: HE: Higher education; FE: Further Education; PE: Primary Education; SE: Secondary Education

Another characteristic of the sample was that most participants belong to the more affluent population segment, with elevated levels of education, holding an academic degree, or owning their own business. This is also in line with the previous studies looking at consumers with higher levels of education and higher income who are more prone to buy organic food (Dimittri & Dettmann, 2012). Therefore, most participants (80%) were within the higher income ABC1 segment of the population. This is in line with previous findings that consumers with higher income and education are more likely to buy organic food (Iqbad, 2015). It could

be argued that those better educated, may have developed an interest in organic after reading about the topic or travelling outside Uruguay have had a chance to learn about organic food. These characteristics were not something that the research looked for but are worth noting about the research participants.

Data generation methods

The method used for research is the tool used for generating and analysing data. In this study two types of data were generated, using two different instruments with the same sample. For the qualitative strand, an 'Interview guide' with 16 questions was used to address research objectives 1-3 (see Appendix II). Towards the end of the interview, and to able to identify participants' value priorities and value orientation, quantitative data was generated using Schwartz Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), version RR was used (PVQ- RR) (See Appendix III). The data was collected between December and January 2019.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews can be used for data collection, among other approaches such as focus groups and observation. Interviews are an efficient way to collect the necessary information. This approach was chosen as the best option for this study. This is because an in-depth interview allows for an in-depth examination of feelings, emotions, thoughts, and hidden motivations (Bazeley, 2009).

The qualitative data was generated using an Interview guide consisting of open questions, and a series of probing questions to achieve depth. Participants were asked questions such as why do you buy organic food? Why this is important to you? What are the main benefits

that you are looking for? What do you understand by the term 'organic'? what does organic mean for you? This could be seen as a semi-structured interview, which can be similar to a guided conversation, where the researcher has a series of themes or topics that would like to explore further in this study (Mariamposki, 2012). However, whilst there were a range of questions developed, the interviews were relatively unstructured in nature – as whilst all areas were explored, the approach was to allow the conversation to develop and be driven by the participant. This was felt to be more appropriate when the aim of the study is mainly to explore issues in-depth, as it enables participants to express their feelings, opinions, and thoughts.

Interview Length

A qualitative in-depth interview follows a series of semi-structured, open-ended questions. Due to the nature and freedom of unstructured questioning, the discussion does not necessarily follow a pre-established order or duration (Creswell, 2016). On the contrary, the discussion could take different directions depending on the interviewer, which could lead the discussion onto different themes of interest. The interviewer would need to know the main questions, or areas for discussion, but should also use probing questions to seek clarification, encourage reflection, and further elaboration of ideas (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2012). This allows the interviewees to choose if they want to provide a short or more elaborated answer.

Most participants were very keen to share their views on organic food consumption, as most of them feel passionate about the topic. The majority were very eager to discuss, and the interviews were lengthy. Most interviews were around 2 hours long, with the shortest two being 58; 56 minutes and the remaining 36 interviews were at least 1hour 30, with the longest being 2 hours and 30 minutes long. The difference in length is mainly due to the extent to which participants engage with the discussion. Some participants have more to say, while

others express their ideas more succinctly. Some are more reflective than others and tend to elaborate their ideas in more detail. As scholars would say, it is the nature of talking to people, conversations are not always the same length depending on the level of reflection and engagement with the discussion.

Survey: Schwartz Portrait Value Questionnaire

Surveys aim to collect information in standardised form from groups of people (Gibbs, 2013). It generally involves the use of questionnaires or structured interviews with a relatively large sample. The idea of a standardised format means that each person in the sample should be asked the same questions.

The instrument for quantitative data collection used was Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-RR). The officially translated Spanish version of the PVQ-RR was provided by Professor Schwartz. The PVQ-RR uses a 6-point Likert-type scale to measure the importance ascribed to 57 value items, which are then categorised into 19 value priorities and 4 value orientations. The PVQ uses an indirect way of questioning, using a scale to infer the values that are important for the participant. For instance, when participants complete the PVQ survey, they are presented with 57 statements (also called portraits) that briefly describe imaginary people in relation to their goals, and aspirations that -indirectly- measure the importance of a value, and respondents reply to the question in terms of their degree of similarity. They indicate their responses using the 6-point scale, indicating the degree of similarity between the person's portrait described by the statement and themselves. For each of the 57 statements, respondents used a 6-point scale (1=not at all like me; 2=not like me; 3=a little like me; 4=moderately like me; 5=like me; 6=very much like me). Each statement portrays a person's goals, aims, desires, which is related to each value. The participant's

values are inferred from the values of the people they consider similar to themselves. It should be noted that Schwartz values scales aim to measure 'guiding principles in life', in other words, what the individual prioritise in life in general.

The analysis of the data collected identified the value priorities and value orientations of the 38 organic food consumers participating in this research study. All the participants taking part in the in-depth interview were also asked to complete the Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire RR (PVQ-RR) at the end of the interview. A hard copy of the survey was administered to all the participants to be completed manually, after being briefed.

Before choosing to use PVQ-RR, thorough consideration was given to all the different versions of Schwartz' value surveys (SVS) and portrait value questionnaire (PVQ). The PVQ was chosen over the SVS due to the nature of the research objectives and given that the PVQ has a value item, number 13, which measures the importance of 'health', which according to the literature is an important value priority among organic food consumers. Moreover, Professor Schwartz confirmed that from all the different PVQ versions, the PVQ-RR scale was more suitable than the earlier PVQ-40, which does not include an item for 'health'. He also advised the use of the PVQ-RR version, instead of the SVS version explaining that some participants find it particularly challenging to rank the importance of a series of abstract personal values and that they find it difficult to make sense of the meaning of each value.

Based on this rationale, and the recommendation by Professor Schwartz, the PVQ-RR was deemed the most suitable for this study. He suggested to use the PVQ-RR scale over the SVS scale, because the former provides more reliable indexes and is easier for participants to respond using value statements.

Pilot study

Before collecting any data, a pilot study was conducted with five participants, as a way of checking the appropriateness of the research questions for the interview and to make sure that participants understood the questions and the language used on the PVQ-RR survey. The PVQ-RR scale was given to the same respondents, at the end of each of the pilot interviews. The PVQ-RR survey consists of 57 value statements that briefly describe imaginary people in relation to their goals, and aspirations. Respondents choose those value statements that have the highest degree of similarity, as a means of indirectly measuring the importance of a value.

The first two participants in the pilot study found it challenging to respond, taking over 15 minutes to complete, and sought further clarification to understand some of the value statements on the scale. It is possible that may have been due to some meaning discrepancies between English to Spanish. After doing some research on this issue, the researcher contacted Schwartz's research centre to sought advice on this issue. Professor Schwartz himself replied to the email, and he suggested to use the PVQ-RR Spanish version, which had been previously validated and tested for accuracy of language. The remaining pilot interviews were carried out using this Spanish version of the PVQ-RR survey, and no further issues were encountered. The five participants taking part of the pilot study were part of the main data set (n=38), including the data collected during the interviews with these five participants.

The pilot study was very helpful to refine questions, and to identify any potential discrepancies with the understanding of the value statements.

Linguistic and cultural translation of 'values'

As in any cross-cultural research study, cultural differences could influence the interpretation of the different value statements. Similarly, as some authors point out that when using value

surveys across different cultures findings can be affected by cultural differences (Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997; Cha, Kim, & Erlen, 2007; Davidov, De Beuckelaer, 2010). Schwartz and colleagues (2014) suggest that linguistic measurement equivalence should be assessed in cross-cultural studies. This looks at the degree of which the value items – being measured - convey the same meaning in different cultural contexts. Researchers should look for any linguistic differences in the terminology used which that may hold different meaning. The researcher was particularly sensitive to the use of language, and the meaning of value terms within the context of Uruguay. This is particularly important because cultural beliefs may influence the desirable mode of conduct, and values within a specific context. Therefore, it is important to have clarity about the definitions of values, the beliefs about the ‘desirable’ mode of conduct within the cultural context, and different value judgements arising in a different cultural context.

To avoid these potential issues, special attention was given to the linguistic and cultural translation of the different value constructs. The researcher was sensitive to the linguistic consistency issues arising (Zhao et al, 2021), and aware of the different cultural meaning to each of the value items. To ensure there was an accurate translation of the values, the researcher contacted Prof. Schwartz, who provided a validated PVQ-RR scale officially translated to Spanish. The researcher compared the both – English and Spanish – versions of the PVQ-RR scale and looked for any linguistic discrepancies. The translated, and validated scale version provided by Schwartz was considered equivalent to the original version in English. This enhanced the validity of the data collected, and the researcher is confident that the participants understood the meaning of the different value statements.

As a Uruguayan, the researcher shared the language and cultural background with the participants which facilitated the interpretation and understanding of these values within a Uruguayan context. The researcher – as a native speaker in Spanish – was able to assess the consistency between participant’s cultural interpretation of each value and the meaning intended by Schwartz. The linguistic consistency of the value scale was also checked within the pilot study.

Therefore, due to the careful consideration given to linguistic and cultural translation of values, these issues did not influence my findings. I am confident that the scale that was used in this study was appropriate linguistically and culturally.

Qualitative data analysis

During the data analysis, the researcher should always bear in mind the research aim, and objectives to assess the relevance of the data generated.

During the qualitative data analysis, the focus of analysis is on the ‘interpretation’ of what was said verbally and sometimes non-verbal signals, such as silence should also be interpreted. Due to the nature of qualitative research, and the use of an interpretative approach, the data analysis starts much earlier than in quantitative studies, because the researcher can start to analyse the data after each interview (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Some researchers would argue that the researcher’s interpretation of the data starts during the interview itself, where it is important to understand the meaning of what was said, the emotional meaning behind the words, and what was not said (Spiggle, 1995; Smith & Eatough, 2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Saunders, 2012).

During the qualitative data analysis, it is important to consider not only the words, but also the body language, tone of voice, and how it is said. All the interviews were carried out in Spanish, recorded, transcribed verbatim and analysed in Spanish. The data analysis was done in Spanish to keep the meaning intact, and for the writing up and presenting the results the key findings were translated to English. This was done to preserve the accuracy of language and meaning. It is strongly recommended by research methods scholars (Spiggle, 1994; Bazeley, 2009; Bazeley & Jackson, 2013) that the data collected should remain in the original language for the analysis and translate at the end of the analysis, or when writing the findings.

Initially, the coding of the data – also known as ‘labelling’ or classification – was done manually, by categorising the data, using the “cut and paste” technique to arrange categories under themes (Silverman, 2005; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Identifying the main categories, and subsequent themes is a way of simplifying the data and facilitating its interpretation. However, due to the richness of the data, doing the analysis manually was overwhelming, and this made it difficult to visualise the patterns present and relationships between the themes. Given the amount of data derived from the 38 in-depth interviews, the early stage of the analysis was challenging. To overcome this, data analysis software was used to support the process.

Thematic data analysis

This section considers the process used to analyse the data generated to achieve the research objectives. The process of data analysis involves much more than analysing the text or data (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Braun & Clarke, 2013). It also involves a series of interrelated steps, such as an initial reading of the qualitative dataset (interview transcripts), coding the text,

identifying themes in the data and their meaning concerning the research objectives (Boyatzis, 1998). Using data analysis software is not always necessary nor desired for qualitative researchers, and while they facilitate the management, organisation and visualisation of the data, the analysis and interpretation is still conducted by the researcher (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Braun & Clarke, 2014).

A widely used method for analysing data is thematic analysis (TA). This data analysis involves a series of steps that the researcher follows to identify themes within qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Boyatzis, 1998). The researcher may use different approaches to carry out a thematic analysis. However, this study draws on the 6- steps process developed by Braun and Clarke (2006). These steps guide the analysis and ensure that the researcher follows a rigorous process of data management, enquiry, and analysis. The steps suggested by Braun and Clarke are interrelated and are as follows:

- 1) Immerse oneself in the data and familiarise yourself with the data.
- 2) Coding is to create labels (codes) for relevant information that would help answer the research questions. The researcher would collate the codes.
- 3) Generate initial themes, this usually is done by examining the codes and data collected trying to identify overarching/broader themes.
- 4) Review the themes: checking the themes to see if they can be split into new themes,
- 5) Defining and naming the themes – this entails an in-depth analysis of each theme.
- 6) Writing up – this is the last step in the process where the researcher aims to develop a story, an analytical narrative

In summary, the 6-step process entails the initial preparation of the data, reduction of data by organising it under meaningful codes, which are then organised under broader categories or themes (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

Using data analysis software: NVivo

It is important to note that both strands of research – quantitative and qualitative – were analysed using a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). The qualitative data was analysed using NVivo, and the quantitative using IBM SPSS.

The use of software facilitated the process of data management, data analysis, and enabled a more rigorous and structured data analysis approach to be followed. Some researchers consider that ‘computer-assisted analysis’ is a method of analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). However, other scholars argue CAQDAS are tools for managing data during the analytical process, but they do not constitute a method per se.

In relation to the ***qualitative data analysis*** – using computer software for the data analysis can bring several benefits, however. According to Cabrera (2018) data analysis software has the following advantages: 1) efficient data management and organisation tool, 2) facilitates the identification of relationships within the data 3) allows for concurrent analysis of previous and new data 4) facilitates obtaining inductive insights 5) efficiency, user-friendliness, and convenience 6) resolving divergencies in analysis 7) backup of data 8) visualize and display the data in different ways. In summary, it allows the researcher to improve data organisation by having all the data in one place: convenience over manual coding; trustworthiness in the data and gaining more control over the data. Its overall functionality facilitates the identification

of links between the codes and themes found in the text of the interviews and the narrative expressed by the interviewees.

Nevertheless, despite the advantages of using analysis software, the codification of qualitative data, identification of themes and interpretation are still done by the researcher, not the software (Gibbs, 2013; Bazeley, 2002). The researcher was aware of this throughout and used data analysis computer software just as a useful tool to assist in the organisation, management, and display of the data. As noted by Cabrera (2018), software packages assist in the more 'mechanical' aspects of the analysis but do not substitute for the conceptual interpretation which can only be done by the researcher. This means that the researcher identifies the codes, categories, themes, the relationship between them and interprets the meaning in the data. As one of the disadvantages of using computer-assisted analysis is that the researcher may feel more 'distanced' from the narrative, and the notes were taken during the interview (Gibbs, 2013). Programs with too many added features could increase complexity for the researcher, and the risk of losing the meaning of the data. To avoid this, I went through the coded qualitative data to make sure that the codes, categories, and themes are relevant to the research objectives.

Due to the nature of qualitative research, the interview transcripts are used to 'interpret the text' and identify overarching themes and patterns emerging from the data (Cabrera, 2018). Therefore, the transcripts for each interview are uploaded onto NVivo. Codes were assigned to important information that was deemed relevant for the study objectives. Coding is a way of categorising the data, and it is argued that coding is the main strategy in qualitative data

analysis (Bazeley, 2002). The coded data were organised under different categories, and overarching themes were identified.

The **quantitative data** using the outputs from Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-RR) was transferred onto SPSS software for analysis. The data was analysed using descriptive statistics, comparative means analysis, and non-parametric tests across the five different consumer groups identified using NVivo. This last test was run to see if there was a statistical difference between the group means. It was possible to measure the value priorities of the sample and identify the most important value orientation among the sample.

Due to the sample size, it was not possible to plot the values in a multidimensional circumplex (often seen in work using larger samples). To plot the individual's values, it is recommended to use a multidimensional scaling (MDS) approach as validated and suggested by Schwartz (2011). However, after a few attempts to run the MDS test on SPSS, Schwartz advised that the test cannot be performed with a sample size smaller than 150 participants. For this reason, it was not possible this approach to analyse the data, or to plot the values on the circular structure of values (Schwartz, 2015; cited in Rickaby, 2020). Nevertheless, the qualitative data offers further insight into the set of values that might influence organic food consumption – helping address objective 2 of this research.

Reliability and validity

The notion of validity relates to the 'truth or accuracy of representations and generalisations made' (Moisander & Valronen, 2006). Qualitative research has been criticised in terms of ensuring validity and reliability of information (Mariamploski, 2001). The validity of the

research is dependent on the validity of the statements made by participants, their responses to the questionnaire, and the appropriate interpretation of the researcher.

Reliability is concerned with the consistency of the results and to what extent the findings could be replicated if the research is carried out again (Saunders et al., 2012). Moreover, it also refers to the efficient, and rigorous means of conducting the research.

Limitations

One of the limitations of qualitative methodology is that the findings cannot be generalised to the wider population. However, it should be noted that it is not the intention of this study to produce generalisable findings but to explore and understand the phenomenon. Another limitation could be that the research was conducted only in Montevideo, Uruguay which is an important limitation because the results are only relevant to consumers living in Montevideo – as the capital, it offers a distinct location, one that is not reminiscent of the rest of the country. This needs to be considered when interpreting the research outcomes.

Ethical considerations

One of the main challenges researchers normally face is how they preserve the privacy of participants and ensure their protection. For this, it is important that participants names remain unknown and instead the researcher refers to each participant using a number instead of names (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Within this study, a series of ethical considerations were addressed such as respect for privacy, maintaining confidentiality, obtaining consent from participants to take part (see

Appendix 1), among others. The names used to identify participants have been devised to ensure that they cannot be identified from what is presented.

Chapter 5: Qualitative Findings and Interpretation

This chapter presents the results derived from the thirty-eight in-depth interviews with regular consumers of organic food (RCOF) within the context of Uruguay, as a developing country. This study adopts the understanding of 'regular consumers' as defined by Zanoli and Naspetti (2002): consume organic food on a weekly basis. This chapter starts by presenting the findings concerning the first research objective: to explore consumers' understanding of 'organic' food (OF). It then moves on to the findings about the second research objective: understand the reasons why Uruguayans consume organic food, with an emphasis on identifying which personal values might be driving organic food consumption. Lastly, this chapter presents the findings concerning the last research objective: how we can use this understanding to develop practical implications aimed at increasing organic food consumption. The analysis of the data revealed five types of participants that differ from each other on their concerns, beliefs, value priorities, value orientations as the basis to develop a typology of RCOF.

Meaning of 'organic'

This section seeks to go beyond the 'technical' definition of organic food, to explore consumers' overall perception, and the attributes associated with organic food. Overall, results from this study show that 'organic' means to go back to 'natural', 'pure' living food full of nutrients, with an authentic taste, caring for the environment and others. In some cases,

organic is associated with a life philosophy endorsing the values of respect for nature, frugal lifestyle, in contact with nature. This will be explored in more detail below.

'Organic represents going back to natural, and the roots. How we used to live many years ago. It's like people are starting to realise we are worse off today with our busy lifestyles, so we are re-evaluating the value of natural, simplicity, going back to the roots' (Claudia V).

Most participants closely associate organic with the attribute of 'free-from chemicals', where the idea of 'chemicals' refers to synthetic pesticide residue, additives, or any other contaminant which is damaging to individual health and the planet.

The idea that organic is 'free-from' chemicals is a 'pre-condition' for organic being perceived as 'safe', 'natural', and 'healthy' with superior quality in terms of enhanced taste, nutritional value because it is grown in an environmentally friendly way. The findings show a close association between organically grown food, chemical-free, and 'natural', which seems to be used interchangeably by participants. It should be noted that because it is 'natural' – with no contaminants – it is perceived as 'healthy'. As it can be seen in Figure 11 'natural' and 'no chemicals' are synonymous. The point that should be highlighted about Figure 11 is that organic is mainly perceived as 'chemical free' and 'natural', but it is based on the 'chemical-free' attribute that participants associate organic with 'healthy', 'nutritionally superior', 'authentic' 'living food', tastier. The following section explores these concepts.

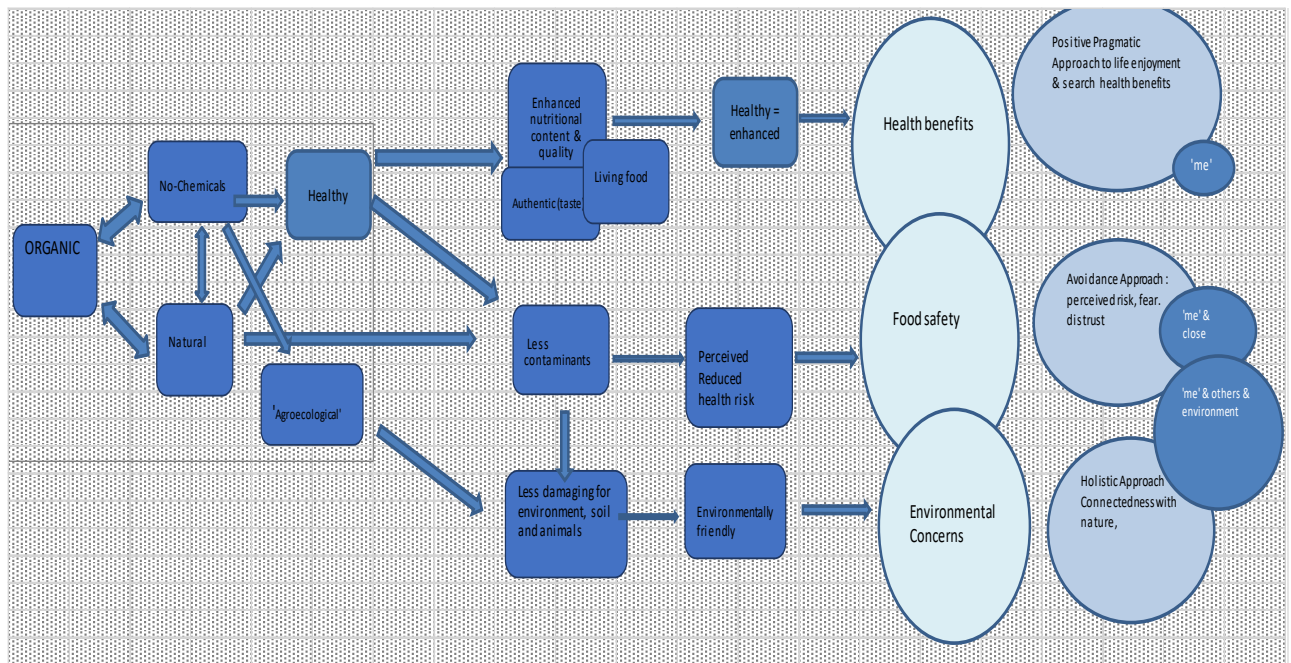


Figure 11: Different meanings of 'organic'

Organic as 'free from' chemicals

Participants were asked to explain what they understand by the term 'organic' food, what does 'organic' mean to them. Nearly all participants agreed that the term 'organic' is understood as **free-from synthetic chemicals, pesticides, and fertilisers**.

'Organic is that food, vegetables and fruit that has been grown without the reliance of chemicals such as pesticides, or fertilisers, additives or preservatives unless these are made from vegetable natural fertilisers that are authorised and innocuous for human health and the environment' (Yolanda).

While organic food is generally associated with **free-from agro-chemicals**, participants use different terminology to refer to the so-called agro-chemicals: **'pesticides', 'synthetic chemicals', or fertilisers', 'nasty', 'toxic' or 'poisonous' chemicals**. The data revealed that

consumers hold a negative attitude towards agro-chemicals because they are believed to be 'toxic' for human health and that 'agro-toxics' have a damaging effect almost like poison.

*'For me, organic is food that has **no toxic chemical**, no **poisonous additives**, that's the most important aspect for me'* (Rodolfo).

It is important to note that there are slightly different understandings of organic food and different levels of tolerance as to the type of pesticides organic food should have. For instance, some participants expect organic food not to use any pesticide, herbicide, or additive of any kind.

'Organic I understand is a way of growing fruit and vegetables with the least amount of pesticides or chemicals almost none... because I believe it should have no chemicals or additives at all' (Tanes).

Most participants seem to be more relaxed if an organic farmer uses 'natural' fertilisers and additives such as compost, and they have no concerns about these, as long as '**synthetic**' chemicals are not used.

'Organic is grown in a soil that has no chemical fertilisers unless they are natural like the compost' (Valentina).

However, a smaller proportion of participants also believe that organic is not only free from pesticides and fertilisers, but it is also free from any kind of 'preservatives' and 'additives' of

any kind, that are believed to prolong the shelf life. They are not in favour of adulterating food in any way, but to be as natural as possible.

'For me, organic has been grown without synthetic pesticides, no added toxics, preservatives, hormones or anything added to make it look more appealing' (Florencia)

Participants also referred to conventional food as 'artificial' as synonymous with 'antinatural'. Therefore, agro-chemicals are not only perceived as a health risk but also as artificial.

'It could have natural fertilisers but not chemical or synthetic ones' (Belen).

*'For me organic is about avoiding **agro-toxics** such as chemical pesticide residues that conventional food has, and that's the main benefit for me, the fact that you are not **poisoning** yourself with all the health risks that it represents' (Ana F).*

*'For me, organic is food that has been grown without any **agro-toxic** chemicals..... I feel they are **poisonous** for humans' (Florencia M).*

The participant above used the word innocuous as synonymous with 'harmless' while manufactured agro-chemicals (toxins) – are believed to be damaging to human health.

The discussion around *Genetically Modified* (GM) food was a controversial point for participants who had mixed views about to what extent organically produced food was genetically modified. For instance, most participants hold opposing views to GM, a small number of participants were unsure as to what exactly GM means so did not hold any strong position, and a small minority expressed not being concerned about GM. This suggests some possible explanations, either a lack of information or genuinely no concerns about genetically

modified crops. Overall, a good proportion of participants believe organic should not be GM, and this was one of the reasons why they prefer organic food.

The quotes below show the differing views on GMO food that has been organically grown:

'I understand organic as food free from agro-chemicals, that has not been genetically modified, something I don't agree with to be honest' (Pierina)

'To be honest I don't really mind if it's GM as long as it doesn't have any preservatives, additives such as chemical pesticides, or herbicides' (Alvaro N)

The official understanding of organic food in Uruguay is food grown without the reliance on synthetic pesticides and that has not been genetically modified. Interestingly, it seems that this understanding is not well communicated to consumers. Most participants revealed they were unsure what GMO means if organic was free from GMO or not. Most also expressed that they would like it to be free from GMOs but did not seem to be as concerned with this aspect as they are with the agro-chemicals, pesticides, and other contaminants. Some participants mentioned they would expect organic food to be free from GMOs as it should be a 'natural' product. However, most understand organic as free from chemicals and it might be that GMO is not considered to be an additive, but a prior alteration of the seed. This could be because there has been plenty of bad press showing the negative consequences of agro chemicals on health, and little communication about the effects of GMOs.

To address one of the objectives of this study: **to explore the meaning of organic food**, it seems necessary to explore further what participants understand by 'natural', and 'healthy' as these are the two main attributes closely associated with organic.

Organic as 'natural'

Most of the participants understand organic as 'natural'. This is the chief attribute strongly associated with organic food and it is based on the premise that has been grown free from chemicals. It should be highlighted that participants mentioned that in practice the word 'natural' is used by some consumers as synonymous with 'organic', which shows the level of confusion about organic as a concept and the lack of knowledge among consumers.

When participants referred to organic as 'natural', this meaning was related to what organic lacks for instance 'fewer contaminants', and it is underpinned by the avoidance of contaminants, as a perceived health risk reduction strategy. Consequently, organic is considered 'safer' than conventionally grown food, based on the precondition of chemical-less or 'naturalness'.

"I believe organic food is free from pesticides and as a result, I see it as more natural"
(Beatriz)

"The first thing that comes to my mind when I think of organic is 'natural'" (Alvaro N.).

This perception of organic food being 'natural' is extended to the visual appearance. Organic food is expected to look 'natural' which means 'authentic' to its original state. According to these participants' organic food is smaller, and not perfect in shape, texture, or colour. The more 'natural' look reinforces the belief that the food has no added contaminants to make it look more appealing, shinier, colourful, or larger.

'Organic produce is not as good looking as the conventional, which has got additives to make it look nicer, shinier, and pristine. Organic, on the contrary, is smaller, irregular

shape and more natural looking which I think is positive as a confirmation of the natural condition' (Daniela).

'...when shopping I try to buy the smallest fruit, that's appealing for me, not the huge, massive strawberry that looks so artificial, we didn't use to have those big strawberries when I was a child.... It's normal that size... So, perfection doesn't appeal to me, instead, I like the natural-looking, smallish normal size, with a natural shape' (Lucia).

On the contrary, consumers perceive conventionally grown food as being more visually appealing, generally bigger in size, of similar shape and with shinier skin., which seems to be perceived as 'artificial'. Consumers believe that conventionally grown food has a particular 'anti-natural' appearance and this is due to the use of chemicals that are used to make it look 'perfect' and appealing.

The data analysis suggests that participants of this study hold three slightly different understandings of the notion of 'natural'. The quotes below reveal the three different understandings of **organic as synonymous with 'natural' which are as follows: 1) unadulterated:** without chemicals, pure, naked – here the terms organic as chemical-free and natural are used interchangeably; **2) authentic** as kept in its original condition as given by nature – hence no chemicals – thus relating to authenticity, a going back to basics; **3) a gift from mother nature**, it is something that is in 'harmony' connected with nature, and part of a natural way of living. These will be explained in more detail below.

Unadulterated: Pure

The most popular understanding of organic -as the quote below shows – is the idea of purity as in ***unadulterated: bare, naked, clean, simple, free from all harsh chemicals***, that are

believed to harm human health and the environment. As we can see from the quotes below organic means unadulterated, in its most pure form:

'I think of organic as complete purity, no chemicals, no pesticides, no preservatives, something in its natural state, and naked as mother nature gave it to us, just pure'
(Madelaine)

"...I think organic is natural... straight from the soil, or a tree, such as an apple tree that has no herbicides, pesticide, or anything else other than the healthy apple that you can eat it straight from the tree" (Alvaro N).

'Organic for me is something natural, so grown without any chemicals of any kind'
(Tanes)

This understanding of organic as 'natural' is also believed to be 'healthy'. Participants accounts revealed a link between the following: **free-from chemicals – natural – healthy**. This means that participants associated food being 'natural' with being 'healthy', which according to the formal definition of 'natural' this may not necessarily be always the case, but this is what participants stated:

"To be healthy has to be as natural as possible, with no food processing, or anything like that, and with the shorter time possible from when it was taken from soil to arrive to your plate" (Tanes)

The different understandings of 'natural' and 'organic' are interlinked several times during the participants' accounts, as many shared the expectation that organic food will be unspoilt, not 'contaminated' by artificial additives that are harmful to health. It is generally accepted

that what comes from 'nature' is good, is how it is meant to be, and therefore it should be good. This suggests a higher degree of trust in nature, over and above human beings. However, some participants have a different perspective and believe that human intervention itself is not damaging, as long as this intervention does not result in adding contaminants such as agro chemicals that are believed to have a negative impact. From this, it could be said that human intervention is not harmful on its own, but it is the outcome of that intervention that matters. Human intervention that respects nature is not considered harmful to human health or the environment. However, if human intervention aims to disrupt the natural growing process or alter the original state of food then it is no longer perceived as something natural.

Authentic

Organic is associated with 'authentic' food, which means going back to basics, going back to the simplicity of how food was grown many years ago, and it is also referring to the 'real' taste. This notion has an element of nostalgia and is based on the premise that authentic food is tastier, and nutritionally enhanced as the quote below shows:

'I remember when I was a child and we used to eat natural fruit, that feels is something from the past, except when I eat organic it transports me to that time which a lot of nostalgia' (Maria Elena P)

The notion of authenticity also refers to 'real' taste where 'real' means more intense flavour. Participants relate this perception of taste with authentic taste, as they have the perception that food has lost its real taste with time. *'Organic is natural, I mean more authentic, more real in all aspects not only on natural appearance but also, for instance, the original taste, that if you eat a tomato it tastes as the tomatoes used to eat when I was a child in my grandma's farm' (Lucia SM)*

A gift from nature

The findings revealed that a good proportion of participants understand 'natural' as '*derived from nature*', from '*mother nature*' and '*not man-made*'; and some would make the distinction that food is a ***gift from nature***, that has been grown in 'harmony' with the environment, respecting nature's lifecycles. This understanding of 'nature' suggests that it is a single entity that needs to be respected and almost venerated.

'For me, purity is something natural, clean, free from any additives and in its natural condition. I think it's important because it's a clean lifecycle, like a clean energy that we consume and you feel it vibrate, emanate when it's digested, it goes straight... I don't know ... I feel like it's like if you were having a natural mineral water spring, like a source of life... so it's the same instead of drinking from bottled water you just collect your own water from the spring. It's like a life philosophy connected with a more natural lifestyle' (Madelaine)

As the quote above suggests, for some participants 'natural' is strongly associated with a 'gift' from mother earth, it has a spiritual connotation that seems to be driven by their relationship with nature, a feeling of connectedness with nature profoundly or spiritually. The idea of 'clean energy' suggests that there is an understanding of the environment as a 'living' entity. This idea is seen primarily in participants that hold strong ties with nature and are environmentally conscious. This is explained further in the last section 'Typology of consumers' under the 'Holistic green' consumers.

'Organic is natural, naked as mother nature provided, letting it grow naturally with the minimum assistance, in the natural condition without going through industrialization

processes or adding chemicals, or anything else' (Natalia). *'Natural is like it comes with another energy, with life, just a different energy given by all the nutrients as a gift of mother nature'* (Rolando).

Organic as 'healthy'

Organic was closely associated with 'Healthy' as the second main attribute mentioned by nearly half of the participants. They associate organic food with 'healthy' because it is grown without using agro-chemicals, and consequently the plant absorbs the necessary nutrients from healthy soil, to grow healthy food, and therefore be 'healthier'. Therefore, organic is perceived as 'healthier' compared to conventionally grown food.

"Organic is healthy because it has no chemicals, and I think that allows the plant to absorb from the soil more vitamins, minerals that improves the quality because if it has no chemicals, it's healthier and superior quality" (Alvaro N)

'Healthy food for me is not sprayed with pesticides, the least processed, the least industrialised, had the least amount of cooking, as direct as possible from the soil to the table, that's the best for your body in terms of nutritional value that supports your health' (Alvaro N).

The quotes above illustrate that although the notion of 'healthy' is closely related to understandings, rather than that organic is grown without chemicals, participants here emphasised what organic food 'contains' rather than on what it 'lacks', on what the health benefits are, rather than on the reduced health risks. This will be explained further in the next section 'the reasons why people consume organic' and in the discussion chapter.

It should be noted that a minority of participants refer to 'healthy' as good not only for human health but also good for the planet health, revealing a more holistic perspective of health and what it is considered 'healthy' as it could be seen from the quotes below:

'We live in an ecosystem that I believe we are all interconnected, so I choose organic not only thinking on my personal health but also others and the health of the planet' (Belen)

'Organic is good for my own personal health but also for the health of the planet because the chemical pesticides are toxic for my body but also for the soil, in fact it destroys all the living organism in the soil' (Viviana).

'You can't be conscious about your own health without being conscious about the health of the environment, they go hand in hand, they are interrelated' (Tanes).

What does 'healthy' mean for organic consumers?

During the interviews participants who mentioned that organic was 'healthy' were asked to explain further what they mean by 'healthy', why they think organic is healthy and why health was important to them. The discussion often led to a discussion about the concept of 'health' and what does 'health' means for them.

Previous studies have revealed the importance of health value for organic consumers. However, the literature does not provide an understanding of why health is important. Within the context of this study, most participants understood 'health' as an absence of any type of illness, including not only physical but also emotional, and mental health.

However, some believe that being 'health' not only means 'absence of disease' but is also related to a sense of wellbeing, and wholeness. This idea of health representing 'wellbeing' is understood as a state of harmony and balance between mind, body, and spirit.

Most participants believe that being 'healthy' relates not only to physical wellness but also to emotional wellness. Some participants believe that if they are 'healthy' they are more likely to enjoy life to their full capacity, with fewer limitations. However, a good proportion of participants expanded the notion of 'healthy' further by explaining that to be 'healthy' it is necessary to be in harmony with oneself, to be in balance, and others used the term to be 'whole'. This notion of health also requires an alignment of body-mind-spirit.

A few participants also mentioned that something considered 'healthy' is sustainable in the long term, related to the notion of equilibrium, harmony, and overall wellbeing – of self and environment alike. This was the minority of participants, who had a holistic notion of 'healthy', representing not only being in harmony with oneself but also living in harmony with nature. This notion is linked to an adoption of a 'holistic' lifestyle, and their sense of 'connectedness with nature'.

The findings revealed that the perception of organic food as 'healthier' is underpinned by two main beliefs: Firstly, the belief that agro chemicals such as pesticides, fertilisers, or herbicides, are applied to conventionally grown food. Secondly, the belief that agro-chemicals harm human health. While there is not enough evidence to confirm this claim, most of the participants held strong beliefs that this is the case. Participants believe that agrochemicals are 'toxic', and they present a health risk to individuals. This belief seems to be because

agrochemicals are mostly synthetic ‘artificial’ chemicals, and there have been many recent media scandals about the effects of agrochemicals on health. These will be discussed in the Discussion chapter.

Organic as ‘living food’ full of nutrients

Why do participants understand organic food is a ‘living food’? How do consumers arrive at the meaning of organic as ‘living’ food?

It seems that participants arrive at this understanding because OF uses no chemicals that would diminish the soil nutrients, and consequently they believe that organic food has all the natural nutrients intact. For this reason, participants believed that organic food has the necessary ‘goodness’ that food should have, from nature.

“I think it has more nutrients, for instance, the tomatoes have more vitamin A, and carrots would have more vitamin B, as it used to be some time ago, I think all this has been lost nowadays with the conventional produce” (Vanessa).

‘I am convinced that the food that has no alterations, grown in a healthy soil then it will have more nutrients than conventional food’ (Adela).

Firstly, it should be noted that participants in this study revealed a close association between the use of synthetic chemicals on food and a reduction in the nutritional value of food. Participants explained that synthetic chemicals – pesticides, herbicides, or any other contaminant – are considered strong enough to damage the goodness in nature, and extinguish any living organism in the soil, depleting the soil from its natural nutrients

necessary for a healthy growing plant. Moreover, participants also have the notion of 'natural' food as being 'alive' and having its own 'energy' as all living organisms, and it is, therefore, one explanation as to why organic food is being perceived by many as a 'living food'.

We are living beings, with living bodies and so we need to be in contact with nature and feed from living food full of nutrients (Tanes).

This is a contrasting idea that has emerged from the analysis of the data collected. On the one hand, participants perceive organic food as being 'alive' in terms of fullness of life within, energy and nutritional value, as the quotes below reveal. On the other hand, conventional food is perceived as 'dead' food, lacking the goodness of nutrients and additionally almost tasteless.

'Conventional food for instance tomatoes last like 15 days, it's like eating carton, something with no life, and I feel like it has no life at all, and as a result with no nutritional value' (Lucia de Matos).

'I don't want to eat chemicals that have destroyed the living organism in the soil. Instead, I think we should keep the plants intact, as they were in the natural condition so that it would arrive to us full of life, with all the necessary nutrients, and minerals that it has absorbed from the soil. I feel that we as living human beings should feed from food that is 'alive' because if we eat food that is dead will have a lack of nutrients, and perhaps that is the reason for all the diseases we have nowadays' (Mariano).

'I like when I found an insect on the vegetables because that's confirming that it had no chemical sprayed, and it confirms that there is still life, that the plant is alive. It's

like it has its own source of energy, it a reassurance of the absence of chemicals that could destroy the nutrients' (Rolando).

Food as medicine

From the analysis of the data, it could be further interpreted that a few consumers believe eating organic is good for health. This is based on the importance given to nutrition, and the link between nutrition and health. It became apparent the shared belief that food can be a source of medicine, based on the link between food nutrients and how these can contribute to good health. Some participants mentioned using food as a natural source of preventative medicine.

