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UNLOCKING SOCIO-POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF ALTERNATIVE FOOD NETWORKS THROUGH A HYBRID GOVERNANCE APPROACH. HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE BRUSSELS-CAPITAL REGION AND TORONTO

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Unlocking Socio-Political Dynamics of Alternative Food Networks through a Hybrid Governance Approach

Highlights from the Brussels-Capital Region and Toronto

Alessandra Manganelli

Dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Engineering Science (PhD): Architecture and the Degree of Doctor of Sciences (VUB)

Supervisor:
Prof. Frank Moulaert

Co-supervisor:
Prof. Bas van Heur

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The back cover image of this manuscript was made by the illustrator and friend Cristina Chiappinelli

To my father

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March 2019

SAMENVATTING

Het Deblokkeren van de Sociaal-Politieke Dynamiek van Alternatieve Voedselnetwerken door middel van een Hybride Bestuursaanpak.

Hoogtepunten uit het Brussels-Hoofdstedelijke Gewest en Toronto.

Dit proefschrift gaat in op de alledaagsheid van lokale voedselinitiatieven en hun uitdagingen, en richt zich op het beheer van alternatieve voedselnetwerken (AFN's). Het doel is het identificeren, conceptualiseren en empirisch onderzoeken van de kritische governance spanningen die bepalend zijn voor de ontstaansgeschiedenis en de levensloop van alternatieve voedselinitiatieven. Hiertoe ontwikkelt dit proefschrift een Hybride Governance Approach (HGA) die drie soorten bestuursspanningen identificeert - namelijk organisatorische, bron- en institutionele spanningen - en de onderlinge relaties tussen deze spanningen analyseert in verschillende case-studies van lokale voedselinitiatieven in het Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest (BHG). Namelijk de oprichting en het opschalen van een Community Supported Agriculture Network genaamd GASAP (Groupes d'Achat Solidaires de l'Agriculture Paysanne); de multi-agent governance van de toegang tot land voor de stadslandbouw en de schaalvergroting in het BHG, met inbegrip van de totstandbrenging van relaties met het achterland; en de nagestreefde en omstreden dynamiek van het institutionaliseren van alternatieve voedselsystemen door de ontwikkeling en implementatie van lokaal voedselbeleid. Een internationale casestudy - Toronto - wordt onderzocht om te leren van overeenkomsten en verschillen in de manier waarop lokale voedselnetwerken de spanningen in het voedselbeleidstraject van de twee stadsregio's ervaren en aanpakken.

Om Hybride Governance (opnieuw) te theoretiseren en de belangrijkste spanningen op het gebied van governance die AFN's ondervinden te conceptualiseren, neemt dit proefschrift diverse literatuur als basis. De analytisch-methodologische benadering van dit proefschrift verbindt de agrofood- en voedselplanningsdebatten met studies over sociale

innovatie en collectieve actie, socio-institutionele benaderingen van governance, politieke economie en ecologische perspectieven op governance. Deze multidisciplinaire aanpak biedt een geschikte theoretische lens om de agency van AFN's en hun sociaal-politieke dynamiek te onderzoeken. De analyse laat zien hoe in de ruimtelijk-temporele reproductie van AFN's, diverse bestuursvormen en coördinatiewijzen (d.w.z. bottom-up solidariteit, hiërarchische, marktgerichte, genetwerkte) naast elkaar bestaan en op verschillende manieren met elkaar interageren. Spanningen vloeien voort uit zowel conflicten tussen diverse organisatorische of institutionele logica's, als uit mogelijkheden voor samenwerking en co-constructie van empowerment en ondersteunende organisatiemodaliteiten en institutionele structuren.

De empirische bevindingen van dit proefschrift helpen om de tegenstrijdigheden en dilemma's te ontrafelen waarmee AFN's worden geconfronteerd in hun dynamische reproductie. De noodzaak om met hun eigen ruimtelijk-materiële groei om te gaan, het veiligstellen van de noodzakelijke materieel-operationele middelen, waaronder landbouwgrond om (alternatieve) voedselsystemen te voeden, alsmede de noodzaak om met vaak tegenstrijdige multi-level socio-institutionele omgevingen om te gaan, behoren tot de belangrijkste factoren van bestuursspanningen in AFNs. De analyse is ook aandachtig voor de uitkomsten van de spanningen in het erloop van lokale voedselinitiatieven en houdt dus ook rekening met de organisatorische strategieën en de zelfreflectie- en co-learningdynamiek die AFN's hanteren om de ervaren spanningen het hoofd te bieden of deze in duurzame richtingen te kanaliseren. Als gevolg daarvan zijn de spanningen op het gebied van governance ook een voedingsbodem voor co-learning en co-constructie van bottom-linked vormen van beleidsuitvoering in de uitdaging om alternatieve voedselsystemen te implementeren.

De HGA wil een generatief methodologisch kader zijn, dat in staat is om reflecties en bewustwording te stimuleren onder wetenschappers van de voedselbeweging, maar ook onder mensen uit de praktijk die streven naar meer faciliterende bestuurssystemen. Het is een uitnodiging om verbanden te zien tussen kritische governance strijd en spanningen, die helpen om deze aan te pakken, te valoriseren en ervan te leren. Het streeft

er ook naar om bruggen te slaan over geografische contexten evenals over collectieve actie-initiatieven op diverse gebieden, om gemeenschappelijke strijd te ontwarren en manieren te bieden om transformatieve sociaal-politieke actie te realiseren.

SUMMARY

Unlocking Socio-Political Dynamics of Alternative Food Networks through a Hybrid Governance Approach.

Highlights from the Brussels-Capital Region and Toronto.

Embarking on a journey into the everydayness of local food initiatives and their challenges, this dissertation focuses on the governance of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs). The aim is to identify, conceptualize and empirically investigate the critical **governance tensions** conditioning the genesis and the life-course of alternative food initiatives. To this purpose this dissertation develops a **Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA)** which identifies three types of governance tensions - i.e. **organizational, resource and institutional** - and analyses the interrelations among them in different case-studies of local food initiatives in the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR). Namely, the establishment and scaling out of a Community Supported Agriculture Network called GASAP (*Groupes d'Achat Solidaires de l'Agriculture Paysanne*); the multi-agent governance of the access to land for urban agriculture and its scaling out in the BCR, including the establishment of relations with its hinterland; and the aspired as well as contested dynamics of institutionalizing alternative food systems through the development and implementation of local food policies. A mirror international case study - Toronto - is investigated to learn from similarities and differences in the ways local food networks experience and address governance tensions in the two city-regions' food policy trajectories.

To (re)theorise Hybrid Governance and to conceptualise key governance tensions experienced by AFNs, this dissertation capitalises from different strands of literature. The analytical-methodological approach of this dissertation connects the *agro-food and food planning debates* with studies on *social innovation and collective action*, *socio-institutional approaches to governance*, *political economy and ecology perspectives on governance*. This multi-disciplinary approach provides an appropriate theoretical lens to examine the agency of AFNs and their socio-political

dynamics. The analysis reveals how in the spatial-temporal reproduction of AFNs, diverse governance forms and modes of coordination (i.e. bottom-up solidarity, hierarchical, market-oriented, networked) co-exist and interact with each other in different ways. Tension results from both, conflict between diverse organizational or institutional logics, as well as from opportunities for cooperation and co-construction of empowering and supportive organizational modalities and institutional structures.

The empirical findings of this dissertation help to unravel the contradictions and dilemmas that AFNs face in their dynamic reproduction. The need to cope with their own spatial-material growth, to secure necessary material-operational resources, among which arable land to feed (alternative) food systems, as well as the necessity to deal with often contradictory multi-level socio-institutional environments, are among the key factors of governance tension in AFNs. The analysis is also attentive to the outcomes of the governance tensions in the life-course of local food initiatives, and thus also takes into account the organizational strategies and self-reflexive and co-learning dynamics put into place by AFNs to cope with the experienced tensions or to channel them into sustainable directions. As a result, governance tensions are also breeding grounds for co-learning and co-construction of bottom-linked modes of policy delivery in the challenge to implement alternative food systems.'

The HGA intends to be a generative methodological framework, able to stimulate reflections and awareness among food movement scholars as well as practitioners who aspire for more enabling governance systems. It is an invitation to observe connections among critical governance struggles and tensions, helping to address, valorise and learn from them. It also aspires to build bridges across geographical contexts as well as across collective action initiatives in diverse fields, in order to disentangle common struggles as well as provide ways forwards to realise transformative socio-political action.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEE = Alliance Emploi-Environnement

AFN(s) = Alternative Food Network(s)

BBP = Boeren Bruxsel Paysans

BCR = Brussels-Capital Region

CSA(s) = Community Supported Agriculture(s)

DDH =Début des Haricots

GASAP = Groupes d'Achat solidaires de l'Agriculture Paysanne

ERDF = European Regional Development Funds

HGA = Hybrid Governance Approach

NIE = New Institutional Economics

IBGE = Institut Bruxellois pour la Gestion de l'Environnement

TFPC = Toronto Food Policy Council

TUG = Toronto Urban Growers

VLM = Vlaamse Landmaatschappij

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of the dissertation, research questions and objectives

Enabling sustainable and healthy food systems is essential for the social and ecological wellbeing of our planet. Being tightly connected to human, animal, and the ecological system's health, food system questions are nowadays raising the attention of scholars, practitioners as well as concerned people. Indeed, there is an increased recognition that our dominant food system is malfunctioning (Marsden and Morley 2014). On the one hand, mainstream industrialised farming systems are leading to resource depletion, as they favour monoculture, agricultural intensification (Al-Kaisi and Lowery 2017), commodification and short-term productivity-oriented farming practices (IPES-Food 2018). On the other hand, food insecurity conditions persist, as cheap processed food remains easily accessible and affordable at the expenses of higher quality and nutritionally adequate food (Monteiro *et al.* 2012). Overall, corporate control over the food chains exercised by big agro-food players poses democratic questions related to who has the right to decide the ways in which food is produced and distributed (Claeys 2015). If these systemic challenges create obstacles to a radical reform of our food system (De Schutter 2017), they also provide incentives and opportunities to trigger change and implement new practices and modes of food system's governance.

In fact, seeds of change are visible in the rise of alternative food initiatives, called Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) in this dissertation. AFNs are movements that aspire for different ways of realising and governing the food chain. By devising place-based or locally embedded food systems, AFNs struggle to implement more democratic and accountable modes of food system governance (Hassanein 2003; Renting *et al.* 2012). As they build up and go through their scalar dynamics[1], AFNs face key socio-

[1] In this dissertation the term **"scalar dynamics"** refers to the socio-spatial reproduction of AFNs. This involves not only the scaling out of AFN organizations, i.e. the increase in the number producers, consumers, actors involved, material resources required, etc. Besides, it also encompasses ambitions of AFNs to communicate and foster alternative food values, to transform existing institutions and modes of governance and to build enabling institutions across spatial-organizational spheres and institutional scales. Contradictions, struggles, but also opportunities for co-production may surge between alternative food initiatives and

political challenges. These challenges include struggles to ensure access and use of land and other key resources to feed and implement alternative food systems, the need to cope with their endogenous growth dynamics, as well as attempts to capacitate bottom-linked multi-scalar institutions which sustain alternative food systems.

As this dissertation argues, a re-conceptualisation of the governance of AFNs is urgently needed to account for the key governance challenges AFNs experience in their attempt to realise transformative socio-political as well as food system change. To this purpose, this dissertation mobilises a **Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA)**, which re-defines and re-conceptualise the critical governance challenges experienced by AFNs as *hybrid governance tensions*. Originally introduced by Neo-Institutional Economics (NIE), and in particular transaction costs theories (see Chapter 2), Hybrid Governance conceptualisations have so far neglected the inherently socio-political nature of real-life governance arenas. Indeed, in its original formulation Hybrid Governance forms are conceived as an intermediaries between markets and hierarchies and mostly applied to the study of economic transactions (Williamson 1989) in public or private markets (Menard 2004; Van Huylenbroeck *et al.* 2009). These approaches have overlooked the role of diverse agencies, their power relations as well as their embeddedness in formal and informal institutions which shape collective action in real-life governance dynamics.

With a twofold ambition, theoretical as well as empirical, this work aspires to build a novel and socio-politically oriented reconceptualization of Hybrid Governance while showing real-life struggles of and opportunities for AFNs to trigger socio-political change.

This dissertation defines AFNs as social innovations, reacting against the shortcomings of mainstream food systems - perceived as unjust and unsustainable (Morgan and Sonnino 2010) - and devising alternative and more empowering modes of organizing and governing the food chain

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the often adverse dynamics of the socio-institutional environment in which AFNs are embedded (this may include state re-scaling processes, unfavorable regulatory or political regimes, but also promising opportunities for building cooperative modes of governance that sustain AFNs, etc.). To account for these dialectics between the reproduction of AFNs, their scalar aspirations and strategies, and the co-evolving socio-institutional arena, a dynamic and process-based notion of scale is more suitable than a pre-defined and hierarchical notion.

(Renting *et al.* 2012; Marsden 2013). Encompassing initiatives of diverse forms such as urban agriculture(s), consumer-producers networks, food security and sovereignty organizations of diverse types (see Chapter 2 – section 2.2 for a definition of AFNs), local food networks are driven by long term transformative aspirations of socio-ecological change, or a "promise of difference", as authors such as Le Velly (2018) underline. This "promise of difference" is fostered by the recognition of a problem, or an unsatisfied need for more ecologically and socially sustainable food systems (De Schutter 2014, Marsden 2013, Sage 2014). Yet, in their life-course and development, AFNs are also confronted with their own material-organizational challenges - such as the need to secure operational resources, to build the necessary infrastructure to run alternative food projects, to animate the daily functions of their networks, to practically pursue their objectives of socio-political change, and so on. In other words, these initiatives need to cope with their socio-spatial specificity, including the dynamics of the socio-political environments in which they are embedded and that is a constituent part of their governance world. These factors inevitably impact the everyday life of alternative food initiatives, and therefore, their types of agency, self-organizing and scalar dynamics.

To account for these dialectics between long term aspirations, collective engagement for food system change, and the day-to-day practices and modes of implementation of alternative food systems - a socio-politically and socio-ecologically sensitive approach to governance becomes essential. By re-conceptualizing the governance of AFNs as Hybrid Governance, this dissertation aims at building an approach capable of answering the following **research questions**:

- ***a)*** *what are the key governance tensions AFNs experience as they originate, develop, diversely go through scalar dynamics?*
- ***b)*** *in what ways these tensions relate to one another - e.g. by triggering, reinforcing, or appeasing each other?*
- ***c)*** *what are these tensions leading to, i.e. what are the outcomes as well as the modalities to overcome or valorise the tensions, learning from them and bringing them into sustainable directions?*

By addressing these questions this dissertation aims to tackle **three research objectives**. First, it aims to advance a burgeoning debate on the

governance of AFNs by developing a novel perspective on socio-political dynamics, capable of depicting the governance reality of AFNs and to pinpoint the key challenges these networks experience. Second, by analysing (sub)case studies of alternative food initiatives within the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR), this dissertation intends to pursue a comprehensive understanding of the ways governance tensions are experienced and dealt with, especially by AFN actors, in the specific context of the BCR, also highlighting the outcomes these tensions are leading to. Third, this work aims at fostering comparative analysis with a mirror case study, i.e. Toronto, to raise further empirical evidence on the role and outcomes of key governance tensions in the food movement.
The sequel of this Chapter is devoted to showing how the ***Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA)*** - namely the analytical-methodological framework developed in this work - addresses the above questions and contributes to meet these objectives. Before explaining the conceptual steps that have led to the definition of three types of governance tensions (organizational, resource and institutional), I explain how the idea of using a Hybrid Governance analysis for the study of the governance of alternative food initiatives grew.

1.2 The origins of a Hybrid Governance analysis on AFNs. A personal exploratory trajectory

The idea of a Hybrid Governance analysis on AFNs, and more broadly a personal drive and passion for this research topic, largely germinated from the master thesis I conducted in the year 2013, when I was hosted as a research trainee by the *Planning and Development Unit* of the KULeuven, led by my supervisor Prof. Frank Moulaert. Trained as an urban planner, in my master thesis - titled "*Nurturing urban development. The impact of urban agriculture in the Brussels-Capital Region*" - I investigated urban gardening and agriculture initiatives in Brussels, trying to understand the spontaneous self-organizing strategies of these initiatives, but also the existing relations and mutual interactions between the community gardens and the Municipal and Regional planning and policy systems active in the BCR. Through my fieldwork explorations and discussions with my supervisor, I soon understood how even small-scale local initiatives, such as collective gardens, are very often embedded in a 'wider' relational

network of diverse actors - such as land owners, region-wide urban gardening networks, Municipal or Regional planning and policy authorities, etc. - fostering more or less formal/institutionalized coordination and regulatory mechanisms. But possibly even more informally developed and respected modes of coordination. Examples of these mechanisms are arrangements over the use of land facilitating or hampering urban gardening, modalities to provide material infrastructures and other needed resources for the management of collective gardens, modes of cooperation and decision-making within AFNs, and so on. I therefore realized that this wider constellation of actors, organizational modalities and (formal or informal) institutional relations, largely shape the everyday existence of the initiatives but are also the outcome of their agency, interaction, agreements, etc. **Figure 1.a** below, extracted from my master thesis, illustrates the conceptual schemes through which I tried to represent and make sense of such relations, in this specific case mapping governance networks behind the implementation of community gardens under Agenda 21 programs.

Thus, my master thesis explorations helped me to better understand important features of the governance reality of alternative food initiatives, that later, in my PhD work I would conceptualise as hybrids of different forms of governance and modes of coordination. Thus, it became my ambition to pursue this research interest further, investigating in what ways Hybrid Governance interactions and tensions sustain or rather stymie AFNs in their search for socio-political as well as food system change.

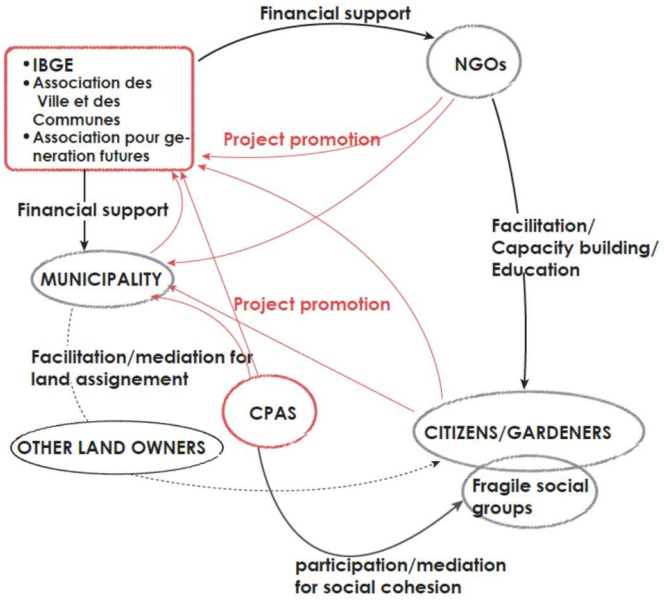

Figure 1.a Conceptual scheme reproducing the governance relations behind the implementation of Community Gardens under Agenda 21 programs in the BCR.

Source: Manganelli 2013



Figure 1.b Picture and sketch of the "*Jardins Participatifs d'Etterbeek*", a Community Garden of 2700 sqm set up in the Municipality of Etterbeek under an Agenda 21 program.

Source: Manganelli 2013

1.3 At the outset of a Hybrid Governance Approach. Dialoguing with the agro-food and food planning literatures

Gaining from the empirical insights acquired through my master thesis, and the Strategic Spatial Planning course taught by Prof. Moulaert, my further step in the first year of this PhD project was to dive deeply into the agro-food and food planning debates in order to identify strands of

contributions this PhD research could dialogue with and build upon. Thus, the purpose was to grasp the ways the current agro-food debate dealt with governance challenges of AFNs. In particular in the first year of my PhD study I examined: **a)** what approaches and conceptual lenses these literatures mobilize to address the governance of AFNs, especially in their dynamics of scaling out or up; **b)** whether and how these literatures have already conceptualized hybridity in the governance of AFNs and what aspects were missing for a fully-fledged analysis.

I soon realized that a coherent multi-dimensional conceptualization of hybridity in the governance of AFNs was missing in the debate, thus constituting a potential area for further research. In fact, the concept of *"hybrid"* is mainly used in the 'conventionalization' debate on local food systems. Examining the modes of organizing of AFNs, a number of authors - largely from the field of rural sociology - began to realize that 'alterity' in AFNs is not a pure concept (Feagan and Henderson 2009; Goodman 2004; Hinrichs 2000; Kirwan 2004; Ibery and Maye 2005; Le Velly and Dufeu 2016; Morgan, Mardsen and Murdoch 2006; Raynolds 2000; Sonnino and Mardsen 2006). As these authors posit, interpenetrations - dynamically addressed as hybridizations - between what can be defined as alternative and conventional types of social relations are reality in the modes of operation of AFNs. These 'hibridities' and dialectic relations are visible in diverse types of "alternative" food networks. A good example can be found in the rapid scaling up of the organic and fair trade sectors as globalized industries, reproducing modes of operation of conventional food chains, yet working hard to respect their core values, as both academic (Allen and Kovach 2000; Goodman 2004) as well as popularized publications (Pollan 2006) show. Furthermore, dialectic relations between instrumental-market-oriented modes of behaviour on the one hand and socially embedded ones on the other, also exist among smaller scale or bottom-up types of AFNs, as authors such as Hinrichs (2000) show concerning direct consumers-producers' markets or Feagan and Henderson (2009) illustrate in the case of Community Supported Agriculture initiatives. These analyses are linked to the debate on the 'local' scale in food systems' re-localization practices (Allen 2010; Dupuis and Goodman 2005; Dupuis *et al.* 2006; Hinrichs 2003). Rather than fetishizing the local as an absolute, pure and inherently positive category, thus falling into a "defensive" type of localism (Hinrichs 2003), these authors recommend characterizing the local scale in

its dynamic interactions with multiple spatial scales - local to global - constituting the food systems.

Although not explicitly addressing governance, these and other authors turned towards more relational, situated and pragmatic analytical perspectives to studying alternative food initiatives. They also introduced ontological positions to examine the 'embeddedness' of AFNs[2] (Sonnino and Marsden 2006) and their multi-scalarity. This debate relates to some of the important dimensions of the approach to governance fostered by this dissertation, in particular to the dialectic tensions among different modes of coordination (i.e. solidarity, market oriented, hierarchical, networked) articulating the *agency*[3] of AFNs and their scalar dynamics, which is at the outset of the basic definition of governance developed in this work (see Chapter 2 - Sub-section 2.3.1).

The research process identified a recent strand in the Canadian scholarly debate furthering the analysis of the agency of AFNs (Campbell and MacRae 2013; Fridman and Lenters 2013; Levkoe 2011, 2014; Levkoe and Wakefield 2014; Mount 2012; Mount *et al*. 2013; Nelson *et al*. 2013; Stroink and Nelson 2013). These scholars foster a time-dynamic look at the life-course of AFN organizations, examining how both, resources needs of AFNs (i.e. need for land, logistics, funding, operational infrastructures, human capital, etc.) as well the value systems of AFNs may be affected by their endogenous growth dynamics (Mount 2012, see also Stahlbrand 2017). Although these contributions make steps ahead in highlighting organizational and resource governance struggles of AFNs, they miss relevant socio-political dimensions of agency and institutionalization

[2] "Embeddedness" is a notion introduced by Karl Polanyi (1944) to foster a more substantive analysis of economic relations, as not happening in a vacuum but situated or 'embedded' in a substratum of social relations and institutions. The notion was further developed by the economic sociologist Mark Granovetter (1985) to argue for the embeddedness of economic action into social structures.

[3] Decades of debate in social sciences have provided multiple conceptualizations of and methodological approaches to '*agency*', both as a standalone analytical category as well as in its dialectic relations/interpenetrations with *structure and institutional mediation* (Emirbayer and Miche 1998). This dissertation refers to the strand of studies in urban-regional sciences that defines Agency as "meaningful human behaviour, individual or collective, that makes a significant difference in the natural and/or social worlds, either by direct, unmediated action or through the mediation of tools, machines, *dispositifs*, institutions, or other affordances" (Moulaert *et al.* 2016, p. 169). Agency and institutions are mutually related, since institutions (such as rules, norms, codes guiding behaviours) shape, constrain or enable social action; at the same time institutions can be subject to redefinition, more or less radical or incremental change through collective agency.

dynamics of AFNs (Moulaert *et al.* 2016). Adopting complex systems approaches, such as the transition framework or adaptive governance approaches, most of these contributions lack a closer socio-political analysis of how the transformative aspirations of AFNs confront with existing dominant institutions - such as mode of operation of the multi-scalar state, planning systems impacting on the land-resource accessibility, disempowering market regulations favouring corporate food system players, and so on - and how this affects the organizational modes of AFNs. Thus, a closer definition and empirical analysis of these types of tension affecting the agential-organizational dynamics of AFNs, was recognized as a research gap in the literature review process.

Searching for a socio-politically sensitive definition of the critical governance tensions experienced by AFNs, the work-in-progress of this dissertation found further inspiration from other strands of the food debate. In particular, contributions on land-resource access for urban agriculture (Adams *et al.* 2015; Angotti 2015; Purcell and Tyman 2014; Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014; Wekerle and Classens 2015), as well as urban food governance and planning (Blay-Palmer 2009; Cohen and Reynolds 2014; Ilieva 2016; Mah and Thang 2013; Mansfield and Mendes 2013; Mendes 2008; Morgan 2009, 2015; Moragues-Faus and Morgan 2015; Rocha and Lessa 2009) were identified. Overall these literatures look at how AFNs struggle to secure land and related material resources and face institutionalization challenges when entering city-regional governance arenas (Moragues-Faus and Morgan 2015). Being more socio-politically oriented, this field of research and practices suggests the importance of relation building across diverse professional and organizational spheres (Mendes 2008) and displays the multi-scalarity of institutional systems, such as planning, state or market institutions, conditioning but also challenging the transformative potential of AFNs (Rocha and Lessa 2009).

The research process capitalized from the cross-analysis of these strands of literature that taken together, hint at different features of the governance tensions identified in this study. Yet, a full analytical explanation of the interrelations among the tensions was missing in the literature. Thus, a further step was to interrogate other strands of governance literature in order to conceptualize these interconnections.

1.4 The Hybrid Governance Approach as an analytical-methodological framework

1.4.1 Drawing insights from multiple governance approaches

The development of the analytical framework proceeded with identifying and reviewing different governance approaches, putting them into dialogue among each other in order to: **a)** define analytically the key types of governance tensions characterizing AFNs; **b)** show how these tensions relate to one another and together form the governance dynamics of the AFNs[4].

Three main strands of governance literatures were identified: a) **Social Innovation and collective action perspectives on governance** (García *et al*. 2012; Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013); b) **Sociological-institutionalist, multi-scalar approaches to governance** (González and Healey 2005; Healey 2006); c) **political economy and socio-ecological approaches to governance** (Swyngedouw 2000, 2010; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006).

Based on a socio constructivist perspective (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003; Healey 1999, 2004), *sociological, institutionalist, multi-scalar approaches to governance* allowed to distinguish between organizations and institutions and to define institutions as "frameworks of norms, rules and practices which structure action in social contexts" (Healey 2006, p.302; see also Chapter 2 - Section 2.3.3). Thus, according to this perspective, institutions are both formal modes of operating of state or market structures, as well as informal, customary socially embedded norms and codes of behaviour of community-based initiatives. As shown in Chapter 2, this distinction and definition were pivotal to characterize organizational and institutional types of governance tensions and articulate their interrelations. *Political economy and socio-ecological approaches to governance* supported this distinction and articulation. Indeed this strand of literature helped to theorize the ways by which multi-scalar institutional logics - such as modes of working of the state or market institutions - impact on the reproduction of alternative food organizations, and their socio-ecological metabolism (including access to land, logistics, human capital and other material resources feeding alternative food systems), involving different types of

[4] This type of framework can be defined as a meta-theoretical framework, combining different theories and connecting the methodology to the theories (Moulaert *et al.* 2016).

governance tensions. Capitalizing on almost three decades of studies on community and territorial development (Moulaert *et al.* 2017), contributions on *social innovation and collective action* were instrumental to theorize the (collective) agency and self-organizing dynamics of local food initiatives. In particular these contributions helped to cast light on how value systems, socio-political transformative ambitions, but also short term needs for resource and organizational sustainability, shape the ways local food *actors*[5] self-organize, build alliances, and diversely scale out or up. The search for empowering state and multi-level institutional structures, also with the purpose to secure access to resources, is part of the governance dynamics of socially innovative initiatives (García *et al.* 2012; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2007, 2010). As shown in Chapter 2, by combining these strands of literature the analytical framework arrived at a working definition of three types of governance tensions in AFNs - organizational, resource and institutional - and articulated the dynamic interplay among them.

1.4.2 Bridging theory with empirical case study analysis

In order to bridge the theoretical lenses of the approach with the empirical analysis, categories were developed based on the **working definitions** of the types of governance tensions, **assumptions** about the '***factors of tension***' i.e. the factors triggering the different types of governance tensions and about the ways governance tensions are practically experienced by AFNs (the 'nature of the tensions'). These assumptions were made on the basis of the theoretical lenses of the HGA and formulated in Table 2.1, detailed in Chapter 2. The basic definition of the three types of tension follows below. However, Chapter 2 – sub-section

[5] In the different Chapters/Papers composing this dissertation the term ***actor(s)*** is used to refer to all agents (e.g. grass-root organizations, land owners, state or other agencies, market agents) exercising a significant role in the governance of dynamics of AFNs. Due to the focus this dissertation gives to 'organizational' governance tensions, the term organization may prevail in certain Chapters and sections of the dissertation. However, this study discards a rigid/functionalist perspective on organizations. Besides, it recognizes the agency behind the operation and reproduction of alternative food organizations or other types of organizations (e.g. city divisions, local administrations, etc). In the text the term actor is sometimes used as substitute of organization, thus, for instance, the Toronto food security organization *FoodShare* is a food organization but also an actor of the Toronto food movement.

2.3.4 provides a more extensive explanation of the tensions as well as an overview of the categories.

> **"Organizational governance tensions"**: tensions triggering the mobilisation of actors, as well as tensions in the governance of bottom-up AFN organizations, as they develop, requiring greater human, social and material bases (people involved, natural and financial resources) and being ushered to search for more efficiency in their decision-making structure.
> **"Resource governance tensions"**: tensions in securing access to key resources, e.g. land, finance, infrastructures, logistics, human capital, and related material resources.
> **"Institutional governance tensions":** frictions and divergences in value frames, regulatory practices and behavioural routines between diverse actors of the food and socio-institutional system.

Box 1.1 Working definition of the three types of Governance Tensions

The empirical strategy makes use of the **case-study** methodology. Thus, this dissertation aligns with the methodological approaches that consider the use of case-studies as a method to build knowledge through in-depth qualitative research, based on thick analyses of complex socio-spatial phenomena (Yin 2009). Furthermore, this dissertation considers empirical investigation and theory building as mutually interactive and reinforcing (Moulaert 2011; Moulaert and Van Dyck 2013). This valorises the possibility to develop assumptions from the theory but also to inform/refine/re-adjust the theory on the basis of the empirical insights. As a consequence, this dissertation believes in the possibility to develop some generalization from the case-study analysis (Flyvbjerg 2006).
The working definitions of the three types of governance tension were used as a methodological tool to identify the specific (sub)case-studies within the contexts of the BCR and Toronto. Indeed, each type of governance tensions was used as an entryway and criteria to identify the different (sub)case-study. Therefore, the expectation was that each case-study could inform the analysis about how the different types of governance tensions manifest empirically. Thus, '*organizational governance tensions*' constituted the entry point to the analysis of the

Brussels-based Community Supported Agriculture network GASAP (Solidarity Purchasing Groups for Peasant Agriculture), developed in Chapter 3. The empirical investigation focused on the ways in which governance tensions become explicit and interact among each other all along the life course of this AFN organization. The study on the GASAP observed governance tensions as triggers of types of **self-reflexive behaviour** in the life-course of this organization, that is to say the tendency of the GASAP actors to self-reflect upon and re-examine their own governance practices at the light of the experienced tensions. '*Resource governance tensions*' stirred the analysis of the ways access to land for urban agriculture and scalar dynamics are governed by diverse actors in the BCR. The inquiry, developed in Chapter 4, focused on how key actors self-organized and associated (organizational governance tensions), attempting to address land-resource constraints (resource governance tensions) and triggering certain types of institutional responses to the land-resource governance in vigour (institutional governance tensions). Finally, '*Institutional governance tensions*' constituted entryways to a more zoomed-out analysis of the development and implementation of local food policies in Toronto and the BCR (Chapter 5). This study brought to light **reflexivity and co-learning** as key conceptual lenses to analyse contested modes of institutionalization of alternative food systems through time. Thus, in this Chapter governance tensions were used as criteria to identify milestones and stages in the food movement and policy trajectories of the two city-regions. The analysis highlighted how reflexive behaviours - thus the capacity to re-consider, or diversely re-examine governance practices - and co-learning dynamics - thus the actual struggles to scale out or up food system principles across organizational and institutional spheres - emerged, producing certain outcomes in terms of institutionalization trajectories. Governance tensions were interpreted by this study as triggers but also as breeding grounds for reflexive capacities and co-learning behaviours in key actors of the food movements.

Although dealing with different types of case-study (a food network organization, a multi-actor network dealing with the access to land, a comparison between local food policy trajectories), a common way to address the different case-studies has been through spatial-temporal trajectory reconstruction (Martinelli *et al*. 2013; Moulaert *et al*. 2016). This

was instrumental in reconstructing the ways in which governance tensions emerged and manifested in different cases of AFNs where scalar dynamics were visible. Thus, overall the interactions among the governance tensions and the outcomes produced by the tensions in the trajectories of the different case studies were the focus of analysis (Yin 2009). This way the empirical investigation could reveal the diverse degrees and modalities by which governance tensions emerged and manifested, producing certain outcomes in the specificity of each case study.

1.4.3 Going to the field. Practical methods of data collection

The type of research questions raised by this dissertation – all meant to pursue a fine grained understanding of complex governance dynamics in the selected case-studies - determined the choice of the practical methods of data collection, which are based on the use of **multiple qualitative methods** of analysis (Silverman 2015; Van den Broeck 2015).
As specified in the empirical Chapters 3 to 5, the process of data collection for each case study mainly consisted of two methodological steps. First, an '*exploratory analysis*', based on the empirical categories of the framework was carried out. This step generally encompassed a first round of pilot face-to-face semi-structured interviews to key actors, based on a questionnaire developed on the basis of the Hybrid Governance categories. It also involved a preparatory analysis of key documentation such as secondary literature review (most of all for the case of Toronto), policy statements, mission statements of key food organizations, planning and policy documents and reports, as well as reports from key organizations of the food movements. Together with web analysis, this preparatory work was also instrumental to identify the key actors to interview, then proceeding with snowballing techniques (Morgan 2008) and advices from the interviewees to spot other relevant actors as the fieldwork went on. A methodological table, included in the annex of this dissertation, was designed and presented in A1 format. It outlines the categories, the case studies and the key questions of the questionnaire for each case study.
The second *'fine-tuning' step* encompassed a second round of interviews to relevant informers, with additional interviews to key actors already interviewed in the first step, based on the empirical insights gained from the first phase, and thus on a better understanding of the nature of the

tensions in the specific case study. Ethnographic research methods were also adopted (Corbetta 2003), in particular for the analysis of the GASAP organization (Chapter 3). Thus, participant observations at internal meetings of the coordination team, participation to Network's assemblies, visits to GASAP's food baskets deliveries, were carried out.

Figure 1.1 shows the overall timeline of the research process, including the fieldwork steps and writing of the papers/chapters of this PhD.
The interviews were carried out between the end of 2015 and September 2018. The interviews' timeline is reported in the Annex case by case. Except a few exceptions (four questionnaires completed in writing and three skype/telephone interviews), all interviews were conducted face-to-face. On average each interview lasted about 1h15, with a total of 80 interviews. Interviews' transcriptions were carried out step-by-step, as the primary empirical data collection process went on. In other words, rather than transcribing and coding all the interviews at the end of the process, interviews' transcriptions and analyses were carried out every two or three interviews. This was done in order to build empirical knowledge incrementally, and approach each interview, or small set or interviews, with greater awareness.
In Toronto, where I was hosted as a visiting researcher by Prof. Cecilia Rocha, at the Center for Study on Food Security of the Ryerson University - School of Nutrition, the empirical field work was carried out in a period between February and June 2017. However, preparatory documentation analysis was carried out in the months preceding the stay. Due to the close linkages - and in many cases overlaps - between the staff of the Center and key Toronto food movement actors, being at the Center helped me to reconstruct the landscape of food movement actors and establish links with them. A short additional stay of five days was carried out in April 2018, on the way back from the Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers (New Orleans - 3-7 April 2018). This short fine-tuning fieldwork allowed me to carry out additional interviews with historic food movement leaders of Toronto, in particular with the historic and current coordinators of the Toronto Food Policy Council, with the Food Strategy Manager and with a scholar and food movement activist working at the Faculty of Sociology of the Ryerson University. This additional field

work allowed me to 'fine-tune' my understanding of the Toronto's trajectory and thus to improve the first draft of the Chapter 5.

