

Liliana Reina-Usuga, Tomás de Haro-Giménez, Carlos Parra-López,  
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**Food governance in Territorial Short Food Supply Chains: Different narratives  
and strategies from Colombia and Spain**

**Abstract**

Traditional approaches and debates in Agrifood Governance (AFG) have focused exclusively on the role of market forces and public policies. The emergence of alternative food movements, such as Territorial Short Food Supply Chains (TSFSCs), suggest the need to re-evaluate the role of civil society as a driver of governance mechanisms and a source of innovation and transformation of agrifood systems. This paper analyses the AFG processes that are configured in TSFSCs based on social discourses and coordination mechanisms of agents design. For this, the Q method and an exploratory/descriptive analysis are used, and the cities of Bogotá (Colombia) and Córdoba (Spain) are taken as case studies. Results show five different social discourses around AFG: 1) food activism, 2) development cooperation, 3) market niche, 4) local self-management, and 5) social and ecological awareness. It is also noted that TSFSCs configure a mode of reflexive food governance. Coordination mechanisms of the SFSCs are mainly settled in the social and market sphere, and they are in line with features of governance network. These two governance approaches (reflexive and networked)

operate in tandem, with important complementary and synergistic effects that foster food democracy.

### **Keywords**

Reflexive governance; Alternative Food Networks; Short Food Supply Chain; territory; Q methodology; food democracy.

### **1. Introduction**

The last three decades have brought about a major change in dynamics of food systems (FS) at the world scale. Firstly, the social and environmental role of agriculture has been retrieved at the institutional level (Marsden et al., 2002) which has reignited interest in territorial rural development at the local and regional level (Marsden, 2017). Secondly, in some territories a more sustainable consumption has emerged in which agents of production and consumption, as active citizens, embody new forms and values in their relations in the FS, highlighting the time and space in which they develop (Goodman et al., 2012; Marsden, 2017; Renting et al., 2012). Lastly, new issues have grown up related to the sustainability of agriculture and its linkages with the "new food equation", characterized by rising food prices, the degradation of natural resources, consequences of climate change (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010) and the concentration of power throughout the entire industrial food system, including food production, distribution and retailing but also research and development projects (IPES-Food, 2017; Moragues-Faus et al., 2017).

In this context, the reconfiguration of rural-urban linkages through Alternative Food Movements (AFMs) grown in opposition to agroindustrial dynamics dominated by transnational corporations, large food companies and corporate retailers (Ilbery et al.,

2004), is an innovative vehicle for creating a sustainable food paradigm, while responding to demands of food security<sup>1</sup> and sustainability (Marsden and Morley, 2014).

Explorations of the narratives that shape food strategies, arising from diverse geographies, signal the emergence of a more integrated vision of a local space (Sonnino, 2016). In this sense, the territorial approach is acknowledged to understand and improve the local management of food systems (FAO, 2011). Territory can be understood as a social construction (Pecqueur, 2001), where there are: 1) resources or “territorial capital” (economic, human, social, cultural and environmental) (Camagni, 2017; Emery and Flora, 2006), 2) territorial agents, who act according to a territorial logic (Gallardo-Cobos et al., 2007), and 3) interactions or institutional agreements established as a result of joint action among social actors. These elements are essential in constructing a territory (Sánchez-Zamora et al., 2014). This capacity for joint action, and its importance in the development of a territory, refers to what is known as social relational capital (Woolcock, 2001), and is closely linked to the study of governance. AFMs are closely embedded to the territory in which they are developed, since this gives them a particular feature (González et al., 2012). In this context, Territorial Short Food Supply Chains (TSFSCs) emerged. TSFSCs are a form of collective action of AFMs, which foster the interaction of different rural-urban food agents, with their knowledge and interests, and converge to develop collective visions around a specific food territory, with objectives related to sustainable values, and with a clear focus on agrifood governance. TSFSCs are characterized by: i) a solid social base that supports them and facilitates their development (social capital); ii) participation of small farmers and retailers; iii) building trust and quality standards among the linked actors (institutional

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<sup>1</sup> Food security can be defined as “all people, at all times, having physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 2003)

agreements), and iv) linkages with alternative/diverse economies (e.g. social and solidarity economy, economy for the common good, etc.) (Reina-Usuga et al., 2018). In commercial terms, two levels of distribution characterize TSFSCs: one through direct sales (such as farmers' markets), and the other with a single intermediary between production and consumption (local shops).

TSFSCs contribute to the social construction of markets, where the market process is understood as a result of human actions. Throughout this process, the individual actions of the various members of the market society are adjusted to the requirements of mutual cooperation (Von Mises, 1998). This social construction creates in each territory an own and particular market, that is, a territorial or nested market (van der Ploeg et al., 2012).

The transition to a sustainable future requires fundamental changes in Agrifood Governance (AFG) (Marsden and Morley, 2014). AFG can be understood as a process of coordination and cooperation between stakeholders, vertically and horizontally, in a territory (Sanchez Hernández, 2009), in which consensus is established between urban and rural worlds (Vidal and Fleury, 2008), as a precondition for territorial cohesion (Farinós, 2008). Hence, the empowerment of all stakeholders, from production to consumption, including the role of civil society organizations, public institutions and academia is essential. Thus, learning spaces and the adaptation of social solutions to collectively solve food problems must be promoted by this transition (Marsden, 2013a; Sonnino et al., 2016).

Building collective narratives generates changes in the role and weight of the different governance mechanisms in FS and mainly suggests the need to re-evaluate the role of civil society as a driver of governance mechanisms (Candel, 2014). The key to understanding these changes on governance is the notion of reflexivity, which is defined in different ways, but which in any case can be considered a critical reflection on

agreements, norms and social expectations that predominate in food issues (Adkins, 2003), and in which underlying assumptions about the current order of things are reconsidered (Hendriks and Grin, 2007). Reflexive governance theories share an emphasis on the role of dialogue, collective action and collaboration in identifying and addressing solutions to shared social problems (Sonnino et al., 2014). No process of reflexive governance will take place in isolation. It is inevitably embedded in socio-political contexts and influenced by broader territorial factors, which significantly influence the outcomes of debates and deliberations that arise as a result of reflectivity (Kirwan et al., 2017).

