Collaborative Research, Public Inquiry, and Democratic Experimentalism: Contributions and How to Apply Pragmatism to Social Innovation Studies

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ASTRACT

This article explores the contributions of a pragmatist approach to social innovation studies. It characterizes the epistemological assumptions of pragmatism and its implications to conceive of "science in action." It explores the contributions of pragmatisms in developing a perspective to analyze civil society and its action to promote social innovation, focusing on the key notions of "public inquiry" and "democratic experimentalism." The aim is to discuss the contributions, challenges, and limits of conducting pragmatic studies—from an analytical and methodological perspective—giving way to co-operative and engaged research that connects and co-ordinates teaching and knowledge transfer, theory and practice, experts and ordinary citizens, and knowledge and experiences in social innovation studies.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article explore les contributions et illustre l'application d'une approche pragmatiste aux recherches sur l'innovation sociale. Nous débutons par identifier les postulats épistémologiques pragmatistes et leurs implications pour concevoir une « science en action », construite de manière collaborative et engagée. Ensuite, nous explorons les apports des pragmatismes pour développer une perspective particulière d'analyse de la société civile et de son action en faveur de l'innovation sociale dans les arènes publiques, en nous concentrant sur les notions clés d' « enquête publique » et d'« expérimentalisme démocratique ». Notre objectif est de discuter les apports, les défis et les limites de la conduite d'études pragmatiques—dans une perspective analytique et méthodologique de « l'ethnographie des arènes publics » —laissant place à des recherches coopératives et engagées qui articulent enseignement et transfert, théorie et pratique, experts et citoyens ordinaires, connaissances et expériences dans les études sur l'innovation sociale.

KEYWORDS / MOTS CLÉS : social innovation, democratic experimentalism, ethnography of public arenas, children and adolescent's rights, urban agriculture / innovation sociale, expérimentalisme démocratique, ethnographie des arènes publiques, droits des enfants et des adolescents, agriculture urbaine

INTRODUCTION

Several contemporary authors in the fields of public administration (Ansell, 2011; Shields, 2008), public action and public policies (Halpern, Lascoumes, & Le Galès, 2014; Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2007; Porto de Oliveira & Hassenteuffel, 2021; Zittoun, 2021), and public governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Sabel & Zeitling, 2012) have formulated new theoretical streams and analytical perspectives based on pragmatic philosophers, such as Charles Pierce, Willian James, and John Dewey, to understand public governance and the relations between civil society and the public sphere. Despite the particularities of each study, they all sought to go beyond the traditional government, public governance, and "third sector" views, and focus on the various forms of interaction and intersections between civil society and the government by analyzing "public action" as it is performed (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2007). Thus, these analyses have tried to comprehend the effects of the multipolarity of the instituted powers, their fluidity, and decentralization in a more realistic manner.

These new approaches do not emerge in a vacuum; they are situated in a broader movement that occurs in contemporary social sciences (Cefaï, 2009; Chateauraynaud, 2017; Corrêa, 2019). This movement is manifested both by the recovery and current developments of classical pragmatism studies as well as by a pragmatic turn in contemporary sociology, sometimes called "sociological pragmatism" or "pragmatic sociology," which gives way to a diversity of "pragmatisms"¹ or pragmatism-inspired theoretical traditions, such as the theory of critical capacity (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999), the actor-network theory (Latour, 2012), and the theory of situated action (Quéré, 1997), to name a few. Some authors have characterized it as a "pragmatist turn" (Barthe, Rémy, Trom, Linhardt, Blic, Heurtin, Lagneau, de Bellaing, & Lemieux, 2016) in social sciences or as a plural movement that establishes new epistemes, positions, and methodological practices for social scientists (Corrêa, 2019; Frega, 2016).

This article explores the contributions of these new lenses to social innovation studies, showing, by empirical application, how they could move the research field forward. It begins by exploring the epistemic and methodological prisms of "pragmatisms" and their potential of providing a new analytical perspective to study social innovation, going beyond the individualistic and structuralist classical approaches (Andion, Ronconi, Moraes, Gonsalves, & Serafim, 2017) that are common in social innovation studies.

The second section discusses the contribution of the "democratic experimentalist" approach in social innovation studies, assessing the empirical use of this approach by an "ethnography of public arenas" (Magalhães, Andion, & Alperstedt, 2020) as a method.

The third section discusses how this approach inspired the application of an abductive and collaborative method that permits co-constructing knowledge with a "community of practices" in the public arenas of Florianópolis, Brazil. The fourth section presents and discuss the methodological route and techniques adopted in two fields of practice in Florianópolis: the promotion of children and adolescent's rights, and urban agriculture. Finally, it provides some recommendations for future studies, considering the challenges and limits of studying social innovation under this pragmatic perspective of analysis.

APPROACHING THE PRAGMATISMS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL INNOVATION STUDIES

Many authors point out that social innovation studies are still dominated by an instrumental perspective and lack a more robust foundation in the social sciences. Even though they are distinct from studies on innovation, the predominant approach still associates social innovation with technology and production cycles to promote economic development, based on a Schumpeterian perspective (Andion et al., 2017; Cajaiba-Santana, 2014; Howaldt, Domanski, & Kalekta, 2016; Montgomery, 2016).

Over the last two decades, however, there has been increasing interest in the study of social innovations and their effects, resulting in a diversity of concepts and approaches (Nicholls, Simon, & Gabriel, 2015; Phillips, Lee, Ghobadian, O'Regan, & James, 2014). Despite this, many authors point out that a certain polarization of perspectives in the field persists, resulting in two major interpretations (Andion et al., 2017; Cajaiba-Santana, 2014; Lehtola & Stahle, 2014; Lévesque, 2016; Montgomery, 2016).

