

# Addressing the diversity of visions of ecologization in research and in support to agroecological transitions

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Title: Addressing the diversity of visions of ecologization in research and in support to

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**Abstract** 

Agroecology is increasingly recognized as a relevant framework for envisioning the transition of agriculture and

food systems, but is often tackled in a dualistic perspective opposing strong or radical visions of agroecology to

weak or incremental ones. This article is based on a collective, reflexive and comparative analysis of eight research

projects dealing with agroecological transitions at the scale of farming systems and agrifood systems. Each project

brought together a diversity of actors having different visions of ecologization. The aim of this article is to describe

how and with what benefits this diversity of visions was addressed in the projects. We show that taking into account

the diversity of visions is necessary for understanding agroecological transitions, and that beyond this, sharing this

diversity among the concerned actors is necessary for accompanying them in an inclusive way and, under certain

conditions, enrich transition pathways. We also show the need to adopt analytical approaches to characterize the

visions along with participatory action-research approaches allowing to share them and support transitions. Finally,

the collective and reflexive process we carried out for this article also enabled the researchers to situate their

projects and themselves with regard to their role in the agro-ecological transitions.

Keywords: action-research, system co-design, organic farming, transition pathways, stakeholders perspectives

#### 1. Introduction

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Agroecology has gained considerable legitimacy in recent years. In the academic world, it is tackled by an increasing diversity of researchers and disciplines (Mason et al. 2021; Ollivier et Bellon 2021). It is the subject of specific public policies in various countries and is increasingly recognized by major international institutions as a relevant framework for considering the transition of agriculture and food systems, and for achieving sustainable development goals (FAO 2018; HLPE 2009). Unlike Organic Agriculture, agroecology is not defined by codified legal rules (such as the exclusion of synthetic chemical inputs), but rather by general principles (FAO 2018; HLPE 2009; Altieri et Rosset 1996). Faced with a diversity of conceptions and struggles to define agroecology (Norder et al. 2016; Giraldo et Rosset 2018), much of this agroecological literature adopts a normative and dichotomous perspective, based on oppositions about agricultural models, types of techniques, the place of farmers, the scales to be considered, etc. This leads to dualistic oppositions on agroecology such as weak versus strong (López-i-Gelats et al. 2016; Duru, Therond, Fares 2015), soft versus hard (Dalgaard, Hutchings, et Porter 2003), technical versus political (de Molina 2013), co-opted (by corporate actors or governments) versus peasant or social movements' (Rivera-Ferre 2018; Holt-Giménez et Altieri 2013) and, regarding agroecological research as such, conforming versus transformative approaches (Levidow, Pimbert, et Vanloqueren 2014). When it comes to agroecological transitions (AETs), many approaches favor a gradual or stages perspective, based on degrees and steps, mostly inspired by the agricultural sciences. They have given rise to diverse frameworks aimed at analysing and assessing transition processes (Mottet et al. 2020; Barrios et al. 2020; Petersen et al. 2020) and also lead to dualistic readings of transition or change, opposing for example reformist versus revolutionary (Giraldo et McCune 2019), substitution versus redesign (Hill et MacRae 1996), incremental versus radical (Berthet et al. 2016), and reductionist versus systemic (Anderson et al. 2019). While the role of visions and imaginaries has been tackled in the literature dealing with transitions in other sectors, such as the energy industry (Sgouridis et al. 2022; Longhurst et Chilvers 2019), the actual diversity of visions of agroecology and AETs – "visions" being the term we choose to use here to encompass both the conception (epistemic perspective) and aim (of a future, a desirable way forward embodying values; an axiological perspective) – is often overlooked and/or reduced to such dualistic readings. In the social sciences, the importance of values and visions is more present on the ground that transition processes cannot be explained solely by individual, macro-structural or technical determinants. Conflicting values about

appropriate types of agriculture strongly influence whether or not farmers adopt agroecological methods (Meek 2016; Masson et al. 2021). The multiple meanings and viewpoints over agroecology have long been widely acknowledged (Buttel 2004; Norder et al. 2016; Magda et al. 2019). Works focusing on the controversies between different visions of agroecology at play in institutionalization processes, do justice to this diversity of visions of the AET (Lamine 2017; Montenegro de Wit et lles 2016). Other works, for example in "critical food system education", suggest a 'tolerance for pluralism' of visions (Edelman et al. 2014). However, these approaches, mainly rooted in an analytical perspective, do not address the link between these visions and the changes in practices that make the transition concrete, an aspect that is doubtlessly necessary when it comes to support AETs.

Concerning the concrete changes in practices, the growing legitimacy of participatory research approaches —

participation has become a motto and a directive of sorts, appearing often in calls for projects, for example – has led to an emphasis on taking into account the diversity of actors concerned by the issue at stake. Given the significant lack of references and knowledge on innovative and complex agroecosystems that rely on ecological processes and diversification, participatory approaches to innovative system design have for instance extensively been developed to bring together both scientific and technical knowledge, as well as feedbacks and experiences from various backgrounds (Berthet et al. 2016). Beyond farmers' participation, other actors of the agricultural knowledge system, such as advisors, trainers, experimenters, scientists, and/or of the agri-food system such as food processors, sales managers, consumers, etc. are also often included (Meynard et al. 2017). Recent works have shown that the hybridization of heterogeneous knowledge during such co-design processes has in fact proven constructive in making new propositions, and finding compromises to design innovative systems (Barcellini, Prost, et Cerf 2015; Penvern, Chieze, et Simon 2018), especially in cases where actors' interests and/or points of view may diverge (Prost et al. 2017).