In this framework, this paper aims to contribute to recent debates on the role of governance as a driver and potential solution to food security problems. Thus, the AFG (Agrifood Governance) processes that are configured in TSFSCs and that would make it possible to address the weaknesses of FS governance are analysed. In order to achieve this objective, the Q methodology and an exploratory/descriptive analysis have been used. These two methods were selected to analyse food governance at the strategic and operational level. The Q methodology allowed the identification of social discourses related to the AFG, by analysing perceptions and experiences of those involved in TSFSCs (strategic level) Subsequently, based on the descriptive analysis, coordination mechanisms that emerge in these chains were characterised (operational level). This empirical objective of the research carried out is also important in terms of policy design, since by identifying specific elements that support the AFG processes through TSFSCs, it is possible to design boosting instruments more appropriate to each territory. The research is based on case studies in the cities of Bogotá (Colombia) and Córdoba (Spain), where this kind of supply chains has proliferated in recent decades, as detailed in the following section.

## **2. Material and methods**

### **2.1. Case Studies**

Two cities were selected in which the number of TSFSCs has increased in recent years and which have been included in the planning of local public policies. However, each case comes from a different reality and context, which adds value to this research by contrasting specific characteristics of each territory with the emergence of the same AFMs.

#### **2.1.1 Bogotá (Colombia)**

In Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, 33% of basic food consumed (mainly perishables and a small part of processed food) is grown within a radius of 40 km and about 80% within a radius of 300 km (Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2006). This agrifood belt is largely composed of peasant economies, which provide around 65% of food consumed in the city (Alcaldía de Bogotá, 2006). In 2006, the Bogotá Master Plan for Food Supply and Security (PMASAB, in spanish) was created, which includes the Mercados Campesinos process (Peasant Markets), based on TSFSCs that support the peasant economy. This process emerged in 2004, and became a an organisation, with economic purposes and advocacy to influence the public policy, of farmers who supply the city (Gutiérrez, 2016), supported by ILSA, OXFAM-GB (both NGOs), and the Mayor's Office of Bogotá (Parrado and Molina, 2014).

In a simultaneous effort with PMASAB, others TSFSCs initiatives have emerged in the city related to agroecological issues promoted mainly by NGOs and universities. The promotion of sustainable food systems (SFSs) in Bogotá, and in Colombia in general, is an extremely important topic for the implementation of the Peace Agreement signed in 2016, where food security is a cornerstone.

### 2.1.2 Córdoba (Spain)

Córdoba, a city in the region of Andalusia in southern Spain, has experienced a booming organic production in recent years (MAPAMA, 2018). In Andalusia as a whole, there has been an increase in the number of wholesalers and retailers specialising in the sale of organic products (MAPAMA, 2015). As far as the presence of AFMs is concerned, in 1994 the first cooperative of consumers of organic products was created in Córdoba, but it was not until the 2000s that this type of initiative took off (Sanabria, 2012), witnessing a proliferation of different forms of self-sufficiency (such as community gardens or individual private gardens - in rural or urban areas), and TSFSCs. In 2016, Córdoba adheres to the Urban Food Policy Pact of Milan and, in 2017, to the Network of Cities for Agroecology. Both initiatives promote inclusive and resilient SFSs, where TSFSCs are configured as a priority line.

## **2.2 Analysis using the Q method of social discourses on food governance (strategic level).**

The Q method has been used to identify the different perceptions of AFG involved in TSFSCs. The aim was to answer questions at the strategic level about governance in the TSFSCs (why do TSFSCs emerge, who are the stakeholders, how do they participate, what are the constraints and what are the prospects for the future?).

The Q method was proposed by Stephenson in 1953, in the field of psychology, although it is increasingly used in other social science disciplines (Di Masso and Zografos, 2015; Iofrida et al., 2018). This method makes it possible to identify the scope and features of relevant perceptions, or discourses, on a subject. It uses factor analysis to group people according to how they interpret statements about a topic. The interest of the methodology is not to measure the representativity of such discourses in

quantitative terms, nor their relationship with demographic or other variables. What Q pursues is to discover shared visions (social discourses) in function of a given thematic, and from there to measure the level of affinity of the individuals with different discourses, as well as similarities and divergences between discourses (Eden et al., 2005).

This method follows a six-step procedure:

1. **Concourse Generation:** Generation of statements on the topic of interest. In this work, in order to obtain this group of statements, 23 exploratory interviews were carried out with food actors from the two cities and a concourse of 170 statements was configured.
2. **Structuring of the Q set:** The concourse is reduced to a representative sample of phrases. This process is usually done through a structured approach. In this work, from a total of 170 statements of the concourse a subset of 42 was finally selected to integrate the Q set, which is the same for the two cities. Most studies of the Q methodology suggest that between 40 and 80 statements is an appropriate amount to cover the topic under discussion (Watts and Stenner, 2012).
3. **Selection of the P set:** This is a group of stakeholders to be interviewed. Their choice is not random, as it is a structured sample of participants with knowledge on the subject. Criteria of exhaustiveness and diversity are followed, not representativity or quantity (Eden et al., 2005). The number of people is smaller than the Q Set. In this study, 14 people were interviewed in Bogotá and 15 in Córdoba, all of them linked to TSFSCs initiatives, grouped into interest groups (Table 1).

	Civil society	Academy	Market	Public administration	Total interviewees
<b>Bogotá</b>	5	4	3	2	14
<b>Córdoba</b>	4	5	3	3	15
<b>Total</b>	9	9	6	5	29

Table 1. Experts interviewed according to interest groups: social discourses

4. Q sorting: Interviewees are asked to sort the statements into a pyramidal grid (Q grid, which emulates a normal distribution) made up of numbered columns that reflect a gradation of negative to positive values (Figure 1). Throughout this gradation, participants place the statements if they agree more or less with them, if they fit more or less with their particular point of view on the issue. Thus, each person interviewed configures a unique Q sort.

5. Statistical analysis of the results. The next step involves the factorial analysis that consists in the creation of a correlation matrix between the Q sorts. Factor analysis allows the identification of groups of actors with sets of responses (Q grids) that are significantly similar and significantly different (Davis and Michelle, 2011). This is the main difference with the traditional R methodology, which analyses correlations between variables (Previte et al., 2007). Currently, there are software packages designed to perform this factor analysis of the Q methodology, such as PQMethod (<http://schmolck.org/qmethod>) and PCQ (<http://www.pcqsoft.com/>). Subsequently, the correlation matrix factor is analysed: for this purpose, the factor loading is calculated for each Q sort, which represents the degree to which a Q sort is associated with a factor (Stenner, 2009). People with similar classifications load significantly on the same factor, highlighting a pattern of statements that represents their subjective points of view. Therefore, if the actors have similar visions, or a

similar statement order in the Q grid, then they will all be loaded in the same factor (Coogan and Hetherington, 2011).

