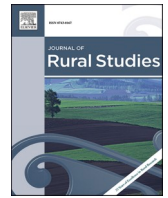


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Social innovation networks and agrifood citizenship. The case of Florianópolis Area, Santa Catarina / Brazil

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ABSTRACT

Food production and supply have been affected by several contemporary phenomena. They have stimulated movements for the social construction of alternative markets in urban centres, which reflect the growing interest of consumers in the quality of food and increased the demand for organic and agroecological products. The present article uses the theoretical approach of social innovation to investigate the emergence of trajectories that organize networks and articulate production, supply and purchase of superior biological quality food in the Florianópolis Metropolitan Area and beyond, Southern Brazil which we identify as an agrifood citizenship network. The research was developed through participatory methodologies, using interviews, participant observation and the use of databases. We verified that organizations and networks have been acting interdependently, generating social innovations. We've shown that actors create relations of proximity through markets, which are explained by the network articulation in groups of farmers, social organizations and public institutions. From the rural areas, this social innovation emerges in the form of an agrifood citizenship network, directly related to the trajectory of organizations and network focused on agroecology and short food supply chains.

1. Introduction

Food production, supply and purchase are today a central arena of political disputes with multiple tensions around the world. Therefore, it is important to analyse practices that promote effective solutions to remodelling agrifood systems and chains. Contemporary societies have experienced a growing urbanization and environmental crisis, which are generating increasing concerns from civil society, science and governments. In addition, there is also a growing crisis of consumer confidence in the quality of food (nutritional, environmental, social). The market view attributed to food, neglecting its centrality to planetary life and

human societies, creates challenges and opportunities for food supply, stimulating movements for the social construction of markets in urban centres. These markets reflect the growing interest of consumers in the organic and agroecological quality of food and challenge farmers, social organizations and institutions that work with agrifood issues to create new possibilities for marketing.

Industrial agriculture and the agrifood systems related to it are not able to solve social, distributive, economic and environmental problems. This has affected the social actors involved, who have built alternatives, mobilizing participation and collaborative action in facing these issues. Many of them have with the initial impetus the idea that agroecology

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and organic production¹ provide healthier food for consumers and farmers. Responding to productive, supply and socio-economic organization challenges in each location, farmers and consumers have been promoting new relationships between the links of food production and consumption.

Studies have interpreted these experiences as social innovations, considering that they bring new and improved solutions to problems related to food quality and safety (Rover, 2011; Chiffolleau and Prevost, 2012; Rover et al., 2016; Chiffolleau and Paturel, 2016). The notion of social innovation comprises actions that provoke change processes aimed at tackling social problems (Neumeier, 2012; Juliani et al., 2014; Agostini et al., 2017). Unlike innovation aimed at “meeting the competitiveness of markets” (Juliani et al., 2014, p. 2), social innovations broaden their range of action by responding to the needs of social segments by public policies or even private initiatives (André and Abreu, 2006; Neumeier, 2012). They often address social needs related to social inclusion, empowerment of actors and marginalized local communities (André and Abreu, 2006; Richter, 2019; Bock, 2016).

However, some theoretical gaps still need to be investigated, such as: how the empirical context influences social innovations and how different social actors act within them (Agostini et al., 2017). About these, we throw light on rural actors in the trajectory of social innovations and ask: How do rural social actors contribute to the innovation trajectories in experiences that articulate production, supply, and purchase food groups?

In this framework, the article investigates the emergence of trajectories that organize networks and articulate production, supply and purchase to superior quality food in the Florianópolis Metropolitan Area and beyond (FMA), Southern Brazil. This context is characterized by the proximity between production and consumption regions of fresh organic food (<200 km), and also the presence and trajectory of social organizations - named in the article as supporting entities - which work with actors promoting agroecology. It uses the theoretical approach of *social innovations* to investigate the shaping of a *civic food network* (CFN), based on the articulation of the actors involved in *short food supply chains* (SFSC) experiences. Among different SFSC identified in the territory are analysed, in particular, direct sales by pre-order articulated to collective purchase groups. From the CFN notion, we identified a network in formation, which integrates a trajectory of strong protagonist actors linked to rural territories, generating innovative actions that reveal the shaping of what we prefer to call the Agrifood Citizenship Network (ACN) in this context.

2. Theoretical approaches

We use the theoretical framework of social innovations, understood as the result of the mobilization of different groups and social actors around innovative solutions to common problems, whose organization culminates in effective solutions for the actors involved and that radiate to a wider social environment. The notions of short food supply chains and civic food networks are mobilised to understand the dynamics of social actors, considering the specificities of agroecology and the markets that derive from it. Perceiving the contemporary experiences of SFSC in the context of southern Brazil, we analyse through this theoretical framework *how and in what context do rural social actors contribute to the emergence of innovation trajectories.*

¹ There are debates in the literature about the specificities of the agroecological approach and its differences from organic farming. However, in this article we refer to organic/agroecological, bringing together both notions in the understanding of superior biological quality food. In addition, in Brazil, legislation for the certification of organic products also covers agroecological foods.

2.1. Social innovations

Literature on the concept of social innovation shows different understandings, are sometimes contradictory and/or inaccurate (Bock, 2012; Lins, 2019). Neumeier (2012) argues that the varied understandings of social innovations assume three distinct definitions, according to the context in which they are thought. The first matters the “new ways of organizing the business practice, workplace or external relations of an enterprise to improve economic activities” (Neumeier, 2012, p. 64). The second, broader, refers to the generation of new ideas capable of driving general changes in society. The third, in turn, point to the “generation and implementation of new ideas about how people should organize interpersonal activities to meet one or more common goals” (Neumeier, 2012, p. 65). From these conceptions, the author proposes a new definition, which according to him, would be less contextual and more generalizable.

[...] social innovations can be generally understood as a change in the attitudes, behaviour or perceptions of a group of people joined in a network of aligned interests that, in relation to the group’s horizon of experiences, leads to new and improved ways of collaborative action in the group and beyond (Neumeier, 2012, p. 65).

