



AGRI-FOOD SYSTEMS IN THE AMAZON: HYBRID SPACE-TIMES AND INTERCONNECTIONS IN SHORT SUPPLY FOOD CHAINS IN MANAUS, AMAZONAS STATE, BRAZIL

**SISTEMAS AGROALIMENTARES NA AMAZÔNIA: ESPAÇOS-
TEMPOS HÍBRIDOS E INTERCONEXÕES NAS REDES CURTAS
DE COMERCIALIZAÇÃO EM MANAUS**

AGRI-FOOD SYSTEMS IN THE AMAZON: HYBRID SPACE-TIMES AND INTERCONNECTIONS IN SHORT SUPPLY FOOD CHAINS IN MANAUS, AMAZONAS STATE, BRAZIL

SISTEMAS AGROALIMENTARES NA AMAZÔNIA: ESPAÇOS-TEMPOS HÍBRIDOS E INTERCONEXÕES NAS REDES CURTAS DE COMERCIALIZAÇÃO EM MANAUS

Wallefy Emanuel Arce Matos¹ | Raphael Fernando Diniz²
Mateus Monteiro Lobato³

Received: 02/23/2026
Accepted: 04/27/2026

¹ Master's student in Geography (UFAM).
Manaus - AM, Brazil.
E-mail: wallefy.emmanuelarce@gmail.com

² PhD in Geography (UNESP).
Professor at the Federal University of Amazonas.
Manaus - AM, Brazil.
Email: diniz@ufam.edu.br

³ PhD in Geography (UNESP).
Professor at the Federal University of Pará.
Altamira - PA, Brazil.
Email: monteirolobato@ufpa.br

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs) based on the asymmetric socio-spatial relationships between the city and the countryside in the Manaus region, Amazonas State, Brazil. It questions the notion that such networks emerge exclusively as autonomous initiatives of family farmers. In contrast, it hypothesizes that many of the innovations associated with SFSCs (technical, organizational, discursive, and communicational) are driven by demands, values, and forms of knowledge produced in urban settings, thereby configuring flows that emanate from the city toward the rural area. In this sense, the paper discusses how these dynamics produce hybrid space-times, characterized by the interweaving of rural and urban knowledge, practices, rationalities, values, territorialities, and temporalities, through which farmers reorganize their modes of production, commercialization, and communication. The analysis shows that although SFSCs may enhance farmers' visibility and strengthen local supply circuits, they also reproduce socio-spatial inequalities, selective access to food, and new forms of territorial subordination. By problematizing who determines the value of food, who accesses food considered healthy, and who benefits economically from these networks, the article contributes to a critical interpretation of SFSCs as social innovation, highlighting their limitations, contradictions, and implications for food sovereignty and regional development in the Amazon.

Keywords: Amazonas. Manaus. Food Security. Social Innovation. Regional Development.

RESUMO

O artigo analisa as Redes Curtas de Comercialização (RCCs) de alimentos a partir das relações socioespaciais assimétricas entre cidade e campo na região de Manaus. Questiona-se a ideia de que tais redes emergem exclusivamente como iniciativas autônomas dos agricultores familiares e, em contraponto, levanta-se a hipótese de que muitas das inovações associadas às RCCs (técnicas, organizacionais, discursivas e comunicacionais) são impulsionadas por demandas, valores e saberes produzidos no meio urbano, configurando fluxos que partem da cidade em direção ao rural. Nesse sentido, o trabalho discute como essas dinâmicas produzem espaços-tempos híbridos, marcados pelo imbricamento entre saberes, práticas, racionalidades, valores, territorialidades e temporalidades rurais e urbanas, onde os agricultores passam a reorganizar seus modos de produção, comercialização e comunicação. A análise evidencia que, embora as RCCs possam ampliar a visibilidade do agricultor e fortalecer circuitos locais de abastecimento, elas também reproduzem desigualdades socioespaciais, seletividades de acesso aos alimentos e novas formas de subordinação territorial. Ao problematizar quem define o valor dos alimentos, quem acessa os alimentos considerados saudáveis e quem se beneficia economicamente dessas redes, o artigo contribui para uma leitura crítica das RCCs como inovação social, destacando seus limites, contradições e implicações para a soberania alimentar e o desenvolvimento regional na Amazônia.

Palavras-chave: Amazonas. Manaus. Segurança Alimentar. Inovação social. Desenvolvimento Regional.

INTRODUCTION

Recent transformations in food production, distribution, and consumption have brought the relationships between farmers and consumers, as well as between urban and rural areas, back to the center of the debate, particularly with regard to the so-called short food supply chains (SFSCs). In both Brazilian literature (Abreu *et al.*, 2018; Cunha *et al.*, 2022; Darolt; Rover, 2021; Freitas *et al.*, 2025) and international scholarship (Marsden *et al.*, 2000; Renting *et al.* 2003), these networks are often presented as alternatives to the hegemonic agrifood system (long agrifood circuits). They are associated with the strengthening of family farming, agroecology, and food sovereignty, notably due to their capacity to reconnect production and consumption and to generate positive effects on rural development. However, such approaches tend to emphasize the impacts of these initiatives on rural areas, often without deeply examining the urban mediations - especially the demands, discourses, and quality criteria articulated by consumers and institutions located in cities - that actively participate in the constitution and consolidation of these networks.

Several studies suggest that SFSCs are not merely the product of farmers' agency but are shaped by a widespread skepticism toward industrialized agri-food systems in urban environments (Goodman *et al.*, 2012; Renting *et al.*, 2003). Concerns regarding health, food quality, environmental impacts, and ethical production drive urban consumers, social movements, NGOs, and academic institutions to seek



alternative supply arrangements. These actors generate specific demands that subsequently shape or even dictate new productive practices in rural areas. Consequently, the urban sphere is no longer simply a destination for food; it functions as a primary site for the production of discourses, norms, and expectations that actively reconfigure rural spaces.