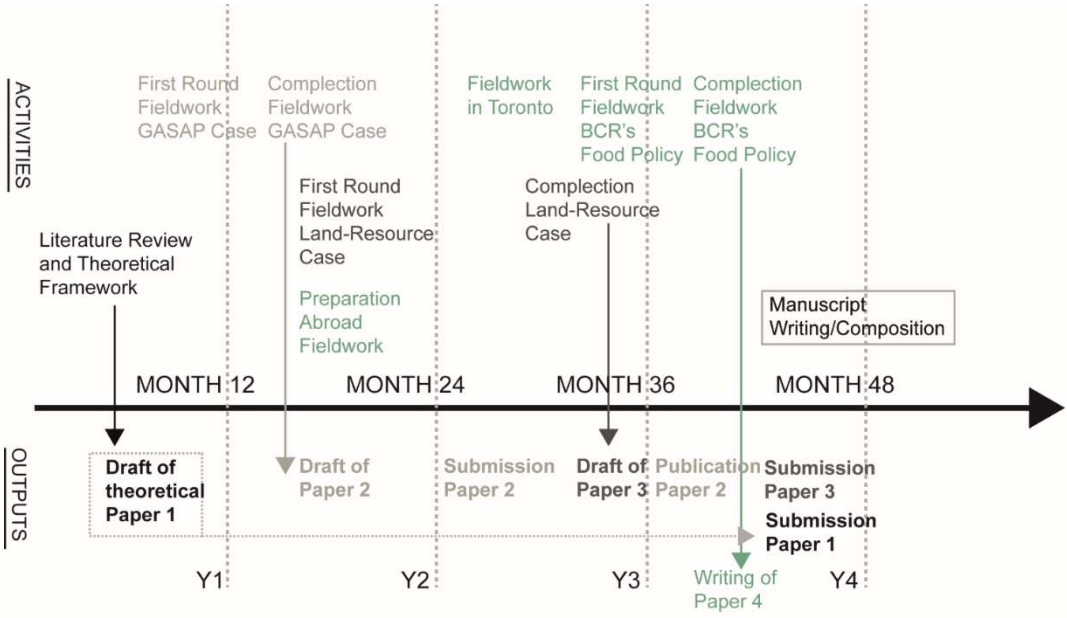

Figure 1.1 Timeline scheme of the Research process

Source: author's elaboration

1.5 Why the BCR and Toronto?

At this point of the introduction the reader may wonder why the choice to focus on the BCR was made and why Toronto was chosen as a mirror case study for a comparative analysis.

The choice of the BCR was largely influenced by a certain familiarity I gained with this context through research for my master thesis. In fact during my master thesis fieldwork established useful contacts with urban agriculture networks such as *Le Début des Haricots*, with actors from Community Supported Agriculture initiatives like the GASAP Network, the CSA '*Ferme du Chant des Cailles*', as well as with actors from the organization called *Terre en Vue*, facilitating the access to land for small scale farmers in Wallonia and recently also in the BCR (see Chapter 4). The contacts I established with these and other initiatives facilitated the reconstruction of the landscape of local food actors and initiatives active

in the Region. Thus, thanks to the background knowledge already built on Brussels, I privileged the BCR as a fertile ground for a deeper analysis of governance dynamics and tensions.
Moreover, living in the context I researched on has been for me an outstanding opportunity to 'experience' in a way some of the challenges and tensions together with the local food actors. Indeed, in this four years' time I had the opportunity to live my daily life close to the (rapidly evolving) local food processes and dynamics of the BCR. This allowed me, for instance, to take part in meetings of associations, discussion fora, symposia and participatory tables for the elaboration of the Brussels' Food Strategy, and so on. Thus, although in terms of research positionality one could privilege the greatest distance of the observer from the object of study, I preferred proximity and valued both the inputs I could gain from these informal exchanges, but also the inevitable moments of messiness and disorientation this created in the research process[6].

Concerning the choice of a comparative 'mirror' case, it should be stressed that from the beginning this research project aimed at developing a comparative analysis with international case studies. The ambition was to grasp similarities and differences in the ways these cases experience, as well as respond to, identified types of governance tensions in their own

[6] Besides these exchanges with and observations from engaged food actors, I should also stress the remarkable inputs that came from a vivacious and in many cases civil society engaged academic debate going on in Brussels/Belgium. Among others, I here recall the series of scholarly *plus* civil society workshops about the Brussels' urban commons organized in Spring 2016 jointly with Prof. Eric Corijn and his team of the Brussels' Academy (VUB). Another valuable moment of collective exchange and reflection was the *Transit Symposium* on the *Paradoxes of Transformative Social Innovation* (*http://www.transitsocialinnovation.eu/blog/paradoxes-of-transformative-social-innovation*, accessed on 29 August 2018) organized in December 2017 by scholars from the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (ULB). This symposium was an occasion to collectively reflect upon the latest research advancements and empirical understandings from studies on Social Innovations. Furthermore, around the topic of sustainable food I recall my participation to the workshop day on social and ecological transitions around food organized at the *Université Catholique de Louvain* (UCL), Centre for Philosophy of Law**,** in October 2015, in the frame of the multi-partner BELSPO project "Food4Sustainability" (https://sites.uclouvain.be/food4sustain/, accessed on 29 August 2018). Not least, I had the great opportunity to take part to the 'EU Food and Farming Forum' organized in Brussels by IPES Food on 29-30 May 2018 (http://www.eu3f.com/, accessed on 29 August 2018). This Forum brought together over 200 active players on sustainable food from around Europe to co-create a roadmap towards a Common Food Policy for Europe. For me this was an unprecedented lesson of collective intelligence democracy in practice.

socio-political and socio-institutional contexts. Thus, once identified the types of governance tension and the specific (sub)cases to investigate in the BCR, an exploratory overview of city-regions involved in food policies and processes around the world was carried out[7]. Toronto was chosen as a promising context in which to explore in particular institutional types of governance tensions. A major factor determining this choice was the longer term food movement trajectory characterizing Toronto, in comparison to other cities, as well the outstanding focus which Toronto food movement actors give to the need to scale out/up sustainable food system principles and actions across city governmental and administrative divisions and government scales. Indeed, as Chapter 5 shows, the origin of the current Toronto food movement goes back to the 1980s, when key food organizations and governing structures began to form. This longer timespan allowed for a better informed analysis of the ways in which ***bottom-linked* organizations** (García *et al.* 2012; Pradel *et al.* 2013) established through time, and the ways in which they engaged in sustaining collaborations among diverse actors of the Toronto food movement and its 'wider' socio institutional landscape. Indeed, the reconstruction of the food policy development process of Toronto proved to be relevant to construe the governance tensions related to the development and implementation local food systems' policies. As a result, useful lessons could be developed from the comparison between the scalar dynamics of actors attempting to co-construct food policy delivery systems in Toronto and in the BCR.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the initial ambition of the field work abroad was to consider other case study contexts (i.e. New York and Detroit) as mirrors for the other two types of governance tensions (i.e. organizational and resource). If this would have led, perhaps, to a greater comprehension of the tensions (see also the Conclusion), the idea was reconsidered as the field work in Toronto went on. Giving up this ambition was due to the risk that the additional amount of empirical data to collect

[7] This was done through secondary literature analysis, as well as documentation retrieved from the web. The overview of urban-regional food movements and policies benefited from the consultation of a range of City networks and platforms, such as the *Milan Urban Food Policy Pact* (http://www.milanurbanfoodpolicypact.org/, accessed on 13 September 2018), the *Growing Food Connections* project (http://growingfoodconnections.org/, accessed on 13 September 2018), or resources available through the *RUAF Foundation* https://www.ruaf.org/, accessed on 13 September 2018).

and elaborate would excessively delay the writing process of the research papers, also keeping in mind that the BCR remains the main case-study context. But once immersed into the four months fieldwork in Toronto, I realized that I could gain valuable understandings from this context around the other types of governance tensions as well. I would have kept these insights on the back of my mind, sharing them through informal conversations with local food actors in Toronto and in the BCR, or through exchanges in seminars or conferences carried out during this PhD research.

1.5.1 A snapshot at the BCR and Toronto contexts

What follows provides a brief background information on the BCR and Toronto. It provides general characteristics of the two city-regions (i.e. location, population, land area etc.), as well as an overview of their local food movements. To this purpose it also makes use of schematic timelines of the key milestones of the local food policy trajectories, as identified in this study. This background information prepares the ground for the empirical analyses presented in Chapters 3 to 5.

Figure 1.2 Schematic map of Belgium

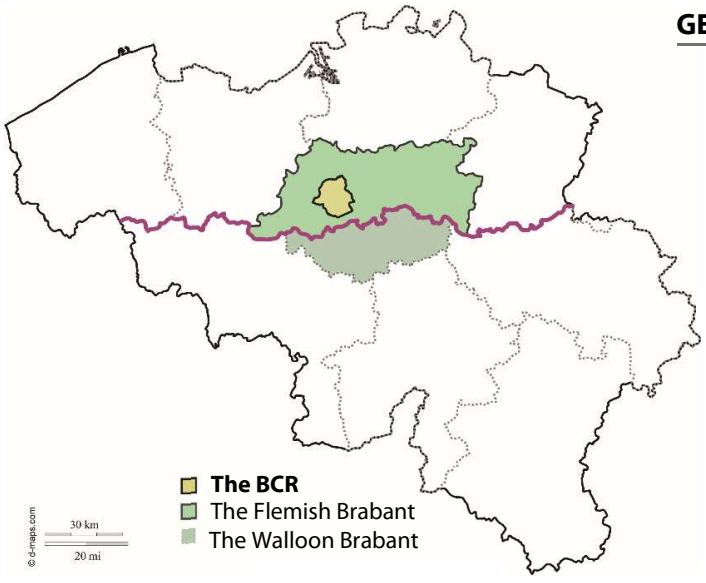

Figure 1.2 Schematic map of Belgium

Source: author's elaboration

THE BCR.
GENERAL FEATURES

POPULATION	1,191,604 inhab. (2017)	
LAND AREA	161 Km²	
DENSITY	7,384	inhab./Km²

Source : Statistics Brussels 2017

Table 1.a The BCR: General features

% of arable land over the total surface

Source: Statistics Brussels – IBSA (2017)

	Arable Land	Grassland and pastures
The BCR	**3.3%**	**1.3%**
The Flemish Brabant	**37.1%**	**19.8%**
The Walloon Brabant	**49.3%**	**14.9%**

Table 1. b Arable land. General characteristics

Urban agriculture and local food initiatives in the BCR: Recent dynamics

As shown in **Table 1. b**, the officially designated agricultural land covers around 3,5% of the total land area, and thus a minor part of the Regional territory (Statistic Brussels – IBSA, 2017)[8]. These agricultural zones are mostly situated in the South-West part of the BCR, in peripheral areas towards the borders with the neighbouring Province of the Flemish Brabant and prevalently within the Municipality of Anderlecht (see Figure 1.4 for a schematic representation). The Regional agency dealing with professional agriculture have spotted around 9 professional farmers within the BCR who mainly practice a conventional type of agriculture, based on grains and cereals, and thus, not oriented to short chain food production for the Region and its inhabitants (Landbouwstudie Vlaamse Rand 2015, communication by the *Cellule Agriculture* of the Cabinet of Economy and Employment). Yet, a new wave of urban agriculture and alternative food organizations popped up as pioneers of alternative food initiatives in the BCR from around the mid-2000s (see Manganelli 2013 and Chapter 5). Nowadays the Region counts around 300 urban gardens with a total surface of approximately 88ha across the 19 Municipalities of the BCR (Lefebvre *et al.* 2018). These gardens - part of them set up farther back in the history of Brussels (Cahn *et al.* 2018) - have settled in spaces characterized by diverse land ownership and land plots' types (e.g. vacant lands, residual spaces in residential areas, at in the margins of railways or other infrastructures, partly in green areas, etc.), on the basis of the

[8] See also Chapter 4 section 4.2.3 for information on territorial and land use features of the BCR in relation to urban agriculture.

contextual opportunities to access land (Manganelli 2013; see also Cahn *et al.* 2018). Alongside citizens' gardens, professionally-oriented or multi-functional forms of urban agriculture have emerged, often through bottom-up practices of re-use of vacant or available land. The CSA farm *Chant des Cailles*, located in the South of Brussels and the Urban Farm *Neder-Over-Heembeek,* in the North*,* are two examples, founded respectively in 2010 and 2012. Several of these types of small-scale urban agriculture initiatives foster urban horticulture (in French "*maraichage urbain*"), based on ecologically sensitive modes of food growing. Furthermore, over the last few years other urban agriculture initiatives and experiments have popped up in a variety of forms, fostering diverse or adapted modes of urban food production. One example is the initiative '*Little Foods*" which grows crickets using residual industrial waste and sells them to several markets within and outside the BCR. A further example is the cooperative "*Champignons de Bruxelles*", which produces mushrooms using waste from the beer manufacturing process.

Largely developed in a 'spontaneous' and bottom-up manner, outside formal administrative or planning frameworks, several urban gardening and agriculture initiatives in the BCR face land-resource challenges. Forecasts of population growth, in tandem with urbanization pressures (see figures 1.5 and 1.6) contribute to the informal, *ad hoc* and often precarious land use agreements characterizing many of the initiatives (courtesy of *Terre en Vue*).

Indeed nowadays the BCR's urban agriculture arena hosts tensions between the agency of some actors towards supporting and scaling out urban agriculture - also by enhancing the opportunities to access land and spaces within the Regional territory - and the precarious land access and use conditions which threaten the longevity of many initiatives (see also Cahn *et al.* 2018 on that).

The development of the *Boeren Bruxsel Paysans* coalition and the institutional dynamics around the land-resource detailed in Chapter 4, should be contextualized within this overarching tension.

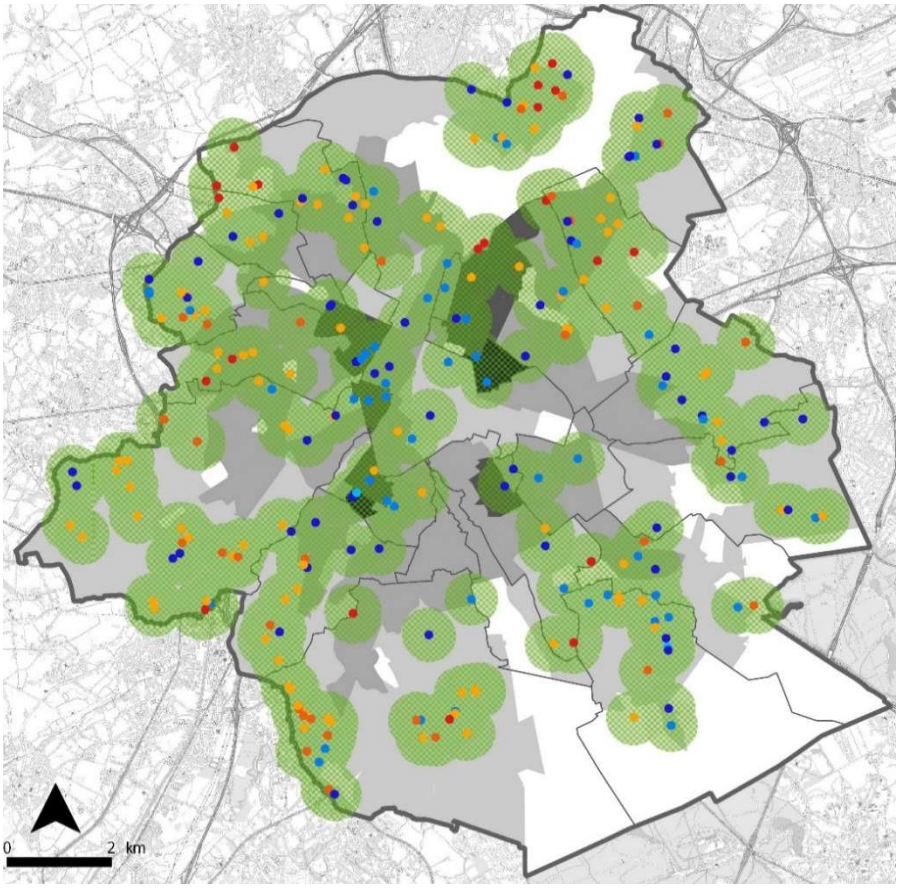

Figure 1.3a Brussels' Collective Gardens' location based on the BRAT survey (2013)[9]

***Source**:* Courtesy of BRAT and BGI (2013) retrieved from *Bruxelles Environnement*

[9] For an updated anthropologic research about BCR' s collective gardens see Cahn *et al.* (2018).

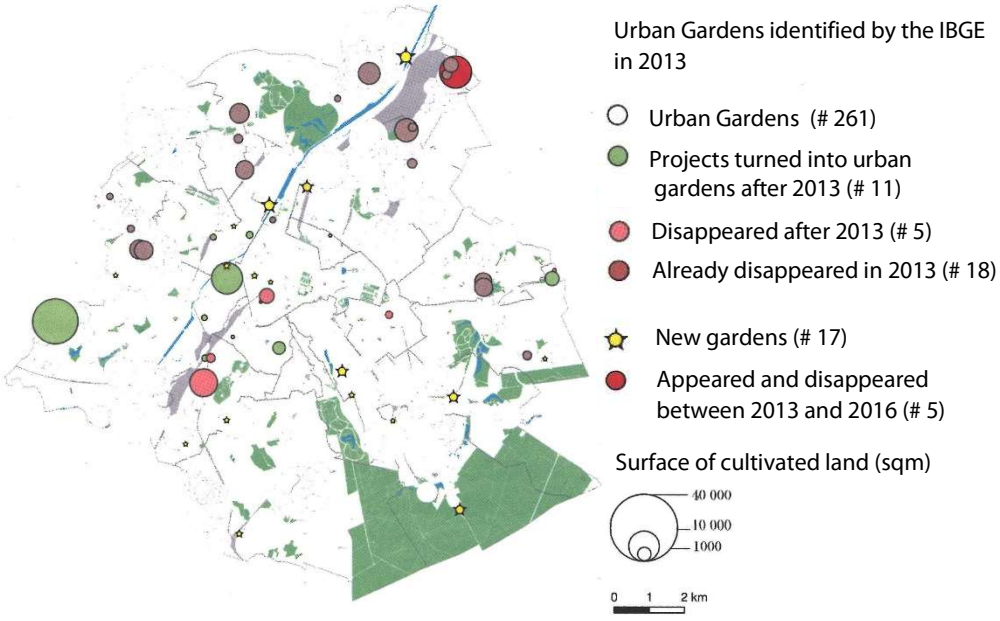

Figure 1.3.b Map showing the appearance and disappearance of collective gardens in Brussels from 2013 to 2016. **Data and image taken from the project "Terres des Villes"** (Cahn *et al.* 2018).

Source: Courtesy of Cahn *et al.* 2018. The map shows that between 2013 and 2016 "10 urban garden disappeared and other 28 appeared"(Cahn et al. 2018, p 31).

Type of unbuilt area	Surface (ha)	% of total land area
Cultivable Land	530,5*[10]	3,3
Pastures	213,9	1,3
Parks and Gardens	1270,5	7,9
Wooded areas	1843,4	11,4
Sport and leisure	238,2	1,5

Table 1.2 Surface ratio of different types of unbuilt areas with respect to the total BCR's land area

Source: author's elaboration from IBSA 2017

* NB: although there is no an official and systematic estimation, the *de facto* cultivable parcels are less considering constraining land use regulations, such as heritage protection zones, or other factors such as the quality of land.

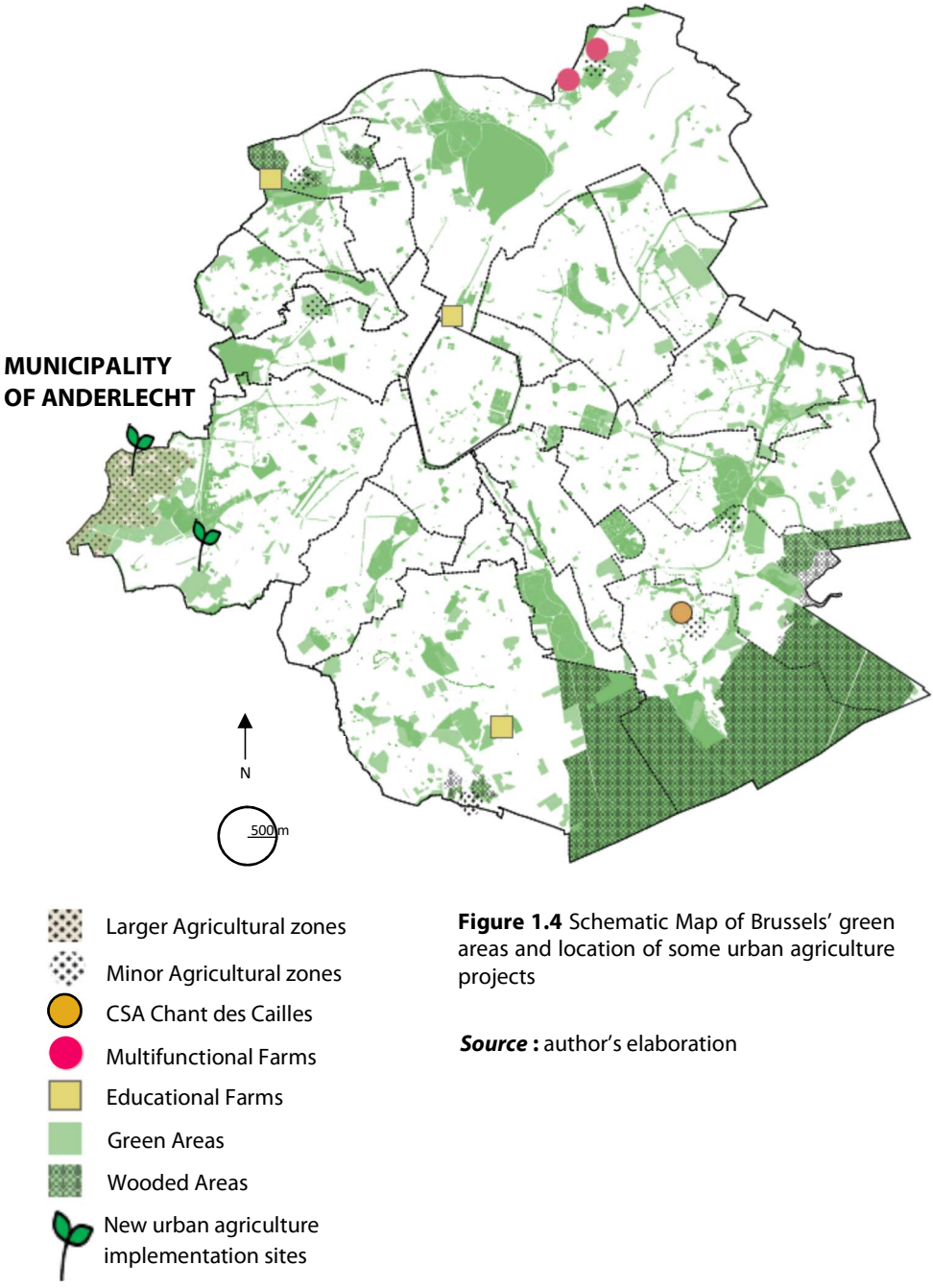

Figure 1.4 Schematic Map of Brussels' green areas and location of some urban agriculture projects

Source **:** author's elaboration

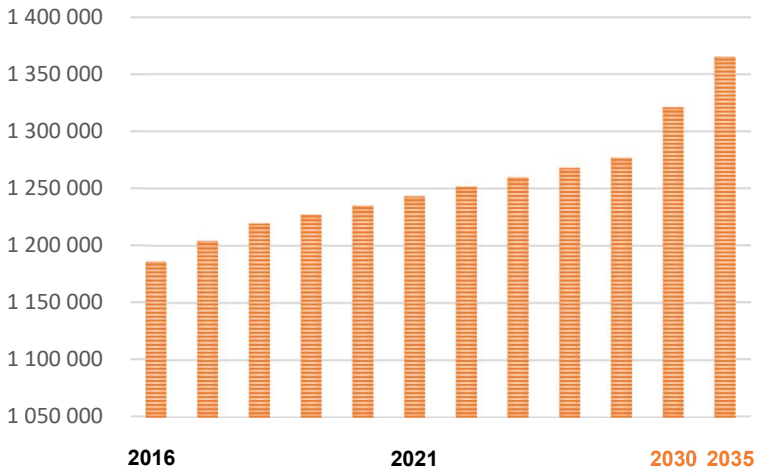

Figure 1.5 Population forecast (2016-2035)

Source **:** author's elaboration from statistics Brussels - IBSA (2017)

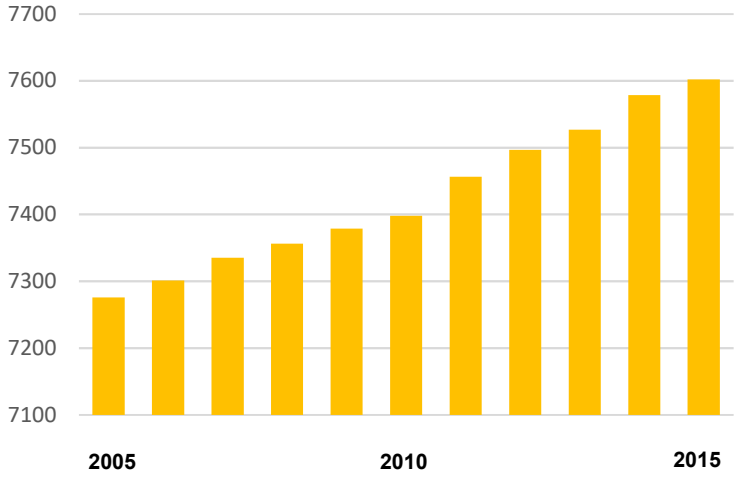

Figure 1.6 Evolution of the built-up areas (2005-2015)

Source: author's elaboration from statistics Brussels – IBSA (2017)

Urban gardening and urban agriculture initiatives located within the regional borders are not the only types of local food initiatives active in the BCR. Indeed, in the last few years several AFN organizations with short chain distribution have scaled out in the Regional territory, thus demonstrating how Brussels constitutes an actual and a potential source of demand for proximity food. Established in 2005, the GASAP initiative -

illustrated in Chapter 3 - represents a pioneer network. In the last few years, however, few other short food chain organizations started to proliferate in the BCR, in the form of cooperatives or other types of social enterprises. **Figure 1.7** maps the distribution outlets of some of these initiatives, although giving an exhaustive picture of these organizations exceeds the scopes of this dissertation[11].

These trends are symptomatic of how the challenge of proximity agriculture in the BCR cannot be fully tackled within its administrative borders and urges to develop relationships with its neighbouring Provinces and Regions, where most of the peri-urban and rural farmers – who are also threatened by land pressures (Landbouwstudie Vlaamse Rand 2015) - are located. Institutional (state, professional organizations,…) actors fostering policies on sustainable food systems in the BCR are increasingly coming to terms with this land-resource tension, as explained in Chapter 3.

[11] These types of short food chain initiatives, mainly in the forms of social enterprises, often use an intermediary online platform, or other IT systems, to allow consumers to order food baskets from producers. Deliveries are organized in different ways, such as through regular distributions at established delivery points scattered in the BCR, or via households' deliveries and so on. Examples of these initiatives are the so called "*La ruche qui dit oui*" started in the BCR around 2011, but also active in other parts of Belgium, France, UK, Spain, Germany; the online platform "e-farm", initiated in the BCR around 2009; the initiative "*L'heureux nouveau*", established in 2010, were staff delivers at distribution points using bicycles, and a few others. Initiatives in the forms of cooperative shops, as well as a cooperative supermarket named Bees-coop, were also established in the last few years. These initiatives have the purpose to create further commercialization outlets for short food chain producers and to foster alternative modes of governance based on cooperative self-management among the participants.

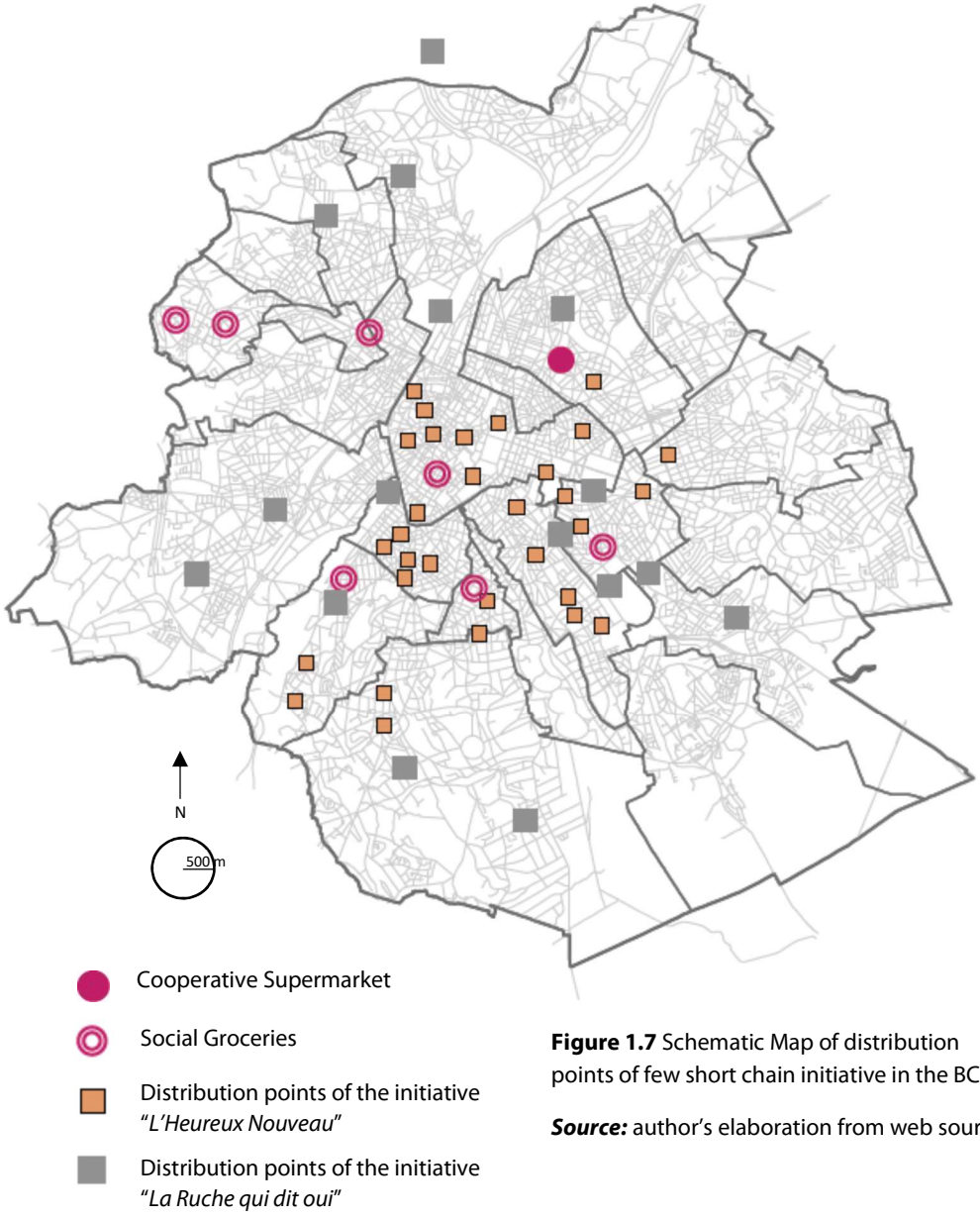

Figure 1.7 Schematic Map of distribution points of few short chain initiative in the BCR

Source: author's elaboration from web sources.

BCR's food policy trajectory – a synthetic timeline

As shown in Chapter 5, the emergence of bottom-up food initiatives has triggered institutional responses from State and other agencies, stimulating the genesis of a Regional food policy. **Figure 1.8** gives a timeline overview of the key stages and milestones of the BCR's local food

policy trajectory, located within the categories identified in this dissertation and highlighted in the table 5.1 of Chapter 5.

Figure 1.8 Timeline scheme of key stages of the Regional food policy trajectory as reconstructed in this dissertation

Source: author's elaboration

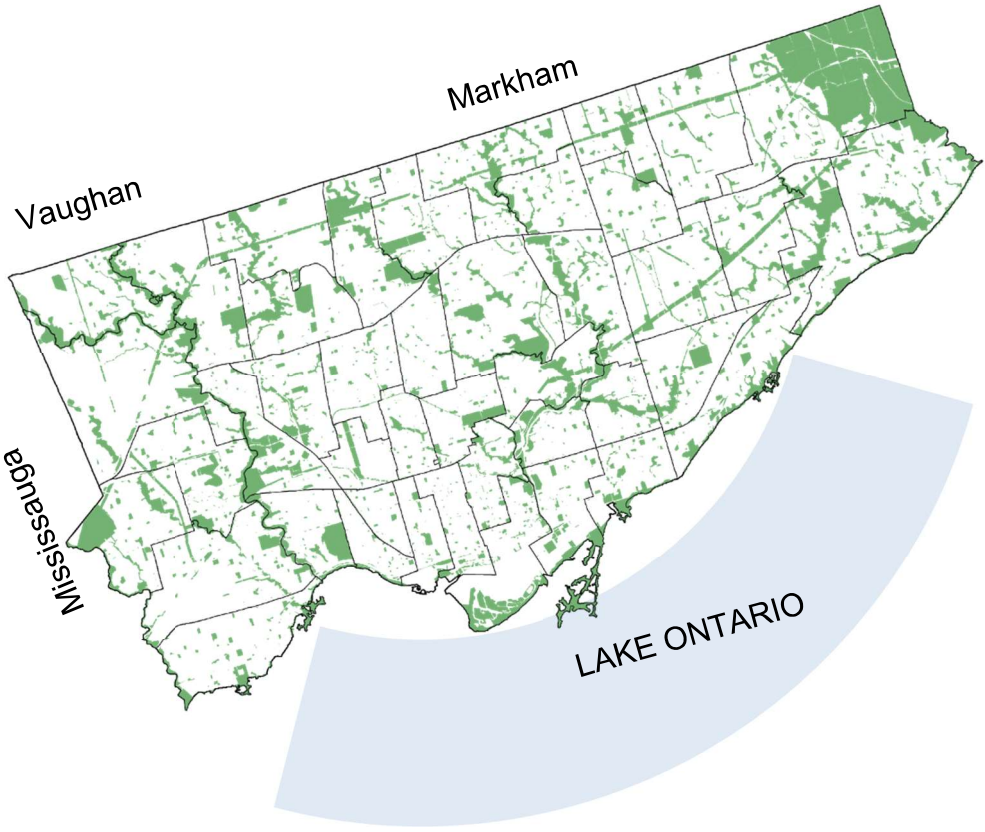

Figure 1.9 Scheme map of Toronto with green areas and the 44 wards

Source: author's elaboration

	POPULATION	LAND AREA	DENSITY
Toronto	2,929,886 inhab. (2017)	630 Km²	4,457 inhab/Km² (2016)
Greater Toronto Area (GTA)	6,346,088 inhab. (2017)	5,903 Km² (2017)	

Table 1.3 Toronto – general features

Sources: author's elaboration from City of Toronto, Fraser Institute

With its Metropolitan conurbation Toronto is the most populous Metropolitan Area of Canada (Census Canada2017). As stated in Chapter 5, the current administrative limits of the City of Toronto are the product of a reconfiguration of jurisdictional boundaries - the so called 'amalgamated city'- which took place in 1998 with the Bill 103 (City of Toronto Act 1997)[12]. That Bill turned Toronto from a much smaller Municipality, corresponding to the current downtown Toronto, to a larger institutional body, englobing the outskirt Municipalities of East York, Etobicoke, North York, York and Scarborough, and thus suddenly almost tripling its population size[13]. As shown in Chapter 5 this 'amalgamation' process provoked changes in the political culture as well as in the social and cultural geographies of Toronto, exercising a relevant impact on the Toronto food movement.

The food movement finds its origins in the 1980s in the hybrid interactivity among a diversity of actors, including nascent organizations as well as supportive policy officials and civil servants mobilizing around the need to face food insecurity (Loopstra and Tarasuk 2012; see Chapter 5). During my fieldwork in Toronto I had the opportunity to meet and interview some of the historic as well as current actors of the food movement (see the Annex), who lead pioneer food security organizations such as Food Share, the STOP Community Food Center and the coalition Community Food Centers Canada, founded later in 2012. Furthermore, I met the previous and current coordinators of the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC) and the Food Strategy manager as well as urban agriculture activists and network representatives, such as members of the Toronto Urban Growers (TUG).

Through the years local food initiatives - including food security or emergency initiatives - have scaled out across Toronto neighbourhoods thanks to advocacy and programming carried out by the above as well as other organizations, but also through the autonomous self-organizing of bottom-up initiatives popping up across the diverse Toronto neighbourhoods. The recent Food by Ward Project, promoted by the TFPC, has mapped some of these initiatives, as Figures 1.10 and 1.11 show. Yet, struggles of key food movement leaders to implement local food projects,

[12] Also named "City of Toronto Act 1997"

[13] These outskirt municipal bodies were at that time part of the upper tier Metropolitan body called "Metropolitan Toronto". The City of Toronto Act reconfigured that into a single larger Municipal body, which corresponds to the nowadays City of Toronto.

to sensitise other administrative divisions, carving out a legitimate space within the wider city politics, are still readable today.