The standard analytical perspective—here called neo-Schumpeterian or evolutionist—is common in the fields of administration and economics. Some of the representative authors of this theoretical stream define social innovation as a new idea or combination that responds to social needs (Mumford, 2002; Murray, Caulier-Grice, & Mulgan, 2010; Nicholls, 2010). The model is promoted mainly through social entrepreneurship and emphasizes business-like solutions to social problems (Phillips et al., 2014).

This perspective aims to conceive of new solutions to social problems and generate income for the most vulnerable populations by fostering social or impact businesses. Social innovation becomes the responsibility of market agents. It is interpreted as a vector to expand production and consumption with the inversion of the market pyramid (Hall, Matos, Sheehan, & Silvestre, 2012) or it is created from new entrepreneurial initiatives, such as more efficient and accessible public and social services. From an epistemic point of view, this perspective adopts a positivist and normative discourse. It can be characterized as functionalist and non-critical (Andion et al., 2017; Montgomery, 2016), since social innovations are considered agile, creative, and cost-effective solutions to address both old and new social problems.

The second perspective—here called institutionalist and critical—deals with social innovation as a means to achieve broader social transformations, including changing the modes of production and consumption, social relations, and current cultural patterns (Bouchard, 2013). The authors of this perspective make a clear criticism of the dominant economic system and interpret social innovations as vectors for creating new forms of economic and productive organization that are based on the tradition of social and solidarity economy (Lévesque, 2016). Here, social innovation plays an important role in expanding socio-political capacity and access to resources, reinforcing citizens' participation and rights (Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood, & Hamdouch, 2005). From this perspective, collective actions have a fundamental role, and social innovation is interpreted as an intervention produced by different actors and sectors that have the objective possibility of promoting new development styles, not just companies and entrepreneurs.

The aim of this article is to put forward a research agenda that opens new analytical perspectives to study social innovation beyond this polarization. Greater interdisciplinary dialogue is crucial in the field of social sciences. Approaches that consider the relationship between dimensions and scales traditionally separated in classical studies—such as individual versus institutional, micro versus macro, experience versus structure, and economic and technical versus social and political dynamics—are highly relevant. A pragmatist lens is key to analyze the phenomenon of social innovation and its interface with public action and public policies (Andion, 2021; Andion, Alperstedt, & Graeff, 2020; Andion, Alperstedt, Graeff, & Ronconi, 2021; Andion et al., 2017; Magalhães, Andion, & Alperstedt, 2020).

This third perspective does not disregard the contribution of the first two but rather promotes their interface, emphasizing the practices and experiences seen as an intermediary level between the creativity of action and institutional change (Frega, 2016). Analytically, this makes it possible to reconcile and consider the individual scale and everyday experience in promoting broader institutional changes, such as the process of constructing the social realm (Latour, 2012). It is important to state that such a perspective has been increasingly discussed in recent social innovation studies (Howaldt, Kaletka, Schröder, & Zirnguebl, 2018, 2019) that emphasize abductive, multi-scalar, multi-actor, and multi-disciplinary analytical approaches to understand social innovations as "experiences" embedded in the fields of practices they impact. Some authors, however, have adopted a "performative perspective," which gives space to empirical work about the experiences of co-producing social innovations and exploring their interface with public policies and politics (Klein, Laville, & Moulaert, 2014).

In light of these recent studies, analytical streams inspired by pragmatisms could provide a new lens that helps overcome this polarization and (re)interpret social innovations and their effects on public action and the governance of public policies (Andion et al., 2017). Such perspectives can offer new avenues to advance research in the field. The different branches of contemporary pragmatisms in social sciences offer not only a new method to study social innovations but presuppose a new interpretation of what "society" is and "how it is formed." This offers a new ontological, epistemological, and methodological reading of the phenomenon (Corrêa, 2019; Frega, 2016).

Without exhausting the discussion, which is beyond the scope of this article, the summaries made by Diogo Corrêa (2019) are very pertinent. He highlights three positions for researchers who want to develop pragmatic studies in social sciences that could be applied to social innovation research. The first position refers to a break with the dominant "social" ontology: understanding that the constitution of the social realm is a problem that must be examined. Latour (2012) and other pragmatists do not believe in a social dimension that is separate from other dimensions of real life. The "social" is then (re)defined based on the principle of "ontological freedom," which expands beyond what is human or what can be seen and interpreted by the researcher's assumptions or models. In this sense, an image of "social" and social innovation is self-constituting, embedded, plural, broad, and inclusive.

The second position is epistemological and refers to respect for the metrics and justifications produced by the researched actors. For Corrêa (2019) this implies an attitude of delegating what is pertinent, fair, real, true, authentic, et cetera, to the actors. Knowledge is neither deductively constructed by a rationalist perspective (from the researcher's hypothetical definitions or the theory) nor by the empirical rigour of inductivism, defended by positivists and neo-positivists. Here, the coconstruction of knowledge is emphasized through the interaction between researchers and the communities studied and between theory and practice, focusing on lived experiences and abductive forms of analysis (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

Finally, emphasizing the construction of the social realm (based on experiences) requires researchers to change their methodological position. Thus, the subjects' experiences in situations or moments of proof or controversies gain importance. For Corrêa (2019), this means giving space not only for regularities and what is already stabilized in the social realm but also for the non-determined situations, conflicts, proof situations, and "warning signs" (p. 269) generated by the different actors themselves. In these moments of bifurcation, actors question the status quo, present their justifications and arguments, and redefine the course of action, creating new possibilities of agency and new visions about the future.

Therefore, a pragmatist analytical approach for studying social innovations based on Carolina Andion, Luciana Ronconi, Rubens Lima Moraes, Aghata Karoliny Ribeiro Gonsalves, and Lilian Brum Duarte Serafim (2017) and Carolina Andion, Graziela Dias Alperstedt, and Júlia Furlanetto Graeff (2020) is proposed (see Table 1). It is important to note that this summary is not exhaustive and was constructed here for didactic purposes. In practice and in the current debate in the field's literature, these perspectives are permeable; they communicate and relate to each other.