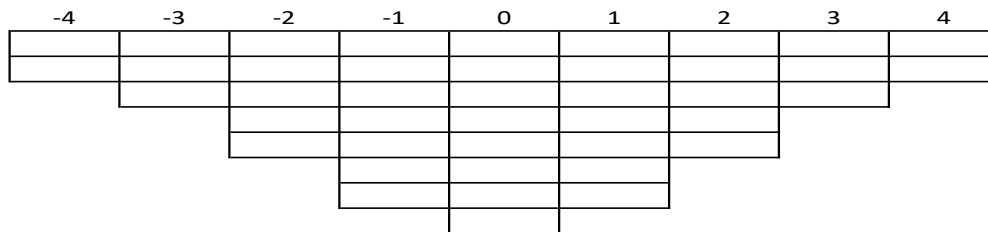


Figure 1. Q grid in the Q method.

Factors represent the main opinions: if the factorial load of a person interviewed is high, the association of this actor with the opinion represented by that factor is also high (Pereira et al., 2016). A final set of factors (the optimal solution) is obtained by turning the original set of factors to identify the combination that explains the highest percentage of variance. This rotation can be carried out objectively through statistical principles (e.g., a varimax rotation), or subjectively, according to theoretical approaches and prior knowledge (e.g., a manual rotation) (Exel and Graaf, 2005).

In this work the software PQMethod 2.11 was used for the analysis of the Q-sorts (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Factors were identified by centroid factor extraction and varimax rotation, which is a method that aims to rotate factors so that individuals tend to associate with a single factor. The different possible solutions of varimax rotation were compared considering statistical criteria, the total amount of variance explained, the distinctive statements (those statements that are valued in a significantly different way with respect to the rest of factors,  $p < 0.01$ ) and extreme statements (that is, those placed in the extremes "most in agreement" (scores +4 and +3) and "least in agreement" (-4 and -3) in the typical Q sort of each factor).

6. Verbal interpretation: Finally, extracted factors must be interpreted verbally to convert them into speeches, understood as social narratives. To interpret the factors as discourses, we focus on distinctive and extreme statements. Finally, the interpretation was completed with the incorporation of qualitative elements collected during interviews with participants.

### **2.3 Exploratory/descriptive analysis of coordination mechanisms (operational level)**

An exploratory/descriptive methodology has been applied to identify coordination mechanisms in TSFSCs at the operational level. The aim was to answer the following question: what are the specific actions that TSFSCs carry out for its operation? The methodological process was as follows:

1. Identification of initiatives: The identification of TSFSC-related initiatives began with organizations linked to a farmers' association in Córdoba and a farmers' market in Bogotá. Thus, a snowball sampling was implemented from the reference of initiatives, and other organizations that accompany processes of AFMs and food sovereignty in the cities. A data-based of initiatives implemented as a strategy by TSFSCs was obtained, and those that commercialize the following products were selected, as they are the most important in this type of channels: fruits, vegetables, organic artisanal bread, organic wine and artisanal beer.
2. Selection of potential interviewees: 46 personal interviews were conducted (24 in Bogotá and 22 in Córdoba) with legal representatives or delegates of organizations linked to TSFSCs, including support organizations and public administration (Table 2).

	Production	Transformation	Distribution	Consumption	Social groups	University	Public administration	Total
<b>Bogotá</b>	4	2	5	2	5	4	2	24
<b>Córdoba</b>	5	2	5	2	3	4	1	22
<b>Total</b>	9	4	10	4	8	8	3	46

Table 2. Agents interviewed by stakeholder group: coordination mechanisms

3. Participant observation: With the intention of complementing the information gathered in the previous interviews, and having a more complete vision of the problem under study, the operation of 24 initiatives (10 in Bogotá and 14 in Córdoba) that implement TSFS in key activities was observed. For example, in the organization of a farmers' market day (logistics, sales development, pricing, etc.), attendance at assembly meetings or other deliberative spaces, among others. The information was collected in a field notebook.
4. Information analysis. The information obtained was processed according to two areas of activity of TSFSCs: social and market. In the social sphere, food actors share information, promote educational and awareness-raising processes, as well as political incidence. At the market level, actors sell and buy products and services.

In this research, the two methods described above were implemented simultaneously; however, the exploratory method began before method Q and ended after it.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Social discourses on food governance in TSFCSs

As a result of the Q analysis, five factors for rotation were kept. These factors had factorial loads greater than 1 and represented at least two defining Q-sorts, which are

the Q-sorts that have a significant weight in each factor. This solution was considered the most comprehensive and explanatory, and accounted for 61% of the variance. Appendix A shows the factorial loads for the Varimax rotation of the five-factor solution. In addition, five social discourses have been detected, which have been named according to their main orientation: 1) food activism; 2) cooperation for rural development, 3) market niche, 4) local self-management, and 5) social and ecological awareness.

### 3.1.1. Food activism

The inclusion of social participation as an essential condition for the emergence of TSFSCs (statement - st. 5, punctuated +4) (Table 3) is the key element of this discourse, and the power of transformation from consumption and food (st. 13, +3) to promote food sovereignty in territories is highlighted. This discourse proposes that TSFSCs reconfigure the relationship between farmers and consumers at a local level (st. 3, +3) and preserve the community scheme (st. 2; +3). It has a vision of a future of slow expansion (st. 37, +4), although it does not consider TSFSCs as a minority movement (st. 1, -3). In this discourse, consumers play an essential role in the development of TSFSCs, but not merely by seeking quality and organoleptic conditions (st. 9, -4). Finally, it can be observed that TSFSCs were not the result of government action (st. 19, -4), nor of promotion in the mass media (st. 14, -3).

The activist discourse is present in both the city of Bogotá and Córdoba, in almost equal proportions. To identify speeches (factors) by city, see Appendix A: Q-sorts 1 to 14 correspond to Bogotá, and 15 to 29 to Córdoba.