'I have no doubt that balanced nutrition from a healthy diet is a way of preventing illnesses. I tasted it on myself. Since I eat organic, no gluten, no dairy my levels of inflammation have reduced dramatically, and do not suffer from allergy anymore. I think I was being poisoned by all the chemicals in our food' (Adela).

'I think food is the best medicine like Hippocrates said millions of years ago' (Madelaine).

Food can be a source of physical health but also emotional wellbeing and as a form of preventative medicine. Food is believed to have healing properties derived from nutrients. Therefore, participants believe that the natural nutrients that the food contains should not be reduced, and if this happens, food would lose its value, and potential healing properties. Many participants mentioned that food is the fuel that our bodies need, is a source of nutrition. Participants mentioned the analogy between a car and human bodies explaining

that if we fuel our bodies with the wrong type of fuel it damages the engine. Similarly, we need the right food to give us the necessary energy to continue going.

'We need to understand that everything we eat influences how we are going to continue the journey. Like when we charge fuel in our car is like when we charge our bodies with food. Food is our source of energy and health'

Energy

There is a strong belief among a group of participants that organic food provides positive energy, this is also referred to as the **healing energy of plants** and it is another reason why is considered a 'living' food. This understanding is rooted in that organic food comes from plants that have absorbed all the necessary nutrients and energy from the soil, and these remain in the food until it is consumed.

'I am a believer that the food has energy, and if we let that energy flow freely, naturally, we can all benefit from what mother nature provides. I am convinced that plants have energy because they are living organisms, and as such we must respect them, so I can't understand why someone would want to destroy that life with toxic chemicals' (Valentina)

'Organic looks after the health of the soil as well, and as a result, there is life in that soil, and that 'life' is transmitted to the food, that absorbs all the nutrients. The fertilising process is more natural and based on organic fertilisers that provide all the nutrients, so I am convinced that a healthy soil produces healthy food, and as a result healthy people' (Natalia)

From the quote above it could be interpreted that participants believe that healthy soil, has more chances to produce healthy food, which is necessary to nurture healthy individuals.

Organic as superior quality

Nearly half of participants perceived OF as having superior quality, and this seems to be driven by the perception of sensory attributes such as taste, freshness, and visual appearance. Interestingly there seems to be a link between perceived **enhanced taste** and **perceived superior quality** of organic food. It is believed that if it is tastier, this not only confirms its natural credentials but also represent good quality. Quality here is mainly derived from the perceived taste, naturalness, freshness, and higher nutritional content.

'For me, organic is always good quality, it's very rare that it lacks taste or hasn't got a more intense flavour, and this tells me that it's good quality, so for me it's clear, I can tell it's good quality by the taste, and that it has no chemicals of course' (Vanessa).

'Organic is better quality than conventional because it has no chemicals, it's healthier, tasty and providing more nutrients so healthier overall' (Alvaro N).

'I closely associate quality with better taste' (Helena).

'For me, it's better quality because it's more natural, so it's tastier they go hand in hand for me natural, yummy and quality' (Elisa de Armas)

A few participants believe that quality goes beyond appearance and taste and is closely linked to the view that the soil is where organic food grows is full of nutrients and continues to live within plants grown there. This is related to the perception of organic as still being 'alive', and that is what makes it better quality.

‘Quality goes beyond being tastier or not, beyond how it looks, but it relates to the ecosystem around the plant and the soil that are still alive, which will provide for a better-quality produce’ (Diego)

Taste

Organic food is perceived as ‘tastier’ than conventionally grown food. There are a variety of reasons why this is the case. Most participants expressed a close link between the belief that organic food is chemical-free – hence natural – and their perception of being ‘taster.’ They believe that agro-chemicals or other additives may interfere with, or diminish the natural taste, as some participants would say ‘the taste that mother nature provides.’

‘...organic tomatoes taste like tomatoes; without all the additives and chemicals they spray conventional food with’ (Beatriz)

Other participants associate the enhanced taste with the authentic, genuine taste of food and they refer with nostalgia to memories of their childhood, and their sensory experiences with food. They have memories as a child collecting strawberries, or other fruit, that they would eat straight from the plant and enjoy the intense, ‘real’, taste. This was particularly the case with tomatoes, strawberries, or other berries. Some participants felt like ‘transported’ back in time when eating organic.

‘...it’s the taste I remember from when I was a child, the tomatoes were real, it’s like going back to how it used to be, going back to the origins of real food’ (Mariano Tedesco)

'Organic food has a special taste, they remind me of how it used to be many years ago, it brings me memories from my childhood, a tomato taste as tomato an apple taste as apple' (Jimena).

The enhanced taste was also associated with having a shorter supply chain to the consumers, which participants associate with freshness.

'... and I think it's because it's had a shorter journey from the soil to the table, without so many intermediaries so it's fresh' (Ana)

Participants also associate organic food with a more 'intense' taste.

'Organic food is like more authentic, more real in particular the taste, it's so real, so intense' (Lucia Sosa).

Freshness

Another reason it might be perceived as having superior taste is because of its association with superior freshness. The perceived freshness of organic food seems to be driven by the belief that organic food comes from local farmers and through a much shorter supply chain.

'The majority of organic food is bought directly from the producer.... Less time from the farm to table, so for me organic is healthier because it's fresh, it maintains all its nutrients..... that freshness makes it taste like proper tomatoes' (Ana).

Organic as an agroecological concept

Overall, all the research participants agreed with the notion that OF is free from pesticide residues and any other type of synthetic agro-chemicals and other contaminants.

'I understand that it's the way they grow the vegetables or fruit with the least pesticides and chemicals as possible, although I believe they generally use no-chemicals, so it's natural' (Tanes).

It seems that the notion that organic is free from chemicals or pesticides, has led the consumers to perceive organic as more 'natural' and 'healthier' than conventional food, which is explored below.

'What makes me buy organic is the absence of chemicals the fact that is natural, without any synthetic fertilisers or anything like that, just so much healthier than conventional food' (Madelaine).

'I always look for food that is good for myself for my body health, and I think that everything that is natural is better for my health' (Penelope).

However, there was a smaller group of participants -17 participants- who shared a more elaborated understanding of 'organic', going beyond the absence of agrochemicals on the food, but also considering the impact of farming on the wider society. This group of participants seem to extend the concept of 'organic' beyond what are the food characteristics, to also consider how food has been grown, the farming methods used, and its impact on the environment, soil and living organisms. Almost half of the participants believe

that organic food is not only 'free-from chemicals' but is also grown following certain farming procedures and techniques **that care for the environment**, the soil, other living organisms, and in harmony with nature. Some consumers explained that this understanding of organic is closer to the concept of **agroecological farming**. This is reflected in the quotes below.

"... It's food that has been produced taking into consideration certain guidelines, that takes specific attention about agrochemicals but also the use of water, the efficient use land, planning for crop rotation, and cares for the soil – as the provider of nutrients – because the soil is also part of the ecosystem and the organic farmer takes special care for all the natural resources during the farming process, ensuring to live in harmony with nature- that is what agroecology is about. The concept of agroecology understands that the soil is a living organism which is the basis for everything, with rich nutrients that glyphosate destroys." (Alvaro N).

*'Organic is food that has no chemical residues, that's like the first step but for me 'organic' goes a step beyond this because it's not only about avoiding 'Glyphosate', which is the main fear about all chemical pesticides, but it is also important **the way it was grown**. You can grow without chemicals that's good but also you can consider the impact on the soil, farming techniques used to care for the soil...it's not for one day to another... it's more like a process to restore the soil and to reduce the environmental impact of conventional food, it's a bit about farming while being in tune with the environment, in harmony with nature, it's like being responsible' (Victoria M.).*

'For me, organic food is food that has been grown in harmony with nature, without destroying nature and without the use of pesticides or chemical sprays' (Ines).

'The issue with the fertiliser residues is also the soil contamination so organic is produced taking in consideration the respect with nature, producing in collaboration and harmony with nature, I think organic is produced with another level of care for the environment... it's like there's a certain connectedness with nature' (Valentina)

This understanding of 'organic' seems to consider not only the negative effects of pesticides on human health but also on the environment, the soil and other living organisms. This appears to be driven by a holistic approach to life, and health and the belief that humans should respect nature. This understanding of organic seems to be linked to a degree of 'connectedness with nature', the feeling of 'oneness' with nature, being part of nature, where respect to nature is based on the belief that we are all equals, humans, animals, and the environment.

Organic as environmentally friendly

Most of the participants, perceive organic food as environmentally friendly and from farming that reduces the negative impact on the environment. However, it is worth mentioning that participants did not mention concerns for the environment as the main reason for buying organic – this is explored in the next section.

'Organic farming takes into consideration the sustainability of the soil, the use of energy, to establish fair relationships, ethical approach to farming' (Natalia).

'Organic food is environmentally friendly because it's been produced using sustainable and biodynamic farming, which carries out crop rotation, and is concerned for the soil health to remain as a living soil' (Diego).

Organic as ethical and small-scale local farming

Organic food is closely associated with **small-scale local farming** that may not have formal organic certification. The data revealed that if consumers know and trust the producer, they may not require a certification label, the 'relationship' with the farmer is enough to trust that their produce is organic.

'I trust in organic mainly because when I buy organic food I do so directly from the producer and I meet him at the organic street market, which is not the same as buying from the grocery retailers, because I know the organic farmer, I see him every week at the market, I know him personally, face to face and that gives me a lot of trust' (Elisa).

When consumers are asked how they feel about consuming imported organic food from another country. They explained that despite preferring local and organic food if they had no choice, they would still buy organic food even if this has been shipped from some distance as long as it is organic food. Most participants felt this way, which suggests that in terms of priorities 'organic' is the main priority and the environmental impact of their consumption choices may not be the first. This is also in line with the fact that almost all participants – except for one participant (Rodolfo P) – despite being concerned about the environment explained that concerns about the environment were not the main reason driving their organic food consumption. This was somehow a surprising finding, as it was expected that environmental concerns could be driving more consumers towards organic food, but it is not the case.

In summary, it seems that the data from the participants' perception of organic food, revealed two main different understandings of the term 'organic' food, which could be divided as follows:

- a) **Organic as a product that is free from** 'nasty chemical additives': synthetic pesticides, synthetic fertilisers chemical sprays, additives, preservatives, and GM.
- b) **Organic as a farming method** that reduces the environmental impact of such chemicals but also cares for the environment, restores the soil nutrients, as is in harmony with the rest of the living organism.

In terms of the overall perception, most participants strongly associate organic food with **natural, healthy, perceived superior quality** in terms of **taste** and **nutritional value** and some consumers also consider organic food to be **environmentally friendly**. However, as the data revealed, there were different understandings of 'natural' and 'healthy', which may be helpful for policymakers and marketers to bear in mind when developing communication messages concerning organic food.

Organic as a trend

Few participants mentioned that they perceived organic consumption being adopted by others as a trend, representing a healthy lifestyle. Along with the desire to try new foods, termed 'gourmetization', another trend has been following a healthy diet, which includes organic food among other healthy behaviours. For instance, some consumers mentioned that they started buying organic after reading a book called 'clean', which is based on following a particular kind of diet.

“Also, there is also a trendy movement in gourmet products and restaurants, for the more demanding palates, and I think it’s all part of this raise in conscious eating, being more responsible of my choices and the impact of my choices’ (Pierina)

Some participants mentioned that organic food could be a ‘trendy’ option for some consumers. They may not choose organic food for health benefits, food concerns or environmental awareness but just to be seen as trendy. It could be said that the raised awareness about a healthy lifestyle, the shift in society’s values coupled with increased media attention about environmental degradation is contributing to the popularity of organic food among a certain group of the population. Most participants agreed that organic food (OF) consumption is becoming a more popular choice among Uruguayans, and some participants mentioned that they perceived OF as ‘trendy’, or as part of a trend towards a healthy lifestyle. This trend embraces not only organic food but many other aspects of a healthy lifestyle such as healthy eating, emotional wellbeing, physical exercise, reducing stress and ‘detoxing.’ This can be seen in the quote below, which reflects the view of the majority.

‘I think people are becoming more aware of organic food, like you can hear about it more often.....with emphasis on organic food, and how that may impact on your overall health. To be honest until 2 years ago I had no idea but more often I started listening more about organic, hearing more people talk about organic, and knowing more people that’s into organic and it’s like it’s slowly but steadily increasing the communication about organic. And you can see in general there’s like a trend to healthy lifestyle you can see more people doing exercise on the waterfront promenade,

on the parks there's a trend towards healthy lifestyle and that includes healthy eating, exercising and in my case being more in balance, in tune with your body (Beatriz S).

It appears that organic is perceived as a 'trendy' consumption choice, part of a much wider trendy healthy lifestyle, this might encourage other consumers to take up organic food who would like to be seen as having a 'cool/trendy' lifestyle. This notion should be explored further, and it could be useful for campaign development, based on developing appealing attributes, rewards and self-identity expression benefits attached to organic food consumption that go beyond health or safety benefits.

The reasons behind organic food consumption

This section's aim is two-fold. Firstly, it seeks to explore the main reasons behind their consumption of organic food. Secondly, it aims to unveil the personal values that drive organic food consumption choices.

Initial triggers

Participants were asked to discuss what originally drew them towards organic food consumption. They mentioned three situations that triggered their interest in organic food consumption:

- a. Part of adopting a wider healthy lifestyle motivated by health issues or in response to previous illness, or life change events – see the example of Dominic below.
- b. Awareness about the potential health risks from pesticide residues on our food led

them to perceive organic as a 'safer' option – see the example of Natalia below.

- c. Environmental concerns about the environment – from a holistic perspective considering not only personal health, but also other people, and the planet – see the example of Belen below.

'... well, I needed to get my life back, go back to who I was, and this was part of this wider change. Started to change everything in my life, and that change brought me here. My desire to be well and feel whole again led me to change my eating habits, and as a result started buying organic food, and change my whole lifestyle' (Dominic).
'I really started due to my concerns from reading about the chemicals that the conventional products might have, I mean pesticides, herbicides and all sort of toxic residues that is not healthy' (Natalia).

'To buy organic for me it's a choice, that I think we should be thinking about adopting a more holistic balance.... We are... we live in a system where we are all interconnected... so what is good for me, should be good for others involved and the planet' (Belen).

Perceived health risks about pesticide residue

Most participants in this study mentioned that their concerns about pesticide residues on conventionally grown food were the main driver for organic food consumption. There was a strong belief among the sample that agro-chemicals harm health. This belief seems to be aggravated by the current context in Uruguay where consumers are particularly aware of the negative environmental impact of food production particularly the pollution and contamination of natural water sources. This is coupled with increased media attention about

the negative impact of agro-chemicals on health. These two factors could have led to a shift in cultural values among Uruguayans.

'I buy organic mainly because it's healthy... ... if you buy organic is because you look after yourself, you care about your health, and I look after my health, and I think that being conscious about your health is to avoid all chemicals and toxins on the food, because all the diseases associated with chemical products such as cancer... I think Uruguay is one of the countries with the highest number of cancer cases' (Daniela)

As the quote above reveals the main reason to consume organic is perceived health risks of pesticide residues on conventionally grown food, which is fuelled by an underlying fear about the impact of chemicals on personal health. As a result, avoidance is seen as a preventative method, and organic food is seen as a 'safer' option than conventional food.

'...the avoidance of agro-toxics for me it's completely related with health, I truly believe that they negatively impact our health, so I don't want those nasty chemicals on my body' (Diego).

Previous ill-health as an initial driver

The data revealed that participants' previous ill-health is a key factor that drives organic food consumption. A third of all participants (14) in this study, mentioned that close family members or themselves have had previous health issues. Participants mentioned a wide range of food-related illnesses such as having a history of food intolerances, chronic allergies and in some cases of more serious illnesses such as cancer, which led them to look at ways of

reducing perceived health risks such as pesticide residues or other contaminants. Participants' previous ill health is an important motivation to change their diet and avoid chemicals in their food.

It is evident from the data, that most participants started to consume organic food as a result of a wider change in their food diet and, on some occasions, underpinned by yoga or other spiritual practices.

'I guess I started to buy organic as part of a lifestyle change, that I didn't even realise I was going into. I started yoga as a way to cope with stress and personal health issues, and in the Yoga Institute they recommended I eat more naturally, and if possible organic, so I started to buy organic seeds and then reading about the benefits of organic food and little by little I now try to eat everything organic' (Beatriz).

Dependent children

Having family seems to be a situation where 13 participants felt they needed to review their diets to keep healthy, and as safe as possible. Participants felt a sense of responsibility to be healthy and well to look after their children and to avoid being a burden to the family. Moreover, participants also felt responsible for the choices they make for their children and a desire to provide what they think is the best for them.

'You know.... Since I have children, my mindset changed in everything and I cannot afford being ill, I just can't....my family would fall apart, they need me in their daily routines, and I want to be there for them' (Florencia).

'... you want to be certain that you give your child the best quality food... and knowing about the process that the food went through, where it comes from and how it was treated makes gives me a degree of safety from knowing what I'm buying' (Ana F.)

'I think in my case all my concerns started since I had my daughters; I see those vulnerable bodies and I feel responsible for giving them the best' (Ana)

Increased media attention and information available

A good proportion of participants (24) mentioned that they noticed more information is available about the benefits of organic food, the negative impact of chemical pesticides, herbicides, and additives on our bodies. Participants perceived increased contemporary media interest surrounding this topic. This suggests that education about organic food and the risks of pesticide residues are important triggers as the entry point for start consuming organic food, as the quote below indicates.

'Having more information available, I started to read more about healthy eating in general, what is healthy or not, and you start to have questions, and doubts about the safety of food, what level of modification or amount of chemicals it may have that could be poisonous to us, so I started to be extra vigilant with my food choices' (Ana F.)

During the conversations, several participants mentioned that they have seen an increase in media information about healthy eating, the negative impact of chemicals on food and the effect that farming has had on the environment:

“Yes some time ago we had no idea about the amount of nasty residues food may have, when I was a child there was not the level of information that we have now, obviously we were not conscious because we were not informed, we knew about healthy diet in wider scheme of things but we didn’t know about the risks that certain chemical residues have on our bodies, and the negative impact that pesticides residues of conventional food has on our health.. we know now, we have the information so it’s up to us to do something, to avoid them or ignore it, but it’s our choice, before we hadn’t a choice” (Victoria).

“... there is more information available everywhere, from healthy eating workshops, talks about nutrition, and workshops about healthy eating or alternative diets aimed at people who are interested in maintaining a healthy diet which is coupled with teaching that there are options such as buying organic food or eating in a different way” (Belen).

It could be interpreted that access to this information has encouraged consumers to be more aware of their food choices.

Environmental concerns

Most consumers also mentioned that they perceive a change in society’s values in recent years, in terms of a rise in health consciousness and environmental awareness among Uruguayans. Most participants felt that in recent years Uruguayans’ have become more conscious about their food choices, particularly focusing on what the food contains, and how it has been produced. However, they also mentioned this is perhaps more the case for a

certain group of the population, those who are more educated and have higher socioeconomic status.

This perceived shift in some consumers values is seen across several different areas beyond organic food consumption, healthy eating, or healthy lifestyle. The data revealed that this perceived change in Uruguayan's mindset could have been driven by environmentally related issues within the current context.

Participants were aware that the current Uruguayan context would favour the growth of organic consumption. The current context as described by participants is dominated by the following issues: 1) water sources are contaminated and unsafe to drink. 2) reaction against capitalism, there is a re-valorisation of 'local' produce 3) 'gourmetization' trend to try new foods, new flavours, experiment with new diets and dishes (Harris & Phillips, 2021). 4) trends for a healthy diet and healthy lifestyle 5) increased awareness about the impact of food consumption choices on individual health due to more information available 6) perceived increase of illnesses such as cancer or diabetes 7) increase in the production of transgenic soya, which has contaminated organic crops and rivers.

Most participants seemed concerned and almost upset in some cases, about the contamination of all the rivers, which is thought to be caused by agricultural farming and excessive use of fertilisers.

"What they've done with the pollution of the rivers it is a crime, and environmental crime to pollute natural resources by dumping agro-chemicals toxics in the water,

causing the water crisis that we all suffer now, there is no more drinking water people have to buy water bottles in plastic and again that's not the ideal for the environment so not sure where this will end up" (Alvaro N).

As the quote above demonstrates there is a sense of anger, a feeling of disappointment and a lack of trust in the government that has not developed an efficient policy to protect natural resources. This poor management of natural resources, and the contamination of rivers, has led to the current water crisis, which resulted in the depletion of all sources of potable water.

In addition to this, a few participants mentioned the negative press about the quality of agro-chemicals used in farming, which not only represents a contaminant for the natural resources but also harms climate change, particularly the progressive thinning of the Earth's ozone layer and the dramatic increase of skin cancer.

Another area of concern among participants was the increase in the number of patients suffering from diseases that are thought to be related to lifestyle choices, such as cancer and diabetes. Furthermore, participants were aware of Uruguay becoming one of the main soya producers in the world to feed the growth of China has and that this has led to an increase in the use of Glyphosate and other chemical sprays, which are perceived as 'toxic', based on media and press releases. The data from this study reveals that consumers are aware of these issues, and they are concerned about the impact they may have on personal health and the environment.

'Yes, I believe that Uruguay is in a process of change, a change of mindset.... There is a clear trend towards taking more responsibility in general starting from education at

school for instance teaching children how to grow their own vegetables, day trips to eco farms or community farms, talking to people that is responsible with their consumption. (Lucia de Matos).

'... this could have been a result of becoming aware that we had made mistakes, we had cock it up for many years... had a few years in the 90's the era of the big corporations but we are now realising the benefits of doing things at a smaller scale to re-connect with people again, and a way or re-connecting with others is through food choices' (Pierina).

Some participants also believe that globalisation has a key role in this change of mindset, where the middle-class in particular has the resources to travel more frequently and see different realities. It is felt that this could have encouraged Uruguayans to be more open to change, and aware of their options.

"You know Uruguay has been associated and promoted as 'Natural Uruguay' for touristic purposes, then from there I think it's an ideology that is changing, and also a lot of people that can now afford to travel outside Uruguay and see other realities from other countries....so we all started to know about other realities and learning what's the difference between an organic and conventional product, before we just didn't know the difference, or we didn't have options" (Madelaine).

However, despite the environmental concern among participants stating there are concerns about the environment, none said that this concern was the main reason for buying OF. Even for those participants who said that personal health benefits and health of the planet go hand-

in-hand, their concerns about the environment were not the main driver behind organic consumption, as they may not be strong enough to initially encourage consumption but seem to gain importance when organic food consumption is considered from a holistic mindset, as shown in the quotes below.

“... my personal health and the health of the planet go hand in hand...the chemicals they damage our health and also the soil” (Natalia).

“.. for me the main reason is my personal health because I don't want to be having all those chemicals into my body, but then I also think about the environment, not sure if it's on a second place but can't say it's the main reason, to be honest, I'd like to think they should go together but it's not the reason why I eat organic really” (Daniela).

Food safety concerns

Food safety concerns seem to have been increased due to Uruguay's current context characterised by the high level of contamination of natural resources, shortage of potable water, effects of the ozone layer damage on skin health, and other factors as explained earlier, could have contributed to this generalised lack of trust. It became evident from the data that this lack of trust regards food policy, government policy to protect natural resources and human health, lack of trust in the capitalist system and conventionally grown food.

Participants mentioned several food scandals, some with fatal outcomes involving children, which spurred bad press around agro-chemicals, pesticides companies. All this might explain the feelings of insecurity, fear resulting from the perceived health risk from the negative impact of agrochemicals on human health. A few participants mentioned some stories with

sadness, particularly those having a fatal outcome involving children. These stories were told when asked why they do not feel safe or protected by the government. They expressed high levels of distrust in the government and capitalist system. This explains why avoidance of chemicals was at the forefront of most participants' minds.

“... it is totally unacceptable that a little girl who's eaten an apple from the fields that have been sprayed with Glyphosate shortly dies from poisoning, so who is controlling the level of chemicals used? We don't know, so how can we trust the system? (Alvaro N)

From the participants accounts it seems that the scenario such as the one above, have led to an increase in the awareness of environmental issues, which has resulted in a change of consumers **perceived food safety**, increased **perceived risk** from conventional ways of farming, reduced perceived **trust in conventional food and in Government public policy** to protect nature and human health; and encouraged negative attitudes towards **capitalism**, typified by big grocery retailers. Instead, most participants seek to support **small local producers**, and there seems to be a revalorization of homemade products, less processed food, which some participants refer to as '**going back to basics**, as it used to be many years ago, or as 'it was done at the time of our grandparents' as many participants mentioned. All these issues are explored later with the section on 'trust'.

“I'm interested in buying from local family own business than from big chains of supermarket, and organic is a way of supporting these local producers” (Ines de Asobaco)

“I think the capitalist system all it cares of its profit, doesn’t care about health or anything like that just profits, sales volume, so people can’t trust anymore” (Alvaro N)

Lack of trust, and perceived health risk

Participants highlighted their feelings of uncertainty towards conventionally grown food as many would say *‘we don’t know what’s in our foods anymore’*, so they believe that organic food offers a ‘safer’ and ‘healthier’ option due to the absence of chemical residues.

It should be highlighted that the notion of lack of trust in conventional food was a dominant concept across all interviews. After a few interviews, it became evident that the notion of ‘trust’, particularly ‘distrust’ on conventional food. Most participants expressed feeling a good degree of disbelief, perceived uncertainty, and high levels of perceived health risk concerning conventional food. They expressed high levels of scepticism concerning food safety regulations, and distrust was a recurrent theme for most participants. The notion of ‘trust’ was mentioned several times during the interviews. According to the data analysis in NVivo the notion of ‘trust’ was mentioned over four hundred times across all the interviews. This was not anticipated. This concept was explored further, to understand why ‘lack of trust’ was, in particular, a recurrent issue, how it relates to OF, and to what extent participants trust OF and why.

There is a lack of trust in conventional food that all participants mentioned. Most participants raised food safety concerns about the level of chemical residues and additives their food may have, and they seem to be unable to trust that the levels of pesticide used in food production

are safe for human health. They were also sceptical of how reliable the information is about chemical residues, particularly when there is no formal testing done on conventional produce.

“to be honest it all started with having more information... you start to read about what is healthy and not, and suddenly I started to doubt about the what’s in our food, the food we bring to our table, how to know if it has been modified or not, if the pesticides levels used were safe or not, after reading a lot about this I started to read the labels carefully, and begun to feel dubious about most products that are not natural. I learnt some ingredients are harmful to our health... and so the more I read the labels the less I was putting on the supermarket shopping trolley but instead, I would go to someone I trust to the local bakery for instance. I feel like supermarkets and big corporations like Monsanto they only care about selling not whether it’s good or not for our health or the planet they simply don’t care...I am more careful about where I buy from, and I prefer to buy straight from the organic farmer” (Ana)

In addition, it was evident from the data that participants expressed their lack of trust in big supermarkets based on the perception that they are driven by profits and do not care about the environment or wider society interests. To avoid this, participants mentioned they prefer to buy organic and, when possible, directly from the producer with home delivery box schemes.

“Buying organic directly form the farmer not only gives me peace of mind but also makes me feel part of the process, and more responsible” (Ines de Asobaco)

It could be said that buying directly from the farmer is a strategy for reducing the uncertainty

of not knowing 'what's on our food'. Uncertainty that is fuelled by the lack of trust, which in turn increases the perceived risk of buying conventional food.

Organic as part of a wider healthy lifestyle

It became evident that organic food consumption is part of a much wider healthy diet as the quote below indicates:

'I think it's not only a change towards organic, that you can see now a wider proliferation of organic products in the supermarket, and natural alternatives but also a preference to healthy eating in general.... A few years ago, I would eat refined sugar, pastry, cakes you know... but now there's an increased consciousness and you see less people going for sugary biscuits without looking for healthy ones, and I think this change of mindset is linked to the increase on the number of cancer cases' (Daniela).

During the interviews, it was evident the importance that participants give to maintaining a healthy diet and the role of organic food choices as part of this, but not the sole approach. This is the subject that participants discussed the most. Therefore, and because it is closely linked to organic food choices; it is interesting to explore the different beliefs around diet as shown in the quotes below:

Most participants believe in the importance of maintaining a healthy food diet.

"I think for me one of the main reasons for buying organic is the willingness to eat a healthier diet, and as part of this healthy diet organic is like a must" (Beatriz)

“For me the main benefit is to have a healthy diet, because that’s going to impact on the rest of my personal health” (Silvia)

The main belief concerning the importance of diet was that our food choices could help to prevent certain illnesses. It was evident the belief that food can be a source of nourishment and healing for some.

“... as soon as I adopted a healthier diet, including organic food, free from gluten, dairy, sugar and low meat intake, all my health issues started to disappear” (Adela).

Health benefits : Fewer contaminants or more nutrients?

It could be argued that the health benefits could be categorised as driven by three chief reasons: 1) desire to prevent illness, driven by a lack of trust in conventional food, and an underlying fear, so the focus is on food safety, or 2) desire to enjoy life to the full, be able to carry on daily routines and enjoy a good quality of life – here fear is not present 3) the desire to regain balance, and overall wellbeing by adopting a holistic balance that seeks to be in harmony with oneself.

Fewer contaminants

Most participants focus on avoiding harmful contaminants, as a (self)prevention strategy and are driven by food safety concerns. For these consumers, organic food is seen as an opportunity to have fewer contaminants.

While others buy organic food focusing on the health benefits of organic food from a more

positive perspective, not as prevention, but for the health benefits such as higher nutritional content, and quality. For these consumers, organic food is seen as a 'more nutritious, alive' food choice to support a wider healthy lifestyle.

"Organic food it's like it has life on itself, because the food has nutrients, has life in it, it's not destroyed like the conventional food, it's full of nutrients, goodness and energy as it should be" (Diego).

This lifestyle includes not only healthy food choices but a wider range of health areas such as physical exercise, reduced stress, improved sleep, meditation, or other relaxation to foster general wellbeing. In this case, OF is believed to provide an increased nutritional content that will support personal health.

Hence, it could be said that there is both a more negative, preventative perspective to health, driven by the emotion of fear, lack of trust and a more pragmatic and a positive perspective to health focusing on the attributes and health benefits rather on the absence of what is harmful.

"I'm conscious about the quality of food I nurture my body with, I have to look after my body because it's our temple, it's our means of transportation and as such, we need to look after it so it last. It's not the same to fill your car with cheap fuel than to fill the tank with good quality petrol, you'll see the difference in the long run, so similarly we need to provide our bodies with the right 'fuel' the right food, with the necessary nutrients" (Penelope).

"I think people are afraid of illnesses and so they buy organic as a way to prevent this, as a way to control what is within our reach" (Daniela).

Other participants as reflected in the quote below, used language differently, here OF choice is a healthier 'choice' because it can have a positive impact not only on physical health but also emotional and overall wellbeing.

"the reasons why I buy organic is because I've chosen to have a healthier lifestyle, a happier life overall in every sense,.....and food impacts your wellbeing,... when I buy organic food I feel happier, full of energy, the strength I have is different, the body respond differently, I feel lighter and I can even feel a change in mood, I'm radiant"
(Dominic)

For a smaller group of participants organic is healthier, but related to a more holistic approach to health, where they think about health benefits for the environment as well and how the lack of chemicals is also beneficial for the environment, as we can see from below quote:

"I buy organic because of the health benefits it brings clearly, for us, for the plants, the environment, and the health of the world in general... I'm interested not only to give the best for my body, by avoiding chemicals but also the best for the environment and avoid unnecessary harm to animals... so as I don't know exactly what's in the non-organic food, I just prefer to avoid anything that could harm my health, the environment, or animals, I don't like I prefer to avoid it all together" (Elisa de Armas)

Participants with a 'holistic healthy lifestyle,' express a sense of connection with nature, living in harmony with and respecting nature, with this they maintain a perceived connection between health and nature.

Higher nutritional content

Another important reason to consume organic food relates to the health benefits of organic, such as superior nutritional value. There seems to be the belief that organic food – grown without the reliance on chemicals – brings its own health benefits, such as enhanced nutritional value, enhanced quality (freshness). This is based on the idea that chemicals may reduce the quality of the food, such as the nutritional value, and overall quality. As a result, participants look for the health benefits of organic food which is perceived as a 'healthier' [more nutrient rich] option, because it has more nutrients, as the quote below shows.

“Organic food is good for our health because it has no chemicals, and that as a result allows more vitamins, minerals in the soil are rich and produces a better-quality soil, so food growing here will be healthier and better quality than conventional food” (Alvaro N).

“... if we keep food without chemicals as it should be that food will reach us with the necessary amount of nutrients, full of minerals and vitamins that were absolved from the soil, and that would nurture our bodies” (Mariano)

Most participants explained that this belief is derived from their understanding that chemicals are used as a poison to kill unwanted weeds and pests, and it is also powerful enough to destroy any nutrient and living microorganisms in the soil. They go on to explain that poor-

quality soil would produce inferior quality food. Participants believe that Organic farming does not strip out all the goodness in the soil, like nutrients, minerals that are necessary for individuals' health but also for other living organisms on the soil, so it helps protect our ecosystem as well.

There seems to be a close relationship between the view that the fewer chemicals sprayed on food, the more nutrients the food has.

"With organic food you know the product has not been altered in any way, so it has more nutrients" (Adela).

"I think organic should have more nutrients or at least the natural nutrients that otherwise the chemicals would have destroyed or reduced" (Alvaro B).

"The soil is a living organism and is the basis for everything...it has a lot of microorganisms that needs to regenerate, so we shouldn't' kill it and the Glyphosate not only destroys the weeds, but every living organism and the over forty thousand nutrients on the soil so in it also destroys the soil" (Alvaro N).

Within this notion of more nutrients, and the notion of the soil as a living organism seems to be a relationship with the understanding that organic food is alive and has more energy. Several participants mentioned explained their beliefs on the basis that we are living bodies, so we need 'living' food, and not 'dead' food – referring to conventional food.

"... so organic food has an important value from a nutritional perspective, with higher nutritional content, coming from the energy of the exchange with nature, from being more conscious" (Madelaine).

"... organic food hasn't been sprayed with any chemical product that would destroy the microsystem of the living plant, and soil" (Florencia Mirza).

"I have the feeling that organic food has everything that should have in terms of nutritional content that nature provided and live within... alive.... But then if you spray chemicals that destroy all the life within and around the soil that can't be good for our health" (Elisa de Armas).

Responsibility towards one's health

It is interesting to note that most participants mentioned that food consumption choices such as consuming organic food are part of their 'conscious choices and a way of taking charge of their health, the health of others – close family members – and some also feel responsible for the environmental health of our planet. Several participants mentioned this sense of responsibility, where organic food consumption is a way of being in control of their own choices, and as a result having an impact on one's health, others, and the planet. There is a strong belief among most interviewees that food can significantly influence an individual's health. Therefore, it could be said that based on the belief that organic food is 'healthy' because of its enhanced nutritional value, eating organic could represent a way of 'controlling' or influencing positively their health. Similarly, for those who believe that chemical residues in our food present a health risk, choosing organic food could be a way of reducing this perceived health risk as a result of avoiding chemical residues. In both cases, consumers take responsibility for their consumption choices and choose organic food for different reasons, driven by different goals – motivational values.

'I totally believe that my health depends on how well I take care of myself' (Ana).

In life there are things we cannot change even if we try but I can choose to focus on those things I can change, or I have a degree to influence, or adapt myself to it. With buying organic is the same, people are going to continue using chemicals and there's going to continue to be junk food, or unhealthy stuff but it is my choice to do something different with my life. So, it's about recognizing those things that I can change, not waiting that the outside would change but I can choose to react differently by choosing something that makes me feel good, that is good for me, it's up to us at the end of the day how we want to live our lives, and I choose to live healthy (Belen).

There is a desire to control what they can. There is a clear emphasis on their ability to choose, and a desire to choose organic food as something good for oneself. This seems to be underpinned by self-direction values.

It is not surprising that participants that highly regard health, either adopt a healthy lifestyle overall or adopt health risk reduction strategies and tend to engage in a series of behaviours to gain control of several aspects of their lives. This health locus of control seems to result from perceived health risk, fuelled by the uncertainty and distrust that most participants mentioned, and OF is one way of gaining control over their health, which gives them a sense of security.

Conscious eating

An interesting and unexpected concept arose that was the notion of 'consciousness' and 'conscious eating'; this was mentioned several times by a good number of participants. '**Conscious eating**' is wider than organic food consumption, it is also about an increased

Consumption of fruit and vegetables, but also low intake of red meat, dairy, gluten, and refined sugars.

From the data 'consciousness' seems to have two slightly different, but interrelated, meanings. The term is used as a synonym for being 'responsible' for choices made and is understood as being 'aware' of the consequence of choice. For instance, several consumers mentioned that they chose to adopt '**conscious eating**', which they explained is being aware of how you nurture your body, carefully choosing the food that is most nutritious, and less harmful to our bodies.

*"Food is the fuel with which we nurture our bodies, so we need to choose consciously"
(Dominic).*

It is related to being aware, being mindful of the type of food that they eat, taking time to be in contact with the food, time to prepare and eat.

"For me 'conscious eating' is about being conscious of what food I choose to nurture my body with what I am filling my body with, what food my body needs. I don't know for instance the other day I had an intense period pains and I know ginger is very good with that so I choose to eat more ginger those days in the month, or if I have sore throat I know curcuma is really good, so conscious eating for me it's like giving your body the right foods, and what it need, so I choose the food according to what I'm going through" (Adela).

From the above quote, it could be interpreted that this level of 'consciousness' also represents being aware of the consequences of their choices. In this regard, organic

consumers refer to 'conscious' eating as a way of eating 'mindfully', being aware of their food choices and how these may impact their bodies and their overall wellbeing. Organic food choices seem to be part of the notion of 'conscious' eating.

'Conscious eating' was discussed mainly among those who also mentioned that organic was part of a wider healthy lifestyle. When the term 'conscious eating' is synonymous with 'responsible', participants explained that it refers to their responsibility towards their health, but also towards the health of others such as close family, and some consumers also felt responsible towards the environment.

Interestingly, it could be said that those who talk about conscious eating, or conscious choice are referring to their choices concerning the food and how this impact their bodies. This notion of 'conscious' eating is mainly found among consumers who are mainly health orientated for whom buying organic food is mainly part of a wider healthy lifestyle. For instance, the account below can illustrate this typical explanation of conscious eating:

'I tried to eat at a conscious level which means that because we are what we eat, I am aware of what I give to my body, for instance I do not smoke, nor drink, not even coca cola, I eat healthy, try not to skip any meals, I have my treats if I drink wine or Coke one day I am conscious of the effects in my body so I do it in moderation. For instance, I'm one of those mums who never buy Oreo cookies for my children, or crisps very few times and when I do it, I am conscious, I am aware of my choices and the impact they have on my body' (Valeria).

Emotional connections with food

Consumers were asked to discuss their experience when consuming organic food, and how they feel when consuming organic. Most participants expressed a very positive experience when consuming organic food, and that their food choices have an impact not only on their physical health but on their overall wellbeing. This results from the understanding that what we eat can affect our mood, level of energy, and how we feel about ourselves. This is illustrated in the following quotes.

“no doubt what we eat affects our emotions, how we are feeling, the chemistry, I mean our energy levels, and as a result our wellbeing’ (Helena Munoz).

“Our food choices influence not only on our physical health but also on the emotional wellbeing as well” (Lucia SM).

“When I eat organic I feel so much happier, grounded and connected with nature.....and it also gives me peace of mind and a sense of going back to what people had many years ago, how things used to be” (Adela).

“I feel good with myself, connected with nature.....organic is good for the soul maybe because I feel SAFE, knowing what I put inside my body” (Madelaine).