The social construction of innovative solutions is a process that involves the mobilization of social groups directly related to the actions of change. The mobilization of these actors tends to use collaborative actions mobilised by the actors tend to generate concrete advantages.

However, not all novelties in rural development are necessarily social innovations (Schneider and Menezes, 2014). To be understood as such, they must obey a set of criteria: 1. Be something new in relation to the public, the context or the form of execution; 2. Meet the needs of the main public more effectively than the alternatives previously adopted; 3. Provide long-term solutions; and 4. Be adopted beyond the initial group or network that developed or proposed the innovation (Neumeier, 2012, 2017).

Neumeier (2012, p. 57), when discussing the importance of innovations in the dynamics of rural development, builds a logical path for their development, indicating that they would be created and developed through stages. The first would consist of “problematization”, which would correspond to an initial impetus of a small social group articulated by common goals and interests, derived from the identification of the need for change. It would be driven by internal and external forces, promoting changes in the way the social group perceives its reality and adopts news in relation to previous practices. The second stage would consist of the “expression of interest” of other actors, identifying advantages in the new forms of action practiced by the small original social group. The third stage would correspond to the “delineation and coordination” of social innovation, which would occur as new actors adopt those new forms of action. There would be a “decision point” since social innovation would tend to be organized based on the negotiation between new and pioneering actors. The authors emphasizes that this configuration can take directions different from those undertaken by the actors of the initial impetus, which would generate a “tipping point” and the new practices could not present improvements (in comparison to the previous forms of action) for the actors who adopt them. Nevertheless, the new “successful” forms of action would come to be accepted by the actors involved, as they generate tangible improvements in meeting the social needs previously discussed. Therefore, the acceptance of the social groups involved would correspond to the consolidation of the new form of action.

For its part, the consolidation of social innovations can create fruitful conditions or instigate the emergence of new forms of innovation (Rover et al., 2016), which would correspond to new changes in behaviours, perceptions and attitudes. This would generate an innovative trajectory, which is what we observed in the course of multiple experiences of SFSC in the Florianópolis Metropolitan Area and beyond, on the South Coast of Brazil. The interdependencies and relationships that are established in this territory, around short food supply chains, have signalled the

establishment of prosperous ties that involve production, supply and consumption.

2.2. Short food supply chains (SFSC) and civic food networks (CFN)

The short food supply chains can be understood through different dimensions of proximity: geographic or spatial, informational and relational (Marsden et al., 2000; Renting et al., 2003; Darolt, 2013; Kneafsey et al., 2013). SFSC are defined as commercial channels with at most one intermediary between farmers and consumers (Darolt, 2013; Mays and Kirwan, 2010). These chains are often associated with organic agriculture, traditional foods and agrobiodiversity, dimensions of production closely related to family farming, as they relate to the supply of fresh food and with socio-environmental references related to production territories. The different types of proximity contribute, in an articulated way or not, to face a series of problems of the dominant supply model (Darolt, 2013; Darolt et al., 2013). Darolt (2013) indicates that within SFSC, especially in those that articulate direct selling forms, innovations emerge that stimulate the participation and involvement of different social actors.

The *direct sale by pre-order* (DSPO)² is a practice of SFSC. It differs from the others SFSC by the advance payment to farmers, enabling production planning, and at the same time providing an affordable price to the consumer. In the FMA, this modality has grown significantly in the last few years. Such planning encourages good practices in reducing food loss and waste, enabling farmers to harvest only that production that is already sold.

One of the main characteristics of SFSC is their ability to re-socialize and re-spatialize foods, allowing consumers to make value judgments about their quality, based on their own knowledge, experiences or perceived images (Marsden et al., 2000). The recent advancement is linked to the phenomenon named quality turn, by Goodman (2003), which comes from a crisis of consumer trust (Renting et al., 2012). This shift towards quality refers to values of quality and trust, changing consumption and production practices. It indicates an appreciation of quality attributes that problematize mainstream demands of scale and specialization and point to the need for sustainable agrifood processes between society and nature (Renting et al., 2003; Lamine et al., 2012; Goodman, 2017). In addition to inducing local changes, SFSC enhances broader processes of interdependence between agents in the agrifood system, often forming alternative and civic food networks (Lamine et al., 2012; Renting et al., 2012).

Alternative food networks (AFN) have been encouraging the construction of SFSC, exploring the alternative potential to conventional food systems (Gazolla and Schneider, 2017) and revealing consumption as a political act. These networks are marked by a design difference in relation to the industrial agrifood system, with different rules and forms of articulation in relation to the conventional regulations of the markets. They involve different scales and subjects around new eating practices, aimed at foods with quality attributes related to environmental, social and productive issues. These socio-productive and consumer organizations criticize and seek to move away from conventional logics that involve food production, marketing and consumption (Renting et al., 2012; Sonnino and Marsden, 2006). AFN opened space for the emergence of other analytical approaches, which deepen the issues weakly explored in this approach. Renting et al. (2012) argue that its main deficiency consists of: the variability of the distinction between conventional and alternative over time; the hybrid dynamics of these

networks, which combine both “alternative” and “conventional” elements; and the lack of attention to the issue of social inclusion and popularisation of the consumption of these networks’ products. Therefore, the authors point out that the analytical contribution of AFN has not been able to analyse contemporary food dynamics, by proposing the concept of *civic food networks* (CFN).

This notion has been presented as an advance in discussions about networks through the incorporation of themes such as justice, sovereignty and food democratization (Renting et al., 2012; Gazolla and Schneider, 2017). The diversity within the SFSC and networks, as well as the debates that arise from them, favour the legitimation and the development of new views on agriculture and food (Lamine et al., 2019). Thus, CFN would differ from AFN due to the values on which they are based on, such as trust, solidarity, reciprocity, democracy and citizenship (Renting et al., 2012). CFN are characterized less by alternativity and more by strengthening these values in their motivations and practices.