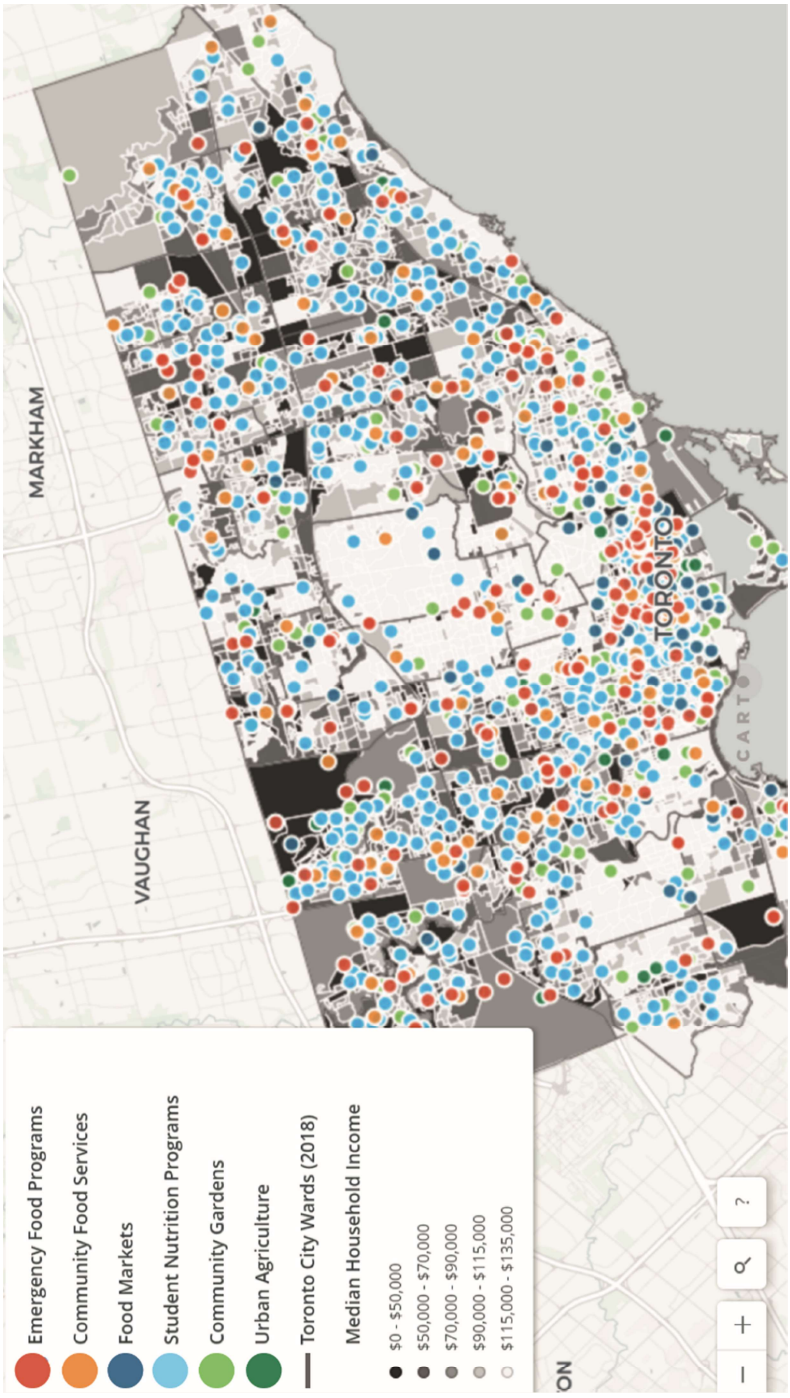

Figure 1.10. Community food assets across Toronto neighbourhoods mapped by the Food by Ward project

Source: Courtesy of the Food by Ward Project: **http://tfpc.to/food-by-ward** (accessed on 15 September 2018)

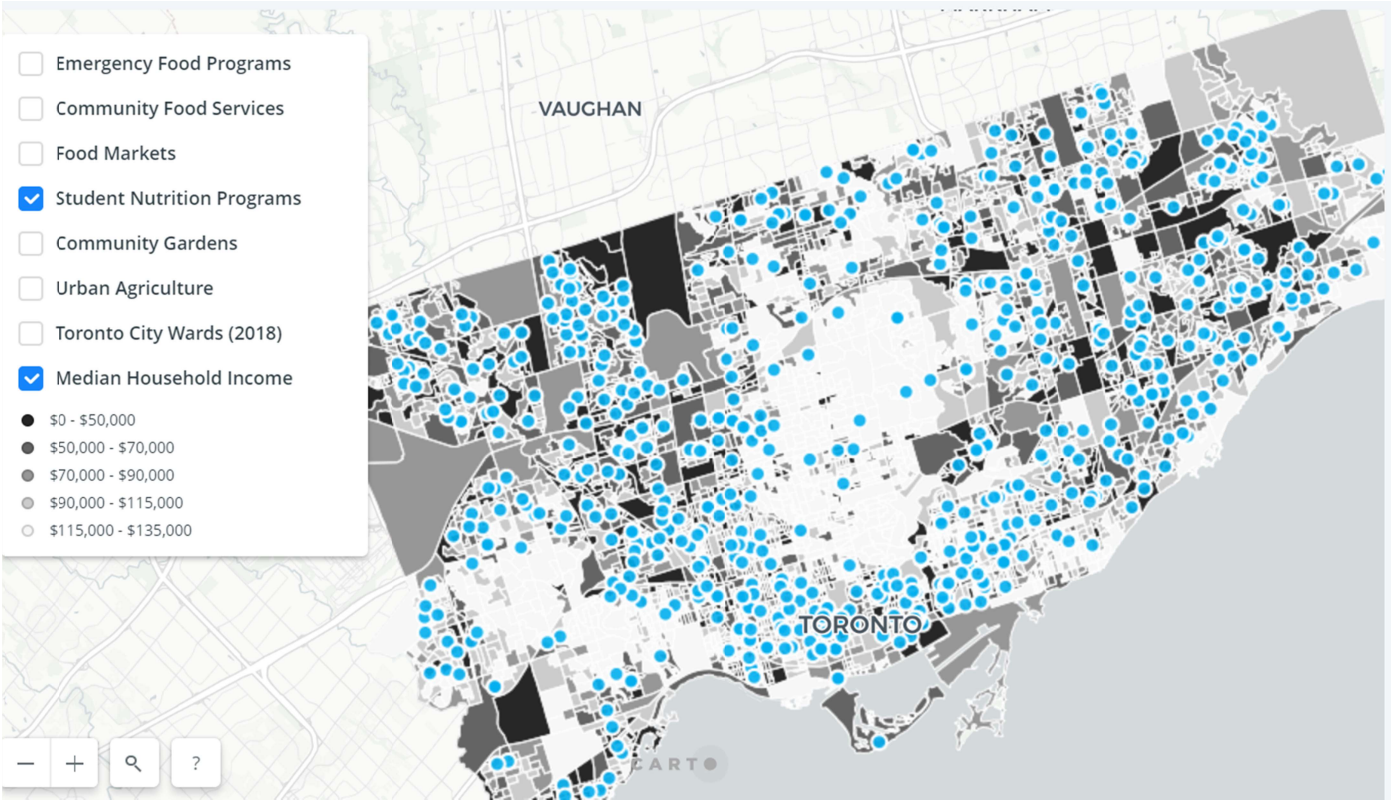

Figure 1.11. Community food assets across Toronto neighbourhoods mapped by the Food by Ward project displaying the Student Nutrition programs active in Toronto (total #: 624)

Source: Courtesy of the Food by Ward Project: **http://tfpc.to/food-by-ward** (accessed on 15 September 2018)

Although this dissertation does not provide an in-depth analysis of socio-political dynamics connected to higher scales of governance, it should be mentioned that struggles to advocate for and implement food system change go beyond the city scale. Indeed, some of the key Toronto food organizations, such as the TFPC, FoodShare, Community Food Centers Canada, but also other coalitions, such as Food Secure Canada (Duni 2017; Koç *et al.* 2008), are engaged in food security and food policy advocacy at the Provincial and Federal levels. For instance, the FoodShare organization has through time advocated for changes in the welfare policy regimes at the Provincial and Federal levels as to enable more structural long-term solutions to community food insecurity (Courtesy of Debbie Field). Food Secure Canada - a pan-Canadian multi-actor alliance established in 2001 after a Conference held at the Ryerson - is at the forefront of a struggle to lobby the Federal Government for developing a National Food Policy (Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food 2018). Thus, although this dissertation does not account for the articulated multi-scalar political dynamics and politics for food systems' change in Canada, the geography of the Toronto Food Movement should be situated between multiple scales and sites: local efforts to scale out food system actions at the city-scale, regional and higher scale food policy development and advocacy, as well as engagement in an international movement of other city-regions and initiatives dealing with local food system policies (Blay-Palmer *et al.* 2016).

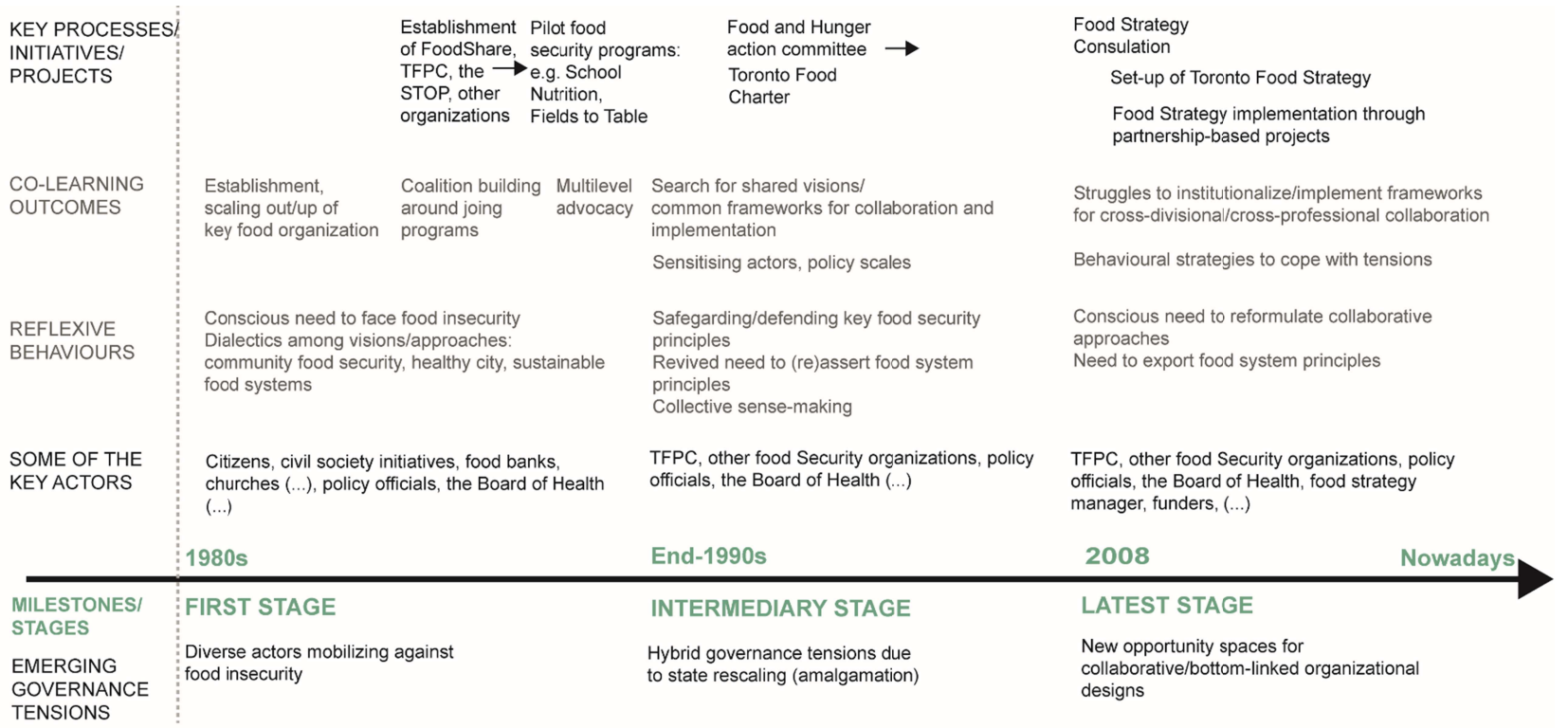

Figure 1.12 A schematic timeline of the Toronto food policy trajectory as reconstructed in this dissertation

Source: author's elaboration

1.5.2 Fieldwork challenges and questions: some reflections

The empirical fieldwork investigation in both city-regional contexts was not devoid of challenges. On the contrary, reconstructing and disentangling complex socio-political and socio-spatial dynamics was a delicate and challenging endeavour that inevitably exposed myself to questions to ask and decisions to make; in a way it triggered some sort of self-reflexivity upon my own work (Silva *et al.* 2015). In particular, I highlight *two aspects*. The *first* relates to subjectivity and positionality of both the researcher but also the actors from the field (Ellis and Flaherty 1992; Moulaert and Van Dyck 2013). In short, food movement activists, such as leaders of food security organizations or other local food initiatives, urban agriculture networks, and so on, may perceive their own role and interpret the socio-political context in which they are embedded, from a rather subjective positionality and value-driven perspective. Thus, despite the spontaneous tendency to sympathise with these values, a big challenge for the researcher is to be also able to take a critical distance, trying to grasp the full picture of diverse and sometimes conflictive positions and perspectives. This is even more essential in a type of research that involves interacting with actors from different domains, such as grass-root initiatives, state actors from different administrative divisions and levels, other academics and intellectuals, or even the private sector.

Furthermore, reconstructing socio-spatial trajectories often involved me asking the actors to go back in time, and to make some efforts to retrace and highlight relevant events and dynamics. These and other aspects made the research process a challenging but also an enriching experience of learning-by-doing, building awareness about each other's world views and positions. Thus, I began to realize how the interview-making practice constitutes an active process of knowledge building rather than merely knowledge transfer (Corbetta 2003). Being a moment of exchange and reflexivity, interview-making also represents an occasion in which actors take time to make sense of their own stories and their role in society. After all, "an epistemological perspective in social innovation research has to start from the idea that knowledge [as well as identities and positions[14]] is socially produced [...]" (Moulaert and Van Dyck 2013, p. 469).

[14] Addition by the author.

A further observation is that, despite the ambitions to maintain complexity, reconstructing long-term and articulated socio-political and socio-spatial trajectories, and most of all fitting them into the limited space of a scientific paper, necessarily involves some selectivity. Chapter/Paper 5, which retraces the food movement and policy developments of Toronto and the BCR, epitomises this challenge. Although the analysis was attentive to retrace the genesis and dynamics of the relevant city-regional food movement and policy processes, the empirical explanation of the trajectories does not account for the whole articulated picture of multi-level processes and institutionalization dynamics occurred through time in the two city-regions' food movements histories. Yet, aware of this caveat, I believe that selectivity does not necessarily diminishes the explanatory value of the empirical insights as well as the originality of the interpretative angles from which real-life experiences and dynamics are reconstructed.
Overall, conducting this research project challenged me with still ongoing questions - some of which shared by food movement scholars (see among others Reynolds and Cohen 2016) - about the role of researchers in this type of socially relevant and inevitably action-oriented field of research. These questions are part of my ongoing reflections on how to maintain proximity with actors from the field and on how to communicate research insights in a meaningful and fruitful way.

1.6 Overview of the following Chapters

This dissertation follows an 'article-based' PhD model, thus the four Chapters following this introduction (Chapters 2 to 5) are research papers, developed over the course of the four years of this PhD trajectory. The challenge of a paper-based dissertation is to write standalone papers, each of them having to be semi-autonomous in content and structure, yet still creating a narrative that links the papers together as parts of a coherent whole. Given that the papers refer to the same analytical-methodological framework based on Hybrid Governance concept, some repetition in the conceptual framework and methodological approach of the papers is unavoidable.
The first Paper (Chapter 2), titled "*Socio-political dynamics of Alternative Food Networks: a Hybrid Governance Approach*" is co-authored by myself, Prof. Pieter van den Broeck and Prof. Frank Moulaert. A first draft of this

paper was written at the end of the first year of the PhD trajectory, then reworked in a later stage of the research process, in tandem with the development of the other papers/Chapters. At the stage of finalising this manuscript, this paper is in publication in *Territory, Politics, Governance* Journal. The second Paper (Chapter 3) is titled "*Hybrid Governance tensions fuelling self-reflexivity in Alternative Food Networks: the case of the Brussels GASAP (solidarity purchasing groups for peasant agriculture)*", co-authored with Prof. Frank Moulaert and published in the *Local Environment Journal* in May 2018. The third Paper (Chapter 4), titled "*Scaling out access to land for urban agriculture. Governance hybridities in the Brussels-Capital Region*" and co-authored with Prof. Frank Moulaert, is now published in the *Land Use Policy* Journal. Finally, the last Paper (Chapter 5), titled "*Realizing local food policies. A comparison between Toronto and the Brussels-Capital Region's trajectories through the lenses of reflexivity and co-learning",* is mono-authored. It was presented in a shorter version at the TICY-Urb Conference for young urban researchers which took place in Lisbon in June 2018[15] and it was submitted in a reworked version to the *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*.

Paper 1, of a theoretical nature, develops the analytical-methodological framework of this dissertation. It does so by re-defining Hybrid Governance in order to pursue a re-conceptualization of the governance reality of AFNs. Starting from a definition of governance and its different forms provided by Swyngedouw and Jessop (2006) this article defines the governance of AFNs as hybrid of different governance forms (solidarity, hierarchical, market-led, networked). As highlighted above, it uses the theoretical apparatus of different approaches to governance to show how the interactivity among the different governance forms generates the three types of governance tensions - *organizational, resource and institutional*. Hybrid Governance tensions are then used as analytical lenses to position the relevant strands of the agro-food and food planning debates. Thus, the Paper shows the ways in which these literatures have more or less implicitly addressed the tensions and what are the shortcomings and untapped questions for a more sound conceptualization of the

[15] In general, working versions of the different papers have been presented at several Conferences or Symposia along the research trajectory, as well as at regular seminars with the two research units (Planning and Development – KULeuven, Cosmopolis – VUB).

governance of AFNs. The three empirical Papers (Chapters 3 to 5) methodologically build on the conceptual Paper, taking each of the governance tensions as an entry point, but with the intention to fully explore the interactivities among the tensions materialising in each case (study). As such, the empirical papers intend to address issues highlighted in the conceptual paper (Chapter 2 - Section 2.5). Thus, focusing on the food network organization GASAP, **Paper 2** looks at the type of reflexive behaviour this organization put into place, as it goes through its scalar dynamics, experiencing material-resource governance tensions as well as tensions stemming from the interactions with the (co)developing socio-institutional landscape of the BCR. **Paper 3**, addresses governance tensions in the scaling out the access to land for urban agriculture in the BCR, revealing the agential-organizational struggles of actors as well as the institutional dynamics fostered when the access to land is practically pursued. **Paper 4** dives deeper into the tensions related to the institutionalization of alternative food systems through the analysis of the development and implementation of local food policies in the city-regions of Toronto and the BCR. This Paper highlights how socio-political dynamics and tensions triggered as well as nurtured reflexive capacities and co-learning outcomes in the trajectories of the two city-regions. Thus, in a way this closing Paper embarks on a more explicit socio-political uptake of reflexivity and reflexive governance – as these notions constitute further common threads across the different papers.

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CHAPTER 2

Socio-political dynamics of Alternative Food Networks: a Hybrid Governance Approach[16]

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Abstract

Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) encounter governance challenges stemming from their own organizational growth pains, their search for cultivable land, but also their confrontation with urban planning policy and state structures whose affinity with urban agriculture is on average quite low. The agro-food literature does not sufficiently account for the governance complexity of AFNs. As AFNs develop, different governance tensions arise both within their organization as well as in the institutionalization processes in which they are embedded.

This theoretical article makes use of a redefined concept of Hybrid Governance - different from that in new institutional economics (NIE) - to elucidate the governance dynamics of AFNs. Finding inspiration in three strands of theory belonging to the 'institutional turn in social science', it redefines Hybrid Governance as a dialectical nexus of four basic forms of governance (solidarity based, networked, hierarchical, market stirred) reproducing three types of governance tensions (organizational, resource-oriented, institutional). Using Hybrid Governance as an analytical mirror, the article examines to what extent the agro-food literature has addressed the complexity of AFNs' governance and how its analysis can be improved.

Key words:

Hybrid Governance, Alternative Food Networks, Social Innovations, Organizations, Institutions.

[16] This chapter is a paper currently in publication process in the Journal "*Territory, Politics, Governance*". This corresponds to the accepted version.

2.1 Introduction

This paper mobilizes a new concept of *Hybrid Governance* - different from that launched by neo-institutional economics (NIE) - to shed light on the key governance tensions local food networks experience in their struggles to scale out and up in their socio-institutional environments. The literature on bottom-up food initiatives, here named Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) (see the following section for a definition) has identified key challenges in the governance of these initiatives, in particular concerning *a)* the modes of governance of bottom-up AFNs, as mediators between the AFNs' core values, long term ambitions and pressures in the management of their organization as they scale out; *b)* the blocks they face to secure stable access to essential resources, i.e. cultivable land, funding and other key material resources; *c)* the antagonisms interfering with the creation of supportive institutional spaces and institutional frameworks that could sustain and enable alternative food systems. These challenges touch upon major *organizational, resource* and *institutional* dynamics of the governance of alternative food initiatives. As this paper argues, however, the AFNs' literature fails to make these dynamics explicit, thus missing the opportunity to understand how these governance challenges are connected to one another in the development trajectories of AFNs.

To reveal these dynamics, this paper develops a *Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA)* which revisits and redefines the major governance challenges of AFNs as *hybrid governance tensions*. The approach makes use of concepts and relations from socio-institutional theories in social science, such as theories on multi-level governance and social innovation (González & Healey 2005; MacCallum *et al.* 2009; Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013), and theories on the relationships between reproduction, regulation and forms of governance (Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006). Most of these theories fall within the realm of the relational turn in social sciences (Allen and Cochrane 2007, 2010; Moulaert *et al.* 2016; Jessop 2002; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006). These theories unfold concepts and relations capable of theorising the *hybridity* and *multi-scalarity* of organizations, institutions and agencies[17] constituting governance

[17] In line with frameworks focusing on the role of institutions, agents, cultures and power relations in socio institutional analysis (Moulaert *et al.* 2016), here Agency is defined as *"any meaningful human behaviour, individual or collective, that makes a significant difference in the*

systems. Therefore, by putting them into dialogue and confronting them with the ways governance is set about in the AFNs' literature, we lay out an interconnected and holistic analysis of key governance tensions which AFNs experience in their practice and development. Thus, the HGA used here, because of its focus on the political and social dynamics of both the internal and external governance of AFNs, led by a diversity of economic, social and political logics, is ontologically different from the hybrid governance approach launched by Williamson (1989) and summarized by Cholez, Magrini and Galliano (2016).

The work by Ménard (1997, 2004, 2010) advances the study of the nature and role of hybrid organisations in the market economy. Van Huylenbroeck (2003), Van Huylenbroeck *et al.* (2009) also provide advancements in the analysis of hybrid governance forms from a NIE perspective. These authors analyse the role of hybrid governance structures for the functioning of public good markets, in particular related to agriculture and natural resource management. Concrete examples of public good markets include water markets in irrigation schemes or agri-environmental payment schemes in the field of agri-environmental management. Hybrid governance in the NIE transaction cost tradition is situated between structures of markets and hierarchies, it involves formal and informal forms of contracts 'that define the conditions of the exchange, enable the pooling of resources, and combine mechanisms of competition and cooperation' (Ménard 2004, in Cholez *et al.,* pp. 4-5). The agency target in this economistic way of looking at modes of governance is always to minimize the transaction cost of the organization - therefore, an unreal reduction of the motives of individual and collective agency and the socio-political relations in which it is embedded, as spelled out in the HGA developed in this paper (Lambooy and Moulaert 1996).

Valorising its new HGA, this paper is organized as follows. The following section 2.2 explains what AFNs are and how they should be situated within the food sovereignty movement and humanity's search for good and fair food provision. It highlights the shortcomings of the current conceptualizations of the governance of AFNs in the literature. Although it has recently given more attention to governance challenges of alternative food initiatives, this literature is still missing the dynamics of the

natural and/or social worlds, either by direct, unmediated action or through the mediation of tools, machines, dispositifs, institutions, or other affordances" (Moulaert *et al.* 2016, p.3).

interaction between them. Starting from socio-institutional approaches to governance, *section 2.3* develops a new Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA), combining and dynamizing features of governance agency, organizations and institutions, as well as theorizing the articulation of three types of governance tensions, i.e. *organizational, resource and institutional* governance tensions. *Section 2.4* then reviews three strands in the AFNs literature and examines to what extent they cover these governance tensions. Using the HGA framework as a mirror, *section 2.5* highlights unanswered questions emerging from the way in which the AFNs' literature reports on governance tensions. The paper concludes by identifying priorities for the future HGA analysis of AFNs' governance.

2.2 Governance challenges of AFNs

In this paper AFNs - which in the literature are variably called Local Food Systems (Allen 2010; Hinrichs 2000; Papaoikonomou and Ginieis 2017), Short Food Supply Chains (Aubry and Kebir 2013; Mundler and Laughrea 2016), Community-Based Food Systems (Markow *et al.* 2014), or food hubs (Blay-Palmer *et al.* 2013) - are defined as coalitions of actors pursuing alternative modalities to allocate resources to the food chain, make food production happen and govern the chain's processes. Common types of AFNs are urban gardening, urban agriculture, Community Supported Agricultures (CSAs), food transition initiatives, various forms of consumers-producers' networks and community food projects (see for instance Karner 2010; Kneafsey *et al.* 2013; Tregear 2011). Other more or less institutionalized initiatives - such as urban or regional food strategies or food policy councils seeking to implement and support alternative food systems (Blay-Palmer 2010; Mansfield and Mendes 2013; Moragues-Faus and Morgan 2015; Morgan 2013) - are also considered as AFN initiatives or movements. AFNs' agents usually share the collective will to change or build alternatives to the *status quo* of mainstream food provision systems and their governance. These systems are perceived by many as socially and ecologically unjust and unsustainable (Goodman *et al.* 2012). Drawing a parallel with studies on community and territorial development, AFNs can be defined as social innovations, as they reflect key dimensions of social innovation highlighted in the social innovation literature (González *et al.* 2010; MacCallum *et al.* 2009; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013). In

particular, AFNs emerge, self-organize and pursue innovations in social relations *plus* socio-political change in an attempt to fulfil unsatisfied needs of their members. The collective will to find access to healthy food, develop alternative markets and human relations and, in general, improve the quality of life through community empowerment is indeed a reflection of the triple social innovation dynamics. These triple and interconnected dynamics concern a) the agency of revealing and satisfying unmet human needs; b) the transformation and improvement of social and governance relations; c) processes of community empowerment (Moulaert *et al.* 2010, 2013). Socially innovative actor networks and initiatives explore opportunities to self-organize and to build relations between actors and institutions of the socio-institutional system, often pursuing socio-political transformation (Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2010). Publications on food sovereignty stress how alternative agro-food movements host and bring to life aspirations and demands for reforming established socio-institutional regimes and changing the ways power and resources are shared and distributed (De Schutter 2013; Sage 2014). The notion of food sovereignty, which goes back to the very ideological origins of alternative food movements, points to the unjust power relations ruling the globalized food chains and calls for a democratization of food systems, with a greater role for an active civil society (Sage 2014) as well as a supportive and empowering multi-level institutional environment (De Schutter 2013; Iles and Montenegro de Wit 2015). AFNs embody the desire to change the dominant relations of production and consumption as well as the ways by which resources are allocated (Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014). While the focus of AFNs lies on the 'short' and therefore 'local' supply chain, their genesis transcends the 'local' scale (Allen 2010; Born & Purcell 2006; Dupuis and Goodman 2005; Dupuis *et al.* 2006; Hinrichs 2003; Purcell 2006). Demand for land and other resources and the need to unite and connect AFNs in different localities and to mobilize actors in favour of improved socio-political institutions - including spatial planning systems - go beyond the local and call for interscalar connections.

In recent years the literature on AFNs has given more attention to *governance challenges*. Sonnino and Marsden (2006), seeking to combine network governance and political economy approaches, made a significant step in this direction. They use the concept of *embeddedness*, first introduced by Polanyi (1944) and further operationalized by

Granovetter (1985), as a holistic concept to theorize the governance of AFNs as networking agency. According to these authors the analysis of the horizontal agency of AFNs (the societal, spatial, and cultural embeddedness of AFNs in their '*terroir*') should consider the wider institutional systems in which the networking agency is embedded (*ibid*:190). Other contributions addressing the governance of AFNs have emerged from the contemporary North-American debate, including Canadian scholars (Campbell and MacRae 2013; Fridman and Lenters 2013; Levkoe 2011, 2014; Levkoe and Wakefield 2014; Mount *et al.* 2013; Nelson *et al*. 2013; Stroink and Nelson 2013) in particular. These contributions have made a start identifying the challenges of movement and network building among alternative food initiatives (Levkoe 2014; Levkoe and Wakefield 2014), the struggles these initiatives face as they develop, navigating often adverse institutional environments (Stroink and Nelson 2013), and the role of institutional arrangements (e.g. food policy councils or food hubs) in supporting the networking agency of alternative food initiatives (Blay-Palmer 2010; Fridman and Lenters 2013). Yet, most of these analyses fall short in providing a sound conceptualization of the governance of AFNs, failing to identify the governance roles of specific actors and organizations involved within and beyond alternative food initiatives, their agential specificity and behavioural routines, their value systems, their social, institutional and political embeddedness, their roles in institutionalization processes and their outreach across interrelated spatial scales. By use of a concept of Hybrid Governance, addressing three types of governance tension typical of AFNs, this paper seeks to address these shortcomings.

2.3 Towards a Hybrid Governance reading of governance tensions of AFNs

2.3.1 Introducing Hybrid Governance

The concept of Hybrid Governance is not new but we re-theorize it here from a different meta-theoretical perspective, with the ambition to make it applicable for the analysis of the governance of AFNs. Originally the concept was used in organization and transaction cost theories (see introduction), later in different domains of public management or public

economics approaches (Elsner 2004; Van Huylenbroeck *et al*. 2009). These adopt a view of governance 'systems', that does not properly consider the role of distinctive agencies, the (power) relations between them or their socio-institutional embeddedness. Although different among them, most of these theories focus more on internal and organizational hybrid governance forms. Our (meta) theorizing of Hybrid Governance builds on the following theoretical pillars: *a)* a *dynamic and relational view on actors' networks and institutions* (Allen and Cochrane 2007, 2010; Jessop 2002; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006); *b) sociological-institutional, multi-scalar approaches to governance* (González and Healey 2005; Healey 2006); *c) a political economy and socio-ecological perspective* on the regulation and reproduction of governance institutions (Swyngedouw 2000a, 2010; Swyngedouw and Jessop, 2006); *d) a social innovation and collective action perspective* on the emergence and life-course of alternative organizations (MacCallum *et al.* 2009, Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013). From this (meta)theoretical perspective governance dynamics are considered as part and parcel of the socio-ecological systems in which AFNs emerge. Portraying the metabolism between the social, the institutional and the ecological, which integrates the (material) resources feeding the food system (land, finance, people, logistics, etc.) together with its socio-institutional reproduction is quintessential to a real-life characterization of governance modalities of AFNs.

Governance systems are characterized as hybrid patterns of interaction among actors aligned towards common interests and objectives forming coalitions to this purpose, but also interaction among agents belonging to different organizational spheres and embodying diverse institutional logics, values and cultural frames (González and Healey 2005). Our Hybrid Governance analysis starts from Jessop and Swyngedouw's (2006) four forms of governance:

> "The most general definition [of governance] is any form of continuing coordination of social relations characterized by complex, reciprocal interdependence. As such governance clearly includes a variety of mechanisms and practices. For our purposes the four most important are: (a) the anarchy of market exchange; (b) the hierarchy of imperative coordination in and

> through organizations, including the state; (c) the heterarchy of self-organization in networks; and (d) the unconditional commitment associated with love, loyalty, and solidarity. Of particular interest is the third meaning of governance, which can be elaborated as follows: the reflexive self-organization of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence; this self-organization is based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations." (p. 12)

In this line of thought, governance forms can be conceptualized in terms of *solidarity* or extra market affiliations among people and among interest groups, *reflexive and horizontal* coordination among state and non-state agents, *hierarchical* coordination of state or corporate institutions, and *market-driven* governance agency. Governance forms interact with each other in the *space-time reproduction of governance systems*, producing different modalities and degrees of hybridization among them. Hybrid Governance implies that the various forms of governance coexist in dialectical interaction with each other. It involves the articulation of affective, solidarity, spontaneous organizational and hierarchical corporate or state 'governing' relationships.

2.3.2 Hybrid Governance in AFNs

The HGA staging the complex dynamics of interaction between the four forms of governance is appropriate for analysing governance dynamics in AFNs. Forms of governance in AFNs can be conflictive, mediating, synergic, co-constructive or destructive of new modes of governance and structures. AFNs driven by grassroots actors often take the shape of extra-market affiliations (Jarosz 2000; Macias 2008) based on commitment of solidarity and self-organization. They activate endogenous modes of governance, link with other food initiatives and interact with more top-down institutional systems. Such interactions take different forms, conflictive when regulations constrain the action field of AFNs, or bargaining new modes of interaction when, for example, operational

resources and support are needed for the activities of AFNs (Fridman and Lenters 2013; Mount *et al.* 2013; Stroink and Nelson 2013). Scalar dynamics become natural when opportunity spaces for synergies and alliances between alternative food organizations and policy actors emerge at the various spatial scales (Ashe and Sonnino 2013). Alliances, coalitions, advocacy-networks claiming changes in land use or food systems' regulations are examples of such scalar dynamics. Semi-institutionalized, or even top-down forms of food governance and policy instruments, such as local food strategies, food councils, or public food purchasing schemes, become part of the governance world of AFNs and are functional to sustain cohesive partnerships with grassroots actors. Morgan and Sonnino (2008) unfold the example of the East Ayrshire Council, which has established cooperative linkages with regional farmers for local sourcing. AFNs are also commonly confronted with the oligopolistic market behaviour of food corporations, which seek to integrate short chain supply mechanisms within their overall corporate strategy, thus often corrupting them (Friedmann 2007; Goodman *et al.* 2012).

Thus, empirical insights from the real-life of AFNs inevitably broaden the understanding of their landscape of actors, the complexity of their net of relations and, therefore, the dynamics of regulation and governance of their activities. Although their governance structure is predominantly bottom-up, they also wade through an institutional jungle of complex state regulatory agents and invasive monopolistic market players with very market-driven agendas concerning alternative food systems.

2.3.3 Institutions and Organizations in AFNs

To study governance, it is essential to understand the distinctive role of organizations and institutions as well as recognize the links between them in the governance dynamics (González and Healey 2005). In scientific literature and policy studies, both concepts have miscellaneous meanings (Lambooy and Moulaert 1996; Moulaert and Mehmood 2010).

Faithful to the foundations of the socio-institutional perspective, in this paper, *institutions* are understood as ensembles of norms, rules and cognitive patterns as well as regulatory agents (e.g. state institutions), which shape collective action (González and Healey 2005; Healey 2006). Institutions exist with different degrees of structuration, formality and

path-dependency. Examples of more structured institutions are for instance the modes of operating of a State's bureaucracy. Following Swyngedouw and Jessop (2006), institutions are considered as institutionalized agencies with regulatory impact. Institutions intervene and contribute to the reproduction and regulation of governance processes (Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006). According to this line of thought, there are two main ways to understand institutions and institutionalization of AFNs. First, alternative food initiatives as grassroots movements, develop endogenous institutions by setting up their own governance structures, establishing rules, control mechanisms, codifying procedures etc. (Della Porta and Diani 2006; DuPuis and Gillon 2009). Secondly, AFNs interact with "outside" institutions (civil, state or corporate institutions) through market competition, regulation and food quality standardization, formal or informal channels of communication, funding mechanisms, etc. (Blay-Palmer 2010; Fridman and Lenters 2013). Such interactions and their scalar dynamics are at the heart of the socio-ecological metabolism in which AFNs are embedded.

From an operating point of view, AFNs can be analysed as ensembles of *organizations*. A coalition of self-organizing actors setting up a community food project, a CSA, a food network initiative, an interest group: these are more or less structured organizations, often operating according to the three base principles of social innovation (see section 2.2), which nourish bottom-linked modes of governance (Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013). As such, their coalitions of actors are more or less stable, coordinated and aligned towards common objectives (Ashe and Sonnino 2013; Della Porta and Diani 2006), even if often exposed to diverse tensions (Tregear 2011; section 2.3.3). As the literature on social innovation emphasises, values play a key role in conditioning the organizational dynamics of bottom-up initiatives (González and Healey 2005; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013). In different ways the articulation of multi-scalar institutional logics and processes with the endogenous governance and reproduction of organizations, creates tensions, synergies or further institutionalization.

The following section discusses three types of governance tensions, inherent to the hybrid nature of AFNs' governance. The internal and external dynamics stemming from the interaction between the four forms of governance (market, hierarchy, self-organization, solidarity) with their

institutional and organizational logics (values, regulatory behaviour, social practices, etc.) and scalar dynamics give rise to a diversity of governance tensions, of which three types have been identified: organizational, institutional and resource governance tensions. Figure 2.1 provides a schematic representation of the Hybrid Governance dynamics and the three types of tension.