	Neo-Schumpeterian/ Evolutionist	Institutionalist/ critical	Pragmatist
How social innovation occurs	Through entrepreneurship in response to social needs. Relies on problem diagnosis cycles, proposition of new solutions, prototyping and testing, support, dissemination, and systemic change.	Through collective action, organized or not, and often with struggle, resistance, and contestation (changes in power relations)	By problematization and publicization processes and in the interface between the creativity of the action and the regularity of the social realm. Relies on experience and public inquiry.
How social innovation is defined	New idea that works and responds to a social demand	Change in cultural and institutional patterns	Transformation of a problematic situation (generating consequences) through the mobilization and action of different actors and actants around a public problem.
Interpretation of public problems	Public problems as specific social demands	Public problems are macro-structural related to production and consumption models and development styles	Co-conception and co-control of public problems, which are experienced locally as problematic situations that could be faced by public inquiry processes (democratic experimentalism)

Table 1: Analytical approaches in the field of social innovation

	Neo-Schumpeterian/ Evolutionist	Institutionalist/ critical	Pragmatist
Devices, strategies, and instruments to promote social innovation	Projects, social businesses, and impact businesses	Social and solidarity economy. Collective action and self-organization	Learning processes, pluralism, and intersectionality
Who is the protagonist?	Social entrepreneur and social business	Social enterprises, institutions, norms, and conventions	Collective actions, networks, and ecosystems
Predominant logic	Business, mercantile	Critique	Relational, agency
Representative authors	Geoff Mulgan, Robin Murray, and Julie Caulier-Grice	Benoit Lévesque, Juan- Luis Klein, Denis Harrisson, Marie- Bouchard, and Frank Moulaert	Daniel Cefai, Francis Chateauraynaud, and Bruno Latour
Epistemology, paradigms, and theoretical streams of inspiration	Utilitarianism/rationalism, methodological individualism	Dialectics/neo- Marxism/new social movements, critical studies, theory of regula- tion and conventions	Pragmatism, pragmatic sociology

Table 1 (continued)

Source: Adapts and expands the study by Andion et al. (2017)

The pragmatist approach, however, implies another interpretation of social innovations, one that considers the relationships between agents and structures as expressed in the debates about "democratic experimentalism" and "public investigation," as further discussed in the next section.

Studying social innovation using a pragmatist perspective: Contributions and the implementation of a democratic experimentalism approach

Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin (2012) argue that an experimentalist approach to governance is central in a world with global, turbulent, and unpredictable public problems. Such governance refers to a "recursive process of provisional goal setting and its constant redefinition, based on collaborative learning" (p. 3). For Christopher Ansell, Eva Sørensen, and Jacob Torfing (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic is an example of the need for constant adaptation to address public problems in today's world.

In a pragmatist perspective—defended by John Dewey (1927)—this experimentalist form of governance is linked to how social actors face public problems, learn from them, and act collaboratively in response. In these processes, which constitute "public inquiries," they could form "publics" that perform "public arenas." For Daniel Cefaï (2002), public arenas are spaces of conflict and agreement where public actions are performed. In this perspective, something "public" is not limited to government, and the processes that make possible the democratic construction by state-society interaction becomes the central point for researchers to examine. Thus, the systematic observation of public arenas helps explain how actors and devices report to each other and commit themselves (or not) to a collective effort to define and control "problematic situations" and their effects, which sometimes leads to social innovations.

Ansell (2011) and Roberto Frega (2019) explore this process as a "democratic experimentalism," understood as an opportunity to transform what is instituted, which is essential to reinvent democracy and reconnect local actions and the broader processes of social change, a critical issue for advancing the agenda of social innovation studies. Democratic experimentalism can provide theoretical and analytical insights to comprehend how democracy is related to social innovation and civil society's role in reinforcing (or not) democracy (Ansell, 2011; Frega, 2019). In addition to identifying the extent and limits of participatory processes, it means recognizing how the design of institutions happens while facing common undesirable consequences of life.

Experimentation refers to seeking innovative solutions, inquiring and testing to reduce errors in responses to problematic real-life situations. *Democratic* is related to the processes of mutual collaboration and learning, and valuing various forms of knowledge and expertise, especially of the affected public and the more vulnerable. Ansell (2011) and Frega (2019) consider this process of collective and transformative learning based on public inquiry to be an important element in the revitalization of public actions in current democracies.

But how can we put this approach into practice and assess the process of public inquiry and democratic experimentalism that results in social innovations in real life? The Center of Social Innovation in the Public Sphere (NISP) at the Santa Catarina State University in Brazil was established in 2013 and has developed numerous studies inspired by this broad question and the pragmatist positions briefly discussed above.²

From 2013 to 2016, the NISP conducted the research project Civil Society and Social Innovation in the Public Sphere to understand the extent to which social innovation initiatives promoted by civil society actors respond to public problems and influence public arenas and policies. The project took a theoretical and methodological approach, studying several social innovation initiatives in different public arenas at federal and local levels (Andion et al., 2017; Andion, Moraes, & Gonsalves, 2019; Gonsalves & Andion, 2019; Moraes & Andion, 2018).

The findings of these first research projects demonstrated the need to follow social innovations to adequately assess their impacts on civil society, public policy, and public governance. Their conclusions showed the need to consider experiences in time and space using a multiscale and multi-sectoral approach, since social innovation is a process of coping with problematic situations in everyday politics (Andion et al., 2017). At this point, the study confirmed that social innovation does not result from a single actor but emerges through associations in networks and within a "political ecology." It is a non-linear process with unpredictable outcomes that differs from the classical and diffused vision of social innovation as a progressive process composed of prompts, proposals, prototyping, sustaining, scaling, and systemic change (Murray, Caulier-Grice, & Mulgan, 2010).