Renting et al. (2012) propose an analytical approach using a set of considerations that define the CFN: the emergence of new relationships based on the engagement of consumers and farmers, with emphasis on the role of consumers; the involvement of local actors and networks in projects and actions that share an interest in new approaches to food issues; the growing importance of civil society in food governance (in greater or lesser dialogue with the state and market forces). CFN are networks that “often embody different discourses, new knowledge and new symbolic frameworks, which are developed and shared through interaction amongst involved actors, and which underpin new preferences and practices” (Renting et al., 2012, p. 292).

The CFN literature demonstrates a strong relationship between the actions of civil society, markets and local public agents (Darolt et al., 2016; Preiss, 2017; Escosteguy et al., 2019; Miranda, 2020). This relationship implies new conceptions of citizenship and food democracy, and the reorganization of agrifood governance mechanisms (Renting et al., 2012; Lamine et al., 2012; Cucco and Fonte, 2016). By expanding links with new social organizations, CFN dialogue with different agendas and debates in the social and economic spheres, which provokes the development of new ideas and practices around food.

3. Methodology and data

In order to understand the contributions of rural social actors to the emergence of trajectories of social innovations around short food supply chain experiences, the research adopted a case study, developed in the FMA, in the State of Santa Catarina, Southern Brazil (Fig. 1), with multiple actors (Table 1 and Table 2) related to the DSPO experiences. The spatial delimitation of the study circumscribes a proximity circuit between production and consumption, mainly relational and geographical (Marsden et al., 2000; Renting et al., 2003; Darolt, 2013; Kneafsey et al., 2013). This area covers a distance of approximately 200 km from Florianópolis, which is attributed as a geographical delimitation of short food supply chains (Rover and Riepe, 2015). We worked with an action-research approach, in which “interaction between researchers and members of the investigated situations” occurs, in addition to that provided for in the data collection process (Thiollent, 1986, p. 7). This interaction took place through the participation of the authors in meetings, events, monitoring of support organizations and institutions, and participation in activities with groups of farmers and consumers of organic/agroecological foods.

In addition, the work was carried out with a database of Family Agriculture Commercialization Laboratory (LACAF/UFSC). Since 2011, the Laboratory has been engaged in the development of research and extension activities focused on agroecology and food marketing, with institutions and social segments of agroecological family farming around food marketing.

Data were collected through three main procedures. The first corresponded to bibliographic research (both literature and documentary

² We understand that DSPOs derive from a diversity of organizational experiences, such as the Community-supported agriculture (CSA model), Gruppi d’Acquisto Solidale (GAS), as well as the Association pour le Maintien d’une Agriculture Paysanne (AMAP), the Spanish Grupos de Consumo and the Ecuadorian Canastas Comunitarias (Preiss, 2017). A common feature of these experiences is the advance payment to farmers.

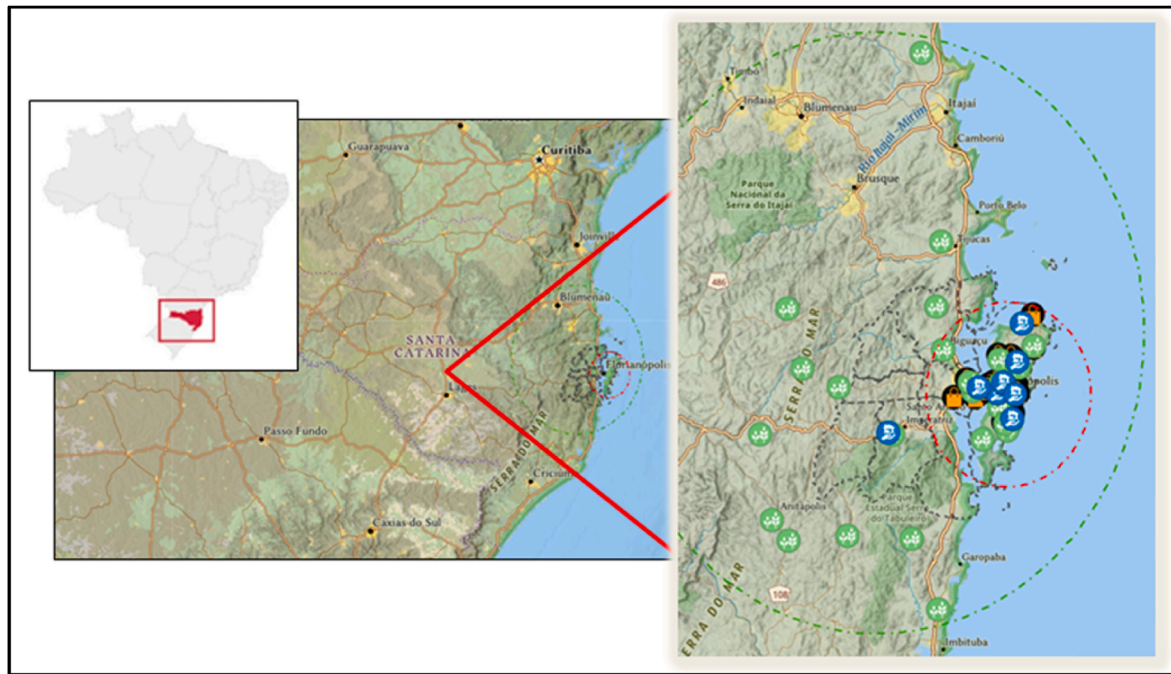


Fig. 1. Research territory: location of the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil, with emphasis on the Metropolitan Region of Florianópolis and beyond, in the central portion of the Santa Catarina Coast.

Table 1
Collective experiences of direct sales by pre-order in progress in FMA.