<b>Statement<sup>+</sup></b>	
<b>5**</b>	+4
<b>37</b>	+4
<b>3</b>	+3
<b>13</b>	+3
<b>2</b>	+3
<b>14</b>	-3
<b>30</b>	-3
<b>1</b>	-3
<b>9</b>	-4
<b>19</b>	-4

<sup>+</sup> *The Statements definition can be found in Appendix B.*

*Table lists factors with +4, +3, -3, -4 and distinguishing statements with \*\**

*\*\* Significance level  $p < 0.01$*

Table 3. Salient statements for factor 1, food activism

### 3.1.2. Cooperation for rural development

This is a discourse that can only be found in Bogotá. Its main assumption is about the role that NGOs and international cooperation institutions have played in promoting TSFSCs among farmers (st. 21, +4) (Table 4). This discourse has a strong focus on proposals for the future, since the importance of determined elements to continue with the promotion of TSFSCs in the territories is observed. These include: consumption habits (st. 35, +4), public policies in regulation, awareness raising, financing of initiatives and enabling implementation (st. 39, +3), and creation of networks and participatory guarantee systems (st. 40, +3). In line with the main statement, it is stressed that the promotion of TSFSCs has not been the result of public health scandals (st. 24, -3) and that neither the mass media (st. 14, -3) nor consumers concerned about their family's food (st. 18, -4), or about quality or organoleptic conditions (st. 9, -4) have had any impact.

<b>Statements<sup>+</sup></b>	
<b>21**</b>	+4
<b>35</b>	+4
<b>37</b>	+3
<b>39</b>	+3
<b>40</b>	+3
<b>24</b>	-3

<b>16</b>	-3
<b>14</b>	-3
<b>5</b>	-4
<b>18**</b>	-4

*+ The Statements definition can be found in Appendix B.*

*Table lists factors with +4, +3, -3, -4 and distinguishing statements with \*\**

*\*\* Significance level  $p < 0.01$*

Table 4. Salient statements for factor 2, cooperation for rural development

### 3.1.3. Market niche

This discourse perceives TSFSCs as a market trend, in which there is a specific and reduced niche (st. 29, +3) (Table 5), and which requires public policies of regulation, awareness and financing of initiatives (st. 39, +4) for their promotion in the territories. It is a vision that considers that in the current FS, large-scale distribution (supermarket chains) and TSFSCs coexist in parallel (st. 4, +4). It points out that there may be many initiatives linked to TSFSCs in territories, but which are not more widely disseminated (st. 6, +3). Here it is noted that TSFSCs promote a reconfiguration of the relationship between farmers and consumers (st. 3, +3), and that it does not imply that farmers are young or have a recent link to agriculture (st. 16, -3). This discourse points out that the promotion of TSFSCs has not involved the State (st. 19, -4), universities (st. 23, -4) or mass media (st. 14, -3). Although it is one of the discourses with the least presence in the two cities, it has the greatest influence in Bogotá.

<b>Statements<sup>+</sup></b>	
<b>39**</b>	+4
<b>4*</b>	+4
<b>29**</b>	+3
<b>6</b>	+3
<b>3</b>	+3
<b>16</b>	-3
<b>9</b>	-3
<b>14</b>	-3
<b>23**</b>	-4
<b>19</b>	-4

*+ The Statements definition can be found in Appendix B.  
Table lists factors with +4, +3, -3, -4 and distinguishing*

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*statements with \*, \*\**  
*\*\* Significance level  $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.01$*

Table 5. Salient statements for factor 3, market niche

### 3.1.4. Local self-management

The consideration of the creation of informal networks with communication strategies such as word of mouth (st. 25, +4) (Table 6) is one of the premises of this discourse. Here again it is emphasized that TSFSCs promote a reconfiguration of the relationship between farmers and consumers at the local level (st. 3, +4) that seek to maintain the community scheme (st. 2, +3). This discourse highlights that TSFSC initiatives arise within the framework of transformative economies, such as social and solidarity economies (st. 38, +3). In addition, there are two distinctive elements. On the one hand, consumers are in search of new flavours and this could lead to links to TSFSC initiatives (st. 9, +3), but this should not be considered as a trend or fashion of a certain social class (st. 29, -4). On the other hand, TSFSCs are not promoted by people with high economic, cultural and intellectual capitals (st. 34, -3) and therefore the low-income population does not have limited access to TSFSCs (st. 32, -3). This discourse is present in both cities, but its notable presence in Córdoba.

<b>Statements<sup>+</sup></b>	
<b>25</b>	+4
<b>3</b>	+4
<b>2</b>	+3
<b>38</b>	+3
<b>9**</b>	+3
<b>32**</b>	-3
<b>34</b>	-3
<b>31</b>	-3
<b>29</b>	-4
<b>19</b>	-4

<sup>+</sup> *The Statements definition can be found in Appendix B.*

*Table lists factors with +4, +3, -3, -4 and distinguishing statements with \*\**

*\*\* Significance level  $p < 0.01$*

Table 6. Salient statements for factor 4, local self-management

### 3.1.5. Social and ecological awareness

This discourse emphasizes that the citizen movements (consumers and farmers) have created the TSFSCs as a healthy and fair food alternative (st. 13, +4) (Table 7). As a distinctive element it underlines that these movements are shaped by socially and ecologically conscious people (st. 10, +3), without this implying that they are people with high economic, cultural or intellectual capital (st. 34, -4). The role of producers in the creation of TSFSCs is highlighted, not as passive actors (st. 17, -3), but as active actors with an interest beyond economic benefit (st. 22, +3). This discourse has an approach of future proposals, since one of its distinctive elements is to promote the formation of civil society in food issues, crop techniques and TSFSC initiatives (st. 36, +4). It also highlights that the least contributors to the promotion of TSFSCs have been the State (st. 19, -4), NGOs or international cooperation (st. 21, -3) and mass media (st. 14, -3). This discourse is present in both cities, but its presence in Córdoba stands out.

<b>Statements<sup>+</sup></b>	
<b>13</b>	+4
<b>36**</b>	+4
<b>10**</b>	+3
<b>22</b>	+3
<b>3</b>	+3
<b>21</b>	-3
<b>14</b>	-3
<b>17</b>	-3
<b>34</b>	-4
<b>19</b>	-4

<sup>+</sup> *The Statements definition can be found in Appendix B.*

*Table lists factors with +4, +3, -3, -4 and distinguishing statements with \*\**

**\*\* Significance level  $p < 0.01$**

Table 7. Salient statements for factor 5, social and ecological awareness

### 3.2 Coordination mechanisms in the TSFSCs

Mechanisms for coordination and cooperation among interdependent stakeholders are "based on trust" and promote a culture of reciprocity, as a result of conflict resolution through diplomacy and consensus (Table 8). In each area (social and market), different governance mechanisms and relationship bases between members are developed as explained in the following sections.