2.3.4 Governance Tensions in AFNs

A first type of governance tension is inherent to the growth and the spatiality of AFNs as organizations. We call them '*organizational (governance) tensions*'. One important source of such tensions is when alternative food organizations, as they develop, strengthen their human, social and material bases (people involved, natural and financial resources) and increase the quantity and quality of food delivered, hence ushering them to search for more efficiency in logistics as well as in their decision-making structures. Thus, changes in the governance of their organization - such as greater professionalization and more efficient decision-making structures - are likely to produce tensions with participatory and horizontal forms of governance, which are typical of bottom-up or community-oriented food initiatives (Mount 2012). Connected to this are value conflicts between these AFN's solidarity values and the pressures to grow to which they are exposed (Rossi and Brunori 2010). This first type of tension is also linked to the aspired and gradually pursued spatial outreach of the AFNs. Urban-rural food networks, or types of short food chains often operate across territories, for instance in the case of cross-border peri-urban agriculture areas, or in networks seeking to connect producers to market outlets within a certain spatial reach (Aubry and Kebir 2013; Sonnino 2010, 2013). Thus, difficulties might occur when a bottom-up organization attempts to federate its extended spatial network in an efficient as well as inclusive way. To this adds the need to cope with administrative fragmentation and diverse modes of territorial administration leading to extra organizational governance tensions (see table below).

These organizational tensions are connected to a second type of challenge, which we call *'resource (governance) tensions'*. The operation, development and upscaling of local food projects require resources:

funds, quality agricultural land and physical infrastructure, as well as knowledge and human capital. Accessing and securing resources is therefore crucial for the longevity of AFNs. In most cases, there will be scarcity of resources - such as cultivable land and financial means - with competition and struggles to acquire them (Angotti 2015; Cohen and Reynolds 2014). Moreover, the need for resources, the regulation of their access and use, the creation of distribution channels compatible with AFNs' values are the main objects of interaction between AFNs and the socio-institutional systems, because like bottom-up organizations, regulatory powers are institutionally and spatially scattered across different administrative territories, socio-political scales and state as well as professional institutions – cf. the relationship with institutional governance tensions (Campbell and MacRae 2013). The aspiration to govern (access to) resources is also linked to the value systems embodied in specific forms of governance. Thus, very often, the value attached to land by solidarity-based AFNs differs significantly from the perception of the value of land by hierarchical, market-oriented or state-bound organizations.

'Institutional (governance) tensions' then refer to the relations between socio-political regimes, corporate structures, institutional actors, policy agendas, and community and organizational cultures of AFNs. Hierarchical socio-political regimes and rigid regulatory systems constrain or enable the development of AFNs. Institutional tensions pinpoint to the frictions and divergences in value frames, regulatory practices and behavioural routines between diverse actors in the food system. They reflect the contradictions between hierarchical, global market facilitating forms of governance and reflexive cum horizontal forms of governance. Enabling and democratic multi-level institutions are determinant for the development of AFNs, yet are often contradictory to the interests of corporate market and hierarchical state institutions (De Schutter 2013: 20; Sage 2014; Iles and Montenegro de Wit 2015), such as the dominant land regulators (Wekerle and Classens 2015). Furthermore, institutional tensions occur within multi-scalar state systems and regulatory frameworks, which may constrain the advancement of alternative food systems; or, conversely, provide opportunities for building connections at different scales (Schiavoni 2013; Iles and Montenegro de Wit 2015). It is therefore essential to identify opportunity spaces and potential areas of

convergence between bottom-up aspirations and wider food policy and statist institutional agendas.

Table 2.1 AFNs' Hybrid Governance and its tensions ***Source*:** authors' elaboration

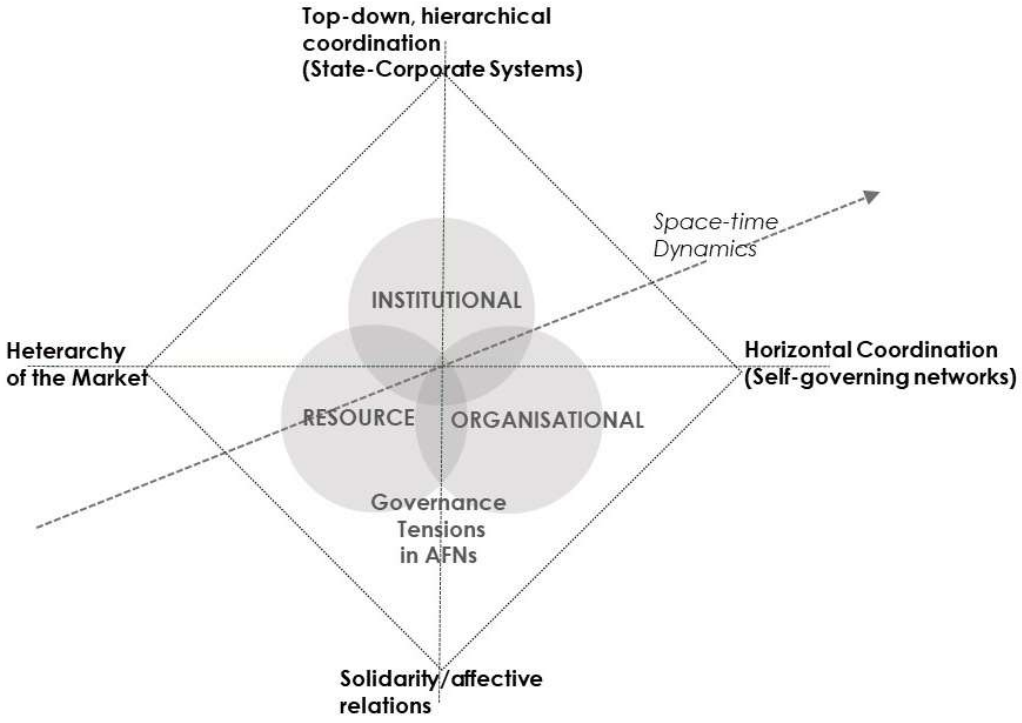
Type of governance tensions	Factors of tension	Nature of tension in Hybrid Governance terms	Opportunities for overruling or valorizing tensions
ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS **Tensions in the governance of the organization of the AFNs stemming from different sources**	Growth in the Organization/ Network (increase of actors, social, spatial/material bases, functions) requires other governance structures	-Tensions between horizontal-participatory and hierarchical-economic efficiency pursuing decision-making arrangements -Economic efficiency vs qualitative needs satisfaction	-Develop promising organizational strategies and reflexive governance modes
		-Tensions in values, principles, identity	-Modalities of mediation and conflict resolution
	Dynamics of decentralization and inter-spatiality in the organizational and territorial structure of the project/network	-Tensions between the tendency to decentralization/ enlargement of the territorial reach and the need to federate the network	
	Cross-territorial food projects intersecting different jurisdictional subdivisions (constraints/opportunities)	-Divergences in views and practices of territorial organization -Fragmentations in the administrative organization of territories	-Develop shared visions and bottom-linked organizational models to surmount conflictive value systems

(the table continues in the next page)

Type of governance tensions	Factors of tension	Nature of tension in Hybrid Governance terms	Opportunities for overruling or valorizing tensions
RESOURCE GOVERNANCE TENSIONS **Tensions in the governance of the access to and use of resources (land, capital, physical infrastructures, skills …)**	Searching access to and control of material resources (logistics, cultivable land, infrastructures, finance, agricultural produce etc)	- Tensions between diversity of (institutional) actors (state, corporate, communities, organizations) as to their control capacities of access and use of resources -Interactions bottom-up food networks top-down state/corporate systems for negotiating/ claiming access/control of resources -Conflicts among visions concerning the fair allocation, access, use, of resources -Administrative, regulatory, institutional structures impacting the possibility to access resources	-Strategic leadership, forms of proactive conflict management and cooperation -New forms of cooperation between diverse agents -Cross-jurisdictional collaborative capacity
INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS **Tensions in the socio-political and socio-professional governance structures embedding the AFNs and their governance**	Power struggles between AFNs and state/corporate institutions at different scales Divergent values, behavioral routines, agendas between AFNs and institutional or other agents responsible for or/influencing the food governance.	- AFNs' constraining vs. enabling institutions -Hybrid actors' and policy networks negotiating supportive policy/institutional spaces	-Socio-political transformative forces -Relation building towards participatory reflexive governance institutions

Figure 2.1 AFN's Hybrid Governance and its tensions. A schematic representation

***Source*:** authors' elaboration



2.4 Reviewing AFNs' literature through the lenses of Hybrid Governance and governance tensions

Recent contributions to the alternative food systems' literature have shown the need of a careful (re)conceptualization of the governance of AFNs. Such (re)conceptualization should better situate AFNs within a network of diverse actors with their agential specificity and behavioural routines, thus recognizing their social, institutional and political embeddedness and outreach, across interrelated spatial scales. With the ambition to contribute to such reconceptualization, this paper has developed a Hybrid Approach to the governance of AFNs. This approach identifies three types of governance tensions: organizational, resources and institutional (governance) tensions.

But have these types been covered in the AFN literature? And how? Three categories of publications often using different conceptual apparatuses to tackle governance problematics have been identified to answer that question.

The first category falls within the debate on *scale dynamics of AFNs* or Local Food Systems (Blay-Palmer *et al.* 2013; Campbell and MacRae 2013; Mount 2012; Mount *et al*. 2013; Roep and Wiskerke 2012; Rossi and Brunori 2010; Rossi 2017; Sonnino and Marsden 2006). It largely adopts transition and adaptive governance perspectives, but also shows some convergence with the urban food governance debate, which is more socio-politically oriented. This literature is especially relevant for the analysis of organizational and resource governance tensions but recent contributions have also addressed scalar dynamics of institutional governance.

A second field of literature highlights *the politics of land and resource access* for food production (Adams *et al.* 2015; Angotti 2015; Purcell and Tyman 2015; Tornaghi 2012; Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014; Wekerle and Classens 2015). Most contributions in this field, as they focus on the political economy and political ecology of land use access, shed light on the resource governance tensions.

The third category adopts a more socio-political perspective in reading the challenges of *urban food governance and planning* for advancing Alternative Food Systems (Blay-Palmer 2010; Cohen and Reynolds 2014; Mah and Thang 2013; Mansfield and Mendes 2013; Mendes 2008; Morgan 2009; Morgan 2015; Moragues-faus and Morgan 2015; Ilieva 2016).

2.4.1 Scale dynamics in AFNs

The scalar dynamics of AFNs were addressed for the first time in the debate on conventionalism versus alterity (Sonnino and Marsden 2006; Rossi and Brunori 2010). Referring originally to the rapid growth of the organic food sector, this debate soon extended to Alternative Agro-Food Networks in general (Sonnino and Marsden 2006). Part of this literature makes use of the analytical lenses of the transition framework (Geels and Schot 2007; Geels 2011, 2014; Grin *et al.* 2010; Loorbach 2007; Spargaaren *et al.* 2012), yet giving it a more socio-political flavour. Thus, recalling the niche-regime dialectics of the multi-level transition framework, alternative agro-food networks are regarded as novelties emerging and growing in protected

spaces or niches (Rossi and Brunori 2010), feeding into the transformation of established socio-technical regimes by the mobilization of alternative norms, codes and practices of food production and consumption (Rossi and Brunori 2010; Rossi 2017). This literature examines to what extent practices in niches can change value-systems and regulatory apparatuses of the wider scale socio-technical regimes. More recently, issues of upscaling have popped up in the North-American literature, focusing on food hubs, often through the lenses of the adaptive governance of complex systems (Campbell and MacRae 2013; Fridman and Lenters 2013; Mount *et al*. 2013; Stroink and Nelson 2013)[18].

Many of the governance issues touched upon by the transition framework and adaptive governance perspectives as applied in the alternative food literature are concerns in the HGA and how it explains governance tensions. Yet these tensions need deeper analysis. Though the debate on scalar dynamics has now taken on board the role of values and principles in AFNs, more structured analysis is needed on how these interfere with the organizational modalities of AFNs. Also the question of how AFNs' values are affected by the interrelations with market or state institutions remains largely unanswered. Examining the case of a Community Food Security Initiative, Johnston and Baker (2005) allude to such tensions. On the one hand the authors recognize the need of the Community Food Security Initiative to scale out to reach more people and to build networks at a higher spatial scale to address structural policy challenges and to lobby in favour of changes in regulatory frameworks. At the same time, they point at the risks that upscaling would lead to the bureaucratization of this food initiative, potentially dissociating the project from its local rootedness and community connectedness. Referring to post-organic movements such as the Italian GAS (*Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale*), Dupuis and Goodman (2005) or Rossi and Brunori (2010) also underline the need to avoid the risk of "normalization" of AFNs. Normalization, they argue, would turn AFNs into a condition of radical dependence on exogenous institutional systems, in operational, functional and often also socio-political terms.

Thus, these writings allude to the basic questions about values in AFNs as well as to their aspired or achieved modes of organization and forms of upscaling or out-scaling. But they insufficiently address the nature of the

[18] For a comparative perspective on transition thinking and adaptive governance see Voß and Bornemann 2011.

actual impact of the perceived tensions on the ways AFNs develop through time and organize their governance. For AFNs this involves continuous negotiation and struggle with recurrent (self)reflection on their values, agendas and wider societal missions within the socio-political reality they operate in (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018). These dynamics need deeper attention. Moreover, the retuning of values within AFNs organizations, and their positioning in the Hybrid Governance constellation, is not only a matter of organizational governance, but of resource governance as well. This is especially true if we consider that different agencies and multi-scalar institutions have a stake in determining the ownership and use rights of key resources. As highlighted at the outset of section 3, the socio-ecological metabolism, including the allocation, appropriation and (mis)use of land, occupies a central role in the dynamics of the Hybrid Governance systems of AFNs[19].

For instance, interest groups seeking to liberate land for organic farming struggle for support from local administrations (Tornaghi 2012). They often face up to constraints related to high property values and conflicts over land use (Purcell and Tyman 2015). Alternative delivery schemes seeking to privilege organic farming run into conflict with regulatory frameworks favouring corporate modes of production. These frameworks protect the market-power of large-scale food and agro-businesses generating phenomenal ecological and social costs by relying on cheap labour and privileging resource-depleting food chains. These businesses may provide cheaper food, but its nutritional value is highly disputable and its destructive impact of its cultivation and distribution on the socio-ecological system increasingly well documented. The socio-political struggle to transform these regulatory frameworks is at the heart of institutional governance tensions.

[19] Contributions on scalar dynamics of AFNs from the perspective of grass root transitions help to connect organizational aspects of bottom-up initiatives with the need to secure resources, thus linking more specifically to the type of Hybrid Governance tensions called '*resource tensions*'. This link is evident in contributions highlighting the dependence of many grassroots initiatives from external funding and support (Seyfang and Smith 2007; Nelson *et al.* 2013). Short-term and precarious funding schemes, contested relations of dependence and problematic 'institutional fit' between community organizations and funding agents, are the main underlined problematics (Seyfang and Smith 2007).

2.4.2 The politics of land access

Resource governance tensions are a major issue in publications on the politics of land access for food production. These publications examine the political economy and ecology in which diverse actors take part and how they influence the accessibility of cultivable land (Adams *et al.* 2015; Angotti 2015; Purcell and Tyman 2015; Tornaghi 2012; Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014; Wekerle and Classens 2015). First of all, they recognize the scarcity of quality land within urban areas or in their proximity as a common problem (Angotti 2015; Wekerle and Classens 2015). This is due to high pressures from real estate developments and rent-seeking land uses, as well as the uneven usability and quality of soil for agricultural purposes (Angotti 2015). Secondly, some contributions highlight the need to (re)consider the issues of property and ownership structures and land use rights conditioning the access to land (Wekerle and Classens 2015). Large parts of potentially cultivable surfaces have been privatized to the benefit of real estate development, often with the compliance of public administrations. Furthermore, despite the proliferation of successful experiences of insurgent food planning, there is still reluctance among local authorities to facilitate gardening or small-scale agriculture in public spaces (Tornaghi 2012; Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014). There is indeed ambivalence in the public and political perception of the benefits of insurgent practices such as guerrilla gardening or urban agriculture (Adams *et al.* 2015). Radical actions of interest groups may either lead to negotiation or conflict with a wide range of private, public and civil society actors determining the ownership of land, as well as its quality and usability (Purcell and Tyman 2015; Tornaghi 2012; Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014; Wekerle and Classens 2015). Thus, exploring potentialities for win-win arrangements among diverse stakeholders and interests, i.e. community groups, public and private actors, appears to be the more realistic way of addressing the problematics of scarcity of land for urban food production (Wekerle and Classens 2015).

2.4.3 Urban food governance and planning

The challenges of facilitating urban food production, as a core function of the food systems, have been prominently echoed in the debates on urban

food governance and planning (Blay-Palmer 2009; Cohen and Reynolds 2014; Ilieva 2016; Mah and Thang 2013; Mansfield and Mendes 2013; Mendes 2008; Moragues-Faus and Morgan 2015; Morgan 2009, 2015; Rocha and Lessa 2009). This governance and planning literature emphasizes institutional aspects and the multi-scalar organization of agencies and institutions affecting alternative food systems, thus reflecting on 'institutional governance tensions'.

Particularly interesting here is the contribution of Cohen and Reynolds (2014). Referring to socio-institutional practices in urban agriculture in New York, the authors highlight the role of new 'political spaces' as key arenas where agency and governing practices of alternative food organizations are tried out and fostered. The authors illustrate how such political spaces are created "outside government initiated efforts, that are typically part of the classical modernist policy making" (*ibid*:233). Fluid networks of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, interest groups, NGOs and private actors, constitute the political arenas in which alternative food practices are played out and negotiated. This positioning is quite similar to that of bottom-linked governance in the social innovation literature (Eizaguirre *et al.* 2012, 2017). Other authors focus on the role of multi-level institutional structures - such as food policy councils and food strategies - as potential enablers of AFNs (Blay-Palmer 2010; Fridman and Lenters 2013; Mansfield and Mendes 2013; Mendes 2008).

These socio-political writings resonate with the analysis of the institutional governance tensions in the HGA, stressing the role of hybrid actor and policy networks in negotiating supportive policy and the creation of (new) institutional spaces (see table 2.1). These tensions refer to the role of socially innovative institutional logics qualifying the interactions among alternative food organizations and institutional systems. Depending on the specific contextual circumstances, AFNs might connect with, influence, reform, or rather oppose or bypass key actors or institutions at different scales, or struggle to coproduce a new socio-political scale benefiting their aspirations and practices (Iles and Montenegro de Wit 2015). The above suggests that the analysis of institutional and scalar dynamics of AFNs requires a deep understanding of the socio-political relations with which alternative food initiatives are intertwined. Thus, adaptive governance or transition perspectives, with their mellow understanding of the political,

do not properly consider these socio-political and power interactions and do not constitute an adequate analytical or normative approach.

2.5 Hybrid Governance of AFNs: completing the picture

The literature review in the above section has explained the state of the art of the literature in analysing the governance of AFNs. Mirrored onto the HGA and the three governance tensions defined in section 2.3 (and summarized in table 2.1) several shortcomings in this literature are brought to the open. Several opportunities to improve the analysis of the Hybrid Governance of AFNs are available. We identified three of them: a) Identifying the intricacies of the organizational governance struggles of AFNs, focusing on the interactions among organizational-material dynamics and the agendas, missions, wider societal objectives and value systems of alternative food initiatives; b) systematise the relations between the organizational dynamics and the need to access and secure key material resources; c) develop more socio-politically embedded analysis of power relations and agential-organizational struggles as they have a role in the building of participatory and supportive governing institutions. As pointed out in section 2.3, literature from other fields can inspire a more adequate and articulated consideration of these dynamics. In what follows, key governance issues requiring further research are formulated in an interrogative way, and organized according to the three types of governance tensions.

Organizational governance tensions

As to organizational governance tensions in AFNs, what deserves deeper attention, are the dialectic relations among needs, values and organizational dynamics of food initiatives, especially when hybrid interactions between different forms of governance are at play. The distinction made between institutions and organizations, essential pillars of the HGA, is fundamental to cast light on the effects of institutionalization by state, public or private agents (e.g. food/planning regulations, funding schemes, policy agendas, etc.) on the organizational dynamics of AFNs. Here, literature on social innovation, socio-spatial innovation and collective action perspective, on the emergence and life-course of

alternative organizations (MacCallum *et al.* 2009; Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013), help to produce a better understanding of the determinant factors and the various forms of the organizational governance tensions of AFNs. First there is the influence of values, ethics and needs satisfaction on the modes of organization of bottom-up initiatives. What is the nature of the initiative? What are its value systems and missions? Which world views, action models, inspire or guide it? What are the unquestionable organizational pillars of its collective agency? A *second related point* refers to how customary organizational modalities of AFNs - usually bottom-up and solidarity based - are influenced or threatened by hybridization with other forms of governance. Examples are AFNs which, as they evolve, are pressured to conform to certain institutional logics, or adopt decision-making strategies and behavioural modes which are typical of the corporate sector. What kind of contradictions and dilemmas do AFNs face in their dynamic reproduction? What are the relevant changes in their organizational governance? And what are the promising organizational strategies, or self-reflexive governance mechanisms, put into action to overcome such contradictions? Examples might be new modes of communication; new self-regulatory tools; modalities of mediation and conflicts' resolution; building bottom-linked relations with key agents of the socio-institutional system at diverse scales, while at the same time, protecting the core values of the AFNs. A sound investigation of these organizational challenges is needed, as they are likely to exert a strong impact on the future of AFNs and, consequently, on their potential to contribute to universal food security and food sovereignty objectives.

Resource governance tensions

Resource, organizational and institutional governance tensions are intimately related. Strategies for needs satisfaction require the use and acquisition of resources (Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010). To this purpose, organizations and their networks communicate with and build connections with policy institutions, government agencies, NGOs establishing land-banks or lobbying toward new land use policies and financial institutions supporting rural development (Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010).

Allocating quality land, developing the appropriate infrastructures for food production are critical issues on which governance interactions and tensions are played out. The contributions in the food systems literature which we examined point at agential struggles, power relations and institutional spaces in which the political ecology of land governance is performed (Tornaghi 2012; Tornaghi and Van Dyck 2014; Wekerle and Classens 2015). However, most of these contributions refer to small-scale urban gardening or agriculture. The HGA identifies key governance tensions that emerge in the multi-scalar, territorial governance of alternative food projects with their land cum soil needs. The extension of the access to land for urban and peri-urban agriculture together with the development of urban-rural food networks often have to face off multiple (semi)public administrations and might require planning and administrative fine-tuning across jurisdictions as well as new forms of cooperation between institutional agents, grass-root/interest groups, property owners, private agents, and so on. Questions that emerge are: is *a commoning governance* of land and related resources conceivable? What are the potentials and constraints to activate and coordinate a range of diverse agencies in the cooperative governance of urban-peri-urban agriculture, its land and infrastructure requirements?

Institutional governance tensions

Two broad sources of institutional governance tensions emerge from the AFNs' literature and show its lack of completion in addressing institutional governance dynamics. The first is that multi-level and multi-scalar institutions embody different voices of actors in the food system (Blay-Palmer 2010; Cohen and Reynolds 2014). The second is the role of multiple scales of governance and their inter-scalar articulations, in constraining or advancing local food systems (Mah and Thang 2013; Mansfield and Mendes 2013; Mendes 2008; Morgan 2015). Multi-vocality and the pursuit of shared decision making by diverse actors within multi-scalar, multi-level institutional arenas raise at least three different aspects of institutional governance tensions for AFNs. The first refers to the impact of different food governing frameworks, operating at diverse institutional scales, e.g. municipal, regional, national, international. These frameworks exert contextual influence on evolving AFNs, creating barriers, but also

opportunity spaces for the development of AFNs (Schiavoni 2013; Iles and Montenegro de Wit 2015). A second related aspect concerns communication and coordination within and across institutional scales. To what extent can relevant policy agencies cooperate for sustaining local food and agriculture initiatives? How to foster inter-jurisdictional collaboration to support joint local food projects? How can communication across different institutional scales be facilitated? Here forms of subsidiarity should be evaluated, as they relate to the specific allocation of competences, power and resources across institutional scales (Martinelli 2013; Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005). A third point, then, concerns the potentials for *bottom-linked* governing institutions in the hybrid food system governance (Eizaguirre *et al.* 2012, 2017; Moulaert *et al.* 2010; Pradel *et al.* 2013). Such institutions should facilitate frameworks for empowerment, joint projects and mutual learning among different food organizations, but also together with public and corporate agencies having a stake in the food system. Several recent experiences of how local administrations can learn from democratic practices in grassroots organizations (Eizaguirre *et al.* 2017) should be a source of inspiration for co-learning and how it can contribute to a better match between the diverse values and interests of different food agencies. Up to which point *bottom-linked* governance can go in the direction of co-constructing policy decisions and frameworks for action?

2.6 Conclusion

By re-conceptualizing Hybrid Governance, this paper has re-conceptualized the governance of AFNs. Similarly to other types of socially innovative initiatives - with their ambitions to 'spread the word and the deed', to scale out, up and proliferate in diverse ways, AFNs engage with socio-political as well as socio-ecological dynamics and governance tensions. The current food debate has only partially and implicitly identified and addressed these tensions. With the purpose to make them explicit and visible, showing how they relate to one another, in this paper we took the following logical steps. We defined AFNs as socially innovative bottom-up initiatives and mobilized socio-political and socio-ecological approaches to governance, thus arriving to a first characterization of Hybrid Governance as a hybrid of four different forms of governance. We

then showed how this socio-politically sensitive view provides an empirically sensitive tool to picture the real-life governance challenges of AFNs. Distinguishing organizations from institutions, we identified the typical features of hybridity in organizational, resource and institutional types of governance tensions. We then used the HGA as an analytical mirror to examine how the AFNs' literatures relate to the types of governance tensions (section 2.4), and which elements are missing in their analysis of the governance tensions of AFNs (section 2.5).

The HGA unrolled in this paper suggests the need for a more focused and socio-politically informed research on three key aspects of the AFNs' governance. First, a more grounded study of organizational governance struggles involving AFNs is needed. This analysis should shed light on the self-reflexivity of AFNs, i.e on the ways these initiatives are ushered to revisit or change their modes of governance in order to handle governance tensions. Secondly, a deeper analysis of the governance of the access and control of scarce resources, especially land and related material resources across city-regional contexts, is needed. The third aspect concerns the co-production of democratic and reflexive institutions for the governance of alternative food systems. This includes the envisioning of shared objectives and forms of cooperation among diverse food actors as well as the actual implementation of alternative food systems through (often contested) forms of institutionalization.

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CHAPTER 3

Hybrid Governance tensions fuelling self-reflexivity in Alternative Food Networks: the case of the Brussels GASAP (solidarity purchasing groups for peasant agriculture)[20]

Alessandra Manganelli and Frank Moulaert

Abstract

This paper applies the concept of Hybrid Governance to the analysis of the GASAP (Groupes d'Achats Solidaires de l'Agriculture Paysanne), a solidarity based producers–consumers network established in Brussels in 2006. The Hybrid Governance concept allows to capture the role of key governance tensions in driving the self-organisation, scaling out and self-reflexive dynamics of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs). The approach provides a multifaceted and sound socio-political account of the ways AFNs arise, self-organise, associate and build networks in the pursuit of their food allocation objectives, often facing a contradictory socio-institutional environment. Three types of governance tensions, i.e. organisational, resource, and institutional, as well as the interactions among them, are analysed throughout the life-course of the GASAP network. The analysis identifies three phases in the GASAP's life-course, showing how governance tensions and their interrelations arise and play a critical role in conditioning the overall development of the organisation through time. The paper concludes with highlighting prospective values of the Hybrid Governance Approach for the analysis of AFNs in general. These values relate to: the role of the hybrid approach in illuminating on key drivers

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behind the scaling out of AFNs; the Hybrid Governance as a tool to conceptualise and sustain the self-reflexive capacity of local food initiatives and the ways by which this approach unravels challenges to build cooperative alliances and networks among a diversity of agents in the food arena.

Keywords
Hybrid Governance tensions, Alternative Food Networks, self-reflexivity, resources, organisations, institutions

3.1 Introduction

This paper examines Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) from a governance perspective. By introducing and operationalising the concept of Hybrid Governance, it shows how key governance tensions emerge and materialise as alternative food initiatives arise and develop. In particular, the analysis highlights organisational, resource and institutional governance tensions as well as the relations between them. This Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA) allows to provide a socio-political account of the agency, self-organising dynamics and value struggles of local food initiatives, as they grow and scale out in diverse ways, interacting with often highly contradictory politico-institutional environments. Such analysis is an important instrument of self-reflexivity, i.e. the ways in which AFNs are ushered to re-examine and re-consider their own governance as well as their position and roles in a particular societal and territorial context (see section 3.4).

AFNs are active in many localities across the world. By establishing more horizontal and participatory organisational arrangements, cultivating proximity and trust relations between consumers and producers, or taking action to pursue food security or food sovereignty, these initiatives engage to build alternatives to the conventional food chains (Marsden 2013; Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe 2010). Different AFNs adopt diverse organisational forms (see Forssell and Lankoski 2017; Karner 2010; Roep and Wiskerke 2012). This paper deals with what can be considered as grassroots-based AFNs, emerging as bottom-up or civil society initiatives or movements, often with no formal statute or links with official institutional and economic structures. Community Supported

Agricultures (CSAs), engaged producer-consumer networks (Rossi and Brunori 2010; Van Gameren, Ruwet, and Bauler 2015), bottom-up food sovereignty or food transition initiatives (Block *et al.* 2012; De Schutter 2013; Figueroa 2015; Sage 2014) can generally be considered as grassroots-based AFNs. They are usually value-based (Rossi and Brunori 2010), advancing claims for a greater food security and food sovereignty, although also experiencing struggles and revealing contradictions in their ambitions to build community (Pole and Gray 2013), or to attain social justice objectives (Allen 2010; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; DuPuis, Goodman, and Harrison 2006; Goodman 2004; Hinrichs 2000).
In this paper, the HGA is applied to the AFN organisation "GASAP" (Solidarity Purchasing Groups for Peasant Agriculture) which is active in the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR) since 2006. The GASAP is a citizens-led CSA movement, linking consumers directly with producers through a solidarity-based alliance (see section 3.3 for a detailed description). With the progressive increase in the number of participants, members (producers as well as consumers) and food-basket groups in the GASAP network, governance tensions have intensified.

Scholars have already started to reflect upon development and growth challenges of AFNs (Beckie, Kennedy, and Wittman 2012; Campbell and MacRae 2013, Johnston and Baker 2005, Mount 2012, Mount *et al.* 2013). Some point to scalar challenges of AFNs in exercising a wider impact on food and institutional systems (Campbell and MacRae 2013; Johnston and Baker 2005). Beckie, Kennedy, and Wittman (2012) and Mount *et al.* (2013) are more focused on organisational dynamics and collaborative processes among food organisations. Other contributions reflect upon values and identity conflicts of growing food initiatives (Rossi and Brunori 2010, Mount 2012). The HGA applied in this paper has found inspiration in these contributions to develop an integrated and socio-politically sensitive perspective, capable of covering multiple aspects of governance and their interactions. These aspects, in synthesis, refer to the role of motivations, ideologies, values in driving the agency of AFNs; how these interact with the spatial-material development of the initiatives and their need to secure resources; the building of alliances and relational networks with agents from the socio-institutional arena; the self-reflexivity of AFNs induced by key governance interactions and tensions as the initiatives

develop. However, these aspects are too often analysed according to an organisational logic only, thus neglecting the features of institutional dynamics and how they interact with the organisational. This neglect reduces governance to a normative exercise of building modes of collective behaviour, whereas in reality, it is a complex process of various organisational and institutional trajectories reflecting competition for and control of resources such as arable land. Analysing governance as a process of hybridisation of forms of governance and the tensions this produces, should remedy this neglect.

Section 3.2 following this introduction conceptualises Hybrid Governance and focuses on the tensions which stem from the interactions among the different governance forms. Three types of governance tensions are identified. Organisational governance tensions are related to the governance of AFNs' as these initiatives develop and require greater organisational efforts to coordinate the network. Thus, contradictions between potentially conflictive values or governance principles may rise, especially between those of solidarity-based food security and more efficiency-oriented modes of governing. Institutional governance tensions occur when processes of institutionalisation take place, diversely affecting AFNs' organisations. The ambition of the AFNs to exercise scalar influence on local food policies and export alternative food values, but also the ways these values are discussed, negotiated, protected or opposed by different institutions are at the heart of this type of tension. With organisational and institutional dynamics often focused on the mobilisation and control of needed resources, resource governance tensions represent the third type of governance tensions. Section 3.2 also explains the methodological steps in the analysis of the GASAP's governance. It translates the three types of governance tension into categories for empirical investigation (empirical categories).

Section 3.3 gives a historical reconstruction of the three stages in the GASAP's governance build-up. For each stage, the three types of governance tension and the interaction between them are analysed. The initial stage in the GASAP history is permeated by organisational responses to the challenges of building a bottom-up network. The analysis also reveals features of resource and institutional tensions that emerged as the GASAP organisation matured. The second stage of the GASAP history orbits around its growing relational interaction with

Brussels' institutional state and non-state actors. The latest stage in the development of the GASAP shows a greater spatial and material complexity, with intensifying organisational and governance dynamics. Wider governance networks also involving weak relations with actors of the conventional food system are established. Overall, the empirical analysis confirms that the governance tensions and the interactions between them intensify as the GASAP organisation scales out and navigates the wider socio-institutional arena of the Brussels' food practices and policies.

The **concluding section** looks back to the governance outcomes of the GASAP's development. It highlights the self-reflexivity of the GASAP, especially on its own governance, following the intensification of organisational and institutional governance tensions over time. The section also points out the gains from the HGA for the analysis of AFNs in general. Three points are highlighted, which relate to: (a) how the hybrid approach helps to understand the drivers behind different modes of scaling out of alternative food organisations; (b) the ways it supports the "self-reflexivity" of alternative food initiatives and their governance – the way they deal with the contradictions in value systems between organisations and between institutions and (c) the challenges of building up institutional support and cooperative networks among alternative food organisations and other agents of the food and institutional arena.

3.2 The analytical framework and the research methods

This section explains the analytical framework (Subsection 3.2.1) and the research methods used in the empirical research (Subsection 3.2.2).

3.2.1 Analytical framework: Hybrid Governance and governance tensions

The governance of AFNs is conceptualised as a hybrid between four governance forms whose interaction produces three types of governance tension: organisational, resource and institutional governance tensions.

Swyngedouw and Jessop (2006) make an analytical distinction between four forms of governance: (a) the hierarchy of state or corporate systems; (b) the "anarchy" of market exchange; (c) the "heterarchy" of self-organisation in networks; (d) solidarity and extra-market affiliations (12).

Real life governance is very often a hybrid of these forms which interact among each other and explains to a large extent the space-time reproduction of governance systems. For instance, solidarity and extra market modes of governance, which are typical of bottom-up organisations or community groups, are generally characterised by horizontal and participatory forms of decision-making (Moulaert *et al.* 2007, 2010, 2013). However, these forms are often conflictive with the hierarchical logics of state systems, or the corporate logics of market actors, such as institutional barriers or market based regulatory regimes, built according to the rationale of conventional food systems (Mount 2012). These and other types of interaction generate tensions in the governance of bottom-up organisations, leading for instance to value conflicts, organisational dilemmas, struggles over regulatory regimes, or competition for access and use of resources (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018).

Different strands of governance literatures are combined as theoretical injections to the formulation of the HGA. These literatures are: (a) theories of social innovation and collective action (Della Porta and Diani 2006; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2007), (b) sociological-institutionalist and multi-scalar approaches to governance (Jessop 2001; Healey 2006; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2013; Pradel, García, and Eizaguirre 2013; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006), and (c) relational approaches to governance (Allen 2009; Allen and Cochrane 2010; Jessop 2001; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006).

These theoretical strands help to identify and analytically frame the types of governance tensions AFNs face. Thus, theories of social innovation and collective action cast light on organisational and resource aspects of AFNs. These literatures help to understand the role of needs, ideologies and values in fostering the agency of AFNs. They explain how socially innovative organisations operate in a duality between social efficiency on the one hand and ethics of respect and solidarity on the other (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018). The solidarity values underpinning the building of coalitions with other agents, organisations or institutions in order to respond to material needs are paramount in bottom-up governance (Della Porta and Diani 2006; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2007). Thus, a way to conceptualise and summarise the material and governance pressures affecting the food network initiatives, is in terms of a first type of governance tensions, i.e. organisational (governance) tensions or

tensions in the modes of governing AFN organisations. Dilemmas stemming from dualities such as horizontal and hierarchical modes of governing, efficiency and participation, volunteer engagement and professionalisation, are part of this type of governance tensions. A second type of governance tension, called resource (governance) tension, refers to the governance of seeking and securing access to different types of material resources (land, finance, logistics, infrastructures, agricultural produce, etc.), which often necessitates AFNs to liaise with agencies or institutional bodies that can facilitate and sustain the access to resources. This links to institutional (governance) tensions which emerge through the building of relational networks between local food initiatives and key food governing agencies and institutions at different scales. Diverse institutions can have a constraining or enabling role for the empowerment of AFNs. Thus, tensions among divergent values, behavioural routines and agendas of actors and institutions involved in the governance of local food systems take place. At the same time, modalities of co-learning and co-construction of values and forms of agency between AFNs and other actors are also part of the analysis.

