Title: Building deliberative places and spaces: Making sense of the power of food movements in governance processes in the Global North

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Abstract: Dominant food systems, based on industrial methods and corporate control, are in a state of flux. To enable the transition towards more sustainable and just food systems, food movements are claiming new roles in governance. These movements, and the initiatives they spearhead, are associated with a range of labels (e.g., food sovereignty, food security, and right to food) and use a variety of strategies to seek change. In this paper, we consider research exploring food movement actors' efforts to put forth a framework for conceptualizing their roles in governance. We present our framework in the form of a continuum that conceptualizes governance engagement spanning from multi-stakeholderism to self-governance, with the key elements of orientation and framing, use of power, and political economic contexts shaping food movement actors' positions on the continuum. Applying this framework to nine case studies, we offer three insights. First, power constellations can be initially "light" or "dense," requiring different types of power on the part of food movements in order to engage. Second, we find that food movements use a distinct type of power, which we call the power to convene and create, enabling them to leverage other powers, prefigure the more inclusive policy making process they envisage, and increase the capacity of food movement actors. Third, using the power to convene may allow movement actors to reshape policy fields so they can seek longer-term governance arrangements that address the complexity of food systems. These insights challenge the traditional narrative of social movements as simply "inside" or "outside" by positioning food movements within shifting policy fields.

Questions for feedback:

- What are your impressions of our governance engagement continuum, including our conceptualizations of orientation, framing, power, and governance arrangements? Do you think it can be a helpful tool for researchers and social movement actors and organizations?
- Does the concept of relational fields help to frame the dynamics between social movement actors and governance arrangements?
- Is the finding of the "power to convene" a valuable contribution to the literature?
- Are there other bodies of literature we should consider/integrate?

1. Introduction

Food systems are in a state of flux as the result of a wide range of intersecting forces, including consumer and producer/harvester demands, technological changes, financialization, and climate change (Andrée, Ayres, Bosia, & Mássicotte, 2014; Clapp, 2016). This has led to the instability of the dominant food system, which is premised on industrial methods and corporate control. A major limitation to food systems' resilience is that food-related policies tend to favor economic development over people's access to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced and harvested in socially just and ecologically sustainable ways. The net result is a food system over-reliant on fossil fuels and chemical inputs in farming and fishing (Altieri, 2018; Pauly, Froese, & Palomares, 2000; Weis, 2013), low wages and poor labor conditions among food workers (Gray, 2013; Jayaraman, 2013; Minkoff-Zern, 2019), low returns for family farms and small-scale fishers (Renting, Marsden, & Banks, 2003), ongoing land appropriation (Williams & Holt-Giménez, 2017), and limited access to healthy foods for many people (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2016; Power, 2008). Corporations and businesses have had disproportionate influence over decision-making, and food systems policy has remained siloed and ineffective at addressing most of these issues (Lang, Barling, & Caraher, 2009). Food system problems like these represent both challenges and opportunities for social movements organizing to build a more sustainable and just world (Levkoe, 2014; Wittman, Desmarais, & Wiebe, 2010).

To enable the transition towards more sustainable and just food systems, food movements are claiming new roles in governance. By food movements we mean the networks of people, groups, and organizations that are challenging industrial food systems by experimenting with a variety of alternative ways of producing, harvesting, foraging, processing, distributing, consuming, and, ultimately, governing food. These movements, and the initiatives they spearhead, are associated with a range of labels, including fair trade, civic agriculture, food justice, food sovereignty, food democracy, agroecology, slow food, and community food security (Friedland, 2010; Hendrickson & Heffernon, 2002; Schiff & Levkoe, 2014). We refer to food movements in the plural to recognize their diversity as well as their interconnections (Constance, Renard, & Rivera-Ferre, 2014; Levkoe, 2015). Although food movements can be diverse in their tactics and activities, they tend to share in a critique of the dominant industrial model and, collectively, aim to reinforce, build on, and scale-up innovative, place-based initiatives to supplant or displace the dominant industrial systems. This involves not only engaging with government through public participation strategies, but also increasingly engaging in food system *governance* to further food movement goals. Governance refers to the relationships, processes, rules, practices, and structures (both institutional and discursive) through which power and control are exercised and decisions are made. Given the formal and informal roles of a wide range of actors in policy-making processes, governance involves more than just the state and its associated agencies (Jessop, 2002; Minnery, 2007). Growing involvement by food movement actors in governance has been observed across the Global North, with civil society groups and organizations building on place-based experiences to work with others and alter government and corporate policies (Andrée, Clark, Levkoe, & Lowitt, 2019).

The question of how social movements engage in governance is one that extends well beyond food. The scholarly literature indicates two general starting points to respond to this question. As explained by Meyer (2002, p.12), some researchers begin by focusing on states and

how they wield power; this approach often considers the resources, grievances, and opportunities provided by forces beyond the movements (also known as the political opportunity structure). Others start by looking first at the concerns of social movements and how they contest power, particularly that held by the state, and the various resources and ideological framings the movements mobilize. More recently, social movement scholarship has moved from focusing mainly on the state as the target of action, to considering economic actors, international agencies, and multinational corporations (Wahlström & Peterson, 2006).

The food studies literature includes works that examine social movement engagement with governance processes, although these are often grounded in specific normative commitments. For example, Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) compare a range of positions held by food movements, suggesting these can be delineated according to their politics, orientation, and discourse. These authors then argue that the most appropriate way for organizations with progressive values to challenge the industrial food system is to align themselves with the radical politics of food sovereignty, which seeks to dismantle the corporate structure of the system, or they risk simply reifying a neoliberal politics. Grounded in similar normative assumptions, the edited collection by Desmarais, Claeys, and Trauger (2017) presents a series of case studies examining food sovereignty movements and state interactions, with a focus on the risks and opportunities involved in translating food sovereignty goals into state laws, policies, and programs. Beyond these works with specific normative commitments, numerous individual case studies focus on specific governance contexts, such as the intersection between urban gardens, environmental movements, and city decision-making (Barthel, Parker, & Ernstson, 2015; Mendes, 2008), international food security governance (McKeon, 2014), and democratic practice through food justice movements (Wekerle, 2004), to mention only a few.