	<b>Social</b>	<b>Market</b>
<b>Mechanisms</b>	Trust	Trust Pricing system Participatory Guarantee Systems (PGS)
<b>Basis of relations between members</b>	Exchange of resources	Contracts Proprietary Rights
<b>Degree of dependency among members</b>	Interdependent	Independent/ Interdependent
<b>Means of conflict resolution and coordination</b>	Diplomacy "Consensus"	Diplomacy "Consensus"
<b>Culture</b>	Reciprocity	Reciprocity

Source: Own elaboration based on Bevir (2012).

Table 8. Features of food governance in TSFSCs of Bogotá and Córdoba

#### 3.2.1 Social sphere

The main governance mechanism in the social sphere is the construction of networks among stakeholders (Table 9). Here, analysed TSFSCs establish among other aspects: features of the members (who can participate in the network?), lines of action, organizational structures, subdivision into work teams, decision-making mechanisms, frequency of meetings, etc. It is common for some organizations to be part of supra-territorial networks such as national or international federations and networks.

	<b>Bogotá</b>	<b>Córdoba</b>
<b>Local</b>	- Red de Mercados Agroecológicos de Bogotá Region  - Committee for Sovereignty, Autonomy and Food Security (Salsa) - Food Health Alliance	- Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Córdoba (ASACO)  - Association of Retailers and Caterers of Ecological Products of Córdoba - Coordinating Board of the Milan Pact
<b>Regional</b>		- Andalusian Federation of Ecological Consumers and Farmers - FACPE
<b>National</b>	- National Family Farming Network	- Alternative and Solidarity Economy Network (REAS) - Spanish Fair Trade Coordinator
<b>International</b>	- La Via Campesina - Global Action for Family Farming	- La Via Campesina - World Fair Trade Organization

Table 9. Agents of the TSFSC social networks of Bogotá and Córdoba according to level of action

### 3.2.2 Market sphere

In order to identify governance mechanisms in this field, some of the initiatives in the two cities have been taken as a reference. Table 10 shows governance mechanisms that have established some of these initiatives according to the form and type of TSFSC that they configure.

TSFSC Form	City	Type of TSFSC	Name	Product Mechanisms		Process Mechanisms	
				Consumer price	Confidence in quality	Economic sustainability	Conflict resolution
<b>Farmers' market</b>	Bogotá	Direct sales	Mercados Campesinos (Kennedy)	By the farmer	Statutes	Membership fee (\$)	Assembly
			Tierra Viva agroecological market	By the farmer	PGS	Membership fee (\$)	Assembly
			Uniminuto Agroecological Market	By the farmer	Statutes		Assembly
	Córdoba		El Ecomercado	By the farmer	Statutes OPC PGS (In process)	Joining fee and monthly membership fee (\$)	Consensus
<b>Basket system</b>	Bogotá	Extended	La canasta	By consumers and farmers (per year)	PGS		Consensus

	Córdoba	Direct sales	Hermisenda Huerta Natural	By farmer (per year)	OPC		Diplomacy
			La huerta lunera	By farmer (per year)	OPC		Diplomacy
			Subbética ecológica	By farmer (per year)	OPC GPS CEBG	Annual membership fee (\$)	Assembly
<b>Specialised retailer</b>	Córdoba	Extended	La tejedora (social market)	Farmers' price marketing margin	Statutes	Consumer Fixed Purchase (Monthly)	Consensus
			Almocafre (Consumer cooperative)	By consumers and farmers (per year)	OPC PGS	Joining fee and annual membership fee	Assembly
<b>Internet ordering system</b>	Bogotá	Extended	Semilla Andina	Farmers' price marketing margin	PGS		Diplomacy
<b>PGS: Participatory Guarantee System</b>							
<b>OPC: Organic Production Certification</b>							
<b>CECG: Certification of the Economy of the Common Good</b>							

Table 10. Governance mechanisms at the market level in Bogotá and Córdoba

Governance mechanisms are diversified and show a participatory approach by the organizations. On the one hand, those related to products such as price agreements and trust-quality articulation stand out. And, on the other hand, those related to the functioning (processes) of organizations, such as mechanisms of economic sustainability and conflict resolution. Each of these is described below.

### 3.2.2.1 Pricing

Two types of practices have been identified in both cities: coordinated prices and accepted prices. Coordinated prices are common in extended systems (TSFSC with an intermediary), where there is dialogue between actors (mainly farmers and consumers) to establish the price of food over a defined period (usually annually). These dialogues take place in the assembly or other decision-making spaces. Meanwhile, in some types of TSFSC the price is the result of a negotiation between the farmer and the intermediary agent and is accepted by consumers. In this case, consumers presuppose that farmers are getting a fair price for food. Accepting prices are frequent in direct

selling schemes (TSFSC direct selling), such as farmers' markets or basket schemes in Córdoba. The price is set by the farmers and accepted by the consumers. Consumers pay it to support environmentally friendly practices, the conservation of indigenous varieties, and to promote issues such as social justice.

#### *3.2.2.2 Trust – quality*

TSFSC stakeholders interact through relationships of trust, leading to an inherent social definition of quality based on knowledge about how production and distribution are organized (van der Ploeg et al., 2012). Some farmers and specialized retailers promote organic food with third-party certification labels as a mechanism to participate in specific markets and support the credibility of their products. However, new linkages between rural and urban areas, such as TSFSCs, promote the coordination of social mechanisms to ensure food quality and production practices. Here, participatory guarantee systems or trust seals are some of them. However, in contexts of peasant economy, the speech of the peasant may be enough for the consumer to know the place of origin and the production process (Parrado and Molina, 2014). Establishing a PGS demands a participatory learning and coordination process in each organization that facilitates, on the one hand, the mutual knowledge of the people/initiatives that are linked and the creation of verification systems. On the other hand, it promotes the generation of political consciousness at different scales. However, given that the process of establishing a PGS can be lengthy, some initiatives linked to TSFSCs have not fully developed it. In these cases, some operational and practical issues are agreed upon, such as the minimum level of quality, the verification process, production practices, etc.

There are three coordination mechanisms related to the economic sustainability of the TSFSCs. They are: 1) Joining fee that is paid only once to belong to the association. This mechanism is evidenced in Córdoba (El Ecomercado and Almocafre associations); 2) Membership fee, which is evidenced in Bogotá and Córdoba, and can have different modalities; for example, a monthly payment (El Ecomercado association in Córdoba), an annual payment (Subbética ecológica association in Córdoba), or a payment for each time a farmers' market is held. This last modality is evidenced in Bogotá, in the case of Mercados Campesinos program, where sometimes the farmers receive support from the local government, but this is not always the case and depends on the policy of the municipality where they are from. In Tierra Viva Agroecological market, producers do not receive any government support or subsidy for market participation; 3) Fixed purchase by the consumer, which only appears in La Tejedora association (Córdoba) where each member contributes (buys) at least a certain amount of products monthly (15 € per month).