Nonetheless, participatory approaches often reduce the diversity of visions to that of the categories of actors and their role in the socio-technical system at stake. Taking the relationship with functional biodiversity as an example, several studies highlight the variety of farmers' visions and expectations towards functional biodiversity (Kelemen et al. 2013; Howard et al. 2018) resulting in specific attitudes, decision criteria and practices towards functional biodiversity (Cardona et al. 2021; Penvern et al. 2019). Therefore, a major challenge to support functional

biodiversity-based systems and, more generally, agroecological systems, is to account for this variety of visions, and not to design one solution that may fit to all, but several in response to specific contexts.

The need to characterize and collectively acknowledge the diversity of visions is at the heart of companion modeling approaches. This participatory approach uses modeling tools to create a dialogue between various stakeholders (including researchers) and achieve a shared understanding about a common problem in complex social—ecological systems (Étienne 2014). In this approach, the explicit recognition of the diversity of visions makes it possible to address conflictual situations generated for instance by the management of common spaces or resources (Barnaud et al. 2014). Great importance is therefore attached to the "representativeness" of stakeholders and an important work of characterization of the context and visions is carried out beforehand (Mathevet et al. 2014). The visions are called upon to enrich each other with the objective of building a common representation. However these approaches are still not widely applied to AETs.

In this article, our objective is to focus on how the diversity of visions is addressed in research projects, and to what extent it does or does not enable more inclusive AETs and the enrichment of transition pathways. To do this, eight research projects were compared in which the dual task of identifying and sharing visions has been carried out, or not, and to varying degrees. These projects involved researchers from the same laboratory in southern France, whose encompassing work object is the transition of agriculture and food systems. They fall either exclusively under an analytical posture or, for the most part, under both an analytical posture and a transformative, action research one. An action research posture leads to involve an extended peer community (Popa, Guillermin, et Dedeurwaerdere 2015) in a collaborative definition, implementation and interpretation of research (Méndez et al. 2017; Méndez, Bacon, et Cohen 2013). In continuity with these works, we will show that action-research approaches dealing with agroecological transitions suppose a critical analysis of power relations, lock-in and exclusion effects (Pimbert et al. 2017; Masson et al. 2021), thus indeed combining analytical and transformative stances.

After the presentation of our material and methods in section 2, the cases are described in the Results section, following a demonstrative logic in which each argument is supported by two case studies chosen as the most exemplary ones. In the first part of this section, we show why the recognition of the diversity of visions is a necessity for inclusive AETs. In the second part, we show the value of sharing the diversity of visions, firstly to explore and

support a diversity of transition pathways, and secondly to favor the enrichment of these pathways through cross-learning between actors. We come back in the Discussion section to the conditions needed if this sharing of visions is to help enriching the transition pathways.

#### 2. Materials and methods

Interested in studying the benefits of addressing the diversity of visions in projects dealing with AETs, a group of researchers from the same team, working on different research projects, most of which had little connection initially, carried out a collective and reflexive comparison of eight of their projects, chosen to represent different objectives, duration, research approaches and methods, as stakeholders and local actors were either observed or involved in the processes (Table 1).

Following an iterative process, the cases were described as narratives, shared within the collective, and discussed in order to compare: (i) the processes at play and the methods used to address the diversity of visions; (2) the benefits and the conditions to address the diversity of visions and enrich agroecological transition pathways. The drafting of the manuscript, meetings of the first author with each case holder, and successive cross-readings finally made it possible to structure, synthesize and stabilize the analysis in the form of the present article. This process allowed us to develop our arguments around the need and conditions for addressing the diversity of visions and enriching agroecological transition pathways. To respect their coherence, the case studies are described as a whole and the most exemplary one was chosen to develop each argument.