While these are important contributions, we suggest that scholars and practitioners are still missing a broader conceptual framework that can assist in looking beyond any particular case study, issue, or normative commitment to enable the identification and comparison of governance dynamics across diverse movement actors and political economic contexts. To do this, we bring the food and social movement literature together with interactive governance theory to propose a continuum of ways in which food movements engage in governance. As explained by Kooiman, Bavinck, Chuenpagdee, Mahon, and Pullin (2008), interactive governance emphasizes solving social problems and generating new social opportunities through the ongoing interactions of civil, public, and private actors; it places social movements as one actor in a larger political arena of overlapping authorities and responsibilities. At a structural level, interactive governance theory suggests that power relationships find expression in at least three key modes of governance: hierarchical governance (which we term multi-stakeholderism), co-governance, and self-governance.

The emphasis on interactivity aligns with emerging approaches to the study of social movements and networks (Crossley & Diani, 2018), including attention paid by scholars to the factors that enable movement effectiveness, such as network embeddedness and desire and willingness to engage in collaborative governance (Ansell, 2003). Goldstone (2004) integrates these emerging approaches in the idea of "relational fields," arguing that social movements should not be viewed simply in terms of fighting states, but as part of changing and relational fields that are comprised of the actions and interests of the state, allied and counter-movement

groups, and broader citizenry, all interacting to shape the emergence, activities, and outcomes of social movements (p. 333). In the discipline of public administration, relational fields have been used to articulate the "policy field," or the social structures that are produced, reproduced, and altered by actors in the field in relation to collective public policy interests (Moulton & Sandfort, 2017; Stone & Sandfort, 2009).

In what follows, we present our framework along with a set of nine case studies of food movement actors and organizations. These case studies illustrate how the continuum can help actors to think strategically about how food systems are currently governed, other governance options, and how the actors might influence food system governance going forward. We conclude with reflections on the strengths and limitations of our proposed continuum as a heuristic tool and suggestions for how it might be applied in future research.

2. The Governance Engagement Continuum

Our "governance engagement continuum" framework proposes a continuum of ways that food movements mobilize resources to disrupt, influence, or engage in the execution of power through food system governance arrangements (see figure 1). This continuum brings together the following elements that are important to understanding the emergence, efforts, and outcomes of food movements: orientation, framing, use of power, and political economic context (the top of the figure), along with a consideration of modes of governance (along the bottom).

It is important to note from the outset that while the governance of public issues, including food systems, involves interactions among the market, state, and civil society, our framework focuses on movement engagement with the state, as the state remains the main public governance unit relevant to most food system issues. We recognize the often-formidable role of market actors, such as businesses and their associations, as one aspect of the political-economic context, noted as "other actors' use of power" in Figure 1. This choice, while giving less prominence to these "other actors," enables the continuum to hone in on movement participation while still considering the suite of actors that comprise the broader fields of political engagement in which social movements are operating.

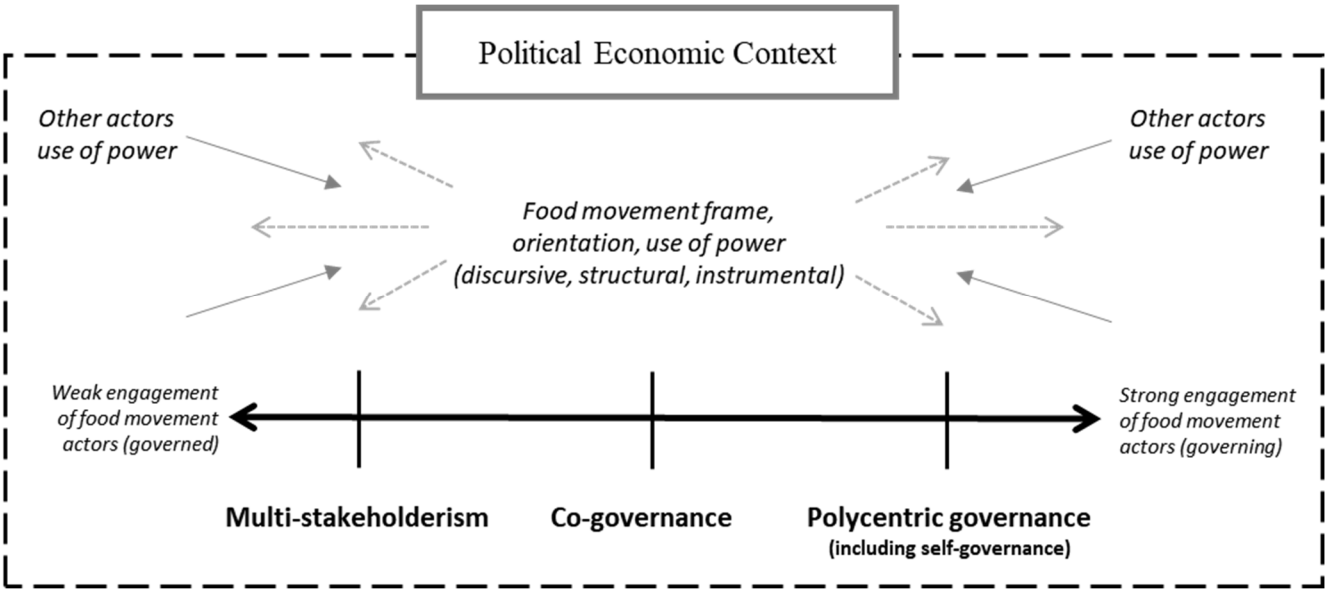

Figure 1: Governance Engagement Continuum

2.1 Movement orientation and issue framing

The ways in which food movement actors frame issues and orient themselves in relation to the dominant food system has important implications for why and how they engage in governance. We use orientation to refer to the strategic and ideological position that the movement takes in relation to the dominant food system (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; McInnes & Mount, 2017; Stevenson, Ruhf, Lezberg, & Clancy, 2007). Drawing on the work of Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011), three broad orientations can be discerned: reformist, alternative, and transformative.[1] Accompanying these three orientations are various frames that actors use to create meaning around specific issues, such as food sovereignty, right to food, food security, and community food security.