Experiences Names	Farmers' families	Estimated weekly consumers	Consumers Organized Groups	Food sold (kg/month)	Support Entities	Beginning
"Da Horta à Mesa" - From Garden to Table	18	50	n/d*	640	Associação Acolhida na Colônia; Ecovida Network of Agroecology	2020
Ecoserra	50	50	2	3.000	Ecovida Network of Agroecology; Cepagro; Centro Vianeí	2020
"Consumo Consciente Kairós" - Conscious Consumption	9	60	2	1.320	Ecovida Network of Agroecology; Movimento Kairós	2018
CCC - Conscious Consumption Cells, Commune Amarildo de Souza	7	78	2	1.092	MST; Ecovida Network of Agroecology	2018
CCR - Responsible Consumer Cells	65	540	12	10.000	UFSC; LACAF; Ecovida Network of Agroecology	2017
"São Pedro de Alcântara" - Family Farming Group	23	80	-	560	SENAR; Epagri; Ecovida Network of Agroecology; Associação Acolhida na Colônia	2017
CSA Saraquá	1	62	3	868	Ecovida Network of Agroecology; CSA Brazil	2016
"Florabela" Farm	1	30	2	720	Ecovida Network of Agroecology; Associação Acolhida na Colônia	2013
"Ilha Meimbipe" Group	34	n/d*	n/d*	5.120	Cepagro; Ecovida Network of Agroecology	2002
"Cestas Vivas - Flor de Ouro" Farm	1	60	5	840	Slow Food	2002
Total	209 farmers' families	1.010 direct consumers per week	28 organized consumer groups	24.160 kg of food sold per month		

*n/d: Data not given by the informant.

Source: Elaborated by authors (2020).

analysis of support entities and studied experiences) on the supply and purchase of organic/agroecological food. From it we describe the main characteristics of the production, supply and markets for organic/agroecological food in the studied region. The second procedure comprised a survey of SFSC experiences of organic/agroecological foods by pre-ordering (DSPO) in the Florianópolis Metropolitan Area and beyond (FMA). The experiences were identified through contact with interlocutors from institutions and organizations involved in production, supply and purchase of organic/agroecological foods. In addition, some

experiences were identified through accessing mappings available on digital platforms (Miranda, 2020; CEPAGRO, 2020). After the initial survey we made contact with interlocutors from all the experiences and support entities identified. We conducted 36 qualitative and quantitative semi-structured interviews. The SFSC experiences contacted are initiatives that articulate consumers, farmers and support entities. Ten of them gave us feedback with the requested information, thus constituting the sample of this stage of the research. In this contact, we identified the number of farmers who supply each experience; the

Table 2
Socio-organizational context of the studied experiences.

Organizations/ Institutions	Kind of organization	Operating areas	Target audience
UFSC - Santa Catarina Federal University	Public University	Education, research and extension	Society, scientific community
MST – Landless workers movement	Social movement	Agrarian reform and food sovereignty	Landless workers and civil society
Epagri - Santa Catarina Agricultural Research and Rural Extension Company	Public company	ATER - Technical Assistance and Rural and Fishing Extension	Rural producers, scientific community, ATER agents
Cepagro - Centre for the Study and Promotion of Group Agriculture	Non-profitable organization	Urban agriculture, sustainable rural development, agroecological education	Rural and urban communities
Agritourism Association “Acolhida na Colônia”	Association	Agrotourism	Family farmers and rural territories
Ecovida - Network of Agroecology	Interorganizational network	PGS -participatory guarantee system	Family farmers and rural territories
SENAR - National Rural Learning Service	Professional categories of interest institution	Teaching of Rural Professional Training and Social Promotion	Family farmers, rural workers, young people and rural women
Slow Food	Social movement	Dissemination and support in safeguarding traditional and local foods	Cooks, family farmers, traditional communities
Popular Education Centre “Centro Viane de Educação Popular”	Non-profit civil society educational organization	Production alternatives, education for citizenship, intangible heritage	Family farmers and rural territories

Source: Elaborated by authors (2020).

organization of farmers; the number of consumers directly involved; the amount of food sold monthly; the places of production and points of withdrawal of products; the entities (organizations and institutions) that support their creation and/or development; and the reference year of the beginning of the experiments. The third procedure consisted of searching for information about the support entities that work with the studied experiences. In this procedure we identified the types of entities; the length of experience in the region; the forms of organization; the activities developed; the beneficiary public; and the relationship with other support entities.

For data collection, we used semi-structured interviews, registration in field notebooks, access to LACAF’s databases and experiences, as well as newsletters, forms and audio-visual materials for entities dissemination. As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, part of the information was updated and searched through phone calls, contacts via audio and text messages and emails. After collection, we proceeded with content analysis.

4. The Florianópolis Metropolitan Area in Santa Catarina, Brazil

The state of Santa Catarina is located in the southern region of Brazil. Its total population is 6.2 million inhabitants, of which 16% live in rural areas (IBGE, 2010). The predominant geography is shaped by mountains and slopes, and the coastal terrain is heavily rugged, restricting the use

of machines and favouring occupation by family farmers, with intensive production in the workforce (Viegas, 2016). The whole state is covered by the Atlantic Forest, one of the main global biodiversity hotspots.

The human occupation of the state was originally by indigenous people. In the middle of the 17th century started the settlement of immigrants from the Azorean islands and from Portugal. However, only in the 19th century there was a mass migration mainly by Germans and Italians, followed in smaller numbers by immigrants from other countries. Colonisation was markedly rural, although the urbanization process played a fundamental role in the constitution of political, administrative, and commercial headquarters. The European immigrants occupied, populated, and produced plantations, pastures, architecture, leaving legacies that are important material and immaterial heritage of the State (IPHAN, 2011), and that mark the socio-cultural characteristics and their social relations. Búrigo (2010) highlights the protagonism of immigrant family farmers in cooperative and associative initiatives, especially those linked with rural production and the social reproduction of family farming.