Objectives of the project/actors	Duration	Type of research approach and methods	Stakeholders/local actors "observed" or involved in the	Reference
studied			research process	
Analysing how farmers display their	3 years	Analytical : network analysis and ethnographic	Researcher (sociologist)	Rénier et al. 2022
agricultural practices to the general		surveys (observation, videos analysis and	AgriYouTubers and virtual communities observed	
public		semi-structured interviews)		
Promote the consideration of functional	3 years	Analytical (agronomic interviews) and	Researchers (entomologists, agronomists and sociologist)	Penvern et al. 2019;
biodiversity in organic orchards		participatory research (Focus group)	with farmers, technicians and advisors	Cardona et al. 2021
Relocate production and link it to	2 years	Analytical: ethnographic survey (participant	Researcher (sociologist)	Tuscano 2022
consumption through local food		observation and semi-structured interviews)	Local stakeholders (mostly farmers, associations, organic	Hubeau et al. 2021
governance			farming development actors) observed	
Promote and develop associations	2 years	Analytical (ethnographic interviews) and	Researchers (agronomists and sociologist), with	Paut et al. 2021
between breeders and producers of		Action-research (participant observation,	development actors and a farmer	
perennial crops		seminar and workshops)		
Tracking innovations and co-designing	10 years	Action-research (agronomic interviews,	Farmers, experimenters, advisors, researchers, and	Penvern et al. 2012;
sustainable orchards		participant observation, seminars and	teachers, from several disciplines	Capitaine et al. 2016
		workshops)		
Exploration and implementation of	4 years	Analytical (interviews and participant	Researcher (sociologist)	Ollivier 2022
sustainable soil management by		observation)	Facilitator and vegetable growers observed	
diversified vegetable producers				
	studied  Analysing how farmers display their agricultural practices to the general public  Promote the consideration of functional biodiversity in organic orchards  Relocate production and link it to consumption through local food governance  Promote and develop associations between breeders and producers of perennial crops  Tracking innovations and co-designing sustainable orchards  Exploration and implementation of sustainable soil management by	Analysing how farmers display their agricultural practices to the general public  Promote the consideration of functional biodiversity in organic orchards  Relocate production and link it to consumption through local food governance  Promote and develop associations 2 years between breeders and producers of perennial crops  Tracking innovations and co-designing sustainable orchards  Exploration and implementation of 4 years sustainable soil management by	Analysing how farmers display their agricultural practices to the general public  Promote the consideration of functional biodiversity in organic orchards  Relocate production and link it to consumption through local food governance  Promote and develop associations between breeders and producers of perennial crops  Tracking innovations and co-designing sustainable orchards  Analytical: network analysis and ethnographic surveys (observation, videos analysis and semi-structured interviews)  Analytical (agronomic interviews) and participant observation and semi-structured interviews)  Analytical: ethnographic survey (participant observation and semi-structured interviews)  Analytical (ethnographic interviews) and Action-research (participant observation, seminar and workshops)  Tracking innovations and co-designing sustainable orchards  Exploration and implementation of 4 years  Analytical (interviews and participant observation)	Analysing how farmers display their agricultural practices to the general public surveys (observation, videos analysis and ethnographic semi-structured interviews)  Promote the consideration of functional biodiversity in organic orchards  Relocate production and link it to consumption through local food governance  Promote and develop associations 2 years Analytical (ethnographic survey (participant observation) and semi-structured interviews)  Analytical: ethnographic survey (participant observation) and develop associations 2 years Analytical (ethnographic interviews)  Analytical interviews)  Analytical ethnographic survey (participant observation) and Researcher (sociologist)  Analytical interviews)  Analytical interviews, and development actors and a farmer  Action-research (participant observation, seminars and workshops)  Exploration and implementation of a years  Analytical (interviews and participant Researcher (sociologist)  Analytical interviews, seminars and participant deachers, from several disciplines  Promote and development actors of periodic interviews, participant observation, seminars and development actors and a farmer  Action-research (agronomic interviews, Farmers, experimenters, advisors, researchers, and teachers, from several disciplines  Exploration and implementation of a years  Analytical (interviews and participant Researcher (sociologist)  Facilitator and vegetable growers observed

OBSTAE	Analyze collective dynamics of AETs	3 years	Analytical (interviews and participant	Researchers, farmers and facilitators of the involved groups	Lamine et al. 2021
			observation) and participatory research		
			(seminars)		
L'assiette et le	Shared understanding of agri-food	3 years	Action-research (collective inquiry) partly	Researchers and 4 local actors (local authorities and	https://www.assiette-
territoire	transition processes, and social		building on previous studies.	associative networks) in co-coordination, plus 25 various	territoire.com/
	experimentation			actors	Lamine et al. 2022

Table 1: Factual description of the eight research projects chosen as case studies; listed in order of appearance in the text.

To illustrate the diversity of situations put to the test in our comparative study, the figure positions each project in terms of:

- approaches and research postures (horizontal axis), according to a gradient of participation of actors and researchers in the project. We distinguish between analytical postures where actors are observed, participatory research where they are associated, and action-research postures where actors co-construct the research questions with researchers, knowing that an analytical posture is by definition always present.

- the degree of visions recognition (vertical axis), according to the extent to which the diversity of visions was taken into account to support AETs in the research project. We distinguished three degrees in the work of recognizing the diversity of visions: characterization, sharing and co-construction of the AETs. All projects proceeded to characterize the diversity of visions, and one did not aim to go beyond this (Youtube). While the initial intention was to share them, two projects failed to do so (Provence Verte and Vergers Pâturés). Finally, three projects went so far as to use this diversity of visions to co-construct AETs (OBSTAE, Vergers Durables, L'Assiette et le Territoire).

- focus of the study (colour of the project's name), with projects focusing either on agricultural systems or on territorial agri-food systems.

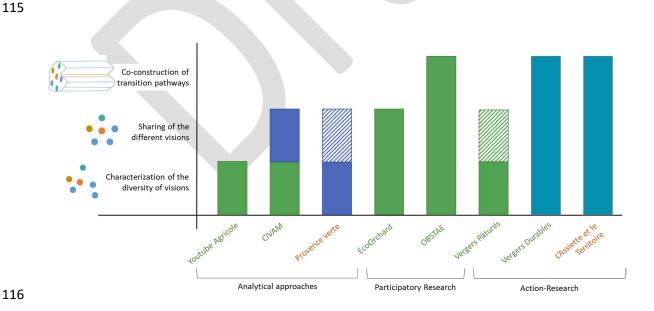


Figure: Positioning of the 8 case studies according to the research approaches with a gradient of researcher and actors involvement in the project (on the horizontal axis), and according to the degree of the process of recognition of visions (on the ordinate). This process was either initiated by researchers (green), stakeholders (blue) or co-

constructed (turquoise) and carried out quite extensively (solid) or only partially (hatched). By way of example, the researcher's work in the "CIVAM" project enabled the characterization of the diversity of visions brought together in the group of farmers, while the sharing of these visions during farm visits and meetings was done at the initiative of the stakeholders. The names of the projects at the scale of the agricultural system appear in green, those at the scale of the territorial agri-food system in orange.