The reformist orientation attempts to work from within the dominant food system to achieve incremental changes. Rather than challenge neoliberal capitalism outright, for example, reformists may work to strengthen food security by increasing access to food markets and healthier food options and by improving existing social services and community food programming. Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) argue that while beneficial to individuals in the short term, such initiatives risk reinforcing the industrial food system by "fine-tuning the neoliberal project rather than encouraging substantive change of direction" (p. 123). Another way to look at reformist initiatives is to see them as a way of claiming access and exerting influence within ongoing, formal governance processes. As a form of governance engagement, reformist activity requires coordination across multiple scales and sectors and the involvement of diverse actors. Further, adopting a reformist orientation does not necessarily mean that these actors do not have progressive goals. Some movement actors address this tension within food

[1] As noted above, we recognize that these authors used these terms in the context of a normative argument in which "transformative" was ultimately deemed a more progressive orientation, one more easily aligned with food sovereignty, than a "reformist" orientation. We have adopted and adapted their terms here without presuming a commitment to any one position being better than another.

security activism by adopting a "community food security" frame, which focuses on long-term solutions, individual empowerment, support for local food systems, and community-based marketplaces (Allen, 2004). When food security activists focus their attention on creating new market dynamics, their approach may be better described as an "alternative" orientation, to which we now turn.

The alternative food movement orientation seeks to establish food system initiatives that exist in parallel to the dominant food system. These initiatives are established as alternatives to standardized and industrial systems of food provisioning, emphasizing types of quality, locality, or production practices, although alternative and conventional systems invariably interact in complex ways (Watts, Ilbery & Maye, 2005). Farmers' markets, organic supply chains, and fair-trade networks are typical examples. Resistance to the dominant food system is enacted through establishing greater "autonomy" within the market rather than overt struggle or covert sabotage (Van der Ploeg, 2007). As with the reformist orientation, the work of building a successful alternative initiative involves governance engagement on multiple levels. Following Polanyi, who wrote about the "embeddedness" of markets in social values and political structures, alternatives have targeted the re-regulation of food through a mix of formal (e.g., policies and laws) and informal (e.g., norms and relationships) mechanisms (Andrée et al., 2014; Sonnino, 2007).

Lastly, a radical orientation challenges the dominant system with more transformative goals aimed at addressing the root causes of inequality in the food system (Jarosz, 2000; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996; Levkoe, 2011). Movement actors who hold a radical orientation are typically associated with frames like food justice, the right to food, and food sovereignty. These radical movements have each explored turning their demands into public policy in an attempt gain visibility and power (Desmarais et al., 2017). An example is Food Secure Canada's efforts to influence its government by leading the People's Food Policy process using a food sovereignty lens (Levkoe and Sheedy, 2019). Many radicals that engage in formal channels of policy recognize that this engagement requires making compromises. In some cases, radical movements attempt to build new governance spaces entirely, such as Indigenous food sovereignty movements calling for self-determination and independence (Coté, 2016).

2.2 Use of power

To operationalize power, we are informed by two key approaches. First, we draw on Clapp and Fuchs' (2009) analysis, which lays out instrumental, discursive, and structural power. Instrumental power involves wielding influence over others through direct action, fueled, in part, by the use of resources. Food movement actors use instrumental power when they strategically marshal resources to achieve their goals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Discursive power is about controlling discourse, developing or challenging narratives, and establishing new norms, which relates to the element of framing described above. Groups employ discursive power to frame problems in a way that match their values and priorities and thus also begin to identify logical solutions to those problems (Schön, 1993). Finally, structural power is about defining the scope and institutional structures in which decisions are made. Structural power can set agendas and legitimize which actors need to be at a particular table.

Second, we draw on Gaventa's (2005) power cube, which distinguishes among different forms (visible, hidden, and invisible), levels (from local to global), and spaces (closed, invited, and claimed) of power (see Figure 2). The power cube reminds us that governance spaces are not neutral and that power relations shape who can enter certain spaces of participation and what is possible within them. Together with Clapp and Fuchs (2009), the power cube offers a fuller analysis of power dynamics. For example, food movements may have an easier or harder time claiming power depending on the types of closed and invited spaces or forms of visible or hidden they encounter. Entering and claiming power across scales and spaces involves mobilizing the structural, discursive, and instrumental forms of power available to them.

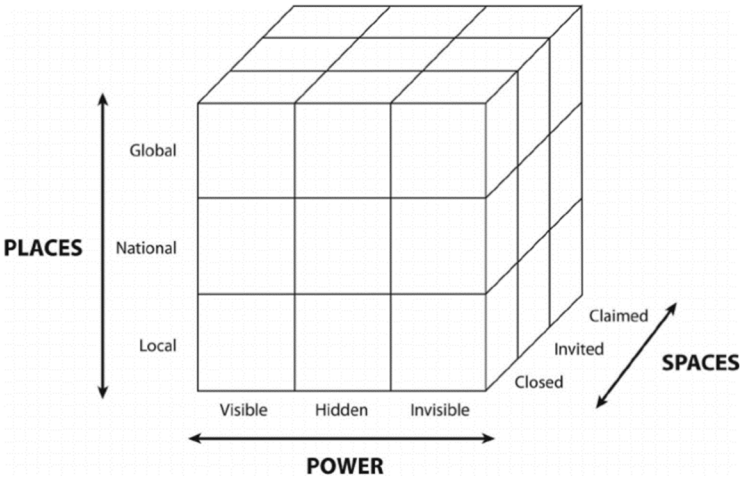

Figure 2. Graventa's Power Cube (2005; 2007)

2.3 Political economic context

The political economic context refers to the confluence of economic, institutional, and discursive forces that define the field of political engagement at a particular historical moment (Andrée, 2007; Gill & Law, 1989; Gramsci, 1971). Taking inspiration from the ideas of relational and policy fields, we do not see the political economic context as a fixed set of conditions to be manipulated by movement actors, but rather understand that movement actors operate within particular contexts that may be reproduced or changed as a result of their participation. The political economic context captures many of the factors that Goldstone (2004) identifies as important to relational fields, including the history of political and economic structures, various elites and publics, and value orientations in society. It brings attention to existing and entrenched relations of power, but also issues of trust. Some contexts may support the ways that food movements seek participation in governance, while other contexts, such as those captured by private interests, may not align with movement goals. This can sometimes lead to movement actors creating or "claiming" new governance spaces. If food movements are unable to accomplish the degree of influence on governance that they seek, it may be because their goals are hampered by the political economic context. Regarding the relationship specifically between civil society and the state, Cooper, Bryer, and Meek (2006) posited that six dimensions related to the political economic context explained the difference between adversarial approaches that citizens take and collaborative approaches, including the trust citizens have in government and vice versa, government legitimacy and responsiveness, and citizen competency and efficacy.