In order to follow these dynamics, a continuation of the first project was started at the NISP through longitudinal and systematic research of public arenas in the city of Florianópolis, Brazil.³ Thus, in 2017, the NISP, in partnership with the Observatory of Social Innovation of Florianópolis (OBISF), implemented a project to co-ordinate the research with teaching and community engagement.

The Observatory is being implemented through a collaborative digital platform, built in partnership with almost fifteen institutions, to promote the cartography of the city's social innovation ecosystem (SIE), which is formed by support actors and social innovation initiatives. The collaborative digital platform developed by the OBISF and the team's dedication to map and visit the social innovation initiatives in situ made it possible to produce an interactive map of the social innovation ecosystem of the city.

In February 2022, the map was comprised of 594 initiatives that promote social innovation (216 were observed/visited, 327 were mapped, and 51 were inactive) and 486 actors that support these initiatives. They are mobilized around the 16 public arenas that are publicized in the platform,⁴ and many of them are the subject of ethnographical studies that illuminate the real issues experienced by ordinary citizens in the city.

In addition to a structural analysis of the SIE, its network, and the interactions among actors, the map's ultimate goal is to strengthen and disseminate public inquiry practices, contributing to reinforcing the dynamics of democratic experimentalism and to promote the systems of governance that contribute to more sustainable development.⁵ Through the articulation between teaching, research, and transfer, undergraduate and graduate students and professors observe, follow, and reinforce experiences of social innovations in the city's public arenas. It makes it possible to identify and strengthen the "social innovation living labs [SILLs]" (Magalhães, Andion, & Alperstedt, 2020, p. 21) already existing in these public arenas by carrying out actions within these "communities of practices."

A research method exploring the "ethnography of public arenas" based on design experimentalism (Ansell, 2012) was designed and performed. The method:

- Focuses on real and lived experiences—not on those produced in intramural university "laboratories."
- Promotes interactions between subject and object, and their importance in research, by valuing actors' justifications, knowledge, and practices.
- Accounts for multiple forms of causal links, measurements, and tests, in particular the metrics developed by the different people impacted.
- Allows space for error, learning, the formulation and reformulation of hypotheses, discussion, debates, and the validation of research results in collaboration with the people studied.
- Promotes theoretical "excavation" and the methodological craftsmanship, dialogue, and triangulation of different qualitative and quantitative research approaches and methodologies from an abductive standpoint.
- Favours the idea of a "political ecology" and a plurality of relations and interactions in the SIE, rather than an ideal of universality or an SIE model of analysis.

To promote these processes of knowledge co-construction, the study sought to identify and strengthen the field of public policies in the city by following and reinforcing social innovations and linking them with public policies. The proposal was not to promote a "smart city" but to reinforce democratic governance in public arenas by encouraging the principles and practices of public inquiry (Dewey, 1938). The next section discusses the method and research strategies used and lessons learned from the ethnography in two fields: the promotion of children and adolescent's rights, and practices related to urban agriculture in Florianópolis.

Ethnography of public arenas as a method: Advances, challenges, and learning from its application in social innovation studies

This section discusses how social innovation is accessed and understood in the ethnography of public arenas. The ontological, epistemological, and theoretical debates briefly presented in the previous sections support the methodological path and the research strategies adopted in this study. Each research project developed within the scope of the Observatory has its own design and research path. However, there are certain common "moments" that consolidate the theoretical-analytical framework of the ethnography (Magalhães, Andion, & Alperstedt, 2020).

Inspired by Cefaï (2002), public arenas are perceived as formed in multiple places and moments, with a great dispersion of scenes, fields, discussions, and logics of action among the different publics. These spaces are not only approached as places of struggle or representation but also as an environment previously occupied, inhabited, and appropriated by their participants as "social worlds" (Cefaï, 2015, p.332) in which they practice modes of engagement, grammars of complaint, signs, devices, et cetera (Berger, 2020).

To capture this complexity, the research design privileged a multiscale and multisectoral perspective (Revel, 1996) to capture different scenarios and scenes where the arena networks unfold. Table 2 summarizes the moments of the research that were not developed linearly, respecting the research indetermination, the pragmatist positions (Corrêa, 2019), and the abductive approach (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Each moment had objectives, research strategies, spaces where these strategies were implemented, and questions that guided the research.

Moment	Focus	Research strategy	Locus of the study			
Cartography and analysis of public arena' s network	Understanding the outlines of the public arena, the main actors, and interac- tions (structural analysis)	Mapping, cartography	Social innovation ecosys- tem, networks that form the public arena			
Guiding questions: Who are the support actors? What are their roles? Which initiatives aim to respond to the cities' public problem? What are the problematic situations that they aim to address? What are the interactions established? Whom are the people affected? What are the proposed solutions? What are the methodologies and						

Table 2: Analytical focus and methodological path exploring the ethnography of the public arenas

Table 2 (continued)

technologies presented? What is the incidence in public arenas?

Source: Adapted from Magalhães, Andion, and Alperstedt (2020)