#### 3.Results

First of all, the comparison of the cases highlighted that visions were expressed differently depending on the actors and the objects of study. These visions could correspond to different perceptions, expectations and values that the actors have of AETs, in their "ecological" dimension – e.g. with respect to functional biodiversity – but also in terms of the agricultural and agri-food models to be achieved. They also reflected different ways of achieving them, of projecting oneself in time with a diversity of paths and trajectories, some incremental and others more disruptive. In all cases, the visions were embedded in a singular socio-technical context.

The comparison of our case studies then enabled us to identify two major results that will structure this section: firstly, that recognizing the diversity of visions is a necessity for inclusive AETs, and secondly, that this process enriches the transition pathways.

## 3.1. Recognizing the diversity of visions is a necessity for inclusive AETs

Our analysis of the case studies first shows the need to recognize the diversity of visions, based on two main arguments developed below: (1) there was an actual diversity of visions, at times even for the same individual; and (2) failure to recognize them collectively can limit the reach of the project and the inclusiveness of the AETs.

#### 3.1.1. A diversity of visions exists as is showed by analytical approaches

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#### The Agricultural YouTube: a discussion space to defend diversified visions of ecologization

The case study on the Agricultural YouTube is based on an analytical posture, where the researcher was in a position of non-participating observation. In this project, a network analysis was applied to the relations between more than 500 YouTube channels and initially allowed to identify the existence of several groups of channels. Ethnographic analyses of the videos then showed that these groups expressed different visions of the ecologization of agricultural practices. Thus, the community of "Agri-youtubeurs" was formed following a logic of informational engagement (Cardon et Granjon 2013); in order to defend a profession that they consider unfairly criticized for its practices by the mainstream media and certain environmentalist associations. For its members, it is a matter of displaying their agricultural practices in the terms of a situated agroecology, even when these practices are controversial. This is the case, in particular, with videos of Agri-youtubeurs practicing soil conservation agriculture who justified the use of glyphosate as it allows them to continue planting intercropping cover crops without having to disturb the soil mechanically. Another group highlighted by the network analysis is that of channels publishing content related to the market gardening on living soil. Some of these actors claimed to be "critical organic growers", and use YouTube as a "platform" to promote a specific horticultural model, that of no-till farming with permanent cover, whose principles can sometimes contradict those of organic agriculture. In this case, actors used YouTube to differentiate their vision from that of the organic farming movement in the name of an ecological principle (notill).

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EcoOrchard: A diversity of visions of functional biodiversity needing specific approaches and support tools.

The work carried out within the framework of the European project "EcoOrchard", combining an analytical approach with participatory research, has highlighted four different attitudes among the 125 fruit growers interviewed in the 9 partner countries – mostly practicing organic farming – towards functional biodiversity (*wait-and-see*, *naturalist*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A recent French farmer-led movement called "Maraîchage sur Sol Vivant (MSV)" that gathers market gardeners to develop agroecological cropping practices that place soil at heart of their cropping systems

regulation and multifunctional). Consequently, the way in which the 24 techniques identified as favorable to functional biodiversity were implemented also differed (Penvern et al. 2019). These different attitudes also explained the commitment of farmers to agroecological principles. Farmers with a more "passive" approach and with no particular expectations regarding biodiversity did not implement specific practices, whereas farmers with a multifunctional approach to biodiversity expressed a diversity of expectations and implemented a large number of techniques, to the point of fully redesigning their farm. This work also shows that these attitudes can coexist within the same individual and the same technique, and that they can evolve over time. This diversity of visions of biodiversity (or of multiple biodiversities) among farmers, is seldom taken into account by scientists and development actors (advisors, experimenters), giving way to an inadequacy of tools and forms of support. This is particularly true for farmers' day-to-day management, which can imply the implementation of monitoring methods and the adjustment of practices and of the farm. Workshops organized in 3 of the 9 partner countries and bringing together development actors, farmers and researchers (Cardona et al. 2021) have shown that, if we monitoring programs are to be produced in line with the ideas and needs of farmers and advisors, it is not enough to consider only the pest regulation services of functional biodiversity, and the protocol must be adapted to farmers' visions to support inclusive AETs.

Through their analytical posture, these two cases illustrate the diversity of visions that coexist in the real world and the work needed to characterize them. While in the first case the visions are expressed by the farmers themselves through videos – it could also have been through membership in farmers' groups or associations – in the second case, these visions are "erased" or discrete, and could only be identified by means of elicitation through research. In both cases, analytical approaches were necessary to characterize this diversity of visions.

# 3.1.2. Neglecting to share the diversity of visions of AET can limit the reach of initiatives in relation to the initial ambitions

Provence Verte: An initiated but interrupted sharing of visions that limits the inclusiveness of the AET project.

This research studied the process of elaboration of a Territorial Food Project (*Projet Alimentaire Territorial*, PAT), a public-action instrument governed by the National Program for Food (*Programme National de l'Alimentation*, French Ministry of Agriculture) set up by *Provence Verte* inter-municipal authority. The research involved an analytical posture. Ethnographic surveys made it possible to analyze the process of implementation of the PAT, by combining a participant observation approach during 9 formal meetings and intermediate exchanges, with comprehensive in –depth interviews with 13 actors involved in the process (Tuscano 2022).