Trust and the role of the organic farmer

Despite the high levels of *distrust* concerning conventionally grown food, the findings revealed very good levels of *trust* in organic food. Participants were asked to explore the sources of trust in organic food. The data indicates that the participants have a strong degree of trust not only in the certification process but that they also trust the organic farmer more strongly. Their trust in organic farmers seems to be based on sharing similar personal values,

lifestyles and that they care for nature. They highly regard organic farmers, they trust the organic farmers, who they believe have cared for, nurtured, and grown the organic food without the help of any chemicals.

“I trust in organic food because for instance when I buy from the local street market I know the farmer for many years, they used to organise guided visits to their farms, and I went a few times, so you really get to know what they do” (Jimena)

An important aspect to increase trust in organic food is the role that the organic farmer or producer plays when buying OF. Most participants highlighted how much they trust the organic farmer. It could be interpreted that this trust is developed from the ‘relationship’ they have with the farmer, as shown by the quote below.

“It’s like we trust the organic farmer because we got to know him after so many years, I know the different farmers that have stands in the local organic street market, or the guy that brings the food boxes we know him and that gives you peace of mind, you know what you are buying” (Nelida).

The relationship with the organic producer was highly regarded by most consumers. It is evident from the data, as shown above, that this relationship with the farmer gives them peace of mind and a sense of security. This relationship is developed from regularly shopping from the same organic street market (called ‘ferias’ in Spanish) – typical of Uruguayan culture – where they can buy directly from the farmer who serves behind the stand, or through the delivery of food boxes. The food boxes schemes are mainly delivered by the local farmers,

who normally also sell in the local organic street markets.

The majority stated that 'knowing' the farmer personally provides them with a good level of trust and allows the consumer to feel safe, and closer to nature, by knowing the journey that plant has gone through.

I think that the fact of knowing the farmer because he delivers to us directly the food boxes himself that regular relationship is what reinforces our trust, I think it's like a friend" (Madelaine)

.... "And so, you chat how things are going, and they tell you... and so chatting with them and knowing them gives me trust. I trust because I see how they handle the food, with love" (Elisa de Armas).

However, on rare occasions, an organic food box scheme is managed by an intermediary that buys the produce from various organic farms and has a home delivery business. In both cases, whether it is the farmer directly or not, participants mentioned that the regularity of staff visits/interactions and getting to know them makes them feel they can trust the organic produce that they buy from these home delivery schemes, or from travelling to the farm shop regularly.

"From going every Sunday [to the organic street market], you start to develop a relationship, a special bond, and also, I love to chat with them I have no problem with that, and they tell you how things are going..." (Elisa de Armas).

Going back to the roots

Participants preferred buying organic directly from the farmer or producer because that makes them feel closer to the 'roots', the source of food, where it comes from.

Organic consumers prefer to buy from organic street markets – where organic farmers sell directly to the public – or directly from the farm because this provides consumers with a high degree of trust. This trust is derived from knowing the farmer and the environment where the food has grown.

“Buying from the farmer, on the street market or when the delivery box arrives home, the farmer delivers it himself, so that makes me feel more connected with the roots, nature, responsible and aware of what I introduce to my body and allows me to know where it came from that food that is on my plate. I like knowing its journey” (Viviana)

“When you are buying organic, you are not buying just product like any other, but you are buying a relationship with the producer. You want to know about the journey that plant has gone through, where it comes from”. (Ana)

The findings suggest that knowing where our food comes from and the relationship with the farmer makes them feel part of the journey. It seems that this relationship with the farmer and buying from a local farmer, provides consumers with degree of connectedness with nature. They seem to enjoy seeing the connection between the farm and their food- which is known as 'farm to fork'.

The values associated with organic farmers

During the interviews, several participants, mentioned they like to support organic farmers partly because they can relate with the values that organic farmers endorse. They were asked to explain this idea. Many participants perceived organic farmers' values as genuinely '**caring**' for their produce, the soil, the environment and **respecting nature**, and other living organisms. By 'respecting' nature they meant respecting the natural life cycle and eating in season, and according to what nature provides.

"One of the values I can see from organic farmers is their respect for nature that you can see by love and care for the soil, the planet, the environment, and all living creatures" (Belen).

This 'love and caring' is perceived as a characteristic of organic farmers most participants perceive. This could explain why participants do not need reassurance through certification, as they assume that organic farmers give the same 'love and care' to the environment, and their produce. The quotes below reflect this understanding and lead to the analysis of the values associated with organic farming.

"For instance, the farmer I buy from you can see how much love is put into the food, how much care, you can see from how he handles the fruit, very carefully as if he's handling something valuable and delicate" (Lucia)

"The certification processes its clear cut and based in participative guarantees involving organic consumers and is mainly based on trust. Some people are confused with 'natural', and they don't understand what exactly organic means, many products

don't have certification label, but we trust anyway because we believe in the values endorsed by the organic farmers, and one of them is honesty" (Diego)

Other values that participants perceived as being endorsed by organic farmers were being 'humble', 'anticapitalistic', 'frugality' and 'honesty'.

"Organic farmers they have other set of values, they are not chasing the money, but genuinely care for the environment, the soil and all living organism, they respect nature, they are honest, humble, with a very frugal lifestyle, they are just simple people loving our planet and doing their best" (Natalia)

Environmental concerns

Nearly half of the participants expressed they had environmentally concerned about the planet, and the negative impact our consumption choices may have.

Most participants were aware of the importance of looking after the environment, particularly of the limited natural resources and the consequences of having neglected the environment for so many years. However, this concern was not necessarily translated into pro-environmental behaviour.

"The natural resources are running out due to the irresponsible management from the government, and we are suffering the consequences with all this contamination" (Ana)

Despite growing concern for the environment, none of the participants mentioned that their environmental concern was the main reason for buying organic food initially, but it is something that they are more concerned about now.

“If you browse the internet what’s going on with our planet, you’ll quickly see the devastating consequences, we are wrecking it all, the ocean has millions of plastic bottles killing our whales, turtles, fishes and all this level of contamination is very bad for the ozone layer which affects us every day when we walk down the road” (Alvaro B.).

‘It’s not just a change in the way of thinking but a real change on the consequences, for instance, if you go out between 11 and 4 and stay on the sun you will end up with a sunburn if you don’t protect your skin, you really feel the negative impact of the sun while before people were more relaxed, naïve, and reluctant to believe that this was real. The same with the waters, people are incredulous of the impact that farming has had on our natural resources’ (Alvaro B.).

The main areas of concern within the environment were the following: contamination of natural resources and climate change. The main pro-environmental behaviours expressed by a small minority of participants were buying local to reduce air miles, supporting small farmers, recycling, growing their food, buying environmentally friendly products to reduce the damage to the planet.

Contamination

Participants felt particularly concerned about the devastation of the natural resources.

“There is a big issue that is the environmental contamination, everything is contaminated due to lack of competency and lack of responsibility” (Alvaro N).

Climate Change

Participants mentioned that they can feel the effects of climate change. Some would say that they can feel the sun being more intense every day because of the damage to the ozone layer. Many were aware of the increase of skin cancer in younger age groups.

“For instance, it’s like the planet is changing at every level, in terms of sun radiation, more neutral disasters such as an earthquake” (Nelida)

Recycling – The vast majority felt that it was not within their reach to do something to help the environment. This could be related to the perceived barriers to pro-environmental behaviour most of which are related to the lack of the necessary infrastructure, for instance in the case of recycling.

“.. what happens is that we try to do small things to help the environment that are within our reach but then you face the obstacles, it’s so complicated to recycle in this country they are not making it easier to recycle by removing the recycling bins for instance” (Beatriz).

Supporting local small farmers –

For some consumers, organic food is about supporting a wider cause beyond individualistic benefits such as taste or personal health, it is more about an ideology, and supporting local producers, which are seen as representing the values of respect for nature, humility, and selflessness.

“What makes me want to support organic food is what it represents globally, and for the wider society, it goes beyond the taste and the quality I can have, it’s thinking of the importance of supporting the source of income for those who are doing the things right for us all” (Diego).

“I think one of the motives to buy organic food is the idea of social justice, to fight for a fairer trade, supporting smaller producers and not big multinational companies where all they care is their profit” (Pierina).

“We have to support organic farming because otherwise we are becoming ill, slowly being poisoned by all the toxic chemicals in our foods – particularly Glyphosate” (Alvaro N).

“Buying organic is part of my mission on this life, to contribute to make the world a better place for my grandchildren when they arrive to this world” (Ines de Asobaco).

A few participants seem to express their concern for the environment by a desire to buy local, from the street market and direct from the farmer, rather than buying imported organic food, when possible.

“Generally, I try to avoid buying imported organic food, it really worries me the negative environmental impact caused by air miles” (Ines de Asobaco).

However, the data also revealed that for some participants this interest in looking after the environment is also driven by a concern for the safety of future generations, and close family. Some environmentally conscious participants were able to articulate that their environmental

concern is underpinned by the notion of the inter-connectedness between human beings and nature, and by a desire to protect the future of our families and loved ones. So, it is worth reflecting if their concerns for the environment could also be driven by an altruistic goal: feeling better with ourselves for protecting our families. The account below reflects this notion, which was mentioned by a few participants:

“To be honest. It... I think just about myself I don't know if I would care for the environment, but when I think about my children, and my friends' children and their children it's when I worry, how are we going to explain to them what we've done with the planet, that for the sake of selling and making money people have destroyed the planet, that's not good..... and that idea that 'the future doesn't count because we won't be here to see it' that short-term vision really annoys me... to think what kind of world we are leaving behind for them?” (Rolando B).

Responsibility towards the environment

A similar concept arose with regards to the consciousness in the sense of responsibility towards the environment. However, it seems that consumers that are more environmentally concerned seem to extend this level of consciousness to the environment as well and extend their responsibility concerning the environment, which might be driven by the feeling of being connected with nature, as part of nature.

“I think we are all responsible in way or another for looking after the environment, we all have a duty of care for our common house, our planet” (Ana E.)

This suggests that organic food could help consumers to re-connect with nature, with others, and with the past, and in this way, organic food would not only be fulfilling a nutritional need but also fulfilling the need of going back to basics, the origin, the traditional way of farming

Connectedness with nature

Some of the participants mentioned the importance of being in harmony with nature, in connection with nature, respecting and 'trusting' nature.

"I trust more in mother nature and all what it provides than in what man-made creations, because there is no hidden interest in mother nature, it's how things are meant to be" (Tanes).

This group of participants that feel part of nature, believe that humans should live in harmony, adapting to nature, when necessary, instead of dominating nature. Here the desire is to become one with nature. They believe everything is interconnected and an unbalance in nature health will bring an imbalance in human health. This group of participants are, therefore, more environmentally conscious consumers and hold a holistic understanding of health as the following quotes reveal.

'Organic food choice it's like a going back to basics, to the traditional way of eating, harvesting and doing things in general, and this could be because more Uruguayans travelling than ever before, and thanks to globalisation we can see what is going on in other places, what things work and we like taking ideas from other countries' (Lucia de Matos).

“... the fact that we are children of the same world, this notion of looking beyond my own interest but to see ourselves as part of the whole system, aiming to be more interconnected with one another, because what affects me at the end of the day it will affect my neighbour. Maybe not straightaway, but in the long term, as we are on the same global community and each of us play a part” (Belen)

‘I think if it’s healthy for me it’s healthy for the planet and vice versa, so in a way I’m interested in looking after the environment because in the long term it will impact on my health’(Viviana).

Another element of connectedness with nature that several participants mentioned was that buying organic represents the journey from the farm to the table, which allows them to connect with where the product comes from.

“...for me organic food comes with journey from the farm to the table. So, when I buy organic somehow, I connect with the roots of the food, where it comes from and that is precious to me” (Viviana).

Perceived quality derived from a more authentic ‘taste’

Almost all participants in this study agree that organic food is of superior quality. Although quality could represent different beliefs for different participants, from this study, it could be said that quality is related to the absence of chemicals, perceived higher nutritional value, perceived freshness, and authentic taste.

Although taste is not the main driver for OF consumption, it is a very important attribute and perceived benefit. Taste was mentioned as one of the most valued attributes by most

participants, as it contains fewer 'chemical pesticides'. It is believed that the absence of chemical pesticides provides a more 'natural' and 'authentic' taste. Participants mentioned that the taste reminded them of their childhood, and from their accounts, it seems as if the more intense taste could transport them back to a few years ago when they believe food was more flavoursome.

'I love organic tomatoes, those that taste as they used to taste when I was a child, I still remember tomatoes from my granny's farm they did not taste as today's tomatoes, they are pale, and tasteless they feel so artificial, but organic tomatoes are proper tomatoes, real tomatoes with all the benefits and goodness of tomatoes' (Ana)

Spillover effects or behaviour change.

Nearly half the participants mentioned that the environment is currently an important driver for their choice, though not the main reason but certainly an important one to buy organic. A small number of participants mentioned that this awareness about the environment started after buying organic for a while. They became more involved in learning about organic and the negative impact of agro-chemicals on human health, they started to consider the health of the planet too.

Interestingly some participants mentioned that after a few years of consuming OF they started to become more aware of the environmental impact of chemicals on the soil.

"... although I now think about the environmental impact of food choices, when I started buying organic it started with me, thinking about my personal health not the

environment, however, now I think...if chemicals are bad for my body, they must be bad for our planet too, so I've become more conscious of the effect on the planet too, and even started to grow my own vegetables" (Adela).

They also mentioned that after starting to buy organic food they become more aware of the impact of our food choices on the environment and took up doing environmentally related activities such as growing vegetables, recycling etc. This could suggest that buying organic food, even if it is not initially for environmental purposes, may have some potential spill over effects on other areas of awareness. This could be mediated by a sense of being connected with nature. It seems that changing their behaviour has changed their attitudes towards the environment and consequently their belief that if agrochemicals are bad for humans, it must be bad for the planet as well. This is also closely linked to the positive health benefits of organic food not only for individuals but as some participants would believe for the health of the planet.

"To be honest at the beginning I started buying organic for myself and was not so concerned about the environment. I was not fully aware that there is a direct relationship between consumption and the environment. But the more I was learning about organic, how farming impacts on the soil, then I started to become more conscious about the environment" (Ines de Asobaco)

"I'm concerned about the global impact of the environment, but if you ask me what the main benefit are its health of course!" (Diego).

"When I had children, I took a break from work to stay home with the kids..... I was watching TV when I heard about the health risks of pesticides, and I started to search

for information, educate myself about nutrition and... that changed my mindset completely, what I think about food in general, which food I like to eat, which food should I give my family" (Silvia).

Values that underpin organic food consumption

This section aims to present the results regarding underlying personal guide and influence consumers' choices, and their value orientations. The aim is to identify which values are driving the consumption of organic food in Uruguay.

"Security" value type

From participants' narrative accounts about their experiences with organic food, it could be said that for some there was an implicit need to feel 'safer' with their food choices, and organic food provides them with this sense of 'knowing' what they are eating is better than conventionally grown food, and for many, that was enough. The main driver was to consume organic was to avoid chemical residues on their food, as a result, this reduces the perceived health risk from chemical residues, and consequently feeling 'safer.' From the qualitative analysis, it could be said that organic food consumption is driven by the value of 'Personal Security.' This type of value is related to 'security' and is driven by the desire to maintain their personal safety, which relates to the higher value of '**conservation.**' However, participants revealed the importance assigned to the value of 'health' which refers to 'personal security' and could include 'food safety' as ways to preserve their personal wellbeing. However, 'personal value' as measured by the value items of the Schwartz PVQ scale does not seem to include family's health for instance. It would be sensible to ask, where does family 'health as a value priority sit within Schwartz's circumferential model. It seems that the measures that

include the importance of a family's wellbeing, including health, are placed under benevolence. This may explain why benevolence has the highest mean scores when the values are measured by the Schwartz PVQ-RR scale, as detailed in the Quantitative data chapter. In this case, within the context of organic food consumption, it seems that benevolence (care) is underlying the motivational value of Security. Most participants seem to be concerned about the number of chemicals on their food, so they choose organic food driven by the desire to seek a reduction in the number of contaminants to avoid the negative impact on health. As the quote below shows, personal security is an important goal in this context.

"I buy organic mainly because I don't want to poison my children or myself with harmful chemicals and additives in our food" (Flor).

'Security' value type is underpinned by the need of 'conservation' as motivational orientation, in other words driven by a desire to remain stable, and safe, opposite to being 'open to change', and this desire could be seen in the quote below.

"because the chemical pesticides can be so toxic that they can significantly harm health, so it gets me to the core, I feel very vulnerable with conventional food, so I just want to avoid them altogether" (Nelida)

It could be said that the lack of trust in conventional food, the government and other profit-orientated organisations makes them perceive an increased level of perceived health risk and

therefore search for products that would re-establish their sense of security, and peace of mind as stated in the quotes below:

“yes, I have a complete lack of trust in conventional products because to be honest we don’t know what sprays they used on our food, how much chemical residues it may have, what’s on our food” (Beatriz).

“I can’t even think about the amount of chlorine, and all other additives used on the chicken production to kill bacteria, and if you think of the water... it’s all polluted, all the natural rivers are all polluted, so how can I trust in the government doing the necessary controls? I can’t feel safe, I don’t feel the government is able to look after the natural resources let alone public health” (Flo Garino).

However, nearly all participants trust organic food. Interestingly, their trust in organic is not based on the certification process or the controls, but the relationship with the producer and based on their understanding of the values endorsed by the organic farmer.

“When I buy organic food, it gives me peace of mind that I’m not eating poisonous fertiliser and for me, that is key for my personal health, and a sense of feeling safe” (Daniela).

“.. when buying organic food, it gives me reassurance that I’m not poisoning myself or having my health affected due to ignorance or lack of responsibility” (Rodolfo)

The values endorsed by the organic farmer are respect for nature, honesty, humility, frugality, care for society. These values are also endorsed by most of the organic food consumers as

desirable and can be seen as reflected among a certain group of consumers this is discussed further in the section on the typology of consumers.

“... it’s a human relationship different from the connectedness with nature, it’s preservation, holding an integral understanding of health, and against the commercial manipulation driven by profitability, but instead leading a modest family business” (Rodolfo P).

“they don’t support industrialisation, or mass production, they are against anything that would create pollution, so I feel passionate about supporting these types of farmers, you can tell they are not driven by profits they have other values like honesty, respect for nature, simplicity, handling food with love, caring for the soil, the environment... it’s a different way of thinking” (Rolando B).

An important source of security for organic consumers is derived from the relationship with the producer, which is also in line with the above-mentioned knowledge about where the food has come from, and how it has been treated.

From the data collected, seems that consumers desire to know the origins where the food is coming from, which gives them a sense of security.

It could be interpreted that knowing the journey that the food has had to reach their tables, as many stated “from the soil to the plate” or ‘from farm to table’ – this knowledge makes them feel safe.

'Health' value item

Within the dimension of 'Security', one of the most important underlying values for this study is 'health'. This is an important 'guiding principle' for nearly all participants. However, as explained earlier, it is underpinned by two different perspectives. While some focus on having fewer contaminants as a way of preventing illnesses, others focus on having more nutrients as a way of supporting a wider healthy lifestyle.

"... it's about being conscious and responsible about your health and realising that a healthy diet is not about eating fruit and vegs, but it has to be organic to avoid chemicals and only then I feel it's healthy" (Flor G)

The data also revealed that the underlying motivation of 'health' could be self-enhancement or self-transcendent depending on whether the participant's higher-end goals are self-centred: protecting their own personal health- or others-centred – e.g., protecting others from ill- health, avoiding being a burden to other people or the health of the planet.

The results of this study raise the question as to why the value type 'health' is categorized under security, and not under another value type such as 'hedonism'. Various participants mentioned that they pursue health for other reasons, such as the ability to enjoy life, to live life to the fullest, and to have a good quality of life. Some participants would say 'I don't buy organic because of health because I haven't had any health issues yet" (Lucia Sosa Magnini). The consumer, in this case, is driven towards organic food because of the taste, and freshness. Therefore, it could be said that for some participants, despite referring to organic as 'healthy',

the underlying motivation for consuming 'healthy' organic food, is not security but hedonism (enjoyment)?

'Self-direction'

In line with the above, the notion of responsible 'choice', was a recurrent theme, referring to the ability to make your own choices, with a feeling of empowerment, and a desire to control the outcome. This idea seems to relate to the 'self-direction' value orientation, driven by a self-enhancement motivation. The desire to have independent thought and action in terms of choosing healthy food could also be linked to health locus of control and discipline to obtain the desired outcome.

"my life philosophy embraces the idea of respect and being responsible for our own choices, and not play the role of victim but instead take control of our own lives" (Belen).

"buying organic makes me feel more in control of choosing, within my reach I try to choose what makes me feel good" (Beatriz).

"I would say it's not only a decision we have to make for ourselves, because we are free to choose what we want.... I want to live a good live so I live a good life, If I want to be unwell, I am unwell, and I can decide what I want for me, and we should also think that not living well could bring suffering to our loved ones, not just us" (Dominic).

"When doing the food shopping, it's like I always choose organic if I have the possibility, if it's available I always choose organic food, it's more expensive but it's my own choice, my responsibility towards my personal health" (Jimena).

'Hedonism'

A minority of participants seem to highly regard hedonistic values and sensuous self-gratification. These participants associate organic food consumption with a much more pleasant experience than having 'conventional' food. The pleasure is particularly derived from the enhanced taste and texture.

"eating organic... I really enjoy it, it's much more pleasant experience than ordinary food, the flavours, the smell, the texture it's a treat" (Claudia).

"for me the taste is very important because of the proper enjoyment, the pleasure that comes from eating something tastier full of flavour" (Helena Munoz).

'the taste of organic tomatoes is a pleasure to die for" (Belen).

'Benevolence'

Nearly two thirds of participants identified caring for others, especially family and close loved ones as important to them. Some who said they wanted to avoid chemicals because it was not healthy, were thinking about the consequences of not being healthy and how that would impact their loved ones.

"... for me the worst consequence of being ill is not being able to care for my children and family as I'd like to, not being able to be there with them, or not being able to share important moments in their lives" (Alejandra P).

"... the main reason to buy organic is due to health concerns, I want to look after my health but more importantly my family's health, mainly my daughter's, that what I want to protect most" (Ana F)

"I care for my children, my children's health and don't want them to have all the nasty chemicals from such a young age., don't want them to get poisoned. It also a way of looking after my health too, and as I'm divorced, I must be there for my children, and I have to be healthy until they are older" (Florencia Garino).

Here the main driver behind organic consumption appears to be preservation and improvement of the wellbeing of close family and loved ones. Even among participants who stated that they care for their own personal health, the underlying motivation seems to be related to 'others' and being able to care for these others and to meet their needs. This is particularly the case when having young dependent children. The underlying emphasis is on benevolence driven by self-transcendent motivation.

'Universalism'

Concern for society was evident across nearly half of the participants. A good proportion of participants mentioned that they like to buy organic from local farmers, not only because of the trust element but also as a way of supporting local small businesses. It is evident here that the underpinning value is universalism, where concern for wider society is the driver for buying organic.

"Organic may cost me more but when I buy organic, I'm not only benefitting myself but also the producer, that has to cover a lot of costs to be able to continue, so I want to support them to continue to grow" (Belen).

"I think it's important to support those that are doing their best to make a better world" (Diego).

“It’s a way of supporting the small organic producer, family-owned business and that’s why we started buying to Graciela and Eduardo instead of buying from the shops we prefer to support them, that makes me feel good... I have the hope that organic can continue to grow and all over the country people could access organic food. When buying organic, I first think of my health, my family’s health and supporting the smallest local producers” (Florencia Mirza).

“I think it’s right, just and ethic to buy from a small producer, maybe a family own business than to a big corporation that only cares for the profits” (Natalia).

Other participants feel that buying from local producers is ethically correct, and they want to support the small local producers to provide social justice. This belief is underpinned by the value type universalism concern and motivated by a higher-end value of self-transcendence. One participant mentioned that this concern for the wider society, and the desire to support the local economy, was one of the main drivers for buying organic food.

“I think the main reason to buy organic is the notion of social justice to support a commercialization system that is fairer, it’s about supporting small and medium producers and not the big supermarkets, they have other agenda” (Pierina).

Concern for the environment was present in most participants. However, it is not the main reason to buy organic food, but participants are concerned about the environment, particularly with the levels of contamination of natural resources and the consequences of climate change.

“... the main reason to buy organic food is to avoid chemicals that would damage my personal health but also the environment. In my garden for instance, it’s completely free from chemicals because I was concerned about the many birds and bees that come to visit our garden it wouldn’t be fair for them, and when you use chemicals, the ecosystem starts to change” (Daniela).

“.. if you ask me which my main driver is to buy organic, I would say my health and my family’s, but I also care profoundly about what’s going on the environment. There are horrible things happening with the natural resources the water for instance, it’s something tangible so don’t know how people are not more concerned, we don’t have drinkable water anymore, that’s serious and that was because of all the agro-toxics dumped onto the rivers, they are destroying our planet.... So organic for me offers not only a safe alternative to me, but also for the environment, protecting the soil, to remain alive with all the insects and all the microclimate around it to continue alive” (Diego).

In the first instance, the data seems to suggest that those environmental concerns are driven by self-transcendent motivations to look after the environment.

‘Spirituality’

Spirituality was mentioned by a few participants; however, no participant mentioned it was the main reason why they consume organic food. Spirituality was mainly related to a sense of responsibility towards the environment, and a need to be more pro-environmentally friendly, a couple of participants mentioned their religious beliefs as possible drivers. Leading them to feel morally obliged to care for the environment. In this sense, they explored how buying

organic made them feel they are contributing to an environment with fewer chemical pesticides.

“... we all have to be responsible with how you live this life, and God – I’m catholic but whoever you believe in – gave us this life, this Planet and we all came to fulfil a mission for some reason, and we have to be conscious, responsible and grateful for what it was given to us, look after it and that’s our responsibility, and it’s like it gets me closer to my faith”(Dominic).

Spiritual dimension- It seems like connectedness with nature could be related to a wider underlying spiritual connection with ‘Mother Earth’ based on **spiritual principles** that aim to respect nature, perceived almost like a spiritual goddess such as ‘Pachamama’ (Mother Earth in Quechua).

It seems to be a series of underlying principles among these people like practising meditation, respecting nature, being so in tune with nature that they could feel the energy and vibration of nature. A good proportion of participants mentioned how starting specific practices such as yoga, which is part of a wider lifestyle – can help express our values.

“... well maybe organic food has to do with the personal interests that we all have, and I started to read magazines, and follow certain social media pages” (Ana F.

Identifying different types of organic food consumers

One of the last objectives of this study is to present a typology of consumers of organic food in Uruguay, that could then be used to encourage more consumers towards organic food

consumption. From the data analysis, the participants were grouped according to their value priorities about organic food consumption. The findings indicate that there are five main clusters, some participants overlap across more than one cluster, while others are in only one.

The identified five types of consumers share similar underlying value priorities, value orientations, that guide their consumption choices and consumer lifestyle. These different types of consumer profiles are explained in more depth below.

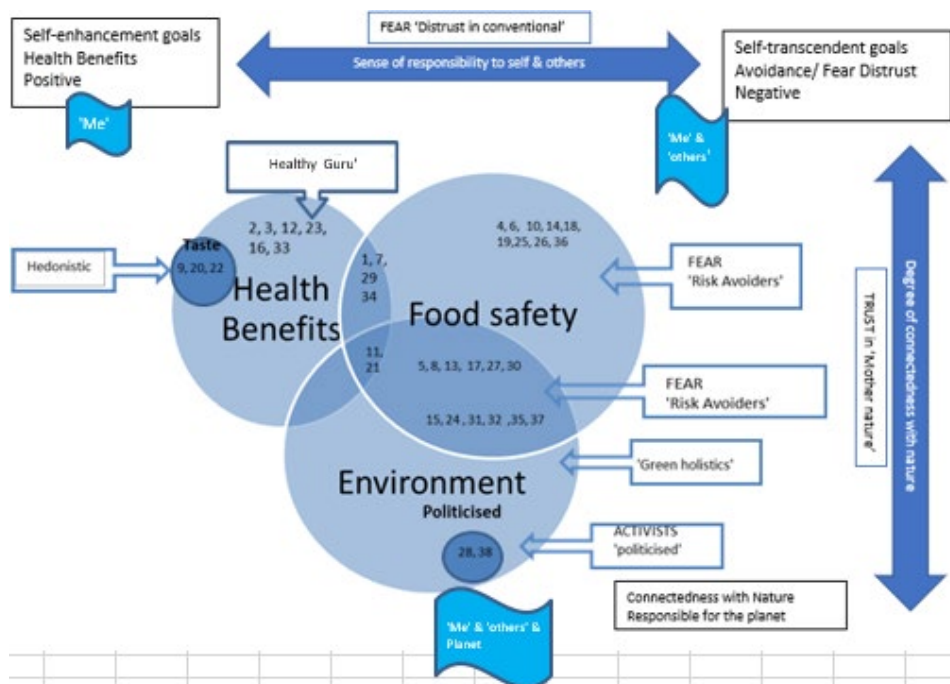


Figure 12: Five identified organic food consumer types

The diagram identifies the five different types of organic food consumers, based on their value orientation (higher-end values) as the distance measure. It should also be noted that the data revealed that it seems to be an underlying 'sense of responsibility' towards self, others and

the environment, that operates in a continuum. This has been illustrated in the figure 12 above by the arrow showing that those organic consumers who are more 'egoistic' or driven by 'self-enhancement' goals tend to have a more pragmatic approach to organic food consumption. The identified segments are the following:

Healthy 'Foodie Guru' [participants: 2, 3, 12, 23, 16, 33]. They tend to focus on the nutritional value of food, and sensory food attributes such as taste, colour, freshness when choosing to buy organic food. These participants also mentioned that organic is part of a much wider healthy lifestyle that goes beyond a healthy diet. The data revealed that they are driven by the positive benefits of organic food such as the enhanced nutritional value, enhanced perceived taste, perceived quality, instead of being driven by negative feelings such as 'fear' or 'distrust'.

The data revealed organic food consumers along the 'sense of responsibility' continuum, towards the right-hand side, have a sense of responsibility not only for their own health but also for others within their family. These are 'risk avoiders (group 1)' [participants: 4, 6, 10, 14, 18, 25, 26, 36]. For these participants, what drives to extends their sense of responsibility towards not only health of 'self' but also the health of others is the lack of trust in conventional food, a 'sense of distrust' that in some cases could lead to feelings of 'fear'. These negative feelings of 'fear' and 'distrust' drive them to 'avoid' chemicals to protect not only themselves but also their children and loved ones. The data also revealed that for these types of consumers, organic food consumption is more about having 'less contaminants', as a risk avoidance behaviour as opposed to focusing on the perceived benefits. It is interesting to note that among these group consumers, some consumers also have a sense of

responsibility towards the health of the planet. These are displayed towards the lower end of the 'food safety' sphere and can be seen as 'risk avoiders (group 2)' [participants: 5, 8, 13, 17, 19, 27, 30].

Towards the bottom of the diagram, there are those consumers who can be classified as 'green holistic' [participants are: 15, 24, 31, 32, 35, 37]. They are characterised by feeling a degree of 'connectedness with nature', and as a result, a strong 'sense of responsibility' to look after the planet. These consumers tend to adopt a 'holistic' approach to health, and a holistic lifestyle, feeling connected to nature, with a sense of respect for nature, animals and any living organism, they have a strong sense of trusting Mother Nature more than 'artificial' food.

Table 9: Typology of consumer

Case Profiles	Concern Chemical /FEAR	Health/Nutrition	Hedonism	Environmental	Age	Marital Status	Children	Diet	Health Issues	Connect with nature-Envir.	ENV Concern	Pro-ENV Behaviour (PEB)	Commitment	Time
1 ADELA	Yes	No	No	No	35	Married	Yes	DF/GF/Lo	Yes	No	Yes	No	High	5 years
2 ALEJANDRA PENELOPE	No	No	No	No	49	Married	Yes	Healthy	Yes	No	No	No	Low	2 years
3 ALVARO BALLARDI	No	No	No	No	25	Single	No	Healthy	No	No	Yes	GROW	Moderate	5 years
7 BEATRIZ SANCHIZ	No	Yes	No	No	50	Married	Yes	DF-Health	Yes	No	Yes but No	No	Moderate	2 years
12 DOMINIC	No	No	Yes	Yes	37	Single	No	GF/DF/Lo	Yes	No	Yes	No	High	8 years
13 ELISA DE ARMAS	No	No	No	Yes	34	Single	No	Vegeteria	No	No	Yes	REC	High	6 years
16 HELENA MUÑOZ	No	No	No	No	35	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	No	No	Moderate	3 years
23 MARIANO TEDESCO	No	No	No	No	36	Single	Yes	Healthy	No	No	Yes	No	Moderate	3 years
33 VALERIA GRASSO	No	Yes	No	No	42	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	No	No	Low	2 years
4 ALVARO NIEVES	No	No	No	No	51	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	No	No	High	6 years
5 ANA ESPINA	No	No	Yes	No	50	Married	Yes	Vegan	Yes	No	Yes	REC	High	10 Years
6 ANA FAGET	No	No	No	No	43	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	Yes	No	Moderate	5 years
8 BELEN ALBERTI	No	No	No	No	42	Single	No	Vegeteria	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	High	8 years
10 DANIELA	No	No	No	No	47	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	Yes	No	Moderate	8 years
14 FLOR GARINO	No	No	No	No	42	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	No	No	Moderate	3 years
18 JIMENA GURIDI	Yes	No	No	No	38	Single	Yes	Healthy	No	No	Yes	REC/GROW	High	25 years
17 INES DE ASOBACO	No	No	Yes	Yes	53	Married	Yes	Healthy	Yes	No	Yes	REC/LOCA	High	10 Years
19 LUCIA DE MATOS	No	No	No	No	42	Divorced	Yes	Healthy	Yes	No	Yes	GROW	High	5 years
25 NELIDA MARI	No	No	No	No	63	Single	No	DF/GF/Lo	Yes	No	Yes	REC	High	21 Years
26 PATRICIA MORALES	No	No	No	No	49	Married	Yes	Healthy	Yes	No	No	No	Moderate	3 years
27 PIERINA	No	No	Yes	Yes	46	Single	No	Vegeteria	No	Yes	Yes	No	Moderate	5 years
29 ROLANDO BORTAGARAY	Yes	No	No	No	35	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	Yes	No	High	5 years
30 SILVIA	No	No	No	No	55	Divorced	Yes	Normal	Yes	Yes	Yes	GROW	High	10 Years
34 VANESSA GIGUENS	No	No	No	No	41	Married	Yes	Macrobiol	Yes	No	Yes	No	High	10 Years
36 VICTORIA NIEVESTE	No	No	No	No	44	Married	Yes	Healthy	Yes	No	No	No	Low	2 years
11	Yes	No	No	No	42	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	Yes	Yes	GROW	High	10 Years
15	Yes	No	No	No	36	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	Yes	Yes	GROW/RE	High	10 Years
21 MADELAINE	Yes	Yes	No	No	32	Married	Yes	Vegan	Yes	Yes	Yes	GROW/RE	High	10 Years
24 NATALIA BAISDA	Yes	No	No	No	34	Single	No	Healthy	No	Yes	Yes	REC	High	10 Years
31 TANES ARTOLA	Yes	No	No	No	52	Married	Yes	Vegan	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	High	5 years
32 VALENTINA	Yes	No	No	No	45	Married	Yes	Vegeteria	No	Yes	Yes	REC	High	8 years
35 VICTORIA MAILHOS	Yes	No	No	No	58	Married	Yes	Healthy	Yes	Yes	Yes	GROW/RE	High	10 Years
37 VIVIANA SALGADO	Yes	No	No	No	35	Married	Yes	Healthy	Yes	Yes	Yes	REC/GROW	High	10 Years
9 CLAUDIA VIDEGARRAY	No	Yes	No	No	50	Married	Yes	Normal	Yes	No	No	No	Moderate	3 years
20 LUCIA SOSA MAGNINI	No	No	No	No	44	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	No	No	Low	2 years
22 MARIA ELENA PEREZ	No	No	No	No	57	Married	Yes	Healthy	No	No	No	No	Low	2 years
28	No	No	No	No	65	Married	No	Healthy	No	No	Yes	REC	High	10 Years
38	No	No	No	No	62	Married	No	GF/DF	Yes	No	Yes	No	High	20 Years

Healthy lifestyle Group – ‘Healthy Guru’

Health-conscious consumers are very aware of their eating choices, aware of their health, and believe that they can to a certain degree control their health, or at least would do everything that is within their reach to maintain good health.

The main reason for buying organic food is the belief that natural food without chemicals and contaminants is what makes organic food a healthier option. They focus more on the attributes of organic food rather than on the 'safety' aspect and what it should not have.

Their understanding of 'healthier' is closely linked to higher nutritional value and better quality. They believe that natural food is better because it will have more nutritional content. Whilst chemicals may reduce the goodness and nutritional qualities of food.

Some participants believe that organic food is 'living' food for 'living' bodies. The data suggests that there is a belief that chemicals will destroy the life in the soil, reducing the number of nutrients in the soil so the food grows lacking nutrients and therefore perceived as 'dead' or without the nutritional value that organic provides.

Their main focus of concern is the nutritional content of food and the quality of their food. These are the main reasons for choosing organic food. They are very knowledgeable about food nutritional values; they believe that some foods can be a 'superfood' due to its nutritional value.

They are more pragmatic in their food choices. They may not go the extra mile to find organic food, so their consumption is lower than the other two groups.

The main characteristic of this group is that they are health-conscious overall, so they adopt a healthy lifestyle that often focuses also on exercise, sleep and emotional wellbeing.

They sometimes engage in strict food diets for fitness reasons, and to support calorie counting. Several participants mentioned the practice of 'conscious eating', based on the belief that to have all the 'goodness' of our food we need to be mindful of your food choices, where our food is coming from, the nutritional value, preference for natural and going back to simple. Some of the consumers in this group view organic food as part of the 'trend' of a healthy lifestyle.

It is evident from the data they are also concerned about the level of chemicals on the food, but they do not show fear or important levels of lack of trust.

"I think also organic is now like a trend. Like you are cool if you buy organic because it's healthy, and you have the disposable income to buy it" (Valeria).

"I'm not 'preoccupied' with my health I just 'occupy myself with activities that would improve my health, is not a prevention but a lifestyle so I do exercise 4 times a week, sports is part of my lifestyle, I think it also helps with emotional wellbeing it's great, so to feel good not only it's about having a balanced diet but it is embracing healthy lifestyle and organic food is part of this, and it helps the food we eat to nurture our body with all the necessary vitamins, minerals and goodness of food" (Valeria).

As can see from the above, this group holds a more positive outlook than the 'avoiders'. While they want to avoid chemicals, it is not due to fear or lack of trust it is because it fits their healthy lifestyle, and they want the attributes of organic food to support their quality of life. This lack of fear is one of the main differentiation points. They are driven by the belief that 'natural' is healthier and being healthy or maintaining health is important for my overall

wellbeing. The reasons why they pursue health is mainly focusing on overall wellbeing, and to be able to enjoy a good quality of life, a 'long life' instead of focusing on avoidance or prevention of illness.

“what we eat affects our emotions, how we feel, the chemistry and even the energy we have” (Helena Munoz).

Within this group, there are more single consumers and those without children. The motivational value is personal health, in particular nutritional content. This suggests that the underlying motivation or value orientation is focused on self-enhancement, rather than thinking about others or the environment.