The international literature on SFSCs - situated within the broader debate on Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) - recognizes that these initiatives operate within socially constructed spaces. These spaces are traversed by power relations and access selectivities that determine who can participate in, consume from, and benefit from these circuits (Galli; Brunori, 2013; Marsden *et al.*, 2000; Sonnino; Marsden, 2006). Although they foster greater proximity between producers and consumers, such networks are often structured around specific urban demands, primarily serving middle-class segments and, consequently, reproducing food and territorial inequalities (Guthman, 2008). In this regard, critical scholarship warns of the risk of the “moralization of consumption”, where the construction of fairer and more sustainable food systems is displaced to the realm of individual choice, failing to confront the structural socio-economic barriers that sustain food exclusion among the working classes (Allen, 2010; Guthman, 2008).

In the Amazonian context, these issues take on even more complex dimensions. Historically structured as central nodes of command and territorial articulation, the region’s cities concentrate fundamental economic, political, and logistical functions, thereby shaping unequal patterns of regional spatial organization (Becker, 2007). In this scenario, urban centers such as Manaus emerge as pivotal spaces for the formulation and diffusion of projects and discourses concerning development, sustainability, and the promotion of local products. These discourses, in turn, exert significant influence over rural territories and the reconfiguration of food production and supply systems.

Drawing on critical approaches to regional development (Haesbaert, 2004; Massey, 2007; Santos, 2006), this article analyzes Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs) as hybrid space-times of mediation and contestation, where social innovation, agroecology, communication, and territorial inequalities are intertwined. The article argues that the observed socio-spatial dynamics should not be viewed as mere processes of rural autonomy; rather, they represent asymmetric relations that fundamentally reshape farmers’ productive and commercial practices. By investigating these urban-to-rural flows,



this study contributes to a more nuanced and critical reading of SFSCs, highlighting their potential, limits, and contradictions within the broader debate on food sovereignty and regional development in the Amazon.

The analysis presented in this article is situated within the field of critical regional development, conceptualizing development not as a linear or universal process, but as a historical construction defined by structural inequalities, power relations, and territorial asymmetries. In this regard, it draws on Harvey's (2006) notion of uneven development to highlight the differentiated incorporation of territories into accumulation dynamics. Furthermore, it engages with the tradition of dependency theory, as formulated by Cardoso and Faletto (2010), by emphasizing the reproduction of subordinate relations between distinct spaces. Consequently, SFSCs are analyzed not merely as local development strategies, but as expressions of contradictory dynamics that intertwine proximity, inequality, and power within the Amazonian context.

METHODOLOGY

This article employs a qualitative theoretical-methodological approach, grounded in critical literature regarding short food supply chains (SFSCs) and contemporary urban-rural relations. To achieve its objectives, the study adopts a geographical analytical perspective on territorial supply arrangements to interpret the spatio-temporal dynamics of SFSCs within the Amazon.

To develop this study, we conducted a bibliographic review integrating national and international perspectives on agrifood systems, SFSCs, Amazonian urban-rural relations, and regional development. This was further informed by an analysis of institutional documents, news articles, and specific regional case studies.

It should be noted that while this article does not rely on new empirical fieldwork, the analyses and reflections presented are grounded in the authors' extensive longitudinal research. This work draws specifically on a synthesis of findings regarding family farming, local supply circuits, and food commercialization dynamics in Manaus and its metropolitan periphery (Matos *et al.*, 2023; Matos *et al.*, 2024; Lima; Diniz, 2025).



Integrating a bibliographic review and secondary data analysis with a longitudinal research trajectory enables a problematization of the mediations, disputes, and socio-spatial asymmetries inherent in Amazonian SFSCs. This approach highlights how discursive, normative, and practical flows emanating from the urban milieu influence and reorganize rural productive and commercial practices, aligning with the adopted theoretical framework (Haesbaert, 2004; Santos, 2006).

SHORT FOOD SUPPLY CHAINS (SFSCS) AND THE URBAN-RURAL DEBATE

SFSCs are frequently framed as alternatives to conventional agrifood systems. The literature characterizes these chains by the establishment of direct links between producers and consumers, often associated with the promotion of family farming, agroecology, and food sovereignty (Freitas *et al.*, 2025). Within these networks, commercial relations transcend the singular pursuit of profit, prioritizing trust, knowledge exchange, and the cultivation of sociabilities grounded in solidarity and sustainability. In practice, this is manifested through direct sales - such as farmers' markets and agroecological baskets - or models involving, at most, one intermediary. These structures foster proximity and bonds of trust between producers and consumers, which many authors identify as a key factor in strengthening local economies (Cunha *et al.*, 2022).

A segment of the critical literature problematizes the notion that SFSCs are strictly intrinsic to rural domains, highlighting the active role of urban consumers, NGOs, and academic institutions in defining the criteria for quality, value, and legitimacy within these circuits (Allen, 2010; Goodman *et al.*, 2012; Guthman, 2008). According to Freitas, Nascimento, and Costa (2025, p. 101), Brazilian scholarly production conceptualizes SFSCs as an "alternative to prevailing models of food production, distribution, and commerce", framing them as inextricably linked to agroecology. Furthermore, Abreu, Bellon, and Torres (2018) emphasize that agroecological networks function as socio-technical systems that thrive on civil society participation and institutional interfaces, though their consolidation often remains contingent upon public support.

On the other hand, Guthman (2008) and Allen (2010) caution that SFSCs can reproduce pre-existing societal inequalities; as they primarily serve middle-class demands for healthy, pesticide-free food at the expense of vulnerable groups. In this context, Gazolla, Aquino, and Gaievski (2023) demonstrate



that while digital marketing channels in Brazil expanded during the pandemic, they were primarily geared toward health-conscious consumers, resulting in a fragmented and partial reach.

Furthermore, these emerging marketing channels often necessitate a degree of state support to facilitate the inclusion of a broader segment of family farmers. Public policies - encompassing technical and institutional support, credit access, and rural extension services - alongside public procurement programs that shape market access and logistical organization, are frequently essential preconditions for the effective participation of more vulnerable farmers (Elias *et al.*, 2023; MDA, 2024). Consequently, while SFSCs foster greater proximity and visibility for producers, they often emerge within contexts characterized by deep-seated structural inequalities. This suggests that such arrangements do not always result in a fundamental transformation of existing socioeconomic foundations (Gazolla, Aquino; Gaievski, 2023).