The institutional framework demands a "diagnostic" component from every PAT, followed by an "operational" one. The first phase consists of a consultation process aimed at bringing out or orienting the project's operational ambitions. In this case, some fifteen actors (the number varied from session to session) of the territory were involved in the construction of the project and in the diagnosis phase. They were mainly agricultural support structures, coming in particular from organic agriculture, as well as organizations with explicit ecological commitments. The choice of involved actors stemmed from partnerships already consolidated during previous initiatives. A process of sharing visions was initiated at the beginning of this "diagnosis" phase through the organization of several meetings. This work, initiated by a facilitator with little experience in participatory methods, was met with criticism from the actors. A year and a half into the diagnosis, it had nevertheless made it possible to analyze the major needs and to prioritize the areas of intervention (school catering, support to new farmers, structuring of local chains, etc.). However, the facilitator changed during the diagnosis phase, the project (particularly the facilitation methods) evolved, and the process of sharing was not continued during the rest of the diagnosis nor taken into account for the operational phase. In other words, the actors were ultimately engaged more in consultation than in coconstruction, which limited their commitment to the project and, in consequence, the ambitions of the territorial AET.

#### Vergers Pâturés: A diversity of visions of the transition that reveals itself along the way.

The "Depasse" project was supported by PEI-AGRI, a European scheme funding "multi-actor" projects to facilitate the transfer of innovation and knowledge, in this particular case on the territorial association between breeders and

growers for the grazing of perennial crops. Although the project mainly supported development structures (managers of protected areas, associations representing producers and herders on grazing land), researchers got strongly involved in the project alongside these, with the aim of understanding the obstacles and levers to the implementation of this association. Originally, the project was based on an approach combining seminars and survey work to include a diversity of situations and farmer profiles (fruit growers, winegrowers, olive growers and livestock breeders). The goal was to closely involve farmers in the process of producing knowledge on these associations and to invite them to join in and experiment with this practice. This approach, developed by the researchers, was guickly subject to misunderstandings by the development actors, who had not invested themselves much in the project during the set-up phase but took a leading role in the operational phase. The misunderstandings made it possible to become aware of two gaps that existed: on the one hand, the researchers' will to produce knowledge with and from specific experiences regarding the conditions for these associations to take place, by intervening as little as possible in their implementation by the farmers; on the other hand, the more directive and operational vision of development actors, wishing to manage the associations between herders and farmers, by imposing their technical tools such as grazing plans or conventions, and without taking into account the farmers' visions. As the project began to wither, a space for dialogue emerged during which the present parties were able to clarify and expose their visions of both the project and the type of support they wished to implement. This situation allowed the researchers to become aware of the discrepancy between what they had imagined (the project submitted) and the way in which the operational actors had planned to use it, and therefore of the failure to collaborate. While the project had started from the presupposition that a common vision was shared, it was a crisis situation in the collaboration that led to the clarification of the visions held by stakeholders (and not a deliberate wish to identify them).

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These two cases, although very different, show the need to recognize the diversity of visions (beforehand and throughout the process) for the success of projects. While in the first case the sharing of visions was initially orchestrated by the project's facilitator, the researcher's observations showed that this was not followed by effects, due to a lack of continuity in the conduct of the project. In the second case, the sharing was done too late and resulted in strong tensions and ultimately a reorientation of the project.

3.2. Sharing the diversity of visions enriches transition pathways

In this second part, we argue that the benefits of recognizing and sharing the diversity of visions to enrich agroecological transition pathways: first because sharing visions makes it possible to envision and assess a diversity of agricultural models and paths; second thanks to cross-learning processes between researchers and actors that support the exploration of transition pathways.

## 3.2.1. A process of sharing enables the collective recognition of the diversity of visions and paths

Vergers Durables: Sharing permits the recognition of a diversity of properties and models of sustainable orchards.

The *Vergers Durables* (Sustainable Orchards) group, created in 2008, is a participatory research network (led by INRAE researchers), bringing together a diversity of actors and disciplines with the initial objective of defining what a sustainable orchard could be. All of its 24 members shared the desire to move away from the conventional production scheme to explore innovative alternatives. Faced with the difficulty of defining a common set of specifications for the properties of a sustainable orchard, the researchers facilitating the group began to work (after four years) on the characterization of the diversity of experiences and perceptions of each of the participants regarding what a sustainable orchard could be (Penvern et al. 2012). Several working sessions were organized:

- Semi-directive interviews were conducted in order to characterize the diversity of experiences and paths (types of orchard explored, and experimented).
- Workshops in groups (3) and in pairs (1) to share the different visions that each individual had of a sustainable orchard: while some placed fruits at the center of the system, others placed agriculture or even their family or couple's lives.

- Workshops (5) for the co-design and evaluation of new orchards, where each actor brought his or her own values: some put the economic viability of the farm as imperative, while others were more concerned with the working hours or the pleasure of working in the orchards.

This sharing process allowed recognizing a diversity of levers, models and evaluation criteria. Four models were thus characterized (a technological orchard, a horticultural orchard, an orchard with grazing, and an ecological one) and filtered through a broad spectrum of properties of what a sustainable orchard should be and, in doing so, to enrich the very definition of what a "sustainable" orchard implies (Capitaine et al. 2016). In order to capitalize on this work, a book project was initiated to "cross views", and thus to benefit from the 10 years of work. Unfortunately, this book project never took form, due to a lack of resources and of continuity in the facilitation. Wishing to reach more traditional audiences and to include more farmers in a AET, as well as to comply with funding calls' requirements, the projects that subsequently emerged within the Vergers Durables group targeted on the use of functional biodiversity (see the EcoOrchard project above), on vegetable orchards and/or orchards with grazing (i.e., the DEPASSE project above). Moments of exchange were planned in the projects that followed but the farmers of the original group did not find themselves fitting in anymore.