Moment	Focus	Research strategy	Locus of the study		
Reconstitution and analy- sis of the public arena's trajectory	Reconstitution of trajectory of the public arena (and the public problems bal- listic) and the problematic situations experienced	Document analysis, sys- tematic observation, and interviews with actor	Agenda of the media, governmental agenda, mechanisms of public action and public scenes and situations		
Guiding questions: Who are the spokespersons? What are the events? What are the themes discussed? What problematic situations have people lived? How are these situations faced? What are the consequences? What is the narrative when facing the problem? What are the arguments? What are the controversies?					
Identification and observ- ation of the scenes of re- ciprocal adjustment	Identification and observ- ation of scenes of commit- ment and/or conflict among different publics engaged in the public arena	Direct, continued, and sys- tematic observation	Spaces of connection and dialogue, such as the forums or councils of public policies; public scenes and situations		
Guiding questions: How are the actors organized to request their demands? What are the legal and institutional mechanisms, objects, and rules that the public used to protect the rights of children and adolescents? How can representation and legitimacy be built in the public arena? What is the scale of publicity used in the arena? Who are the protagonists, the spectators, the narrators, and the audience? Who is responsible?					
Follow-up with different publics and their life experiences	How does the action occur (if it does), and what are the consequences? Recovery time sequences while they are produced.	Direct and systematic observation	Government agencies and civil society organiza- tions that act with children and adolescents' rights in the city		
Guiding questions: How do affected people understand the public problem? Do they mobilize and act around this problem? How? How does the attribution of responsibility, the elaboration of a complaint, the unfolding of a violation of right occur? What are the consequences for the affected people? Do they publicize their problems? How?					
Collaboration, sharing, and validating research results with affected publics	How do the surveyed subjects perceive and (re)signify the research results?	Community service (extension),workshops, and focus-groupInterviews	Projects and workshops with different publics surveyed (government, civil society, universities, children and adolescents, families)		
Guiding questions: How do the researched people perceive and (re)signify the research results? What are their impressions, questions, dilemmas, difficulties? What feedbacks?					

The cartography and analysis of public arenas

The cartography, made by the OBISF digital platform, makes it possible to retrace the network that constitutes the public arenas and their interactions. This part of the research asked: Who are the support actors in the social innovation ecosystem? What are their roles? Which initiatives aim to respond to the city's public problems? Which problematic situations do they aim to address? What are the interactions? Who is affected? What are the proposed solutions? What are the methodologies and technologies presented? What is the incidence in public arenas?

One of the most prominent public arenas—the promotion of the rights of children and adolescents has been studied in the city since 2017. The network was mapped until July 2020, and it was formed by 129 social innovations initiatives (which comprised 40% of the total initiatives mapped) (see Figure 1). Of those, 75 were observed (yellow) through fieldwork and 54 were mapped (red). In addition, 17 initiatives ended their activities during the period (i.e., they were inactive) (grey).⁶ Finally, the figure shows the mapping of 138 organizations that offer different types of support to social innovation initiatives. Note that the number of network components is larger than reported because it also includes the partners of the identified actors.

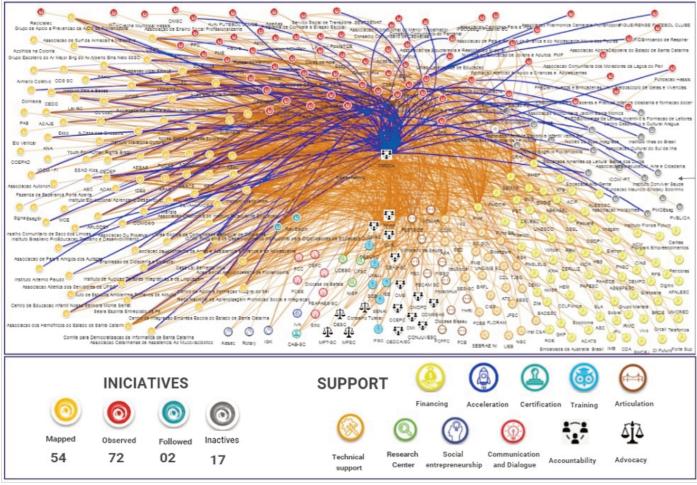


Figure 1: Representation of the protection of children and adolescent's rights in Florianópolis

Source: Based on the OBISF (n.d.) platform

In the cartography of urban agriculture, 74 social innovation initiatives were identified. According to the platform's status, 39 of them were observed, 26 were mapped, and nine were inactive. In addition, 71 actors were identified as providing support activities. See Figure 2 for an outline of the network of this field of practice.

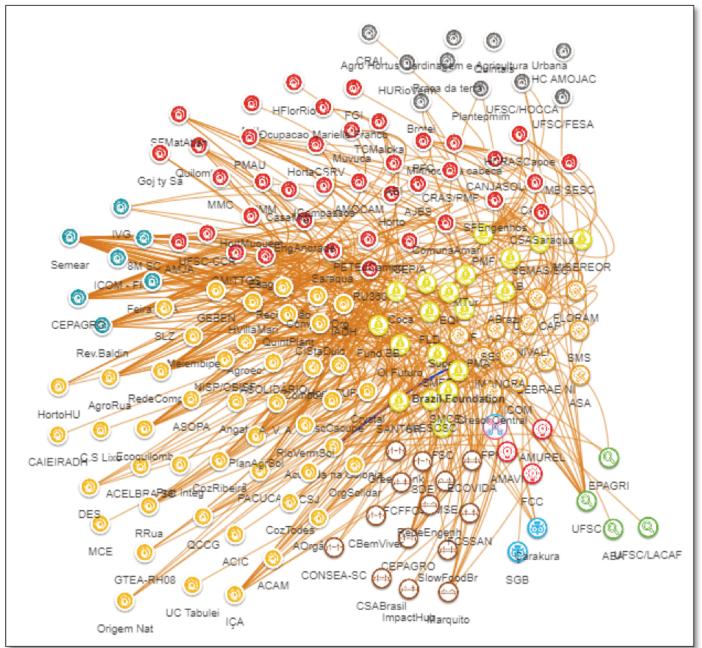
The cartography does more than map the actors and retrace the network that comprise the public arenas, it also makes is possible to characterize them and their dynamics. In the field of urban agri-

culture, diverse public problems emerged, and various public policies were mobilized, constructed, performed, and contested. Several public arenas emerged, three of which stand out:

- organic waste
- food security and nutrition
- production and consumption cycles

There are distinct dynamics of social innovation at work and diverse modes of governance coexist.