Sociological-institutionalist and multi-scalar approaches to governance (Healey 2006; Jessop 2001; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2013; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006) concur to shed light on the tensions among different behaviours and value systems of a diversity of agents and organisations, such as state or corporate agents versus bottom-up groups. And relational approaches to governance (Allen 2009; Allen and Cochrane 2010; Jessop 2001; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006) shine on the building of relations among actors and their socialisation dynamics. These relational and scalar aspects of governance cut across the different governance tensions (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018). This conceptualisation of organisational governance tensions and their interaction with the institutional tensions also helps to explain the reflexivity aspects of AFNs. This alludes to the ways AFNs may be brought to re-examine and re-consider their modes of governance at the light of their value systems, wider objectives and local/societal missions, also in response to experienced tensions (see sections 3.3.3 and 3.4).

3.2.2 Research methods

To analyse the GASAP's development trajectory and to interpret the nature of the governance tensions that have arisen in its development, two methodological steps in the empirical work were made. The first step consists of exploratory fieldwork analysis with a first round of interviews making use of empirical categories based on the analytical framework. The second step consists of complementary analysis and verification with follow-up interviews and confrontation with other data to verify the quality and accuracy of the empirical insights and refine the table of empirical categories.

In the first step, preliminary assumptions on the factors of different types of governance tensions (table 3.1 – Factors of tensions) were made. These assumptions were used to formulate an open questionnaire, in order to carry out a first round of face-to-face interviews with members of the network's coordination team, both historical as well as current members. The questions revolved around the following aspects: (a) understanding core values, principles and organisational governance practices of the network; (b) how these practices and organisational principles developed over time, from the organisation's establishment to the current stage and (c) what has been the role of the three types of governance tensions and their interrelation in affecting the GASAP's governance practices as well as its core values through time[21].

[21] Key questions in the interviews were:
– What are your foundational values, missions and organizational principles?
– What changes in your modes of governance have been generated by/are expected to be provoked by the growth of the network and the increase of participants/members overtime? (To be assessed in the different stages).
– In particular, do you perceive tensions between modes of horizontal/participatory governance, volunteer commitment, and types of more hierarchical decision-making, as for instance produced by the greater requirements for professionalization in the network? How do you experience these or other tensions and what are your organizational governance strategies to cope with them?
– What are your key resource-material needs and ways to access resources? In what ways have you connected
with different agents to access resources as well as to build alliances and joint partnerships? (To be assessed
in the different stages).
– Have you aspired to/actively engaged in collaborating with a diversity of agents overtime, and for what purposes? What challenges and tensions you experience in the building of durable collaborative networks with other food actors as well as with institutional agents?

In a second methodological step, the interviews were analysed and combined with other methods of data collection, in order to verify (a) the ways the governance tensions practically manifest and are experienced by the GASAP (table 3.1 – Nature of the tensions) and (b) which governance outcomes these tensions are producing or are expected to produce in the GASAP's organisation and its institutional relations (table 3.1 – Outcomes of the tensions). Thus, in this step, the transcriptions of the interviews were compared with each other and confronted with information from key documentation – such as mission statements, yearly reports, key working documents, policy and legal documentation. Participant observations at the GASAP network assemblies and other relevant meetings, working groups as well as food-basket delivery points were also carried out, along with follow-up interviews with some GASAP member as well as interviews to other regional food actors.

Although most of the assumptions about the governance tensions proved to be relevant, from the second methodological step emerged that the degree and modalities by which the tensions were experienced by the GASAP were not equally manifest for all types of tension. This is particularly true for the organisational governance tensions. These tensions are certainly active in the GASAP, but they have not radically perturbed the GASAP's core values and grass-root organisational approach, which seem to be rather resilient (see section 3.4). In particular, GASAP core members stressed the importance of protecting and sustaining the nature of the organisation as a grassroot driven social movement, in which citizens engage with and care for the support of small scale peasant growers. Yet, GASAP leaders expressed the concern to valorise, promote, and in some way defend their principles in face of a growing landscape of other AFN organisations scaling out in the BCR. It was also found that tensions between the tendency to decentralisation/enlargement of the territorial reach and the need to federate the network (see table 3.1) have not radically affected the GASAP network either. Besides, these tensions are perceived by some of the GASAP's leaders as potential future effects of further scaling out of the network.

– Looking at the GASAP network today, do you perceive that your core values and principles have radically changed over time or are still vivid nowadays? In case, what threats do you perceive and what are your organizational strategies to cope with those?

Table 3.1 was developed on the basis of the analytical framework to help summarising the key tensions, their factors, as well as the current and expected effects of the governance tensions on the GASAP network and its institutional relations. In step 2 the original version of the table was fine-tuned with the empirical findings and made more consistent with the version reproduced in this paper.

Table 3.1. Hybrid Governance Methodology - Empirical Categories
Source: authors' elaboration

(the table continues in the next page)

Type of Governance Tensions	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms	Governance Outcomes
ORGANIZATIONAL **Tensions in the governance of the organization of the AFNs stemming from different sources**	Growth in the Movement- Network (increase of actors, social, spatial/material bases, functions) requires other governance structures Dynamics of decentralization and inter-spatiality in the organizational and territorial structure of the project/network Cross-territorial food projects intersecting different jurisdictional subdivisions (constraints/opportunities)	Tensions between horizontal-participatory and hierarchical-efficient decision-making arrangements Tensions in values, principles, identity Associating, building coalitions, networks Tensions between the tendency to decentralization/ enlargement of the territorial reach and the need to federate the network	Increased self-reflexivity on changes and adaptations in decision-making modalities Stronger self-reflection on values and identity
RESOURCE **Tensions in the governance of the access to and use of resources (land, capital, physical infrastructures, skills …)**	Searching access to and control of material resources (logistics, cultivable land, infrastructures, finance, agricultural produce etc)	Tensions between diversity of institutional actors (state, corporate, communities, organizations) as to their control capacities of access and use of resources	Moving towards resource diversification Enhanced inter-scalar connections for improved

		Interactions between bottom-up food networks and top-down state/corporate systems for negotiating/ claiming access/control of resources Conflicts among visions concerning the fair allocation, access, use, of resources	resource acquisition Expected enduring conditions of resource dependence from external agents Strategic leadership, forms of proactive conflict management and cooperation
INSTITUTIONAL **Tensions in the socio-political and socio-professional governance structures embedding the AFN and its governance**	Power struggles between AFNs and state/corporate institutions at different scales Divergent values, behavioural routines, agendas between AFNs and institutional or other agents responsible for or/influencing the food governance.	Hybrid actors and policy networks negotiating supportive policy/institutional spaces AFN constraining vs. enabling institutions Contradictory socio-political transformative forces Relation building towards participatory commoning governance institutions	Increased openness towards collaborative partnerships Shaky progress in compromising with and accommodating divergences in professional practices, behaviours, values in different institutions Self-reflexivity and co-construction of agendas, goals, values

3.3 Reading the GASAP's history through the Hybrid governance lens

The GASAP was established in the BCR in 2006, in the early phases of a nascent local food movement (Manganelli 2013). The GASAP is an organisation founded by citizens and activists, including peasant farmers themselves, concerned about agro-ecological and environmental values of food. The GASAP shows strong similarities with CSA networks elsewhere, such as the Italian GAS – Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale - (Rossi and Brunori 2010), the French AMAP – Association pour le Maintien d'une Agriculture Paysanne - (Poulot 2014), the Flemish Voedselteams (Crivits and Paredis 2013; Van Gameren, Ruwet, and Bauler 2015), and also the pioneering Japanese Teikei system (Kondoh 2015). In their specific context and organisational conditions, these initiatives attempt to build alternative and more horizontal relationships among consumers and producers.

Thus, the GASAP has fostered a solidarity alliance between consumers and small-scale peasant producers/farmers, formalised by signing a contract each time new consumers and producers groups are formed within GASAP (see GASAP's charter). Practically, consumers pay producers in advance a certain amount of money in exchange for future food produce. This helps farmers to plan their seasonal production and secure their income. Thus, groups of consumers are linked directly to one or more peasant producers. In this way, GASAP's mangeurs get to know the reality and the production practices of the producers. Practically, producers distribute food produce on a regular basis at delivery points divided over the Brussels' regional territory, whereas citizens-consumers compose and collect food baskets at each pick up point. Thus, the organisation is self-managed by consumers and producers in a direct solidarity alliance, with the ambition of fostering mutual understanding and support among production and consumption interests. Citizens-consumers, linked to the producers, are the actual drivers of the GASAP as a self-organising initiative and movement. A core leading team elected to represent and manage the initiative, seeks to ensure the horizontal, grassroots and self-reliance character of the GASAP organisation.

In terms of governance forms, this means that the GASAP features as a hybrid between strong affective and solidarity forms of governance, combined with the progressive self-organisation into a network, also involving some hierarchy of coordination. The coordination team mainly

consists of active GASAP members who are elected by the members of the GASAP. This helps to guarantee an alignment with core values and philosophies of the organisation.

Because of the often spontaneous and informal manner by which new GASAP groups are created, not every participant is an actual member of the GASAP network. Membership encompasses practical as well as moral aspects. Practical aspects include the right to vote at the general assembly and, more recently, the payment of membership dues; moral aspects cover embracing the GASAP's values, expressed in its principles, as well as in its political and societal objectives[22]. Alignment with its seed values and its democratic functioning have shaped the GASAP's identity and imaginaries all along the history of the organisation. Yet, spatial and material dynamics of the network are also part of the GASAP's development. Since the beginning participants (including the actual members, in the role of consumers and producers) and food baskets' outlets have gradually increased in numbers and started to spread over a wider area (see figure 3.1). Nowadays over 90 consumer–producer groups are scattered in the BCR and the neighbouring territory. Each group links 15–20 households, sometimes even more, to one or more producers. The number of participating farmers has also increased, from a single producer in 2006 to over 30 producers currently, including vegetable growers, but also small-scale processors (see figures 3.1 and 3.2).

The growth of the GASAP goes along with the gradual formation of a coordinating body and the gradual formalisation of the GASAP into a non-profit association (2012). Contested relations of resource dependence on state agencies started to emerge already in the early years of the GASAP, following the need to secure financial resources. Yet the GASAP has continued to expand in an informal and organic way in the intermediate and latest stages of its history.

[22] See among others the GASAP's Charter and the GASAP's Statute (http://gasap.be/le-reseau-des-gasap/, accessed on 7 May 2017). It is also worth mentioning that the distinction between members and no-members as well as between types of membership (e.g. actual members versus nominal members), is also foreseen in the legal framework to which an organization like the GASAP today belongs. This legal framework refers essentially to the Belgian regulations on the "asbl" (No-profit associations). See for instance: http://www.assoc.be/ (accessed 25 May 2017).

Nowadays the GASAP organisation needs to re-consider its logistics of food distribution and, in consequence, its organisational structure. The sequel of the section retraces the development of the GASAP showing how the governance tensions emerge and interact among each other in the early (3.3.1), intermediate (3.3.2) and current (3.3.3) stages of its life-course.

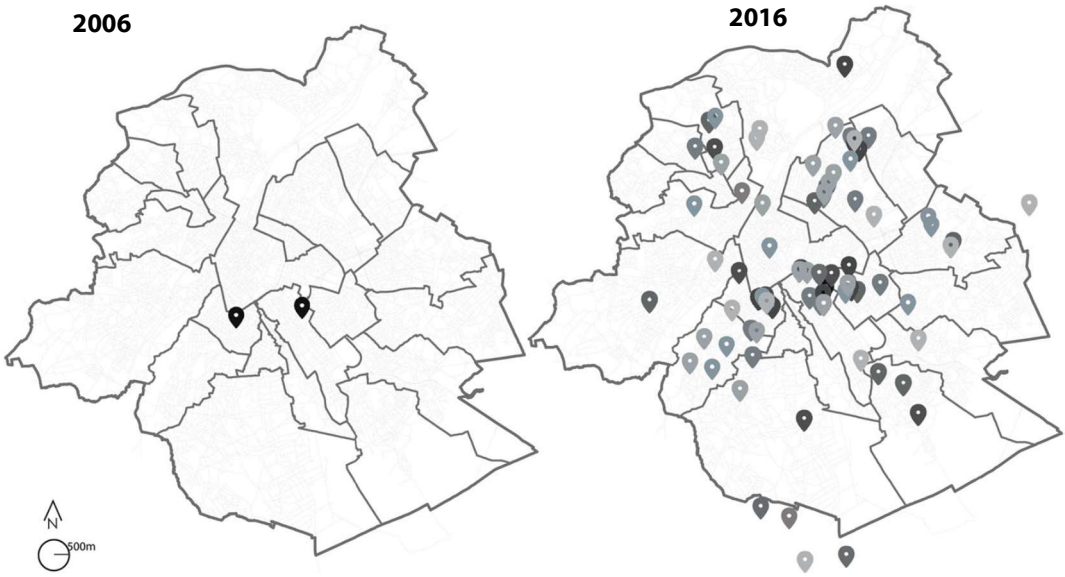

Figure 3.1 Conceptual map of the BCR representing the development of the GASAP's food baskets delivery points in the early stage (figure on the left) and in the latest stage (figure on the right).
Source: authors' elaboration

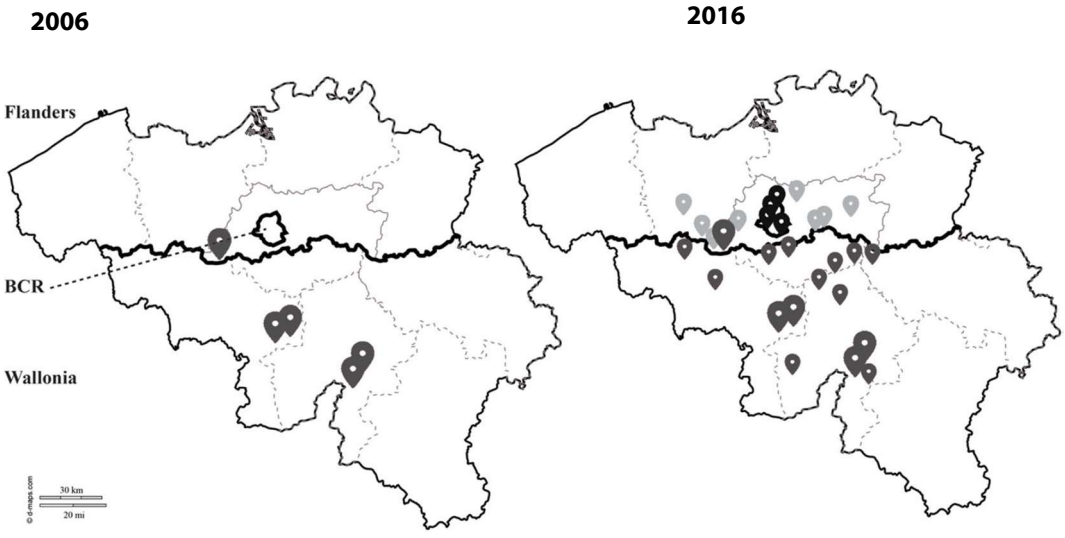

Figure 3.2 Conceptual map of Belgium representing the location of GASAP's producers in the early stage (figure on the left) and in the latest stage (figure on the right).
Source: authors' elaboration

3.3.1 Organisational dynamics and emerging governance tensions in the GASAP's early years (2006–2012)

As an authentically bottom-up organisation, with originally no formal links with state or market institutions, the GASAP has been shaped according to alternative values and imaginaries. Important in this genesis is the members' self-perception as being part of a movement, driven by citizens that aspire to feed themselves in a different way and desire to sustain a different type of agriculture[23]. Similar to other Community Supported Agriculture and Food Sovereignty Movements (Cid Aguayo and Latta 2015; Nigh and González Cabañas 2015), the GASAP supports small scale, peasant and agro-ecological agriculture and opposes the mainstream corporate food systems' values.

Referring to governance forms, the nascent GASAP movement evidently falls within both the third and the fourth forms of governance, hybridising the heterarchy of the self-organisation with solidarity and extra market types of affiliation (see section 3.2). As a consequence, modalities of bringing participants together, setting up meetings, making decisions, have mainly grown from horizontal, informal and personal relations, often connected to friendship or commonality of visions and values concerning the food system. The forging of alliances and relational networks with other food sovereignty organisations has been motivated by affinity between ideologies and societal values. Furthermore, from the start and along its life-course, the GASAP has connected with regional, Belgium based as well as international movements for the right to food and the defence of peasant agriculture (see figure 3.3 "Timeline of the GASAP development" at the end of this section).

Yet, the GASAP movement had to cope with its own socio-spatial specificity and modalities of development. Already in the first years of its existence in the BCR, different GASAP food-basket groups have sprung from informal relations among citizens and activists living in proximity to each other. In interaction with these spatial-material dynamics, internal governing bodies have organically emerged, encompassing working groups dealing with the management of consumers' waiting lists, the

[23] See on that the GASAP's chart and mission statements, partly also available in the GASAP's website http://gasap.be/ (accessed 4 May 2017).

installation of food-basket delivery points, the recruitment of producers, the writing of the GASAP's chart and so on. As a consequence, the frequency of meetings among GASAP's leading actors intensified and:

> *New GASAP pick-up groups started to arise like mushrooms, mainly through 'word of mouth' and informal contacts…I also talked a lot about the GASAP in meetings and public gatherings.* (Cit. from a GASAP's producer)

> *At the beginning there was no pre-conceived strategy of expansion of the food baskets' pick-ups. It was more of a spontaneous process. Requests to enter (the network) became quickly numerous and we needed to manage them in some ways. (*Cit. from interview with a historic GASAP's leader)

These organisational dynamics – giving room to a spontaneous, informal and in a way, ad hoc endogenous governance – brought considerable coordination and management challenges. Thus, organizational governance tensions have emerged since the initial phases of the GASAP's development, stirred by the informal and spontaneous scaling out of this young initiative (see "Timeline of the GASAP development" in figure 3.3 and table 3.1. Organisational governance tensions – factors of tension). Furthermore, other governance tensions began to emerge as the GASAP responded to growth dynamics and management pressures. Connections among the tensions also began to play a role.

3.3.1.1 *Emerging governance tensions and their connections*

Governance tensions already became manifest in the early stage of the GASAP mainly in the form of organisational (governance) tensions. As GASAP started to grow and scale out in the BCR, management challenges came to the fore. As a consequence, tensions were experienced between the spontaneous/ informal governance and the need for a more structured organisation, also requiring greater professionalisation. Thus, hybridisation of governance forms (see the analytical framework and table 3.1 in section 3.2) – specifically the spontaneity of extra-market affiliations, the hierarchy

required by greater professionalisation and the management practices of horizontal networks – began to produce organisational and institutional governance tensions. In particular, already in this early stage, some leading members of GASAP began to fear that a greater professionalisation would inhibit the organisation's spontaneous and informal character (interviews with historic GASAP leaders). However, the need for greater human and material resources to better coordinate the organisation became urgent. Thus, organisational governance tensions pushed the need for access to and control of resources (see table 3.1 – Resource governance tensions).

The GASAP acquired access to additional resources (mainly funding and human resources) through another local food organisation, Les Début des Haricots (DDH), which was founded in the BCR in the same year as the GASAP. These two groups – DDH and GASAP – were practically overlapping at their origins, since leading activists of the DDH were also founders of GASAP. Relational proximity and dialogue between the two organisations have persisted through time.

Having fostered sensitisation and capacity building for urban agriculture since 2005, the DDH had already developed certain collaborative relationships with state agencies at the regional level, in particular with the Environmental Agency of the BCR (IBGE), which is under the jurisdiction of the Environmental Ministry[24]. These institutional relations constitute an anchor point for the GASAP, which started to connect to the IBGE through the mediation of the DDH, to negotiate access to financial resources.

> …*The Ministry in power at that time came from an ecologically sensitive background. Therefore that Ministry was very close and open to this kind of environmental and food related associations. This has allowed some collaborations to happen.* (Cit. from the Cabinet of the Environmental Ministry which was in power those years)

The first funding application for employing a coordinator (2009–2010) signed the beginning of a trajectory of continuing interactions between the GASAP and the IBGE to negotiate and secure the continuity of

[24] At that time, in a landscape of nascent movements and emerging institutional interest on urban gardening and local agriculture, the IBGE (*Institut Bruxellois pour la Gestion de l'Environnement*) was the main Regional institutional agency responsible for ecologically and food-oriented initiatives.

resources. Yet, also due to the fragility of these semi-institutionalised relations, securing control and continuity of financial resources has been a constant factor of organisational and resource governance tensions for GASAP all along. Moreover, behind tensions to access funding, more profound institutional governance tensions are readable. Difficulties to guarantee sustained collaborative relationships between an organisation like the GASAP and a state agency, stem from differences in socio-political and socio-professional cultures, governance modalities and bureaucratic practices (see table 3.1 – Institutional governance tensions). In a way, conditions of resource dependence interact with and reinforce these institutional governance tensions. And these tensions grew in the subsequent phase of the GASAP's life-course, also due to a change of government in the BCR (see section 3.3.2).

3.3.2 GASAP stage 2: reinforced interactions among governance tensions (2012–2014)

Although governance dynamics and tensions already began to emerge in the first phase, they became more tangible and started reinforcing each other in the (intermediate) stage 2. In this phase, the GASAP organisation continued growing in numbers of participants and members including over 60 consumers–producer groups in 2012 (GASAP Activity Report 2012). This was partially a consequence of the greater visibility of the GASAP as a Brussels'-based CSA network. Self-promotion and the engagement of GASAP actors in local food debates, events and public conversations contributed to this visibility (see also Van Gameren, Ruwet, and Bauler 2015). The creation of new GASAP groups continues to occur in a spontaneous and bottom-up way, through citizens' self-organisation, proximity–personal relations and by word-of-mouth. Around the years 2012–2013, producers[25] were mainly located outside the administrative boundaries of the BCR. Along with their growth dynamics and spatial outreach, other material and organisational changes began to occur in the GASAP. New demands by consumers for more variety in products beyond fruits and vegetables spurred these changes. A few consumer groups

[25] In 2012, the GASAP counted over 20 producers. They are mainly organic horticultural producers, but they also encompass few small processors (GASAP Activity Report 2012).

within the GASAP self-organised accordingly, linking with more producers and developing more capacious types of food-basket. These growth and diversification factors had an impact on the GASAP's organisation. The need to better organise the distribution logistics, in a way that responds to new demands from the consumers and guarantees greater efficiency, climbed on the GASAP's preference ladder. However, building up the capacity to meet these demands conflicted with the scarcity and inadequacy of resources – mainly financial, human and logistical resources – experienced by the GASAP (among others, see activity reports 2012 and 2013).

These new interactions among resource and organisational governance dynamics and tensions stirred new institutional governance interactions (see also figure 3.3 "timeline of the GASAP development"). Some leading members of GASAP began to search for new supportive policy spaces complying with the Brussel's sustainable food agenda. Opportunities were negotiated and discovered also through already established relationships and knowledge networks including key institutional food actors[26]. In 2010, these actors co-promoted a new inter-governmental programme to stimulate employment in the BCR, while guaranteeing green and sustainable development[27]. An axis on sustainable food development was integrated into the programme in 2013. This axis provided new funding opportunities for food actors and organisations such as the GASAP. A project proposal on logistics presented by the GASAP was selected and embedded in that programme.

However, these new institutional interactions do not seem to have improved governance relations, e.g. through enhanced participatory and collaborative dynamics and mutual learnings, nor to have brought solutions to the logistical problems. One core reason for these missed opportunities relates to changes in the Brussels' political environment. Following the elections, a change in the BCR Regional Ministry of the

[26] A key leading institutional actor is still represented by sub-sections of the abovementioned IBGE.

[27] The "Alliance Emploi-Environnement", started in 2010, is led by the Ministries of Environment, Economy and the "president-ministry" of the BCR. See the "Report 2014" for more information:
http://www.environnement.brussels/sites/default/files/user_files/rap_aee-alim_rapport2014_fr.pdf (accessed on 19 April 2017).

Environment – also responsible for food policies – occurred in 2014. The new BCR political coalition adopted a more rational and pragmatic attitude towards food and ecologically oriented bottom-up initiatives. The project proposed by the GASAP was stopped after one year, due to new orientations in the allocation of funding and in the delivery of programmes and policies. Together with other food and environmental initiatives, the GASAP started to experience greater restrictions in core funding, and had to face more strict rules of compliance imposed by funding schemes:

> *The new Cabinet established different funding criteria…we lost 1/3 of our funding. It is not easy to fit into their criteria. They support more and more projects that create employment in Brussels; we do not create employment in Brussels, but in the countryside.* (Quote from a GASAP's leader)

These sharpened hierarchical governance modalities affected the resource base of the GASAP network, generating tensions in the relationships between the organisation, its networks and public institutions. The increased uncertainty in accessing and securing funding came along with a growing distance between agendas and values of the GASAP and the BCR governmental institutions (institutional governance tensions).
Furthermore, mismatches in the territorial organisation, due to the increasingly trans-territorial character of the GASAP (see section 3.3.3) have also become a potential factor of tensions (see table 3.1 – Organisational governance tensions).

3.3.3 The recent stage (2014–nowadays). Enhanced governance tensions bringing new opportunities and ambivalences

The above analysis shows both the emergence of governance tensions and the ways by which these tensions began to interact among each other. As the GASAP developed materially and spatially, also becoming more embedded in the BCR's food policies and public practices, these tensions and their interactions seem to have amplified.
The years 2014–2015 marked a threshold in the GASAPs history, as a greater diversity of actors, organisations and state agencies became part of

the GASAPs' governance The highlighted factors of tension – in particular the growth in the organisation, the search for additional resources and the conflicts in value systems with state agencies – have played a part in pushing the GASAP towards the establishment of new governance networks. The building of new governance relations by the GASAP has gone into two main directions. First, the GASAP attempted to negotiate for support and resources with the Walloon Government, which was in process of elaborating new policies on Agriculture and Sustainable Development[28]. The trans-territorial character of the GASAP is regarded by some of the GASAP's leaders as an opportunity to scale out in Wallonia and to play a strategic role for the rural development of that neighbouring Region. Secondly, the GASAP began to establish new project-based partnerships with a diversity of actors in the BCR. The opportunity was offered by a call for projects on Sustainable Food launched in October 2014 by the Regional Agency for Research and Innovation – INNOVIRIS[29]. This call promotes "Living Lab" projects to bring together a diversity of actors – in particular research agents, NGOs, public and private actors – into joint partnerships to improve local food systems. GASAP actors seized this new opportunity to implement priorities on the GASAP's agenda.

The selection procedure came to a close in 2015, and the GASAP won two Living Lab Projects. One of them concerns the identification of efficient solutions for food logistics, a pressing issue for the GASAP. The other aims to determine multi-dimensional criteria for evaluating the sustainability of different kinds of alternative food chains. For the GASAP this was a step towards the elaboration of a Participatory Guarantee System, meant to improve the relations between producers and consumers. This had been a priority for GASAP for a long time. Both projects involve different types of actors: research agents, alternative food organisations, some being social enterprises, but also corporate agents, such as Delhaize, one of the main supermarket chains in Belgium, and Sodexo, a big enterprise responsible for institutional food procurement. These new governance networks seem

[28] See among others, this link : http://www.wallonie.be/fr/strategie-wallonne-de-developpement-durable (accessed on 4 May 2017).

[29] See http://www.innoviris.be/en (accessed 4 May 2017) for an overview of the Research Institution and http://www.goodfood.brussels/fr/contributions/action-co-create-co-creer-pour-des-systemes-dalimentation-durableen-region-de (accessed 4 May 2017) for the specific call.

to play an ambivalent role in the GASAP's organisation. On the one hand, more stable and longer-term funding, greater expertise and human capital are considered instrumental to implement part of the organisation's agenda. On the other hand, tensions occur in the cooperation with actors coming from different organisational practices and cultures, with different objectives, (strategic) time-horizons and behavioural modes:

> *Needs, goals and timeframes of the associative world are very different from the ones of the corporate. By working in these partnerships you realize how challenging it is to implement a fruitful collaboration and to put into action the aspired objectives of everyone in the given timeframe.* (Cit. from a "Co-create" project's responsible within the GASAP)

Other organisational governance tensions relate to the increased degree of professionalization required by the projects. Conflicts have emerged between volunteer participation, an essential driver of the GASAP organisation, and professional agency, as well as between participatory–horizontal versus hierarchical-efficient decision-making practices (see table 3.1 – Organisational governance tensions – Factors of tensions). Thus, some of the organisational tensions felt already in the first stage of the GASAP's life-course (see section 3.3.1) have now become more articulate, urging the coordination team to find ways to implement a shared agenda in an efficient and yet participatory way, also involving an increased number of citizens-consumers and producers. As a result, the GASAP has revived its reflections on how participatory modes of governance can co-exist with the need for professionalisation and more efficient decision-making.

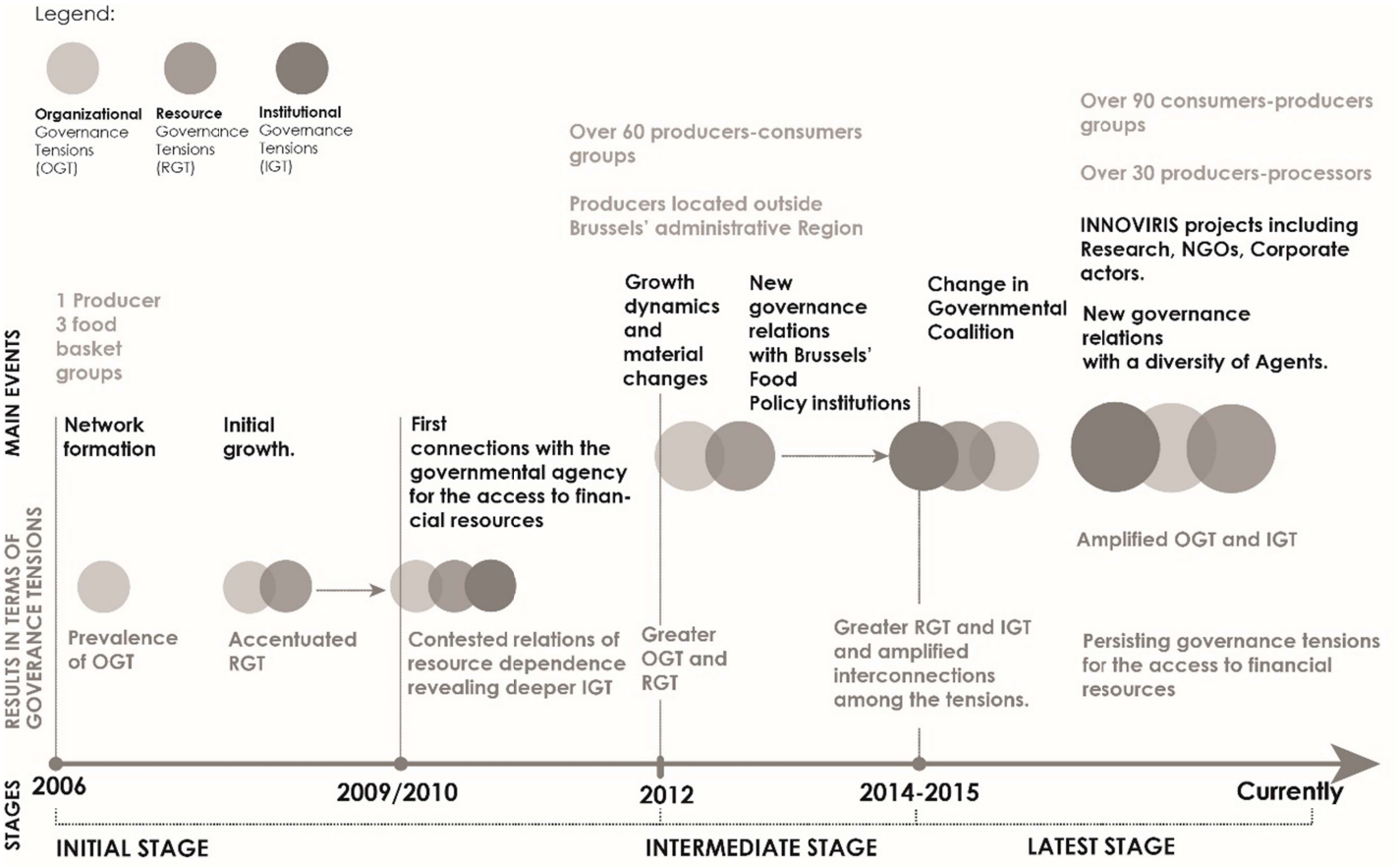

Figure 3.3 Timeline of the GASAP development.
Source: authors' elaboration

3.4 Reconsidering governance tensions in the GASAP. Key lessons and orientations

The concluding observations come in three steps. First, we summarise briefly how the HGA applied in this paper has allowed to identify the tensions which arise in the governance of the GASAP and how they have reinforced each other. Second, we show how the self-reflections made by the GASAP on its governance dynamics have helped to keep it a truly bottom-up organisation, with short chain delivery and local food security provided by a solidarity based local organisation. Third, we highlight the potential of the HGA for the analysis of AFNs in general.

The Hybrid Governance analysis of the GASAP has revealed how governance tensions arise and begin to reinforce each other as the organisation scales out, becoming more embedded in the socio-institutional landscape of the BCR. In the beginning, organisational governance tensions are prevalent. These tensions relate to motivations, values, ethical stances, long-term societal ambitions and democratic modes of organisation in setting up an alternative food delivery network, but also to the "everydayness" of coordinating a bottom-up organisation which at some point starts to scale out spontaneously across the BCR. Then, as the organisation develops, needs for resources become stronger, putting pressures on the organisational governance of the GASAP. Thus, the need to secure resources (especially arable land for growers), to improve the network's logistics, to federate and coordinate its consumers-producers network, create pressures on the GASAP, intensifying organizational as well as resource governance tensions. New relational networks are built by the GASAP, in response to these perceived tensions. The building of these networks is institutionally mediated (new institutions created, new arrangements with state institutions, etc.) and institutional governance tensions become more prominent. The need to build resilient and durable connections with key agents for accessing resources and to develop joint projects and collaborative relations in order to achieve more ambitious objectives, urges some changes in the GASAP's organisational governance.

Overall, the analysis also reveals how core values continue to play a strong role in the way GASAP leaders view the future of the movement[30]. The awareness still predominates of being a citizens-led movement, which defends and supports a certain model of agriculture, as part of a wider network of actors such as CSAs movements seeking food sovereignty (see the introduction and the beginning of section 3.3). This awareness is nourished by a self-reflexivity of the GASAP on its own modes of organisation and governing principles (see third column first row of table 3.1). It has contributed to reassert its basic values and priorities and to reset its ambitions accordingly. The defence of peasant agriculture and the fostering of horizontal and solidarity consumer–producer networks stand as unquestionable pillars of the GASAP organisation.

Thus, the GASAP governance fosters knowledge proximity, transparency, communication and horizontal decision-making strategies among the GASAP members, consumers as well as producers. But as the GASAP develops, so does the need to reconcile tensions between changes in the organisational governance (e.g. increased professionalisation, more efficient decision-making modalities, stronger collaborative networks with other agents and so on) and the safeguarding of a truly bottom-up organisation, based on democratic and horizontal decision-making arrangements.

> *In terms of our own governance, I think we are in a crucial moment. As the GASAP grew and the number of employees has increased, we need to understand how to coordinate the two spheres (employees and volunteers), balancing these two different rhythms. There is a whole reflection and discussion on our internal governance that we are in process of carrying out.* (Citing a GASAP Coordinator)

As the interactivity between organisational and institutional governance tensions increases, self-reflexivity dynamics also intensify, pushing the GASAP organisation to mediate between governance tensions and the ambitions of maintaining a solidarity and bottom-up self-organisation within democratic networks.

[30] On this point see also the recent contribution by Le Velly (2018), on the role of the project, a promise of difference, which sustains the agency of AFNs.

To conclude, we briefly reflect on the value of the HGA for the analysis of AFNs in general.

First, through a socio-politically grounded analysis, the HGA helps to understand the drivers behind different modes of scaling out of alternative food organisations. What leads self-organising actors to associate, build networks and connect to different agencies and institutions? In what ways material resources factors play a role in the life-course of a food organisation, also reinforcing the need to build collaborative networks? What role is played by the interrelations among key tensions in urging a bottom-up food network to opt for Hybrid Governance forms of self-governing and scaling out?

Second, and related to that, the hybrid approach can support the "self-reflexivity" of alternative food initiatives and their governance. The approach can be supportive to AFNs to reflect on, learn from and adapt their modes of governance to a wider landscape of alternative or established food actors and institutions. Self-reflexivity instructed through a HGA can also cast light on the unquestionable governing and organisational pillars, without which the very nature of an initiative or network would be overturned. By adopting a self-reflexive attitude supported by a Hybrid Governance analysis, AFNs become better equipped to respond to tensions deriving from their own socio-spatial development and socio-institutional embedment.

Finally, pointing to the interactivity between organisational and institutional governance tensions, the hybrid approach calls for a deeper reflection upon forms of support to and networking of alternative food organisations with other agents. On the one hand, AFN organisations often need support to secure resources (e.g. access to arable land for producers, greater funding, human resources) and require cooperative networks of diverse agents to implement their missions. But on the other hand, tensions can emerge among agents and institutions with different organisational culture, behavioural practices and diverse conceptions of food security and sovereignty. The HGA can inspire diverse actors and institutions to find areas of convergence and mutual learning leading towards the co-construction and implementation of collective and locally relevant food security objectives.