#### CIVAM: Sharing leads to a separation of trajectories within a group of vegetable producers

In this project, a group of vegetable producers with different visions, brought together by CIVAM – an alternative extension organization – to explore and experiment with new sustainable soil management practices, was analyzed based on interviews and participant observation. In its initial intention, the group's project was very open. As some of the farmers did not know each other, more than half of the project consisted of collective farm visits where the farmers expressed, discovered and discussed a variety of visions of their practices, goals and potential desire for change. On this basis, the researcher could identify three visions of diversified farming which gradually made explicit and which made it possible to clarify the producers' commitments:

- Conventional growers (a minority), with little diversification and a wish to solve specific problems of soil diseases and technical blockages in terms of chemical treatment. These farmers were there "to have a look".

- Organic growers who routinely practiced the local technical model for diversified vegetable farming, designated as "intensive organic vegetable production". These growers were interested in reflecting on and improving their soil management practices, but they came as curious visitors, for the most part without a clear desire to change their practices.

- Organic enthusiasts, often young neo-peasants, who were looking to go beyond the previous models, whether conventional or intensive organic, to reduce their impact on soil health and the environment in general. They were testing low-impact soil management practices, and formed the core of the group.

Despite an often-stated wish to bring together different visions, the sharing of visions created a separation of trajectories within the collective, and so the plurality of the group could not be maintained. The conventional growers, not finding rapid solutions to their problems and not convinced by the technical radicalism of others, gradually left, while some of the organic vegetable producers were not willing or able to get involved in the reflection and implementation of practical changes. The collective thus tightened around the core of most invested ones, bearers of a reforming vision of "intensive organic vegetable production". This tightening allowed to get out of a certain inertia and to engage an operationalization of their action through various changes in practices and within a collective organization recognized by the State (a GIEE: Group of Interest for the Economy and the Environment<sup>2</sup>). This group's experience has more broadly inspired development actors within the framework of a subsequent project on small vegetable farms in Southeast France, thus generalizing the practice of individualized peasant experimentation created in the project to support AET. Moreover, despite the separation, the sharing of experiences also allowed for the initiation of a reflexive process for all, conventional and organic vegetable growers, which could eventually lead to change for some.

Whether initiated by the researchers or by the collective itself, these two processes of characterization and sharing of the diversity of visions have made it possible to explore not only a diversity of aims but also a diversity of transition paths or – put differently – of manners of changing. The recognition of this diversity can lead, however, to splits

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Translator's note: in French, *Groupement d'intérêt économique et environnemental*.

when the objectives of the collective projects do not coincide with the aims or the timing of certain members. This raises questions on the degree of diversity that these projects can bring together.

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#### 3.2.2. A process of sharing enables enriched and inclusive transition pathways

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## OBSTAE: An observatory of agroecological transitions in the making, based on researchers and actors' sharing processes

The OBSTAE project, carried out within a participatory research approach, brought together a dozen researchers and 16 sixteen farmers' (or multiactors) groups having won the Mobilisation Collective pour l'Agro-Ecologie call (MCAE, Collective Mobilisation for Agroecology) from the French Ministry of Agriculture<sup>3</sup>. The project aimed to create interactions between these 16 sixteen collectives (all developing AET projects, including the CIVAM one, described above), as well as with researchers and ministry officials (Barbier, Lamine, et Couix 2022; Lamine et al. 2021). The project allowed to conduct:

- An analytical work of identification/characterization of the diversity of intra-group visions, based on interviews and participant observation in the groups on the visions of ecologization and agroecology, and an inter-group comparison carried out by the researchers.
- Exchanges and sharing processes within five seminars associating researchers and groups' members (farmers and facilitators).

This allowed the creation of an observatory of not only agroecological transitions but also, and along the way, of recognition and legitimization trajectories within and among the collectives. The sharing processes, through exchanges during the various workshops and co-writing processes (some chapters of the final book being coauthored by researchers and group members together) that supported and strengthened arguments, have supported the legitimization of models whose degree of ecologization was more contested than others (such as

<sup>3</sup> a call for proposals, one of the first public action instruments of the agroecological policy launched in France in 2012, designed as an exploratory measure in view of the launch of the aforementioned GIEEs, introduced by law in France in 2014

conservation agriculture in comparison to organic agriculture). This went along with debates on their respective "performances". Although the 16 groups have taken part to the activities in different degrees, these exchanges have always brought reflexivity and elements of positioning (in relation to other collectives) that reassured them in their own transition project. For example, almost all of them have gone on to create a GIEE to support their transition. Paradoxically, this process of legitimization and exchange also generated frustrations when, for example, one of the groups found itself ineligible for State funding due to its legal structure not being controlled by the farmers (a mandatory criterion).

# L'Assiette et le Territoire: A combination of methods to initiate a transition at the scale of a territorial agrifood system

The action research project *L'Assiette et le Territoire* (2019-2021, coordinated by INRAE and four local actors — coming from NGOs and local authorities) was conceived with the objective of contributing to supporting the AET process at the scale of a territorial agri-food system, based on an approach aimed at facilitating knowledge construction, exchange and multi-actor experimentation. This began with a shared work on the past and present trajectory of the food system and continued with studies and experiments involving researchers and actors on focused themes such as collective catering, support to new farmers, and equity of access to food. The project was structured around a "plenary" group of 25 people, whose composition was thought out so as to include a diversity of actors (research, farmers, civil society, agricultural movements) and to associate *representative* actors ("stakeholders" representing their organization) as well as "*concerned*" ones – affected by the issue, although not representing any organization (Lamine 2018). The goal was to gather people without a habit of working all together; with different (and sometimes even contradictory) points of view; and some of whom were at times in competition for access to resources. This group conducted:

- A work of documentation analysis and interviews (on the trajectory and on other topics) that allowed to characterize the diversity of visions – in particular those that may have clashed along the trajectory (between, for example, a vision more focused on products' valorization, and one more focused on the issues of support to new farmers and social inclusion).