Source: Based on the OBISF (n.d.) platform

The organic waste arena is organized around the problem of waste destination and aims toward a decentralized management that reduces the pressure on the region's landfill by transforming waste into resources for agriculture. The constellation of practices and actors that compose the arena includes the city's urban cleaning public agency; the Federal University of Santa Catarina; several community initiatives, such as the gardens themselves; impact businesses; some public programs; and civil society organizations (CSOs), such as the Center for the Study and Promotion of Group Agriculture (CEPAGRO) and the Çarakura Institute. It is also important to mention the actions of the agroecological mandate of Councilperson Marquito, a historical activist in the area elected for his second parliamentary term, and the creation of the Composting Network in 2018.

The public arena of food security and nutrition is mobilized around issues of hunger, poverty, and the promotion of food security and adequate nutrition, which are established in the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil. The problem was further aggravated with the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic. Dozens of community gardens and several actors active in the composting dynamics were also observed in this arena, such as the Agroecological Mandate, CEPAGRO, and the Çarakura Institute. As the social emergency deepened, several initiatives were created, such as solidarity kitchens, planting initiatives, and the purchase and donation of food by universities, CSOs and family farmer networks and initiatives. Here, the issue of urban agriculture intersects with initiatives, resulting in the creation of a popular restaurant and the effective implementation of public policies for food security in the city.

Finally, the production and consumption cycles arena are organized around the negative socio-environmental consequences of the dominant modes of production and consumption, especially of food, and aims to build shorter, more sustainable cycles that include the consumer as co-responsible. This includes family farmers operating in the city; sustainable urban farms; more responsible forms of commercialization, such as fairs, consumer groups, farmer groups, and networks linked to agroecology practices. Once again, the work of the Agroecology Mandate and the Federal University stand out.

Although each of the public arenas in urban agriculture has its own dynamics, the reflexivity that makes them possible emerges from similar practices: food cultivation and all that precedes and succeeds it. In all the dynamics, actors play a role of articulation, training, and technical support.

While denser, the network that forms the public arena promoting the rights of children and adolescent is more homogeneous and institutionalized. The analysis showed the importance of civil society action in this field of practice. Of the total of social innovation initiatives mapped, 109 (84%) were civil society initiatives. In addition, 11 were government actions, implemented by 177 public policy instruments, seven were universities initiatives, and two were actions promoted by businesses.

The 109 civil society initiatives are the majority (87%), and more than half were operating for more than 20 years in the territory. However, only 66 percent were officially registered in the Municipal Council of Defense of Children and Adolescent's Rights (CMDCA). These data demonstrate the disintegration and displacement of many civil society initiatives from public policy, networks, and spaces of control. They show, however, that representation and participation in the defence of rights

by civil society takes place in a concentrated and specialized way, leaving behind a plurality of actors and the affected audiences—children, adolescents, and their families—which still seem far from the public arena.

Most of the initiatives have religious, voluntary, or community origins, and the majority are financed by the municipal public policy and fund of children and adolescent's rights (FIA). So, the majority of CSOs that interact with the government and public policy are "pioneers," or have operated for more than ten years, that originated as charitable endeavours, promoting standardized services typified by the National Social Assistance System. Among the governmental actors, the centrality of social assistance is also revealed. The policy had a strong concentration in social assistance, regarding instruments and services aimed at assisting children and adolescents in the municipality, such as education, health, culture, and sports. It results in poor co-ordination and intersectionality among public policies.

All these actors interact and mobilize around an array of increasingly challenging turbulent public problems that have intensified due to the pandemic. Data collection indicates that one in five children and adolescents in the city belong to families that earn less than U.S.\$100 per month (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social, 2020), which indicates that more than 20,000 children live with socio-economic vulnerabilities and risk having their rights violated. In this context, some central issues emerge, including greater exposure to risk and a lack of support services for adolescents; an aggravating expansion of rights violations and underreporting during the pandemic; a lack of vacancies in nurseries and schools; a constant demand for specialized health services; and the expansion of the number of adolescents involved with crime and drug trafficking and consumption.

ACCESSING THE ARENAS, THEIR PUBLICS, AND THEIR LIVED EXPERIENCES

In addition to this structural analysis of the arenas' networks and interactions, the study identifies and follows scenes of reciprocal adjustment and offers access to the publics and their lived experiences. The main questions in these moments were: How are the actors organized to request their demands? What are the legal and institutional mechanisms, objects, and rules that the publics used to respond to public problems? How can representation and legitimacy be built in the public arena? What is the scale of publicity used in the arena? Who are the protagonists, spectators, narrators, and audience? Who is responsible? How do affected people understand the public problem? Do they mobilize and act around this problem? How does the attribution of responsibility, the elaboration of a complaint, and the unfolding of a violation occur? What are the consequences for the affected people? Do they publicize their problems? How?

It makes it possible to understand how the public mobilized in the public arena interpret, discuss, and act, and the consequences of promoting or hindering the dynamics of public inquiry, democratic experimentalism in public governance, and social innovations. It was essential for this process to deeply explore the associations, regimes of co-ordination, and movements. This was conducted through different research strategies: analyzing documents (examining minutes, reports, discussion on social networks, etc.); participating in the identified spaces of co-ordination, debate, and social accountability and control, such as the CMDCA, the Forum of Public Policies of Florianópolis (FPPF), and the Rede Semear forum in urban agriculture; and interviewing spokespeople and focus groups

and workshops. Such strategies made it possible to access situations of co-ordination, commitment, and conflict between the different actors in these arenas and the processes of problematizing and publicizing these "situations" (Cefaï, 2002).

In addition to interviews, the systematic observation of consultation spaces and focus groups (situations mobilized by the researcher) involved research in action and/or participant observation. In the case of the public arena of the rights of children and adolescents, several projects were developed with the researched initiatives in partnership with the Greater Florianópolis Community Foundation (ICOM) and CMDCA. In 2018, the Laboratory of Institutional Strengthening was developed, involving 40 CSOs in the city's four regions. The project was developed through three days of workshops to prepare the CSOs to propose intervention projects to their publics. In addition to these workshops, different actors working in the system of guaranteeing rights for children and adolescents rights in the city were invited to participate in five dialogue sessions.