2.4 Modes of governance

The key elements (orientation and framing, use of power, and political economic context) described above shape where a food movement finds itself on the continuum in terms of modes of governance (shown on the bottom of Figure 1). The idea of modes of governance stems from interactive governance theory, which suggests that governing arrangements can be identified in terms of three ideal types (*see* Kooiman et al., 2008). On the far left of the continuum, multi-stakeholderism has food movement actors as one voice among many seeking to exercise influence in a pluralistic public sphere, with one powerful actor (typically state governments) formally holding the reins of decision-making. Here, food movement actors seek influence but ultimately remain "governed" by top-down processes in which the state and market actors, as enabled by the state, lead problem- and rule-setting (Kooiman et al., 2008). Kooiman et al. (2008) thus use the term "hierarchical" to refer to this type of governance. In this situation, food movement actors may exert a consultative role.

On the far right of the continuum is the opposite ideal type, with social movement actors actively shaping their own food systems through self-governance. In this case, social movements exert bottom-up control, framing issues and designing institutions that meet their needs (Kooiman et al., 2008). It is notable, however, that self-governance often takes place under the jurisdiction of one or more states and in coordination with market systems (Carlisle & Gruby, 2017; Ostrom, 2008). We conceptualize self-governance as taking place under polycentrism, which is defined as the coexistence of multiple centers of power and control (Nagendra & Ostrom, 2012).

Co-governance sits between these two poles as an arrangement that involves sharing governance roles with other actors, including the state. In the ideal sense, multiple actors work together to meet shared governance goals. As Kooiman et al. (2008) describe, co-governance takes place when "societal parties join hands with a common purpose in mind" that may otherwise not be accomplished. Co-governance also focuses on consensus as opposed to simply managing competing stakes. Here, civil society participants act as co-producers of governance outcomes and seek equal stewardship of the process.

3.0 Research Context and Methods

The cases we use to illustrate the governance engagement continuum emerged from the Food: Locally Embedded Globally Engaged (FLEdGE) network. FLEdGE is a community-engaged research partnership exploring the current and potential role of community food initiatives to act as pillars of regional, sustainable food systems. The cases are drawn from the scholarship of FLEdGE's governance working group members. Working group members are all community-based researchers, conducting participatory research while actively collaborating with civil society partners on food systems issues across the Global North.

We shared an initial draft of the governance engagement continuum with the authors of the case studies, who were asked to use it to help analyze their research findings (Table 1). From that initial analysis, we refined the continuum and brought the cases into dialogue to consider

how the continuum helps us understand the cases as a whole and what the cases tell us about the value and limitations of the continuum as a heuristic tool. The cases presented in this manuscript are what we consider to be instrumental cases, or cases that offer support to refining a theory (Stake, 1995). As such, the particulars of each individual case are of less interest than the collection of cases (Stake, 1995). Our unit of analysis is each full case (Creswell, 1998). Although different authors studied the cases under varying conditions, the cases were each written with the governance engagement continuum, thus providing sufficient comparability for this analysis. The nine cases cover a range of places and scales (see Table 1). Topics range from food systems planning and policymaking, to agenda-setting and rural economic and social development, to cultural resurgence and movement building. For a more fulsome exploration of each of these individual cases, see the edited volume *Civil society and social movements in food system governance* (Andrée et al., 2019).

Case Name & Location	Case Topic	Scale
Dunedin, New Zealand	Local food system networks	Local
Columbus, Ohio, USA	Food system planning process	Local
Correns, France	Rural economic development via organics	Local
Calgary, Alberta, Canada	YYC Growers and Distributors producer cooperative	Local
Yellowknife & Northwest Territories, Canada	Local food policy agenda-setting	Local
Vermont, USA	Vermont Farm to Plate Network	State/Province
Canada	National Food Policy	Nation
Great Lakes, Canada	Indigenous fisheries	Nation/Region
United Nations	Committee on World Food Security	International

Table 1. Case Summary Descriptions

4.0 Cases

Here, we present the case study descriptions, which connect food movement actors' frames and orientations to their engagement with governance and use of power. Figure 3 provides a visual depiction of our interpretation of the position of each case along the governance engagement continuum (Figure 3).

Dunedin, NZ—Local food system networks. In a neoliberal state focused on markets and exports, local food policy was virtually nonexistent in Dunedin. This case by MacKay and Connelly (2019) covers two co-evolving networks aimed at addressing local concerns. Starting in 2013, a grassroots group of local food system advocates brought together a diverse group of actors to build on the momentum of several existing local food initiatives meant to address problems such as lack of local market options for farmers and ranchers and lack of healthy food access. Through a series of deliberative forums, the group formalized their relationship to become Our Food Network Dunedin (OFN), a grassroots organization focused on building a local food system to contribute to community resiliency and prosperity. OFN built their network and its capacity while creating deliberative spaces to set a broad agenda for the city. As a result of OFN's work, Dunedin city council created a position to work on food system issues in 2015.

City council then brought stakeholders together to ensure food was considered in all city policies, developing a city initiative known as Good Food Dunedin (GFD). The city invited members of the OFN to join the advisory group for GFD. The city then used its discursive power to change the framing of food system change from OFN's community food security, justice, and equity to one of economic development and marshalled its resources (instrumental power) to make changes with an economic development rationale. Given the limited focus of GFD on economic development, civil society groups continue to conduct work outside of these city-enabled structures. While OFN influences the city's food policy initiatives and plays a role in its network, they do not equally steward the process and do not fully co-produce governance outcomes. Therefore, this case is placed between multi-stakeholderism and co-governance.

Columbus, Ohio, USA—Food system planning process. Like many large cities in the United States, this Midwestern metropolitan area of over 1 million people suffers from high rates of chronic disease, obesity, and struggling small and midsize farmers. This case, by Clark (2019), focuses on the local response to address these concerns. Starting in 2014, the city of Columbus' health department and county economic development office in partnership with Local Matters sponsored and conducted a local food system planning process. Local Matters, a long-operating social movement organization, focuses on community process, convening and providing voice to citizens in some of the most vulnerable neighborhoods. Local Matters' community food security orientation meant that they aimed to transform the food system at the community level. Each government and Local Matters had vastly different values and approaches to planning. However, each also participated in a broader food policy coalition (a voluntary policy coalition that also has a community food security orientation) and recognized the value of a coordinated approach. Further, Local Matters and the food policy coalition recognized that the local government was willing to put resources towards local food projects and could remove policy barriers. Given the horizontal nature of the relationship between the city and county, and embeddedness in a broader network with a shared coordinative vision, power was used to work *with*, rather than over, Local Matters. The governments created the planning space and invited Local Matters in. Despite Local Matters being contracted by the city (instrumental power), reciprocity and perceived fairness between organizations made this work a flat structure. Local Matters was able to co-set the agenda (structural power) and frame the issues (discursive power). Deliberation was used to negotiate differences. We see this case as a clear example of co-governance, given the shared power arrangement, which is designed to continue into the future.