Hedonistic Group: 'Pleasure Seekers'

This group of consumers focus mainly on the quality of food, and organic food is preferred because of specific attributes such as taste, texture, colour and appearance. They do not seem to be concerned about the nutritional aspect of organic food as much as the above group, but they reflect some minor concerns about the number of chemicals. In other words, they are looking to reduce the number of chemicals, but this is not derived from fear or the appeal of a higher nutritional value, but it seems to be derived from a desire to eat the best possible quality and to enjoy a pleasant experience through the perceived 'hedonistic' qualities of organic food.

“the taste is without a doubt the main reason why I buy organic food, it has a real taste, it's different... my choice is down to taste and freshness which for me signal good quality. It's more

authentic, more real... I know most people would be because it's healthy but as I had never had health issues due to food allergies or anything like I don't link organic with healthy but with authentic taste" (Lucia Sosa Magnini)

As can be seen from the data, the motivational value is hedonism, and the motivational orientation is based on self-enhancement interest.

Safety concerned Group: 'Risk Avoiders'

This is the main group in this study. For this type of consumer, the main reason for buying organic food is reducing the perceived health risk from chemical residues. Organic is perceived as 'natural' and as synonymous with 'unadulterated' and because of this, it is considered healthy as it lacks chemicals and is natural. The reason to consume organic is intricately linked to the avoidance of chemicals, which is driven by the lack of trust in conventional food, feeling that they do not know what they are eating, and consequently they experience a sense of fear and insecurity. This is the main characteristic of the group, the underlying sense of fear that was expressed through participants' accounts about conventionally grown food. The fear about chemicals is based on the belief that agro-chemicals can cause serious health issues and the belief that the government cannot be trusted with public health policy.

From the data it is evident that most participants had negative attitudes towards chemicals, they tend to refer to agro-chemicals as 'toxic' or 'poison' and they openly share their feelings that they do not want to be 'poisoned' with conventionally grown produce.

Interestingly, another difference with the 'healthy lifestyle' group is that these consumers, that despite being concerned about their health, this is not reflected in the adoption of a healthier lifestyle overall. Most of these consumers may not necessarily engage in physical activity, exercise or other health-related initiatives. They are mainly focused on the avoidance of any contaminant on their food, as the main way to control their health.

"I feel that nowadays we don't know what we are eating, we don't know where is coming from, how it was produced and we will not know because they don't want us to know, but we can take control of what we eat, we can reduce the amount of chemicals in our bodies such as Glyphosate by choosing organic food" (Nelida).

Environmental concerned group: 'Holistic greens'

These types of consumers are what might have been called 'core' or 'green' organic consumers. They are concerned about the level of chemicals in food, and the consequences this may have for health, but they also consider the impact on the health of the planet. This is the main difference with the other consumers, their value orientation is self-transcendence, and the underpinning values type is universalism and, in particular, 'protection for the environment and 'unity with nature'. It is with respect to the latter that this group differs from the other groups previously mentioned.

They feel a good degree of connectedness with nature, specifically in the way that they feel 'part' of nature. There is a strong belief that personal health is interconnected with the health of planet. In other words, looking after the environment is an important responsibility because by not doing so, it is believed that there will be a negative impact on individuals in the long term. As part of this connectedness with nature, some participants expressed an

emotional connection with nature, almost like a sense of belongingness, accompanied by genuine love, care and reverence for 'Mother Nature' and what it can provide. This type of consumer not only feel it is important to respect nature, but must be grateful for all that nature provides. Participants expressed trusting Mother Nature more than in humankind, or its creations.

In line with the above, in some participants, it is evident that there is a 'spiritual' connection with nature. Based on this notion, it is believed that what Mother Nature provides is good for our healing, it is natural and good for our health. This seems to be linked with the belief that natural food holds energy, in the same way any other living organism does.

Therefore, these participants believe in respecting nature, and all living organisms. One way of caring for the environment is to stop using agro-chemicals that would destroy life and nutrients in the soil. They also tend to buy local food and to buy in season as a way of reducing negative impact on the environment.

They are concerned about the environment, and to reduce the negative impact on the environment they believe it is necessary to reduce the number of chemicals used. It is believed that chemicals have negative impact not only on an individual's health but also on the health of the planet, which are interconnected, they are part of the 'whole'.

Based on the above, several participants in this group mentioned the notion of holistic approach to health, where the health of individuals is linked to the health of the planet, the animals and the environment.

Another distinction made by this group is that they feel organic consumption is part of a life philosophy, a way of living, that endorses certain values: respect for nature, caring for the earth and animals, feeling part of nature, benevolence and concern for wider society, trust in nature more than in the manufactured, humility, frugal lifestyle.

“I think it’s our responsibility to look after the environment every day, through our consumption choices and in everything we do, for me the key for the future is on conscious consumption in general not just food....because what’s the point of buying organic if you then go to the shopping and buy unnecessary stuff for the sake of buying that is also destroying the planet... organic represents a life philosophy with certain values of taking responsibility of your health but also that of the planet, they are interconnected” (Tanes).

“buying organic food impacts overall not only on my overall wellbeing, my thoughts, my health but also the energy I have, and impacts on the health of the planet, they are interlinked” (Viviana).

‘Politicised activists’ – Environmentally concerned with a voice

Within the environmentally concerned group or ‘holistic green’ type, the data revealed a couple of participants (28, 38) that stood out from the rest, in that they were more actively involved in their community, from the perspective of ‘political ecology’ (Karageuzián, 2019). They have greater intensity in their thoughts and actions than the rest of the ‘Environmentally conscious’ group. The chief difference with these participants is that their main reason for buying organic is concern for the environment as an ideology. They are green activists who

are highly involved in the community and taking a proactive stance to reduce the negative impact on the environment. This level of commitment towards social-ethical issues key. There is a desire to belong to a community and engage in environmentally friendly practices.

Their main concern is the wider society and the environmental impact of our consumption. However, when asked about the reasons for buying organic the lack of trust is apparent and seems to have a proactive nature.

This group is the minority, only two participants, but it is worth considering and understanding their motivational values. They are older than the rest, with no dependent children at the time, they share their political views about organic consumption and are involved in activist movements to increase awareness of the environment, to 'fight' for a better planet.

Their higher value pursued is self-transcendence, in particular reflecting the values within universalism concern, and universalism nature. Protecting the environment is important for them but even more so is their notion of social justice and equality.

Consumer types summary

Five types of consumers were identified, based on their similarity in terms of their underlying motivations, value priorities and feelings towards organic food.

- i) For the '**risk avoiders**', organic is 'safer' and adopted as a strategy to reduce health risk due to the perceived safety benefits of organic food. Participants in this group have food safety concerns concerning chemical residues in conventionally grown food. The focus is not only personal health (personal safety), but also the health of

loved ones (family safety). Both self-enhancement and self-transcendent value orientations are evident.

- ii) For the **'healthy gurus'** organic is part of a wider healthy lifestyle. Organic is about the health benefits, that seem to relate 'chemical free' with enhanced nutritional content. Organic is more nutritious, thus 'healthier'. For these participants being healthy is not driven by fear, or perceived health risk, but instead by a desire to enjoy life, have a good quality of life, a long healthy life, and continue to carry out their daily activities, which is related to independence and agency. These desires seem to be related to a 'self-enhancement' orientation. Within this group are the **hedonist type**, for whom organic is about enhanced perceived quality, translated in enhanced taste, and freshness.
- iii) The **Environmentally concerned** consumers are those that not only care about health benefits for themselves, and others but also for the planet. Organic is a philosophy, a way of living and about connectedness with nature. Within this group, the data revealed the **politized type** who are similar to environmentalists, but with the difference that they engage in activism, publicly voicing their concerns about the environment with a more active role in society.

Table 10: Consumer types – drivers

Type consumer	Main driver for consuming organic food
Risk avoiders	Reduce perceived health risk from pesticides
Healthy guru	Health benefits of nutritious healthy food
Hedonistic	Enhanced perceived quality: taste and freshness
Holistic green	Connectedness with nature: good for me, others and the planet
Politized green	Care for the wider society

Key qualitative findings

The key findings derived from the interviews were:

- a) Organic food is generally understood as grown without reliance of chemicals, but for a good proportion of participants, organic food is not only free-from chemicals but also grown following the agroecology practices, in harmony with the environment. This understanding is closer to the definition of 'agroecology'.
- b) The term 'organic' is associated with 'natural', 'healthy', 'authentic', 'living food', 'environmentally friendly', and 'tastier'. For a minority of consumers, organic is perceived as a 'trendy' behaviour related to status (virtue) signalling.
- c) The belief that organic food is free from synthetic chemicals and other contaminants is the main reason to consume organic food in Uruguay. This leads to perceived reduced health risk, reduced damage to the soil and environment, enhanced nutritional content of food, and taste.
- d) For some participants organic consumption is part of a wider healthy lifestyle, for others it is a health risk reduction strategy to prevent illness, for others it is part of a life philosophy, expressing not only health values but also respect for nature, frugality, and authenticity.
- e) Consumer's perceived level of trust and distrust is one of the most important elements influencing organic food consumption.
 - i. Distrust in conventionally grown food, government policy and food safety concerns are important drivers for organic food consumption.

- ii. Participants trust in organic food farmers and the 'participative process of organic certification' carried out by the Red de Agroecología del Uruguay (Uruguayan Agroecology Network).
 - iii. The farmer-consumer relationship has a key role in establishing trust in organic, as participants highly regard the values associated with organic farming (authenticity, respect for nature, frugality, honesty).
- f) The data analysis revealed two main approaches to organic food consumption:
 - i) Focus on fewer contaminants (avoidance) – Risk reduction strategy: avoid agrochemicals linked to ill-health, reduce perceived health risk and food safety concerns, also concerning others and the planet. Personal safety and Benevolence care values are evident. Presence of fear due to perceived health risks from chemical residues.
 - ii) Focus on enhanced nutritional content, enhanced quality and health benefits – part of a wider healthy lifestyle where health is important to continue to enjoy a good quality of life, aiming for a long life and a certain degree of freedom/agency (hedonistic and self-direction values). They do not express any fear or perceived health risks from chemical residues.
- g) Health is important for participants but the reasons why it is important varies among them and may not always be driven by a 'conservation' value orientation but could be driven by self-transcendent value orientations, and not necessarily be related to security.
- h) Participants revealed self-transcendent and self-enhancement value orientations. Both seem to be important and interrelated, rather than exclusive of one another.

- i) The data revealed five typologies of organic consumers within the context of Uruguay, and these are: 'Healthy gurus', 'Risk Avoiders', 'Hedonistic', 'Holistic greens' and 'Politicised activist'.
- j) The data revealed five main value types that are implicit in the narrative of participants, which seem to serve as 'guiding principles' about organic food consumption and these are 'personal safety', 'universalism', 'benevolence: self-direction' and for a small number of participants 'hedonism'.

In summary, chemical avoidance is a particularly important goal for nearly all participants. There is a major concern about the chemical residues on food, among regular organic food consumers. This concern could be driven by the current environmental situation, which has exacerbated the lack of trust in conventionally grown food. The desire to buy chemical-free food could be driven by a lack of trust in conventionally grown food, the belief that synthetic chemicals are bad for health in general, or the belief that organic food is good for human health because it has enhanced properties such as nutrients, or taste, the belief that organic food is good for the environment too.

It is also noted that there are different understandings of the term organic some including GMO while others are stricter about which artificial modifications are 'safe'. Organic, has different connotations for participants: 'healthier', 'safer', 'more natural', 'more nutritious', 'enhanced quality', and 'improved taste'.

It became evident from the qualitative data that organic food consumption could be underpinned by a 'positive- less is more' perspective where organic food is about the choice of more nutrients, enhanced quality, and taste; or a more 'negative-avoidance' perspective where the main priority is having fewer contaminants and avoiding chemical residues on the

food. However, perspectives are based on the belief that chemical pesticides and fertilisers are harmful to human health. On one hand, consumers might be driven by health *concerns* about the perceived health risk from 'nasty' chemicals. On the other hand, consumers might be driven by the health benefits derived from fewer chemicals such as 'enhanced nutritional value'.

The data revealed different understandings of what 'healthy' represents, and why is important for the different participants. There are important differences in the way in which consumers express their value priorities such as 'health.' Despite ascribing the same importance to 'health', consumers choose different behaviours depending on their higher-end values, in other words, the goals they want to achieve. For instance, some may adopt a proactive behaviour e.g., going to the gym, while others may adopt a more passive behaviour e.g., avoiding risk factors, preventative behaviour.

The data revealed five main value types that are implicit in the narrative of participants which seem to serve as 'guiding principles' concerning organic food consumption, and these are 'personal safety', 'universalism', 'benevolence: self-direction' and for a small number of participants, 'hedonism'.

These findings are discussed in light of the existing literature later. Furthermore, the analysis of the quantitative data will lend some insight into participants' value priorities and value orientations.

Chapter 6 : Quantitative Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the quantitative data. Drawing on Schwartz's (1992) theory of human values, as the conceptual framework, the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) tool was used to measure the personal values of organic consumers. The survey can be seen in Appendix III. The survey was carried out as a means of data triangulation and to lend further insight to the qualitative data. During the survey, respondents were also asked to provide certain demographic information such as age, marital status, occupation, household characteristics, how long have they have been buying organic food, and how often they buy organic food.

Research Objective

This strand of the research aims to 'measure' the personal values of organic food consumers taking part in this research. In doing so, it aims to address the following:

Objective 2: Identify the personal values that might explain why RCOF consume organic food.

Statistical analysis

This section presents the main findings revealed from the data analysis using SPSS. Firstly, the values data were analysed at the lower level identifying the importance of the 57 value items, and then the values were aggregated to obtain the higher order values. Firstly, the mean scores were calculated for each of the 57 value items on the Schwartz PVQ-RR questionnaire. Secondly, the means scores of each of the 57 value items were ranked from the highest-

scoring mean to the lowest, to identify which value items were most important for the sample. The top 10 highest scoring value items are shown later in this chapter (see Appendix VII for a complete view). Secondly, the individual and aggregated mean scores were calculated for each of the value types (19 & 10 value types), and value orientations. A comparative means test was run to identify the value priorities and value orientation for each participant. Lastly, a non-parametric test was performed to analyse the similarities/differences across the groups identified.

Descriptive statistics

The data was analysed using descriptive statistics to identify which are the main value priorities for the sample. The descriptive statistics for each of the 57 value items and 19 value types were calculated. The mean scores represent the importance given by each value priorities. Value priorities can be seen in table 11, and the full list of 57 items are in Appendix VII. The first three highest-scoring value items are related to the same value type '**benevolence**' (*caring for the wellbeing of close others*) **with the following value items BED2, BEC2, BEC1**, with means scores: 5.74, 5.74, 5.71, respectively.

Table 11: The top 10 highest-scoring value items among 57 value items

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
27-BED2- be dependable and trustworthy friend (Benevolence- Dependability)	38	5	6	5.74	.446
25-BEC2- help people dear to her/him (Benevolence - Care- help close others)	38	5	6	5.74	.446
11-BEC1- take care of people she is close to (Benevolence- Care)	38	4	6	5.71	.867
13-SEP1- avoid disease and protect her/his health (Security- Personal)	38	3	6	5.63	.675
8-UNN1- care for nature (Universalism Nature)	38	4	6	5.63	.589
56-SDA3- be free to choose what she/he does by herself (Self-Direction action)	38	4	6	5.55	.686
16-SDA1- make her/his own decisions about her/his life (Self-Direction - Action)	38	3	6	5.55	.760
55-BED3- all her/his friends and family can rely on her/him completely (Benevolence - Dependability)	38	4	6	5.50	.604
45-UNN3- protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution (Universalism- Nature)	38	3	6	5.45	.795
52-UNG3- everyone be treated justly, even people she/he don't know. (Universalism- Care)	38	3	6	5.42	.826

'Benevolence dependability', measured by **BED2**: *'to be a dependable and trustworthy friend'* (*friendship, honesty, loyalty*) this indicates that the sample places high importance on being a reliable member of the family and friend, being someone, others can count on. Being 'reliable' is also the opposite of being a 'burden' to others. This could explain the relative importance that 'health' plays in this role, as it allows individuals to be able to help others, being

responsible for and to others. 'Benevolence dependability' has the lowest standard deviation (0.446) hence, the data is closely clustered around the mean, demonstrating little variability among the results. This suggests that being a reliable and trustworthy friend is relatively important to most participants. In other words, most participants give a similar priority to Benevolence Dependability.

'Benevolence Care' BEC2: *'to help people dear to him/her'* (helpfulness) is the -highest value priority with the same mean as BED2 (5.74) and similar standard deviation (0.446). This indicates that participants place the same importance on benevolence dependability as they do benevolence care, as measured by these items. This suggests that to be a 'trustworthy' friend is as important as to be 'helpful' for people close to them. This shows the importance that Uruguayans place on the well-being of others, friendships, and family.

'Benevolence Care' BEC1: *'to take care of people s/he is close to'* (responsibility) has a mean of 5.71 but one of the highest standard deviations (0.867) suggesting that 'caring for others' varies greatly in the degree of importance ascribed by the participants.

'Security Personal' SEP 1: *'Safety in ones' immediate environment'*, has the highest scoring value from the two Security values with a mean score of 5.63 and a relatively low standard deviation (0.675). Despite 'health' scoring third among the 57 value items the score for the total Security value type was given lower priority among the sample. The sample placed security in fifth place among the 10 other values in terms of importance. This means that when researchers measure personal values at the level of the 10 basic values, instead of the 57 specific value items, security could score low despite the sample giving a high priority to

'health'. It could be said that 'health' seems to be underrepresented when measured within 'security' value.

The relatively high mean score of 'health' value item **SEP1**: *'importance to avoid disease and protect his health'* – reveals the importance that the sample of organic consumers ascribe to 'health' value but is not in line with the importance given to 'Security'. It should be noted that the value item SEP1: *'importance to avoid disease and protect his health'*, is the only value item out of the 57 that specifically measures the importance of 'health', and it is aggregated within the 'Security' value types (SEC).

The 'Security' value dimension is split under **Security Personal (SEP)**: *'Safety in ones' immediate environment'*) and **Security Societal (SES)**: *'Safety in wider society'*), with means of 4.9 and 4.6 respectively, and is measured by a total of six value items. This indicates the sample ascribes slightly higher importance to values around Security Personal. The majority of the six value items measuring 'Security' (SEP1, SEP2, SEP3, SES1, SES2, SES3), are not related to 'health', only SEP1 is measuring the importance given to 'health'. The rest of the Security value items measure the importance given to other aspects of personal and societal security such as SEP3: *'never doing anything dangerous'*, SEP2: *'being personally safe and secure'*, SES1: *'stability in wider society'*, SES2 *'having a strong state to defend citizens'*, SES3: *'country protection against all threats'*. It is not the aim of this study to understand why the sample ascribes lower importance to the other security items, but it is worth mentioning that from all the Security value items, only the that is related to the importance of health is SEP1 *'importance to avoid disease and protect his health'* is highly ranked. All the other security value items have lower mean scores than the 'health' value item. This explains why when all

the security value items are aggregated, the overall mean score for 'security' is lower than anticipated.

Given the significant number of variables, 57 value items, it would be beneficial to aggregate the scores and analyse the results at the higher-order levels. This is done by aggregating participants value scores as per the Schwartz (1992) circular structure of values.

19 value types

Following Schwartz recommendations for scoring values, each of the value items was aggregated onto the corresponding value types, firstly the 19 values were calculated, and then the original 10, as it seemed more helpful to analyse the values at a higher level to measure the importance of each.

The mean scores for the 19 values of Schwartz refined theory showed that the sample ascribed higher importance to the following value types: **benevolence dependability** (BED: *'dependable and trustworthy friend'*) as the highest scoring value, followed very closely by **benevolence care** (BEC: *'Caring for close family-friends'*); **universalism concern** (UNC: *'equality, justice and protection of all people'*), **Self-Direction thought** (SDT: *'freedom of thought'*); **universalism nature** (UNT: *'protection of nature'*), **self-direction action** (SDA: *'freedom of action'*); **universalism tolerance** (UNT: *'tolerance to those different to oneself'*), and **security personal** (4.9) (preserve own safety).

It should be highlighted that when looking at Table 12 below, it is evident that the values mentioned above have similar mean scores.

Table 12: value types – descriptive statistics

Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
BED Mean	38	5.4474	.51568	.266
BEC Mean	38	5.3860	.55630	.309
UNC Mean	38	5.2544	.67754	.459
SDT Mean	38	5.1140	.74041	.548
UNN Mean	38	5.0526	.78088	.610
SDA Mean	38	5.0351	.78572	.617
UNT Mean	38	5.0263	.64553	.417
SEP Mean	38	4.9474	.82936	.688
HE Mean	38	4.8860	.79893	.638
SES Mean	38	4.6404	1.11334	1.240
HU Mean	38	4.5526	.90801	.824
COR Mean	38	4.3333	1.22045	1.489
COI Mean	38	4.2368	1.14138	1.303
AC Mean	38	4.0088	.93798	.880
ST Mean	38	3.9649	1.13843	1.296
FA Mean	38	3.9035	1.02786	1.057
TR Mean	38	3.4035	1.18590	1.406
POD Mean	38	2.2982	.99786	.996
POR Mean	38	2.1579	.98559	.971
Valid N (listwise)	38			

The **'benevolence'** results indicate the sample ascribes high priority to **'dependability'** and **'**. These values also have the lowest standard deviation.

Universalism concern' (*'equality, justice and protection of all people'*) has the third-highest mean score of 5.2, which suggests that the sample considered it to be the most important value within the three universalism value types. This is not surprising considering the importance the sample ascribed to benevolence care **'looking after others and being reliable**

friend'. Universalism concern is adjacent to benevolence in Schwartz circular values structure. The difference between these two values is the 'object' that care relates to, ie benevolence refers to close others and family, while universalism relates to all other people, even strangers.

Self-direction thought (SDT: *'freedom of thought'*) with a mean score of 5.1 is very similar in importance to **Self-direction action** (SDA: *'freedom of action'*) with a mean of (5.0). This suggests that the sample ascribes high importance to their autonomy of thought and action, meaning they value their freedom to develop their ideas. This could explain why the sample assigns a high priority to 'health' value because ill-health could potentially limit an individual's freedom of action.

Universalism nature (*protection of nature'*) with a mean of 5.05, and **universalism tolerance** (*'tolerance to those different to oneself'*) with a mean of 5.02. This indicates that the sample places more importance on the well-being of other people than on protecting nature. However, for the sample 'universalism nature 'protection of nature' (UNN) is more important than universalism tolerance 'being tolerant to others' (UNT).

"Security personal" value type mean (4.9) is lower than the mean score for the 'Health' value item 13 (SEP 1: *avoid disease and protect own health*) with a mean of (5.3) – which is the only value item from the 57 that measures the importance of health. From these results, it could be said that the relative importance of health becomes embedded within security personal values. However, the mean score of Health (5.6) is higher than the means of security personal (4.9), which shows the high relative importance of 'health' compared to other security values.

'Power' values *'Dominance over people and material resources'* had the lowest mean scores, which indicates that the sample ascribes a low level of priority to power values with the lowest mean scores: 2.2 and 2.1 scores.

The sample also ascribed low priority to **'tradition'** (TR: preserving cultural, family, or religious customs) and **'face' values** (FA *maintaining public image and prestige*) values. However, these values have a high standard deviation, which suggests that the importance given to tradition or face varies between participants.

10 Original value types

To analyse the data at a more abstract level, the 19 values were aggregated to obtain 10 original value types. This is in line with Schwartz's main argument that the theory of basic values represents a circular motivational continuum where values are interrelated entities. The refined theory of 19 values originates from splitting the continuum into a more specific, narrower set of values. Therefore, he suggests that the 19 values can be regrouped to obtain the original 10 values, depending on which values are more useful for the researcher. Table 13 presents the results of Schwartz's 10 original value types.

Table 13: the 10 Original value types – descriptive statistics

Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
BEN=Benevolence=mean(BEC,BED)	38	5.4167	.40036	.160
UNI=Universalism=mean(UNN,UNC,UNT)	38	5.1111	.53940	.291
SDI=SelfDirection=mean(SDA,SDT)	38	5.0746	.65036	.423
HE Mean	38	4.8860	.79893	.638
SEC=Security=Mean(SEP,SES)	38	4.7939	.86162	.742
CON=Conformity=mean(COR,COI)	38	4.2851	1.00964	1.019
AC Mean	38	4.0088	.93798	.880
TRold=Tradition=mean(TR,HU)	38	3.9781	.84111	.707
ST Mean	38	3.9649	1.13843	1.296
POW=Power=mean(POD,POR)	38	2.2281	.85373	.729
Valid N (listwise)	38			

Table 14: Comparison of means for 10 basic values

Report										
	ST Mean	HE Mean	AC Mean	SDI=SelfDirection=mean(SDA,SDT)	POW=Power=mean(POD,POR)	SEC=Security=Mean(SEP,SES)	CON=Conformity=mean(COR,COI)	UNI=Universalism=mean(UNN,UNC,UNT)	BEN=Benevolence=mean(BEC,BED)	TRold=Tradition=mean(TR,HU)
Mean	3.9649	4.8860	4.0088	5.0746	2.2281	4.7939	4.2851	5.1111	5.4167	3.9781
N	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38
Std. Deviation	1.13843	.79893	.93798	.65036	.85373	.86162	1.00964	.53940	.40036	.84111

Looking at the 10 original values, the highest-scoring values are **benevolence (BEN)**, **universalism (UNI)**, **self-direction (SDI)**, **hedonism (HE)** and **security (SEC)**. This is unsurprisingly similar in pattern to the 19-value data.

Table 15 also reveals that sometimes participants assigned the same importance to two or more value types.

Table 15:10 Original Value priorities per participant

Case Summaries ^a											
	ST Mean	HE Mean	AC Mean	SDI=SelfDir ction=mean (SDA,SDT)	POW=Power= mean(POD, POR)	SEC=Security =Mean(SEP, SES)	CON=Confor mity=mean (COR,COI)	UNI=Universa lism=mean (UNN,UNC, UNT)	BEN=Benevol ence=mean (BEC,BED)	TRold=Traditi on=mean(TR, HU)	
1	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.50	2.00	5.83	6.00	5.44	5.17	4.67	
2	4.67	5.33	4.33	4.83	2.50	5.33	5.17	5.11	5.00	3.83	
3	4.33	5.00	4.00	5.50	4.67	5.50	3.83	5.67	5.33	4.00	
4	2.67	4.00	3.67	4.50	2.67	4.17	4.50	4.56	5.33	4.67	
5	4.67	3.67	4.67	3.83	1.50	5.33	5.00	4.89	5.50	3.00	
6	3.00	3.67	4.00	5.67	1.83	3.83	4.50	5.67	5.50	3.50	
7	1.67	4.33	2.67	3.83	2.00	4.83	5.17	3.78	5.50	3.67	
8	4.33	5.33	4.67	5.00	1.67	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.33	3.17	
9	3.67	4.33	4.33	5.00	3.00	5.00	4.17	4.89	5.00	4.00	
10	3.33	5.33	3.67	5.33	2.17	5.67	5.00	5.56	6.00	5.67	
11	4.33	5.33	5.33	5.33	2.00	5.67	3.50	5.00	6.00	3.83	
12	4.33	6.00	5.67	5.83	2.17	5.67	5.33	4.89	5.67	4.83	
13	4.67	5.00	4.33	5.50	2.50	5.33	5.33	5.89	5.67	4.00	
14	3.67	5.67	3.67	5.83	2.50	5.67	3.83	4.56	5.50	2.67	
15	4.33	5.67	3.67	5.67	1.00	5.00	3.83	5.67	5.50	4.33	
16	2.00	4.33	4.67	4.33	1.50	4.00	4.83	4.11	5.17	3.50	
17	5.33	5.00	2.67	5.67	1.67	3.17	2.33	5.11	5.67	3.83	
18	2.67	4.67	5.00	5.33	2.50	5.00	4.83	5.33	5.67	5.00	
19	5.33	6.00	4.00	5.67	2.33	5.33	5.00	5.89	5.67	4.67	
20	3.00	5.00	3.00	5.50	2.17	3.67	4.50	4.44	6.00	4.67	
21	6.00	6.00	3.33	4.83	1.67	5.17	5.00	6.00	5.83	4.50	
22	5.00	6.00	5.33	5.67	3.83	5.50	5.33	5.44	5.67	5.33	
23	4.67	5.00	4.00	4.50	1.33	3.17	2.83	4.33	5.67	3.00	
24	4.00	4.33	3.33	5.17	3.17	3.50	3.50	5.22	5.17	3.33	
25	3.00	5.00	3.00	5.33	2.00	5.83	4.67	5.11	5.67	3.33	
26	4.67	5.67	4.33	6.00	3.50	5.33	5.33	5.11	6.00	5.00	
27	4.33	5.33	3.33	5.50	1.67	3.00	1.83	5.11	5.17	2.83	
28	2.33	2.33	3.67	4.83	1.33	3.00	2.33	4.78	4.67	2.50	
29	2.33	4.00	1.67	5.00	1.33	5.67	5.17	5.89	5.67	4.17	
30	3.00	4.33	2.67	3.00	2.17	4.67	4.83	5.56	5.17	4.83	
31	5.00	4.67	5.33	5.83	1.83	5.17	3.50	5.33	4.50	4.00	
32	3.67	5.00	4.33	4.50	2.83	5.00	3.67	4.44	4.67	3.83	
33	4.67	5.67	5.33	4.67	3.00	5.17	5.17	4.44	5.33	5.00	
34	2.67	4.00	4.33	4.67	2.00	4.67	4.33	4.89	5.83	4.00	
35	5.33	5.67	5.33	5.33	4.33	4.83	4.17	5.11	5.17	4.83	
36	2.33	4.00	3.33	4.33	1.17	5.67	3.67	4.89	5.67	3.17	
37	4.67	5.33	4.00	4.83	2.17	4.17	2.67	5.11	5.33	4.00	
38	6.00	4.67	2.67	5.17	1.00	4.67	5.17	6.00	4.50	2.00	
Total	N	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	
	Mean	3.9649	4.8860	4.0088	5.0746	2.2281	4.7939	4.2851	5.1111	5.4167	3.9781
	Median	4.3333	5.0000	4.0000	5.2500	2.0833	5.0000	4.5000	5.1111	5.5000	4.0000
	Std. Deviation	1.13843	.79893	.93798	.65036	.85373	.86162	1.00964	.53940	.40036	.84111

a. Limited to first 100 cases.

It is interesting to note that when aggregating the 19 values to obtain the original 10 value types, security had a slightly lower value score (4.7) than when looking at a lower level with the 19 value types (4.8) and a slightly lower priority than Hedonism (4.8). This could suggest that when the other security value items were given a much lower priority, so when the 6 value items are combined, the lower mean score values reduce the overall mean score for security. It also suggests that among all the security value items, 'health' is the main priority.

Using SPSS data analysis, a 'case summaries' test was run to visually illustrate the 10 original value types for each of the cases (participants). The table 15 above shows in red the main value type for each of the 38 participants, and at the bottom of the chart, the highest overall mean scores for each value type are shown in blue. Looking at this table 15 reveals that most participants have ascribed a high priority to 'Benevolence'. The three highest-scoring values are: **Benevolence (5.4), Universalism (5.1) and Self-Direction (5.07)**.

When looking at the 10 original value priorities *benevolence* has the highest rating mean score and the lowest standard deviation. This means that participants ascribe a similar level of importance to Benevolence, meaning there is agreement among participants about the level of importance of Benevolence values.

The results revealed that '*universalism*' was the second most important value scoring 5.1. This is in line with the literature but was not expected, as none of the participants mentioned that their concerns about the environment were the main reason for buying organic food. This discrepancy with the qualitative data, could also be explained as Schwartz personal values scale measures the value priorities of individuals as 'guiding principles in life in

general', and some might not be relevant within the context of organic food consumption. It could also be said that despite participants explaining that environmental concern was not their main driver to start buying organic, it is clear from the quantitative data analysis that the preservation of the natural environment is important. It could also be argued that there is a temporal factor to consider because it might not have been the initial driver for organic food consumption but becomes important with time.

The third-highest scoring value is **self-direction** (SDI: autonomy to cultivate one's ideas and skills). This suggests that Uruguayans place a high degree of importance on being able to make their own choices, having freedom of thoughts and actions. This could be reflected in participants desire to have a degree of control over their food choices – referred to by many participants as 'conscious eating', meaning being in control of what we eat and being aware of the impact of our food choices. During the interviews, many participants mentioned their feelings of responsibility in making food consumption choices, as a way of trying to control their overall health and wellbeing. To a certain degree, this could relate to a locus of control. This theory is be discussed later.

'**Security**' value did not have as high a score as expected, it was the fifth out of the 10 values (4.79) and is close to Hedonism (4.88). The theoretical understanding of Security according to Schwartz indicates that there are two types of security: personal and societal, and they are measured by three items each. '**Societal security**' refers to safety and stability in society, translated to country safety, a strong state to protect its citizens, stability in government and society. '**Personal security**', in addition to protecting own health, relates to being personally safe, secure, and avoiding anything dangerous. It could be argued that family security/safety

is part of personal security but can also convey benevolence-caring values. This would explain the high mean scores for benevolence caring. In the context of organic food, participants who highly prioritise family/personal security could endorse benevolence-caring values. This would reflect buying organic food for their families, children, and others, and would also reflect on the importance of 'health'.

It appears that 'health' value item (SEP1 *avoid disease and protect own health*) is that to which participants ascribed the highest importance compared to the other security-related value items. This suggests that the sample ascribe lower importance to the other security value items (26, 53, 2, 35, 50). As a result, this brings down the overall score for 'security' value type. The relatively high standard deviation (1.11) of SES – Security societal shows that the values are dispersed over a wider range. This means that security social varies in importance among the participants.

This was surprising and suggests that high importance to security (SEC) value type is not seen given the importance attributed to 'health' within security personal. In the context of organic food, it means that despite the importance that participants attributed to the 'healthy' aspects of organic food, the security values score relatively low. At the same time, the sample score highly on self-transcendent value orientation. This could indicate that health value may not be related to personal security but could also be related to family security and safety for loved ones. This suggests that 'health' value might be related not only to personal security but seems to also be an expression on Benevolence-caring (Schwartz et al., 2012). For instance, being healthy not for one's benefit but also being healthy for others. To be able to

enjoy life with family and loved ones, such as children or grandchildren; to be there to support them, to look after others, to care for others and to avoid being a burden to them.

One of the contributions of this study is the notion that the importance of health may not always be an expression of security values but be an expression of benevolence driven by a self-transcendent rather than a conservation value orientation. Health can also be an expression of 'benevolence' values, driven by a value orientation towards 'self-transcendence'. Therefore, saying that organic consumption is driven by 'health' values seems to be an incomplete picture of what is going on at a deeper level. It could be argued that some individuals prioritise 'health' as an important value in itself, and concerning all areas of their life, without necessarily being driven by security type values.

Higher order values – participant value orientations

Schwartz higher order values are the 4 value orientations, also called motivational dimensions, which underpin the 19 [10] value types. They represent the underlying drivers of an individual's behaviour at a more abstract level of analysis. The results revealed that participants ascribed the highest importance to **self-transcendence** value orientation (e.g., benevolence, universalism) and **openness to change** (e.g., self-direction, stimulation, hedonism).

Table 16 presents the combined means for a series of value types within each of the 4 higher order values, revealing the four value orientations.

Table 16: Value orientations ranked (4 higher-order values)

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
SelfTranscendence= combined means for <u>INN,UNC,UNT,BEC,BED</u>	38	5.2333	.36704
Openess= combined means for SDT, SDA, ST, HE	38	4.7500	.65702
Conservation= combined means for <u>SEP,SES,TR,COR,COI</u>	38	4.3123	.81636
SelfEnhancement= combined means for <u>AC,POD,POR</u>	38	2.8216	.74582
Valid N (listwise)	38		

When looking at the results some interesting insights can be drawn from the data.

- a) **Self-transcendence** has the highest score indicating that participants value orientations are not focused on individual self-centred benefits. Instead, they ascribe high importance to the well-being/protection of others, wider society, and nature. This was expected given results from previous studies discussed in the literature. This could also suggest that 'health' value could be underpinned by a Self-Transcendent orientation. In which case it would mean that not only is personal health important but also that of others, particularly close others, family, and friends. This is an important finding considering that most research suggesting 'health' as a motive for organic food consumption does so assuming that it has an egoistic self-centred underlying motivation. From the findings of this study, this is not always the case. As Schwartz suggests, values are universal in terms of the concepts, however, the priorities assigned to each value can vary according to the cultural context.

- b) **Self-enhancement** value orientation has the lowest score, which supports the notion that within the context of organic food consumption, the importance of 'health' might not necessarily be for the benefit of oneself, but also considers the impact that it has on others and relationships with others. This is an interesting insight, however, to fully understand this it is necessary to draw from the qualitative data results.
- c) A value orientation towards **openness to change** was not expected.
- d) At a more abstract level, participants display value orientations have a social focus (self-transcendence) but also a personal focus (openness to change).

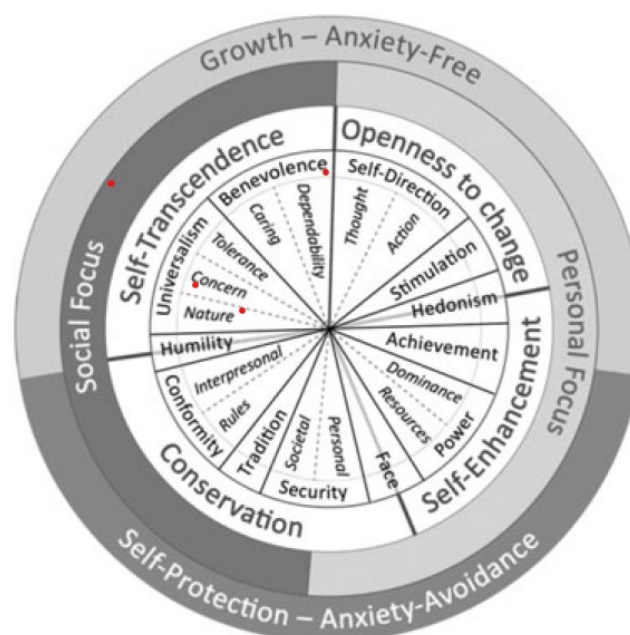


Figure 13: Circular structure of values

Source: adapted from Schwartz et al., 2017

Looking at the dimensions on the circular structure of values (Schwartz 2015) it could be said that most of the sample (25 n= 65%) prioritised values with a 'social focus' driven by self-

transcendence, or conservation; while another smaller group of participants (8 n= 21%) adopt a 'personal focus', driven by openness to change values.

The 'case summaries' test on SPSS revealed the value orientation for each participant, some value items had the same mean scoring, which suggests that value conflicts may occur in different situations or contexts. Schwartz (2017) claims that individuals must 'trade off' certain values for other values. In these situations, consumers may express the value that is more relevant to the situation or context at the time. This relates to the idea of value saliency, which suggests that individuals may express contradictory and even opposing values in different situations. This agrees with the notion that those values that become 'salient' are activated in a particular situation or context while otherwise, it would remain inactive, or in a dormant state.

At this higher level of abstraction as presented on Table 17 and Table 18 below, it could be said that the mean scoring is very similar across the cohort, showing a great degree of commonality and uniformity of results, with minimal differences across participants.

However, looking at the data analysis it seems as if most participants belong to one main group, mainly driven by Self-Transcendence value orientation. This presents a challenge when seeking to develop typologies of consumers – one of the objectives of this study. Results show that twenty-seven (27) participants scored higher in 'self-transcendent' and 'open to change'. Participants who scored high on the self-transcendent value orientation, and low on self-enhancement suggest that motivations go beyond their self-centred interests, instead, they focus on benefiting others. Self-transcendence value orientation has the lowest standard

deviation, which indicates the results across the sample are similar. This can be seen in detail in the following table 17.