Florianópolis is the capital and one of the main urban centres of the State. The studied area has formed through the enchainment between cities, beaches, mountains, and rivers. Its population, according to official survey in 2017 was composed by 492.977 inhabitants, 92% of whom live in urban areas and the remaining 8% live in 10,341 agricultural establishments (IBGE, 2017). Although heavily urbanized, there are still family farming areas with traditional fields, small-scale livestock raising, artisanal fishing, agroforestry systems, certified organic production, urban agriculture, and other forms of socio-environmental relations.

Family farming³ is the majority social category in agrifood production in Santa Catarina. It is responsible for a large part of the conventional and organic fresh products. They are consumed by the local and regional urban population, but also directed towards more distant markets.

In the agrifood area, the state’s main policy orientation is towards family agricultural and livestock production integrated with corporative agribusiness, with the intensive use of pesticides, the concentration of capital, and oriented towards long food supply chains. Also, organic and agroecological agriculture operates in the state with different spatiality between production and consumption. Some authors argue that the socio-cultural and environmental characteristics of the state favouring organic agriculture, developed in low-scale production systems, especially when close to large consumption centres (Viegas, 2016; Zoldan and Mior, 2012).

A hallmark of FMA is the proximity between agro-ecological production territories and consumption centres. This mostly urban population corresponds to a food consuming centre that is supplied by long and short chains, often supplied by agroecologist family farmers (Zoldan and Mior, 2012; Gelbcke et al., 2018; Pugas, 2018).

FMA concentrates an important portion of the state’s organic production. The National Register of Organic Producers points out that there are in the region 17% of organic establishments in Santa Catarina. Of these, 174 are certified through the Participatory Guarantee System (PGS) and 113 by auditing. That is, approximately 60% of organic establishments in the region are certified in a participatory manner¹ (MAPA, 2020). All these farmers are certified by the Ecovida Network of Agroecology, which since 1998 constitutes an interorganizational articulation that brings together several social actors interested in the development of organic production, agroecology and family farming in the southern states of Brazil (Rover, 2011; Rover et al., 2016; Niederle et al., 2020). Ecovida was formed by a variety of organizations (ecological farmers, NGOs, advisory institutions and universities) that work in the development of collaborative actions around the

³ Family farming concerns farms that do not separate decision and work, articulating production and social reproduction in small rural properties.

certification, production and commercialization of organic and agroecological foods. Considering the articulation of Ecovida Network as a social innovation (Rover, 2011; Rover et al., 2016), it has generated collective learning for the support entities, which have provided an innovative socially constructed path.

Florianópolis and surrounding municipalities represent a space of growing demand for pesticide-free products, driven mainly by the context of consumers' perception of the risks represented by the use and consumption of pesticides in food production. Since 2008, Brazil has been the largest consumer of pesticides on the planet (Bombardi, 2017). The residual amount of pesticides allowed in Brazilian water and food is up to 500% higher than in European countries (Bombardi, 2017). The increase in the consumption of pesticides in the country has a great impact on the public perception of its risks, generating a problematization that stimulates the search for alternatives. This process is linked to the notion of quality turn (Goodman, 2003) in the Brazilian context, insofar as it involves the reflection of consumers as to the pattern of their purchase and consumption practices.

There are producers' organizations on the Ecovida Network that have recently taken advantage of the growing sensitivity of consumers, institutions, and social organizations to the pesticide problem and the demand for alternatives. The social organizations first turned to technical-productive development, articulating themselves with local organizations, and forming action networks around agroecology. After, they made an effort within Ecovida Network to certification and distribution of organic products, to make their products distributed in several types of retail. Now, they are searching answers to more value raised by farmers through access to markets by short chain and the possibility of popular classes having access to their products.

Rover et al. (2015) identified 91 retail establishments offering organic food in Florianópolis, which directly influence the values obtained by farmers and spent by consumers. Gelbcke et al. (2018) studies the growth of the organic markets in FMA and characterize them as diverse and segmented. The authors indicate that different marketing channels of organic food imposes on farmers different requirements. These requirements do not guarantee or promote proximity between farmers and consumers.

The values obtained by farmers and paid by consumers are an essential condition for, respectively, many farmers not obtaining satisfactory incomes and many consumers not being able to access organic food. For that matter, Grade and Mergen (2020), observed that among the retail enterprises that sell organic products in Florianópolis, supermarkets have always presented higher prices than farmers' fairs, results similar to that found by Viegas (2016). Supermarket prices were 468% higher for the product with the greatest variation. Pugas (2018), analysing the prices received and markets accessed by organic farmers in the metropolitan regions of the capitals of southern Brazil (among them Florianópolis), observed that direct sales are the channels that best remunerate farmers.

Social organizations linked with family farmers act effectively in the construction of SFSC experiences in FMA, which emerge as solutions for the marketing of their products in better conditions and to guarantee larger access to the consumers of organic food. The concentration of farmers in the FMA reflects some of the results of the trajectory of organizations and entities supporting family farmers and their organizations to expand agroecology in territory. In this context we found a significant diversity of collective experiences, social actors, and institutional actions emerging from the countryside. We will show this in the next section. The convergence of diverse actors' interests around agroecology indicates a social innovation trajectory in this territory, which we analytically identify as an Agrifood Citizenship Network.

5. Social actors and the emergence of innovation

Recently, several social actors have operated to raise awareness, mobilize and involve consumers in their organizational dynamics. Part

of these social actors has been very active in the establishment of SFSC in the coast of Santa Catarina, especially in the FMA. The context for the emergence of initiatives, and the articulation of these actors and experiences will be dealt with in the next sections.

5.1. Direct sales by pre-order (DSPO) experiences identified at Florianópolis Metropolitan Area and beyond (FMA)

In this section we present data regarding the SFSC experiences in the FMA, especially in its forms of DSPO. Farmers' fairs, which represent a more traditional form of direct selling, were weakened during the COVID-19 pandemic and several DSPO experiences were strengthened. However, the growth in direct selling experiences by pre-order has occurred since before the pandemic (Table 1). It reveals something new in the studied territory.