Correns, France—Rural economic development via organics. Correns is a rural community with strong social ties built on trust and reciprocity and overlapping individual roles between civil society, private enterprises, and the public sector. As agriculture modernized and changed structurally, local farmers struggled and the village experienced a loss of identity. This case, by Wei-Ying Clément (2019), covers the efforts of villagers to counter these trends. Over 90 percent of villagers are, as "paysans," involved in small-scale agriculture in some respect. Addressing local livelihoods, the mayor (a wine-maker himself), paysans, and small businesses co-created alternative, sustainable markets via community economic development and the "first organic village." A strong organic agricultural framework in France and subsidies from the European Union supported this direction.

Collaborative, hybrid governance between the state, market actors, and civil society led to several value-added market schemes (e.g., organic and Appellation d'Origine Controlée (AOC) labelling) and local government investments. Given positive experiences across the community, a local chapter of the UN Agenda 21 was created. The governance structure purposefully included "gender balance, positions for both younger and older residents, paysans, business owners, and unemployed residents" (Wei-Ying Clément, 2019, p. 191) in addition to elected officials. Informal conversations decided much of this, which ultimately led to a change in the structure of the local government to include more citizen voices on a regular basis.

Together, community actors leveraged the three forms of power to create local alternatives, while still engaging in global markets, on their own terms. First, the local mayor provided leadership and financial resources (leveraging instrumental power). Second, a new citizen-based governance structure was developed to shift the balance of power between the municipality and citizens (thereby leveraging structural power for citizens' initiatives). Third, organic agriculture was used as a mobilizing framework for sustainable community development (leveraging discursive power). The ongoing collaboration of business owners, local leaders, and residents, often all wearing multiple hats, places this case in a regime of co-governance on the continuum. The community's exercise of agency within the global system places them on the right side of co-governance.

Calgary, Alberta, Canada—YYC Growers and Distributors producer cooperative. In response to rising demand for local food, 20 urban and rural growers in and around Calgary developed a farmer cooperative, known as the YYC Growers and Distributors. Beckie and Bacon (2019) detail the governance of the YYC and its engagement with local government. Foremost, YYC created a platform for rural-urban collaboration. YYC members collectively sell products at farmers' markets and through a Community Supported Agriculture program (CSA). YYC is a values-driven business and has committed to environmental and social justice. They educate consumers about the value of local food and advocate for supportive local policies at the municipal and provincial levels. Unlike the other cases, this case focuses on the development of an internal self-governance structure of a cooperative. The cooperative is based on collaborative decision-making, collective action, and knowledge sharing, all of which contribute towards its success.

The cooperative's internal governance structure shaped the strategies it used to collaborate with the city and province to move towards a more inclusive and co-governed local food system. For example, YYC members have developed technical and marketing expertise and advice that the City of Calgary needed when it began a commercial urban agriculture pilot. YYC's self-governance arrangement is embedded in a broader context of multi-stakeholderism. However, the relationship between YYC and policy makers is still in its early stages. The trajectory of the YYC's work with the city suggests a future of co-governance, but those relationships are still building. The YYC, while collaboratively governed as a business internally, is closer to a stakeholder with regard to the city's engagement with the food system and therefore is placed as an example of multi-stakeholderism on the continuum.

Yellowknife & Northwest Territories, Canada—Local food policy agenda-setting. Yellowknife is in the traditional territory of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation. Situated in

Canada's Northwest Territories, Yellowknife relies heavily on agriculture and imported foods. Arsenic pollution from mining of gold ore near the city has impacted hunting, fishing, and gathering. There is a long history of state regulation of traditional fishing and hunting practices of Indigenous peoples and placement of children in residential schools, where they were forced to abandon their traditional diets. Johnston and Andrée (2019) write about the case of the Yellowknife Food Charter Coalition, which aimed to create a space for "integrated solution-building" (p.47) to address obesity and food insecurity. This cross-sectoral coalition, comprised of local business owners, food producers and harvesters, health practitioners, and members of the First Nation, focused on food security, justice, and sustainability to develop a food charter. Ecology North (an environmental group) was working similarly at the territorial level to develop a food strategy. The Northwest Territories Food network is also working to connect efforts.

The Coalition used its charter to frame (discursive power) community challenges in novel ways, using a systems approach to connect concerns around food insecurity to concerns around hunting, fishing, and agriculture. This drew media attention at an opportune time, raising these issues during the 2015 election season. The local Yellowknife government responded with a plan, but it only put out an agricultural strategy. Further, the Coalition was able to foster collaboration across sectors to build the necessary social infrastructure to undergird the systems approach that they are advocating. Finally, given the makeup of the Coalition and its collaborative approach, it was able to draw connections between knowledge, action, and policy that resulted in food finding a place on the agenda of local and territorial governments. While the Coalition and broader network seek co-governance arrangements, at this time it remains a stakeholder, placing it in a position of multi-stakeholderism on the continuum. However, the momentum continues today, as the Coalition uses its power and builds relationships that will allow it to engage in co-governance.

Vermont, USA—Vermont Farm to Plate Network. Vermont is a rural state with a long history of supporting local and regional foods, including member-owned cooperatives. An initial collaborative food system planning process led by the government included over 1,200 farmers, food producers, technical assistance providers, and farm and food sector industry leaders. After the completion of the Vermont Farm to Plate (F2P) plan, the government developed, and supports administratively and financially, the F2P network. The network includes government, for-profit businesses, and civil society organizations. Anderson (2019) examines the work of the F2P network in detail.