Table 17: Summary of the main value orientations per participant

Case Summaries ^a					
	SelfTranscendence= combined means for UNN,UNC, UNT,BEC, BED	SelfEnhancement= combined means for AC,POD,POR	Openness= combined means for SDT, SDA, ST, HE	Conservation = combined means for SEP,SES,TR, COR,COI	
1	5.33	3.00	5.25	5.47	
2	5.07	3.11	4.92	4.93	
3	5.53	4.44	5.08	4.60	
4	4.87	3.00	3.92	4.33	
5	5.13	2.56	4.00	4.53	
6	5.60	2.56	4.50	3.80	
7	4.47	2.22	3.42	4.67	
8	5.13	2.67	4.92	3.20	
9	4.93	3.44	4.50	4.40	
10	5.73	2.67	4.83	5.47	
11	5.40	3.11	5.08	4.40	
12	5.20	3.33	5.50	5.27	
13	5.80	3.11	5.17	4.73	
14	4.93	2.89	5.25	4.20	
15	5.60	1.89	5.33	4.27	
16	4.53	2.56	3.75	4.00	
17	5.33	2.00	5.42	2.73	
18	5.47	3.33	4.50	4.80	
19	5.80	2.89	5.67	4.93	
20	5.07	2.44	4.75	4.20	
21	5.93	2.22	5.42	4.67	
22	5.53	4.33	5.58	5.33	
23	4.87	2.22	4.67	3.00	
24	5.20	3.22	4.67	3.27	
25	5.33	2.33	4.67	4.80	
26	5.47	3.78	5.58	5.47	
27	5.13	2.22	5.17	2.20	
28	4.73	2.11	3.58	2.40	
29	5.80	1.44	4.08	4.93	
30	5.40	2.33	3.33	4.60	
31	5.00	3.00	5.33	4.27	
32	4.53	3.33	4.42	4.13	
33	4.80	3.78	4.92	5.13	
34	5.27	2.78	4.00	4.07	
35	5.13	4.67	5.42	4.53	
36	5.20	1.89	3.75	4.13	
37	5.20	2.78	4.92	3.60	
38	5.40	1.56	5.25	4.40	
Total	N	38	38	38	
	Mean	5.2333	2.8216	4.7500	4.3123
	Median	5.2000	2.7778	4.9167	4.4000
	Minimum	4.47	1.44	3.33	2.20
	Maximum	5.93	4.67	5.67	5.47
	Std. Deviation	.36704	.74582	.65702	.81636
	Variance	.135	.556	.432	.666

a. Limited to first 100 cases.

Table 18: Value orientations and groups for each participant

Case Number	Case Profiles	Value orientations				groups	Main Value Type	Main Value orientation
		SelfTrans	SelfEnhan	Openess	Conservation			
1	ADELA	5.33	3.00	5.25	5.47	2	CON	Conservation
2	ALEJANDRA PENELOPE	5.07	3.11	4.92	4.93	1	SEC	Self-Tran
3	ALVARO BALLARDI	5.53	4.44	5.08	4.60	1	UNI	Self-Tran
4	ALVARO NIEVES	4.87	3.00	3.92	4.33	2	BEN	Self-Tran
5	ANA ESPINA	5.13	2.56	4.00	4.53	2	BEN	Self-Tran
6	ANA FAGET	5.60	2.56	4.50	3.80	2	UNI=SDI	Self-Tran
7	BEATRIZ SANCHIZ	4.47	2.22	3.42	4.67	1	BEN	Conservation
8	BELEN ALBERTI	5.13	2.67	4.92	3.20	2	BEN/HE	Self-Tran
9	CLAUDIA VIDEGARRAY	4.93	3.44	4.50	4.40	4	BEN/SEC/SDI	Self-Tran
10	DANIELA	5.73	2.67	4.83	5.47	2	BEN	Self-Tran
11	DIEGO RUETTE	5.40	3.11	5.08	4.40	3	BEN	Self-Tran
12	DOMINIC	5.20	3.33	5.50	5.27	1	HE	Openness
13	ELISA DE ARMAS	5.80	3.11	5.17	4.73	1	UNI	Self-Tran
14	FLOR GARINO	4.93	2.89	5.25	4.20	2	SDI	Openness
15	FLORENCIA MIRZA	5.60	1.89	5.33	4.27	3	HE/SDI/UNI	Self-Tran
16	HELENA MUÑOZ	4.53	2.56	3.75	4.00	1	BEN	Self-Tran
17	INES DE ASOBACO	5.33	2.00	5.42	2.73	2	SDI/BEN	Openness
18	JIMENA GURIDI	5.47	3.33	4.50	4.80	2	BEN	Self-Tran
19	LUCIA DE MATOS	5.80	2.89	5.67	4.93	2	HE	Self-Tran
20	LUCIA SOSA MAGNINI	5.07	2.44	4.75	4.20	4	BEN	Self-Tran
21	MADELAINE	5.93	2.22	5.42	4.67	3	ST/HE/UNI	Self-Tran
22	MARIA ELENA PEREZ	5.53	4.33	5.58	5.33	4	HE	Openness
23	MARIANO TEDESCO	4.87	2.22	4.67	3.00	1	BEN	Self-Tran
24	NATALIA BAJSDA	5.20	3.22	4.67	3.27	3	UNI	Self-Tran
25	NELIDA MARSÍ	5.33	2.33	4.67	4.80	2	SEC	Self-Tran
26	PATRICIA MORALES	5.47	3.78	5.58	5.47	2	SDI/BEN	Openness
27	PIERINA	5.13	2.22	5.17	2.20	2	SDI	Openness
28	RODOLFO PORLEY	4.73	2.11	3.58	2.40	5	SDI	Self-Tran
29	ROLANDO BORTAGARAY	5.80	1.44	4.08	4.93	2	UNI	Self-Tran
30	SILVIA	5.40	2.33	3.33	4.60	2	BEN	Self-Tran
31	TANES ARTOLA	5.00	3.00	5.33	4.27	3	HE	Openness
32	VALENTINA	4.53	3.33	4.42	4.13	3	BEN	Self-Tran
33	VALERIA GRASSO	4.80	3.78	4.92	5.13	1	HE	Conservation
34	VANESSA GIGUENS	5.27	2.78	4.00	4.07	2	BEN	Self-Tran
35	VICTORIA MAILHOS	5.13	4.67	5.42	4.53	3	HE	Self-Tran
36	VICTORIA NIEVESTE	5.20	1.89	3.75	4.13	2	SEC/BEN	Self-Tran
37	VIVIANA SALGADO	5.20	2.78	4.92	3.60	3	HE/BEN	Self-Tran
38	YOLANDA	5.40	1.56	5.25	4.40	5	ST/UNI	Self-Tran
		5.23	2.82	4.75	4.31			

The table 18 above revealed that, at a participant level, there are some inconsistencies between the value types (e.g., security) and the corresponding value orientation (e.g., self-transcendence). The data on the table above revealed that at a participant level, when the data is aggregated into the 4 higher values (value orientations), these are not consistent with the value types suggested by Schwartz. The situation is not straightforward as individuals may

consider a specific value priority, however, the underlying motivation, may not fit with Schwartz 4 value orientations. If the example of participant 7 (Beatriz) is considered, who indicated that benevolence (BEN: looking after and caring for the wellbeing of family, friends and loved ones) was her main value priority, the results also revealed her orientation towards 'conservation'. This shows that participants could have conflicting values, or that despite ascribing high priority to benevolence related values, the main underlying value orientation is 'conservation' rather than 'universalism'. This suggests that benevolence type values could be driven by the importance ascribed to maintaining the security and wellbeing of important 'others' such as family, friends and loved ones.

Similarly, for participant 25 (Nelida) who indicated that 'Security' (SEC: remain safe and avoid anything dangerous) was her main value priority, however, her value orientation leaned towards Self-Transcendence. This also suggests that even the same value type could be driven by different value orientations.

From this analysis, it could be argued that the PVQ instrument was useful in identifying the value priorities, but it has limitations: it is very good at identifying key value priorities but at an aggregated level the circumplex model is not enough to explain the complexity of consumption choices and offers no consideration to the possibility of values being expressed differently, and that consumers values could relate to different value orientation such as 'health', which may be driven by benevolence instead of a conservation. This suggests that the qualitative strand of data provided valuable insight to understand personal values at the aggregated level of value orientations within Schwartz's circular structure.

Values across different consumer groups

One of the objectives of this study (objective 4) is to develop a typology of consumers based on the main reasons for consuming organic food and their value priorities. Therefore, it is important to identify similarities among consumers and group them accordingly. Firstly, a typology of consumers was developed using the qualitative data. Five groups of consumers were identified. Secondly, using SPSS each participant was allocated to their corresponding previously identified groups as Table 19 below shows. A comparison of the mean scores for each of the 10 original value types was carried out across each of the five groups identified through the qualitative analysis. The aim was to identify the main value priorities for each group of consumers. The main value priority is highlighted in yellow in the table below.

This analysis revealed interesting results. As shown in the table 19, the comparison of means for the ten value types revealed uniform results across the consumer groups – namely, according to the quantitative data from SPSS there is not much difference across the groups in terms of value priorities, with most groups – 4 out of 5 groups – assigning the highest score to benevolence value. This means that, this type of data is to be used to identify typologies of consumers, it would be incomplete, as the data analysis from SPSS suggests there is not much difference across all participants, most of them endorse benevolence and the other group of consumers endorses universalism.

Table 19: Compare means for all 10 value types across the 5-consumer groups identified

Report											
groups		ST Mean	HE Mean	AC Mean	SDI=Self Direction=mean (SDA, SDT)	POW=Power=mean (POD, POR)	SEC=Security=Mean (SEP, SES)	CON=Conformity=mean (COR, COI)	UNI=Universalism=mean (UNN, UNC, UNT)	BEN=Benevolence=mean (BEC, BED)	TRold=Tradition=mean (TR, HU)
1 Healthy Guru	Mean	3.8750	5.0833	4.3750	4.8750	2.4583	4.8750	4.7083	4.7778	5.4167	3.9792
	N	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
	Std. Deviation	1.27164	.58418	.91613	.68284	1.04559	.86258	.90304	.74654	.25198	.66331
2 Risk Avoider	Mean	3.6667	4.7451	3.7451	5.0686	2.0392	4.8725	4.3431	5.2092	5.5588	4.0098
	N	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
	Std. Deviation	1.06719	.75947	.90928	.78850	.56375	.93082	1.09524	.40991	.26314	.90422
3 Green Holistic	Mean	4.6667	5.2500	4.3333	5.1875	2.3750	4.8125	3.7292	5.2361	5.2708	4.0833
	N	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
	Std. Deviation	.75593	.55635	.89087	.44932	1.03797	.67517	.66629	.46172	.51898	.46291
4 Hedonist	Mean	3.8889	5.1111	4.2222	5.3889	3.0000	4.7222	4.6667	4.9259	5.5556	4.6667
	N	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	Std. Deviation	1.01835	.83887	1.17063	.34694	.83333	.94771	.60093	.50103	.50918	.66667
5 Activist Politicised	Mean	4.1667	3.5000	3.1667	5.0000	1.1667	3.8333	3.7500	5.3889	4.5833	2.2500
	N	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Std. Deviation	2.59272	1.64992	.70711	.23570	.23570	1.17851	2.00347	.86424	.11785	.35355
Total	Mean	3.9649	4.8860	4.0088	5.0746	2.2281	4.7939	4.2851	5.1111	5.4167	3.9781
	N	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38
	Std. Deviation	1.13843	.79893	.93798	.65036	.85373	.86162	1.00964	.53940	.40036	.84111

Table 19 shows that for the five groups identified the main value was benevolence across the four groups and only group 5 scores high on ‘universalism’. These quantitative results seem to differ from the qualitative research strand, and do not relate to the participants’ accounts during the interviews. Rather, it presents a different picture to what the qualitative data has revealed. The analysis of the qualitative data identified important differences among consumers in terms of their value priorities, value orientation, and how these values are reflected in their consumption choices. Moreover, it seems unlikely that most participants

within the sample would hold the same value priorities, on the contrary consumers tend to endorse a wide range of different value priorities.

From the analysis of this data, it could be argued that the quantitative data collected using the Schwartz PVQ-RR value scale is not enough on its own to create a typology of consumers, at least not enough by using only the personal values as main priorities. This study has developed a typology of consumers based on the qualitative data and the reasons for buying organic food. To classify the consumers, several variables were considered that could explain consumers motives such as consumers' lifestyle, degree of connection with nature, perceived risk or fear, and overall lifestyle.

Furthermore, some interesting differences appear between the value priorities identified by the quantitative data and the qualitative data. The quantitative data suggests that for most participants the main value was 'benevolence' while the qualitative data indicated that food safety and health benefits were the two main value priorities. To investigate this in more detail, a nonparametric test of between-group difference was carried out using SPSS.

Nonparametric test of difference for 10 values

To perform the test, the sample was split, allocating each participant onto their corresponding groups. The test variables were each of the 10 values, and it was also run for the four higher-order values (value orientation). The results can be seen on Table 20 below.

Table 20: Between-group test of difference for the 10 higher order values

Hypothesis Test Summary				
	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig. ^{a,b}	Decision
1	The distribution of BEN=Benevolence=mean(BEC, BED) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.105	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of UNI=Universalism=mean(UNN, UNC, UNT) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.420	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of SDI=SelfDirection=mean(SDA, SDT) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.722	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of HE Mean is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.245	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of SEC=Security=Mean(SEP, SES) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.532	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of CON=Conformity=mean(COR, COI) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.139	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of AC Mean is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.268	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of TRold=Tradition=mean(TR, HU) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.115	Retain the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of ST Mean is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.481	Retain the null hypothesis.
10	The distribution of POW=Power=mean(POD, POR) is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.087	Retain the null hypothesis.
a. The significance level is .050.				
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.				

The results revealed an important finding: “Multiple comparisons are not performed because the overall test does not show significant differences across samples”. This suggests that there is no statistically significant difference between the groups, concerning the 10 values. The results could be interpreted as all participants having the same values. This creates a

divergence from the qualitative data obtained from the 38 interviews, where the participants narrative revealed differences in terms of value priorities and value orientations that influence organic consumption. It seems these differences only become evident when value priorities are explored in detail within a specific context such as organic food.

The same Nonparametric test was run for the 4 higher-order values and similar results (Table 21) were obtained revealing that there is no statistically significant difference between groups.

Table 21: Nonparametric test for the 4 higher order values (value orientation)

Hypothesis Test Summary				
	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of SelfTranscendence= combined means for UNN,UNC,UNT,BEC, BED is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.394	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of SelfEnhancement= combined means for AC,POD,POR is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.083	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of Openness= combined means for SDT, SDA, ST, HE is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.640	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of Conservation= combined means for SEP,SES, TR,COR,COI is the same across categories of groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.435	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .050.

Divergence and complementarity of results

This section explains the differences between some of the values identified by the PVQ and in the qualitative data, and the knowledge gained from the complementarity of both strands of research.

In explaining the different value priorities obtained from qualitative and quantitative data, it is first necessary to discuss the key points that help understand why these differences may have occurred.

Firstly, it could be argued that the *nature of the questioning* in the interview and the PVQ-RR survey is different. As explained in the methodology chapter the PVQ -RR survey measures the degree of similarity between the respondent and the imaginary person that is the subject of each of the 57 statements (or value items). This is a more indirect way of questioning but also Schwartz's scale measures values as 'guiding principles in life' in general. Looking at the PVQ -RR value items they all seem to suggest a more general tone in the scale statements than the questions in the interview used, which focus on organic food consumption alone. Some of the value items on the PVQ are not relevant for organic food consumption, such as 'achievement' despite being an important value for other areas of the respondent's life. At the same time, those value priorities that are relevant for organic food consumption, such as 'health' are measured by only 1 item and other values such as 'benevolence' or 'universalism' are measured by 3 value items. Therefore, despite universalism being an important value for organic consumers, it may not be the main priority influencing organic food consumption. Moreover, the literature suggests that our personal values can change according to different contexts. Therefore, this could explain why the PVQ is not enough to explain the personal values at play within the context of organic food. It is only when participants are asked about what is important within the context of organic food, that they unveil the reasons behind their organic food consumption choices. Therefore, for this purpose generating qualitative data has revealed much richer data than that collected from the PVQ-RR survey. The richness of the

qualitative data was more useful to discover the underlying values that are more influential within the organic food context.

Secondly, the notion of value saliency within specific contexts, explains that consumers choose differently. Research shows that individuals do not always make choices that are aligned with their values, sometimes individuals make choices that are opposite to their values. At times, certain values could become more salient than others in a particular situation, and as a result, individuals may evidence opposing values in different contexts. Which values an individual chooses to express depends on the situation and context. For example, individuals may choose to endorse a 'benevolence' value type at home and endorse an opposing value such as 'power' in their workplace. This is also related to the notion of 'saliency' according to the literature. This means that although personal values serve as a 'guide' for our choices, what we think we should do might vary, to a degree, according to the situation or context.

Thirdly, in explaining these differences, it could help to think about personal values as layers, instead of trying to locate participants under a specific value type. If the typologies of consumers are considered a similar pattern across all groups is evident: Benevolence being the predominant value priority, and self-transcendence the underlying value orientation. It seems as if most participants are driven by benevolence values. This is interesting not only for the similarity across participants but also because it seems to differ from the qualitative data, which revealed 5 groups according to their main value priority areas: Food safety, food nutrition, taste, environment, and environmental-societal rights.

Given that **self-transcendence** has the highest scoring means, suggests that participants value orientations go beyond individual self-centred benefits. If this is applied to the context of organic food consumption it appears to suggest that when buying 'healthier' food alternatives such as organic food, participants might not be thinking only about themselves, but might be considering the 'health' of others such as dependent children, family and loved ones. Furthermore, when thinking about the importance of their own health, they might be thinking of the impact that their lack of health may have, not only on themselves but again on others. Most participants said that buying organic was influenced by feelings of responsibility towards dependants and that being healthy is a prerequisite to being able to care for others. These survey results confirm the qualitative results that 'health' is expressed differently by participants and could be driven by a self-transcendent underlying motivation such as benevolence, or universalism. It could be argued that there is a higher degree of refinement of meaning, and detail in personal values than the PVQ scale can capture at a general level as guiding principles in life.

Summary- Overall findings

The following section provides a discussion of the main quantitative findings.

The main value priorities

The high scoring of benevolence is in line with previous studies, suggesting that in emerging economies where culture has a collectivistic nature, benevolence values are more important (Thøgersen et al., 2015). This is also consistent with the notion that Uruguayans are considered a 'collectivistic culture' as defined by Hofstede (2001). The importance given of 'fitting into' the in-group is paramount. This means that being part of a group is important,

and part of the individual's identity. The individual's identity, their sense of self, is derived not only from their individual stories and achievements but is, more importantly, derived from their group, family and friends ps. This notion is interrelated to the idea that family and friends, as important groups are part of an individual's self-identity. As a result, the group's well-being is as important as the individual's wellbeing. This suggests that when an individual buys organic food for health reasons, they might be thinking not only of their own health but also of their family's health. It could also mean that when individuals have health concerns these might not be driven by egoistic motives as Magnusson and colleagues (2001) suggest. On the contrary, the desire to be healthy might be driven by an altruistic desire to be able to help others, be present in their children's life, avoid being a burden to close family members or friends and be reliable, independent individuals, that friends/family can count on.

This suggests that in the context of organic food within Uruguay, despite the importance given to 'health', organic food consumption is not always driven by the motivational value of 'security' as suggested by the literature. Instead, this study reveals that the importance given to 'health' can sometimes be driven by benevolence values such as: being a reliable, trustworthy friend, able to help loved ones, and able to take care of close family and friends. This aligns with the notion that being 'healthy' is almost a pre-condition to be able to express any benevolence values. It could be said that health is important in that it allows people to continue with their life responsibilities towards close others. It was generally accepted by the participants that illness prevents them from having a good quality of life and helping/caring for others. The high scoring of benevolence values on the PVQ-RR survey is in line with participants accounts during the interviews. When participants were asked **'why is health important for you?'** most of them explained being 'healthy' allows them to care for others,

to be present at important milestones in the lives of loved ones, fulfils the higher end goal of being a reliable friend that others can count on and avoid being a burden to others.

Measuring 'health' value (SEP1)

The data revealed that security (4.8) value type has a lower mean score than 'health' (5.6). In other words, participants believe that 'health' has higher relative importance than 'security' itself. This could be explained by security (SEC) being measured by six value items (2, 13, 26, 35, 50, 53) of which three measure personal security (SEP mean of 4.9) and three measure societal security (SES mean of 4.6). From these six value items, only one item (13) measures the importance of 'health', the others are related to other areas of personal and societal security. Clearly the low scores of the other security value items reduces the overall mean score. It could be seen from the data that societal security (SES, 4.6) has a lower relative importance than security personal (SEP, 4.9), which together result in a mean score of 4.8 for security (SEC).

There could be another explanation for the relatively low scoring of security value type. It could be said that the other value items measuring security (2, 26, 35, 50, 53) are quite different to the 'health' value item, and they might not be relevant in the case of organic food consumption. This also presents the question as to whether 'health' should be measured as part of 'security' or as a separate value type outside security.

Moreover, when 'health' scores are taken individually, outside of security, the value item (13, 'health') scores significantly higher (5.6) than 'security' (SEC) (4.8). Measuring 'health' on its own reveals the high relative importance placed on 'this value, being the 4th highest scoring

among all 57 items. This means that participants highly regard 'health' as a value, but not so much the other value items within security (SEC). This contradicts previous studies that suggest security is the main driver for organic food consumption (Thøgersen et al., 2015).

Given the substantial number of variables – 57 value items – having only one item to measure 'health' seems a low proportion considering that other values such as universalism nature are measured by three different items: The '*importance to care for nature*' (item 8- UNN), the '*importance to take part of activities to defend nature*' (item 21 UNN2), the importance given to '*protect the natural environment from destruction and pollution*' (item 45-UNN3). However, when it comes to measuring 'health' as a value it would be useful if the PVQ scale had other items to assist in doing so in a comparable manner to other values. It could be argued that given the contemporary importance of 'health', it is worth considering 'health' as a value type rather than as one isolated value item.

It is important to note that when the mean score of **SEP1**: 'avoidance of disease and protection of health' is considered outside of 'security' on its own, the participants do ascribe a prominent level of importance to it. This means that 'health' is considered a high-value priority, after the three benevolence values. Despite this, when the overall 'security' value is measured it does not score as high as SEP1. This could be explained by 'health' being measured by this one item. This low proportion of health-related values might underrepresent the relative importance given to 'health' if values are aggregated and measured at a higher level for example 'security'. This could explain the relatively low mean score of 'security' value, suggesting a low priority given to 'security', despite the importance ascribed to 'health' and the health benefits of organic food consumption. The lower relative

importance is given to the other value items within security societal such as SES3 (4.13) – *“importance that the country protects itself against all threats”* seems to reduce the overall mean score for ‘security’ (4.793).

It should be noted that the security scale does not measure perceived ‘food safety’, which would be more relevant for the organic food context. If these results were to be considered from a quantitative perspective alone, it is fair to say that the findings would not have provided much useful information within the context of organic food. The PVQ measures personal values as ‘guiding principles in life’ (Schwartz, 1992), and it is an excellent tool to measure personal values in general. However, when more detail is needed concerning the specific context of organic food consumption, the PVQ-RR has its limitations. This is because the concept of **value saliency** which explains that some values become more ‘salient’ in some situations than others. Therefore, it seems necessary to examine other types of data and at a deeper level of understanding within a given context – such as that of organic consumption.

Therefore, to understand the relative importance given to ‘health’ within the context of organic food consumption it is essentially the analysis of the qualitative data obtained from the interviews that is paramount.

Expressing their values (‘health’)

The qualitative results lend insight to the quantitative data that revealed that participants had different ways of expressing their ‘health’ values but also different underlying motivations to pursue ‘health’. For some participants, expressing their health values was also evident in

different areas of their lifestyle, such as exercise, food, and sleep. While others may express their health values by reducing perceived health-risk such as chemicals on food.

Similarly, it was evident from the interviews that 'health' could be pursued for many reasons other than seeking security. For instance, when participants were asked why health' was important to them, and what would be the worst consequence of not having 'health', the majority thought of the consequences for their family and loved ones. This suggests that for a good proportion of participants their pursuit of 'health' was related to the value of benevolence: *'avoiding being a burden to others, feeling responsible to look after and care for their loved ones, and family members'*. For others health was underpinned by self-direction values: *'having the ability to continue to make choices, remain independent, self-sufficient continue with their daily tasks'*. Finally, health seems to also be underpinned by hedonistic values: *'good quality of life, and a desire to enjoy life for longer'*. It can be said that 'health' as a value priority, could be underpinned by both self-centred and self-enhancement motives. This seems to contradict some researchers claims that health values are driven by solely by self-centred motives (Magnusson et al., 2003).

This could be explained by understanding the ordering of the 19 values on the Circular Motivational Continuum. For instance, most values within the 'conservation' value orientation, have a 'social focus', except personal security which has a 'personal focus'. Health is located within personal security, which would have a personal focus. But the findings from this study suggest that it also has a societal focus. Perhaps it needs reviewing that 'personal security' can also be driven by a higher-end goal with a 'social focus' as explained earlier when explaining the relationship between health and benevolence. Schwartz (2017) explains that

personal security was located within the 'personal focus' outer circle because its aims are self-centred. This argument is not in line with the findings from this study. This suggests a review as to whether 'health' should be measured separately, as a value type on its own. To support this debate, it could be argued that the understanding of 'health' at the time when the Schwartz value model was developed was probably different to the current understandings, due to an increase in health consciousness, particularly after the current health pandemic. This reinforces the need to measure not only the importance of 'health' in peoples' life today, but to what extent 'health' is a guiding principle, different elements such as mental health, physical health, and emotional wellbeing according to contemporary understandings of 'health'.

Schwartz value scale measures 'health' as part of the group of values related to 'security' value type. This value item has 13 measures, and addresses to what extent 'it is important for him/her to avoid disease and protect his/her health'. From this statement, it could be said that health is understood as the absence of disease, and protection results from health-risk avoidance. This understanding of health is different to the understanding that health is the balanced harmonious relationship between body, mind and soul. The diverse ways to express this concept of health, are, for instance, through physical exercise, healthy eating, healthy sleeping, and dealing with emotional events from the past. The notion of health has seen a shift from only considering physical health to a more holistic perspective of 'health' that would include spiritual and mental health aspects. Health was measured more holistically; it would be necessary to measure the relative importance of these other areas within health value.

Chapter 7: Analysis of findings (Discussion)

This chapter discusses the findings from both strands of research with the existing literature, which facilitates the interpretation of the participants' accounts. Therefore, this chapter synthesises, contrasts, and integrates the findings with existing literature. This discussion is structured around the research objectives to demonstrate how these have been achieved.

The main themes derived from participant's accounts were: **distrust** – concerning conventionally grown food, government, grocery retailers; **food safety concerns** – within which absence of chemical residues, and perceived health risk are important topics; **trust**: in organic food, and the organic farmer; **health consciousness** – the importance of 'health', meaning of 'healthy', perceived enhanced nutrition; **environmental awareness** – issues around environmental concerns, animal welfare, and connectedness with nature; **perceived quality**: taste, freshness.

Why do Uruguayans consume organic food?

To address this question, this section discusses the existing literature within two areas. Firstly, it begins by discussing the **meaning attached** to organic food. Secondly, it discusses **the reasons why** people consume organic food, with an emphasis on consumers' value priorities. To understand what drives organic food consumption choices, it is important to explore the attributes associated with organic, and how the meaning of these attributes relate to consumers value priorities (Aertsens et al., 2009). In other words, consumers search for certain attributes or find some attributes more appealing than others, according to their value priorities. Some researchers have looked at the perceived benefits of organic food, in

comparison with conventional food. This is important because research shows that what consumers perceive as important benefits and attributes varies (Massey, O’Cass & Otahal, 2018). This variation could result from consumers prioritising different personal values. In line with this notion, the next section discusses the meaning of organic with the attributes associated with organic food, and the chapter then moves on to discuss the other motives driving organic food consumption.

What does ‘organic’ represent for Uruguayan consumers?

This section discusses the findings about consumers’ understanding of organic food, and the main attributes associated with organic. It aims to do this by unpacking the meaning of the term ‘organic’. What does ‘organic food’ mean for organic consumers and why? What is organic associated with?

Organic is about going back to ‘natural’

Within the context of this study, and for most participants, organic food symbolises a ‘going back to ‘natural’ in every sense of the word. Natural as synonymous with unadulterated, and pure; natural as authentic in taste and appearance; and natural as provided by nature, in its original condition. This perception is related to the notion of – free-from chemicals – Consumers associate ‘natural’ food with ‘healthy’ food because it the absence of chemicals and based on this belief, they perceive organic as environmentally friendly.

Nevertheless, there is still confusion among consumers about the differences between organic and other terms used such as ‘natural’, ‘green’, ecological’, ‘environmental’, ‘free trade’, ‘sustainable’, or ‘free-range’, which confirms previous findings (Massey, O’Cass &

Otahal, 2018; Aertsens et al., 2009; Harper & Makatouni, 2002). However, everyone was aware of the main precondition for organically grown food, which is not using synthetic agrochemicals and caring for the environment. This might be because the attribute of 'chemical-free' was the most important in this study, it is the essence of what organic means for Uruguayan consumers.

The research findings concur with previous studies (Massey et al., 2018) suggesting that there is not a universally 'official' definition of the term 'organic', and there is a need to further explore the understanding of 'organic' (Tago et al., 2014; Harper & Makatouni, 2002). The existing literature suggests there is a need to consider standardisation of the concept of 'organic', which seems to vary across countries, depending on certification bodies and contextual background (Hammerling et al., 2015; Yiridoe et al., 2005). This becomes evident when participants described the certification method used in Uruguay as 'participative certification'. This is interesting, and there is limited research that has looked at this type of organic certification. Such 'participative certification' means that local stakeholders are actively involved in assessment and certification, which is carried out based on mutual trust, exchange of knowledge and networking. Each certification involves the participation of one farmer, one consumer, one technician. Involving the consumer is a unique characteristic, which might reflect the level of trust in the process and the transparency in certification.

Participants accounts revealed that despite holding different understandings of the term 'organic' there was a general agreement on the notion that organic is free-from agrochemicals. However, some consumers understand organic as being free from all other 'contaminants' such as additives, preservatives, in addition to pesticides and fertilisers. Some

consumers have a mistaken belief that organic farming uses ‘no pesticides’ of any kind. While it is true that organic farmers stay avoid pesticides, specifically synthetic ones, it is also true that some pesticides are classed as natural or safe and can be used (FAO, 1998). Most participants would accept the use of ‘natural’ pesticides and fertilisers, as long as they are not harmful to health. Interestingly, there was a divergence in opinions about the use of GMOs.

Consuming organic means being responsible for my own health, but also the health of others and the planet. ‘Responsible’ means making conscious choices (self-direction) to reduce risk from pesticide residues on food and in the soil, to eat healthy, living food full of nutrients, and to reduce our negative impact on the environment. For a small number of consumers, organic means a life philosophy based on the values of trustworthiness, frugality, caring for others, protecting nature, feeling connected with nature.

A wider understanding of organic food

The findings revealed that about two-thirds of respondents, hold a wider understanding of the term ‘organic’, which goes beyond the absence of chemical pesticides and their related attributes. Organic holds a more abstract meaning, representing going back to nature, back to the ‘original’ sources of food, knowing the food journey from farm to table, connecting with nature, and the organic farmer as a source of trust and peace of mind. Organic also represents the values that organic farmers endorse themselves: respect for nature, applying farming methods in harmony with the environment, caring for the soil, natural resources. This is in line with the literature and the notion of ‘agroecology’ discussed by Gazzano and Perazzoli (2017). As a result, organic farming viewed from an agroecological perspective adopts a holistic farming approach that goes beyond the avoidance of chemical use (Restrepo,

2000). Agroecology is also growing in popularity within some European countries (Migliorini et al., 2018). Despite being an incipient concept in Europe, various respondents from this study sample were already aware of the meaning of 'agroecology'. It was interesting to see that about one-third understood organic farming from this wider 'agroecological' perspective,— knowing where food comes from, this sense of connectedness and closeness to food is embedded in the meaning of organic food among ROFC in Uruguay.

Lack of trust in conventionally grown food and avoidance of chemicals

The findings revealed an unexpected recurrent theme, mentioned by almost all the participants (37), that has a major influence on organic food consumption. The notion of trust was an important theme that influences organic food consumption. Here, the following understanding of *trust* in food consumption underpins the analysis: "an expression of the alternative to have to make an individual decision, and just assume that food is safe" (Green et al., 2018). From this, trust leads to a notion of 'safety'.

Most participants shared this notion of a 'lack of trust' in conventionally grown food, conventional farming, the government's duty of care for the population, natural resources, and the environment. The literature, however, does not emphasize a 'lack of trust' as significantly contributing to why people buy organic food. In line with this, recent literature reviews concluded that there is not enough research on how consumer trust might influence purchase decisions within the context of green products (Anisimova, 2019; Nuttavuthisit, & Thøgersen, 2017). It is not the aim of this study to discuss this relationship, nevertheless, the data revealed some significant findings about trust, or rather a lack of trust, and organic food consumption. This is explored below.

Most participants started buying organic food due to their 'lack of trust' in conventionally grown food, to reduce their 'perceived health risk'. This seems consistent with previous findings, particularly those carried out in emerging economies (Nguyen et al., 2019) such as China (Thøgersen et al., 2015), Thailand (Nuttavuthisit, & Thøgersen, 2017), Vietnam (Mergenthaler et al., 2009) and Brazil (Eberle et al., 2019; Dias et al., 2015). It could be argued that developing countries share similar contextual factors that help produce such consistent findings. It should, however, be clarified that the feeling of distrust was not only stated about conventionally grown food but also with large food manufacturers, the government and its approach to capitalism, and government policy, or ability, to protect natural resources. This also aligns with previous studies, that reveal Americans have become more sceptical about various organisations – including the government (Ekici, 2004).

The data analysis revealed some negative connotations associated with conventionally grown food. It appears that such food is closely associated with the following concepts: 'antinatural', 'artificial', 'dead', 'highly toxic', 'with chemicals', 'mass produced', 'highly industrialised'. Firstly, this connotation appeared to be driven by the belief that conventionally grown food is sprayed with synthetic chemicals, such as synthetic pesticides, fertilisers, and other additives, which are believed to be toxic, and therefore harmful to human health. Most participants seemed to associate conventionally grown food with increased health risks, and consequently bought organic food because it is believed to have no chemical residues, therefore, it is perceived as 'healthier' and 'more natural'. This level of distrust is similar to Sirieix et al.'s (2011) research in China, which revealed that avoidance of pesticides is one of the main reasons to buy organic food, given the lack of trust in conventionally grown food. However, their study did not explore the feeling of 'distrust' in much depth, how it relates to

organic food consumption and whether this might encourage, or discourage, organic food consumption.

Distrust in rural capitalism and government

Distrust in conventionally grown food, extends to the government health and safety policy. This is similar to issues raised elsewhere (Pham et al., 2018; Nuttavuthisit, & Thøgersen, 2017; Ekici, 2004). However, here, distrust extends to large grocery retailers, large corporations, and foreign multinational companies in the pesticide industry such as Monsanto, or BASF. In recent years, foreign investment in agribusiness has fuelled sector growth. In this propitious context, the agribusiness sector represented 79% of total exports in 2017 (Uruguay XXI, 2018), resulting in an annual increment of 4.5% of GDP (Alonso, 2019). The feelings of distrust could be rooted in the belief that conventionally grown food is produced by farmers that prioritise profits over individuals' health, environmental impact, and animal welfare, overlooking wider community benefits. This indicates that conventionally grown food is strongly associated with food commoditisation, and modern 'capitalism', large retailers, multinational corporations that focus on private ownership and profitability. These findings confirm Shaw et al.'s (2005, cited in Weeden 2011), work, which claims that 'capitalism' has negative connotations among environmentally conscious participants –who revealed their avoidance of large grocery retailers and multinationals. Patron-Cano's (2015) argument aligns with this as they state that sustainable farming should not follow capitalist standards of mass production and industrialisation, but rather develop sustainably grown food, such as organic. This could explain why participants prefer to buy organic food directly from small local farmers instead of larger grocery retailers. This negative attitude towards larger, or multinational, companies have been studied by researchers, but within other areas of consumption such as responsible

tourism (Weeden, 2011 and Shaw et al., 2005). Distrust has not yet been explored in any depth within organic food consumption.

The distrust in the government could relate to the common belief that the government has prioritised the country's economic growth, adopting a short-term perspective, and overlooking the environment and conservation of resources (Oyhantabal & Narbondo, 2008). This negative perception about public policy could have been fuelled by the government's privatisation policy, through which it sold most public businesses to foreign capital investors, and multinational companies (Alonso, 2019). A few of the multinational agribusiness companies with operating assets in the country are Monsanto, Bayer and BASF producing fertilisers, and Cargill, Dreyfus, ADM and Bunge in the commercialisation of grains (Oyhantcabal & Narbondo, 2008).

Food safety concerns

The literature on food safety applies to a wider range of contexts beyond organic food consumption. It refers to the perceived risks of food containing toxic substances such as pesticides and other contaminants (Gandioli, 2020; Carcamo, 2020). The literature suggests that perceived health risks are often different to objective health risks (Reisch et al., 2013). Nevertheless, it is important to consider that many participants did not feel safe with the control measures, and 'safety standards' used by the government when making recommendations about the 'maximum amount' of agro-chemicals that are deemed 'safe' and can be sprayed onto conventionally grown food.

Previous research has revealed that food safety concerns about organic food quality and its safety also exist (Naspetti & Zanolli, 2009). However, this study's findings suggest that

participants have more significant safety concerns about conventionally grown food, and generally trust organic food. This supports Lian and Yoong's (2019) research conducted in Malaysia. They found that food safety concerns about conventional food were one of the reasons for the growing demand for organic food. This might be due to similar contexts within developing countries, where it appears that consumers are more sceptical about conventional farming methods, such as intensive agriculture (Gil et al., 2001, cited in Lian & Yoong, 2019). This could be translated into consumers' negative connotations about agro-chemicals, their lack of trust in the food industry, government policy and food retailers.

The literature agrees with participants' awareness of the lack of safety control procedures to measure chemical residues (Carcamo, 2020; Gandioli, 2020). Carcamo (2020) also suggests that there should be more control, and authorities should provide more information on whether they carry out analysis to establish the amount of chemical residue that is safe. A study indicates that only 35% of developing countries have official regulations about the use of pesticides on food (Carrington, 2017). Carcamo (2020) also again claims that, in Uruguay, there are over 80 dangerous pesticides that are deemed as 'safe' and authorised for use. It seems that participants do not believe in the food safety regulations. Therefore, many suggest that 'we don't know what is in our food'; 'we don't know what we are eating'. It is in this scenario of uncertainty, and distrust that most participants prefer to buy organic food, to inhibit exposure to agro-chemicals.

This study suggests an important sense of distrust among participants about conventionally grown food and government health, and safety policy. The findings revealed that this distrust increases perceived health risk.

Perceived health risk

The data revealed an elevated perceived health risk from the number of agro-chemicals used by conventional farming (Gandioli, 2020; Carcamo, 2020; Alonso et al., 2019; DIEA-MGAP, 2018). These health concerns seem to be justified given the significant recent increase in agro-chemical importation, as shown in the table 22 below as per data from MGAP data cited in Gandioli (2020), the number of fertilisers imported during the period 2000-2001 was 300,000 tons, and increased to 800,000 tons between the 2014-2015 showing more than doubling. This increase responds to the growth of transgenic soy production, which is now the main crop harvested in Uruguay (Presidencia, 2019 Oyhantabal & Narbono, 2008;). The table below also shows an important expansion of the area used for soybean production increasing from 12,000 to 1,224,000 s (IFOAM, 2019; Alonso et al., 2019).