- A collective discussion of the results from this work within the group, which allowed to bring together this diversity of visions, and to collectively write a manifesto that recognizes it (https://www.assiette-territoire.com/manifeste).

- Targeted collective experimentations that allowed for concretely and modestly initiating a transition process.

This project is part of a larger portfolio of work, past and ongoing, conducted by the team on different territories. The analysis produced on the trajectory and governance is thus enriched for local actors through direct exchanges with other territories (as was the case with OBSTAE already presented). The actors were also mobilized in forms of collective inquiry (e.g., written description of specific cases, collective work on forms of land provision for the support to new farmers, identification of key initiatives in collective catering). Although the effects of this project in terms of actions and concrete transition remain modest given its very small budget, it has made it possible to reach a shared recognition of the diversity of visions and the divergences, which did not prevent the affirmation of common principles shared in the collective manifesto). It also had a very concrete influence on public action projects (the aforementioned PAT) that emerged around the same time to implement the transition (with larger budgets!), particularly in terms of recognizing the diversity of initiatives and visions at play in the territory and including them in these institutional projects.

These two action-research initiatives overlap with the actors' projects. They created original dynamics of exchange, co-production of knowledge, reflexivity and concrete experimentation that supported the collectives' transition. The first case illustrates the possibility of sharing a wide variety of visions, some of which were in principle incompatible. The second case especially illustrates the positive impacts that this sharing can have beyond the project, in time or in other initiatives, especially in terms of inclusiveness..

#### 4. Discussion

Our cross-case analysis has shown the benefits of sharing the diversity of visions for the analysis and support of AETs. In the case of agricultural systems, it allows to consider a diversity of systems or models, to explore a diversity

of levers and conditions for their implementation, as well as to conduct collective system design and evaluation in which each actor expresses his or her visions and expectations (Vergers Durables). It also allows to take into account a diversity of postures regarding change (CIVAM) and to adapt support programs to enable a diversity of transition paths (EcoOrchard). In the case of agri-food systems, the work of identifying and sharing visions allowed to collectively recognize the diversity of initiatives as the expression of the diversity of visions at work in the territories concerned (Provence Verte), and to have it recognized in further projects implemented by other actors (l'Assiette et le Territoire), thus enriching the transition pathways.

While many frameworks are aimed at analyzing and assessing transition processes in objective terms, especially through indicators (Mottet et al. 2020; Barrios et al. 2020; Petersen et al. 2020), our results show the benefits of carrying out a reflexive and qualitative appraisal of the way the diversity of visions is addressed, in the perspective of understanding this diversity and enriching rather than assessing transition pathways. This enrichment can be discrete, fostering learning or ways of thinking rather than concrete action, and may take time before it can be appreciated. In the long term, the recognition of the diversity of visions (and therefore of potential divergences) would thus allow limiting the effects of dual and dichotomous opposition between models of agriculture and would, on the contrary, favor not just their coexistence but also their coevolution. This has already been described, for example, in work showing the benefits of considering the different movements or *perspectives* of organic farming (Zagata, Uhnak, et Hrabák 2021), or the influence of a "plural" organic agriculture, embodied by different forms or versions, on the so-called conventional agriculture at the local level (Lamine 2017).

Our cross-case analysis also allowed us to identify a number of conditions (not always met in our cases) for this enrichment to take place.

The first of these conditions - present or lacking in our cases - concerns the participants' commitment. It presupposes that people are available and willing to engage in such a sharing process and that there is time to build a relationship of trust, a vocabulary and a common frame of reference between these participants. The construction of such trust can be facilitated by shared affinities (Vergers Durables, Agricultural Youtube), or by the history of their relationships (Provence Verte, CIVAM). As shown by Masson et al. (2021), participatory action

research can mobilize long term collaborations despite differing visions. Oftentimes, there is a *de facto* risk-taking at the beginning, and trust is built over the course of the project because people with different visions become aware of the value of sharing (l'Assiette et le Territoire). Of course, such participatory approaches have to remain attentive to the possible asymmetries of power that can be created among participants (Barnaud et al. 2014), exclusion effects (Prové, de Krom, et Dessein 2019) and to the feeling of "co-optation" or "misappropriation of tools", or even of a loss of control over what is shared.

A second condition deals with facilitation, and refers as much to human resources, skills and methods, as to

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administrative and financial resources. Our analysis shows the importance of describing and sharing the diversity of visions; of avoiding exclusion effects, of legitimizing each point of view and creating debate to enrich the transition pathways. Identifying stakeholders, their different points of view and their contexts, whether it is done through analytical stances or action-research, requires time and human resources (Birner et al. 2009; Berthet et al. 2016). Regarding skills, this joins a long-standing debate in the literature (Chambers, Pacey, et Thrupp 1989; Kindon, Pain, et Kesby 2007; Goulet 2013) – as well as among actors – on the need to move away from prescriptive and "top-down" postures, which are still dominant in agricultural extension systems, to facilitation postures centered on the elicitation of farmers' knowledge and visions, or even to postures of knowledge co-construction and knowledge dialogues, as is increasingly advocated in recent work on AET (Rosset et al. 2019; Anderson, Maughan, et Pimbert 2019; Kalaitzoglou et al. 2021; Méndez, Bacon, et Cohen 2013). As we have seen, sharing visions can be laborious insofar as it takes place in several stages that must be orchestrated in continuity, lest breaking up the entire process (e.g., Provence Verte, Vergers Pâturés) or inducing major bifurcations (CIVAM). The framework and resources offered by the funded projects appear to be facilitating conditions, but they remain limited in time and in their scope of action. Maintaining continuity implies thinking in terms of long-term arrangements and articulating sources of funding over time, either simultaneously or sequentially (Schultz 2013). The trend towards project proliferation (Sjöblom et Godenhjelm 2009) necessarily generates "coordination costs" and a risk of dispersion of the collective and of the action (Hubert et Louvel 2012). On the contrary, more informal forms of collective action exist and may be just as rich from the point of view of actual