FAST TIMES AND SLOW TIMES: THE SPATIOTEMPORAL REORGANIZATION OF SFSCS

Understanding SFSCs requires a nuanced reading of the spatiotemporal transformations that permeate urban–rural relations. In this regard, Milton Santos (2006) offers a pivotal theoretical contribution by conceptualizing space as an inseparable outcome of technology, time, and social action. Within the “technical-scientific-informational period”, the hegemony of so-called “fast times” - associated with circulation, fluidity, and market demands - intensifies; however, this does not result in the total suppression of “slow times,” which remain intrinsically linked to place, production, and lived temporalities.

Within the scope of SFSCs, this tension manifests in the superimposition of the fast times of urban circulation upon the slow times of agricultural production. Structured by biological cycles, seasonality, and the traditional knowledge inherent in family farming, the slow times of production are reorganized to meet the demands for regularity, predictability, and speed imposed by urban markets and technical marketing devices. Consequently, while often framed as alternatives to the hegemonic agrifood system, SFSCs do not suspend its dominant temporal logic; rather, they function as hybrid space-times in which territorialized productive practices are strained by the acceleration of circulation and market rationalities (Marsden *et al.*, 2000; Goodman *et al.*, 2012).



Slow times constitute a fundamental dimension of the organization of rural space in the Amazon and of family farming practices. Associated with productive cycles, climatic seasonality, and ecological processes, these temporalities express historically constructed relationships between labor, territory, and nature. In the Amazon, agricultural production is guided by the specific rhythms of place and grounded in the environmental knowledge of traditional peoples (including Indigenous, quilombola, and riverside communities). Such knowledge, built and shared intergenerationally through environmental observation and accumulated experience, configures spatial rationalities that should not be viewed as “backward” or mere remnants of the past. Instead, they represent fundamental conditions for the socio-environmental sustainability of agrifood systems (Santos, 2006; Becker, 2007).

In Amazonian family farming, these temporalities manifest distinctly within the floodplain (*várzea*) and the upland (*terra firme*). In the floodplain, the cycles of flooding and receding waters - the “flood pulse” - condition land use, planting and harvesting periods, and productive strategies. Conversely, in the upland, rhythms associated with rainy and dry seasons and the traditional management of swidden plots predominate. These practices organize not only food production but also ways of life and forms of social reproduction deeply rooted in the territory (Haesbaert, 2004).

In contrast, “fast times” - as formulated by Santos (2006) - reflect the acceleration of circulation and the imposition of external rhythms upon place, dictated by urban and market rationalities. Within SFSCs, this dynamic materializes through requirements for regularity at farmers’ markets, rigid delivery schedules for food baskets, and the imperative to synchronize production with urban consumption cycles. The proliferation of digital platforms and marketing systems mediated by information technology intensifies this logic; by reinforcing demands for continuous and predictable supply, these systems compel farmers to reorganize their labor and production rhythms (Harvey, 1992; Goodman *et al.*, 2012).

The proliferation of digital platforms and IT-mediated marketing systems intensifies this logic; by reinforcing requirements for continuous and predictable supply, these systems compel farmers to restructure their labor and production rhythms (Harvey, 1992; Goodman *et al.*, 2012).

Although SFSCs reduce the physical distance between producers and consumers, they remain embedded in a temporal rationality that prioritizes the fluidity and velocity of circulation. Consequently, the “slow times” of place are not eliminated but are rather subsumed within urban rhythms, as theorized



by Santos (2006). SFSCs, therefore, do not constitute spaces of total temporal autonomy; instead, they function as specific modes of urban-rural mediation in which the valorization of place coexists with the imposition of external temporal rationalities.

In the Amazonian context, the city of Manaus plays a pivotal role in intensifying these processes. As the region's primary urban, logistical, and institutional hub, the capital concentrates the consumer markets, infrastructure, and technical devices that organize the schedules and regularity of agricultural production. Consequently, Manaus functions as a center of temporal command, defining the frequencies, deadlines, and supply patterns to which family farmers must adapt. This reinforces the predominance of "fast times" within the regional agrifood system (Becker, 2007; Moraes; Schor, 2011)

This urban centrality is expressed through the standardization of farmers' market schedules, the requirement of weekly attendance, and the demand for supply predictability - mechanisms through which urban time projects itself onto the rural realm. Consequently, SFSCs in Manaus demonstrate that spatial proximity between producers and consumers does not eliminate power asymmetries; instead, it reinscribes them on a temporal plane. This process reveals how the acceleration of circulation redefines the conditions for the reproduction of family farming within the city's immediate periphery (Harvey, 1992; Santos, 2006).

HORIZONTALITIES AND VERTICALITIES: SOCIAL PROXIMITY AND URBAN COMMANDS

The distinction between horizontalities and verticalities, as formulated by Santos (2006), is central to understanding contemporary socio-spatial dynamics. Horizontalities refer to relations constructed within the sphere of place, characterized by proximity among actors, simultaneity, daily cooperation, and sociability. These bonds are anchored in direct experience, trust, and shared practices, endowing the territory with a relational and symbolic dimension that transcends its sheer materiality (Santos, 2006). While rooted in place, these relations remain inextricably linked to the broader dynamics of the global economic and political system.

Verticalities, conversely, refer to the flows, norms, techniques, and commands exerted upon places by external entities, which are often distant and unequally positioned in space. They represent



the exercise of power by agents and institutions operating at higher scales, organizing territory through normative, technological, and economic apparatuses. For Santos (2006), verticalities do not eliminate horizontalities but rather reorder them, subordinating local life to the hegemonic rationalities of the State, the market, and the networks of the technical-scientific-informational period. The interplay between these dimensions reveals geographic space as a field of tension, where social proximity and distant commands coexist in an unequal state.

Within the scope of SFSCs, horizontalities manifest primarily through farmers' markets, direct sales, and other arrangements that bridge the gap between producers and consumers within the urban space. These circuits facilitate face-to-face encounters, ongoing dialogue, and the development of relationships that transcend a strictly mercantile logic. Farmers' markets, in particular, function as vital spaces of sociability, where direct contact fosters mutual recognition, elevates the visibility of agricultural labor, and builds bonds rooted in trust and co-presence - all of which are core elements of the concept of horizontality (Santos, 2006).