Table 22: Evolution of agricultural area, milk production and importation of fertilisers in Uruguay

Type	Sugar harvest 2000-2001	Sugar harvest 2014-2015
Rainfed crops (ha)	341000	1500000
Soybean (ha)	12000	1334000
Forestry (ha)	58000	1800000
Industrialized milk (thousands of liters)	1047	2927
Fertilizer imports (ton)	300000	800000

Source: DIEA, 2015 cited in Alonso et al., 2019

Similarly, the table 23 below (Gandioli, 2020) presents the annual importation of pesticides used in conventional farming, which quadrupled between 2000 and 2010, peaking in 2014 at 25,845 tons. Despite, seeing a reduction in the quantity of pesticides imported into the country, it could be argued that consumers perceived health risk remains relatively high.

Table 23::Annual importation in US\$ of herbicides, fungicides, insecticides, and others

IMPORTACIONES DE PLAGUICIDAS, EN TONELADAS DE ACTIVO					
	HERBICIDAS	INSECTICIDAS	FUNGICIDAS	OTROS	TOTAL
1990	S/D	S/D	S/D	S/D	1.762
2000	2.325	182	713	430	3.650
2010	11.880	1.085	1.151	865	14.981
2014	19.058	1.718	1.409	3.660	25.845
2015	12.085	468	1.083	2.502	16.139
2016	11.635	485	869	8.526	21.516
2017	10.200	407	751	4	11.363
2018	12.488	371	1.003	1.951	15.814
2019	10.629	289	870	37	11.827

Source: Adapted by RAPAL Uruguay based on MGAP data cited in Gandioli, 2020

Other sources recognise that the amount of pesticide used has reduced since the introduction of new technologies that enable more efficient crop spraying practices (Presidencia, 2019), but participants were not aware of this, helping perhaps explain perceived health risks from pesticide residue. Perhaps such information should be communicated more openly among the population to regain trust in government public policy.

To understand the level of participants' distrust it is important to have more information about the use of agro-chemicals, the issue of water contamination and the perception of rural capitalism in Uruguay. It is also important to understand the level of trust in public institutions

– such as the government or certification bodies – and the food system from producers to food retailers (Ekici, 2004).

The issue of water contamination

Many participants explained they feel buying vegetables that are not organic is unsafe, due to the risk of pesticide contamination in the water used in conventional farming. One of the main environmental challenges that Uruguay faces is the issue of industrial production waste being released into water resources, causing elevated levels of water contamination (Piaggio, 2013). This issue is a common concern among Uruguayans (Alonso et al., 2019). As a result, and despite the official information from the government reassuring the population that tap water is drinkable, most households choose to avoid it. As Carriquiry and Machado (2020) identify it is widespread for most households to boil water before consumption, install expensive filters or buy bottled water. This situation may have raised awareness of the negative effects and levels of agro-chemical residues. This appears to have fuelled the discontent and distrust with the government.

The way participants expressed themselves revealed an underlying sense of ‘fear’ when eating conventionally grown food, which the literature also refers to as ‘perceived health safety risk’. This is in line with Williams and Hammitt (2001) who said that ‘perceived health risk’ could be created by several factors. Based on this it could be argued that given the current environmental situation this perceived health risk could be intensified.

Trust in organic

Several studies have found scepticism about organic food claims among consumers who do not always trust organic credentials, organic labels, or organic benefits (Nuttavuthisit &

Thøgersen, 2017, Gan et al., 2016; Zakowska-Biemans, 2011); Chryssohoidis, & Krystallis, 2005). Most of the literature on 'trust' addresses the lack of trust in organic food. For instance, the literature mentions one of the main barriers for organic food consumption is lack of trust in organic certification (Krystallis et al., 2008; Hughner, et al., 2007). However, this study's findings contradict this. The differences may arise due to a contextual issue – where different actors are involved in the certification process, and/or consumer's differences.'

Participative Certification process

Two factors might explain the different results within this study. First, the close farmer-consumer relationship, and second, the nature of the participatory certification process. Given consumer involvement in every aspect this—indicates the level of involvement that consumers are willing to undertake and the trust that the certifying organisation places in them. They act as partners with a common goal. This also shows that the certification process is based on values of mutual respect, trustworthiness and transparency, which reveals consumers level of commitment, involvement, and trust with organic food. This seems to explain why Uruguayans exhibit high levels of trust in organic as a concept and trust in the certification process. A counter-argument to this, could be that consumers seek to be involved as a control strategy or to overcome existing feelings of distrust, uncertainty, and perceived risk that are prevalent among organic consumers, as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, consumers involvement in the certification process seems to have positive results, and may offer an alternate approach in other locations, particularly in developing countries.

The role of the farmer and the consumer-farmer relationship

The organic farmer has a key role in fostering trust in organic food, specifically among their regular consumers. Developing a good consumer-farmer relationship is something that consumers value. According to a recent study, that conducted interviews with producer organisations in the vegetable sector in Uruguay, organic farmers also appreciate their regular contact with consumers. They are not willing to lose their direct consumers contact, in exchange for outsourcing their home delivery of organic boxes. According to Kormelinck and colleagues (2019) farmers wanted to “sell directly to nearby markets with direct contact with the consumer” (p.71). They are willing to maintain this even though it leads to more time-consuming logistic operations. Their research was able to reveal the farmer’s perspective on this relationship. The following extract from the literature encapsulates the spirit of organic farmers in Uruguay:

“Even though we make long days, and have little rest, we don’t want to outsource the delivery of bags to consumers to an intermediary. We would then lose our friendship and connection with the consumers” (Kormelinck et al., 2019, p.71).

The current study confirms such findings, the consumer-farmer relationship is a two-way partnership based on mutual trust, commitment, and familiarity. It could be said that this idea of ‘knowing’ the farmer is a source of ‘trust’ and reduced perceived risk. Similar comments are made by Papaoikonomou and Ginieis (2017), who refer to this as ‘putting the farmer’s face on food’, suggesting that organic consumers find it easier to trust the organic farmer because they ‘know’ them and they have regular contact with them. Although this might be difficult to ascertain, what is worth noting is that having regular contact with the farmer generally reinforces the trust in organic food.

This study contributes to previous literature by revealing a further aspect of the consumer-farmer relationship that may translate into feelings of trust towards organic: consumers identify themselves with the values endorsed by organic farmers. These are the values of respect for nature, simplicity, frugality, trustworthiness, and honesty. It could be said that sharing similar values with other individuals encourages a sense of nearness, which in turn is translated to feeling closer to the source of food. This is explained further in the following chapter as part of the contribution.

Values endorsed by organic farmers

The organic farmer plays a key role in developing a long-term relationship with their customers. Kormelinck et al's (2019) shows that consumers are not the only ones interested in maintaining the farmer-consumer relationship. This reinforces, this study's findings and confirms that organic farmers and consumers ascribe high importance to universalism and benevolence. The values endorsed by organic farmers are something that regular organic consumers appreciate, and it seems like in any healthy relationship, there is a two-way mutual commitment and trust. It could be said that it is this relationship that represents not only a source of trust but also a 'tangible' element necessary for all credence products, allowing consumers to trust organic food.

The farmer-consumer relationship appears to facilitate the idea of being closer to the 'roots' of production, where roots are synonymous with 'origins', 'source' of food. This closeness to the food source also facilitates the notion of feeling part of the organic farming process. This agrees with the notion of having a closer journey from 'plough to plate', 'farm to table' or 'farm to fork' (European Union, 2020). This notion is not only about knowing the food source,

the food journey, but also reinforces the trust and reliability of organic food, in particular organic vegetables bought directly from the farmer are strongly associated with 'fresh'. And hence it seems to also increase perceived food safety.

Support for local small organic farmers

The data revealed that another important reason to buy organic food is to offer support to local small organic farmers. This concurs with several studies (Sirieix et al., 2011; Rodriguez, 2008). The context of industrialised agriculture is very different, where the scale of production prevents consumers from knowing the farmer, establishing a relationship with the producer, or visiting the farm.

From the findings it could be said that an important antecedent of trust within organic food, is the relationship with local organic farmer.. This level of trust in the organic farmer was more important than having a tangible organic label to certify the organic process. Participants explained that knowing 'where their food comes from', or 'who has cared for the plants' gives them a 'peace of mind' that no certification label could achieve. Previous studies have also identified consumers trust in local farmers and prefer to have transparent exchanges by dealing directly with the farmer (Papaoikonomou, & Ginieis Matias, 2017). As this present study revealed, participants were willing to travel long distances to buy organic food from a particular organic farmer they trusted. This suggests that organic consumers prioritise the values of transparency, and authenticity is more important than the convenience of buying from a nearby supermarket. Most participants explained that they believe in the significant role they play for the economy of a country with a longstanding farming tradition.

These findings agree partially with Hemmerling and colleagues (2015), who claim that trust in the certification process is an important element of organic consumption. They suggest that lack of trust in certification processes could result from a lack of knowledge or misunderstanding about what organic stands for, and in the certification process itself. The study's findings are slightly different in that participants revealed a high degree of trust on organic, and their trust is not based on the organic label, or the certification process. Instead, their trust is derived from what organic represents and the values associated with organic food, which are endorsed by the organic farmer. The main sources of trust are producer-consumer relationship, allowing shared personal values, avoidance of agro-chemicals, respect for nature, following a frugal lifestyle, care for the well-being of others' over personal benefit or economic profits.

These findings seem to contradict many studies that suggest organic certification is necessary (Thøgersen et al., 2019; Hemmerling et al., 2015; Hamzaoui and Zahaf, 2008, 2009). Here, participants trust organic food is not based on the certification labels but on the relationship with the organic farmer, developed through buying from them directly. However, this could present some issues in the future if demand for organic products increases, and it is not possible to buy directly from the farmer. In this case, the following question arises: would the consumer be able to trust organic food sold in supermarkets? This requires further research. However, what is important to note is that within the context of Uruguay, participants trust organic food in general but if they have the choice, they prefer to buy directly from the organic farmer for the reasons explained..

Consumer's health consciousness

The interview data revealed a prominent level of health consciousness among most participants. This study adopts the understanding of health consciousness presented by Iversen and Kraft (2006) as the tendency to focus the attention on one's health'. In line with this, Aertsens (2009) suggests that health consciousness is related to value 'security'.

The notion of health has changed over time (Hong, 2009), and various scales have evolved recently, moving from those being focused on physical health to a wider understanding, including not only physical but also emotional, and mental wellbeing (Jayanti and Burns, 1998; Gould, 1990). The literature suggests that organic consumers are mainly driven by 'health' concerns and by the 'health' benefits of organic food (Kereklas et al., 2014; Magnusson et al., 2001; Zanolli et al., 2004). As Aertsens (2009) points out, many authors claim that the health concerns that drive organic food consumption are underpinned by an egoistic motivation. However, the richness of the qualitative data study revealed that this is not always the case. On the contrary, the results confirm that organic consumption could be driven by both egoistic and altruistic motives. This is in line with some previous studies (Kereklas et al., 2014) which suggest that egoistic (e.g., personal health) and altruistic motivation (e.g., environmental concern) influence organic consumption.

The depth obtained from the data allowed exploration not only the value priorities but also the underlying value orientation of organic food consumers, and why health is important. 'Health' is the main reason for buying organic, but this is an incomplete picture, and potentially superficial understanding of why consumers buy organic food. From the analysis, it became evident that most participants associate organic with chemical-free,

and as a result, they believe that organic is a 'healthier' alternative to conventional food. This aligns with the literature suggesting that health benefits and the healthfulness of organic food are the main reasons why organic food is preferred (Singhal, 2017). However, most previous studies adopted a quantitative approach and did not explore consumers understanding of 'health' nor why it is important, and how it relates to their personal values.

Therefore, to understand organic food consumption this study explored the meaning of each of the attributes associated with organic food. While exploring the meaning of 'healthy', it was necessary to explore why health is an important goal for most consumers, and how it links to their value orientations. The analysis of why participants place health among their top value priorities revealed this is driven by different reasons, and is related to consumers underlying motivations. This confirmed the notion that participants value priorities can be expressed differently through different behaviours. For some participants, buying organic food is driven by its perceived health benefits, such as enhanced nutrients, and for others it is driven by a lack of trust, risk reduction, avoidance of illness by having fewer contaminants.

Environmental concern

More than half of the participants were concerned about environmental issues such as contamination of natural resources, lack of drinking water due to contamination and climate change. The data shows that environmental concerns are linked to universalism as a value. Highlighting the importance of caring for nature, animals, and other people on the planet. However, from the data, it cannot be said that 'universalism' values are the leading motivational goal but are rather a secondary goal of organic consumption for those who mentioned environmental concerns.

The data revealed some inconsistencies between participants concern for the environment and this being translated into behaviour. This confirms the value-behaviour gap mentioned in the literature (Hoppe et al., 2013). Only a minority of consumers said carrying out some sort of pro-environmental behaviour that would reflect their environmental concern. The most common behaviour was recycling and growing their own fruit and vegetables. Most believe that their behaviour would not make a significant change and expect government action to see such an impact. They also mentioned barriers such as no recycling infrastructure or lack of government support for recycling or reducing packaging.

Among those participants that mentioned the environment as being one of the reasons for buying organic, health benefits or food safety were more important to them. Among the thirty-eight participants, there was not one that would say that the environment was the leading reason to buy organic. This could suggest an opportunity to educate the population about the effects of farming on the environment, particularly as some participants mentioned that they do not believe they could make a difference, compared to other bigger countries with more production and pollution than Uruguay.

Different approaches to organic consumption

An important finding is that organic consumers seem to have different perspectives on organic consumption based on their beliefs around health, and what organic chemical free means for them. One approach is predicated on the positive beliefs associated with the absence of chemicals, such as food being more nutritionally superior. The other approach is based on the negative beliefs, and perceived health risks associated with agro-chemicals. The

third approach to organic adopts a holistic view of health, if it is good for me and others, it should be good for the environment too.

The different consumer approaches revealed by the qualitative findings could be summarized as A) obtaining health benefits from organic, such as from enhanced nutritional value, as part of a wider healthy lifestyle; B) reducing any perceived health risk by avoiding chemical residues, which reinforces food safety, C) a holistic approach where individual's health goes hand-in-hand with the health of the environment, based on connectedness with nature.

The first perspective seems to approach organic food consumption with a positive outlook considering the benefits, from a 'less is more' mindset. This could be translated into 'the less contaminants, the more perceived benefits' such as the nutritional value of organic. This more 'positive' perspective is based on the belief that because organic food has no chemicals it has more nutrients, therefore more health benefits. As a result, it is believed that plants growing in 'non-organic' (conventionally managed) soil would lack some natural nutrients. This perspective seems to relate 'chemical-free' with enhanced nutritional value, and this represents the health benefit. This notion also links with the idea that organic food is 'alive' with 'energy', which is explored in more depth later. It should be noted that participants focusing on enhanced nutrients prefer organic food generally as part of a wider healthy lifestyle that not only focuses on healthy eating but also exercising, fitness, amount of sleep, and overall emotional wellbeing. The underlying value orientation seems to be a desire to have a good quality of life, to enjoy life to the maximum, to be able to continue their daily activities. It could be said that despite health being important the motivation is 'egoistic'.

The second seems to adopt a more 'negative' perspective and is also derived from the belief that chemical-free is healthy. However, when unveiling why it was perceived as 'healthy', and

the meaning of 'healthy' it becomes evident that organic food consumption is about risk avoidance, not only of agro-chemicals but particularly avoidance of ill-health. An important distinction between these two different approaches is that there is an underlying sense of 'fear' that drives the consumption of organic food. This is based on the belief that agro-chemicals are toxic, and therefore harmful to health. Participants focusing on 'less contaminants' tend to have had previous ill-health, or life-threatening events or a debilitating condition, that made them aware of the importance of staying healthy. There is an underpinned 'fear' of becoming ill. The consequences of being ill would impact others whom they are mostly concerned about. They seem to have a sense of responsibility towards other loved ones. It could be said that despite health being important, the motivation is 'altruistic'.

The third perspective adopts a 'holistic' view of the world. Therefore, consumers with this perspective buy organic not only for personal health benefits but also for others and the health of the planet. This supports the argument presented by McEachern and McClean (2002) that organic consumption is one alternative to concerns about animal welfare, chemical residues, and the environment. Consumers believe that humans, the planet, and animals are interconnected. Therefore, negative impact or harm in one area would negatively impact the others. From this, it could be interpreted that a seemingly altruistic behaviour, such as recycling, may have a more egoistic motivation. This is a significant finding which could suggest that environmental behaviour may also have some 'egoistic' motivation to avoid environmental damage because of the consequences to human health. This approach is generally seen in participants that have been regular organic food consumers for several years.

Enhanced nutrition and its impact on health

During the interviews, it was difficult to discuss organic food consumption without participants talking about their wider food choices, food diet, and nutrition was also a recurring issue, particularly among those that are driven by health benefits. There was a belief that food choices influence our health. Some participants are more passionate about this because they have had past experiences where they managed to improve an area of their health by changing their diet. For instance, many participants have allergies and respiratory illnesses that improved after changing their diet and eating organic as part of a more natural lifestyle. The most extreme case was Adela who needed spine surgery, she believes the inflammation was caused by a diet high in carbohydrates and gluten. After changing her diet to gluten- and dairy-free, and organic her condition improved to the point that surgery was no longer needed. Several consumers also understood that organic is healthy because it brings enhanced nutritional benefits or positive impact on health.

Several consumers explained that nutrition is like 'fuel' for our bodies. Participants believe that the type of food and the quality of food with which we feed our bodies determines its longevity. Therefore, it becomes evident that participants elaborate that the importance of nutritious food is linked to having a long and healthy life.

However, the findings also revealed that consumers understandings of health are not only related to physical health but emotional and mental wellbeing. The analysis shows that the participant's understanding of health is closer to 'wellnesses or 'wellbeing' than to the absence of physical alignment. Health is intricately linked to good quality of life, and the desired goal is not simply to increase longevity but with a good quality of life.

Responsibility towards myself, others, and the planet.

A novel finding suggests that consuming organic could be a way of expressing perceived responsibility not only towards personal health, but also the health of others – particularly loved ones, and health of the planet. In other words, the sense of responsibility to look after oneself could be extended being the individual. This confirms Peattie's (2010) observation that consumer responsibility is an area that has been under-researched. The perceived responsibility towards the planet was more evident among the following two segments: 'holistic green' and 'politized green' consumers. These give further insight to previous studies suggesting that health concerns drive organic consumption. While this could be true at a superficial level, the findings revealed that at a deeper level the main driver is the responsibility towards close others and the planet. Therefore, health concerns can be driven by benevolence and universalism values, which then drive organic consumption. This sense of responsibility is also related to the ability and freedom to make our own choices, which relates to values of 'self-direction'. This confirms previous studies that organic consumption is driven by benevolence, but also provides new insight about benevolence, and self-direction values.

Conscious eating — control own choices

This idea of perceived 'responsibility' was also expressed in terms of responsible eating or conscious eating. The idea of conscious eating was first suggested by Suzanne Powell the idea of 'responsible consumer' also relates to being conscious of the impact of our choices. Given the importance ascribed to nutrition among participants consumers discussed other relevant concepts such as conscious eating, responsible eating, and mindful eating. These were all mentioned by different participants, and organic food consumption is one element of this

wider habit. From the data, it could be said that this approach to eating more mindfully is related to a sense of responsibility towards one's health. It is related to the belief that we are in control of our health, and that choosing to eat healthily is responsible. This is based on the belief that mindful eating facilitates digestion and helps the body to absorb more nutrients while eating. This seems to be underpinned by self-direction values, which expresses autonomy of action, meaning that individuals can choose their own goals and purposes.

Meaning of attributes associated with organic food

The findings revealed five attributes that consumers ascribe to the meaning of organic: 'natural' (clean, pure), 'healthy', 'living food', 'authentic' and as a 'life philosophy'.

The table 24 below aims to present the meaning of organic food, by unpacking the most common beliefs about what 'organic' stands for:

Table 24: Most common beliefs surrounding the term 'organic' in frequency order

Perceived attributes /benefits about organic food
Organic food is chemical-free (free from chemicals such as pesticides, fertilisers, additives) so it is 'safe'
Organic food is natural
Organic food is healthier
Organic food has more nutritional value
Organic is good for the environment
Organic food is 'living' food
Organic food tastes better
Organic food is Pure
Organic food is fresh but has shorter durability (because it has no preservatives)

Organic as 'healthy'

For participants the absence of chemicals organic was perceived as 'healthy'. The qualitative analysis suggests that respondents have different interpretations of what 'healthy' means and distinct reasons why 'healthy' or 'health' is important to them. This is in line with the argument presented by Sagiv and colleagues (2017), that despite most of Schwartz's 10 value types receiving similar significance across cultures, there were some values, such as 'healthy' or 'spiritual life' that hold different connotations across countries. These scholars suggested that research should look at value types that may have a different understanding in different cultures. Similarly, Shahriari, and colleagues (2019) suggest that organic food research overlooks the underlying motivation for the pursuit of health and understanding the meaning of health within a given context. They believe that food values and meanings could vary according to distinct cultural contexts.

With this in mind and considering that there is no research on organic food consumption that has looked at the meaning of 'healthy', or 'healthfulness' or which 'health benefits' consumers search for and why it is important to explore the meaning of "health' and why being 'healthy' was important for the participants of this research.

From the analysis, it was evident that consumers perceived organic as 'healthy' based on the belief that organic has enhanced nutritional value, resulting in health benefits. The idea is that organic has more nutrients because it uses less contaminants that reduce the level of soil nutrients. It is also believed that most participants hold that nutrition impacts health.

Organic as 'living food' with energy from its superior nutritional value

Some consumers, particularly those that are mainly motivated by the health benefits of organic food, believe that organic food is nutritionally enhanced compared to conventional food. This is in line with the argument of Arppe and colleagues, (2011). However, there has been contradictory information about this. Until recently there was no scientific research to identify the increased nutrient value of organic. However, evidence from a recent study revealed that organic food has significantly higher levels of antioxidants, up to 69% than conventionally grown food, less toxic metals, and pesticides (Barański et al., 2014). These findings contradict previous claims that there is not enough evidence to demonstrate organic is nutritionally superior.

However, not many studies have tried to understand how consumers arrive at this belief. The analysis showed that this seems to be derived from the idea that agro-chemicals reduce the nutritional value of the soil. Therefore, soil that has not been exposed to the damaging toxicity of agro-chemicals would not have the necessary nutrients that plants need to absorb to grow healthy. Consumers seem to relate the idea of nutrients with necessary 'ingredients' for any living entity. This seems to be elaborated from the idea that if individuals need food with good nutrients to stay alive, plants also need the same. This is close to the notion of nature provides everything that we need.

Based on the above, participants referred to organic as more nutritious because it is 'alive' in the sense that it emanates its own energy and has healing qualities based on its nutritional properties. This has not been explored much by previous studies. It is interesting to note that, this notion of organic being 'alive' is linked to the belief that it has enhanced nutritional value

and is underpinned by a spiritual holistic inter-connection between human-planet-animals (Reisch et al., 2013; Schösler, 2013) and the spiritual dimension.

The link between the absence of chemical residues and health

The qualitative analysis revealed that the perceived healthiness of organic is based on the absence of chemicals. Without this characteristic, consumers would not perceive it healthy, or natural, or safe. Previous studies have suggested that health benefits, and health concerns are important motivational goals. However, it is important to understand why consumers have health concerns. It is evident from the findings that the perceived health risk of pesticide residue is the main trigger of health concerns, and the adoption of avoidance and prevention strategies.

The belief that organic is 'chemical-free' or what others would refer to as 'free from agrotoxics' or 'free from synthetic chemicals' is an important driver for organic consumption. The avoidance of agro-chemicals seems to be result of the negative connotation of the word 'agro-chemicals', which participants referred to also as 'synthetic' chemicals. Interestingly, the negative connotation of this concept was expressed by participants referring to agro-chemicals as 'poison', and 'toxic'.

It is also worth noting that 'chemical free' has different connotations for participants and is linked to different motivational goals. Consumers derive meaning from this attribute, depending on what is important for them, in other words depending on their value priorities. Therefore, it is important to understand consumers personal values. Most of previous research has looked at 'motives' for buying organic food using quantitative methods and

ranking the importance given to a range of factors. However, there was no understanding about why these were ranked in that order, and how they link to their underlying motivation. For instance, in a study done by Aertsens and colleagues (2011) where participants were given a list of reasons for them to rank in importance and the two main motives were 'without pesticides', and 'health'. The findings from the current study are similar in that most consumers highly value the absence of chemical residues, to the extent that they would not consider buying organic food if they suspect it has agro-chemicals. However, this study suggests that absence of chemicals and health are interrelated, instead of being two different motives.

From this it could be said that there are two motivational goals in relation to health that led to two different approaches: 1) to obtain 'health benefits' such as perceived enhanced nutritional value, and superior quality as a result of not having chemicals and/or 2) to reduce perceived health risk of chemical residues, by adopting avoidance strategies and consequently feeling 'safe'. This is related to the notion of food safety, also mentioned by the literature.

From the above it follows that the underlying motivational goals for organic food consumption are health benefits and health risk reduction, similar to the literature 'health concerns' or 'food safety concerns. These findings are different from previous studies that view the 'absence of chemicals' as a standalone motive for buying organic food. This study suggests that 'absence of chemicals' is the main attribute associated with organic. For instance, research carried out by Aertsens, and colleagues (2011) have found that: 'without pesticide' was the main motive to buy organic food, followed by 'better for the environment' and 'healthier'. Previous studies that found that 'pesticide residue' is important have

overlooked to look at a deeper level the reasons why 'without pesticide' seems to score high among organic consumers.

Perceived enhanced quality

The qualitative data revealed that organic food is perceived as superior quality for most participants, and this is in line with the literature (Aertsens et al., 2011). Perceived quality is understood as the belief that a product has superior characteristics (Torjusen, Lieblein, Wandel and Francis, 2001). From the analysis of the data, it become apparent that consumers hold a close relationship between sensory attributes such as taste, or visual appearance and perceived quality. The belief that organic has higher nutritional value is also associated with superior quality. Some consumers associated the natural credentials (understood as without chemicals) with perceived enhanced nutritional value, and these attributes are strongly associated with perceived quality.

From the analysis of participants account it was evident that when quality was a reason for buying organic, the deeper analysis of the data revealed that consumers understand quality as enhanced taste, being 'natural' with no chemicals, with enhanced nutritional value. All these attributes signify quality for participants of this study.

The notion of enhanced perceived quality – seems to be related to 'Hedonism' value types in the case of taste, otherwise it is linked to 'health' values such as health benefits derived from more nutrients.

Organic as life philosophy

Organic is seen by many as part of a more natural way of living, part of a life philosophy (Von Essen, 2019). In this context organic food – as a life philosophy – endorses not only health

values but also values such as of respect for nature, frugality, and authenticity. These are linked to 'universalism', and 'tradition' value types.

How can organic consumers be segmented?

This section address objective 4: Develop a typology of organic food consumers. From the analysis of qualitative data, it was evident that there were some similarities between participants in relation to the main drivers underlying their organic consumption choices.

As Johe and Bhullar (2016) highlighted advertising about organic consumption should aim to communicate favourable consumer attitudes towards organic consumption by promoting organic products main benefits according to the different types of consumers. For instance, for the 'healthy gurus' the main aspect to highlight about organic is the fact that is 'healthy' and potentially be 'nutritionally superior' while for other type of consumers the fact that is 'natural' or 'environmentally friendly' will be more appealing. As the Mintel (2013) report suggests it is important that organic brands understand consumers perceived benefits for buying organic food to be able to communicate more effectively those specific benefits that organic consumers are looking for

Personal Values

Personal Values can explain the drivers behind organic food consumption. Most participants endorsed **Benevolence, Universalism and Self-Direction** value orientations. The importance ascribed to Benevolence supports previous findings by Thøgersen and colleagues (2015) “. It is important to note that this study identified not only the value types that participants place higher importance, but also their underlying motivation – their value orientations. This provides insight not only about which value is important for the consumer but also explains

they 'why' of their behaviour, what is the consumer aiming to achieve from buying organic. This is a major contribution because many studies identify the value items that are important but fail to identify the underlying reasons why they are important. For instance, health is identified as important in several studies, however, no study has considered why is health important.

Measuring values Schwartz value circumplex model

The basic human values, measured with the PVQ instrument represent '*desirables, Transituational goals, varying in importance that serve as guiding principles in people's lives*' (Schwartz, 2001, p522). It should be noted, as Thøgersen (2011) also mentions, that the PVQ value items do not refer to specific context or type of consumption/behaviour, such as organic food consumption. This might explain some of the differences between the quantitative results from the PVQ and the qualitative data which was referring to the context of organic food. Therefore, it could be argued that within the context of organic consumption more relevant and context-specific values should be explored using qualitative methods to allow for a deeper understanding of consumers motivations.

The quantitative strand of research measured personal values by asking participants to indicate their similarity with the values of another person, understanding values as guiding principles in life. As Borg and colleagues (2019) point out the PVQ measures values indirectly asking participants to compare themselves with Portraits (statements) about imaginary people, instead of self-reporting and measuring their own values. This presents the first issue, in that some of the values were given the same rating, which means that without a conversation with the participant to understand their value priorities, the rating does not

offer a full picture. The second issue could be found in relation to the method of rating and ranking the values in their level of importance. This rating is not sufficient to provide the necessary level of insight. For instance, some participants give the same rating to different values, or they rated very highly the health value, for instance, but then when aggregating the value scores Benevolence was the highest value score, and Openness for change the dominant value orientation. This does not offer much insight as to which value is most important, and what is the underlying motivation.

According to Schwartz value model, Health is presented within the 'security' value types with an orientation towards conservation. However, the analysis of both sets of data at a more abstract level, revealed that health is not always associated with 'security' values nor is it always an expression of a 'conservative' orientation. *Health* can be driven by a higher end goal of life enjoyment, and having a good quality of life, which are related to the motivational values of Self-Direction or Hedonism. This level of detail, and understanding was not obtained from the PVQ-RR survey but from the richness of the qualitative data. This led to the conclusion that the mechanics of Schwartz value circumplex may not always be suitable to explain the specific values linked to organic consumption. This could be because the current understanding of health has evolved since the proposal of the model, or it could be that as this are general guiding principles in life, that might not be relevant for all situations and contexts.

When measuring the personal values with Schwartz PVQ-RR scale the results revealed some interesting differences with the value priorities identified through qualitative data analysis.

Firstly, the main difference to arise was on the importance given to Security values, and Benevolence values.

The second main difference was in relation to the typology of consumers. The qualitative data analysis revealed five distinct groups based on their value priority similarities, lifestyle and motivations. However, the results from testing the PVQ-RR scale responses revealed that there was no significant difference between the value priorities across the five groups identified on NVivo. The quantitative results suggest one homogenous group, with no differences among them. These results were concerning at first, but after more analysis it was evident the key role that qualitative data has played in the understanding of organic consumption. In explaining the differences between quantitative and qualitative data the following explanations could be presented. Firstly, it could be argued that the context and type of questioning was different, and secondly the PVQ scale aims to measure values as 'guiding principles in life' whereas some values might become more salient in some contexts than others.

If the researcher were to use only the PVQ scale to measure the personal values, it may have obtained an incomplete understanding of what is going on at a deeper level in relation to organic consumption. It is difficult to say but could be argued that previous studies on values of organic consumers, could have arrived at the conclusion that health value priority is related to 'Security' by 'forcing' it to fit within Schwartz multidimensional model of values, without going a step further back, and looking at what drives consumers health values which might be a different higher end value (Gimenez & Tamajon, 2019; Weeden 2011).

It could be said that the 'mechanism' of Schwartz model can be challenged. The way how the different value items (from the statements) are categorised and plotted into only one category of value type, and one value orientation (motivation) is rather simplistic and does not allow any space for overlapping values. The findings from this study suggest that there is a degree of overlap where health, or health concerns could be expressed in different ways, because it is driven by different value types. For instance, not every participant that prioritise health as an important value, would have the same reason when asked why health was important. Some would say that because they do not want illness, as a prevention driven by fear and avoidance, clearly driven by security. However, others simply stated that health was important for them because it allows them to enjoy life, live life to the fullest, which seems to be driven by a more positive outlook, one that is concerned by ability to carry on doing their daily activities that they enjoy. Still other consumers 298rom298d explain that health is important for them because it allows them to 'be there' for their loved ones, which seems to be driven by the value of Benevolence.

The findings of this study suggest that the location of health value item within 'security' needs further investigation. In line with this claim, Schwartz mentions in his paper that "One item (family security/safety for loved ones) taps primarily personal security, but it also expresses benevolence-caring" (Schwartz et al., 2012, p.11)

Therefore, it could be argued that HEALTH value seems to be in different places of Schwartz model, and not only under 'security', but it could also be sought as means of life enjoyment 'Stimulation'/Openness to change, or under Benevolence. This study also suggests that personal values can find different ways of expressing themselves. For instance, two different

consumers could place high priority to health value, but this could be expressed differently (e.g., going to the gym; reducing health risks), and could be driven by different motivation (e.g., Personal Health, or Benevolence-Caring for others). This study suggests that health relates not only to Security but also to other higher end values such as Benevolence - to continue carrying out their daily activities, to look after family and loved ones- or Self-Direction – as health is necessary for independence and freedom.

Within the context of this study, Schwartz PVQ scale as a tool is not enough in understanding how consumer negotiate the underlying motivations for pursuing certain values, it seems that they could have more than one motivation (value orientation, or also called higher end values). For this particular study, Schwartz framework provided a simplistic and deterministic view of values by predetermining the relationship between the value items (e.g., health), value type (e.g., security) and value orientation (Conservation). It would be interesting to review if these higher-end values operate as binary opposites or if there could be other value orientations apart from: Self-enhancement vs Self Transcendent, Conservation versus Openness to change. For this reason, it could be argued that the model should review the location of 'health' value within Security as it might be that needs to be a value type outside of Security. It should be considered perhaps that when the model was developed, a few years ago, there was a different understanding of 'health' mainly focused on physical health. However, a more contemporary definition of health would refer to not only the physical aspects but also emotional and mental health as a synonymous of wellbeing. This wider understanding of health deserves a more flexible approach to understanding the underlying motivations.

Value Saliency

The qualitative data supports the notion that the context of organic, plays a significant role in triggering and 'activating' certain values over others. This is generally in line with the Schwartz theory of human values, and other research studies (Hauser et al., 2011).

The data analysis suggests that despite having the same value priorities, individuals may express their values in diverse ways and therefore adopt different behaviours to fulfil the same goals. Some may focus on adopting a wider healthy lifestyle, including eating, exercise, and sleeping habits, while others may focus on reducing perceived health risks such as avoidance of chemicals, additives, hormones and other contaminants.

This study looked at not only respondent's value priorities but also their value orientation, and which values are related to organic food consumption. Consumers may choose to behave differently to express a particular value priority. This is called 'instantiation' and it is believed that it can vary across different cultures (Schwartz, 1992). Sagiv and colleagues (2017) claim that although people from diverse cultures generally share similar understanding of personal values, agreeing on the meaning, but the degree of importance attributed to each value varies substantially across cultures. This means that culture could affect the way consumers behave in expressing their value priorities. For instance, organic consumers may state that 'health' is a value priority, but they might not express this value in the same way. Some may engage in fitness routine and a wider range of healthy activities, while others may adopt preventative measures or risk reduction strategies such as avoiding a range of perceived 'unhealthy' food. However, with regards to 'health' findings from previous studies that claim 'health' is the main motive, it seems this needs further analysis. From existing literature emphasising

the importance given to health (Singhal, 2017; Goetzke et al., 2014, Mai and Hoffman, 2012) it is not clear which aspect of health consumers prioritise the most, or why is health given high priority, the underlying motivations for seeking a healthy diet, until a more in-depth analysis on the value of health is done. This understanding could help to explain to what extent and why health is driving organic consumption. Without looking at a deeper level, and from a qualitative perspective it could be argued that the literature seems to overlook the underlying motivation for buying organic. It would be important explore the motivation behind health consciousness, and to what extent 'health' is the main value priority or if it is linked to another higher end value. This understanding is important because of the impact that values have on our behaviour. As Schwartz (2012) claims values are motivational goals and value orientations guide our behaviour.

Value orientations

The theory of human values (Schwartz, 2012) claims that human values are motivational goals as they serve as guiding principles in life. Values are the lenses through which consumers see the world, and make sense of situations, people, and objects. Values are important to understand consumer behaviour because they also shape the way we transfer meaning into our world. Research has demonstrated that human values influence consumer's evaluative beliefs when buying products (Allen & Ng, 1999).

Self-transcendence has the highest score indicating that participants' value orientations are not focused on individual self-centred benefits. Instead, they ascribe high importance to the wellbeing and protection of others, wider society, and nature. This was expected according to the results from previous studies discussed in the literature (Thøgersen & Zhou, 2012). This could also suggest that 'health' value could be underpinned by a Self-Transcendent

orientation. In which case it would mean that not only personal health is important but also that of others, particularly close others, family and friends. This is an important finding considering that most of the research suggesting 'health' as a motive for organic food consumption does so assuming that it has an egoistic self-centred underlying motivation (Ilter & Yilmaz, 2016). From the findings of this study, this is not always the case. As Schwartz suggests values are universal in terms of the concepts, however, the priorities assigned to each value would vary according to the cultural context.

Explaining the link between personal values and organic consumption.

Personal values are key determinants of consumer's attitudes, preferences, behaviours (Schwartz, 2005). Therefore, obtaining a deep understanding of the value priorities of organic consumers could provide important insights around organic consumption.

Value priorities expressed differently

This study reveals a distinct perspective with regards to *health* value. Previous studies claim that health is the main motive behind organic consumption (Schifferstein & Ophuis, 1998; Zanolli & Naspetti, 2002; Rana, & Paul, 2017; Botonaki et al., 2006; Chrysosoidis & Krystallis 2005; Harper & Makatouni, 2002; Magnusson et al, 2003; Makatouni, 2002; Padel & Foster, 2005). These studies do not look in depth at why health is important, which could have led to a deeper understanding of organic consumption. In first instance, previous studies have concluded that 'health' is the main driver for organic food consumption. However, but when exploring in depth consumers motivation it become evident that 'health' value is expressed differently. In other words, consumers could express their health value priority by focusing on health concerns and reducing perceived health risk, or by focusing on health benefits.

Therefore, previous studies claim that 'health' was the main important driver for organic consumption, failing to identify consumer goals and higher end values. While it is true that health is important, this is not enough to understand the underlying motivations of organic consumers.

A clearer picture is obtained by looking at the underlying motivations for the pursuit of health, why is health important. The findings suggest that for most participants, health value is activated because of the perceived health risk from agrochemicals, because there is certain degree of fear, and avoidance behaviour based on the belief that agrochemicals have a negative impact on health. However, the 'Risk Avoider' type of participant does not generally follow a healthy lifestyle. So, the question is whether the main goal is to be 'healthy' or to be 'safe' by reducing the perceived health risk from chemicals. This is an important distinction to make and can be concluded that for most participants of this study, health is not the main goal, instead reducing health perceived risk to achieve 'safety' is the main goal. The feeling of safety is derived from reducing the perceived health risk from agrochemicals residues on food. For these consumers, health is important as a means to feel safe, and avoiding danger or perceived health risk is the strategy they adopt.