transition pathways (Vergers Durables). They do not have administrative and financial resources but are also freed

from the constraints associated with them, thus having more flexibility in the action and its timing. Independently of the institutional and cognitive frameworks of agricultural development, the analysis of YouTube highlights, incidentally, the role that videos sharing and social media platform can also play as spaces for communication in the legitimization of practices and the recognition of the agro-ecological knowledge of the actors.

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A third condition that also holds in all of our cases, concerns the size and composition of the groups. The need to circumscribe it appears as inevitable, as is the case even in the world of YouTube communities (that one could imagine without limits), that circumscribe themselves through mutual recognition. It also seems unrealistic to think that one can take into account all the visions of the actors concerned by the issue of transition, namely within a territory (Provence Verte). Such a broadening can endanger or interrupt the enrichment dynamic (Kalaitzoglou et al. 2021). In the case of the CIVAM project, the narrowing of visions appears as a condition for moving on to the operationalization of change, even at the expense of part of the group. To a lesser extent, the thematic focus and the broadening of the audiences involved in the projects that followed from the Vergers Durables group also happened at the expense of the group's life. The narrowing of visions, conversely, could increase the reach of the AET's ambition, insofar as the project's identity would be easier to carry, more fluid to act upon, and more visible for external actors. Our analysis suggests that there may be different types of "collectives" involved : those that allow the diversity of visions to be debated and others, more circumscribed, more conducive to action, knowing that the collectives can be modulated according to different timeframes. In the case of l'Assiette et le Territoire, the enrichment is expressed in the projects that were set up later by the local authorities, on smaller geographical scales. The challenge for the action-research collective then became to continue to act as a forum for debate and exchange between the different visions present in the territory and those articulated by these operational projects. In connection with the previous questions of facilitation capacities and articulation between projects, the collective also discussed and stated in a collective manifesto the challenge of maintaining a diversity of project designs in order to avoid a certain homogenization in the methods of diagnosis and in the leadership. .

A final condition concerns the need to articulate research approaches to support the sharing of visions and enrich transition pathways. As the Figure illustrates, all the projects adopted an analytical approach to identify and characterize the diversity of visions. Some articulated this in a larger approach including participatory research to carry out a process of sharing and recognition of the diversity of visions (OBSTAE, EcoOrchard) or action-research to initiate and accompany the co-construction of transition pathways (Vergers Durables, l'Assiette et le Territoire). Whether they are on the actors' or researchers' initiative, the projects also involved different and complementary methods. In all of our cases, the work of identification and characterization of the diversity of visions is supported by qualitative studies, semi-directive interviews, video analysis (YouTube), or the observation of collective moments as well as exchanges and debates between actors around their visions. Those that also conduct a process of sharing to favor the recognition of this diversity of visions relied on workshops and seminars associating researchers and actors. Finally, those that go all the way to supporting and even initiating a process of AET, in addition to the said methods, combined targeted experimentation and/or co-design, thus allowing the development of a collective inquiry process (in the sense of J. Dewey (Slimi et al. 2021)) involving actors and researchers, on the effects of these experiments and co-designs.

This analysis was limited to 8 case studies, all carried out within the same research laboratory. It would be interesting to test our collective, reflexive and comparative approach to other case studies, research approaches and methodologies. Modelisation approaches in which highly analytical models are also used in participatory approaches to companion modeling (Étienne 2014) could be of particular interest. In these approaches, enrichment processes and conditions may differ, not least because of the decisive role played by models and their representational capacities. Our analysis would also benefit from being based on cases with longer time-span, or returning to our case studies in a few years, so as to delve deeper into the conditions for enriching agroecological transition pathways; processes that necessarily take time.

### 5.Conclusion

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The cross-analysis of these eight cases reveals the general interest of going beyond dichotomous or hierarchical perspectives on agroecology and AET such as strong or weak, political or technical, etc., so as to account for the real multiplicity of visions, linked to specific socio-technical situations, and to encourage a process of recognition of the diversity of visions, thus fostering enriched and inclusive AETs. This process must involve processes of identification and characterization for which analytical approaches are necessary, and of exchange within the groups of actors concerned. Among the conditions identified in this article, the timing of the initiatives organized with the actors is decisive in order to allow their adjustment to different contexts and to build trust among actors. Unfortunately, the general tendency to "project proliferation" tends to make this necessary continuity difficult. Beyond the results of the comparison of these eight cases, our work generated a collective and cross-reflexivity process that allowed the group of researchers involved in this analysis and in the writing of this article to better situate themselves in the different degrees of recognition and sharing of the diversity of visions. Our analysis also showed how, at the scale of this group of researchers, the different positions shed light on and complement one another. The meticulous analysis of visions made possible by an analytical posture supports the action-research mechanisms. We can thus conclude from this collective and reflexive re-reading, that there is a benefit in articulating different research and action-research mechanisms and that this comparative analysis also functions as a forum for debate between different types of mechanisms and thus on the "meta-visions" or visions of the researchers

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themselves as to their own role in the AET.

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