These direct relationships also facilitate the exchange of knowledge regarding production methods, seasonality, agroecological management, and food preparation. This exchange contributes to the attribution of social value to products and the symbolic strengthening of family farming. Consequently, SFSCs differ from long agrifood chains not only by reducing physical distance but also by fostering social relations rooted in trust, cooperation, and mutual recognition. However, these horizontalities do not operate autonomously; they are permeated by external forces that necessitate an analysis integrated with the verticalities acting upon these networks (Marsden *et al.*, 2000; Renting *et al.*, 2003).

SFSCs are heavily conditioned by urban verticalities that dictate their organization and functionality. These verticalities are manifested primarily through sanitary standards, technical production criteria, and regulatory frameworks formulated within the urban space, to which family farmers must adapt to these requirements to access specialized markets (Santos, 2006). Such requirements reorganize local practices according to hegemonic rationalities, which are frequently decoupled from the material material and ecological realities of rural the territory.



Beyond technical norms, verticalities also manifest through discourses on “healthy food”, which function as symbolic apparatuses of valorization. Widely disseminated by urban consumers, NGOs, specialized media, and digital platforms, these discourses establish parameters for quality, sustainability, and food ethics, influencing both production standards and pricing in SFSCs. While they enhance the visibility of family farming and agroecology, these discourses also tend to foster social selectivity by associating such foods with specific consumption profiles and higher purchasing power (Guthman, 2008; Allen, 2010).

Digital platforms and institutional mediations involving the State, NGOs, and the market reinforce this process by organizing food circulation through schedules, participation rules, and coordination mechanisms defined externally to the rural territory. Although essential for the logistical viability of SFSCs, these mediations function as vectors of verticalization; they centralize decision-making, filter farmer participation, and condition the terms of their insertion into the urban market.

Thus, SFSCs should be understood neither as exclusively horizontal spaces—rooted solely in proximity and cooperation—nor as structures entirely captured by external commands. Instead, they constitute hybrid arrangements in which horizontalities and verticalities coexist in an unequal state. The urban space acts as a site of production for value and legitimacy, defining the discourses, quality criteria, certifications, and price parameters that confer social and symbolic recognition upon specific foods and modes of production. Therefore, while they promote greater proximity between producers and consumers, SFSCs function as arenas of tension where the valorization of place coexists with the reproduction of socio-spatial hierarchies. This reveals their inherent limits and contradictions as alternatives to the hegemonic agrifood system (Guthman, 2008; Allen, 2010; Goodman *et al.*, 2012).

This dynamic can be interpreted through the lens of dependency theory, insofar as it reveals asymmetric relations in which specific spaces are organized according to demands, norms, and rationalities produced in external contexts. As argued by Cardoso and Faletto (2010), development occurs in a relational and hierarchical manner, producing structures of subordination between different regions. Even on a regional scale, one observes the reproduction of a logic in which the rural is inserted into urban dynamics in a subordinate manner. This reinforces the persistence of



structural inequalities, even within arrangements typically considered to be “alternatives”.

To synthesize the primary spatiotemporal tensions that characterize the organization of SFSCs, Table 1 presents the analytical dimensions that link “fast” and “slow” times, as well as horizontalities and verticalities.

Table 1 | Spatiotemporal tensions and forms of legitimation in SFSCs

Dimension	Slow times / Horizontalities	Fast times / Verticalities
Temporality	Seasonality, natural cycles, rhythms of place	Regularity, predictability, urban deadlines
Spatial basis	Lived territory, agricultural production, place	City, market, platforms, norms
Form of relation	Proximity, trust, presence	Technical mediation, regulation, command
Production of value	Local knowledge, agroecological practices	Certifications, urban discourses, consumption
Effect on SFSCs	Territorial embeddedness	Subordination to urban rhythms

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2026).

VALUE, TIME, AND LEGITIMATION: FOOD AS A SOCIO-SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION

The value of food is not an intrinsic property derived solely from its nutritional characteristics or modes of production; rather, it results from a socially constructed and spatially mediated process. As Santos (2006) argues, value emerges from the technical, normative, and symbolic relations materialized in space. From this perspective, food must be understood as a social object imbued with economic, cultural, and moral meanings, whose legitimation depends on the socio-spatial contexts of its circulation. In SFSCs, this process is particularly evident, as the recognition of food is constructed at the interface between the rural and the urban - mediated by circulation practices, institutional apparatuses, and social expectations of consumption.

Urban space plays a pivotal role as a site of value and legitimacy production, as it centralizes the symbolic and institutional mechanisms that define food quality standards. According to Santos (2006), verticalities function as flows of norms, information, and commands that shape specific places, restructuring local practices according to external rationalities. This dynamic aligns with the concept of symbolic power - defined as the capacity to impose socially recognized meanings and classifications (Bourdieu, 2021). Consequently, discourses such as “healthy eating”, “sustainability”, and “conscious consumption” act as mechanisms of legitimation that assign differential value to specific foods and agricultural practices.



The temporal dimension is inseparable from this process. Time functions as a normative principle, defining what is considered efficient, reliable, and acceptable. The hegemony of “fast times” - characterized by regularity, predictability, and continuous circulation - tends to subordinate the “slow times” of place, seasonality, and ecological cycles, which are frequently reclassified as organizational obstacles (Santos, 2006). As Lefebvre (2004) observes, social rhythms express power relations and produce hierarchies among diverse practices and ways of life. Within SFSCs, this logic manifests through demands for market regularity, strict delivery deadlines, and the expectation of constant supply, effectively making the legitimacy of food contingent upon its conformity to dominant urban rhythms.

This process of spatiotemporal legitimation can be understood through the lens of Foucault’s (2008) regimes of truth, wherein specific knowledges and practices are recognized as legitimate based on the discursive and institutional apparatuses that sustain them. Within SFSCs, sanitary norms, certifications, digital platforms, and institutional mediations establish the standards that regulate food circulation and the participation of various actors. Consequently, while these networks reorganize producer-consumer relations and expand social proximity, they do not eliminate the hierarchical mechanisms of the agrifood system; rather, they reinscribe them through new modalities. The value of food, therefore, emerges from the articulation of space, time, and power, revealing SFSCs as arenas where the valorization of place coexists with the reproduction of socio-spatial asymmetries.