One central activity of F2P is an annual forum; while supported by government, the agenda is co-constructed. Leadership rotates and is voted on by network members. They have been successful at passing progressive legislation. F2P members report that information sharing is a strong factor of success, claiming it is the reason that they stay involved. Despite power differentials, cohesion and trust have enabled deliberation between non-state and state actors. This decision-making process and the flat governance structure of F2P means there was no coercion, which can mean less or slower change. While the F2P is a collaborative arrangement with state government, the state ultimately determines policy decisions, putting the F2P between multi-stakeholderism and co-governance.

Canada—National Food Policy. For decades, individuals and organizations have been coming together to deliberate on how to improve Canada's food system. In response to these and related efforts coming from industry and farm groups, the elected Liberal government developed a process for consultation to develop a national food policy after the 2015 national elections. Levkoe and Wilson (2019) write about civil society actions during the consultation. Food Secure Canada (FSC), a pan-Canadian food movement organization, saw the government process as an opportunity to marshal resources and impact the framing of the national food policy. The federal government used its structural power to determine the agenda, and FSC felt pressured to fit its language and approaches within the state's pre-existing framework. FSC needed to do this to gain legitimacy and influence the policy discussion. However, it was not naive to think that the state would use its own framing of food sovereignty. Despite entering the process aware of potential pitfalls, FSC was disappointed at how non-collaborative the formal process was. While FSC was able to push the boundaries of the conversation, the structural power of the state was overwhelming, leading FSC to create its own process. With limited resources, FSC was still able to use the government's invited space while also claiming its own space by using the consultation opportunity to design its own engagement process and build the food movement in Canada. FSC developed and led a series of activities, including multiple types of forums, in which more than seventy member organizations and allies participated in an attempt to model participatory food governance, thereby prefiguring a participatory food systems approach to policy. While this may not be what FSC originally intended to do, these efforts ultimately strengthened the capacity of Canadian food movements. Despite strides in getting a "seat at the table," FSC is just one stakeholder in the national food policy process, placing it at multi-stakeholderism on the continuum.

Great Lakes, Canada—Indigenous fisheries. For Indigenous communities in Canada, access to traditional foods is a key component of food sovereignty. Traditional foods contribute to "cultural food security" due to their historical role in maintaining the identity, health, and survival of community members (Power, 2008, p.95). Lowitt et al. (2019) write about fisheries governance in the Batchewana First Nation of the Ojibways (BFN) and the Saugeen Ojibway Nation (SON), two First Nations in the Great Lakes region that rely on fisheries for their livelihood. Access to fisheries has been disrupted since Europeans arrived on the continent. Fisheries management, led by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry, is based on Western notions of efficiency and profit, while the Indigenous governance systems are based on traditional ecological knowledge and reciprocal relationships with nature.

Despite recent court decisions in favor of Indigenous sovereignty, the state continues to impose its management systems on the First Nations. BFN and SON have resisted in varying ways, with BFN's arrangement looking like self-governance within a polycentric system and SON's arrangement exhibiting aspects of self-governance in collaboration with the state. Both the BFN and SON cases are built on different sets of historical power relations, but they both pose the same fundamental question about who holds power in the first place. BFN created its own space in the form a traditional management authority, rejecting OMNRF's legitimacy and furthering its claim to self-determination. SON has taken a different approach, maintaining claims to its sovereignty while negotiating with the state on a new agreement that recognizes the principles upon which SON bases its fisheries. Debates continue about the sovereignty of SON and BFN, while they both continue to make decisions via self-governance.

United Nations—Committee on World Food Security. In 1974, the United Nations (UN) created the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) in response to a global food crisis. After the 2009 food price spikes left 75 million more people with food shortages and led to instability in several countries, the UN decided to revamp the CFS structure to better predict major food access problems in the future. Based on the concept of a right to food, the UN determined that civil society should have a more prominent role. Anderson (2019) examines this effort in her case.

The UN invited a well-regarded international civil society organization to set up the terms of the reform. Non-NGO social movement organizations with direct experiences with hunger organized themselves into the Civil Society Mechanism (CSM) for the purpose of engaging with the CFS. Members of the CSM have local knowledge resources needed by the CFS, which calls for the CSM to participate not only in deliberation, but in planning the annual meetings. Further, the CFS, recognizing power differentials between member states and the CSM, put financial (instrumental) resources into building the capacity of the CSM to engage more effectively in the process. The CSM exercised discursive power by integrating right to food into all polices. However, they must keep watchdogging, as member states have been resistant to the CSM participation and have obstructed the process at times (although no member states have left the CFS). No other intergovernmental forum enables civil society to participate as equals (although with power differentials) along with government delegates. However, the CSM is just one member of the CFS, with member states making up the overwhelming majority of members, placing the CSM in multi-stakeholderism.