Acknowledgements

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INTERLUDE 1. Field Work Pictures





Food Baskets composition and delivery in Brussels



Source: authors' elaboration



Working day at 'la Ferme du Montaval' – Wallonia. Spring 2018 ***Source***: author's elaboration



CHAPTER 4

Scaling out access to land for urban agriculture. Governance hybridities in the Brussels-Capital Region[31]

Alessandra Manganelli and Frank Moulaert

Abstract

This paper unravels the key governance tensions stemming from the scaling out and up of the access to land for urban agriculture. A hybrid governance approach - showcasing interrelated organizational, resource and institutional governance tensions - is used to shed light on: (a) the ways actors mobilize and build networks to address the land-resource governance; (b) the ways these actors experience and attempt to tackle diverse land-resource constraints; (c) the institutional responses to the land question and the challenges to address the land-resource governance at higher spatial-institutional scales. The hybrid governance approach is used to analyze an empirical case study – the Boeren Bruxsel Paysans (BBP) coalition – a network of actors aiming to implement urban agriculture and enhance local food networks in the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR). The analysis of the BBP's case clearly shows that scaling out the access and use of land for urban agriculture represents a sensitive and contentious governance issue not only at the local, but also at the Regional and at wider spatial-institutional scales. Learning from the hybrid governance analysis, this paper highlights valuable directions for a more sustainable governance of the land-resource. These directions include: a) building reflexivity in the mode of operating of relevant institutions and jurisdictions; b) improving connectivity among diverse spatial-institutional scales; c) sustaining cross-organizational and cross-jurisdictional cooperation.

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Keywords
Hybrid Governance, Governance Tensions, Land Access Security, Urban Agriculture

4.1. introduction

Securing access to land remains a constant battle for urban agriculture initiatives (Angotti 2015; Reynolds and Cohen 2016; Tornaghi 2017; Wekerle and Classens 2015). When mobilizing and building coalitions to pursue alternative land use practices, urban agriculture initiatives are often confronted with divergent and competing modalities of land allocation and management among diverse actors[32]. These land-resource conflicts produce considerable constraints to the access and use of land and related resources, and consequently, to the development of sustainable urban agriculture (Cohen and Reynolds 2014; Angotti 2015). Overall, this paper refers to small-scale professionally oriented urban and peri-urban agriculture. Examples are horticulture practices in market gardens, small-scale urban farms, Community Supported Agriculture, and so on (Lovell 2010). In fact, it is this types of production-oriented proximity agriculture, fostering ecologically sensitive food production practices, that is pursued by the urban agriculture advocates presented in this paper. However, ensuring the sustainability of small-scale urban agriculture through locally adapted forms of food production within a densely urbanized environment, is part of the ongoing reflections and struggles among actors examined in this contribution.
Methodologically, to analyse land-resource governance, which covers the ways access and use of land for urban agriculture and their scaling out and up are governed by multiple actors, the paper capitalizes on a Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA) of alternative food networks (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018) (see section 4.2). Following this approach, this paper looks at the interplay between resource, organizational and institutional governance tensions in order to cast light on: **a)** how diverse agents (e.g. urban agriculture activists, bottom-up interest groups, or other agents belonging to diverse organizational spheres) self-organize (i.e. mobilise)

[32] In this paper the term actor(s) is used to refer to all agents (e.g. grass-root organizations, land owners, state or other agencies, market agents) exercising a significant role in the land-resource governance for urban and peri-urban agriculture.

and build networks to advance alternative aspirations and practices for the access and use of land (organizational governance tensions); **b)** the ways these self-organizing actors experience and try to respond to diverse constraints on the access and scaling out/up of land (resource governance tensions); **c)** the opportunities to influence and modify existing dominant institutional logics and modalities of land allocation as they have been instrumentalised by certain actors, among which market and state. These include the building of institutional support and (new) institutions favouring land accessibility for urban and peri-urban agriculture (institutional governance tensions).

Literatures on urban-peri-urban agriculture and planning (Castillo *et al.* 2013; Horst and Gwin 2018; Perrin *et al.* 2018; Wästfelt and Zhang 2016) have begun to address the issue of land accessibility and use, pointing to critical land access barriers experienced by local food growers (Horst and Gwinn 2018). Among others, these contributions show how scarcity of available and usable land, due to urbanization pressures, land speculation, competing land use practices, as well as disenabling policy and planning regimes, hampers the development of local food production in urban and peri-urban areas (Aubry and Kebir 2013; Bryant and Johnston 1992; Darly and Torre 2013) and raises the costs of land plots potentially available for urban agriculture (Angotti 2015; Horst and Gwin 2018; Prové *et al.* 2016; Wästfelt and Zhang 2016). This scarcity condition is reinforced by the precarious land tenure conditions affecting small scale urban-peri-urban growers, harnessing the long-term sustainability of their food growing practices (De Schutter 2010; Thibert 2012; Tornaghi 2014, 2017).

Recent socio-politically oriented contributions, albeit mostly focusing on urban gardening (Eizenberg 2012; Rosol 2015; Thornton 2017), have advanced the debate on the governance of urban food production in general (Certomà and Notteboom 2017; Cohen and Reynolds 2014; Prové *et al.* 2016) and land-resource access in particular (Purcell and Tyman 2015; Wekerle and Classens 2015). These authors provide valuable insights on agential struggles to re-negotiate land property relations (Wekerle and Classens 2015), to advance counterhegemonic responses to dominant policy and planning practices (Certomà and Notteboom 2017; Prové *et al.* 2016), and thus, to foster a transformative politics of urban food production (Tornaghi 2017).

Building upon these diverse strands of debate, this paper argues that greater attention should be given to socio-political dynamics around the land-resource governance, and therefore, to the types of organizational and institutional responses triggered in the process of negotiating and (re)institutionalizing the access to land for urban agriculture.

To address that, this paper looks at hybrid governance tensions in an empirical case study, i.e. in a peri-urban agriculture's coalition, called *Boeren Bruxsel Paysans* (BBP), developed in the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR). This coalition has developed as a diverse network of actors, including grass-root organizations, bottom-up advocacy organizations as well as state actors, which has formalized into a project-based partnership pursuing the establishment of local food networks in the BCR and the implementation as well as institutional promotion - or at least protection - of urban-peri-urban agriculture. BBP's actors have started to operate small scale agroecological agriculture, based on vegetable and fruit production, on two plots of land situated in Neerpede and Vogelenzang, two areas in the South-West of the BCR (see figure 4.2). These areas are located in the Municipality of Anderlecht, one of the 19 Municipalities of the Brussels Region. Yet, searching for more and accessible land in the BCR is central to the coalition's objectives. Given the diverse constraints to land accessibility and security in the BCR as well as the institutional complexity of the Region and its hinterland, displaying a multi-scalar and fragmented administrative and planning system (Messely *et al*. 2009; Messely 2014), this case study is emblematic of the role played by the three types of governance tensions and their interrelations.

This paper is structured as follows. Section 4.2, after this introduction, gives a conceptual and methodological explanation of the HGA and briefly illustrates the BCR's context in terms of territorial structure and general features of urban agriculture. Section 4.3 engages with the empirical case study analysis, reconstructing the development of the BBP organization (section 4.3.1), the ways in which key actors of the coalition experience as well as tackle land-resource constraints (section 4.3.2) as well as the responses to land-resource challenges provided by key BCR's institutions (section 4.3.3). Finally, section 4.4 discusses key lessons and directions for an adapted and sustained governance of the land-resource question, while section 4.5 concludes by briefly summarising the value of a hybrid governance analysis on the access to land and its potential wider impact.

4.2 Theory, methods of analysis and case study context

This section explains the conceptual-methodological framework that guided the empirical analysis (4.2.1), the methodological steps undertaken to accomplish the empirical field work (4.2.2), as well as features of the case study context (4.2.3).

4.2.1 The hybrid governance of land accessibility for urban agriculture. A conceptual framework

The HGA (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018) casts light on critical tensions affecting the governance of urban agriculture and alternative food networks. These tensions are identified as organizational, resource and institutional governance tensions as well as the interactions among them (*ibid,* see also section 4.1 above). The approach is inspired by different governance literatures, i.e. ***social innovation and collective action perspectives*** (Della Porta and Diani 2006; Moulaert *et al.* 2010, 2013), ***political economy and ecology approaches to governance*** (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Swyngedouw and Kaika 2014; Classens 2015; Tornaghi 2017*),* ***sociological-institutional and multi-scalar governance perspectives*** (Healey 2006; Jessop 2001; Moulaert *et al.* 2005, 2013; Pradel *et al*. 2013; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006), as well as relational approaches to governance (Allen 2009; Allen and Cochrane 2010; Jessop 2001; Swyngedouw and Jessop 2006). These theoretically grounded perspectives provide the inputs to a dynamic and socio-politically sensitive approach to governance, catching the dialectic tensions which local food initiatives experience as they, driven by their long term visions and ambitions, scale out or up and, as such, are increasingly facing material-resource tensions.

This approach provides useful analytical lenses to address the land-resource governance for urban food production. It conceptualizes the critical governance tensions related to securing land and fostering adapted land use practices for urban and peri-urban agriculture. Indeed, **land-resource governance tensions** - i.e. tensions over the availability, access and use of land and related resources - are inherently connected to organizational as well as institutional governance tensions. **Organizational governance tensions** relate to the actors' self-

organization, movement or coalition building in order to negotiate, acquire and secure the access and use of land and related resources (Block *et al.,* 2012; Purcell and Tyman, 2015; Spijker and Parra, 2018; Wekerle and Classens, 2015; see also the introduction). Urban agriculture advocates may enter into relational tension or establish networks with diverse agents, organizations and established institutions with different aspirations and different logics of land access and use (Borras *et al.,* 2015; Hardman *et al.,* 2018; Spijker and Parra, 2018). This connects to **institutional governance tensions**, which refer to the role of diverse value frames, regulatory and power structures - such as exchange values *versus* use values over land, enabling or constraining types of land tenure contracts, modes of operating of legal and planning systems (Perrin *et al.*, 2018) - affecting the right to use land for urban-and peri-urban agriculture at different spatial-institutional scales. Thus, different worldviews, aspirations and practices on the allocation of the land-resource as well as (contested) institutional mechanisms that regulate the right to use land form the core of the institutional governance tensions. This type of governance tensions provoke institutional responses to the land-resource questions, including the co-construction of supportive institutions - such as enabling land use policies and planning agencies, adapted land tenure contracts facilitating land access security for small scale agriculture, and so on - for alternative and adapted modes of land accessibility and use for urban agriculture.

4.2.2 Field work analysis and methods of data collection

Table 4.1 below translates the conceptual framework on the hybrid governance into empirical categories that have guided the case study analysis. To carry out the field work analysis two main methodological steps were undertaken, i.e. a first step of *'exploratory case study analysis'* and a second step of '*updating and fine-tuning the analysis*'. In the first methodological step, a first version of table 4.1 was developed starting from the analytical framework on the hybrid governance, and forming the basis for a first round of empirical field work. Assumptions were made on the factors triggering land-resource governance tensions (see table 4.1 first column 'factors of tension') and the ways these tensions occur, generating organizational and institutional types of governance tensions, as well as interacting with them (see table 4.1 second column 'nature of the

tensions'). These assumptions were used as a basis to formulate a questionnaire for a first round of face-to-face interviews with the actors of the BBP coalition, carried out between September 2016 and February 2017. The analysis of this first round of interviews led to an update and improvement of the table 4.1, in particular for what concerns the specific nature of the land-resource governance tensions experienced by the BBP actors (see table 4.1 – resource governance tensions – nature of the tensions). This analysis shed better light on the type of land-resource constraints those actors experienced as well as on the ways BBP's actors began to recognize and tackle them, also trying to foster 'alternative/adapted modes of land tenure security' for growers (see *ibid.* table 4.1 and section 4.3.2).

Thus, table 4.1 was updated by specifying the nature of the resource and organizational governance tensions as they practically occurred in the BBP case study. This version was used in the *second methodological step* to verify and refine the comprehension of the nature of the (multi-scalar) institutional governance tensions triggered through time, up to the recent stages of the BBP coalition and the latest policy developments of the BCR (see table 4.1 - institutional governance tensions - nature of the tensions). Thus, the analysis involved follow-up interviews with three representative actors of the BBP coalition, as well as interviews with other actors, i.e. public officials from the BCR (administrations of planning and environment as well as the governmental agency responsible for implementing urban agriculture in the BCR). Actors and informants from the Flemish Region, in particular three employees of the Flemish Land Management Agency VLM (Vlaamse Landmaatschappij) and an independent practitioner and researcher from the University of Gent, were also addressed. Knowledgeable about small-scale agriculture in Flanders, these actors helped to improve the understanding of the challenges involved in connecting the BCR with the Flemish hinterland, thus shedding light on the land-resource governance from a complex institutional and wider spatial perspective (see table 4.1 – institutional governance tensions and section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

Along with face-to-face interviews, other methods of empirical investigation were used. These methods involved the document-based analysis of relevant reports and documents on land accessibility and land use for urban and peri-urban agriculture in the BCR and surroundings, as

well as the study of the local-regional administrative and land use systems, with the purpose of assessing their impact on the preservation and development of land for urban and peri-urban agriculture. Both methodological steps covered the relevant factors and features of the hybrid governance tensions, specifying the ways these tensions have occurred and interacted among each other along the development trajectory of the BBP coalition and the wider BCR's institutional and policy landscape. The second methodological step, leading to the final version of table 4.1 as it appears in this paper, also allowed to extract valuable takeaways for a sustained land (use) governance for urban agriculture (see table 4.1 fourth column – 'challenges, lessons and directions').

Table 4.1. Hybrid Governance Categories

Source: authors' elaboration

Type of Governance Tensions	Factors of Tension	Nature of the Tensions	Challenges, lessons and directions
ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS **Tensions and struggles in urban agriculture's actors and organizations as for their will to access and use land**	Self-organization of actors, mobilizing, competing for the access to and control of land.	**Interactions bottom-up food networks top-down state/corporate systems** **Proactive conflict management, leadership and cooperation**	**Alliance and coalition building** at different spatial and institutional scales **Strategic leadership, vision and cooperation**
RESOURCE GOVERNANCE TENSIONS **Tensions in the governance of the access to and use of land and related resources**	Availability, quality, and use of the land-resource	**Searching for available, usable land** Tackling **diverse land-resource constraints** Attempting to foster **alternative, adapted modes of land tenure security**	**Tensions in enabling adapted land tenure arrangements** **Uncertainties in addressing land security at multiple spatial-institutional scales**
INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS **Tensions in the socio-political and socio-professional governance structures.**	Divergences or alignments in values, cultures, behavioural routines, agendas Institutional and regulatory structures interfering with the allocation of land and related resources Power struggles between urban agriculture's advocates and state/corporate institutions at different scales	Experiencing tensions between **diverse visions and logics of land allocation** **(Dis)enabling institutional arrangements** Relation building towards **empowering/reflexive governance institutions** Challenges in facilitating **cross-scalar cooperation**	Search for **common values-visions over land allocation** and management across organizations and jurisdictions **Tensions in changing/adapting constraining legal/ planning regulations** **Co-construction of supportive institutional frameworks and incentives to sustain cross-organizational and cross-jurisdictional cooperation**

4.2.3 The context. Territorial and (urban) agriculture features of the BCR

With a population of 1,191,604 inhabitants (2017), an area of 161 Km^2 and a density of 7384 inhabitants/Km^2, Brussels is a highly urbanized autonomous Regional entity, further subdivided into 19 Municipalities. From a morphological as well as a functional standpoint, Brussels' urbanized area largely exceeds its Regional administrative boundaries (Corijn 2013). Yet, the BCR is administratively and institutionally distinct from the bordering Flemish and Walloon Regions and their Provinces. According to official statistics farmland surfaces cover around 3,5% of the Regional territory, i.e. approximately 572 ha (Statistics Brussels – IBSA 2017), reaching around 786 ha with pastures and prairies. These agricultural lands are mostly situated in the outskirts of Brussels, towards the borders with the neighboring Province of the Flemish Brabant and prevalently in the South-West part, within the Municipality of Anderlecht (see figure 4.1). Most of the professional farmers located within the BCR practice a conventional type of agriculture, based on grains and cereals, and thus not functionally tied to the Region and its inhabitants (Lecocq 2012). The size of these land plots ranges from a minimum of 8 ha to a maximum of 38 ha (courtesy of *Terre en Vue*).

Nevertheless, a revival of urban agriculture initiatives began to pop up, especially over the last decade in the BCR, in the form of urban gardening practices as well as more professional types of urban agriculture (Manganelli 2013) Nowadays the Region counts around 300 urban gardens (in French *potagers urbaines*) over a total surface of about 88 ha across the 19 Municipalities of the BCR (courtesy of *Bruxelles Environnement*).

Professionally-oriented types of urban food production, mostly in the form of urban horticulture practices (in French *maraîchage urbain*) on small surfaces, have emerged through bottom-up practices of re-use of available plots, according to land access opportunities. These practices rely on small land plots of around 0.5 ha to 1 ha (courtesy of *Terre en Vue)*.

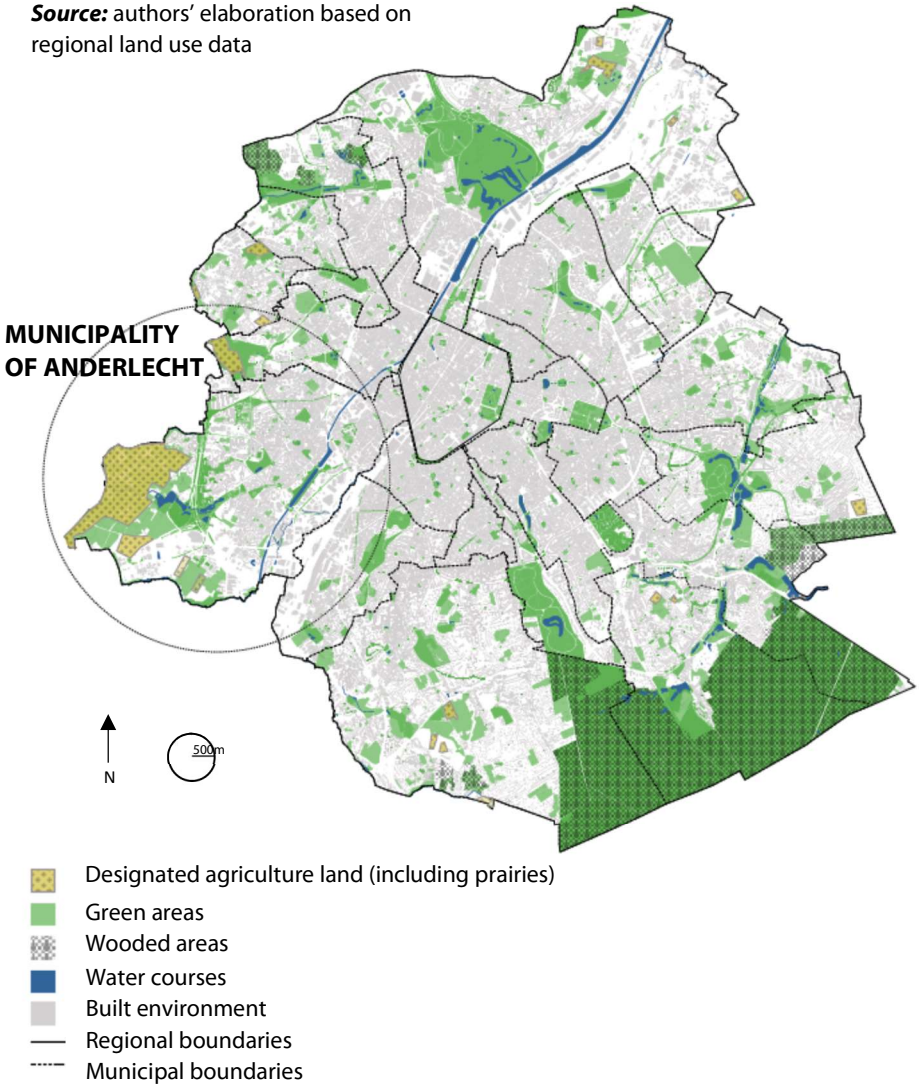
Indeed, as the BCR's planning institutions do not consider urban agriculture as a legitimate type of land use, urban agriculture initiatives mainly situate in vacant plots within housing zones, near infrastructures, partially within green areas, and thus, in available spaces characterized by diverse land use designations as well as diverse ownership status (Lefebvre

et al. 2018). As a result, alternative urban agriculture experiments rely on diverse and often *ad hoc* types of land lease agreements, often temporary or precarious (courtesy of *Terre en Vue*). Examples of common leases are more or less short-term rental agreements such as "agreements of temporary occupation", emphyteutic leases, land concessions, loan agreements. Besides, established conventional farmers, in the BCR as well as in the other Regions, are often protected by long term leases, named as 'Bail a Ferme' (in French) or 'pacht' (in Dutch), which are not necessarily enabling towards new farming practices or alternative forms of urban-peri-urban agriculture (see section 4.3).

The establishment and development of the BBP coalition should be contextualized within a socio-political as well as pragmatic struggle to repoliticise and re-activate land for small scale local food production within the existing agricultural areas as well as in other potentially suitable areas of the Region. As the empirical analysis shows, however, the land-resource question for urban agriculture in Brussels cannot be fully addressed without the establishment of cooperative relations with the bordering territories (see in particular section 4.3.3 and 4.4).

Figure 4.1 Concept map of the BCR and the 19 Municipalities, highlighting green areas and designated agriculture lands.

Source: authors' elaboration based on regional land use data



4.3 Hybrid Governance tensions in accessing and securing land for urban agriculture. The Neerpede-BBP case

This section, devoted to the case-study, makes use of the hybrid governance methodology and the hybrid governance categories presented in table 4.1. It is divided in three subsections. A first subsection (4.3.1) retraces the origins and the development of the BBP, the ways actors

built networks and began to connect among each other, also in response to land (use) pressures. It shows how the interactions among governance tensions contributed to generate and fuel the coalition of actors. A second subsection (4.3.2) digs into the governance tensions arising from the scalar dynamics of the search for land for urban agriculture in the BCR. The focus is on the ways key actors of the BBP's coalition perceive and begin to tackle land accessibility constraints. The third subsection (4.3.3) then digs into the types of response to the land question as they emerge from the BCR's institutions and how cross-scalar cooperative networks are built extending to the bordering Flemish territory.

4.3.1 At the origins of the BBP's coalition. Organizational governance tensions on land

Even if the approval of the European funding through the 'ERDF' (European Regional Development Funds) in 2014 signed the formal start of the Boeren Bruxsel Paysans (BBP) project, the actual genesis of the coalition began earlier. Urbanization pressures in the proximity of the Neerpede Region, urged concerned administrative and policy officials of the local Municipality of Anderlecht to mobilize and advocate for controlling urban expansion by preserving and enhancing the rural character of the area (interview with the Division of Sustainable Development of Anderlecht). Regional land use regulations, declaring Neerpede as a rural-ecological region, yet reserving a housing development area in its very proximity, had a role in fomenting this threat. Indeed, in 2014 the Regional Planning authorities granted a building permit which allowed for a new housing expansion in a 2.7 ha plot of land at the borders of Neerpede.

> *"The Municipality was against building there, but the Region wrote in the PRAS [Regional Land Use Plan] that this agricultural land should be turned into buildable […] So we feared that these processes would progressively colonize Neerpede/Anderlecht, shrinking the available rural land. So we felt that we needed to do something."*(Interview with public official at the Division of Sustainable Development of Anderlecht's Municipality)

Thus, pressures on land use (see table 4.1 'resource governance tensions'), provoked by contrasting practices and logics of land allocation among diverse agents including government levels (see table 4.1 'institutional governance tensions'), pushed key actors to mobilize and take action, claiming for land preservation. As a result, civil servants in the local authority, in particular two policy officials of the Sustainable Development Division of Anderlecht, started communicating with institutional actors at the Regional level, more specifically with the Ministry of the Environment, about concrete proposals for protecting and enhancing the rural and ecological characters of Neerpede. Having common interests in the protection of Neerpede and its agriculture and natural features, the Regional Environmental Ministry was open to collaborate and form a partnership[33]. At the same time, interactions of state agents with bottom-up food networks also played an important role in the genesis of the BBP coalition (see table 4.1 'organizational governance tensions'). Urban agriculture activists belonging to the no profit association *Début des Haricots* (DDH) started to build relations with local government agents of the Municipality of Anderlecht, in particular with public officials of the Sustainable Development Division (see above), in order to negotiate access to land for urban ecological agriculture. Thus, first implementations of urban agriculture plots at a small scale (around 0.7 ha) took place even before the official start of the project. These implementations occurred in underused municipally owned plots (see figure 4.2), benefiting from project-based funding by the Ministry of the Environment, which at that time had launched a funding program for 'Food Systems' Transition' as part of a wider inter-governmental program.

Thus, competing logics of land allocation, but also converging motivations and claims by key agents around land preservation and use for local agriculture, had a critical role in mobilizing the concerned actors, strengthening and nurturing their reflexive positionality (i.e. their will to foster alternative visions and practices over the use of land) and triggering "forms of proactive conflict management, leadership and cooperation"

[33] This was facilitated by a favorable political climate, since at that time, around 2013-2014, a 'green' coalition was in power. This coalition was the first to develop institutional policies and programs on sustainable food in the Brussels Region. Furthermore, the fact that Ministry of the Environment owns land parcels and rural infrastructures in the Neerpede Region, further motivated the interest of the Ministry on the area (communication with the administrative Agency of the Environment).

(see table 4.1 'organizational governance tensions'). This gave room to a first hybrid network of actors, including the Municipality of Anderlecht, the administrative agency of the Ministry of the Environment, called IBGE (in French *Institut Bruxellois pour la Gestion de l'Environnement*), and the no profit association DDH.
This core coalition produced a project proposal submitted to the ERDF, to launch a pilot project which could implement and scale out small scale agriculture and increase proximity in food chains in Neerpede-BCR. Two other key actors entered the emergent coalition during the conception and elaboration of the project: *Terre en Vue* – an organization that focuses on facilitating security of land tenure for small scale agro-ecological agriculture, mainly on the French speaking side of Belgium, and CREDAL – an organization that, among others, supports and facilitates access to credit for small entrepreneurial activities, including food and agriculture related.
The analysis revealed that the development of this partnership was also favored by established knowledge networks and trust relations among the participants built through time, benefiting from previous contacts and forms of collaboration among these actors in the local food arena. This hints at the importance of "relation building" among reflexive agents as a key feature of the breeding of new relations stemming from hybrid governance tensions. Despite challenges to align the diverse actors and organizations towards a shared direction, the ERDF funding scheme helped to formalize a collaboration and to provide a longer term and more stable framework to implement tangible objectives (see also section 4.4).
The next paragraph details the analysis of the land-resource governance and showcases tensions occurring when seeking to scale out land accessibility and use for urban agriculture.

4.3.2 Coping with land-resource governance tensions

As mentioned in the introduction and section 4.2, together with the creation of more localized food networks, searching for available land and enhancing its access and use for urban food production, is one of the objectives pursued by the BBP's coalition. In particular, two of the project partners – i.e. *DDH* and, most of all, *Terre en Vue* – have the specific role of "finding land(s) for urban farmers in Brussels" (communication with *Terre*

en Vue). Proactively engaged in the search for available and useable land, these BBP partners came across and began to tackle 'diverse land-resource constraints' (see table 4.1 'resource governance tensions', nature of the tensions). In particular, actors from the *Terre en Vue* organization put the finger on the fragmented land ownership structure affecting the potentially available land for urban agriculture within the BCR. Thus, small land parcels are the reflection of a fragmented ownership and land use rights are diversified according to tenure status, both products of generations of land subdivision processes in specific institutional contexts. Furthermore, these BBP actors had to face unsupportive land owners - including Municipalities and other state actors - as well as tenants, that show scarce appreciation towards alternative forms of urban food production. As underlined by *Terre en Vue*, these factors make it difficult to find space for urban agriculture and scaling food production out across the BCR. *Terre en Vue* and other partners point at the '*patrimonial*' and speculative attitude over land by a large part of land owners or tenants in the BCR.

> *"There is a multiplicity of owners, both private and public, and thus land parcels potentially suitable for urban agriculture are very fragmented. This hyper fragmentation of land is absolutely a constraint […]. In addition, most of the owners - private as well as public – advance instrumental and speculative practices on land. Thus there is no vision as well as no coordination among different owners of the land towards the fostering of alternative land use practices (…) Creating a consortium that sensitises different owners and stimulates coordination among them would be desirable, although very challenging".* (Excerpt from the interview with Terre en Vue).

In consequence, agents from the *Terre en Vue* started to shed light and act on the constraints posed by the land tenure agreements currently in force in the BCR and its surroundings. A major constraint is that a considerable amount of potentially available agricultural land in the BCR, but also in Flanders, has been rented out to conventional farmers or other users which hold historical and long term use rights on the land (see also section 4.2.3).

These types of consolidated land use contracts protect traditional farmers, but are constraining towards potential new farmers which may want to experiment with small scale agro-ecological food production[34]. This is an important way in which the legal and planning systems pose constraints on the promotion of alternative types of agricultural uses, such as small scale/locally oriented agriculture.

> "*The law is so strict that land owners are no more willing to rent out their land to new professional farmers. At best they prefer to rent to hobby farmers, because they are not protected by the law. This is especially damaging young, small scale farmers, because it has become almost impossible for them to find land for rent. Buying land would be too expensive given the high land values*". (Quote by a VLM actor).

In the frame of the BBP's partnership, actors such as *Terre en Vue* or the DDH, have begun to tackle some of the constraints on the access to land. Practical actions included communication and negotiation with some land owners, local authorities (also in their quality as land owners) and municipal planning actors of the BCR to identify potentially available and usable land, and to negotiate its access and use by small scale farmers. Alongside that, the *Terre en Vue* organization started to develop a GIS database in which potentially suitable land plots for small scale farmers within the BRC are identified and mapped[35]. In the view of the organization, this cartographic database could constitute a basis for a conversation and negotiation with relevant actors (e.g. potentially interested small scale farmers, land owners, local or regional authorities, and so on) on the opportunity to scale out access to and use of land for small scale growers in the identified plots across the Region. Along with that, *Terre en Vue* engaged in mediating among land owners and potential

[34] Belonging to a very old Federal legislation, this type of legal instrument is in force in each of the three Belgian Regions.

[35] Reference is here to a GIS cartographic database that DDH before and then *Terre en Vue* started to develop, partly autonomously, partly in agreement with a section of the Regional Government, with the purpose to map and verify the availability and usability of spaces for urban agriculture within the Region (courtesy of *Terre en Vue*).

small scale growers in the attempt to elaborate adapted and mutually beneficial land use contracts.

These actions have so far achieved uneven results. If some land owners, such as the Municipality of Anderlecht, showed some openness and support in providing land for urban agriculture, other Municipalities of the BCR, land owners or tenants, among which institutional land owners, were rather reluctant. Furthermore, key BBP's actors underlined the need for stronger leadership, vision and support from the Regional Governmental Agency responsible for the implementation of the urban agriculture axe of the current Food Strategy (see also sections 4.3.3. and 4.4). There was for instance no evidence of fruitful coordination and shared understanding between this Governmental Agency and the organization *Terre en Vue* on how to use and valorise the knowledge emerging from the abovementioned GIS database.

Scalar dynamics of land-resource governance tensions grew as the BCR sought for connections with its hinterland. Especially relevant here are controversial and conflicting perceptions and aspirations concerning the availability and usability of land for urban agriculture within the BCR (see table 4.1 'resource governance tensions' – factors of tension). While key actors and urban agriculture advocates of the BBP pushed for maximum availability of land within the BCR, other actors of the partnership as well as in the wider Brussels' food arena, were more dubitative. Aware of the land (use) pressures within the BCR, some voices stressed the need to valorise opportunities in the bordering territories (see section 4.3.3).

> "*The limited agricultural land in the BCR is in competition with an increase in the population (+ 20% in 25 years) and the consequent need for infrastructures. Such pressure mortgages [FR: hypothèque] agricultural projects over the long term. Collaborations between the BCR and the Provinces of Flemish Brabant and Walloon Brabant – these two provinces forming the rural and food belt of the BCR - must favor the set-up of a proximity agriculture, from which the BCR can benefit as well*" (Communication from one of the project partners).

Thus, a big question concerns how to address urban agriculture at a wider scale, taking into account different territorial settings, i.e., working beyond the administrative limits of the BCR, in cooperation with Flanders and Wallonia. There are uncertainties, however, on how to practically deal with the hinterland question, and with the associated challenges to protect land for peri-urban growers, to support local food chains and to enhance relations of the Region with small-scale producers located in the peri-urban or rural areas outside the administrative borders of the BCR.
The next paragraph examines how the institutional responses to the land-resource question grew in the BCR as well as in the bordering territories.

4.3.3 Which state-institutional responses to the (hinter) land question?

Addressing urban agriculture at multiple scales is likely to become one of the most thorny issues in the development of urban agriculture and local food networks in the BCR. A previous partnership, preceding the formation of the BBP's coalition, showed attempts to upscale the land question through a dialogue with the Flemish Region. This partnership was formed around 2013–2014, under the mandate of the Brussels' Environmental Agency *IBGE* and the Flemish land Agency VLM. The goal was to elaborate a joint vision and action plan for protecting and enhancing the ecological and agricultural features of the Neerpede - Vlezenbeek - Sint Anna-Pede areas, located across the borders between the BCR and the Flemish Region[36]. This study involved a collaboration of the above Agencies with the Municipalities of Anderlecht in the BCR and the neighboring Flemish Municipalities of Dilbeek and Sint Pieters Leeuw. This partnership was mainly state-led, with minor involvement of civil society actors, among which the *Terre en Vue* organization, and few other ecology-oriented civil society organizations in Flanders.
Thus, if this partnership was a first concrete attempt to embrace a territorial rather than a strictly administrative approach, voices from both sides - the BCR and Flanders - converge in identifying the difficulties to work across spatial-institutional boundaries, resonating with key organizational and

[36] The action plan's documents are available here: https://environnement.brussels/thematiques/espaces-verts-et-biodiversite/action-de-la-region/plandirecteur-pour-la-zone [accessed on July 11 2018].

institutional governance tensions highlighted in table 4.1. First, the BBP's partners put accent on the regional organization of the ERDF funds, which does not facilitate collaborations between the BCR and the Flemish Region. In other words the way European funds, such as the ERDF, are managed by BCR's institutions follows a Regional-administrative logic, preventing project-based partnerships or actions to take place outside administrative limits or achieve cross-border benefits. Second, there is a lack of vision, leadership, and scarce political commitment by bordering municipalities and provinces. A scarce sensitivity towards the potential collective utility and benefits of fostering small-scale local agriculture across the BCR's hinterland explains the low interest in concerted action.

On the side of Brussels' state institutions, new incentives to the development of urban agriculture have, at least discursively, been identified in the recently approved Food Strategy. Launched in 2015 by the newly elected Cabinet of the Environment[37], the 'Good Food Strategy' seems to recognize the importance of urban agriculture in general, and access to land in particular[38]. Thus, the Regional Agency responsible for implementing urban agriculture has recently commissioned a study aiming to sort out the legal and planning barriers to the development of urban agriculture within the BCR's administrative territory.

Also, at the light of this study, actors of the Regional Agency have re-casted the importance of communicating with and sensitizing other sections of the Regional and local governments of the BCR - among which planning and land-use decision makers (communication with the Regional Agency). However, uncertainties remain concerning the institutional mechanisms and instruments (for instance, reforms to the dominant land use agreements, or *ad hoc* land use contracts, etc.) to deal with the scaling out of the access to land for urban agriculture in the Region[39]. Some actors

[37] With some change of regional competence the new Ministry – Céline Fremault - is responsible for "Housing, Quality of Life, Environment and Energy".

[38] See the axe 1 of the Strategic Document, "Increasing sustainable local food production", available here:
http://document.environnement.brussels/opac_css/elecfile/Strat_GoodFood_FR
[accessed on October 8 2017). A section of the Strategy states that "it is essential to develop planning and land use policies which favor a "smart" densification, thus enabling new urban agriculture sites in the Brussels' Region (…), and preserving existing agricultural land in the Region and in its periphery." (See document p. 34, translated from French).

[39] On this point, the Regional Government concerned with urban agriculture and food policies has advanced the option to exercise an eminent domain (or "d*roit de preemption*"

show the lack of a proactive and sustained dialogue among the Regional Agency responsible for implementing urban agriculture and key BBP's actors about the enablement of institutional mechanisms that can favor access to land.