Table 1 presents the main collective experiences of DSPO in operation at the FMA. Among these experiences, there are initiatives from organized consumers, groups of farmers, and others encouraged by support entities. However, farmers often play key roles in organizing experiences. In most of them products are already delivered in baskets previously organized by producers, who collectively organize themselves in order management, assembly and delivery.

The amount of food traded monthly is underestimated, because most of the foods recorded in Table 1 were purchased in closed baskets, without considering a significant volume traded through complementary lists. The difficulty in collecting these data reveals an organizational gap in terms of controlling sales outside closed baskets. Most of the management of the commercial process is carried out by groups of farmers, although with varying levels of participation of support entities. Thus, we can affirm that these are collective actions that value the autonomy of farmers for the management and coordination of actions, with varied coordination relations with consumers.

Most of the DSPO organization is based on initiatives by family farmers, linked to Ecovida Network. The growing consumer engagement in recent years is evidenced aspects such as the advance payment of the purchase cycles and the acceptance of consumers to receive a mix of foods defined by farmers. Consumers' acceptance of the definition of their food by farmers discomforts the conventional stance of consumption provides farmers with production, harvest and logistics planning. Thus, harvesting only what is already sold reduces losses and becomes a form of consumer commitment to production and farmers.

The DSPO experiences organize collective points for the delivery of food to consumers, which encourages the organization of farmers, optimization of logistics and greater consumer engagement in the organization of the experience. It conducts agreements cause actions of organization and shared care.

The increase in the number of farmers and consumers involved indicates their satisfaction as well as consolidation of the experiences. All the experiences studied have the involvement of support entities, which are institutions/organizations that work with actions regarding agroecology. Most of the experiences are related to the Ecovida Agroecology Network through participatory certification.

These initiatives provoke several forms of cooperation, which extend beyond the practices of production, supply and purchase of food. We perceive, as an example, the existence of cooperation between consumers who, based on their interaction in some of the mentioned experiences organized themselves to make donations of organic/agroecological foods, clothes and personal hygiene items to groups in situations of vulnerability. Another element is the organization to avoid and even suppress the use of non-biodegradable materials in marketing logistics. Strategies to reduce the use of plastic bags and the use of returnable boxes have also been a topic of discussion between consumers and farmers.

Here, we perceive a kind of innovations dynamic from the previous practices, running as a background to create more novelties. Collective learning and skills were generated for actors linked to organic/

agroecological production. From this knowledge, a new citizen network has been configured, involving support entities, consumer groups and farmers, around the supply and access to superior quality food. These collective behaviours of social actors are reshaping pre-existing relationships involving food and markets, forming expressions of citizenship and food democracy (Hassanein, 2003, 2008; Lang, 2005; Renting et al., 2012).

These articulations help to understand the ways in which different actors contribute to the emergence of social innovations around SFSC and make explicit the importance of actors' commitment. We verified a strong protagonism of rural social actors in the formation and organization of SFSCs, and in the convergence in an innovative process observable in the FMA. This can be seen through: (i) most of the experiences studied emerged from the articulation between groups of farmers and support agencies, many of them linked from the Ecovida Network of Agroecology; (ii) producer organizations and their networking form a resource base for building new and diverse SFSC initiatives; (iii) they are often the protagonists in the management of the DSPO; (iv) farmer groups often also take on most (if not all) of the labour activities in the trading process; (v) they are open to participating in new initiatives, given the successful track record of previous experiences; (vi) In the context studied, the rural socio-environmental agenda has a significant appeal, and has generated convergence for the formation of a network of actors around agrifood.

5.2. Support entities in Florianópolis Metropolitan Area

The DSPO experiences identified reveal synergies between themselves and between the organizations and institutions that support them (Table 2). New experiences and organizations have been formed, generating fertile spaces and conditions for a trajectory of social innovations, based on dynamics of networking and new processes of problematization and organization.

There are important interrelations between the experiences of DSPO and the support entities, which generate a socio-organizational context that stimulates the emergence of SFSC. The support entities helped in the articulation and the advancement of participatory certification, until its standardization in law. More recently, they participate in the construction of SFSC so that farmers can access markets under satisfactory conditions. This demonstrates that SFSC were forged from previous articulations between support organizations/institutions, farmers and, more recently, consumers interested in accessing quality food at fair prices.

With organizational advances and certification for farmers, the support entities, led by Ecovida Network, was challenged to get better markets for farmers. This challenge reveals a need for family farming and extends to any agrifood field that works with organic/agroecological production. To handle this, the support entities have as one of their main strategies the organization and approach of farmers and consumers through SFSC and direct sales. The regulation of participatory certification created a useful space for social actors in the FMA, linked to the agrifood issue, to direct their views towards other issues. The certification of agroecological products from family farming at low costs paved the way for problematizing and identifying the need for new changes in behaviours, attitudes and perceptions for other links in the production chain.

From the beginning of Ecovida Network to the articulation of a territorial network that activates its citizenship to articulate production, supply and access to organic/agroecological foods, an innovative trajectory is born, and it carries elements of the Schumpeterian notion of path dependence, in the sense that facts of the past influence the current organizational and institutional change (Arend; Cário; 2004; Aléssio; Rover, 2014).

The problematization about the access to stable markets by family farmers, as well as the guarantees for their access to organic/agroecological foods, activates a new dynamic of social innovation in the

territory. This clarifies the conditions for innovative paths to agrifood supply emerge on the study territory. The commitment of social organizations and family farmers is echoed by consumer demand - all these being understood as social actors mobilised on a reflexive and practical manner in the management of agroecological short supply chains.