From this perspective, the production of value in SFSCs can be understood as part of a broader process of uneven geographical development, in which different agents and territories participate in the generation and appropriation of value in disparate ways. As Harvey (2001) emphasizes, capitalism is structured upon the continuous production of spatial inequalities, whereby certain territories concentrate strategic functions while others are relegated to subordinate positions. The centrality of urban space in defining criteria for quality and legitimacy further reinforces this fundamental asymmetry between the city and the countryside.



HYBRID SPACE-TIMES AND URBAN-RURAL INTERSECTIONS

Interactions within SFSCs reveal hybrid space-times, emerging from the entwinement of rural and urban practices, knowledges, rationalities, values, territorialities, and temporalities. From the perspective of critical geography, space is neither fixed nor transparent; it is produced by social relations that transcend dualistic binaries, such as the rigid separation between city and countryside (Lefebvre, 2006). Massey (2008), for her part, argues that space is constituted through the multiplicity of connections between places, while Haesbaert (2004) emphasizes multiterritoriality - the experience of territories lived simultaneously across various scales and social contexts.

According to Rua and Simoni (2020), the infusion of urbanities into rural areas reflects the formation of hybrid spaces where urban practices, values, and temporalities reconfigure dynamics traditionally associated with the rural, without supplanting them. This phenomenon is distinctly observable in Amazonian SFSCs, where rural practices and traditional knowledges are continuously reorganized in response to urban demands. This process generates a landscape of ongoing tensions, negotiations, and adaptations that define daily productive and commercial life.

In Manaus, urban centrality reinforces the hybrid spatiotemporality of SFSCs. Moraes and Schor (2011) observe that the capital of Amazonas functions as the primary regional hub for industrial goods, a clear indication of the urban asymmetry inherent in the circulation of products. Urban demand for organic foods, non-conventional edible plants (PANCS), fish, and regional fruits dictates rural production patterns. Within this geographical network, the dynamics of production (fruits, vegetables, and fish), transport logistics, and farmers' markets are tightly integrated into the flows of urban consumption (Matos *et al.*, 2024).

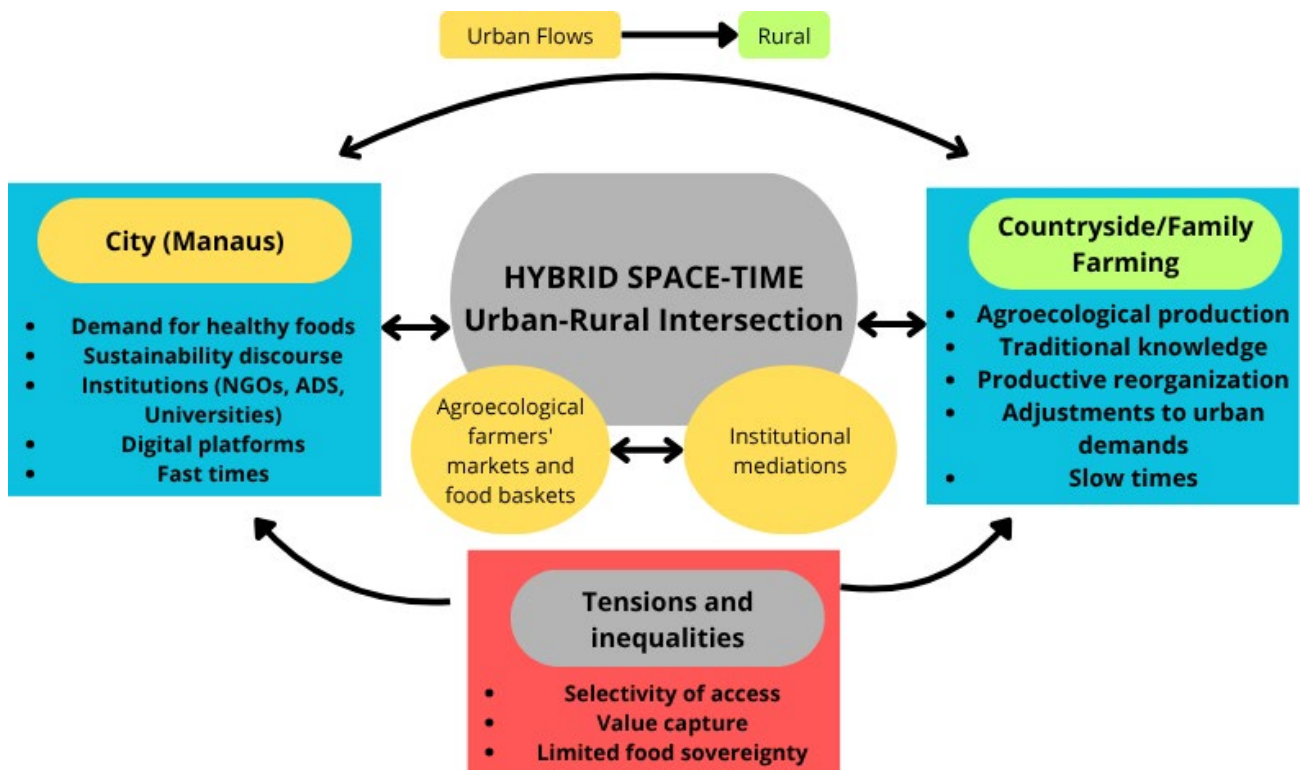
Family farming in the immediate vicinity of Manaus - particularly in municipalities such as Iranduba, Careiro, and Careiro da Várzea - increasingly operates under urban rhythms. These are characterized by "fast temporalities" dictated by the city's demands for circulation, commercialization, and supply (Matos *et al.*, 2024). In this setting, farmers must align with strict delivery deadlines, quality standards, and sanitary criteria formulated within the urban milieu. Furthermore, they must navigate the institutional requirements of public and private agents while adapting to the rigid routines of urban farmers' markets and other marketing channels (Elias *et al.*, 2023). This



restructuring of productive rhythms represents the superimposition of urban “fast times” onto the “slow times” traditionally associated with family farming, illustrating the unequal articulation of the verticalities and horizontalities that structure contemporary Amazonian space (Santos, 2006).

The diagram below demonstrates how these rural-urban relations materialize in Manaus and its surroundings (Figure 1):

Figure 2 | Illustrative synthesis of urban-rural relations in Manaus and its surrounding municipalities.