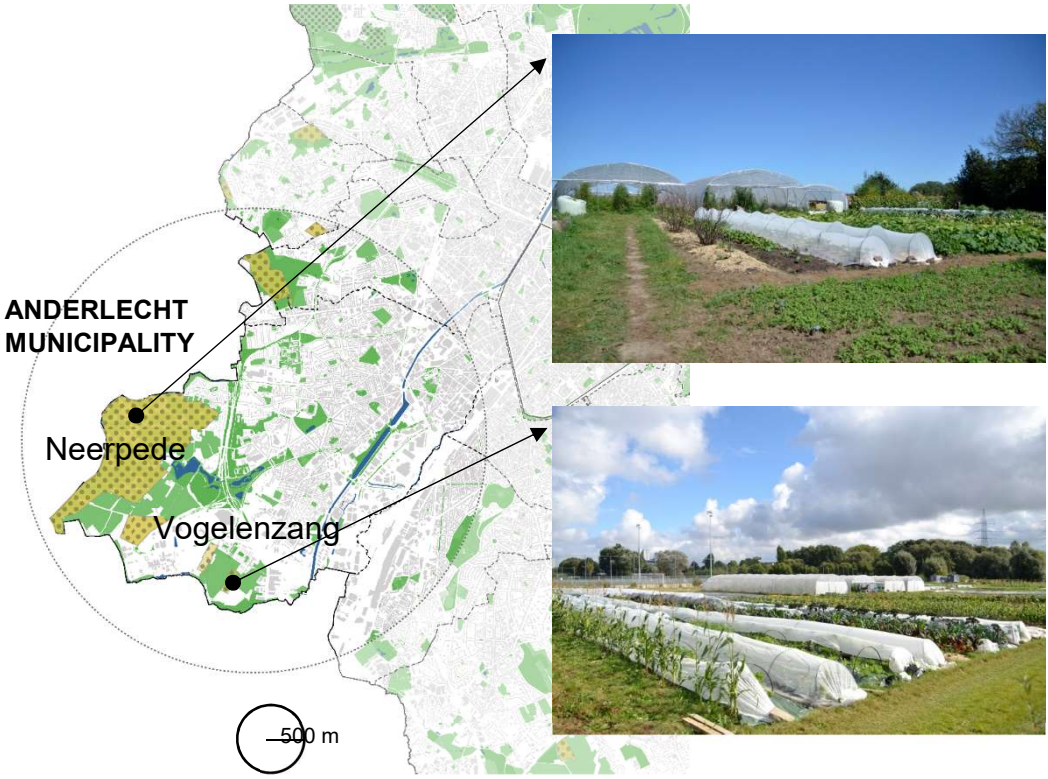
Alongside, the BCR food strategy actors also recognize the importance of building relations with Flemish agents to sustain local agriculture in the BCR's hinterland (personal communication with the manager of the BCR's food strategy). Thus, developing urban agriculture from a wider spatial perspective seems to be considered a fundamental step in enhancing food security and provide more healthy local food for the BCR[40]. However, questions remain concerning the building of leadership and socio-political capacity to fuel cooperation across organisations as well as institutions, in particular considering the compartmentalized and autonomous administrative logic with which state institutions tend to operate (see table 4.1 'institutional governance tensions' – nature of the tensions, see also section 4.4).

On the basis of the above insights, the following discussion section volunteers some perspectives for a more sustained governance of the land-resource question for urban agriculture.

in French), which would allow the Region to acquire land ownership and save land for urban agriculture. However, the opportunity to use this tool and the actual capacity to implement it, are currently very uncertain and contested.

[40] Among others, the Strategy declares a target of 30% of fruits and vegetables that should come from the Brussels hinterland in a radius of 10km by 2030 (see the strategic document).

Figure 4.2 Concept Map of the BCR with locations as well as images of the urban agriculture's implementation sites



Source: authors' elaboration

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 Lessons from the hybrid governance analysis on the land-resource

This discussion section highlights the key insights obtained from the hybrid governance analysis on the BBP. Summarising key steps of the empirical analysis, this section raises three main points of reflection to advance research on as well as practice of land-resource governance for urban agriculture.

By means of its organizational-institutional and socio-political analysis, the HGA has allowed to identify the key governance tensions - i.e. organizational, resource and institutional governance tensions - stemming from the ambitions of the BBP actors to scale out the access to land for urban agriculture within and beyond the BCR institutional context. Thus, section 4.3.1 has shown how values, such as caring for land protection and claiming for alternative types of land uses as well as for different modes of land use governance, had a role in mobilizing actors at the local level, driving their reflexive positionality. Thus, actors of the nascent BBP coalition started to mobilise and build networks with other actors at the local and regional scales, searching for collaborative frameworks to support local agriculture by securing land protection and sustaining alternative land use practices. Yet, when dealing with the implementation and practical scaling out of the access to land, agential-organizational struggles occurred due to the need to practically deal with diverse land-resource constraints. In the BBP case major constraints were the hyper-fragmentation of land parcels within the BCR, with multiple types of land tenure and use rights arrangements; the unsupportive mind-set and attitude of a large part of the land tenants; the presence of real estate developers, state and planning institutions hampering the opportunity to liberate land and make it accessible for new potential small scale growers; as well as, with forecasts of further population growth, the overall challenge to make usable quality land available in a highly urbanized environment. Interactions among the governance tensions intensify as access to land and its scaling out and up are pursued. Consequently, institutional governance tensions became manifest as key actors began to conflict or diversely interact with established (dis)empowering institutions and search for new or more supportive institutions to enable alternative land use practices. Scalar dynamics also played a role, as interactions with other jurisdictions (e.g. in the domains of planning and urbanism) meant the scaling up of the territorial governance of land-resources for urban agriculture.

Capitalizing from the above observations, we highlight three points of attention with respect to the advancement of a sustainable land-resource governance for urban agriculture: a) building reflexivity in the mode of operation of key institutions and jurisdictions involved in land-resource governance for urban agriculture; b) improving connectivity among

diverse spatial-institutional scales; c) sustaining cross-organizational and cross-jurisdictional cooperation. These points are discussed in the following three short sub-sections.

Fostering socio-institutional change

The first point concerns the ways in which the land-resource question for urban agriculture can condition, or change the mode of operation of established institutions and jurisdictions. Land use planning agencies constitute a key example of such institutions. Reflection is on whether the fostering of alternative land use practices, such as agro-ecological food production or diverse and locally adapted forms of urban agriculture, can be instrumental to challenge dominant neoliberal forms of urban development (Tornaghi 2017), for instance by informing land use decisions on how to accommodate growth, or accounting for alternative practices of space and resource management (Eizenberg 2015; Rosol 2015; Thornton 2017). The analysis has shown how in the BCR as well as in its hinterland forecasted population growth exerts strong pressures on (future) land use (see section 4.3.2).

Thus, local food actors, coalitions, and institutionalized agencies of the BCR will need to establish and sustain a proactive dialogue with planning institutions and decision makers. This dialogue should involve how to channel growth into urban development directions and land use decisions, and how alternative land uses - such as adapted forms of urban food production - can contribute to an inclusive and sustainable spatial development (McClintock *et al*. 2018; Thornton 2017). This may involve, for instance, privileging densification over urban expansion and land use consumption; integrating local food production into urban (re)development schemes or in diverse planning instruments, such as neighborhood contracts or sustainable development plans. This is a relevant dimension of the building of more empowering and reflexive governance institutions, capable of re-considering their modes of operation at the light of a more structural awareness and longer term vision about the values and community benefits of sustainable urban food production. Fostering this awareness implies not only recognizing the multifunctional benefits of urban agriculture (Lovell 2010; Gunilla *et al*. 2016), but also re-positioning urban food production within an

overarching socio-political tension around desired and empowering forms of land and resource management (Eizenberg 2015).
The HGA suggests that further (action) research around the interactions between coalition building and socio-institutional transformation helps to illuminate upon organizational and institutional responses to the land-resource question and the more or less empowering outcomes these responses produce in given contexts.

Connecting spatial-institutional scales

The second point is about improving the connectivity among diverse jurisdictions as well as spatial-institutional scales. As we learn from the analysis, agents and institutions within different jurisdictions at different spatial-institutional scales can enable as well as hamper the land-resource governance for urban agriculture and local food networks.
Indeed studies increasingly recognise how policies for farmland conservation and short chain promotion should foster a more tailored and adapted support for small-scale farmers and short chain agriculture (Baysse-Lainé and Perrin 2016; Horst and Gwin 2018). This observation invites to a collective reflection on what types of change in legal/institutional mechanisms and administrative practices would sustain the access to land for small scale urban and peri-urban agriculture, thus giving greater attention to proximity agriculture oriented to regional food security (Gunilla *et al.* 2016). The dominant legal system regulating agricultural land tenure in Belgium is a case in point (see section 4.3.2). On the one side this system protects established farmers, but on the other side it hampers the security of land tenure for young, small-scale farmers, which may be interested in entering local markets and establishing local food networks. Thus, revising, re-interpreting, or adapting this legal system is a way to improve land tenure conditions and allow for alternative/adapted modes of land tenure for small scale farmers. In the Belgian case this would probably require involving the Federal level, or at least a dialogue among the three Regions.
Yet, the impact of the European level, e.g. the ways Common Agriculture Policies work, should also be considered, taking into account that:

> *"payment schemes tend to favor the larger-scale famers, because farmers need land to activate their payment entitlements. This makes it harder for young farmers, with no ties to the sector to access and secure land"* (communication by the VLM)

And we should not forget the land surface occupied by EU agencies in Brussels which forms an additional scarcity factor in the land markets.
In short, as these reflections suggest, when scaling out/up the land-resource governance for urban-peri-urban agriculture, a critical consideration of the role of as well as the interplay among diverse scales of governance becomes essential (Wästfelt and Zhang 2016; Horst and Gwin 2018). This encompasses a reflection upon which scales of governance provide not only blockages but also opportunities to embed change and innovation in land use governance practices towards a greater empowerment for locally oriented agriculture.

Widening the land question for urban-peri-urban agriculture

The final and connected point of reflection concerns sustaining cross-organizational and cross-jurisdictional cooperation. Here the role of territorially-based coalitions, comprising diverse actors, such as civil society organizations cooperating with local, regional authorities or other institutions, with the purpose of protecting farmland, but also enabling short food chains, comes to the fore. Thus, organizations such as *Terre and Vue*, other land trusts, farmers' cooperatives, etc., can act as intermediaries to foster alternative/adapted land tenure and management practices, and facilitate access to land for small scale growers (Horst and Gwin 2018). Short food chain initiatives supported by city-regional food policies can provide further incentives for regional farmers to connect to local markets (Perrin 2013; Gunilla *et al.* 2016).
However, the lack of financial sustainability and other resources (e.g. steady human capital), often affecting these organizations, hampers their potential to exert a greater scalar impact. Thus, incentives to build territorially based partnerships among relevant actors, e.g. civil society organizations, state agencies, research or other support institutions, should come with structural forms of support from state or other relevant

institutions (e.g. stable core funding, human capital, a shared political mandate). This calls for the responsibility of diverse jurisdictions and levels of governance to provide longer-term support as well as opportunities to create territorially-based alliances that help local farmers to access and use land and develop more sustainable short chains.

4.5 Final remarks on the value and impact of a hybrid governance analysis

Urban agriculture coalitions struggle to enhance land access for urban-peri-urban agriculture and to re-politicise the land question in urban-regional contexts. This paper examined such struggles in the case of the BBP's coalition, developed in the BCR. The HGA adopted in this paper, identified and examined interrelated resource, organizational and institutional governance tensions. Doing so, this approach allowed to shed proper light on the organizational and institutional responses to the land-resource, i.e. the ways actors mobilise, build coalitions in search for alternative land uses and how existing or new institutions are fostered which constrain or enable the land-resource access and use for urban-peri-urban agriculture. By examining critical interactions among the tensions, the hybrid governance analysis moved beyond the local, through a zoomed out view of the land-resource governance at higher spatial-institutional scales.

This allowed to connect the debate on the politics of urban food production with contributions on the territorial governance of urban-peri-urban agriculture.

Despite the peculiar complexity characterizing the territorial and institutional setting of the BCR and its hinterland, we argue that the HGA offers useful analytical lenses to foster comparative research among urban-regional realities of the Global North and of the Global South. Indeed looking at the interrelations among resource, organizational and institutional governance tensions can help to reflect upon (common) governance challenges and ways forwards to re-politicise the land-resource question for urban-peri-urban agriculture in different urban-regional contexts.

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INTERLUDE 2. Field Work Pictures

Source: author's elaboration



Implementation site 1.
Vogelenzang Area
(Anderlecht)
Summer 2016



Implementation site 1.
Autumn 2016



Implementation site 2.
Neerpede Area (Anderlecht)
Summer 2016



BBP's project banner



Implementation site 2.
Autumn 2016

CHAPTER 5

Realizing local food policies. A comparison between Toronto and the Brussels-Capital Region's stories through the lenses of reflexivity and co-learning.

Abstract

This paper retraces the genesis, development and implementation pathways of local food policies in the city-regions of Toronto and Brussels. Central is the role of reflexivity and co-learning in fuelling governance practices and (contested) modes of institutionalization of alternative food systems in the trajectories of both cities. Reflexivity refers to the positionality of agents, i.e. to the ways local food actors embody as well as reflect on and re-consider their principles and practices through time. Closely related to reflexivity, co-learning involves joint efforts to co-construct enabling food policy delivery systems. This encompasses struggles to exchange alternative food values among a diversity of actors and to foster empowering governance modes across different organizational as well as institutional spheres. A Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA) is mobilised to understand the ways in which reflexive capacities as well as co-learning take place in the different stages of the two cases' development, leading to their specific modes of institutionalization. Learning from the two cases' trajectories, this paper shows: ***a)*** *the need to develop accountable bottom-linked organizational designs to represent and legitimate the local food movement, and* ***b)*** *the challenges of changing modes of policy delivery to sustain the implementation of local food policies.*

Key words

Reflexivity, Co-learning, Hybrid Governance Approach, Local Food Policies, Toronto, the Brussels-Capital Region.

5.1 Introduction

Aiming to enhance the health and sustainability of the local food system by sustaining alternative food networks (Morgan 2014), local food (policy) systems are spaces of negotiation and struggle among aspired modes of institutionalization of alternative food networks (Moragues-Faus and Morgan 2015). Indeed, local food policy systems are driven by diverse actors[41], which mobilise according to needs and aspirations to change dominant food systems and build new modes of food policy delivery. In short, realizing local food policies involves agential struggles to redefine values and re-unite diverse actors - e.g. local leaders, community food organizations, state authorities, citizens, diverse food system players - into the co-construction of aspired modes of food policy delivery. Indeed, this paper analyses the ways by which modes of food policy delivery are claimed, pursued, or contested, by agential struggles and scalar dynamics[42] of local food actors in two city-regions, i.e. Toronto and the Brussels-Capital Region (BCR). To this end, this paper focuses on **reflexivity and co-learning** as engines of the genesis and implementation pathways of local food policies in the two city-regions. Reflexivity and co-learning are connected and interactive concepts. In this paper reflexivity is defined as the positionality of local food actors, i.e. their aspirations and value systems, but also the ways by which these actors are ushered to re-examine, diversely re-assert or re-position their missions and modes of governance through time. Related to reflexivity, co-learning refers to the mutual exchange and co-construction of alternative food values and modes of governance across diverse agential-organizational spheres as

[41] In this paper the word "actor" refers to every active agent (e.g. local leaders, food security organizations, diverse community/state/market players, a state agency, and so on) that have a role in the genesis, development and implementation of urban food policies and their governance.

[42] In this paper the term 'scalar dynamics' refers to the processes through which local food actors, often embedded in networks and coalitions, aspire and attempt to export alternative food values, spearhead empowering modes of governance and food policy delivery agendas, across spatial-organizational boundaries and institutional scales. Thus, rather than considering scale as a rigid or a pre-defined entity, scale and re-scaling dynamics are regarded as processes that involve struggles and contestations around aspired modes implementation of local food policies among the diversity of actors in the political arena.

well as institutional scales and their dynamics. Thus, through time governance practices and modes of policy delivery are pursued, bargained, negotiated, protected, or rather, co-constructed as well as re-examined among a diversity of actors, leading to certain outcomes and institutionalization trajectories.

To explain how reflexivity arises and co-learning modalities take place among key food agents in the two city-regions' stories, this paper adopts a Hybrid Governance Approach (HGA), introduced by Manganelli and Moulaert (2018). This approach highlights the role of key governance tensions - i.e. institutional, resource and organizational governance tensions (see section 5.2) - in fuelling reflexive and co-learning capacities of local food actors through time. Thus, by experiencing and living these tensions, key actors are pushed to diversely re-assert or re-examine their modes of governance and modalities to scale out/up alternative food values, in order to cope with, to overcome, or valorise the governance tensions.

As section 5.2 explains, the agro-food literature has made a start analysing the role of reflexivity and learning in fuelling an urban food governance (Blay-Palmer 2009; Fridman and Lenters 2013; Marsden 2013; Pereira and Ruysenaar 2012). However, these contributions do not give a full socio-political account of the ways reflexivity emerges from Hybrid Governance tensions and how these tensions can also constitute breeding grounds for stimulating reflexivity and co-learning capacities in key actors, organizations and their institutions.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 5.2, after this introduction, explains the theoretical framework in which the key concepts of reflexivity and (co)-learning are defined. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 dive into the analysis of the ways urban food policies have emerged, developed and begun to be implemented in Toronto and the BCR. The analysis highlight the key tensions experienced in different stages of both Cities' trajectories, showing how they triggered the reflexive agency of key actors and how modalities of co-learning took place, leading to (contested) institutionalization outcomes. The concluding section 5.5 highlights the value of this comparative analysis of the two city-regions. To this purpose, it summarises what we learned from the two cases' histories about the challenge of implementing urban food policies.

5.2 The conceptual framework and the methods of analysis

This section, which explains the conceptual framework of the article, proceeds as follows. First, the key concepts of (self)reflexivity and co-learning in agents, organizations and their governance networks are defined. Reference is made to literatures on sustainability transitions and adaptive governance, which make significant use of these concepts. The section then highlights how the recent debate on urban food security has only partially addressed the role of (self)-reflexivity and co-learning in stirring the governance of local food agents and organizations. Hence, the section mobilises the HGA (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018) to explain how reflexivity in food actors emerges and co-learning outcomes take place as fuelled by key socio-political dynamics and tensions. Sub-section 5.2.3 focuses on the practical methods adopted to carry out the empirical analysis of Toronto and the BCR.

5.2.1 Introducing reflexivity and co-learning

The concepts of (self)reflexivity and reflexive governance have been largely adopted by socio-technical transitions theories and the governance approaches deriving from them (Geels 2004, 2014; Kemp and Loorbach 2006; Kemp *et al*. 2007; Smith 2007; Smith and Stirling 2007; 2010). These literatures - which lately have given greater emphasis to the role of politics and political dynamics in reflexive governance practices (Gottschick 2013; Hendriks and Grinn 2007; Shove and Walker 2007; Voß and Bornemann 2011) - use approaches such as transition management and adaptive governance, to face the challenges of steering socio-ecological systems' transitions towards sustainable development (Voß *et al*. 2006). Inspired by the analyses of reflexive modernization by authors such as Beck (1992, 1994) and Giddens (1990), these literatures define reflexive governance as "a mode of steering that encourages actors to scrutinize and reconsider their underlying assumptions, institutional arrangements and practices" (Hendriks and Grin 2007, p. 333). A distinction is made between a 'first order' reflexivity and a 'second order' reflexivity (*ibid* p. 335; Voß *et al*. 2006). While the former involves the dealing with externalities and side effects of development and modernization processes, the latter entails a more structural scrutiny and self-reflection

about modes of governance, as well as institutions and structures which underpin them (Hendriks and Grin 2007, Voß and Kemp 2005, 2006). Thus, self-reflexivity can foster changes and adaptations in the modes of governance of key agents and organizations, as these agents are confronted with uncertainties and diverse dynamics of the organizational and institutional environments in which they are embedded but which they also partly (co) produce (Hendriks and Grin 2007; Voß and Bornemann 2011). Contemporary systemic approaches such as adaptive governance and management literatures, emphasize the role of (reflexive) learning processes and experimentation, as pushing reflexive actors to adapt, re-adjust, re-frame their own actions and strategies (Bakema *et al.* 2018; Pahl-Wostl 2009; Voß *et al*. 2006; Voß and Bornemann 2011). Thus, learning and reflexivity seem to be mutually related and interdependent, as reflexivity and reflection are central elements in the learning process, being capable to actually fuel learning (Hilden and Tikkamäki 2016). Other contributions show a parallel between 'double loop'[43] learning and second order reflexivity, where the former is conducive to questioning existing habits and routines, pushing actors/organizations to change existing practices (West & Sacramento 2006, cit. in Farnese and Livi 2016). Contributions such as de Schutter and Lenoble (2010) also suggest considering reflexivity as the "internalization of the conditions of learning" (*ibid.* p.xxx). Thus, reflexive governance would entail the enablement of institutions that support the capacity of actors to learn and collectively exercise transformative action (*ibid*). In short, what emerges is that reflexivity and learning are interactive concepts, although the literature is generally not clear about the actual distinction between them, and, more importantly, the concrete outcomes produced by learning processes (Hilden and Tikkamäki 2016), such as new or more empowering modes of policy delivery, changes in established modes of governance and regulatory frameworks, and so on.

Few contributions to the debate on urban food policy and planning have begun to recognize the role of reflexivity and/or learning in catalysing an alternative food systems' governance. Although not explicitly theorizing reflexivity or learning as analytical dimensions, in her seminal work on

[43] For the concept of double loop learning in organizational theory see Argyris and Schön 1978.

urban food policies in Vancouver, Mendes (2008) refers to organizational learning capacities of the Vancouver's municipal governance. In particular, the author focuses on changes in governance arrangements, institutional capacity and culture of Vancouver's state institutions, pushed by the genesis of a local food policy agenda. Following transition (Marsden 2013) and adaptive governance perspectives, some authors (Blay-Palmer *et al.* 2013; Fridman and Lenters 2013; Pereira and Ruysenaar 2012) emphasize the role of key food organizations in fostering adaptive and transformative governance practices. These organizations, we could argue, catalyse reflexivity and thus capacity to learn in local food actors and their institutions. Fridman and Lenters (2013), for instance, refer to the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC) and Food Strategy. Indeed, liaising diverse actors among each other, such as community food initiatives with municipal government's divisions, the TFPC and the Food Strategy facilitate mutual learning among these actors and, doing so, these organizations also embed capacity to learn in their own mode of operation. Sonnino *et al*. (2014) use a reflexive governance framework to analyse Brazil's school feeding policies. Thus, among others the authors highlight efforts to create a governance context in which constant interactions and collaborations between actors (i.e. civil society organizations, state actors at multiple scales and school food system actors) are enabled and, thus, where learning, adaptation and collective definition of food security values and objectives are favoured.

As this paper argues, these analyses do not give a full socio-political account of the self-reflexive and learning capacities of food actors or do not (sufficiently) provide clarity on what is learned and how is learned. Two important and interrelated dimensions are missing, which help to highlight the characters of reflexive behaviours and learning outcomes. These dimensions relate to **a)** the role of key governance tensions, and in particular institutional governance tensions, as drivers of but also as a target of self-reflexive and co-learning dynamics, in food actors and organizations; **b)** the ways this leads to revising institutions and institutionalization processes, which are through time contested, negotiated, or, besides, co-constructed and jointly built by key actors, and more or less institutionalized organizations of the local food movement. Introducing these dimensions into the analysis also helps to explain why

reflexivity and co-learning do not automatically lead to convergence and may even stir conflict.

5.2.2 Revisiting reflexivity and co-learning through the HGA

The HGA explained in Manganelli and Moulaert (2018) provides analytical tools to shed light on the above dimensions. Hybrid Governance pinpoints to the tensions created by the interactivity among different governance forms (i.e. *solidarity, networked-horizontal, state, market-driven*) and the ways these tensions are experienced by local food initiatives, conditioning their diverse modes of scaling out or up. Three types of tensions are identified in the HGA: ***organizational*** (governance) tensions, i.e. tensions in governing the food network organizations as they diversely develop, build alliances, networks, interact with the socio-institutional system in which they are embedded; ***resource*** (governance) tensions, i.e. tensions in accessing and securing key resources (e.g. land, funding, material infrastructures, other key human and natural resources); ***institutional*** (governance) tensions, i.e. tensions related to institutionalization processes, and to the constraining or enabling role of key institutions with respect to the agency of local food networks. These tensions are closely related to one another. For instance, the need to access land and other resources (resource governance tensions) can trigger the mobilization of self-organizing food initiatives (organizational governance tensions) which may enter into conflict or may build alliances with diverse agents of the institutional system (such as state, market agents, or planning regulations, etc.), which control and regulate the allocation of resources (institutional governance tensions). The dynamics of (dealing with) governance tensions are by themselves a breeding ground for co-learning, if not part of, or the co-learning process itself (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018, p. 13).

Of a particular importance for this article are **institutional governance tensions** and the ways they interact with the self-reflexive agency of local food actors. Referring to sociological-institutional approaches to governance, institutions are defined by the HGA as ensembles of norms, rules and cognitive patterns as well as regulatory agents (e.g. state institutions), which shape collective action (see Manganelli and Moulaert 2018b, in progress, see also González and Healey 2005; Healey 2006).

Driven by their ideologies and value systems, local food organizations build their own institutions, such as code of behaviour, rules of conduct, mission statements, self-organizing norms and principles. These customary institutions, and the values embedded in them, shape the reflexivity of food actors and organizations, i.e. their positionality and world-views with respect to the objectives, implementation and modes of governance of local food systems. Yet, interactions and interferences with 'external' institutions have an impact on the self-reflexive dynamics and practices of food actors and organizations. Examples of these interferences are empowering or disempowering state or market regulations, clashes of values and visions among actors over local food policies, or changes in the multi-scalar institutional system, such as state restructuring or new rules of funding and resource allocation, and so on. The commitment of food movement's coalitions to foster new institutions for the local food governance (e.g. policy guidelines supporting local food production or sustainable food procurement, local food strategies and food councils) are also part of the co-learning dynamics related to the co-construction and implementation of aspired food policy objectives.

We can argue that institutional governance tensions play a preeminent role in stimulating the self-reflexive and learning capacity of food actors, organizations and their institutions. In other words, by experiencing and living these tensions, food actors are pushed to reposition and self-reflect upon their world-views and modes of governance through time. This can lead to diverse outcomes. For instance, a stronger reassertion of key values and organizational principles may be triggered; or changes in modes of governance may be pursued, which can lead to new forms of institutionalization, such as enabling policy delivery systems for food security, including the creation of new (empowering) organizations or institutions for the local food governance, and so on.

Literatures on the multi-level governance and social innovation (García *et al*. 2012; Moulaert *et al*. 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013; Pradel *et al*. 2013) - core theoretical underpinnings of the HGA - cast light on the role of **bottom-linked** organizations. These organizations are capable of enabling forms of connectivity, dialogue and mutual learning among collective agents belonging to different organizational spheres as well as institutional scales (see de Weerdt and García 2016; García *et al*. 2012; Pradel *et al*. 2013).

Bottom-linked types of organizations (more or less institutionalized) can therefore catalyse interactions among self-reflexive actors of the local food and institutional system, thus providing institutional support for self-reflexivity and co-learning dynamics. Thus, the empirical analysis of the trajectories of Toronto and the BCR pays particular attention to the ways bottom-linked initiatives and organizations are established and the ways they favour relation building and co-learning trajectories through time.

5.2.3 Methods of Analysis

The HGA provides a methodology to reconstruct and compare the trajectories of genesis, development and implementation of local food policies in Toronto and in the BCR. It allows to grasp the ways in which (self)reflexivity and (co)learning capacities emerge through time and lead to their specific institutionalization trajectories.
An early version of **table 5.1** was used as a basis to carry out a first step of the empirical analysis. This *first step* aimed at identifying the key milestones and stages of the local food policy trajectories of Toronto and the BCR. The Governance Tensions explained in the HGA were used as criteria for the identification of the milestones since in each milestone key tensions become visibly manifest (see sections 5.3 and 5.4). Thus, preliminary assumptions were made about the key milestones-stages, the key tensions experienced in each milestone and the emerging types of reflexivity and co-learning dynamics (see table 5.1 – first, second and third column). This was done on the basis of a re-construction of the two Cities' food policy trajectories carried out by secondary literature review and by the analysis of key documentation (i.e. current and historic documentation concerning mission statements and interim reports of key organizations such as the Food Strategies' reports and yearly updates, the TFPC's reports, foundational documents and mission statements of other main food organizations and coalitions of the two city-regions, key policy documentation, press and web documents' analysis). Pilot interviews with key actors of both cities (i.e. historical food movement leaders in Toronto and local food policy coordinators and few pioneer grass-root organizations in the BCR), aware about the food movements' histories, were also carried out in this phase.

This analysis allowed to verify and refine the assumptions about the key milestones, stages and the major tensions experienced by local food actors and how they dealt with them. Thus, table 5.1 was updated accordingly and a second empirical step was carried out, whose purpose was to deepen the understanding of the types of outcomes in terms of co-learning behaviour and institutionalization trajectories that emerged through time (see table 5.1 fourth column 'outcomes: nature of the diverse institutionalization processes and co-learning trajectories'). Thus, this analysis allowed to achieve a longer term reflection on co-learning outcomes and institutionalization trajectories that occurred through time, as well as to learn from similarities and differences between the two Cities in the ways they have dealt with the experienced tensions (see section 5.5). This *second step* of the analysis involved a series of in-depth face-to-face interviews with actors covering the different stages of the Cities' food policy development. Thus, interviews addressed historical leaders of key local food organizations (such as Food Share or the STOP Community Food Center in Toronto) and informers from other key grass-root movements (e.g. the Toronto Urban Growers organization, urban agriculture networks and other pioneer local food associations in the BCR). Furthermore, interviews also targeted the coordinators of both cities' Food Strategies, the different coordinators - historical and current - of the TFPC and some of the key members of the recently created 'Consultative Council (*Conseil Consultatif/ Adviesraad*)' of the Brussels' Food Strategy. In Toronto the fieldwork was carried out during a visiting research stay of four months and a half - from February to June 2017 - at the Center for Studies in Food Security of the Ryerson University. Contacts with key actors were prolonged afterwards for follow up questions and updates, up to the writing of this paper. Interviews in the BCR were carried out upon the return from Toronto. But based in the BCR, the author had already familiarity with the BCR's food policy landscape.

Table 5.1. Nature and outcomes of reflexive and co-leaning dynamics in Toronto's and in the BCR's food policy trajectories
Source: author's elaboration

STAGES	Key Governance Tensions experienced	Nature of the reflexive dynamics in key actors/organizations	Outcomes: nature of the diverse institutionalization processes and co-learning trajectories
TORONTO			
Stage 1: Origins of the food movement to the late 1990s	Self-organization of actors/networks mobilizing to respond to food insecurity	Conscious need to face food insecurity Dialectical interactions among divergent visions-approaches to food insecurity Dialectics among food security, healthy city values, sustainable food systems' approaches	The establishment of organizations and actors' networks, also bottom-linked, and their scalar dynamics Co-constructing programs-projects to spearhead local food systems' values and concerns
Stage 2: From the late 1990s to late-2000s	State rescaling fostering institutional, resource and organizational governance tensions in the short and long term	Safeguarding/defending key food security principles, codes of behaviour Revived need to (re)assert food systems' values and commitments Collective sense-making practices	Searching for shared visions and common frameworks for collaboration/implementation Scalar dynamics related to the pursuit of food system's values and approaches, sensitizing other actors/policy scales
Stage 3: From the late 2000s to nowadays	New opportunity spaces for collaborative and bottom-linked organizational designs; yet divergences to be surmounted	Conscious engagement of state actors and other food movement leaders in a food system approach Conscious intention to scale out food system actions across communities and city divisions Awareness about and engagement in international food policy networks	Struggles to account for a diversity of actors and scales of governance Overcoming organizational/institutional divergences among actors in order to implement bottom-linked food policy initiatives

(table continuing in next page)

STAGES	Key Governance Tensions experienced	Nature of the reflexive dynamics in key actors/organizations	Outcomes: nature of the diverse institutionalization processes and co-learning trajectories
The BCR			
Stage 1: From the origins of a regional food movement to 2012.	Hybrid networks of actors self-organizing around alternative food values	Awareness / reflexivity around alternative food values starting to percolate among diverse actors	Experimenting with forms of self-organization and collaboration Searching for bottom-linked initiatives/ semi-institutionalized frameworks of support
Intermediary stage: End of 2013 to 2014	New opportunity spaces for institutional support, alliance, collaboration fostering institutional, organizational and resource governance tensions	Need for co-construction, collective sense-making Conscious will to address the food system and scale-out/up support to alternative food systems Struggles to enable cross-organizational, cross-institutional collaborative practices	Search for a common vision and comprehensive policy leading to the next phase
Late stage: 2015 to nowadays	Contradictory institutional dynamics as well as new institutional opportunity spaces	Greater institutional uptake of the 'food system' issue by the State actor Diverse food actors aspiring for more empowering institutional frameworks and modes of local food governance	Struggles to institutionalize/ implement frameworks for collaboration Dealing with tensions concerning modes of food policy delivery

5.3 Reflexivity and co-learning in the genesis and development of local food systems' policies in Toronto

Retracing Toronto's food movement and policy formation and development can be divided in three stages. *A first stage* (sub-section 5.3.1) looks at the origins of the current Toronto's food movement in the 1980s, when the need to tackle food insecurity triggered new ideas and initiatives among key actors and nascent food organizations. *A second stage* (sub-section 5.3.2), starting in the late 1990s, is dominated by governance tensions brought by reforms in the institutional-territorial structure of Toronto and how the reflexive positionality of key actors was affected by and responded to these tensions. The *most recent stage* of the Toronto's trajectory reveals a more mature food movement, with high international visibility, full of potential to proliferate experiences of how to sustainably deal with experienced governance tensions (sub-section 5.3.3).

5.3.1 Seeds of reflexivity and co-learning outcomes in the first stage of the Toronto's food movement (1980s-late 1990s)

The origins of Toronto's food movement can be traced back in the 1980s, a period of socio-economic distress, part of a wider recession affecting most of the Western world since the late 1970s[44]. At that time in Toronto citizens and households increasingly had to face hunger, food insecurity and poverty (Loopstra and Tarasuk 2012). The need to face conditions of food insecurity was a major source of organizational and institutional governance tensions (see table 5.1 - second column), as it pushed a variety of bottom-up responses, where agents such as self-organizing citizens, community groups, charities, churches, concerned local councillors and so on, were diversely reacting to food insecurity by means of self-help, emergency food provision, solidarity networks also involving local state actors, etc. In this period Toronto also saw the origin and rapid proliferation of food banks, which far from being a temporary response to hunger, soon became an institutionalized form of emergency food strategy, if not a veritable sector of the North American food system (Fisher 2017; Loopstra and Tarasuk 2012; Poppendieck 2014; Tarasuk *et al.* 2014). We can argue

[44] See for instance Burton, M., 2016, "the politics of austerity. A recent history", Palgrave macmillan, in particular Chapter 10, "Two Case Studies: Canada and Sweden", pp. 157-174.

that these experienced organizational and institutional governance tensions triggered the genesis of key organizations of the Toronto's food movement and fuelled their type of reflexive positionality. Indeed, finding new approaches to food insecurity and develop "policy alternatives to food banks" (cit. from interview with Wayne Roberts) were among the key drivers of nascent key food organizations such as FoodShare, the TFPC, and, partially, the STOP Community Food Center[45]. FoodShare, at that time named FoodShare Metro Toronto, started in 1985 as an alternative food security network enabled by a progressive major jointly with concerned citizens. The awareness to act differently from food banks and to provide alternative responses to hunger underpinned FoodShare's value systems since the beginning, and consequently, its modes of self-organizing, co-building networks, and scalar dynamics[46].

Next to this nascent food security movement, dialectically interacting with an anti-poverty movement (Koç *et al.* 2008), a "healthy city approach" - which was consciously adopted as a mission in the early 1980s by the Public Health leader Trevor Hancock and his team[47] - was also co-responsible for the genesis of its urban food policies (see table 5.1- as part of third column). Indeed, a progressive Board of Health Agency was at that time involved in an international movement on healthy city planning, in which Toronto aimed at positioning itself as a leader (Hancock 2017). Already at that time the Board of Health Agency fostered a progressive vision about food as a key "social determinant of health" (cit from interview with Rod MacRae) and thus supported the creation of the TFPC. This organization was set up in 1991 as a hybrid semi-institutionalized

[45] The relation of the STOP Community Food Center with food banks is perhaps more contested, as the organization actually operated as a food bank in the first period of its life-course. Afterwards, however, also thanks to the pivotal role of the executive director Nick Saul, the STOP tried to deviate from a charitable model towards a more holistic approach to dealing with food insecurity (see Saul and Curtis 2013).

[46] Emblematic is the ways Debbie Field, who became Executive Director of FoodShare around the year 1992, re-framed the mission of FoodShare as not an anti-hunger organization, but as a community food security organization that understands anti-poverty, thus putting in the foreground the food system and its connection with community development as a primary concern over a charitable approach to hunger (interview with Debbie Field; see also Koç *et al.* 2009).

[47] "The mission of the City of Toronto Department of Public Health is to make Toronto the healthiest city in North America" (Hancock 1986b, cit. in Hancock 2017, p. 68).

organization, with bottom-linked features[48]. Housed in the Toronto's Health Department, the TFPC aimed at representing voices and claims of the food movement, creating a space for encounter and dialogue among food systems' actors, as well as fostering networks between community organizations and state agents. Already in this early stage the TFPC attempted to unite and represent the different 'souls' and strands of the nascent food movement: actors focusing on health and community food security concerns as well as activists claiming for re-localized sustainable food systems (interview with Rod MacRae; see also Welsh and MacRae 1998)[49]. One of the goals was to learn from their modes of organizing, governance and especially the ways by which they expressed their values and put them into practice.

These diverse features of reflexivity steered certain learning outcomes and institutionalization trajectories over the course of the first stage (see table 5.1 – fourth column). These learning outcomes are visible in the attempts to scale out/up food security values and policy concerns across organizational and institutional scales, as well as in the implementation of concrete actions and programs, also with the purpose to enhance the credibility and legitimacy of newly created organizations, such as the TFPC or FoodShare and their modes of operation.