#### 3.2.2.4 Conflict resolution

There are three means of resolving conflicts, which depend on whether the initiative is an individual project, such as the baskets of Córdoba, or a collective project such as cooperatives or associations. These means are: 1) Diplomacy: here there is no established procedure to act, but principles such as dialogue, good deals and win-win strategies for the actors involved predominate. This is evident in individual projects. 2) Assembly decisions: decisions are selections made by the members of the association. These decisions can be of two types: a) by election of the alternative with the highest number of votes is selected; b) by unanimity, when all the members of a group have the same opinion; 3) Decision-making by consensus: it seeks not only the agreement of the

majority of participants, but also the objective of resolving or mitigating the objections of the minority in order to reach the most satisfactory decision. Unlike assembly decisions, which are carried out through voting, in the search for consensus, opinions are presented and discussed.

#### **4. From Food Governance towards Food Democracy: An Analysis**

##### **4.1 Reflexive governance as a cornerstone TSFSCs at the strategic level**

The TSFSCs shape reflexive food governance, in which a great variety of actors with very diverse interests participate, providing spaces for social learning and points of agreement. Despite the coincidence of the two cities in the discourses of food activism, two particular visions stand out in Bogotá, one linked to the leading role of NGOs and international cooperation as promoters of the TSFSCs, and the other linked to a concept of market niche. In Córdoba, two visions can be perceived that may be bifurcations of the food activism discourse, giving greater importance to local self-management and social and ecological awareness.

In Córdoba, the TSFSCs are driven by the activities of farmers and, to a lesser extent, by consumers. While in Bogotá the TSFSCs have been driven mainly by rural movements, in which support from NGOs, universities and the state predominate. This may be linked to the capabilities that the actors may have. The two cities start from very different points; in Córdoba, most farmers are located near the city, own land and means of transport, and have a high level of education; and in the case of Bogotá, farmers are dispersed in rural territories, have problems with land ownership and means of transport, and the level of education is quite low (Parrado and Molina, 2014). This may explain the importance that NGOs have had in boosting rural development strategies and as a means of increasing the empowerment of farmers. However, it has also

involved their leading role in the networks that have been established and in the ways of governance that have been configured in Bogotá.

Despite the obvious differences in Bogotá and Córdoba, it is highlighted that both cities have originated processes that incorporate the values of reflexive governance. In the first place, a clear effort has been made to **create spaces for deliberation** in which they participate **actors from various levels** of governance and/or various epistemic backgrounds (such as policy makers and civil society organizations). In these spaces they **discuss, define and redefine** their collective food priorities. It is important to emphasize that there are some missing voices in these spaces of deliberation (Sonnino et al., 2014). In case studies analysed in this paper, some stakeholders may be stronger and more central than others, as indicated by Reina-Usuga et al (2018), due to the asymmetric distribution of material and immaterial resources. However, there is no concentration of power because the central participants in the networks of the cities belong to different civil society organizations. Even the perspective of market niche (Bogotá), operating outside of the main regulatory and economic systems, have the potential (under more reflexive systems of governance) to become fused around new forms of sustainability and consumption politics, which then could feed more active reflexive governance (Marsden, 2013b).

The second strategy is **acknowledged alternative understandings and framings** of the problems, in an attempt to integrate multiple approaches to problem solution. It gives the organizations participating in TSFSCs the opportunity to establish their own operational strategies adapted to their individual features and goals (operational level). This recognition involves the configuration of network governance processes, as explained below.

## 4.2 Governance networks to shape TSFSCs at the operational level

The governance processes at the operational level in the CCCTs are in line with features of governance network (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005): (i) interdependence and operational autonomy, (ii) institutionalised framework, negotiation and self-regulation, (iii) public purpose.

Firstly, TSFSCs in Bogotá and Córdoba articulate a set of private, semi-public and public stakeholders in the territory, both in the social and market spheres. These food stakeholders are operationally autonomous, but **depend on each other to achieve the network's objectives**. For example, the members of the Committee for Food Sovereignty, Autonomy and Security (in Bogotá) or the Coordinating Board of the Milan Pact (in Córdoba) operate independently to achieve their own objectives, but the "Committee or Board" needs the contribution of resources and competencies from each actor to achieve the collective goals. The decision-making process and ways of conflict resolution identified in this paper are supported by a participatory process that promotes equality and allows each organization to retain its uniqueness despite consensus on specific issues (Moragues-Faus, 2017). This may mean a hybrid between the forms of networked governance: shared governance and leading organisation (Provan and Kenis, 2008). These forms of governance are characterized by low density and low centralization, aspects observed in Bogotá and Córdoba (Reina-Usuga et al., 2018).

Secondly, TSFSCs studied also **promote institutionalized frameworks** that facilitate rules, functions, and procedures for operating. Some measures are related to the social sphere, such as statutes, or to the market sphere, such as PGSs. Networks that articulate TSFSC initiatives establish spaces for debate, consensus and collective learning, as already mentioned. This implies a cognitive element, because deliberations and the

participatory environment generate a set of specialized concepts and knowledge, and facilitates understanding, learning and collective action (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). Thus, some initiatives linked to TSFSCs in the case studies analysed here have defined or adopt concepts on food sovereignty, sustainability, local food, rural development, etc.

Finally, **public purpose** is the most important feature of network governance. Networks that do not contribute to the pursuit of a broad public purpose cannot be considered as governance networks (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). In both cities, TSFSC networks seek to rebalance power relations in FS to promote food security and the well-being of all stakeholders in both rural and urban areas. This becomes important if one considers that consolidation and concentration of power have been identified in different agrifood industries in recent decades (IPES-Food, 2017; McMichael, 2009). These unequal relationships in food chains are recognized as one of the greatest vulnerabilities to food security (Moragues-Faus et al., 2017). Therefore, promoting strategies to reverse this situation is one of the essential measures to create sustainable food systems (IPES-Food, 2017) and food justice.

### **4.3 Towards food democracy**

Food is seen as a contested terrain representing a struggle between economic and social forces seeking to control the system and citizens seeking to create more sustainable and democratic FS (Hassanein, 2008). Governance network theorists tend to agree that governance networks represent a threat to the traditional institutions of liberal democracy, but they do not see them as a threat to democracy as such (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005).