Source: Elaborated by the authors (2026).

This interpretation aligns with post-development perspectives - most notably the contributions of Escobar (1995) - which challenge the universalization of hegemonic development models and emphasize the necessity of recognizing diverse forms of social, economic, and territorial organization. In this view, SFSCs can be understood as contested spaces where distinct rationalities collide; here, local logics and external impositions tied to dominant development paradigms coexist in a state of constant tension.

SFSCS IN MANAUS: MEDIATIONS, EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE, AND HYBRID SPATIOTEMPORALITIES

The literature on SFSCs has demonstrated that these circuits are not merely economic alternatives, but complex socio-technical and territorial arrangements traversed by institutional, discursive, and urban mediations (Goodman *et al.*, 2012; Marsden *et al.*, 2000; Sonnino; Marsden, 2006). From this perspective, SFSCs operate as socially constructed spaces where values, knowledges, rationalities, and practices - originating from diverse scales and contexts - are articulated.

In the Amazonian context - and particularly in that of Manaus - these mediations are specifically relevant due to the city's urban centrality in the organization of regional supply (Becker, 2007). Manaus functions not merely as a final destination for food, but as a sphere that generates the discourses, quality criteria, and institutional apparatuses that shape rural production. This dynamic is corroborated by various studies on Amazonian food supply and family farming, which highlight the pivotal role of cities in articulating short circuits and differentiated markets (Darolt; Rover, 2021; Gazolla *et al.*, 2023).

The Regional Products Fairs, promoted by the Sustainable Development Agency (ADS) of Amazonas State Government's, represent a concrete form of institutional mediation between rural producers and the urban public. These fairs facilitate the direct sale of vegetables, fruits, legumes, fish, and other family farming products across various strategic locations in the capital (ADS, 2026). In 2024, these markets generated approximately R\$ 9.8 million in revenue and benefited more than 800 rural families. Such figures reaffirm both the potential for strengthening short food supply chains (SFSCs) and the urban-territorial dynamics that shape market access and rural income. Ultimately, this evidence underscores the vital role of public mediation in expanding the social inclusion of these arrangements (ADS, 2024).

These spaces materialize the approximation between family producers and urban consumers, while simultaneously highlighting the role of the State and urban institutions in ensuring the logistical, symbolic, and normative viability of SFSCs. This aligns with the work of Allen (2010) and Guthman (2008), who problematize the limits of alternative food networks (AFNs).

The relationships between the institutional, economic, technological, symbolic, and territorial dimensions of SFSCs in Manaus are summarized in Table 2:



Table 2 | Relationships among dimensions in SFSCs in Manaus

Dimension	Urban Mediation	Concrete Form	Territorial Effects
Institutional	State/ADS	Official Fairs	Selective Inclusion
Economic	Urban Market	Prices, Standards	Dependence
Technological	Digital Platforms	Online Baskets	Digital Exclusion
Symbolic	Urban Discourse	“Healthy Food”	Moralization of Consumption
Territorial	Centrality of Manaus	Logistics	Regional Subordination

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2026).

Complementarily, marketing initiatives mediated by digital platforms - such as food-basket systems organized by urban collectives, associations, and NGOs - have been identified in recent literature as part of a broader digitalization and reconfiguration of short supply circuits (Gazolla *et al.*, 2023). In Manaus, these experiences are often intertwined with narratives of sustainability, health, and the valorization of traditional knowledge. They demonstrate how digital technologies and urban discourses converge to construct the social value of food (Figure 2), corroborating the arguments of Goodman *et al.* (2012) that food networks serve as arenas for knowledge production and meaning-making.

Figure 2 | The Ajuri Basket as a concrete expression of the hybridization between rural productive practices and urban marketing mechanisms, highlighting the contemporary reorganization of urban-rural relations (URRs) in Manaus.



Source: Edilene Mafra (2026).

Although distinct in their levels of institutionalization and social reach, these configurations indicate that SFSCs in Manaus cannot be understood as expressions of full rural autonomy. On the contrary, they constitute socio-spatial configurations defined by the superimposition of territorialities and the coexistence of multiple temporalities. Within these spaces, rural productive practices, urban mediation devices, and institutional rationalities are inextricably articulated (Haesbaert, 2004; Massey, 2008).

This finding reinforces the necessity of critically analyzing SFSCs not only through the lens of their potential benefits but also their inherent contradictions. This is particularly vital regarding the selectivities of food access and the territorial asymmetries that permeate the Amazonian agrifood system.

INEQUALITIES, SELECTIVITIES, AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY: CHALLENGES OF SFSCS IN THE AMAZON

Despite their diverse potential, Amazonian SFSCs often reproduce selectivities that restrict their social and territorial reach. As noted by Gazolla *et al.* (2023), digital markets for family farming products primarily cater to consumers seeking healthy and sustainable diets. However, this consumption profile is predicated not only on digital access but also on specific socio-economic conditions: disposable income, the capacity to pay premium prices, informational capital, and urban territorial insertion. These factors effectively exclude large segments of the population from short supply circuits. Participation in these chains is further constrained by convenience, cost perceptions, and structural barriers, which may relegate the benefits of SFSCs to specific social enclaves, thereby reinforcing broader systemic inequalities (Herzig; Zander, 2025; Sciortino *et al.*, 2025).

In urban contexts like Manaus, short-circuit initiatives have expanded the accessibility of agroecological products, regional fruits, and non-conventional edible plants (PANCs) for consumers prioritized by health-conscious diets. These arrangements facilitate a reconnection between family producers and consumers through farmers' markets, digital platforms, and subscription-based systems, such as the Ajuri Basket in Manaus (Acrítica, 2026). Research from other Brazilian regions



corroborates this trend, indicating that while consumers seeking organic and functional foods gravitate toward alternative marketing channels, staple foods continue to circulate predominantly through traditional, large-scale markets (Martins *et al.*, 2020).

Short networks may themselves reproduce territorial and economic hierarchies within the food system. By orienting their production toward urban contexts, family farmers often succumb to urban standards of price and quality, which are dictated by city-based consumers, digital platforms, and intermediaries. Research on short supply chains indicates that the distribution of value within these networks is contingent upon coordination mechanisms, logistics, and governance structures. This implies that the value added through urban standards does not always return equitably to the producers; instead, it is frequently appropriated by intermediaries, cooperatives, or urban-based platforms (Mengoni *et al.*, 2025; Renkema-Singh; Hilletofth, 2025).