While for others, 'Health' is part of a wider healthy lifestyle, and it is not driven by Security values, or Self-Protection. Instead, 'quo important as long as it allows them to 'enjoy life' with good quality of life. In this group of participants, fear, distrust, and avoidance are not the main motivator, on the contrary they tend to have more positive outlook choosing organic food not for what it lacks, but for the enhanced benefits it provides. This are enhanced nutritional value, authentic taste, enhanced quality, and freshness.

Despite the literature suggesting that the main reason for buying organic is 'health' it could be said that previous studies have overlooked the reasons why this might be the case. This

study has shown that despite health being important the underpinning value orientation seems to be different for the participants of this study. We can say that 'health' is important for most participants, but this individual value type is expressed differently across different participants. While for some health is about being able to enjoy life, and enjoy it having good quality of life, for others is about feeling 'safe' and in control of their lives which would allow them to continue doing their daily activities and being there for their 'loved ones'.

Summary

In this chapter, both qualitative and quantitative findings were brought together in order to address the research aim to explore the role of personal values in understanding organic food consumption.

It can be argued that personal values can be used to understand consumers motivations in particular within organic food context. However, when looking at specific contexts qualitative data offers more insightful conclusions. It has provided a more in depth understanding of organic food consumption, within the context of Uruguay. It has provided a thorough analysis of the role that personal values play in organic food consumption, identifying the main value priorities and value orientations. Finally, a typology of consumers was possible to be developed using the qualitative data, the accounts from participants about their concerns, values, and motivations, as well as a description of their lifestyle. It should be noted that this would not have been possible without the analysis of the qualitative data from NVivo.

This concludes the discussion of the findings addressing each of the research objectives which will be explained in more detail in the next section, as well as the contribution of this study.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter presents an overview of the research by discussing the implications of the key findings and the significance of the study in terms of the contribution to knowledge and practice. It further provides recommendations and suggests areas for further research.

Some researchers (Massey et al., 2018) explain the difficulty of developing a more clearly defined perception of the meaning of organic because there is not a single factor associated with organic, but rather a myriad of attributes that influence consumer consumption choices. This might explain why there is no clarity regarding what motivates organic consumption. This research contributes to this understanding by exploring consumption choices from the perspective of personal values.

To understand organic food consumers, it seems sensible to start by addressing the first objective of this study of exploring the meaning of organic food for Uruguayans. This has been achieved by exploring the different understandings of the term *organic* and the attributes associated with organic food. Organic food represents the idea of *natural*. This aspect of being chemical-free is a core precondition for other attributes and perceived benefits. The attribute of *absence of chemicals* is the basis for other attributes, such as *natural, healthy, authentic, living food, environmentally friendly, and tastier*. However, this study has revealed that organic means more than the perceived attributes. Organic is also closely associated with a life philosophy, a way of living endorsing a set of values, and more importantly related to an organic farming philosophy called agroecology which is endorsed by the Agroecology Network of Uruguay. This philosophy not only ensures the absence of agro-chemicals, but

also advocates a series of values, such as respect for nature, certain farming procedures that care for the environment, soil and are in harmony with nature. This suggests that to understand what organic means for Uruguayan consumers, a holistic view needs to be adopted, which is not only based on the product attributes, but also on consumers' perceptions of the farming method, the underpinning philosophy, and the values that organic production represents. The findings of this study suggest that organic produce is perceived by some participants as an ideology, whose values are endorsed by the organic farmer.

The moderating role of trust

A major contribution of this study is in providing a different perspective to the issue of *trust* and *distrust* among organic consumers. The literature looking at trust in organic food, highlights a degree of scepticism among organic consumers in relation to organic credentials (Nuttavuthisit & Thøgersen, 2017; Siriex et al., 2011). However, this study does not support those findings because trust in organic food is not an issue among regular organic consumers in Uruguay. However, a major theme that emerged during the research was the *distrust* in relation to conventionally grown food, the government, large retailers, conventional farmers, and agrochemical production companies.

Previous research looking at trust tends to focus on trust in relation to organic food and its characteristics (e.g., certified organic; healthy). It is generally accepted that trust in organic produce emerges from the product attributes, as a source of trust is the organic product itself. However, this study reveals a different perspective, in that trust in organic food is placed in the food system where all the actors behind organic, such as organic farmers, organic producers, and the certification body such as the Agroecology Network. This suggests that the

food system behind organic food enables consumers to trust organic food. Consequently, the perceived trust in organic symbolises the trust in the components of the food system, such as the farmer, the retailer, the government, or certification bodies. This perceived trust in the food system is then transferred onto organic food, as shown by Figure 14. This confirms the key role of the organic farmer, producers, and certification bodies such as the Agroecology Network in developing trust in organic food.

This study contributes to the literature by identifying that the trust or distrust placed in the food system is dependent on the beliefs and perceptions held by consumers. From these beliefs or perceptions, consumers transfer meaning onto the product (organic/non-organic), which then leads them to trust organic food. This trust is placed in the integrated food system of producers, farmers, organisations, government, and other actors involved in the production and commercialisation of the product, with certain attributes which represent certain perceived benefits for the consumer.

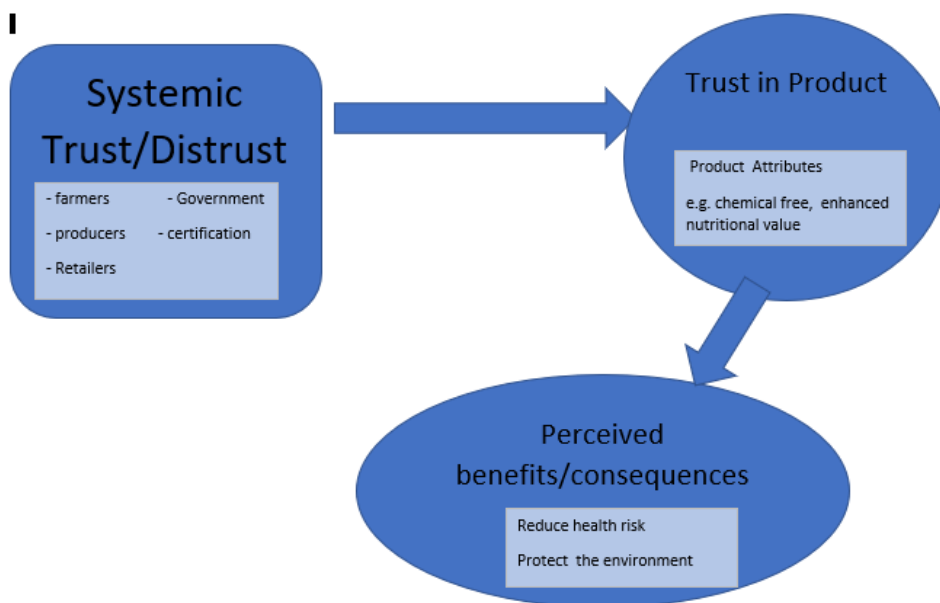


Figure 14: Conceptual model- the moderating role of Trust in Food systems

Which values influence organic food consumption in Uruguay?

Another contribution of this study has been to identify the personal values of regular organic consumers in Uruguay to explain why they consume organic food. As suggested by the literature, the underlying values that influence organic food consumption vary from country to country.

In fulfilling the second objective of *identifying the personal values that influence organic food consumption*, both qualitative and quantitative data were used. Firstly, without the richness of qualitative data collected from the 38 interviewees the valuable insights would not have

been possible. Secondly, the quantitative data from the Schwartz PVQ Survey – measured the relative importance that consumers place in certain values.

The quantitative data has identified *Benevolence* as the main value type, and self-transcendent as the main higher-order value. This means that organic food consumers ascribe high importance to *Benevolence* values, which is related to the importance of caring for others, friendship and responsibility for loved ones, and health values.

The collected data suggests that Uruguayan consumers highly rate *Universalism* values. Participants explained that although they were concerned about the environment, this was not enough to drive consumption. In fact, none of the participants mentioned that the environment was the main motive for buying organic produce.

Measuring Values

Why Health is important?

The qualitative data revealed that the ‘*Health*’ value may not always be related to ‘*Security*’ value. The importance of ‘*Health*’ value seems to be driven by other motivational values such as ‘*Benevolence*’ when consumers are considering health of other loved ones, or how their ill-health could impact their loved ones. From the data analysis, ‘*Health*’ also seems to be related to the importance of ‘*Self-Direction*’ when health is important in order to carry out daily activities. Health is driven by the importance placed on independence and ‘*freedom*’ rather than ‘*Security*’. To a small number of participants, the importance of ‘*Health*’ was related to ‘*Hedonism*’ when participants explained that health was important for ‘*life enjoyment*’ and good ‘*Quality of life*’.

Therefore, the analysis of the data suggests that the way different value items (on PVQ-RR) are categorised and plotted into higher end value types, is not helpful when looking at the

consumption within a particular context such as organic food. The multidimensional model does not allow any space for overlapping and reconciling the differences between the different layers of the values circumplex. The findings suggest that there is a degree of overlap where the 'Health' value, could be expressed in different ways because it is driven by different motivational values and may therefore fit into different value dimensions depending on the situation. For instance, not every participant that prioritises 'Health', would have the higher end goal when asked why health was important. Some would say that the goal is to avoid illness, so prevention and risk reduction are key, and hence clearly driven by security. However, others simply stated that health was important for them because they simply want to avoid being a burden to family (Benevolence), or because it allows them to enjoy life, and continue with their ability to carry on doing the daily activities that they enjoy (Self-Direction). Still other consumers explain that health is important for them because it allows them to 'be there' for their loved ones, which is driven by Benevolence value type. These findings reveal that health concerns could be driven by different value orientations. Hence, from these findings it seems that the mechanism of Schwartz's circumplex model can be taken with caution when looking at personal values within a specific context.

Therefore, the findings suggest that the Schwartz framework provides a somewhat simplistic and deterministic view of values by predetermining the relationship between the value items (e.g., health), value type (e.g., security) and value orientation (conservation). However, the findings also suggest that health is not always related to conservation, but to *Self-transcendence* or *Self-Enhancement* value orientations. For this reason, it could be argued that the Schwartz model should allow more flexibility to allocate the value items under different higher-end values.

The data also reveals that participants seem to have distinct reasons as to why health is important for them. When asked, they explained that the pursuit of health was related to a 'sense of responsibility *for* others' and 'responsibility *to* others' which, despite being interrelated, each also has a distinct meaning and is underpinned by different motivational values. The term *others* was generally used to refer to dependent children, family, or close loved ones. Feeling *responsible for others* was related to their duty to look after, care and provide for others. It was evident that some participants buy organic food as a means of looking after their family's health because it is believed that it is more natural and healthier for their children/family. . This is illustrated when participants mentioned that they had started to buy organic produce when they had their first child because 'I wanted to give him the most natural and healthy food.' Feeling responsible *to others* was closely related to a desire of not being a burden for their family and loved ones, which sometimes comes after ill-health, and being able to continue with their daily tasks and activities. In this respect, this is closer to feeling a sense of duty towards their families, to be there for them to give support if needed, a desire to remain in control of their life, which is something that ill-health may take away, and a desire to continue with their daily tasks and activities. This notion is related to the idea of *agency* and '*locus of control*'. This shows how 'health' is expressed differently by participants and is not always underpinned by a Security value orientation. In this case it seems it is underpinned by Benevolence. This means that Health may not always be driven by Security values.

Therefore, it seems necessary to review the model and assess the alignment between value items, value types, and value orientation. This study has revealed and confirmed the underlying motivations for the pursuit of health and shown that this is not always aligned with

security. Therefore, an adaptation of the Schwartz values scale (and its underlying precepts) is recommended. It is proposed that Health should be a value type on its own. The reason for this is explained in the following point.

Contemporary notions of *health* are a much wider concept, including not only physical health but also mental health, spiritual and emotional wellness. The concept of health is closer to the notion of wellbeing. Therefore, as the concept has broadened, it seems sensible and appropriate to measure health with more than one value item, which would represent the various aspects of the new understanding of *health*. This is in line with the literature that suggests that there are various dimensions of *health*.

The relative importance of health became evident from the qualitative data to the point that some participants suggested that health goes beyond a concept, but is related to a particular lifestyle. It could be argued that *health* could be a type of value including the following: physical health, mental health, wellbeing. The Schwartz value theory, and in particular the Schwartz circumplex model was developed nearly thirty years ago in 1992. The concept of 'health' at that time might have been different to the understanding of health today.

It may be that when measuring values, and at the same time aiming to understand why consumers buy organic food, the PVQ Scale can help up to a certain point. The main limitations are with trying to measure health with only one item (item 13) from the 57 items, which in comparison to other values that are measured by more than 1 item. For instance, universalism is measured by 6 value items.

Looking at the values from a quantitative perspective, applying the PVQ scale is insufficient to understand in more depth the different value priorities and orientations across different types of consumers. Qualitative data offers a more in-depth understanding of personal values in relation to the specific context of organic consumption.

Typology of organic consumers based on their values and motivation

Another important contribution of this study is to identify common themes and other commonalities among consumers. For example, different typologies of consumers based on their personal values, lifestyle, and value orientation. Qualitative data provided very interesting insights. This was carried out by using NVivo, which allows for a clear visualisation of themes. Five typologies of regular organic consumers have been identified based on their value priorities: *Risk Avoiders*, *Healthy Gurus*, *Hedonist*, *Holistic Green*, and *Politicised Green*. The purpose of identifying different types of consumers is to be able to design more effective marketing campaigns by targeting the *right* segment with the *right* message (Gad, & Dacko, 2013). Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to develop the typologies based on what is desired in organic produce, and the perceived benefits and attributes that are most important for the consumer. A non-parametric test was carried out to measure the difference between the different types of consumers identified.

Moreover, not many studies have looked at the personal values of organic consumers from a qualitative perspective. The richness that can be obtained from qualitative data goes beyond measurement and ranking of value priorities. Previous studies have revealed the importance of health value for organic consumers. However, the literature does not provide an understanding of why health is important.

The data reveals that when looking at health value at a more abstract level, by aggregating it under the *security* value type to fit within the Schwartz multidimensional model of values, and without looking at *why* health is important for consumers, the limited analytical depth of the previous studies becomes evident. It seems necessary to go further by considering what drives consumers health concerns, and why health is important to them. This could provide a fuller picture of what is happening.

This study contributes to a wider and more complex understanding of the theory of personal values by suggesting that Schwartz values need further investigation, as the study fails to fully explain the underlying motivation to pursue '*health*', and how this could be related to different higher end values. The findings of this study reveal that health concerns could be driven by different value orientations.

Limitations of Schwartz's PVQ-RR survey

To the surprise of the researcher, the PVQ was insufficient to identify differences among consumers. The contribution of the qualitative strand of research was essential to be able to develop a typology of organic consumers. The richness of qualitative data allowed the necessary depth to understand the different value priorities and orientations among organic consumers. Using qualitative data to provide a deeper understanding of personal values within certain contexts is something suggested by Schwartz as an area of further research. This study aims to fulfil this gap in the literature and provide a complementary understanding of organic consumption.

Recommendations and managerial implications

The results of this study have important implications for the organic food industry and farmers who are interested in increasing the demand for organic food.

This new understanding of what *organic* means and which values drive consumption could assist in the development of positive attitudes towards organic produce by emphasising the most desirable attributes associated with it and providing information about its perceived benefits, such as health-related benefits. Policymakers concerned with global environmental issues have put forward their interest to develop more effective campaigns to encourage more sustainable lifestyles (WHO, 2019, Rodale Institute, 2019). Therefore, organic producers and marketing professionals should highlight the most appealing attributes for organic consumers and be mindful that the different consumer types are driven by different values.

Marketing recommendations for organic farmers

The findings from this study indicate that one of the barriers to increasing organic food consumption is the limited availability of organic produce, which can be only found in a limited number of stores. In addition, even when there is availability, the variety of the produce is very limited. Low availability means that consumers have to travel longer distances to the organic farmer or speciality shops, which is an obstacle for busy households or less committed consumers. This is not an issue with the production capacity, instead it is a logistic issue. The recommendation to overcome this is to increase the distribution network and increasing the number of points of sale where organic food is available. This would reach more consumers, and consequently increase market share. Smaller farmers may not have the resources or capacity to supply more points of sales. Therefore, it is recommended that organic farmers integrate with other organic farmers into a cooperative association to be able to negotiate as a group to sell their produce in larger grocery retailers. Several organic farmers already belong to the Agroecology Network which sells in street markets, but not in larger grocery retailers. This could be something that the Agroecology Network may want to

consider finding other opportunities where their members (mainly small farmers) could sell their produce. However, according to data from this study, organic consumers, particularly Risk Avoiders, and 'Holistic greens' - prefer to have a short chain between the producer and the consumer. This brings reassurance to consumers and makes them feel closer to nature.

The findings also reveal the importance of establishing good consumer-producer relationships where possible, or to bring consumers and producers closer, as this is a good basis for trust in organic food. To reinforce this trust, and to help larger farmers to reconnect with consumers, it would be worth encouraging consumer trips to organic farms, allowing consumers to feel closer to the food source and understand the farm to fork (European Union, 2020) journey, which is so important for organic consumers. It is recommended that organic farmers continue to sell directly to consumers in short chains and when possible, to engage with consumers as much as possible, as these are important elements highly appreciated by organic consumers and are key to maintaining a good farmer-consumer relationship. This would be a suitable strategy to target the 'Risk Avoider' segment because knowing the 'roots' of their food would reinforce their trust in organic produce, and consequently increase consumption.

Communication campaigns based on the naturalness of organic produce

It seems sensible to suggest that the concept of 'organic' should be differentiated beyond the idea of 'healthy' or 'health benefits'. This study has revealed that perceived health risk is the main driver for organic food consumption. Moreover, it might seem risky to focus on the health claims of organic food, given that there are no conclusive research findings to support this (Mesnage et al., 2020; Smith-Spangler, 2012; Thøgersen, 2011). With this in mind, to

promote organic food consumption, messages should emphasize other perceived benefits of organic food, without making the 'healthier' claims. Therefore, marketing campaigners should identify other attribute that could implicitly or indirectly relate to the attainment of a health-related goal: health benefits or health risk reduction, because those are the two health-related goals that organic consumers seek to achieve. Findings suggest that consumers associate 'chemical-free' with natural, pure, with living food, healthier, and tastier. Consumers perceive 'chemical-free' credentials of organic as being good not only for their own health, the health of others, and the health of the environment. Therefore, the notion of '**chemical-free**' or '**naturalness**' would resonate with different types of consumers. The idea of natural, authentic food that is 'good for individuals, and the planet'. The 'goodness' of organic food, should be closely associated with 'naturalness' and the fact that it has no chemicals, because the 'chemical-free' aspect is the core reason for consuming organics, and it relates to natural, healthy, environmentally friendly, and taste, which are the main reasons for consuming organic.

The study identifies five consumer segments, that will help retailers to develop an appealing offering to target each of these types of organic consumers. This understanding will help retailers and marketers to identify the factors that influence organic food consumers. The 'chemical-free' natural aspect of organic represents an appealing benefit for each consumer type. The 'chemical-free' attribute would appeal to 'Risk Avoiders' looking to reduce the perceived health risk of chemical residues; the 'Healthy Gurus' looking for enhanced nutritional benefits; the 'Holistic Green' and 'Politized' looking to reduce the negative impact of chemical residues on the planet; and it would also appeal to 'Hedonistic' looking for an authentic taste that is not contaminated by additives, or agro-chemicals.

Marketing strategies for 'distrusted' retailers/government

This study has revealed the importance of trust in organic food consumption, and distrust of grocery retailers, and the government which was felt by nearly every participant of this study. To overcome this distrust national retailers should try to sell mainly 'certified' organic as tangible evidence of the organic credentials. Retailers should improve the in-store food display assigning a dedicated area for organic produce and improving the visuals. This could help improve the perception and making it look more natural. The efforts should be placed in store display. To introduce the dedicated 'organic' area a sampling promotion could be organised to help consumers engage with the product category and is also an opportunity to provide information about organic to consumers who do not consume organic.

The government should develop a communication campaign to regain the public's trust in government organisations. The campaign should try to provide information about the effect of food production on the environment, for instance, to increase awareness among the public.

Recommendations to increase market share

This research has revealed another barrier to organic food growth is the lack of knowledge among consumers about organic food, organic farming tools. The recommendation is to increase the amount of information available to consumers and raise awareness of pesticides residues and the dangers it presents to human health. Research shows that consumers who have a good understanding of organic food are more likely to consume organic food. Consumers should be able to differentiate between organic and conventional food, otherwise, they may not choose organic over conventional food.

Research has shown that accessibility to organic food influences consumption (Gan, 2016). If consumers cannot find the product in their usual store, it is unlikely that consumers would travel far distances just to buy organic food.

This study has identified 5 distinct segments of consumers, with different motivations, pursuing different motivational goals. So organic food producers must review their market targeting strategy to ensure that their marketing mix is suitable and appealing to the target audience. This research confirmed that different consumers may have different reasons to consume organic, they are seeking different attributes. Therefore, any marketing campaign should ensure that the message is suitable for the target audience.

Generalizability of the findings

In qualitative research designs the views about generalisation are diverse. Some authors believe that generalization is not a priority or not possible (Fairweather & Rinne, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln 1995). However, other authors would consider the idea of 'moderatum generalization' (Payne & Williams, 2005). This means that qualitative researchers can make 'moderate' claims about the world, and these claims are open to change over long periods of time, or across cultures. It could be said that qualitative data does not claim to be representative of all, but instead a moderatum generalisation is possible.

It is the view of the author that although generalization is desirable, there are some important limitations to generalization in qualitative research. Williams (2000) suggests that instead of making statistical inferences to calculate estimates for the whole population universe, qualitative researchers can claim moderate generalizations with the following five limitations::

1-the breath of generalization that would allow to apply the findings to other settings; 2-the time limitations in that a current claim would be more acceptable than claims about future conditions; 3- the degree of accuracy expected of these claims; 4- claims of similarity but not identical results, within the limits of this contingency; 5- limited to certain locations.

Based on this understanding of moderatum generalization, it could be argued that the similarity between the researched context and other contexts increase the generalizability of findings. In line with this, Larsson (200) suggests that qualitative researchers should claim generalization through context similarity. For instance, developing countries may have similar notions of trust, distrust, safety standards, structural characteristics such as short supply chain where consumers are closer to the producers, unregulated organic producers, and organic street markets.

According to this perspective, our current research findings could be extended to other countries with similar settings such as developing countries, particularly nearby countries as they are more likely to share similar conditions such as: food safety standards, consumers concerns, perceived risk, lack of trust on food system.

Research contributions

There are several contributions to knowledge. Firstly, there is a lack of research applying the theory of personal values as the means to understand why consumers prefer to buy organic food, particularly in developing countries, such as Uruguay. Most of the research done in the region has been led by Argentina or Brazil, but research in Uruguay is almost non-existent.

Moreover, most of the research on organic consumers' personal values has been done mainly from a quantitative perspective. Therefore, this study offers a distinct perspective and a more in-depth understanding of organic consumers by applying a mixed-method approach, that starts by looking at the phenomenon from a qualitative perspective, and then collects

quantitative data from the Schwartz PVQ-RR survey that lends further insight to the research. The research has identified 5 different types of consumers, which have managerial implications for targeting those types of regular organic consumers and tailoring the marketing communications to reach consumers more effectively. The study revealed that the Schwartz value scale is not enough to identify the different motivational values across the different types of consumers. The richness of qualitative data was more suitable to identify the motivational differences and similarities across types of consumers.

Secondly, it provides an in-depth understanding of organic consumers value priorities and value orientations. Previous studies have identified 'health' as an important value for organic food consumption but do not examine why. Furthermore, many research studies have related Health with the motivational value Security whereas this study suggests that this is not always the case. This study explores why health is an important motivational value from a qualitative perspective. This is important because 'health' could have different connotations in different countries, and therefore could be sought for varied reasons. The characteristics of Uruguay's context may lead to some differences in terms of the priority that consumers assign to health and food safety, for instance, and the different motivations underpinning some of these value priorities. This has revealed that when using the PVQ-RR value scale in a specific context, there are some issues with the interrelationship of values across the different levels – value items, value types, and value orientation/dimension. This could be due to the notion of *value saliency*, which suggests that individuals may activate different values depending on the relevance of that value for the specific situation. It could be said that the PVQ-RR scale is not enough to look at the complexity of consumer values within the context of organic food. Therefore, it should be used with caution when looking at personal values in relation to a specific context.

Fourthly, the study contributes by highlighting that the measurement of *health* as a value item with the PVQ-RR scale seems to be problematic in the context of organic food... This suggests a re-examination of the location of 'health' within the values circumplex and the measurement of other facets of health. The treatment of health in the scale seems to present two challenges. Firstly, *health* is related to the one particular value of: Security. This seems to overlook that health is a multifaceted concept that could be driven by other motivational values and not only Security. Secondly, the value 'health' is only being measured by one value item, number 13 (PER1), among a total of 57 items. This seems to be a risk of underrepresentation of Health, which given the importance and its multifaceted nature, it might be worth reconsidering the addition of health as a motivational value rather than a value item. This would mean that the importance of health could be measured independently, and not only within Security.

Fifthly, the research contributes to an in-depth understanding of the term *organic*, its meaning and connotation, which might be different to existing literature given as Uruguay is a developing country. Previous studies have suggested that the meaning of organic may differ in different countries, given that communication around the concept organic could be different and therefore, consumers may hold different understandings of the term *organic*. This study has found that organic consumers in Uruguay understand organic produce as food that is produced without synthetic chemicals. It is, therefore, due to the absence of chemicals that organic food in Uruguay is closely associated with '*healthy*', '*natural*', '*environmentally friendly*', '*living*' food. It is believed to have the following perceived benefits: fewer

contaminants, enhanced nutritional value, enhanced taste, freshness, and environmental friendliness.

Sixthly, this research provides a new angle to understand the importance of trust in relation to perceived health risks in organic food consumption. There is not much research providing insights on organic consumers perceived health risks and their health risk reduction strategies. This study contributes to the understanding of perceived health risk, and its relationship with distrust. Moreover, it provides an analysis of the mediating role of trust in organic food consumption.

Further research

Based on these findings, future researchers could investigate the influence of personal values on other types of organic consumers, to analyse the differences between the motivational values of occasional consumers and regular consumers. Moreover, future research should review the location of Health within Security and consider whether this should be challenged. Whilst health could be one aspect of Security, it is not entirely accurate that the importance given to Health is relevant only in relation to Security. For example, if the pursuit of good health influences choices, it is not clear if this can be considered security, benevolence, or self-direction. It should not be overlooked that health is related to many different areas and is necessary for a good quality of life, not just to keep the status quo of a 'safe life'. The location of health within the Conservation value orientation may not always be accurate because Health might be related to Self-Transcendence motivation, driven by Benevolence or Self-direction value types. Another area of further research is to explore the notion of personal values and organic consumption with a larger sample and measuring values using a

different tool of data collection. Finally, a good research opportunity would be to replicate the study in a developed country. This would allow the comparison of the findings with previous research in a developing country.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Participant consent form

University of Gloucestershire

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Exploring the role of values in organic food consumption choices within Uruguay.

The research explores organic consumption practices in relation to personal values. The purpose of the study is to understand consumer values in order to inform the industry of organic food industry in Uruguay.

The data from the interviews will be used as part of my research and all participants will remain anonymous.

Please read and confirm your consent to being interviewed for this project by ticking the appropriate boxes and signing and dating this form.

1. I confirm that the purpose of the project has been explained to me, that I have been given information about it in writing, and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any implications for my legal rights

3. I give permission for the interview to be recorded by research staff, on the understanding that the recordings will be used for research purposes only

4. I agree to take part in this project

Name of respondent Date Signature

For office use only

Name of researcher taking consent

Date

Signature

Project Address:
c/o Magdalena Gonzalez Triay
Business School
University of Gloucestershire

Appendix II: Interview guide**Interview Guide**

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. (Show ID card). As previously explained over the phone, I am currently researching consumption food choices. This is intended to be a very open-ended conversation if you do not want to answer something you do not have to answer. There are not any right or wrong answers. I am simply interested in your ideas, perceptions and opinions about organic foods and your experience of buying organic food in Uruguay.

- Data collection (obtain informed consent to record interview) & Confidentiality explained
- If you don't understand the question, please let me know during the interview.
- Do you have any questions before we start?

- 1 Tell me a little bit about yourself. Interests/activities/ Education/ work/Family
- 2 If I asked your friends to describe you what would they say about you?
 - Do you think that is correct? Do you think they know you?
- 3 **How do you regularly go about doing your food shopping? (channels)**
- 4 **So, what triggered you the first time you bought organic?**
- 5 **What are the main motives for buying organic food?**
- 6 When you talk about 'organic' I need to make sure I understand what do you mean by 'organic', so could you please explain to me what do you mean by 'organic'? (**meaning/perception**) first associations
 - What is the first thing that comes to your mind?
 - Could you explain in more detail your idea of...?
 - What do you mean by?
- 7 So, when you are doing the food shopping why do you buy organic food?
 - Which is the main reason/motives for buying organic food?
 - What do you mean by.....? (i.e., healthier, more natural, tastier)
 - You've said earlier that XXX was the main reason for buying organic- can you explain why that is important for you?
 - You said that buying organic make you feel – could you expand on that please?
 - Why feeling is important to you?
- 8 What are the main benefits you get from organic food?
 - Why are these benefits important for you?

- Could you explain in more detail your idea of...?
- 9 What is it about conventionally grown food that you do not like?
- 10 What do you think the main barriers are for more people buying organic?(who don't buy)
- 11 You mentioned earlier that you buy organic because...what do you mean by xxx?
 - Why isimportant to you?
- 12 You mentioned earlier – Environment/health/safety- was important, could you tell me how do you feel about the environment? How important it is?
- 13 Do you do anything (else) in relation to the environment? (spill over)
- 14 Do you think that your personal values have changed during your life? If so, can you tell me which of them, in, and what led to these change(s)?
- 15 Do you think there's been a change in Uruguay context in recent years? If so, in which ways?

Survey – Profiling Consumers - Could you please complete the following **Survey** (here hand in Schwartz PVQ Survey - 57 items for profiling consumers based on their values and for triangulation)

Wrap up Thank you very much for sharing your insights today. I know I learned a lot from our conversation. If any other thoughts come to mind, you may contact me.

Appendix III: Interview transcript (translated to English)

Interviewer: [00:00:00] Here we are with Viviana Salgado. I hope it is heard well. Viviana, could you please tell me a little bit about yourself?

Viviana: [00:00:36] I come from a family of doctors, always very aware about the impact of consumption,.. to use everything. To bear in mind that resources are limited... to have a good pair of shoes and not five. Those ideas were always reinforced in my house. In addition my grandparents were present in our education and passed traditional values to us that despite my specialization, despite living abroad, in Brazil and in Spain I still keep. I live in Brazil for a short time, half a year but it was an overwhelming experience because in Rio de Janeiro, it's a very busy and dynamic place.

Interviewer: [00:01:30] How did you feel?

Viviana: [00:01:30] That I wasn't from that place

Interviewer: [00:01:30] And where are you from?

Viviana: [00:01:47] From a place that can have different rhythms, like here where you have the option to go to the countryside or be in the city. I love the countryside because I grew up in the countryside. I was born in a small town called San Carlos and lived all my life in Puta del Este, in a farm close to Portezuelo. I lived in the countryside until I came to study to Montevideo. I have been living in Montevideo for 15 years.

Interviewer: [00:02:43] Why did you leave?

Viviana: [00:02:47] The problem of living in the countryside is that it does not offer many opportunities to study. For certain careers you must go to the capital. I studied [00:02:53] Architecture, [0.0] I studied for 5 years but in the middle of the economic crisis, I questioned what I was going to do. Uruguay is a country with limited opportunities. I was at the end of my degree but still asking me this questions. Then time passed, my life changed and this helped me to figure out which career to study. [00:03:27]. I decided to study audiovisual communication

Interviewer: [00:03:28] Returning to the topic of the organic, what message can we convey to people so that more people consume organic? [1.3]

Viviana: [00:03:38] My relationship with organic was influenced by my awareness of the environment, my awareness of the consumption of food ... land... But I didn't know that organic production existed in Uruguay. Six years ago, I did not understand the concept of organic. As a concept, what I understood was [00:04:10] that organic food came from the Earth. [1.6] In that respect, any vegetable that was produce on earth would be organic under that criterion. For example, my brother does not yet understand what is organic, he says everything is organic here because we are so close to the field. He understand that organic products have a label but he does not understand what organic means . My sister-in-law told me that she buys organic products when are available in the supermarket. She has a [00:04:43] a very hectic life and only buys groceries from the supermarket. [4.9]

Interviewer: [00:04:49] Do you think that hectic living is a lifestyle that doesn't go with organic?

Viviana: [00:04:55] What happens is that there is a limited production of organic products. Therefore, there are not many places where you can buy good quality organic products. Even those places that offer organic products they only have availability at certain times. To be able to buy organic products you have to [00:05:04] travel to different places. Even if you go to an organic market you might not be able to find many products if you arrive after 10:00 am. You might be able to find lettuce, chard, and turnips, but it is very difficult to find fruit due to the limited production.

Interviewer: [00:05:27] Could you please tell me a little more about the difficulty of finding organic food?

Viviana: [00:05:39] today production is limited. Citrus fruits are limited, the availability of fruit in general is very limited. Therefore, to be able to find organic food you have to go at a certain time, it has to be seasonal. Example, there is availability of peach, strawberry, pear, citrus but you have to have time to search. [00:06:07] You have to travel a lot and know when the organic food will arrive because it disappears very quickly. There is not enough production [16.6]. If there was enough production, at least they should be able to supply the organic markets and the demand from organic consumers who are not that many. I do

not believe that there is a survey of how many organic consumers there are. At the meetings of organic consumers we discussed all this topics. I remember that three years ago it was the first meeting, in that meeting we talked about the possibility of having another point of sale. The idea was to explore what we can do to address the lack of organic production as a consumer. We have asked ourselves [00:07:27] how we can access organic food without having to juggle, leave between 12 and 1 or get up on Sunday at seven in the morning to arrive at the fair at 8 because at ten all organic food is gone. It's crazy! When you want your child's first potato you want it to be the best. [15.4] When Dante was born and I began to give him food, I began to realize where the organic food was... for example apple puree.. However, at the moment there is no availability and this is a problem.

Interviewer: [00:08:05] How do you feel buying imported apple?

Viviana: [00:08:06] well that happens to me also with the Banana and it is Karma, there is no other way and I think about the damage I do to the environment.

Interviewer: [00:08:23] What do you prefer [00:08:23] imported or local organic [0.0] even if it is not organic?

Viviana: [00:08:25] I always prefer organic. A good example would be the family consumption of avocado. This is a product that we consume all year around but unfortunately there is supply of organic avocado only on certain seasons and therefore we have to consume imported avocados. There is so much lack of fruit. What do producers do? What do they sell? They choose to buy imported bananas so that they can at least offer some fruit to satisfy the consumer. Otherwise, consumers will stop coming to organic markets and will go to the supermarket.

Interviewer: [00:09:07] How interesting, the producers of organic markets are authorized to sale imported fruit?

Viviana: [00:09:08] Yes they are authorized and they do it to keep the consumer, to give them an option. Otherwise, they cannot compete with the supermarket. Even though the margins are quite low they do it to satisfy the need of the consumer. But why? Because people ask for it. For example, it was the consumers who 20 years ago at the organic market asked them to open a place all week ... Why? Because we need to consume in a more frequent way and there is limited availability. For example, everyone eats organic banana

but it is imported from Ecuador, there are two companies, one is Gentile and there is another one. What I have bought will only last until July.

Interviewer: [00:11:17] At the beginning of the interview you told me that six years ago you had no idea about organic, how did you start then?

Viviana: [00:11:26] A friend of mine was working in the Ecotienda, which is the oldest organic place in Montevideo. It was very close to my house, I liked the philosophy of the place and how they treat customers.

[00:11:47] Can you tell me about the philosophy?

[00:11:47] I remember that it was about the time that most people go to buy their groceries. I decided to visit my friend because I needed a job in advertising. At that moment I was under a lot of stress because I was working for film production companies for 18 hours a day. She told me that they needed someone to sell vegetables. She also told me that it was not about selling a lettuce it was about selling a concept, an idea a relationship. I thought this woman is crazy.

Interviewer: [00:12:31] . Explain me more about all of this.

Viviana: [00:12:39] Sure... What is it that the people who consume lettuce look for? Consumers look at the price and the physical attributes. A lettuce that it is expensive should look accordingly. But things are much more complex. The lettuce must arrive 12 hours after being cut. Therefore, the producer needs to arrive at the point of sale before noon. In supermarkets, the lettuce that we consume was cut a week ago. Another important issue is that because there are not many places to sell organic food, very often the producers end selling at a wholesale market where prices they get for their production are not really good. One characteristic of small farmers is that most of their production is ready at the same time and therefore planning is so important. This is why Supermarkets tend to buy from a large producer who has the capacity to supply at different times during the year.

Interviewer: [00:15:27] Can you explain why a larger producer can plan but the smallest producers cannot?

Viviana: [00:16:20] Because that requires an investment. And with a family economy and a small land, this is a huge risk. If tomorrow, there is a drought all the production is lost. Because of this no small producer will ask for a loan. They're not going to do it. They can't

do it. Conventional farmers of larger size are more likely to apply for a loan in order to cope with the extra cost of producing organic and to cope with the transition period until they are certified. During the transition period they produce at an extra cost without enjoying the prices of organic certified food.

Interviewer: [00:18:09] How did you start to consume organic?

Viviana: [00:19:16] It all started when I started to work for the organic market. I started to understand a lot because I had to pass that knowledge to consumers. There are a lot of consumers that have an idea about organic, but they are not aware about the benefits of organic food. [3.4] It happens a lot.

Interviewer: [00:19:52] What is your understanding of organic?

Viviana: [00:19:55] What do I understand of organic? In terms of an organic crop, my understanding is that the seed is of a particular origin, the plant is produced under certain conditions and taken care by a person. For me organic [1.8] [00:20:32] is something that goes beyond chemicals, is something more humanized. [4.3] I learned to defend organic from the point of view of the producer, and the work it requires [00:20:54]. [1.0] For me this is very important. It even has to do with [00:20:55] an ENERGY, [0.0] and [00:20:55] the 'love' that they give to the plants, [0.0]. This goes beyond the care that the crop and the land has.

Interviewer: [00:21:17] That is, it covers chemicals but goes further as the care of the earth, the care of the vegetable itself.

Viviana: [00:21:23] If and the link the link that the producer establishes [4.5] with the plant because [00:21:27] it is not the same to cross a field with a plow than to walk it walk it and take out the yo-yo for a year for [13.1] two months for three months to go through the same plant and remove the yuyo from around it, a particular attention and care. For example, that happened to me with my son when he began to consume his first solids, I took him to a farm and Carolina a producer plucked the tomato and I tell him I eat it. [00:22:00] For me that was how to start explaining what food is. [4.8] Because it's not just putting it on the plate, it sounds like someone else took it to that [00:22:10] plate. For me that's organic. HAY um JOURNEY in that, [6.1] and when I buy organic in some way I connect with that place where that money came from. That is why I understand that if the

producer understands that his product is worth 100 I accept that it is worth 100 if it is worth 300 also if I can afford it.

Interviewer: [00:22:42] Does that definition also resemble the definition of agro-ecology?

Viviana: [00:22:53] Yes of course because suddenly it has to do with a philosophy. There are many products that say it has to do with a philosophy of life.

Interviewer: [00:23:01] Let's see tell me a little bit what that is?