Food democracy revolves around five dimensions: becoming knowledgeable, sharing ideas, developing efficacy in the food system, building common public goods, and emphasising collective action (Hassanein, 2008). The kinds of governance described above (reflexive and networked) operate in tandem, with important complementary and synergistic effects, and are moving towards a food democracy. Indeed, some TSFSCs could potentially align with the concept of egalitarian food democracies, which stresses the capacity to act politically in the food system and therefore is linked to the “right to act” that food sovereignty claims (Moragues-Faus, 2017).

Reflexive and networked governance is key to the design of food policy that has the capacity to promptly respond to the constantly shifting priorities of SFS that emerge at multiple levels and scales. The TSFSCs governance foster “spaces of deliberation” that bring together civil society, private actors, and local government to learn together and to galvanize collective action around policy strategies to address complex food systems issues (Bassarab et al., 2019). For instance, the food policy councils (FPCs) are promoted as urban food strategies. In Córdoba, the Coordinating Board of the Milan Pact is a case in point and of the way in which different actors have influenced local food policy. However, in Bogotá, although the TSFSCs are within the framework of the public food policy (PMASAB), the influence of the TSFSCs on the new policy approaches has been limited.

Nonetheless, the new governance processes originated in the TSFSCs, as they are based on social processes, are slow and dynamic processes, and therefore their influence on public policy may take time. These governance processes also show the problems faced by local food actors while working within and across the territorial boundaries, such as the pressures that local governments face as a result of financial austerity and competing neoliberal policy priorities that, undermine attempts to create synergies between diverse

food system actors (Lever et al., 2019). Furthermore, it highlights the great difficulties between the dynamics of public administration (bureaucracy) and the demands of social processes, as well as to establish policies that do not depend on the electoral moment.

Finally, the mixed methodology used is an innovative approach that allows us to explore how different partnerships mobilise participation, co-produce knowledge, values, and reflexivity within governance spaces. Q methodology stimulates processes of reflection that increase the awareness of the participants, in this case, about the situation of the TSFSCs in their territories. However, given that this methodology has been applied as an individual exercise, it can be an overwhelming process that requires high concentration by the interviewees, so as not to lead to inconsistencies in the responses. The exploratory analysis made it possible to identify and deepen the governance mechanisms. However, this method requires a long time for its implementation, and also to have a relationship of trust between organizations and researchers to access the "spaces of deliberation".

## **5. Conclusions**

This research has identified the key features of food governance in *Alternative Food Movements* (AFMs), by adopting an innovative, multiscale and holistic perspective that aimed to discover the processes of food governance that originated *Territorial Short Food Supply Chains* (TSFSCs) in two cities, Bogotá and Córdoba. The analysis indicates how food stakeholders expand beyond formal governance mechanisms and are actively (re)shaped by different mechanisms and relationships. The results highlight that TSFSCs lead to reflexive (strategic level) and networked (operational level) governance processes. This may involve that more reflexive forms of governance becomes

‘networked’ forms. Nevertheless, these two governance approaches (reflexive and networked) operate in tandem, with important complementary and synergistic effects that foster food democracy. Moreover, the analysis has shown that a significant change in the mode of governance is a key requirement for achieving *sustainable food systems* (SFSs). Then it is clear that a more reflexive governance approach is needed to ‘unlock’ dominant paradigm thinking among the main and powerful FS stakeholders. A few key questions thus arise for future research: To what extent are we beginning to see the emergence of local and regional forms of reflexive governance that can drive a real paradigm shift towards agrifood sustainability? How can TSFSCs forms address the vulnerabilities of governance in today’s dominant food system?

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## Appendices

### Appendix A. Factor loadings Q

Q sort	City <sup>+</sup>	Factor				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	BO	<b>0.0005*</b>	0.5537	-0.1898	0.4163	0.4709
2	BO	0.0777	<b>0.7389*</b>	0.2618	-0.0318	-0.1538
3	BO	0.1527	<b>0.7548*</b>	0.0687	0.0064	0.1662
4	BO	-0.1299	0.1952	<b>0.576*</b>	-0.112	0.3058
5	BO	<b>0.7843*</b>	0.0921	0.0796	0.178	0.0248
6	BO	0.1772	0.2744	<b>0.7091*</b>	0.2765	0.0736
7	BO	0.3933	0.3345	0.1246	<b>0.4579*</b>	0.27
8	BO	0.4465	0.2927	0.0236	<b>0.6051*</b>	0.0456
9	BO	0.2818	<b>0.5831*</b>	-0.3248	-0.1356	0.2139
10	BO	<b>0.726*</b>	-0.0418	-0.0391	0.0454	0.1903
11	BO	0.1134	<b>0.6906*</b>	0.1179	0.3485	0.3362
12	BO	0.2469	0.2631	0.1195	-0.0365	<b>0.4525*</b>
13	BO	0.1509	<b>0.6036*</b>	0.4313	0.1502	0.1128
14	BO	<b>0.5859*</b>	0.1599	0.3533	-0.0893	0.0671
15	CO	<b>0.6043*</b>	0.3357	0.1853	0.2519	0.1374
16	CO	<b>0.6794*</b>	0.1286	0.1898	0.4204	0.2389
17	CO	0.3223	-0.2476	0.0703	<b>0.671*</b>	0.2465
18	CO	0.0718	0.1228	0.0352	<b>0.7943*</b>	-0.0024
19	CO	<b>0.6302*</b>	0.322	0.1967	0.2404	0.1547
20	CO	0.301	-0.1629	0.4065	<b>0.5217*</b>	0.3562
21	CO	0.4654	0.1631	0.051	0.2587	<b>0.5696*</b>
22	CO	0.0456	0.4883	0.2394	<b>0.5152*</b>	0.0871
23	CO	<b>0.5037*</b>	0.077	-0.1093	0.3464	0.3243
24	CO	0.1825	-0.0358	0.1613	0.2256	<b>0.8314*</b>
25	CO	0.313	0.1176	0.3526	<b>0.5209*</b>	0.3592
26	CO	0.1431	0.168	0.0235	0.089	<b>0.7026*</b>
27	CO	<b>0.5206*</b>	0.1919	0.2313	0.2412	0.3701
28	CO	0.2053	-0.0026	<b>0.6112*</b>	0.0696	-0.0276
29	CO	<b>0.5575*</b>	-0.0021	-0.081	0.5127	0.1725
% explained variance		16	13	8	13	11

<sup>+</sup>City: Bogotá (BO) - Córdoba (CO)

\* Defining Q sorts: Q sorts with high loadings (whether positive or negative) on each factor.