As Gazolla *et al.* (2023) contend, the consolidation and meaningful expansion of these initiatives within family farming are contingent upon public policies capable of sustaining, regulating, and strengthening such arrangements. This reinforces the concern that, in the absence of inclusive public policy, SFSCs may simply become another mechanism through which the city dictates the value of food and determines who may access “healthy” products. Such a trajectory would perpetuate existing inequalities and compromise the food sovereignty of the entire territory. As Allen (2010) and Guthman (2008) warn, individual consumer choice is insufficient to reform the food system; it is essential to confront the social and economic structures that exclude the economically vulnerable from the table.

From this perspective, development can be understood as the expansion of individuals’ substantive freedoms, as proposed by Sen (2010); this encompasses equitable access to quality food and the opportunity to participate meaningfully in production and consumption circuits. The persistent limitations on such access demonstrate that, despite their potential, SFSCs currently operate in a restricted capacity. Consequently, they are incapable - on their own - of catalyzing the structural transformations required to reshape the agrifood system.



CONCLUSIONS

SFSCs in the Amazon - particularly within the orbit of Manaus - manifest as hybrid spatiotemporalities, strained between urban innovations and traditional rural practices. On the positive side, they facilitate proximity between producers and consumers, introduce new communication technologies, valorize agroecological production, and reconfigure circuits of food appropriation. However, this study demonstrates that such networks do not escape dominant socio-spatial asymmetries. Many of these initiatives respond primarily to urban values and cater to specific niche markets; while this strengthens certain farmers, it simultaneously excludes broad popular segments. Ultimately, by problematizing who defines the value of food and who benefits from its circulation, it becomes apparent that SFSCs operate as urban mediations inscribed within a broader field of power.

To advance toward food sovereignty in the region, it is essential to broaden inclusion within these networks by integrating them with public policies that support family farming and income redistribution. Policies designed to strengthen short supply chains - such as local certifications, robust distribution infrastructure, and expanded digital access in rural areas - can mitigate current limitations and ensure that these circuits do not remain mere "premium" consumption niches. Ultimately, this geographical and critical analysis demonstrates that without such structuring support, SFSCs will remain restricted social innovations, merely reflecting the contradictions of uneven regional development in the Amazon.

In summary, these findings reinforce the necessity of analyzing SFSCs through the lens of critical regional development. They demonstrate that such arrangements - while frequently framed as local development strategies - remain deeply embedded in contexts defined by structural inequalities. Development proceeds in an uneven and relational manner; consequently, SFSCs must be understood as integral to the broader dynamics through which spatial inequalities are produced and reproduced.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

The authors thank the Amazonas State Research Support Foundation (FAPEAM) for the master's research scholarship that made this work possible. We also acknowledge the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) for the financial support provided to the Graduate Program in Geography at the Federal University of Amazonas (PPGEOG-UFAM).



REFERENCES

ABREU, L. S.; BELLON, S.; TORRES, T. Z. Agroecologia em redes sociotécnicas: inovação social para um novo modelo de agricultura familiar? In: Congresso da Sociedade Brasileira de Economia, Administração e Sociologia Rural, 56., 2018, Campinas. Transformações recentes na agropecuária brasileira: desafios em gestão, inovação, sustentabilidade e inclusão social: anais. Brasília, DF: SOBER, 2018. Não paginado.

ACRÍTICA. Cesta Ajuri lança plataforma de vendas agroecológicas e fortalece conexão campo-cidade em Manaus. Manaus, 2026.

ADS. Agência de Desenvolvimento Sustentável do Amazonas. Dia do Feirante: feiras de produtos regionais da ADS geram emprego e renda para mais de 800 famílias no Amazonas. 2024. Disponível em: <<https://www.ads.am.gov.br/dia-do-feirante-feiras-de-produtos-regionais-da-ads-geram-emprego-e-renda-para-mais-de-800-familias-no-amazonas/>>. Acesso em: 18 jan. 2026.

ADS. Agência de Desenvolvimento Sustentável do Amazonas. ADS inicia a programação 2026 das Feiras de Produtos Regionais a partir desta terça-feira. 2026. Disponível em: <<https://www.ads.am.gov.br/ads-inicia-a-programacao-2026-das-feiras-de-produtos-regionais-a-partir-desta-terca-feira/>>. Acesso em: 18 jan. 2026.

ALLEN, P. Realizing justice in local food systems. Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Oxford, v. 3, p. 295–308, 2010. DOI: 10.1093/cjres/rsq015

BECKER, B. K. Amazônia: geopolítica na virada do III milênio. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2007. BRASIL. Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário e Agricultura Familiar. Políticas e programas para fortalecer a agricultura familiar no Brasil. Brasília, DF: MDA, 2024. Disponível em: <<https://www.gov.br/mda/pt-br/noticias/2024/07/conheca-as-politicas-e-programas-do-md>>. Acesso em: 24 jan. 2026.

BOURDIEU, P. O poder simbólico. Lisboa/São Paulo: Edições 70, 2021.

CARDOSO, F. H.; FALETTO, E. Dependência e desenvolvimento na América Latina. 9ª ed. - Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2010.

CUNHA, T. M.; AGUIAR, J.; CRUZ, A. L. N.; GERALDO, R. E. F. Circuitos curtos de comercialização de orgânicos na Região Metropolitana de Manaus: desafios e aprendizados diante da pandemia de Covid-19. Cadernos de Agroecologia, ISSN 2236-7934 - Anais da Reunião Técnica sobre Agroecologia - Agroecologia, v. 17, n. 3, 2022.

DAROLT, M. R.; ROVER, O. J. (org.). Circuitos curtos de comercialização, agroecologia e inovação social. Florianópolis: Estúdio Sempelo, 2021. E-book. ISBN: 978-65-991203-2-9

EDILENE MAFRA. Cesta Ajuri do Instituto Tera Kuno lança sua plataforma de vendas agroecológicas em Manaus. 2026. Disponível em: <<https://edilenemafra.com/geral/cesta-ajuri-lanca-plataforma-de-vendas-de-hortalicas-e-frutas-em-manau>>. Acesso em: 27 jan. 2026.