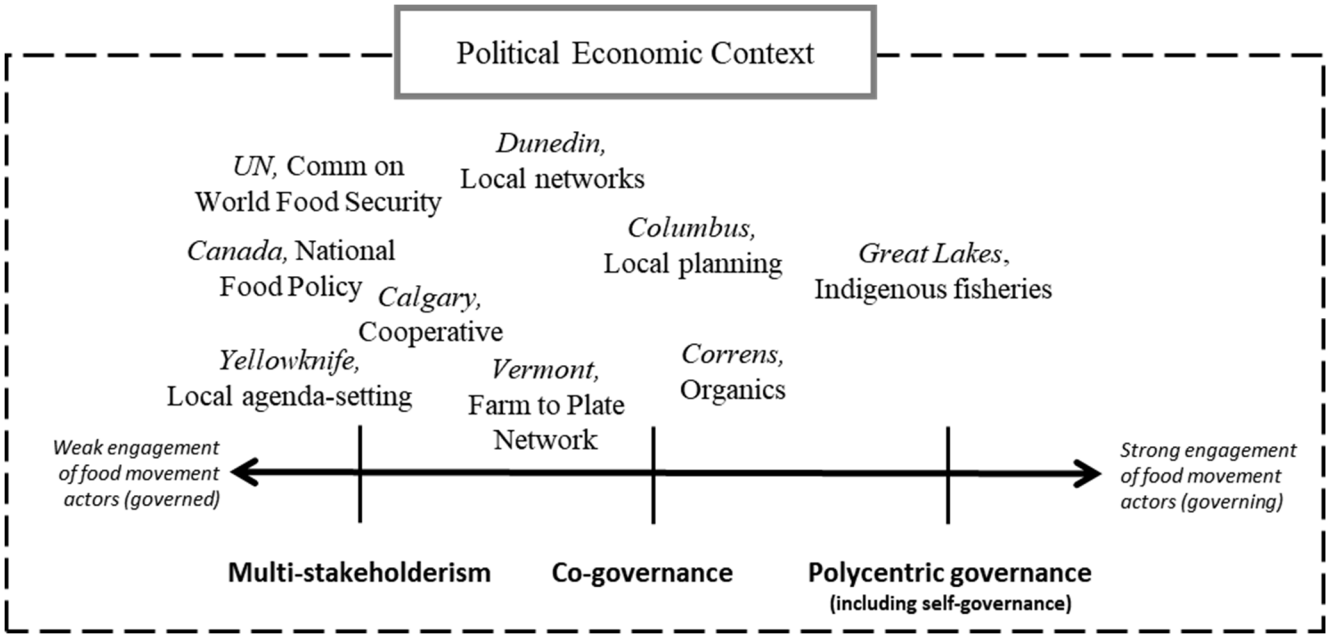

Figure 3. Case studies located on the continuum

5.0 Discussion

The continuum, emphasizing the relationship between issue framing, movement orientation, and use of power within a political economic context, helps to elucidate the complex relationships between the nine cases' social movement actors and governance structures. While these are not simple stories, the relationships among their elements help to explain progress towards aspirational positions on the continuum. Moreover, the conceptualization of the continuum and its key elements explains why some movement actors have only had minimal impact on governance, and thus system structures and impacts, to date. It also helps us to see the potential of future co- and self-governance arrangements, such as with the Yellowknife case of food policy agenda-setting and the case of Indigenous fisheries in the Great Lakes. In this section, we focus our reflections on three interrelated dynamics associated with the continuum that we see across a number of the cases, with a focus on what these dynamics mean for social movement actors trying to influence the food systems they are working to improve.

5.1 Creating opportunity in both "light" and "dense" political economic contexts

One useful way of analyzing the connections between framing, orientation, power, and engagement in governance is whether power constellations within the political economic context are initially "light" or "dense" (Johnstone & Andrée, 2019). In some cases, governance arrangements have hardened and become more institutionally complex over time, making them more "dense." In other cases, particularly in conditions where both transnational private interests are not strong and government policies are not well developed, the political economic context is "light" on the ground and governance is softer and more malleable. This observation relates to Gaventa's (2005) closed, invited, and claimed spaces.[2] In our cases, the local level best exemplifies the conditions that are ripe for claiming by food movement actors. For example, in the case of local food networks in Dunedin, along with many of the other local cases (e.g., organic agriculture in Correns and food planning in Columbus), the constellation of power relations at the start of the case is relatively "light" on the ground locally, while quite "dense" or hardened at the global level. "Light" conditions provide an entrée for agenda-setting by food movements. These dynamics allow social movement organizations to use discursive power to get food on the public agenda.

One reason the state may not have power in "light" conditions, particularly at the local level, is that it may not know how to engage in food systems, may not have the resources to engage, may not have the power in the global food system, or simply may not have previous experience sharing power with movement actors. Under these conditions, local governments may partner with civil society as they collectively seek to gain power and agency, effectively co-claiming space, in a global food system. We see this dynamic in the cases of food planning in Columbus, the YYC cooperative in Calgary, local food networks in Dunedin, and the Farm to Plate network in Vermont. In most of these cases, co-claiming space occurs when there is limited governance capacity, so governments tap into civil society expertise and deep community roots.

[2] It is important to note that social movement organizations can face invited and closed spaces while they try to create space (e.g., National Food Policy). Spaces are dynamic, and the presence of one type of space does not preclude another type being present.

However, co-claiming spaces can also be prompted through market action. Transnational corporate entities typically pay limited attention to local governance structures.[3] This allows civil society and government to co-claim local spaces to build alternative markets through collaboration. Organic agriculture in Correns is an excellent illustration of these dynamics, as is the YYC cooperative in Calgary. The case of organics in Correns, in particular, also illustrates the opportunity to co-claim created spaces cwhen lines between the state, market, and civil society are blurred. However, this blurring may also make it difficult to disentangle these relationships to understand who is driving the agenda at any given point.

In cases where power relations are quite "dense" or hardened, such as at the national level in Canada, movement actors often demand to be invited to this space. In the particular case of National Food Policy in Canada, actors did manage to become included in the national food policy making process, but with a price to pay. Despite the framing of food sovereignty by these social movement actors, they are now but one group of stakeholders at an already full table that was established and structured by the national government.

Provincial and national levels are more likely to take the form of invited spaces, seeking legitimacy via civil society input. Government does the inviting to the table but still builds the table, likely alongside private, for-profit interests. Being invited to a decision-making table often means less structural power for movement actors. In the case of the First Nations in the Great Lakes Region, they reject the premise of invited spaces. Batchewana First Nation in particular has rejected any table built by the government, choosing not to collaborate with the state but to build its own table. As such, given our cases, the use of instrumental and discursive power appears to be more important in invited and closed spaces that have power constellations that have hardened over time.

We would expect that the most hardened or closed spaces are those that operate transnationally, where private interests have long-standing relationships and wield power (Clapp, 2015). It may thus be surprising that the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) illustrates a case wherein civil society has not only been invited to the space but provided the opportunity to structure deliberative processes and incorporate the right to food into all policies. Despite long-held positions of power by both transnational corporations and national governments, the UN was motivated to tap into, and build the capacity of, the local knowledge of members of the Civil Society Mechanism. After the 2008 food price spikes resulted in instability in many nations, the UN turned to those most impacted and incorporated them into governance arrangements. The UN CFS case is interesting because when civil society organizations and actors are invited in, it is not usually to share structural power. However, social movement organizations participate in agenda-setting for UN CFS meetings. Further, the UN puts resources toward building the capacity of social movement organizations.

This comparison of dense and light political economic contexts can be interpreted in terms of political opportunity structures (McAdam, 1996), but, building on Goldstone (2004), we find this framing wanting. Goldstone points out that an analysis of the political opportunity

[3] Transnational interests have been expressed at the local level in the United States in cases where local governments and their partners have tried to tax sugar-sweetened beverages.

structure a social movement faces can tell broadly whether opportunities are "open" or not, but it does not tell us much about the development and success of that movement. Political opportunity structure analysis gives us a set of macro conditions that can create opportunity, but it is the movements' relationships within broader policy fields at all scales that tell us whether an opportunity (or threat) results in action. Applying our continuum to these cases supports Goldstone's observation that governance opportunities are relational, not structural. In this way, social movement actors can find opportunity in both light and dense political economic contexts.