This process allowed the research team to be involved in the preparation, discussion, and publication of the final version of the decennial plan for the rights of children and adolescents in the municipality from 2018–2022, with the provision of an illustrated version to facilitate the dissemination of the content. The process also involved the planning and implementation, in November 2018, of the municipal pre-conference, which was attended by around 100 children and adolescents and more than 20 educators from different public and private schools and CSOs. They drew up proposals to take to the tenth Florianópolis conference in February 2019.

In 2019, this process continued with the Institutional Development Journey project. This project included an 85-hour training process, from May 2019 to March 2020, attended by 30 leaders from 15 CSOs registered in the CMDCA that together serve approximately 3,300 children and adolescents. The project involved 13 meetings that addressed governance, resource mobilization, project design, and political incidence in public policies. The project also included the joint construction of a documentary video on the role of CSOs in public policies in the city.

Finally, from 2019 until 2021, the Articula Floripa project was developed. This project aims to strengthen the municipality's SGDCA, promoting spaces for meetings, training, and relationship among actors. The impetus for carrying out the project is to strengthen the network and promote the role of the CMDCA within the framework of the 30 years of the Child and Adolescent Statute (ECA) in Brazil, celebrated on July 14, 2020. A campaign and a series of events and materials were developed to mark and reflect on the trajectory of this policy in the city.

In the field of urban agriculture, the researcher followed a specific experience—the Rede Semear by participant observation. The trajectory of Rede Semear was retraced through documents and interviews from July 2020 to August 2021. The members of Rede Semear described it as a space to connect and build governance for public urban agriculture policies in the city, aiming at the political-institutional recognition of these practices. The city has decades of experimentation in the area, and the practitioners felt the need for institutional recognition of these practices.

In 2015, the first Municipal Urban Agriculture Meeting was held, bringing together practitioners, experts, CSOs, and government actors, and Rede Semear was created. Its main action has been

the organization of the annual Municipal Urban Agriculture Meeting, a space for discussion, raising awareness, and collectively formulating demands to public authorities through the drafting of a political declaration. In addition, the network has played a role in the construction of the Municipal Urban Agriculture Program, in the change of local actions of the state rural extension agency, in the allocation of budget resources directly to urban agriculture, and, although unsuccessfully, in the maintenance of rural areas in the city's urban zones.

When the participant observation of Rede Semear began in early 2020, it was always considered as a space of joint construction between civil society and government. Over time, however, the absence of a systematic commitment from the authorities in the local government to urban agriculture and to Rede Semear became apparent. There was a commitment from some street-level bureaucrats who promoted the practices with the civil society and inside the government itself. The government ended the relationships with the network at the end of 2020 and completely closed the dialogue. Rede Semear showed the problematic and unstable nature of the process of building governance, in which the creative dynamics of real life continuously collide with the formalism of government.

In this sense, the public arenas are permeated by disputes and controversies. They are immersed in the city's political culture and system and the broader disputes for power. This enhances the clash between the creative dynamics of the actors and the established institutionalized powers. "Official politics" tends to disenfranchise, diminish, and make invisible initiatives that do not "belong" to them. In this sense, the official public power in the municipality does not incorporate local actions to strengthen democracy but act as a form of co-optation and appropriation to promote its political project.

Even with this resistance, the analysis of Rede Semear demonstrates that the encounter between the creativity of life and the regularity of formal institutions is fundamental for the maintenance of democracy. Through "invented spaces," such as Rede Semear, or "invited spaces" (Ay & Miraftab, 2016, p. 2), such as a city council, it is possible for democratic experimentation to reach institutions and produce social changes and social innovations.

RECONSTITUTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLIC ARENA'S TRAJECTORY

This extensive fieldwork and the projects developed collaboratively in the two case studies made it possible to establish and exercise co-operative research, applied and implied. As a result, the trajectory of the public inquiry and experimentation processes in these arenas were reconstituted, and the project recognized and collaborated with the diverse publics that mobilize around these spaces of confrontation and collaboration. The main question in this moment of the research was: Who are the spokespeople? What are the events? What are the themes discussed? What problematic situations have people lived? How are these situations faced? What are the consequences? What is the narrative when facing the problem? What are the arguments? What are the controversies?

THE GAME OF SCALES

The game of scales, which entails crossing different perspectives of analysis, makes it possible to identify:

• the main events and mechanisms of the public arena in this period, reconstituting the scenario for the problematic situations;

- the main spokespeople and publics mobilized from these arenas (and, by extension, those who are absent), their roles, and their forms of engagement;
- the successive confrontations of problematic situations and how they are overcome, highlighting the learning processes and the activities of co-creation, dissemination, and sharing;
- the effects and developments of these arguments and actions, regarding their capacity to criticize, problematize, deliberate, denounce, and make judgements, which have consequences both in response to public problems and in the governance of public policies.

In short, this analysis made it possible to highlight the possibilities and limits of the dynamics of collective learning in this network, the extent to which they generate democratic experimentalism, and what this means to public action. The research help understand how and the extent to which the dynamics identified in these public arenas influence public governance and changes public policies.

COLLABORATION, SHARING, AND VALIDATING RESEARCH RESULTS WITH THE AFFECTED PUBLICS

During the research, preliminary results were shared with the participants for their perception, understanding, and co-construction. This is consistent with the pragmatist epistemological position (Corrêa, 2019): the academic production needs to make sense to the actors and be grounded in their daily operations of problematization and publicization. Here, strategies such as focus group, projects, and workshops with different partners and actors were developed. The results were shared to understand: How do the subjects perceive and (re) signify and co-produce the research results? What are their impressions, questions, dilemmas, and difficulties? What feedback do they have?