ELIAS, L. P.; GOMES JÚNIOR, E.; VIDIGAL, L.; MARQUES, F. J.; PROENÇA, Y.; MAGRO, J. P. S. Compras públicas de alimentos da agricultura familiar enquanto instrumento de inclusão produtiva. In: Mercado de Trabalho: conjuntura e análise. Brasília, DF: Ipea, v. 29, n. 76, out. 2023. ISSN 1676-0883. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.38116/bmt76>

ESCOBAR, A. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press Princeton, New Jersey, 1995.

FOUCAULT, M. Microfísica do poder. Rio de Janeiro: Paz & Terra, 2021. ISBN 978-6555480078.

FREITAS, I. F.; NASCIMENTO, M. B.; COSTA, B. A. L. Circuitos curtos de comercialização e agroecologia como alternativas para sistemas agroalimentares. Colóquio – Revista do Desenvolvimento Regional, v. 22, n. 3, jul./set. 2025. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26767/colquio.22.3874>



GALLI, F.; BRUNORI, G. (org.). Short food supply chains as drivers of sustainable development. Pisa: Laboratorio di Studi Rurali Sismondi, 2013. ISSN: 978-88-90896-01-9

GAZOLLA, M.; AQUINO, J. R.; SZPAK GAIEVSKI, E. H. S. Mercados alimentares digitais da agricultura familiar no Brasil: dinâmicas durante e pós-pandemia da Covid-19. *Mundo Agrário*, v. 24, n. 57, e228, 2023. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24215/15155994e228>

GOODMAN, D.; DU PUIS, E. M.; GOODMAN, M. S. *Alternative food networks: knowledge, practice, and politics*. London: Routledge, 2012. ISBN: 9780415747691

GUTHMAN, J. Bringing good food to others: investigating the subjects of alternative food practice. *Cultural Geographies*, v. 15, n. 4, 2008. DOI: [10.1177/1474474008094315](https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474008094315)

HAESBAERT, R. *O mito da desterritorialização: do “fim dos territórios” à multiterritorialidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2004. ISBN: 978-8528610611

HERZIG, J.; ZANDER, K. Determinants of consumer behavior in short food supply chains: a systematic literature review. *Agricultural and Food Economics*, v. 13, n. 21, 2025. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40100-025-00370-w>

HARVEY, D. *A condição pós-moderna: Uma pesquisa sobre as origens da mudança cultural*. São Paulo, Edições Loyolas 1992.

HARVEY, D. *Spaces of capital: towards a critical geography*. Routledge. New York, 2001 ISBN 0-415-93240-8.

HARVEY, D. *Os limites do capital*. Tradução: Magda Lopes. Editora: Boitempo. 2006.

LEFEBVRE, H. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London: Continuum, 2004.

LEFEBVRE, H. *A produção do espaço*. Trad. Doralice Barros Pereira e Sérgio Martins (do original: *La production de l'espace*. 4e éd. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 2000). Primeira versão: início - fev.2006. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 2000). Primeira versão: início - fev.2006

LIMA, H.; DINIZ, R. F. Geografias dos desertos alimentares na Amazônia Ocidental. In: *Anais do II Simpósio Amazonas: o agrário, o político e o urbano*. Manaus, 2025. DOI: [10.29327/9786527219330.1417825](https://doi.org/10.29327/9786527219330.1417825)

MARSDEN, T.; BANKS, J.; BRISTOW, G. Food supply chain approaches: exploring their role in rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, v. 40, n. 4, 2000. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9523.00158>

MASSEY, D. *Pelo espaço: Uma nova política da espacialidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2008. ISBN: 978-8528613070

MATOS, W. E. A.; MELO, F. M.; CRUZ, M. J. M. Para onde vai a produção familiar? Um estudo sobre o abastecimento e comercialização na feira da Manaus Moderna – Manaus (AM). *Revista Contexto Geográfico*, v. 9, n. 20, p. 169–186, 2024. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.28998/contegeo.9i.20.17660>

MATOS, W. E. A.; SILVA, R. S. A.; MACHADO, B. L. B.; MATOS JUNIOR, W. A.; GENTIL, D. F. O. Fertilidade do solo em agroecossistemas familiares urbanos em Manaus. *Revista ELO – Diálogos em Extensão*, v. 12, 2023. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21284/elo.v12i.16449>

MENGONI, M.; BELLETTI, G.; MARESCOTTI, A. Short food supply chains. In: ALEXANDER, P. (org.). *Encyclopedia of Agriculture and Food Systems*. 3. ed. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2025. ISBN: 9780443159770

MORAES, A. O.; SCHOR, T. As redes urbanas na Amazônia: a cidade como o começo e o fim. *Revista Geográfica de América Central*, 2011. ISSN: 1011-484X

RENKEMA-SINGH, M.; HILLETOTH, P. Investigating capabilities of intermediaries in short food supply chains. *Agricultural and Food Economics*, v. 13, 2025. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40100-025-00432-z>



RENTING, H.; MARSDEN, T. K.; BANKS, J. Understanding alternative food networks: exploring the role of short food supply chains in rural development. *Environment and Planning A*, v. 35, p. 393–411, 2003. DOI: 10.1068/a3510

RUA, J.; SIMONI, J. C. Repensando as relações urbano-rurais no ensino escolar. *Geo UERJ*, n. 37, 2020. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.12957/geouerj.2020.55729>

SANTOS, M. *A natureza do espaço: técnica e tempo, razão e emoção*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006. ISBN: 978-8531407130.

SCIORTINO, C.; GIAMPORCARO, G.; SGROI, F.; MODICA, F. Exploring the role of short food supply chains. *Agricultural and Food Economics*, v. 13, 2025. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40100-025-00420-3>

SEN, A. *Desenvolvimento como Liberdade*. Companhia de bolso, 2010.

SONNINO, R.; MARSDEN, T. Beyond the divide: rethinking relationships between alternative and conventional food networks in Europe. *Journal of Economic Geography*, v. 6, p. 181–199, 2006. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbi006>



Esta obra está licenciada com uma Licença Creative Commons
Atribuição 4.0 Internacional.