6. The emergence of new proposals for agrifood citizenship

We find multiple actors engaged in creating experiences of production, supply and consumption of organic/agroecological foods. The evident organization of consumer groups in recent years is related to the regarding the need to open new and more stable markets for farmers. When this Ecovida Network consolidates its support for the production and certification of organic food from family farming, its actors turned themselves to other issues. They were able to identify the crisis of consumer confidence in conventional foods and contribute to raising awareness, mobilizing and coordinating actions to supply organic/agroecological foods. The network organization here studied, therefore, is heir to an innovative trajectory that is linked to almost all groups of farmers involved, as well as being a partner of most support entities.

Renting et al. (2012) point out that the civic food network (CFN) creation movement comes from consumption/city to production/countryside. When discussing contemporary changes in the food system, Goodman (2003) identifies the quality turn, strongly derived from the crisis of consumer confidence, as a central phenomenon for understanding contemporary agrifood, but does not establish a leading role for consumers or farmers. In the European context, understanding CFN emphasizes the role of consumers (Renting et al., 2012). An approach to agrifood complexes the analysis of existing relationships from production to consumption, expanding the discussion of food to the entire system that involves it. In this context, we realize that farmers, their organizations and networks are of great importance in arranging these experiences. Face of the important role of rural actors that characterizes the trajectory of our field of studies indicates that it makes more sense to name the network in formation at FMA as around agrifood civism and not just food civism.

In Fig. 2 we suggest a representation of the sets of ideas that express the notion of citizenship networks around food, where the circumvented areas represent the analytical approach of CFNs. The painted area represents the agro component of citizenship networks.

This scheme proposes that the understanding of the innovative dynamics around citizenship networks that mobilize around food should insert the perspective of productive social processes and the social appropriation of agriculture and agrifood systems by rural social actors. Farmers, their organizations and support entities effectively participate in the social ties that makes up the innovative networks studied.

The recent mapping of the FMA Agrifood Citizenship Network (Miranda, 2020), followed by other mappings (CEPAGRO, 2020), express a context of profusion of SFSC experiences. It indicates the growing interest in deepening research on the growing involvement of civil society in the management of agrifood systems. The various actions to identify experiences of food supply in Florianópolis indicate a network articulation action mobilizing farmers, consumers, social organizations and institutions to promote agroecology.

The ACN of the FMA is an organizational arrangement observed in the territory. Inside it there are other networks and organizational arrangements. In 2019, an arrangement of organizations and institutions organized, in Florianópolis, the International Seminar on Agroecological Food and Production and Consumption Networks' mobilizing several actors related to the theme of agrifood supply, with the purpose of understanding and strengthening production-consumption networks of agroecological foods. This was a moment of expression of interest where a significant number of social actors named in this text were present (Table 3). At that time, new social actors were added to the network, including researchers, nutritionists, cooks, farmers and consumers, around discussions and proposals about agroecology and the role of

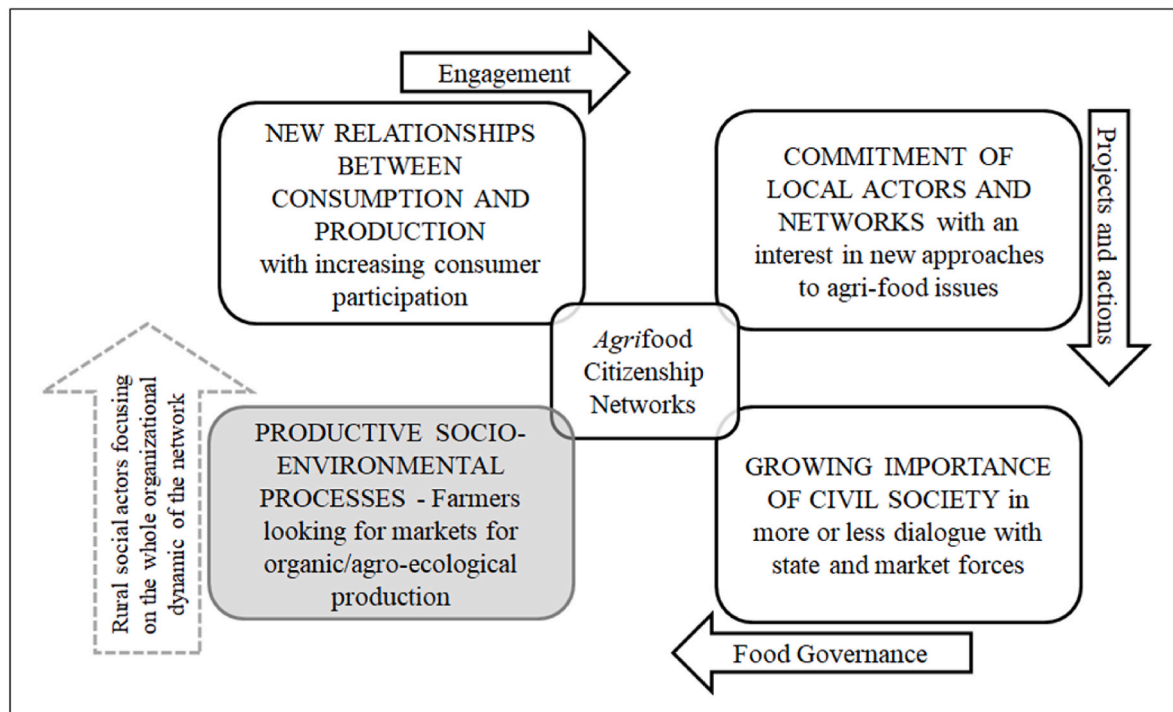


Fig. 2. Representation of the analytical proposal of the Agrifood Citizenship Network.

demand for good, clean and fair food. Also, in 2019, as a result of an articulation of civil society organized around socio-environmental and agrifood issues, Law N° 10.628 was approved by the Municipality of Florianópolis. This municipal law establishes and defines agricultural, livestock, extractivist production and natural resource management practices in the Municipality of Florianópolis as a Pesticide Free Zone.