5.2 The power (and promise) to convene

Reflecting on the relationships between framing, orientation, power, and engagement in governance described above, the power to convene and create deliberative spaces is utilized in nearly every case, whether there are "light" or "dense" conditions. It is worth considering this power to convene as a distinct type of power that can occur at the intersection of discursive and structural power, where it can be grounded in the power to reframe narratives through deliberation while enabling the construction of a new governance space. In some ways, the power to convene is related to Gaventa's (2005) claimed or created spaces in that like-minded people organically create spaces for themselves. However, it is unlike Gaventa's conceptualization because these spaces are not necessarily spaces of resistance, and they are not necessarily created by and only for marginalized, non-state, or non-market actors.

The cases reveal at least five important aspects of the power to convene and create deliberative spaces. First, convening and creating deliberative spaces can involve the strategic use of one type of power to enable access to others. For example, "light" conditions provide an entrée for agenda-setting by food movements. Here, the discursive power to frame and reframe narratives can be used to convince local officials that food should be on the agenda. This discursive power is thus used to leverage instrumental power and achieve structural power.

Second, convening and creating deliberative spaces is an attempt to prefigure the policymaking process along the lines of the more inclusive policy processes these movement wish to see in place. This means that the organization of movement actors to engage in governance processes can be seen by the movements as valuable in and of itself. In several of our cases, movement organizations were motivated to increase inclusivity in processes for a more democratic approach, or to increase internal capacity, or to more broadly enhance the governance capacity of a place via co-learning and network building (e.g., the National Food Policy in Canada, United Nations Committee on World Food Security, and food planning in Columbus).

This leads to the third aspect of the power to convene and create, which is that it can increase the capacity of movement actors through, for example, co-learning. Deliberative spaces can be used for movement building, including creating and reinforcing community and social capital, which can later be mobilized. Most of these relational and social processes can be seen in cases where government and governance are historically "light" or "soft" on the ground (e.g., Calgary, Columbus, Dunedin, and Correns). These are the spaces where place-based social movement actors can utilize their deeply rooted, place-based networks to their advantage. Convening and creating deliberative spaces is not limited to the local level. A powerful example of using deliberation to increase capacity and further build the movement is illustrated through

the processes employed by Food Secure Canada, which was a single stakeholder within the Canadian National Food Policy process. As a pan-Canadian alliance of organizations and individuals, it built resilience in the movement by introducing democratic processes within its own work, protecting it from challenges and tensions between the movement and the state and building its own instrumental power and capacity.

Fourth, the power to convene suggests the ability to engage with policy fields in a way that is particularly important in addressing problems in the food system, namely a process to integrate, coordinate, and build a systems-oriented vision. For example, the Yellowknife food policy agenda-setting and Canadian National Food Policy cases illustrate how efforts by territorial and national governments can be siloed and lack coordination. Civil society can build inclusive, deliberative communities across siloed conditions to establishcoalitions and connect siloed policies to reframe the problem and expand the agenda.

Finally, the power to convene provides the potential that, if realized to its full extent, can shift policy fields to support self-governance goals. Specifically, in the case of Indigenous fisheries in the Great Lakes, convening and creating may be seen as a way of shifting the policy field towards a new balance of power such that these communities may become the primary power holders within their territories.

5.3 Convening for the long haul - the continuum as a dynamic space

While we believe the governance engagement continuum is a contribution to the conversation about social movements and governance, we know that our simple figure risks oversimplifying the relationships within dynamic policy fields. It is evident in our cases that food movement actors and organizations are convening and connecting across silos and constantly changing their relationships within their respective policy fields. Further, agendas in the food movement are multifaceted (e.g., liveable wages for farmers, reduced environmental pollution, food justice). Therefore, actors are not looking for an opportunity to achieve a one-time policy "ask." They want to be engaged as governance actors able to influence long-term systems change.

Because social movement actors, regardless of their power and engagement in governance, are embedded in policy fields, all collaborative or adversarial political relationships are avenues of democratic change. The cases demonstrate that food movement actors are becoming savvy at working on multiple fronts to advance their cases and using the power to convene to reconfigure the policy field. This makes the traditional inside-outside narrative of social movements less useful as a conceptualization of how change is made. Further, it challenges the orientations put forth earlier in the paper (reformist, transformative, and alternative) since, by definition, social movement actors are not "outside" actors waiting for an opportunity but players in a relational field who simultaneously have a multiplicity of types of relationships, no matter what the orientation. Therefore, while we pinpoint each case in our continuum in one location at this moment, we are suggesting that these policy fields are dynamic over space, over scale, and over time.

6.0 Conclusion

More and more, food movements are seeking to have a wider, systemic impact via governance arrangements. As such, we have developed and applied a framework for conceptualizing movement actors' roles in governance arrangements, emphasizing the relationship between issue framing, movement orientation, and use of power (and its multi-dimensionality) within political economic contexts. As power is experienced and exercised through relationships, we use interactive governance theory and the concepts of relational and policy fields to guide our analysis. Further, because we are community-based researchers engaging in participatory research, we aim to merge theory and practice to show how the continuum can help actors think strategically about how food systems are currently governed, other governance options, and how they might influence food system governance going forward.

Using the continuum as an analytical tool, we find that governance engagement takes a variety of forms, with a main theme of social movement actors attempting to change processes, not just outcomes. Applying the framework reveals three insights. First, power constellations can be initially "light" or "dense," requiring different types of power on the part of food movements in order to engage. Second, we find that food movements use a distinct type of power, which we call the power to convene, that enables them to leverage other powers, prefigure policymaking processes to align with their values, and increase the capacity of food movement actors. In some ways, this power can be thought of as "building the table," both structurally and discursively, rather than being "invited to the table." Third, using the power to convene may allow movement actors to reshape policy fields so they can seek longer-term governance arrangements that address the complexity of food systems. Overall, the power to convene can shift the policy field and, from a relational perspective, bring "inside" and "outside" interests into the same space. Convening can build on public interests and connect other movement actors, creating new dialogues and relationships with the state. In this way, convening blurs the boundary between institutionalized and noninstitutionalized, or inside and outside, actors. These insights challenge the traditional "inside" versus "outside" narrative of social movements and position food movements within shifting policy fields.

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