Viviana: [00:23:02] There is organic production that is seen as a market gap. but if you buy directly from the producer, [00:23:17] it is not just a product, you are buying a link, a vinculo with the producer.

Interviewer: [00:23:23] and that's because?

Viviana: [00:23:47] I'm thinking now because I hadn't thought about it... It seems to me that it has to do with the fact that I feel that I consume it is closer to me, because if they know that those little shoes that I am going to eat have holes because they lived the stone or the fall of hail two weeks ago, I like that the [00:24:23] route of those zapallitos, [1.0] where they come from and also carries an anecdote. Because for me to eat it gives me a lot of joy. [00:24:34] Eating for me is the family, the cooking. and if you also take to that the story [8.4] of what you bring to the table seems divine to me, I feel [00:24:43] more connected to the earth, more connected than I put in me. [0.0] Where did what I put into my body come from.

Interviewer: [00:25:08] let's get on with that thinking. The bond with the producer is important because I feel it more sow of me, and I feel it closer to me It is important because?

Viviana: [00:25:16] because it has more to do with living. Perhaps with being able to be aware of my needs or how to supply my needs as a human being I need to eat for example.

Interviewer: [00:25:32] But why is it important that I'm close, and that link?

Viviana: [00:25:39] I think if we take a little bit of our consumption of what we need. What we discard.

Interviewer: [00:25:49] Like it, maybe buying from the super you can achieve that, because you buy from a producer? what benefits does it give you?

Viviana: [00:25:58] has to do with the responsibility to exist. I am responsible for seeing what I need how and how those things come to me, In the same way as I discard the things that I no longer need.

Interviewer: [00:26:42] What if you don't know where they come from?

Viviana: [00:26:52] If we don't know... The way to make ourselves responsible is to know how things happen, in order to change or influence how things happen, we must know what their path is. So, for me it is important to know about what I consume and how I discard them. If I don't see and I don't care, it can't affect the effect that this causes.

[00:27:18] What effect does it have?

[00:27:19] That He can harm others and the earth.

[00:27:22] Organic shopping in the supermarket?

Viviana: [00:27:22] If I buy I organize where I find... wherever... But I get a basket from him.

[00:27:51] And do you feel the same when you receive the basket as you buy it in the supermarket?

Viviana: [00:27:52] Not at all. it's the gratification of bonding. Because the person who planted and worked on that came and brings it to my house. In this case another one comes to my house. When I lived in San Carlos and my house we had a warehouse in front of me. that they brought us things home, it was a very personal bond and generated routines because always at the same time came the one of the bottle for example. And it generated routines that are good. Because it also generated routines. They were good because always at such a time came the gas, the water bottle and generated family routines. What do I enjoy most selling organic production. The bond you generate with a family. Yes because that if something comes and you know that the family will need it and you call it. SABes that the person waits for him all year.

Interviewer: [00:29:34] Tell me when you first bought organic?

Viviana: [00:29:36] I started working there and started consuming because it benefited me to have a discount. I don't remember buying organic before.

[00:29:56] and **what do you mean that the organic is a 'concept'?**

[00:29:57] It is that lettuce is not just a lettuce but is part of the whole process is a production process. a process that would come to be human on a human scale because it is a person's is not a machine.

[00:30:31] And what you said before I organize is an idea - you explain that to me a little bit?

Viviana: [00:30:38] It's this about how to sell it to you, how you consume it as fresh as possible.

Interviewer: [00:30:49] organic... what do you associate it with?

Viviana: [00:30:56] with the most beneficial [1.3] .. with this [00:30:58] idea of health. [1.2] Organic is healthy.

Interviewer: [00:31:03] **And what does 'healthy' mean?**

Viviana: [00:31:16] has to do with the fact that it is healthier than other things, it is a degrade of things. I, for example, make that decision every day. The decision of how healthy I choose this or not... it happens with bananas.

[00:31:38] And when you say I want something healthy to refer to you specifically?

[00:31:43] It is not only about what directly influences consumption. It has to do with its [00:31:49] sustainability [0.8] it also works because I say for me it is not for the poor cow so healthy that I buy a leather jacket ... Put. but if I have only one leather jacket in my whole life as I still have it and I am reforming it, I think that is healthier than taking a leather jacket every year. . So because I'm pretty obsessive in all my big decisions, I think that... The impact of impact on the environment in the long term and the impact on my life in the long term.

Interviewer: [00:32:30] So for a word it's not just healthy to health?

Viviana: [00:32:34] It is not healthy also to the environment and it is sustained over time because for me I know that... suddenly it's not healthy to eat a cart burger. But worse is going hungry. From that healthy point it is good for your body and it is good for the planet.

Interviewer: [00:33:04] interesting that's good for both. Don't you find something healthy for you even though it isn't for the planet?

Viviana: [00:33:15] Not because it's making you responsible, because if I consume organic I don't care what happens to my waste that waste I think it makes me. [00:33:29] The impact of that waste makes me my own, [1.2] it affects me in the long run. so you kind of get to close the loop. The impact on the environment harms me directly not today but in time yes. It's going to impact my son or me directly, others that still make me happen, or it's going to impact others who come back to me anyway. I wasn't raised with a lot [00:34:01] guilt [0.3] I get laughed...

[00:34:02] **when you consume organic how do you feel?**

[00:34:13] what happens over time with how organic it is like not being able to go back because it will tell you the first time I ate tomato. [00:34:25] I went back to my childhood. [1.3]

[00:34:30] Why?

[00:34:31] Because of course before the nineties there was not what is now conventional. So when I saw in my life [00:34:37] I was going to get the milk from a tambo [4.5], if there was Conaprole milk. But you could access and choose to also go to the outskirts of the city with the jug of milk and I loved it and I at least one a week I ask my mother please poruqe to me encanta [00:34:59] the freshly milked milk. [1.1] So you had those options, not just go shopping at the super plant [00:35:07] physicality. It's wonderful. [2.3] In the same way that the neighboring farms of the city came the tomatoes bought them in the warehouse opposite are produced by some Belgians who have moved here nearby and these tomatoes had no chemicals. I'm almost 40 years old I'm talking to you before I was 10 years old. the tomatoes I [00:35:40] ate were normal tomatoes were organic. [6.0]

[00:35:47] So what organic concept means many things, not only is it healthy, good for the Earth but it also transports you back in time and brings me closer to the earth?

Viviana: [00:35:57] If as is, of course. because you have to do with /.. we can say that organic transport me in time.

[00:36:10] Why?

[00:36:10] Because it's like going back to the past also because it used to happen like this. I understand that you do not need to sell more but that does not mean you have to lower the quality.

[00:36:23] Speaking of quality what is quality for you?

[00:36:26] quality is the experience you have when consuming because for example the conventional tomato is perfect, it lasts a week cut or in salad but you eat it and it is a different texture, but the experience of the organic tomato if you spoil it if you leave it aguera at 2 days, but the experience when you eat it from the flavor is different.

[00:37:07] **And why is the taste impornte?**

[00:37:08] The taste is important because if you enjoy the food the taste is practically everything. the flavors and texture, but the flavor is what tells you is tomato. And it's not something that fills you up.

[00:37:24] can we associate quality with good taste?

[00:37:27] If for me the quality has to do with the experience and that experience is linked to the flavor, with the product in simism that the tomato should taste like tomato. Now I understand why conventional tomato does not taste like tomato.

[00:37:30] Why?

[00:37:46] Because it ripens it cold, and the organic timate they ripen it in the same silver. So if I choose to eat a tmate which one will I choose? the tomato that in its identity is more tmate, which takes all the nutrients from silver. the other is a tomato that they need to sell more quantity but it is not so tomato. That's what I understand.

[00:38:24] And speaking of which tell me what do you think of durability?

[00:38:48] I don't know... perhaps because when buying a smaller product at the fair the time since they cut it is shorter than in the super that a week or two ago that had already cut it,,, because he fears of. transport etc,, If I take it that I buy in the supermarket they are made to lose me faster. Although I think that in the case of tomatoes it is the other way around because they last longer, I think they must have something. It seems to me that green vegetables last less organic. The other day I went to a supermarket and bought a pouch. It was a lettuce that came in a beautiful box and so I could practically eat the lettuce

without washing it not organic But it was natural, cultivation in living water is more expensive.

[00:41:29] **Any other characteristic attributes in relation to organic.**

Viviana: [00:41:33] If you have for example the cooking is easier. they are faster [4.5] of organic cultivation you pass a steam an organic eggplant you pass a steam and it is pure but a conventional eggplant no. That has happened to me and I got a surprise I want to make a Busacca I am going to buy conventional, and I see that they are different crops, like having squash and eggplant are two different things. I have had to cook them differently and that has to do with this that I am going to say about the cutting times, the cold and transport.

[00:42:26] **and tell me a little about the benefits it gives you?**

Viviana: [00:42:37] because it is integral, the benefit is integral, it is for me, it is for the land and it is for another and I feel that my money is not wasted on diesel transport, in third that they profit. eye it is good that someone has a transport truck but it is something else what I am talking about is like I prefer that I feel that my money is better invested so

[00:43:14] **Why do you like to support the medium producer?**

[00:43:22] if that's important also because .. it's a selfish... it's my way of assuring.. it somehow gives me freedom, it's my way of ensuring that I'm going to have more choices and that I'm going to be able to keep choosing that.

[00:43:46] Let's see what that is like?

[00:43:46] Of course if I support the producer, that producer continues to hold and continues to sell and continues to bet on that. [00:43:56] and I'm interested in that, I'm interested in more producers so that I have more or more possibilities. [9.9] In addition to being able to choose that and not just buy conventional. Before I had no options because I lived in a place where to buy organic not exist. And now I can buy at the fair or at the points of sale of the cooperatives. The two stores there are, an Ecostore and Ecomarket.

[00:47:31] **and how do you feel when you receive the organic food basket?**

[00:47:31] It's a joy! it's half a surprise, by season. When you get to the basket and the experience is spectacular. and the following week when he brings you the other you give

him the empty cajonm and gives you the full. podes compare honey, boiled eggs. In the basket there are 15 crops that I buy.

[00:49:15] **But why is the organic basket so important to you?**

[00:49:17] It is the bond of person in person.

[00:49:22] **And what brings you that link from person to person?**

[00:49:22] and that is all the link makes you feel part of something and generates more confidence, and above all it is the need to take things to their own size, as to something of yours. [00:49:37] For if you are no one buying anywhere [3.1] . Because if I buy in the super I am guided by a label but what is a label. and how can I trust that label? I am half distrustful of everything, and an idea that there is not much regulation, I do not feel very protected by the government. I do not understand how there is no regulation that obliges the producer to say how much he has of each fertilizer or what ingredients you have what you consume. What governs is the market. there is not much regulation. How there is no regulation of the seller to say that what he is selling has such an amount of this and here, the State is not interested in insuring and protecting the population, I think the State is more interested in continuing to sell glyphosate. So we have to start looking for alternate ways that give me that confidence, the [00:51:12] face to face gives me that confidence, [21.9] is to go buy the guy who takes care of that plant 3 months, because? because if a person lies to you in the face to face ta... but less likely. So that bond allows me to know the producer, that gives me confidence, makes me feel closer to me.

Interviewer: [00:51:45] **And why is it important to feel close to you?**

Viviana: [00:51:45] Because that gives me more confidence. Trust is important because there is a certain distrust in the conventional because I see that there is no interest in taking care of us, [00:51:45] There is no interest in taking care of ourselves in any way. [25.5] for example, there was a regulation that the transgenic had to be labeled and is not complied with is not complied with. Not only did no one go out to supervise that it is not completed, the company is not controlled, companies are not fined, Companies are not encouraged to stop producing in that way, it is not interesting. I think yes when consuming organic because of the form and the route that Uruguay has that it is super mega direct because it is not that a third party sells it to you, the person sells it to you, the production directly, [00:53:11] then there is no chance that there is something hidden in that link, [7.1] That is why this is

so mixed that told you the three legs of the Agroecologia network, this includes the consumer, the producer and the technician in the Agroecology network. In everything that is organic consumption. The organic consumer who has congregated and joins with another has all the information available.

[00:53:38] **How is the certification of Agroecology?**

Viviana: [00:53:39] There is the consumer who has to be part of the Network, the one who certifies the technician and they visit the producer.

[00:53:40] And for the consumer to go to the farm to the certification>.

[00:53:40] To make sure that's so, that it's relatively organic.

Interviewer: [00:53:56] **And wouldn't the technician be enough?**

[00:53:56] No No Because it is because they want to involve the consumer, to be a part, that is why it is called participatory, and to witness the certification.

[00:54:14] And **what is the role of the producer?**

[00:54:16] It is the third leg of the certification. When I say the producer is not the producer who is being certified but another producer goes to the farm of another producer and is also part of the participatory certification. That is why the Agroecology Network is made up of producers and consumers.

Interviewer: [00:54:31] And where can I find a list of all organic producers in Uruguay?

Viviana: [00:54:41] On the website or ask for the [00:54:54] list of organic operators [1.5] in the country. That list has the amount of 'certified' organic products and where they are, they even give you the address.

Interviewer: [00:55:19] **So we talked about the attributes and benefits of organic products now I would like you to tell me a little bit because you don't like conventional foods?**

Viviana: [00:55:49] As for plant foods and fruit I consume sometimes, but if there is an option I always choose organic but this happens to me that sometimes there is not . if I have to choose I always choose the organic. When I have traveled I will never buy a melon or an anana, I always go to the organic.

[00:56:16] **When you buy non-organic is there anything that worries you?**

Viviana: [00:56:22] if I take out the whole shell, I throw much more because I eat the inside. I don't think I'm dying when I eat them, but with some I think it intoxicated me.

[00:56:41] Let's see tell me a little?

Viviana: [00:56:42] for sometimes I don't eat it, I throw it for example if I go out to eat and there is a slice of tomato I don't eat it. I'm not going to consume conventional tomato and it's not that it's **poisoned**. But no... it's like I already get an idea. Maybe you have to see that I know that this is not a tomato!

Interviewer: [00:56:58] **Are you a little scared because?**

Viviana: [00:57:09] More than fear is a rejection because I feel that maybe.... it is something Industrialized and to eat something industrialized I buy something processed. It seems to me a [00:57:38] lie... Like there's a manipulation. [4.8] I don't know how to really explain it to you.... It seems to me that I don't need to consume something that is not what I'm told it is. as it is not natural is artificial. I don't want it, I don't need it. And my base food is tomato and there are months in the year that tomato doesn't exist for me. Before there was no such a thing. I ate every day of my tomato life. Everyone has their stuff.... haha and now I learned that there is dried tomato and one adapts but I do not eat a non-organic tomato. It's like I feel like I'm hurting my body but that's something specific with the tomato, but I'm not like that with all vegetables. And then if I think it has to do with balance.

[00:58:35] and tell me what consequences can eating conventional tomatoes bring you?

[00:58:38] **That intoxicates me and I can get sick**, and that limits me... it makes use of me that I don't want.

[00:58:58] and what Limitations do you care about the most?

[00:59:00] Physical limitations, That I can not have the vitality and energy that in general I feel that food that is very processed or not organic takes away the energy. I after consuming organic rejuvenate! well I never get sick again.

[00:59:18] Did you get sick before?

[00:59:18] Fa.. if a lot!! I got sick every year from horrible flu, a lot of sore throat, sores, I spent a month in bed.

[00:59:32] So for the organism it directly impacts health?

[00:59:36] Yes totally. I'm not going to tell you that in these 5 years I don't get sick obviously had normal colds but never more flu or strong sores.

[00:59:48] What do you think toxic chemicals do to the body?

[00:59:50] mmm... they kind of dumb him down... Like... they don't let it... to surrender your potential, it's like being intoxicated, it's being like numb.... I'm also not eating only fruit, but if I've tried it from eating 1 month only fruit but I don't do it all the time.

[01:00:09] And that's healthy?

[01:00:34] It's healthy if it makes you feel good, it seems healthy to me.

[01:00:38] So you associate **healthy with making yourself feel good?**

[01:00:38] if it has to do with this wave of doing good to you.

[01:00:48] But what is the limit... because if I take drugs and it makes me feel good that is healthy because it makes me feel good?

[01:00:48] That's not momentary, it has to make you feel good permanently, more sustained and without bringing any damage to the body or the environment.

[01:01:05] how important is the environment to you?

[01:01:09] very important.

[01:01:09] because.

[01:01:09] as I [01:01:09] transport to the time before and **to the roots** not only of the vegetables from where it comes out, [01:01:20] **but the origin from** where it comes out [0.0] and it seems very important to me that I have seen when a child discovers that a tomato comes out of a silver. education from that place is so important, because a child who sees that wonder is not going to forget it but understand? a child who understands that bond will respect it and seek it out. That's what I understand and what I've seen from all these years of experience. The illusion every year of these children who live there who now

have 7 or 8 to wait every year for the strawberry, or all the years to wait for the small watermelon, or the tomato that are their 'candies'.

[01:02:41] So you educate your child?

[01:02:41] Yes but also like I tell you it's a balance. You can One day or not.. a month or whatever you want.. What is your internal account. I do not know... it has to do with the balance of consumer and discard it seems to me.

Interviewer: [01:03:02] how does balance relate to the organic?

Viviana: [01:03:05] What happens that being consumed mechanical you have to handle yourself from the balance because you never access tranquility, then you are always in a negotiation, it seems to me... as a consumer.... because ideally you could choose to eat, and I can't access all that. And it is also a [01:03:30] balance between the human being and the environment. [3.3] it is not only what comes to you but also that cost of your consumption.

Interviewer: [01:03:50] **What do you think they would be like the key benefits that could have been brought to you.**

Viviana: [01:04:03] I didn't know there was a difference between organic and conventional... I think that not only does it have to do something to say but also that the production has to offer something.... has to offer... that happens to me. one thing is the pure and hard benefit of saying the impact that organic consumption has on your life. but there are many people who do not care, so the product has to get a little closer to the needs of that consumer. I believe that health and health is a pat, but of course if you are told this is super healthy etc, .per you have to pilgrimage every Sunday at 8 in the morning, fight with 60 people to get a kilo of oranges and you need 6 kilos. It's a big commitment, it's a long time it takes you but [01:05:50] is what everyone prioritizes. [0.0] the theme is that space of time, that insert because it is time and space where the [01:06:10] production has to approach the current form of consumption [4.0] that is commodity, it is not commodity on a whim but by lifestyle, because if you have to leave at 8 in the morning it is impossible to sustain, you at five o'clock in the afternoon because the player reached five, but tomorrow comes from tomorrow to good I come tomorrow morning look for where to park.

[01:06:38] So time is a barrier [1.4] for people.

Interviewer: [01:06:41] How about the price?

Viviana: [01:06:41] The price is generally not the issue. There is a perception that it is more expensive but it is not real. Many times what happens when you consume conventional is bought more than the account and people throw a lot, because the supermarket that does, what matters is to sell, suddenly sells you something that knows that if you do not consume it in 1 or 2 days you will throw it away but it does not matter because it prefers that you have it to throw it away. Because in addition to paying it you have to pay to get rid of that. Maybe if people are offered this to take it, it is easier to enter, but some like to be able to choose and more than the organic ... is so complex.

Interviewer: [01:09:10] Why complex?

Viviana: [01:09:24] Because they are not all the same and when you buy baskets it is like a box of surprises but I like that, I learned not to plan as in my grandmother's time that this is the harvest and I adapted to what comes, I think there is no single way that satisfies everyone there is not a single measure that everyone enters, I think you have to offer different solutions for different types of people.

Interviewer: [01:10:06] And tell me a little bit about what you said there is no production?

Viviana: [01:10:14] It is that there is not much production, and there is no production because of the risk because of the risk is very large, in general the organic production is familiar, so the risk is important, it is the risk of betting on a crop that does not come out is the cost of the seed to keep it from the land of care. At some point you have to change this they will have to produce, I think that organic will grow. Maybe if the big producers of conventional ones benefit them to make a conversion to organic, but it is not fair to all those who produce organic and nobody gives them an incentive. But of course it is also not fair to all the people who 20 years ago produce organic and that nobody ever gave him anything. It is so difficult the market so well you could put quotas ... you can produce conventional as much produced percentage of organic crops.

Interviewer: [01:11:32] But the earth is polluted?

Viviana: [01:11:41] I don't know. Well that they do it in another land on another property, I'm talking about the big producers who have land everywhere.

[01:12:21] Tell me a little bit going back to what you said that organic is a [01:12:21] philosophy of life, [0:0] do you explain that idea a little bit?

[01:12:41] It has to do with the [01:12:41] treatment that the earth receives for its consumption, [0.8] the treatment of the Earth, a search for health because they have to do with health, respect for nature and the earth.... With the proper use of it and also respect for the human being in every way as a consumer, employee and producer. These values are contrary to the values of capitalism which I believe the large producer of conventional product does not have those values.

Interviewer: [01:15:14] **and who controls the glyphosate values?**

Viviana: [01:15:27] Dinama y la Dinama is the part of the Ministry of Agriculture that is responsible for controlling all production processes, whether livestock... all places of production, all companies all factories, all use that is made of the river network. They have a lot of information if you get into the website. Have.. as this is called.. 'simulators'. For example you put where the 'simulators' are, where the production centers of X thing are, and it puts you the map of the country, according to population centers ... he has a survey of everything, he is barbaric. The issue of the Dinama that they control at the glyphosate level ... what happens is from.... Until that moment it was not controlled, since 20178 a new decree was made, which was generated since 2015 a new 'manual' of limits that can be reached if you do a study to the earth. if they make a water deposit, they take out water and you have to have a certain limit of glyphosate. The limit of glyphosate did not exist before and is what is going to become a decree but that poor now the Dinama operates within that limit. And you can't go beyond that limit. If you go over they put a fine or they can disable you and you can not sell more.

[01:18:16] and how much is this fulfilled?

Viviana: [01:18:41] for example a girl in Salto died poor and came out in all the mass and information media, Ate an apple that was not ready to tear off the tree and Ate it and became intoxicated.

[01:18:54] Don't you think the population is aware?

[01:32:01] I think that has to do with being conscious... beyond what it causes on earth,... it has to do with nutrients.

[01:32:02] Do you think about nutrients?

[01:32:02] If every organic consumer knows about nutrients.

[01:18:58] Well if everything goes out a small group of parents who know that their children are intoxicated takes a new organism then other state agencies have degrees of optimism. It is not scientifically proven. Obviously, it is not scientifically proven because nobody is interested in studying that glyphosate does harm to children. Because? because they are interested in selling.

Interviewer: [01:20:23] Interesting... do you have any questions....?

Viviana: [01:20:23] Not at all.

Interviewer: [01:20:40] Well I'm going to ask you to complete a Values survey, it is a scale of values that Schwartz is connected to the values of organic consumers. Then imagine an imaginary person saying what is important to them in life. Notice how much you are similar, equal or similar to this person.

Appendix IV: NVivo codebook**Nodes\\phase 3- Overarching Themes theoretical coding themes**

Name	Description	Files	References
Theme 1 - Meaning of Organic		38	966
Food is medicine	Importance of our food diet- Organic is considered part of a healthy diet	29	72
Food as fuel to nourish the body	Food is like 'fuel' to our bodies	5	7
Food choice affects wellbeing	Beliefs that what we eat impacts on wellbeing and happiness	14	35
Vegetarian or Vegan diet	Ideas about vegetarianism and veganism - related to organic food-	9	13
Organic as a trend	Healthy=Organic as Trendy	19	59

Name	Description	Files	References
Organic as Authentic, Real	Going back to basics	14	27
AUTHENTICITY- Back to basics- Real- NO Modification	Organic perceived as Real, simple and Not Modified	14	27
Organic as Free from Chemicals & Contaminants	thoughts and beliefs about organic being free from chemicals, and other harmful contaminants	37	203
No additives	Organic perceived as NO additives or any kind	23	49
No agrochemical residues	Organic perceived NO Chemicals (main benefit)	31	81
NO PESTICIDES	Organic perceived No pesticides	16	24
No chemicals perceived as 'Poison'	Organic as No poison	11	26
No Chemicals perceived as 'toxic'	Concerns about the negative impact of chemicals on health. Chemicals associated with 'poison' and 'toxics'	23	47

Name	Description	Files	References
Organic Perceived as 'Alive Food'	perception of Organic as Alive due to being living organism full of nutrients, and energy	23	41
Perceived as Environmentally friendly	Perception Organic as Environmentally Friendly to the soil, and has received more care	23	110
Ethical Values - Small scale farming	Perceived Ethical (values & Lifestyle) associated with organic	12	40
Organic as Agroecological farming concept		17	53
Care for the Soil, and natural resources	Understanding of Organic as Agroecological-Environmentally friendly- care for the soil and natural resources	17	52
Perceived as expensive	Perception of price, perceived as for higher class Organic perceived as higher price-Expensive	25	50
Perceived as Healthy	Organic Perceived as Healthy (perception not why they consume)	26	63
Perceived as higher nutritional value		12	30

Name	Description	Files	References
Higher nutritional content	Organic perceived as Nutritionally Superior	12	30
Perceived as Natural		32	131
Natural as 'connected' with nature- harmony - 'Gift from nature'	Organic perceived as in harmony with nature, connected to nature - spiritual	11	23
NATURAL as UNADULTERATED	Organic perceived as Natural	22	69
NATURAL -Authentic appearance, colour, shape, size	Organic perceived as authentic	17	39
Perceived enhanced QUALITY		33	180
Perceived enhanced Taste (Hedonism)	Organic perceived as better taste - real, authentic, intense, flavoursome (Hedonistic Benefit)	29	107
Perceived Freshness	Organic perceived as Fresh	14	30

Name	Description	Files	References
Theme 2- Why organic food consumption		0	0
Connectedness with Nature	connectedness with nature- feeling part of Nature	13	48
'Farm to Table'	Buying directly from organic producer (benefit)- Wanting to know where food comes from	15	40
Holistic Interrelationship Individual-Planet-Animals	holistic interconnection between our health, planet and animals	13	30
Nostalgia	Connection with past, Life in countryside before, memories of childhood,	7	11
DISTRUST - Lack of Trust		35	200
Anti-Capitalism- Anti Industrialisation -Anti commercialization	Feelings/thoughts around capitalism, mass production, industrialisation	21	65

Name	Description	Files	References
Safety Regulations	*****Concerns Pesticides/chemicals/fertilisers residues that affect the safety/health risk of what we eat.	18	51
ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS	Environmental Concerns - Universalism values	27	149
Animal Welfare	Love for Animals	3	12
Buying Local shops	Desire to buy Local, from local street market or local producers	9	20
Climate Change	Concerns about climate change	4	7
Political- activism	discussion around Political Ideology- Activism- militancy and feeling of being actively involved in the community example the first organic street market	3	32
Recycling	thoughts around recycling and reusing behaviour	19	31
Religious stewardship	thoughts around religion - linked to consumption of organic food	3	7

Name	Description	Files	References
Respect for Nature and natural lifecycles	Importance of respecting nature	21	51
Sustainable lifestyle	thoughts around sustainable lifestyle, and becoming self-sufficient, growing own vegetables/fruits etc	6	11
Water Contamination & natural resources	Pollution, contamination of natural resources	18	43
Food choices as Prevention	Belief that food can be a source of healing and nourishment	29	108
FOOD SAFETY- SECURITY	importance of trust in organic, and the certification process	30	123
FEAR Perceived Health Risk (Fear)	***** FOOD SAFETY-Feelings of Fear and Insecurity regarding Food safety, Lack of trust (Bromatology)	24	157
Healthy & why it matters	Organic Perceived as Healthy- Explore meaning-	26	63
Organic part of wider healthy lifestyle	organic as part of a wider change in eating habits -	15	33

Name	Description	Files	References
Why 'Healthy' matters	Meaning of Health/Health Consciousness - Reason to buy organic - Research Question "Why buy organic" Why health is important?	35	136
Fitness-		3	6
Prevention illness	Fear to become ill- so avoid anything that may have negative effects on health	24	69
Agency- ability to carry on tasks	to continue with my daily activities, daily life, to be able to do what I currently do	12	15
For others -to avoid burden	To be there for others - and to avoid being a burden and worrying others	17	27
Holistic Balance or being in harmony	Health is synonymous of Holistic Balance, being in harmony	13	30
Quality of Life	To enjoy life to the fullest	19	53
Wellbeing	Wellbeing - perceived benefit	22	53
Higher nutritional content	Organic perceived as Nutritionally higher value	12	30

Name	Description	Files	References
Perceived Quality	Importance of Quality- closely associated with Organic	16	43
FRESHNESS	Organic perceived as Fresh	14	30
TASTE -HEDONISM	Organic perceived as better taste - real, authentic, intense, flavoursome (Hedonistic Benefit)	31	112
AUTHENTICITY- Back to basics- Real- NO Modification	Organic perceived as Real, simple and Not Modified	14	27
Responsibility OWN health - control	Feeling responsible for Personal health, being aware of food choices that influence personal health	28	93
Conscious eating	Food diet = as a conscious choice, we are responsible for what we choose to eat, we have to be aware of what we put in our bodies	18	50
T2.1-Triggers originally	Reflective thoughts about the triggers to buy OF in first place- years ago	21	34

Name	Description	Files	References
Having children as an initial driver	Responsibility for children to give them the best	13	32
Increased media attention and information	Importance of Information and being informed versus being ignorant	24	70
Previous ill-health as an initial driver	Thoughts about significant life events that may have triggered a change in lifestyle or eating habits.	14	28
TRUST Organic - Peace of mind	importance of trust in organic, and the certification process	30	123
certification process	certification process as a cue for trust, a symbol of 'guarantee'	20	87
Controls	Trust Independent Certification control system not Government	12	33
Corruption	Bribery	2	3
The role of the organic farmer in the development of trust	Relationship and bond with the Organic Producer, trust and supporting small local producers	20	74

Name	Description	Files	References
Local Street Market	thoughts around local street Markets- why they buy there what they represent and knowing with farmer gives them trust	9	26
The values associated with organic farmer	Perceived Lifestyle (values) associated with organic	12	39
Trust in Nature	Importance of respecting nature	21	51
Theme 3 -Personal values in relation to organic Food consumption		0	0
BENEVOLENCE (VALUE) CARING - Health concerns others	Thoughts about Caring for Others (loved ones/family)- Benevolence	24	53
Health (VALUE) - HEALTH CONSCIOUSNESS	Meaning of Health/Health Consciousness – why is important?	35	137
HEDONISM (VALUE)	Organic perceived as better taste - real, authentic, intense, flavoursome (Hedonistic Benefit)	31	112

Name	Description	Files	References
SECURITY PERS - Importance of Feeling Safe	*****Concerns about Pesticides/chemicals/fertilisers residues that affect the safety/health risk of what we eat.	22	91
Anti-Capitalism- Anti Industrialisation -Anti commercialization	Feelings/thoughts around capitalism, mass production, industrialisation	21	65
FOOD SAFETY-concerns SEGURIDAD	*****Concerns Pesticides/chemicals/fertilisers residues that affect the safety/health risk of what we eat.	18	51
SELF DIRECTION- The importance of making own choices, and taking responsibility	Buying organic is down to choose and being responsible for those choices.	10	27
UNIVERSALISM Concern (VALUE)	Concerns about Society, and wider community and their wellbeing	17	41
UNIVERSALISM Nature (VALUE)	Universalism values, protection of the environment	34	163
Religious stewardship	thoughts around religion - linked to consumption of organic food	3	7

Appendix V: Schwartz Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-RR) – English

PVQ-RR Male (10/2013)

Here we briefly describe different people. Please read each description and think about how much that person is or is not like you. Put an X in the box to the right that shows how much the person described is like you.

	HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON?					
	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Moder- ately like me	Like me	Very much like me
1. It is important to him to form his views independently.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. It is important to him that his country is secure and stable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. It is important to him to have a good time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. It is important to him to avoid upsetting other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. It is important to him that the weak and vulnerable in society be protected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. It is important to him that people do what he says they should.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. It is important to him never to think he deserves more than other people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. It is important to him to care for nature.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. It is important to him that no one should ever shame him.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. It is important to him always to look for different things to do.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. It is important to him to take care of people he is close to.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. It is important to him to have the power that money can bring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. It is very important to him to avoid disease and protect his health.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. It is important to him to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. It is important to him never to violate rules or regulations.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. It is important to him to make his own decisions about his life.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. It is important to him to have ambitions in life.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. It is important to him to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. It is important to him that people he knows have full confidence in him.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. It is important to him to be wealthy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. It is important to him to take part in activities to defend nature.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. It is important to him never to annoy anyone.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. It is important to him to develop his own opinions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. It is important to him to protect his public image.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. It is very important to him to help the people dear to him.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. It is important to him to be personally safe and secure.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. It is important to him to be a dependable and trustworthy friend.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

							HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON?					
							Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Moder- ately like me	Like me	Very much like me
28. It is important to him to take risks that make life exciting.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. It is important to him to have the power to make people do what he wants.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. It is important to him to plan his activities independently.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31. It is important to him to follow rules even when no-one is watching.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. It is important to him to be very successful.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. It is important to him to follow his family's customs or the customs of a religion.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. It is important to him to listen to and understand people who are different from him.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. It is important to him to have a strong state that can defend its citizens.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. It is important to him to enjoy life's pleasures.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. It is important to him that every person in the world have equal opportunities in life.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. It is important to him to be humble.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. It is important to him to figure things out himself.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. It is important to him to honor the traditional practices of his culture.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. It is important to him to be the one who tells others what to do.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. It is important to him to obey all the laws.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. It is important to him to have all sorts of new experiences.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. It is important to him to own expensive things that show his wealth							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. It is important to him to protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. It is important to him to take advantage of every opportunity to have fun.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. It is important to him to concern himself with every need of his dear ones.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. It is important to him that people recognize what he achieves.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
49. It is important to him never to be humiliated.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
50. It is important to him that his country protect itself against all threats.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
51. It is important to him never to make other people angry.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
52. It is important to him that everyone be treated justly, even people he doesn't know.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
53. It is important to him to avoid anything dangerous.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
54. It is important to him to be satisfied with what he has and not ask for more.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
55. It is important to him that all his friends and family can rely on him completely.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
56. It is important to him to be free to choose what he does by himself.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
57. It is important to him to accept people even when he disagrees with them.							<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix VI: Descriptive statistics for all value items

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
27-BED2- be dependable and trustworthy friend (Benevolence Dependability)	38	5	6	5.74	0.446
25-BEC2- help people dear to her/him ('Benevolence - Care- help close others)	38	5	6	5.74	0.446
11-BEC1- take care of people she is close to (Benevolence- Care)	38	1	6	5.71	0.867
13-SEP1- avoid disease and protect her/his health (Security- Personal)	38	3	6	5.63	0.675
8-UNN1- care for nature ('Universalism Nature')	38	4	6	5.63	0.589
56-SDA3- be free to choose what she/he does by herself (Self-Direction action)	38	4	6	5.55	0.686
16-SDA1- make her/his own decisions about her/his life (Self-Direction - Action)	38	3	6	5.55	0.76
55-BED3- all her/his friends and family can rely on her/him completely.(Benevolence - Dependability)	38	4	6	5.5	0.604
45-UNN3- protect the natural environment from destruction or pollution (Universalism- Nature)	38	3	6	5.45	0.795
52-UNC3- everyone be treated justly, even people she/he dont know. (Universalism- Care)	38	3	6	5.42	0.826
37-UNC2- every person in the world have equal opportunities in life.(Universalism- Concern)	38	3	6	5.37	0.852
36-HE2- enjoy life's pleasures (Hedonism)	38	3	6	5.32	0.809
39-SDT3- figure things out oneself (Self-direction Thought)	38	3	6	5.29	0.802
34-UNT2- listen to and understand people who are very different from her/him (Universalism-Tolerance)	38	4	6	5.21	0.741
57-UNT3- accept people even when she/he disagrees with him (Universalism- Tolerance)	38	3	6	5.13	0.844
23-SDT2- develop her/his own opinions (Self-Direction thought)	38	2	6	5.13	0.991
19-BED1- people she/he knows have full confidence in her (Benevolence - Dependability)	38	2	6	5.11	1.134
2-SES1- country is secure and stable (Security - Societal)	38	3	6	5.05	1.038
3-HE1- have a good time (Hedonism)	38	1	6	5.03	1.102
5-UNC1- weak and vulnerable in society are protected ('Universalism Concerns' x others)	38	3	6	4.97	1
38-HU2- to be humble (Humility)	38	3	6	4.97	1.052
1-SDT1- form own views independently (Self-direction)	38	1	6	4.92	1.26
4-COI1- avoid upsetting other people ('Conformity- Interpersonal' -people pleaser)	38	1	6	4.89	1.29
26-SEP2- be personally safe and secure (Security Personal)	38	2	6	4.89	1.203
17-AC1- have ambitions in life (Achievement)	38	1	6	4.84	1.263
35-SES2- have a strong state to defend citizens (Security- Societal)	38	2	6	4.74	1.349
14-UNT1- be tolerant towards all kinds of people and groups (Universalism - Tolerance)	38	2	6	4.74	1.178
47-BEC3- concern herself/himself with every need of her/his dear ones.(Benevolence- Care)	38	2	6	4.71	1.037
31-COR2- follow rules even when no-one is watching (Conformity)	38	1	6	4.55	1.35
15-COR1- never violate rules or regulations (Conformity - Rules)	38	1	6	4.53	1.39
7-HU1- never think she/he deserves more than others (Humility)	38	1	6	4.45	1.554
53-SEP3- to avoid anything dangerous (Security - Personal)	38	2	6	4.32	1.188
10-ST1- always look for different things to do (Stimulation)	38	2	6	4.32	1.472
46-HE3- take advantage of every opportunity to have fun (Hedonism)	38	2	6	4.32	1.297
54-HU3- be satisfied with what she/he has and not ask for more (Humility)	38	1	6	4.24	1.324
49-FA3- never be humiliated (Face)	38	1	6	4.13	1.436
50-SES3- the country protect itself against all threats (Security- Societal)	38	1	6	4.13	1.597
21-UNN2- take part in activities to defend nature (Universalism- Nature)	38	1	6	4.08	1.402
40-TR3- honor the traditional practices of her/his culture (Tradition)	38	1	6	4.08	1.302
22-COI2- never annoy anyone (Conformity-Interpersonal)	38	1	6	4.08	1.617
28-ST2-	38	1	6	4.05	1.524
30-SDA2- plan her/his activities independently	38	1	6	4	1.414
42-COR3- obey all the laws (Conformity- Rules)	38	1	6	3.92	1.583
9-FA1- no one should ever shame her/him (Face)	38	1	6	3.82	1.557
24-FA2- protect the public image (Face)	38	1	6	3.76	1.384
51-COI3- never to make people angry (Conformity- Interpersonal)	38	1	6	3.74	1.389
48-AC3- people recognize what she/he achieves (Achievement)	38	1	6	3.68	1.454
43-ST3- have all sort of experiences (Stimulation)	38	1	6	3.53	1.33
32-AC2- be successfull (Achievement)	38	1	6	3.5	1.225
18-TR1- maintain traditional values and ways of thinking (Tradition)	38	1	6	3.13	1.528
33-TR2- follow her family's customs or the customs of a religion. (Tradition)	38	1	6	3	1.644
12-POR1- have the power money can bring (Power - Resources)	38	1	6	2.68	1.435
6-POD1- people do what she/he say they should. ('Power Dominance' others follow his/her advice)	38	1	6	2.39	1.405
41-POD3- be the one who tells others what to do (Power Dominance)	38	1	6	2.37	1.324
20-POR2- be wealthy (Power Resources)	38	1	6	2.34	1.381
29-POD2- have to make people do what she/he wants ('Power Dominance')	38	1	5	2.13	1.044
44-POR3- own expensive things that show her/his wealth (cPower Resources))	38	1	4	1.45	0.686
Valid N (listwise)	38				

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