The trajectory here studied shows the process of forming a new citizen network. We believe that this network is a social innovation that is starting in the territory, strengthening the articulation of the urban region of Florianópolis, peri-urban (FMA) and rural Santa Catarina coast, around SFSC. This flow has generated a rapid growth in collective experiences of direct sales through pre-orders. This shows a maturing of the trajectory of the various organizations and institutions present in this context, which, in line with the crisis of confidence and the search for consumers for higher quality food, as well as the need for farmers for new and more stable markets, generate a problematization (Table 3) to innovate in the shaping of a ACN, in which there is a participatory management of the agrifood supply of the territory.

Engagement and joint action between groups of farmers and consumers, supported by organizations/institutions, build new relationships through forms of direct sales that organize markets with a strong social base. The incorporation of new speeches, knowledge and symbolic structures, pointed out by Renting et al. (2012) as a constituent element of CFN, it is also perceived in the studied scenario. Speeches and narratives about food, highlighting its nutritional, aesthetic, social and environmental quality, are observed in interactions between consumers, farmers, between consumers and farmers, in organizations, on social networks, in meetings, visits to properties, in agro-ecological practices and in SFSC. These narratives support practices and create broader references to the preferences and choices of consumers and farmers.

The interactions between rural and urban groups find a fertile place to develop in the agroecological approach, generating a change in perspective on the roles of agriculture, food, the act of purchasing and consuming it. Farmers and consumers are no longer just producers and customers, respectively, and in their interactions with organizations and institutions they take an active role in the agrifood system.

Table 3 refers to the innovation trajectory of ACN in the FMA. As it is

a social innovation in progress, there is no detailed evidence of the generated tipping point. The network is incorporating new social actors, in an articulated process between rural and urban territories, aiming at the development of agroecology, family farming and access to organic/agroecological food. A process that was previously marked by actors and the social network linked to agribusiness, has recently gained adherence from entities that support the approximation between the sectors of food production and consumption. Such entities assist in the strong expansion of consumer involvement, in the construction of new SFSC experiences and direct sales, as well as in collaborative management.

7. Conclusions

The ACN identified in the analysed context indicates local socio-political reconfigurations, where diversity of social actors impacts on different levels: public policies, organization for supply, articulation of inter-institutional projects, and social construction of markets. Collective action is a hallmark of this whole process. Although some social organizations have an important historical trajectory around agroecology, the growing presence of consumers getting involved in their food supply is notable, just as farmers and their organizations have increasingly worked to build markets that bring them closer to consumers. The collective organization in search of new and fairer markets marks the social innovation that configures ACN in the studied territory. The diversity of experiences and networking supports and promotes the role of farmers and consumers.

The direct sales by pre-order in FMA have traded considerable volumes of products, generated better remuneration for farmers and have made prices more accessible to consumers, while new learning and practices are being implemented in their construction. The role played by groups of farmers and consumers is a reflection of their networking with organizations/institutions. From this articulation derives an ACN, which is a social innovation in progress that supports the construction of SFSC and DSPO that dialogue with the agroecological approach. This network opens up the potential for more structural changes in the territory and in the agrifood systems with which it relates. The delineation and coordination of projects and actions through networks involved

Table 3

Social innovation process in the formation of the Agrifood Citizenship Network of the Florianópolis Metropolitan Area and beyond.

Stages of Social Innovations (Neumeier, 2012)	Theoretical aspects (Neumeier, 2012, p. 57, p. 57)	Empirical evidence
Problematization	Identification of a need to change behaviour, perceptions or attitudes by a small group of actors triggered by an initial impetus that might come from within the region itself or as a result of external influences.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brazil becomes the world's largest consumer of pesticides (2009) - Brazil approve a record number of pesticide registrations (2019) - Crisis consumer trust - Need to open new and more stable markets for agroecological family farmers
Expression of interest	Other actors get interested in the action of the initial group of actors as they see some kind of advantage for themselves in this new form of action.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growth of agroecological initiatives - Accelerated growth of direct selling and SFSC forms - Consumers playing an active role in SFSC - Expansion of articulation between farmers, consumers, organizations and institutions
Delineation and coordination	Interested actors negotiate about the new form of action. Thereby the new form of action gets shaped and may even develop in another direction than initially envisaged. New form of collaborative action gets shaped.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Map of the Greater Florianópolis Agri-Food Citizenship Network - International Seminar about Agroecological Food and Production-Consumption Networks (2019) - Active involvement of consumers in the management of agrifood systems - New experiences of direct selling, SFSC and articulation between social actors within the network - Approval of Municipal Law No. 10,628 establishing Florianópolis as a Pesticide Free Zone in the agricultural production

Source: Elaborated by authors (2020)

with food and agroecology indicate a potential for expanding collaborative actions among farmers, consumers, social organizations and institutions, generating socioeconomic and environmental benefits for the entire territory. Although we have marked the relevance of the SFSC and DSPO, as well as the social relations that they contribute with, we also have realized that this network is crossed by logics of solidarity not studied in this research and that they would deserve new studies.

The ACN studied is a social innovation with a remarkable role of social actors in rural areas. The innovative trajectory is identified with Ecovida Network and its farmers' organization processes for production, certification and now, commercialization in new and more stable markets. This agrifood citizenship network covers nearby urban, peri-urban and rural contexts, with the protagonism of rural actors and their support entities. The ACN is a space where rural and urban social actors, individually and collectively, perceive and practice new forms of interaction for the social construction of markets. From the rural areas, this social innovation emerges in the form of an agrifood citizenship network, directly related to the trajectory of organizations and network focused on agroecology and short food supply chains.

The food issue has gained ground in global public debate and agrifood systems have been seen as central to the search for sustainable models of production, marketing and consumption. The global

dimension of this issue calls for attention to the diversity of territorial, political and cultural contexts, as well as addressing strategies linked to the specific places. By demonstrating that an ACN has been constituted as a social innovation in a territory in the South of Brazil, the article aims to contribute to the reflection on emerging practices aimed at sustainable agrifood systems.

Author statement

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Declaration of competing interest

None.

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