## Appendix B. Statement scores and salient statements for each factor

N.º	Statement	Factor				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	Before TSFSCs was something very alternative and quite minority and now almost everyone knows (understands) what it means, even if it is not linked to them.	-3	-1	-2	1	-1
2	TSFSCs are the opportunity to discover other processes, maintain the community scheme and escape from the current economic system.	3	0	0	3	0
3	In the TSFSC there is a reconfiguration of the relationship between farmers and consumers, the farmer has greater autonomy and the consumer has more confidence in the products he or she buys; but this is on a very small scale and has a strong local component.	3	0**	3	4	3
4	On the one hand, large supermarket chains such as Carrefour and Éxito emerge, but also other initiatives such as social stores of organic/agroecological products, fair trade, organic/agroecological/peasant markets that influence that people are feeding in another way.	1	0	4*	0	0
5	The TSFSC is a consequence of the bet that people make for another form of consumption; the TSFSC is the tool that people who are looking for a new alternative system to the traditional system; it is a consequence of people's need to be autonomous and sovereign in the way they eat.	4* *	0	-1	0	0
6	There are many initiatives or micro-initiatives in TSFSCs that do not have much dissemination, because they are carried out within a small territory.	0	1	3	0	1
7	The system is changing due to health problems and people relate it to the issue of nutrition and lack of physical activity.	0	-1	0	0	1
8	What the market automatically gives you as a solution to your health problems is organic production, even if you don't think you're supporting a local project, you're supporting a young person who starts and all the more social part, many people don't contemplate it.	1*	-2	-2	0	-1
9	Currently, food is no tasty, consumers are looking for new flavours	-4	-4	-3	3**	0* *
10	TSFSCs are born from a group of people who are socially and ecologically conscious.	2	-1	-1	2	3*
11	The economic crisis has made TSFSCs an alternative for employment	-2	2	2	1**	-1
12	Many people care more about what they are consuming and how they are consuming it.	-2	-2	0	1	2
13	The citizens' movements (consumers and farmers) have created TSFSCs as a healthy and fair food alternative.	3	2	-1**	1	4
14	Mass media have played a key role in the management of information on food issues and the dissemination of TSFSCs.	-3	-3	-3	-1	-3
15	Some conscientious consumers have become farmers	0	-2	1	1	-1
16	Farmers in TSFSCs are young people who were not previously engaged in agriculture or were not their main activity.	-1	-3	-3	-2	-1
17	Those who have participated least in the creation of TSFSCs have been farmers; farmers himself has not taken the step to say I need to create a new channel to reach the consumer.	-2	1	1	-1*	-3
18	The main promoters of TSFSCs are consumers' mothers/fathers of families with small children worried about their feeding.	-2	-4**	0*	-2	-2
19	State support is the main force driven to TSFSCs	-4	-1**	-4	-4	-4
20	People who see a business opportunity and become intermediaries between producers and consumers drive some TSFSCs.	-1	0	1	-2	-2
21	The main promoters of TSFSCs are NGOs or international cooperation institutions, which support producer organizations in a territory and motivate them to incursion into these initiatives.	-1	4**	-1	-1	-3
22	Farmers linked to TSFSC do so because they have a personal interest in this type of initiative beyond the economic interest.	1	2	0	0	3
23	Universities have given a great impulse for the creation and management of TSFSCs.	-1	1**	-4**	-1	-2
24	Food awareness has been raised due to public health scandals related to the consumption of chicken, horsemeat, and pork, GMOs, among others.	-1	-3	-1	-2	1* *
25	Knowing someone who is in TSFSC makes other people integrate, either producer or consumer; it's a word-of-mouth strategy.	1	2	2	4	2
26	First it has been to create conscience in the consumers, with actions like	2*	-2	-1	-1	-2

	formation, and then TSFSC began to be created; however, it has been a slow process, of trial and error, of social learning.					*
27	The holding of producers' fairs financed by public entities has given a great boost to TSFSCs.	-1	0	0	1	-1
28	The educational, cultural level and the work position favours that people are linked to TSFSC.	0	1	1	2	0
29	TSFSCs are a trend, a fashion of a certain social class for acquiring a certain type of food; TSFSCs have not yet been able to reach the general consumer.	-2	0	3**	-4	0
30	The supply and access to food in TSFSCs is very limited.	-3	1	0*	-2	2
31	People do not know that TSFSCs exist because information about them and how to link is not available.	0	2	-2	-3	1
32	The low-income population has limited access to TSFSCs because price is the main purchasing decision factor.	0	0	2	-3**	0
33	Some forms of TSFSC give a certain low-income population the opportunity to access quality food.	1	-1	-1	1	-2
34	TSFSCs are driven by people with high economic, cultural and intellectual capitals.	-1	-2	-2	-3	-4
35	We must work on the consolidation of consumption habits to give stability to TSFSCs.	1	4	1	2	2
36	The most important thing is to inform civil society (consumers) so that they are aware of the existence of TSFSCs and train them in food issues and crop techniques.	0	1	0	-1	4* *
37	The future of TSFSCs is one of expansion, although it will be a slow growth; the challenge will be to maintain them as something beyond the economic, something more environmentally and socially serious.	4	3	1	2	1
38	<i>New projects are emerging in the framework of the social and solidarity economy to support TSFSCs; the theme of ecology/agroecology is linked to the theme of the common good and the social economy, which invite participation in spaces other than the mere sale or purchase of food.</i>	2	1	2	3	2
39	Public policies are fundamental for the impulse of TSFSC, in regulation, sensitization, financing of initiatives and facilitation of implementation.	2	3	4**	-1**	1
40	Networks should be created among TSFSC initiatives and participatory guarantee systems should be generated, which facilitate the processes, but which can verify compliance with the requirements, without the need for a third-party seal.	2	3	1	0	0
41	In TSFSCs, the two types of certification must coexist (participatory and conventional), one for the most committed people to use, and the other for the general public.	0	-1	-2	0	1
42	It is necessary that the implementation of initiatives does not depend on the State.	1	-1	2	2	-1
<b>Italicized statements are consensus statements</b>						
<b>* Distinguishing statements with significance level of <math>p &lt; 0.05</math></b>						
<b>** Distinguishing statements with significance level of <math>p &lt; 0.01</math></b>						