These outcomes co-construct a portrait of the public arenas and systematize their trajectories. The results were analyzed, validated, and systematized in a doctoral thesis (Magalhães, 2020) and two dissertations (Manoel, 2022; Silva, 2020). The study in the public arena of the promotion of the rights of children and adolescents was summarized in a technical report publicized in the city. The research also subsidized the campaign that marked the thirtieth anniversary of the Children and Adolescent's (EAC) statute in the city, with the elaboration of a commitment letter in a process conducted during an online workshop. The letter was sent to all mayoral candidates in Florianópolis in October 2020, requesting their public responses in an attempt to influence the public agenda in upcoming municipal elections.

All this work made it possible to recover the narrative component of public actions and their constitution (Terzi, 2015) from the actors engaging in the study. This component is important not only for researchers but also for the actors who engage in the public arenas, contributing to identifying, systematizing, and understanding how social innovation contributes to democracy; how it is learned, exercised, and practiced in these fields; and its effects on public governance and public policies.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: CONTRIBUTIONS, CHALLENGES, AND THE LIMITS OF CONDUCTING PRAGMATIC STUDIES ON SOCIAL INNOVATION

Traditionally, epistemological and methodological debates in social innovation are affected by the

prevailing discussion in applied social sciences, emphasizing an opposition between positivist and anti-positivist approaches. Stepping back from this polarization, this article explored the contributions of a pragmatist perspective to social innovation studies.

The new ontological, epistemological, and methodological lenses proposed by pragmatisms provide new possibilities in terms of research principles and practices. In social innovation studies, it can be inspiring to understand the interaction between civil society and government in the revitalization of the instituted and the reinvention of democracies through studying their experiences coping with public problems. This involves observing the work done by "crafting communities" or "invented spaces" (Ay & Miraftab, 2016, p;57) to shape institutions. In this sense, this article shows how pragmatism opens a space to exercise a political ethnography of public arenas, allowing us to understand its contributions and limits in promoting social innovations in the public sphere.

This method makes it possible to better understand and strengthen the mediation between the daily life of city inhabitants and institutional public policies. The cartography of social innovation ecosystems promoted by the OBISF built an open and collaborative database, accessible to the various actors that compose this ecosystem and beyond. It reveals the public problems not publicized in the city (based on evidence and lived experience, not just in official data and indicators); the diversity of the actors and "actants" that mobilize around them, their interactions and transactions, and the subsequent consequences; and the contours of the networks (always in motion) that compose these public arenas and their characteristics (who is in, who is out, the density of interactions, the degree of institutionalisation, the main instruments, the mediators, etc.).

Beyond this panoramic analysis, the research has made it possible to penetrate and follow the dynamics in these fields of experience. This made it possible to study and reinforce public policies in the making, based on the hybridization of the knowledge produced at the university and the knowledge co-created by these communities of practice. It is in this immersion in the public arenas that we seek to recover the trajectories of public problems and the mobilizations around them, co-constructing and systematizing knowledge about "doing democracy" in the city.

All this work has made it possible to follow the emergence and diffusion of social innovations and their interface with democracy and sustainability at the local level. Social innovations are understood as situated public actions—with a particular history, immersed in a political ecology, and in a geographical space—that could modify urban dynamics and trajectories. However, this kind of work requires dedication, continuous monitoring, and trandisciplinarity and openness to understanding the "other" (Berger, 2020). There are innumerable misunderstandings and tensions between researchers and research actors, between the researchers themselves, between different knowledges and disciplines, and between theory and practice.

This new way of researching, allied with practice, is not easy to conduct nor valued by the mainstream scientific community, which is still largely regulated by the metrics in terms of publications. However, the recent debate about open and collaborative science and its social impacts, as well as the urgency and robustness of current public problems, open space for the increasing importance and legitimacy of applied and embedded research—not only in the field of social innovation but in the social sciences as a whole.

NOTES

- 1 Pragmatisms is used in the plural because the influence of the pragmatist in the social sciences is broad and diverse; it is configured by a plurality of approaches. This article is inspired by both the contributions of classical pragmatism, especially the work of John Dewey (1927, 1938) and more recent developments in sociological pragmatism (Cefaï, 2002, 2009, 2017; Chateauraynaud, 2011, 2017, 2021). Due to limited space and to maintain focus, this article does not explore pragmatisms in depth, nor interrelate it with the debate on social innovation, which has already been done (Andion et al., 2017; Andion et al., 2021; Andion, Alperstedt, & Graeff, 2020; Magalhães, Andion, & Alperstedt, 2020). It discusses the contributions, limits, and challenges of conducting pragmatist studies in the field of social innovation.
- 2. Other works further discuss the construction of the theoretical, analytical, and methodological approach discussed here (Andio, 2021; Andion et al., 2017; Andion, Alperstedt, & Graeff, 2020; Magalhães, Andion, & Alperstedt, 2020).
- 3. Florianópolis is recognized as the national capital of innovation in Brazil. Among the 10 cities with the most innovative potential in the country, the Brazilian Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation elected Florianópolis. According to a survey by the Brazilian Startup Association, Florianopolis is the Brazilian city with the largest number of start-ups per inhabitant and is ranked second among connected smart cities in Brazil. This position, in conjunction with historical challenges and the new problems facing the city, calls into question whether all this movement has reinforced the dynamics of social innovation in the city. In other words, has the "Brazilian Silicon Valley," as Florianopolis is called, been able to respond to its public problems in a more inventive and effective way than other cities?
- 4. For public arenas mapped by OBISF, see Observatório de Inovaçao Social de Florianópolis (n.d.).
- 5. For more about the analytical framework of the Observatory and its implementation see Andion, Alperstedt, and Graeff (2019) and Andion et al. (2021).
- 6. The social innovation initiatives are in constant analysis, followed by the Observatory's team. There are three main categories of initiatives: the so-called observed initiatives are those that the OBISF's team visited to complement and validate the information provided in the questionnaire applied when the initiative registers on the platform. The mapped initiatives are those that registered autonomously on the platform and have not yet been visited. Finally, the initiatives that are no longer operating are considered inactive.

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