> *"We knew right away that we had to do work on two levels: long-term policy change and we also needed some short-term projects/victories, because the short-term victories would help us to establish our credentials: why we needed to exist."* (Quote from the first TFPC coordinator)

One example of an implementation partnership is the Coalition for

[48] For a detailed analysis of the origins and character of the TFPC see for instance Blay-Palmer (2010).

[49] Certain actors forming loose coalitions began to denounce the distortions of industrialized food systems and started to plea for more self-reliant, proximity food systems, linking closer the urban and the rural. Interviewees underline in particular the leading figures of Brewster Kneen, sheep farmer and intellectual from Nova Scotia, moved at that time to Toronto, with his wife Cathleen Kneen, as key advocates of the sustainable food systems strand of the nascent food movement. Brewster was one of the early members of the TFPC and author of pioneer works such as 'from land to mouth. Understanding the Food System' (1989) (see the website http://ramshorn.ca/ - accessed on 14 August 2018)

Student Nutrition (1991), involving institutional actors as well as community representatives, among which the FoodShare organization. This coalition aimed at expanding the school food programs and improving children's nutrition in Toronto's schools[50]. The Field to Table and the Good Food Box were the other two key programs started in this early phase by actors of the TFPC and of FoodShare, aiming to support alternative food chains and meet food security needs of Toronto's inhabitants (interview with Debbie Field, see Koç *et al.* 2008).

5.3.2 From late 1990s to mid-2000s. State rescaling and revived reflexivity in food actors

The early second phase of the Toronto's food policy trajectory can be situated in the late 1990s/early 2000s. In this period, processes of state re-scaling occurred and Hybrid Governance tensions came along with it (see table 5.1 – second column). In the late 1990s the old City of Toronto was restructured into a larger institutional body embedding the six crowning municipalities of the Metropolitan Toronto and thus increasing its population size from over 650.000 to about 2.3 million inhabitants[51]. Through this contested 'amalgamation' process, imposed by the Provincial Government (Mahon and Macdonald 2010), the progressive old Municipality of Toronto was suddenly exposed to the much more conservative cultural, political and bureaucratic apparatus of the surrounding administrations. Thus, changes in the composition of the state apparatus and conflicts among social, political, cultural actors and their visions took place. This affected key actors of the food movement, since new relationships and alliances had to be built around the cause of food security:

> *"The old city of Toronto was a very progressive and urban city - culturally, politically and socially in the vanguard. Then all of a sudden, it was made a minority in a larger city*

[50] See Toronto Food Policy Archives (2015), http://tfpc.to/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Toronto-Food-Policy-Archive-Spring-2015.pdf (accessed on March 19th 2018).

[51] See City of Toronto Act, 1997 (Bill 103), http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/bills/bills_detail.do?locale=en&BillID=1489&isCurrent=false&ParlSessionID=361&detailPage=bills_detail_the_bill (accessed on March 19th 2018).

> *that included car suburbs such as Scarborough, North York, and Etobicoke. These suburban cities didn't admit or accept responsibility for their own poverty, hunger or homelessness problems. Amalgamation really caused changes in food thinking, sensibilities and priorities".* (cit. from interview with Wayne Roberts)

Furthermore, organizations such as the TFPC ran serious risk of being swiped away due to simplifications in the state apparatus fostered by these institutional reforms, that also came along with drastic resource cuts[52] (courtesy of interviewees).

We can argue that these governance tensions reinforced reflexivity and co-learning behaviours among key actors of the food movement (see table 5.1 – third column) and a revived need to collectively re-assert and re-cast key values and commitments around food insecurity and sustainable food systems, as well as to defend the legitimacy and the approaches of key food organizations, such as the TFPC.

This produced immediate as well as longer term outcomes. Immediate outcomes were the building of new coalitions, such as the Food and Hunger Action Committee (FHAC), whose creation was advocated by community food organizations belonging to the 'hungerwatch' coalition - of which organizations such as FoodShare, The STOP, the TFPC, among others, were part - and the 'Environmental Task Force' coalition, promoting the adoption of an Environmental Plan for the city, including progressive guidelines about local food production (City of Toronto, 2000)[53]. Around the year 2000 the FHAC stood up with a new mission statement around the right to food, i.e. the Toronto Food Charter, which represents a code of behaviour for the TFPC, opening up a 'new field of action' (Wayne Roberts) for the TFPC - as well as for the whole movement - which re-positioned itself as a legitimate organization, entitled to help implementing food system actions for the new Toronto[54]. These socio-political dynamics

[52] The TFPC receives 75% of its core funding for coordination staff from the Provincial Government of Ontario and 25% from the Municipality of Toronto.

[53] See Toronto Council documentation retrieved at https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/2000/agendas/council/cc/cc000411/pof4rpt/cl007.pdf (last accessed October 19 2018)

[54] See http://www.foodsecuritynews.com/presentations/Toroto_Food_Charter.pdf (accessed on March 15th 2018).

clearly show how features of reflexivity and co-learning outcomes operated at that stage. Indeed, the invigorated need to re-assert food system values, but also the intention of local food leaders to re-frame local food systems as a legitimate policy field, are elements of reflexivity which spurred co-learning dynamics among actors. These co-learning dynamics translated into struggles to co-construct shared frameworks of action, navigating the new political-institutional environment of the greater Toronto, where hostilities and divergences needed to be surmounted.
Thus, in a way tensions and renewed reflexivity in the longer run triggered a proactive will to scale out local food system principles and practices across the greater Toronto as well as in higher scale policy structures. This shows how experienced tensions also turned out to be opportunities and breeding grounds for co-learning dynamics.

5.3.3 From the second half of the 2000s to nowadays. The latest stage of the Toronto's learning trajectory

The start of the latest stage of the Toronto's food policy trajectory can be identified around the year 2008, when the "Proposal for Development of a Toronto Food Strategy"[55] (Mah and Tang 2013; Toronto Public Health 2008) was lunched by the Toronto Board of Health. This stage displays considerable developments in the reflexive positionality of state authorities, who began to engage in a more conscious attempt to co-construct and institutionalise a framework for local food policy delivery. In particular, three interconnected elements of reflexivity played a role in this re-positioning of state as well as other food movement actors - e.g. the TFPC, local food leaders such as community food initiatives or other food movement actors - jointly engaged in the elaboration of the food strategy. First, the memory of the previous stage certainly played a role, since

> *"the [food strategy] approach builds on the process started by the Food and Hunger Action Committee - very*

[55] See Board of Health, Proposal for the Development of a Toronto Food Strategy (https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2008/hl/bgrd/backgroundfile-13560.pdf), accessed on March 16th 2018.The food strategy was actually launched in 2010 and it is still in force nowadays.

*collaborative." (*interview with Lauren Baker *by Mah 2012)*[56]

Secondly, there is a more forceful self-conscious intention by state actors and other food movement leaders to address the whole food system, from food production to disposal, as well as to sensitise and export food system's actions to the working of other city divisions and community agencies. Third, the increased awareness about and engagement in international experiences and networks of urban food policy – mainly the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact, and the C40 Cities network – also emerges. These elements of reflexivity led to certain co-learning outcomes and institutionalization trajectories over the course of the third stage. These outcomes are visible in the engagement of food strategy actors into the co-construction of new bottom-linked modes of policy delivery. These bottom-linked modes mainly involve the establishment of joint projects and service delivery modes, trying to address diverse sections of the food system. These projects rely on the building of partnerships and coalitions, trying to involve a diversity of actors, among which city divisions, community food initiatives and other grass-root actors, as well as private food system players. Struggles to unite these diverse actors around joint initiatives, surpassing tensions among different value frames, behaviours, organizational and professional spheres, popped up with a greater strength:

"We [the food strategy team] try to collaborate with many departments around concrete projects. Planning, Parks and Recreation, Social Development, the Environmental Office, Licenses; we try to show that food can be a vehicle to realize their own objectives so that they take ownership of the initiative and perceive themselves as part the solution

"Making links with other city divisions takes a long time though. It is about building relationships at a personal level I think (…)..In some instances this is the beginning of a

[56] See https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/cuizine/2012-v3-n2-cuizine0288/1012459ar/ (accessed on 19 August 2018)

longer, mutually trusting relationship and can leverage considerable additional resources."

"Partnering with the private sector is not easy…we learned a lot through the Food Reach Project. We realized that we should not call it partnership anymore, but 'service agreement'. We became more practical about that (…) If you want to collaborate with the private sector you need to be honest and pragmatic about the different interests at play." (cit. from interview with the Food Strategy Manager).

Thus, this stage clearly shows the complex intermingling of the learning and institutionalization trajectories of the food policy development in Toronto with the need to face or valorise key governance tensions. Setting ambitious targets and establishing policy coalitions at the supra-local level goes in tandem with the need to represent and unite a diversity of voices and values of food system actors as well as other actors, in order to implement local food policies. Thus, local food leaders need to search for accountable food policy approaches that motivate diverse actors to share resources and jointly commit to the implementation of local food policies.

5.4 Genesis and development of local food policies in the BCR

The BCR's local food policy trajectory can be subdivided in three stages: a first stage, from 2005 to 2013 when a Regional food movement started to form; an intermediary stage from the end of 2013 to the 2014 where new opportunity spaces for institutional support and collaboration emerged; and, finally, a third stage from 2014 till today in which a greater institutional uptake of the food system issue goes hand by hand with the need to learn how to deal with governance tensions.

5.4.1 Mid-2000s-2012. Seeds of reflexivity and co-learning outcomes in a nascent regional food movement

Around the mid-2000s pioneer alternative food initiatives began to emerge in the BCR - giving origin to a Regional movement on sustainable food (Manganelli 2013; Manganelli and Moulaert 2018). Indeed, in this

period bottom-up organizations, involving among others concerned citizens as well as farmers, were set up and began to claim and implement alternatives food projects such as collective gardens, small scale urban agriculture, and other types of alternative food networks. A pioneer organization was, for instance, the *Début des Haricots* (DDH), still active in the BCR, which fosters urban gardening, agriculture and citizens' sensitization towards sustainable food. This organization initiated the Brussels' based Community Supported Agriculture network GASAP[57], which connects BCR's consumers with small-scale producers in a solidarity alliance. Thus, it is arguable that organizational governance tensions in the self-organization of reflexive actors around alternative food values, such as food sovereignty and sustainable food production and consumption, were pivotal to the emergence of a Regional food movement (see table 5.1 – second column) (Manganelli 2013; Manganelli and Moulaert 2018). These and other bottom-up initiatives started to interact with Municipal and Regional state actors of the BCR, in search for resources, support and collaborative networks. These interactions involved institutional as well as resource governance tensions. At that time, the Cabinet of the Environment and its Administrative Agency 'IBGE' (*Institut Bruxellois pour la Gestion de l'Environnement*) had already developed an interest and a first set of actions for sustainable food, in particular around food waste and public procurement. Key figures among the green political coalition running the Environmental Cabinet were sensitive to the challenges of sustainable food systems and soon became very sympathetic towards local food initiatives and inclined to support them. Thus, in this nascent stage, the proximity and interactivity among diverse actors nurtured their reflexive positionality; as a result, alternative food values and discourses started to scale out among the diverse actors of a nascent community of (food) practices (Friedmann 2007).

Soon, in this early stage, initial forms of self-organizing, networking, associating with other actors, and thus, experimenting with forms of collaboration, and more or less institutionalized relations, produced co-learning dynamics (see table 5.1 - fourth column). Local food associations or citizens' groups started to foster local food projects, especially in the more supportive Municipalities of the BCR. At the Regional level, the Agency IBGE provided loosely institutionalized types of support towards

[57] *Groupes d'Achat Solidaires de l'Agriculture Paysanne* (see Manganelli and Moulaert 2018).

alternative food initiatives. One example is the launch of the call for projects on urban gardens from 2011 on by the IBGE, involving a partnership with the urban agriculture organization DDH. This program invites organized groups of citizens to propose projects for the setup of gardening initiatives. Selected candidates receive support from the DDH organization to get access to the necessary infrastructures for creating collective gardens[58]. Furthermore, at this stage, the IBGE also began to launch a yearly call for projects on 'sustainable food' open to a diversity of actors (e.g. local organizations, private, state) in the domain of sustainable food.

Thus, first experiments and attempts to establish and, partially, institutionalizing collaborative relations, or types of bottom-linked initiatives, emerged at this stage as outcomes of the co-learning trajectory.

5.4.2 End of 2013-2014. Preludes to a food policy

The year 2013-2014 can be considered an intermediary stage in the development of the Regional Food Policy trajectory of the BCR. Indeed, institutional governance tensions emerged as the Cabinet of the Environment made a first programmatic attempt to move the support to alternative food systems toward an interdepartmental program, thus bring a more holistic agenda on sustainable food to the attention of other Regional Cabinets. This was carried out by negotiating the insertion of an axe on sustainable food within an inter-ministerial program called "Alliance Employment-Environment (AEE)", also involving the Ministries of Economy and Employment[59]. Acknowledging the proliferation of food initiatives and projects across the BCR, reflexive dynamics are visible in the need to engage in sense-making, to 'coordinate and create synergies

[58] See http://www.environnement.brussels/thematiques/espaces-verts-et-biodiversite/action-de-la-region/appel-projets-potagers (accessed on March 24th 2018). See also Manganelli (2013).

[59] In force between the years 2010 and 2014, the AEE program was a consortium between the Ministries of Environment, Economy and Employment of the BCR whose purpose is to understand how environmentally sustainable practices in key sectors (e.g. sustainable construction, water, resources - waste, and, later, food) can be vehicles of employment for the Region (see for instance https://environnement.brussels/sites/default/files/user_files/rap_aee-cd_rapport_pluriannuel_2014_fr.pdf - accessed on 15 August 2018). From the fieldwork emerges that the legitimacy of sustainable food as a programmatic axe of the AEE was neither immediately nor easily recognized by the other two Ministries.

among projects', as well as to engage in 'co-construction' and in a 'participatory approach' (interview with the Cabinet of the Environment at power in this stage). Partially resonating with the second stage of the Toronto's trajectory, the program was a first conscious attempt to bring into dialogue a diversity of food actors and initiatives in the BCR, but also to establish links with other Regional divisions, negotiating a legitimate space for a sustainable food agenda within a Regional policy arena. Thus, consultative workshops were set up, gathering a diversity of actors, initiatives, projects, engaged or interested in sustainable food strategies and organizing, and a series of actions were conceived and partially started to be implemented[60]. Among the outcomes of this process, the need for a vision and a strategy on food emerged, as "in the AEE was written as a principle to develop a food strategy"[61] (interview with the Cabinet of the Environment at power in this stage).

5.4.3 From 2015 to currently. The latest stage

The latest stage of the BRC's food policy development coincides with new Regional elections followed by the launch of the current Food Strategy in 2015 - partially recalling the latest stage of the Toronto's trajectory - of which the earlier process of the AEE can be considered as a sort of prelude. Indeed, in the year 2014 Regional elections took place and changes in the political colour of the Regional Environmental Ministry which turned from a green-left coalition into a more centre-right Cabinet[62]. This caused institutional governance tensions as revisions of political priorities, reshuffling of programmatic axes as well as budgetary lines took place. Yet, the newly elected Ministry of the Environment supported the launch of the

[60] Among others, from the AEE's conversations a proposal for a "co-create" program on sustainable food emerged, then embraced by the Agency for Research and innovation of the BCR '*Innoviris*', part of the BCR's Ministry of Research. This co-create program finances action-research projects around sustainable food and, lately, urban ecology, to be developed in trans-disciplinary partnerships involving research institutions together with other actors, such as civil society food initiatives, state actors and private players (see http://www.cocreate.brussels/?lang=fr – accessed on 15 Agusut 2018).

[61] It is however worth it to be mentioned that the participation of the IBGE to the European multi City project "URBAct" (2012-2015) on Sustainable Food as a leading partner, had also a relevant role in laying the basis of the strategy and its participatory processes (see http://urbact.eu/sustainable-food-urban-communities, accessed on 13 September 2018).

[62] These new regional elections also brought a reconfiguration of competences in the Regional Ministry of the Environment, which is now Ministry of 'Housing, Quality of Life, Environment and Energy'.

'Good Food Strategy'[63], building on the momentum of the sustainable food axe of the AEE.

The current early implementation stage of the Strategy shows how institutional governance tensions are providing breeding ground for reflexive and co-learning dynamics. This type of dynamics conditions the current and, arguably, the future institutionalization trajectories. Overall a greater awareness by Brussels' food actors about the importance of collaboration and alliance building across organizations as well as institutional spheres is visible. This is for instance exemplified by the set-up of a "Consultative Committee" by the food strategy team. To some extent similar to the consultative and advisory role of the TFPC with respect to the Toronto Food Strategy, the *'Conseil Consultatif'* of the Good Food Strategy attempts to involve a diversity of food system actors in advising the food strategy development. This can be regarded as a recognition of the importance of reflexive plus bottom-linked modes of governance by Brussels food institutions. In other words, this seems to show an awareness among the public authorities of the fact that the implementation of local food actions needs to be accompanied by (bottom-linked) organizational designs which allow collective reflection upon and, if necessary, re-vision or re-adjustment of policy delivery modes and institutional mechanisms through time. However, being in a very experimental and early stage, doubts emerge on the capacity of the Consultative Committee with its current modes of operation, to fully undertake that role. Some tension for instance emerges around mechanisms for the implementation of the Food Strategy, in particular around developments in the modalities of issuing public tenders. Some of the local food initiatives are experiencing constraints in meeting the criteria imposed by the public tenders in terms of budget, timeframe, administrative burdens, delivering modes, and so on, since

> *"compared to the past the requirements of the public tenders are more strict, rigid and detailed [...] our urban gardening team struggles to respond to the calls as they are more demanding while giving less resources and room for*

[63] For an overview of the Food Strategy's axes see: https://environnement.brussels/thematiques/alimentation/action-de-la-region/strategie-good-food-vers-un-systeme-alimentaire-plus (accessed on 15 August 2018)

freedom [...] We are in danger of losing our mission"(Cit. from the DDH organization).

This also leads to tensions in collaborating across organizations, as

> *"through the tenders we are put into competition with other associative actors, or even with private actors, or any more powerful actor or consortium which may apply for a given tender, also considering that tenders are becoming larger"* (cit. from the association *Rencontres des Continents*)

Thus, we can argue that the dynamics of dealing with tensions in policy delivery modes are an integral part of the co-learning trajectory of the Brussels' food policy implementation. Indeed, actors become increasingly conscious that co-learning dynamics around the delivery of local food policies encompass not only alignment and convergence among actors around shared objectives. Besides, local food policy delivery also encompasses the need to involve new actors and thus, to deal with conflicts and tensions among an increasing diversity of actors looking for access to implementation resources as well as for supportive criteria for policy implementation.

5.5 Comparative lessons. What have Toronto and the BCR learned?

This paper has made use of the concepts of reflexivity and co-learning as typical agencies within the HGA to analyse the trajectories of local food policy formation, development, and implementation, in the cases of Toronto and the BCR. By highlighting key socio-political dynamics and tensions as triggers, but also as targets of reflexive behaviours and co-learning outcomes, the HGA (Manganelli and Moulaert 2018) facilitated the understanding of how reflexive dynamics and co-learning processes occurred, what role they had in re-positioning key food movement actors, and how these processes impacted on the organization of food policy delivery systems in the two city-regions' trajectories. Thus, early endeavours to unite and represent diverse voices and rationales of a nascent food movement - fostering mutual learning among diverse food systems' values and modes of governance - have emerged as a key co-

learning moments since the early stage of the Toronto food movement. Experiencing severe institutional, resource and organizational governance tensions due to state rescaling processes in the intermediate stage, Toronto's food movement actors felt a revived need to re-position themselves and legitimate their role in the pursuit of aspired food security and food system objectives. These reflexive dynamics led to certain co-learning outcomes, visible in the efforts to design and co-construct shared food policies, navigating hostilities and divergences in the socio-institutional arena of the enlarged Toronto. In the late stage of Toronto's history, co-learning dynamics manifest in the struggles of state authorities and other food movement leaders to enable and institutionalise bottom-linked types of organizations dealing with the implementation of local food policies, through project-based partnerships and modes of bottom-linked policy/service delivery. Thus, institutional governance tensions related to the co-construction of modes of governance across city divisions, community agencies, diverse food system players - while interacting with international food policy networks - feed breeding grounds for, and form triggers of co-learning in a more diverse and complex Toronto food movement world.

In the BCR, socio-political dynamics of pioneer organizations mobilizing around alternative food values have fostered reflexive behaviour in diverse actors - including Municipal and Regional state authorities - who started to develop bottom-linked experiments and forms of collaborations, as co-learning outcomes of the first stage. These hybrid interactions and tensions triggered new reflexive dynamics in state authorities in the intermediate stage. Thus, new conscious attempts by Regional state actors to address the food system question and facilitate hybrid-participatory food governance modes, including struggles to sensitise other Regional governmental divisions, emerged. This reflexive positionality and co-learning outcomes constituted a prelude to the latest stage of the Brussels' food policy trajectory. In a way similarly to the Toronto's trajectory, the development of a food strategy and the creation of a consultative council constitute a further attempt to co-construct a hybrid-participatory organizational design for implementing local food policies, struggling to embrace a greater diversity of actors and voices. Indeed, the need to involve a wider range of actors (including other Regional divisions), produced forms of collaboration but also conflicts around the organization

of policy delivery modes. Challenges to devise fair and accountable modes of implementation, emerge in the early implementation stage as a key element of the co-learning dynamics among actors.

In sum, a socio-politically oriented analysis of reflexivity and co-learning in Toronto and the BCR was essential in revealing both the need to develop accountable bottom-linked organizational designs to represent and legitimate the local food movement, as well as the challenges of coming along with the changing modes of policy delivery. In order to account for the (increasing) diversity of actors and their value systems, new forms of collaboration are necessary, triggering opportunities for co-production but also conflicts around the organization of policy delivery modes.

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INTERLUDE 3. Field Work Pictures





Moments at FoodShare, Winter 2017



Source: author's elaboration



TFPC Monthly meeting,
Spring 2017

At the Ryerson Rooftop
Farm, Spring 2017





Visiting a School Garden
with the Toronto Urban
Growers,
Spring 2017

Source: author's elaboration

CHAPTER 6

General Conclusions

By use of a Hybrid Governance Approach, this research has unravelled the socio-political governance reality of local food initiatives. Indeed, a socio-political analysis of key governance challenges of AFNs, conceptualised in this work as *hybrid governance tensions*, was essential to shed light on the capacities of these initiatives to exercise transformative socio-political and food system change, while also showing key obstacles and limits AFNs face in their transformative ambitions.

The HGA involves a multi-faceted approach to the analysis of the governance practices of local food initiatives, pointing to major tensions these initiatives experience. The first contribution of this study to the scientific community is ***a re-definition of the concept of Hybrid Governance***. This redefinition moves away from the fields of transaction costs' economics or NIE that, since the late 1980s/early 1990s, provided first systematizations of the concept of hybrids and hybrid governance forms. Contributions in the field of transaction costs' economics mostly examine the role and functioning of hybrid forms of governance in intra or inter-firm transactions (Elsner 2004; Makadok and Cof 2009) within private or public markets (Ménard 2004; Van Huylenbroeck *et al.* 2009). Despite some linkages, the HGA also differs from a purely organizational approach, where Hybrid Governance forms are seen as modes of managing social enterprises or structuring the delivery of public services (Benjamin 2012; Powell *et al.* 2018; Vickers *et al.* 2017). Rather, this study has defined Hybrid Governance as a *combination* of different governance forms (i.e. bottom-up solidarity, hierarchical, market-oriented, networked) characterized by typical organizational modes and cultures, formal or informal regulatory and institutional mechanisms, disciplining collective action.

The analysis in this PhD research has revealed how, in the spatial-temporal dynamics of AFNs, these diverse governance forms co-exist and interact among each other in different ways, producing tensions in terms of conflicts between diverse organizational or institutional logics, but also opportunities for cooperation and co-construction. The different chapters of this dissertation have given substance to the above definition of Hybrid Governance, identifying concrete actors, their modalities to self-organize, associate, build socio-spatial relations in the search for empowering modes

of resource allocation and forms of institutionalization of alternative food systems.

The following sections of this conclusion highlight the key findings of this PhD research and its contributions to the agro-food and food planning scholarly debate. To this end, each numbered section elaborates on the key findings highlighted in the different chapters of this dissertation. Thus, **Section 6.1** focuses on the overarching contribution of the HGA as a methodological framework to advance the research on the governance of AFNs. It gives an overview of the key findings and their interconnections. **Section 6.2** reflects on values, ethics, positionalities in AFNs and their connection to agency and cooperative practices. **Section 6.3** sheds light on the Hybrid Governance analysis as a tool to understand socio-political dynamics in the governance of land (accessibility) for urban agriculture. **Section 6.4** raises some reflections on food democracy, looking at how hybrid plus bottom-linked organisations and initiatives in Toronto and in the BCR have attempted to realise it. Finally, the two concluding **sections 6.5 and 6.6** reconsider the HGA, stressing possible untouched dimensions or aspects that require deeper attention (section 6.5) and formulating some suggestions for future research directions (section 6.6).

6.1 Contributions of the HGA as a methodological framework

A core contribution of this study to the research on the governance of AFNs consists of the development of **an interdisciplinary, multi-faceted methodological approach** based on a theoretical framework that capitalizes from different strands of literature (Moulaert *et al.* 2016, Moulaert and Mehmood 2015). Thus, by connecting the *agro-food and food planning debates* with studies on *Social Innovation and collective action*, *socio-institutional approaches to governance*, *political economy and ecology perspectives on governance*, three types of governance tensions were identified and their interconnections made explicit, thus developing a methodology with analytical categories for their empirical investigation. This methodology, also providing criteria for a comparative analysis, was applied to different case-studies. Thus, Hybrid Governance tensions were analysed in the spatial-material development of an alternative food organization GASAP (Chapter 3); in the multi-scalar struggles to secure access to land for urban and peri-urban agriculture (Chapter 4); in the development and implementation pathways of urban-regional food

policies in two city-regions (Chapter 5). By empirically investigating the key types of governance tensions and their interrelation, this study could extract and connect among each other key findings. Table 6.1 at the end of this section provides a schematic summary of the findings.

First, the analysis of types of organizational and institutional governance tensions in the different case studies shows the **role of specific actors and organisations, their ideologies, value systems, transformative aspirations**, in catalysing socio-political change. Indeed, the agency of specific actors, such as political leaders, key food movement actors, and emerging food organisations, had a pivotal role in triggering the genesis and development of local food initiatives and policies in the two case study contexts. In Toronto, for instance, key figures such as engaged political leaders, also pushed by citizens' concerns and civil society's activism, helped the genesis of local food initiatives by facilitating political support to the emerging local food movement. Thus, among others, in the late 1980s/early 1990s, personalities such as Jack Layton, Dan Leckie and a few other 'forward thinking city councillors' (interview with Lori Stahlbrand) soon realised that the need to tackle food insecurity was a city wide urgent matter. These figures sensitised other city councillors and decision-makers about food security concerns, and supported the establishment of key food movement organisations such as the TFPC. In the BCR as well, political leaders such as Evelyne Huytebroeck, appointed official at the Cabinet of the Environment from 2004 to 2014, believed in food as a policy field connected to the Cabinet's environmental agenda. Her coalition began to support pioneer food network organisations responsible for the scaling out of local food projects within the BCR (see Chapter 5 section 5.4.1), and laid the groundwork for a political engagement of the state actor in local food systems.

In synthesis, empirical findings show that features of organisational as well as institutional types of governance tensions, in particular the role of positionalities and value systems in key actors and organisations, had an enabling role in fostering a transformative local food system action (see also section 6.2). Moreover, empirical evidence shows how **perceiving the nexus between local food objectives and other contextual needs and concerns** was also pivotal to the scaling out of local food initiatives and policies through time. Thus, local food actions were anchored to the need

to face poverty, food insecurity, malnutrition and related social determinants of health in Toronto (Hancock 2017; Pederson and Rootman 2017). Linking food to health and environmental matters was relevant to the genesis of a political action on food in the BCR. Indeed, it can be argued that the food-ecology-agriculture nexus constituted a point of encounter between state agencies and pioneer citizens-led food initiatives in the BCR. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that establishing **bottom-linked types of governance** in organizations and state agencies (Pradel *et al.* 2013; Eizaguirre *et al.* 2012; de Weerdt and García 2015) also helped to catalyse socio-political change. This is exemplified by the working of organisations and policy initiatives such as the TFPC and the Toronto Food Strategy, or by the Brussels' Good Food Strategy plus Food Council. The analysis shows how types of bottom-linked organisations, facilitating bottom-linked modes of governance, operated as fuels or drivers of reflexivity and co-learning (see also section 6.4). For instance, since the initial stages of a food movement in Toronto, an organisation like the TFPC made efforts to unite and represent different voices and approaches of the food movement, trying to foster dialogue and co-learning among actors and initiatives (see Chapter 5 section 5.3). More precisely, it attempted to be a catalyst of alliances between diverse actors such as community organisations and state agencies and it constituted a space of encounter and collaboration among diverse food system players. Also, due to its embeddedness in the local governance system, the TFPC has through time attempted to link local food actions with other city as well as multi-level policy processes. Indeed, this organisation has been struggling to embed food system concerns in urban policy initiatives and institutional structures (Blay-Palmer 2009).

The analysis also shows how key factors of governance tensions - and the reflexive and co-learning outcomes triggered by those - fostered not only collaborative practices, but also **conflictive dynamics within AFNs as well as between food organisations and other actors**. Indeed, changes in governmental coalitions, state rescaling processes, but also material/organisational challenges 'internal' to bottom-up food initiatives had a considerable impact on the life-course and development of AFNs. The GASAP organisation, for instance, had to cope with its own material-resource challenges. These challenges encompass the need to federate an enlarging network of consumers-producers and to improve the efficiency

of the GASAP's logistics as to guarantee local food provision through sustainable alternative food chains (see Chapter 3 section 3.3.2). These types of organisational growth pain urged the GASAP to develop organisational strategies in order to cope with its own material-resource challenges, also by connecting with other agents and food policy institutions.

The spatial-temporal analysis of the Toronto and the BCR's food policy trajectories reveals how **changes in the multi-level governance apparatus have fostered different types of governance tensions**, providing constraints or, rather, opportunities to scale out or up a local food system action. The 'amalgamation' process in Toronto during the late 1990s is a straightforward example. Factors such as budget cuts, downloading of welfare expenditure responsibilities to lower tiers, the changed political and cultural landscape, put into threat the very survival and legitimacy of key food organisations such as the TFPC. If these processes destabilised the local food movement, they also provided opportunities, in the medium to long term, to build new narratives and alliances around food security and the right to food, thus making a case for the development of local food system policies (see Chapter 5 section 5.3.2). **Mediation and conflict resolution** were essential in this phase to surmount conflictive value systems. Again, engaged food movement leaders and leading food organisations helped to navigate a conflictive political climate, by re-framing the food system question, by building new alliances and trying to find areas of convergence and consensus around food. This further demonstrates that leadership and mediation, fostered by engaged actors and organisations embedded in local governance networks, have been essential not only in early stages, but also throughout the local food movement trajectories.

The analysis of the local food policy trajectories as well as the inquiry on land-resource governance tensions show how **governance tensions amplified when facing more systemic questions around local food system policies**. Again, governance tensions operated as both, opportunities but also constraints to tackle more systemic challenges. Thus, Chapter 4 shows how enabling a territorial governance of urban-peri-urban agriculture fostered multi-scalar institutional governance tensions in Brussels' food actors and institutions, i.e. challenges to remove institutional barriers hampering the access to land, and to develop collaborations with

other jurisdictions (e.g. planning institutions) and policy levels. Proactive forms of leadership and cooperation were instrumental to engage diverse actors into the BBP coalition. This coalition in a way re-politicised access to land for urban/peri-urban agriculture in the BCR. However, transformative socio-political forces thus far have not reached the point of proactively engaging allies from other jurisdictions or more structurally influencing the mode of operating of relevant jurisdictions and policy levels.

Overall, the analysis of reflexivity and co-learning in the two local food policy trajectories shows that the **need to trigger socio-political transformation at multiple levels** – i. e. in diverse jurisdictions, policy scales as well as in the conventional food sector - constitutes itself a major factor of governance tensions as local food system policies develop and need to be implemented.

KEY FEATURES of Hybrid Governance Tensions	OPPORTUNITIES for socio-political transformative agency	CONSTRAINTS to socio-political transformative agency
Role of **specific actors, organizations,** their values systems and socio-political embeddedness	Leadership, value systems, transformative aspirations	Lack of leadership combining ethics, managerial skills and socio-political capabilities Available time especially devoted to running AFNs and keep them sustainable
Bottom-linked organizations and modes of governance	Develop accountable/reflexive institutions for the local food governance	Mediating among heterogeneous, sometimes conflictive value systems
Facing **material-resource challenges**	Role of leadership, mediation, conflict resolution	Challenges to ensure resource access and organizations' sustainability Challenges to cope with organizational growth pains
Coping with **changes and contradictions in the multi-level institutional apparatus**	Role of leadership, mediation, conflict resolution Opportunities for new alliances and collective sense making practices	Navigating a disenabling political climate/multi-level institutional environment
Triggering **socio-political transformation at multiple scales**	Opportunities to build relations across organizational and institutional spheres	Challenges to cope with systemic questions

Table 6.1 Schematic summary of the key findings
Source: author's elaboration

6.2 Hybrid Governance tensions as an instrument for self-reflexivity in food organizations. Connecting value systems, positionalities and cooperative praxis

The analysis of Hybrid Governance tensions as triggers of self-reflexive and co-learning behaviour in food actors, highlights the importance of reflecting on the relationship between values systems, agency and cooperation among diverse actors in their drive towards socio-political and food system change.

Empirical findings show that Hybrid Governance tensions can be vehicles of coalition building and cooperative practices among actors, but can also lead to conflictual dynamics or tensions among divergent rationalities and value systems (see also the above section 6.1). Thus, for instance, changes in the multi-level institutional apparatus of the amalgamated Toronto has produced a socio-institutional environment where the need to navigate dissent and adversities go hand in hand with new opportunities to create alliances and consensus around local food system objectives (see Chapter 5 section 5.3.2).

In general, the analysis of the Brussels and Toronto food policy trajectories shows that the day-to-day praxis of implementing and governing alternative food systems encompasses efforts to mediate between heterogeneous, sometimes conflictive, value systems (Levkoe and Wakefield 2014; Vicari Haddock; Tornaghi 2013), lived up to by diverse agents and embedded in institutional structures within and beyond AFNs. It also involves endeavours to navigate often contradictory multi-level socio-political environments (González and Healey 2005; Healey 2006; Swyngedouw 2000, 2004). Indeed, changes in political priorities or budgetary guidelines, (dis)(en)abling multi-level institutional structures generate obstacles or, rather, opportunities for socio-political and food system change. These socio-political dynamics can affect collaboration and co-construction and lead to diverse outcomes.

Indeed, on the one hand, **opportunities to find alignment around shared values, or to recognise areas of convergence and synergy between strategies targeting seemingly diverse objectives, agendas, priorities**, are possible (Ashe and Sonnino 2013, Sonnino 2018). As the empirical analysis shows, the **recognition of an urgency, a situation of crisis, or a food system problem**, can constitute a strong anchor point for value alignment among actors around food system objectives. Such

recognition can drive cooperation and transformative socio-political action. In the first stage of the Toronto trajectory, for instance, the need to tackle visible and urgent conditions of poverty, unemployment and food insecurity, triggered agency and cooperation among actors around food system questions. Recognising this urgency, the mayor Art Eggleton and other political leaders supported the establishment of pioneer food organisations and policy structures, such as the FoodShare organisation, or the TFPC.

The analysis of the BBP coalition's formation (Chapter 4) also shows that the **shared recognition of a problem or an unmet need**, is a catalyst of socially innovative agency and cooperation (Moulaert *et al.* 2005; Moulaert *et al.* 2016; Parés *et al*. 2017). Indeed, the need to protect agricultural land and to develop alternative food chains fuelled consensus and joint action among actors of the coalition, but did not fully reach out to higher-level policy structures (see also the following section 6.3).

Implementing alternative food systems also involves the need to devise **pragmatic or win-win solutions, based on very instrumental or *ad hoc* forms of cooperation among agents**. The analysis, for instance, shows continued efforts by the Toronto Food Strategy team, as well as by the TFPC, to seize emerging priorities and policy opportunities from the socio-institutional system, linking local food initiatives to agendas and priorities of other divisions in the city administration and community agencies (see also section 6.4). These include efforts to show that local food policy initiatives can connect to day-to-day operations and behavioural routines of actors and organisations, providing ground for win-win solutions. Indeed, we may argue that showing how food strategies can contribute to meet day-to-day objectives of diverse city divisions or community agencies constitutes a key mission for a food strategy. Thus, collaboration *de facto* happens also through more day-to-day forms of cooperation, often project-based, where actors such as city divisions or community agencies, living up to diverse rationales and perspectives, see their own interests recognised and fulfilled. A research question is whether these forms of 'instrumental' cooperation are able to more structurally alter behaviour or modes of operation of path-dependent institutionalised agencies (Pradel *et al.* 2013), thus triggering more structural and long-lasting socio-political change.

Along with that, **conflicts**, **constraints to collaboration**, or even **inertia, deadlocks, or impossibility of cooperation** occur. A bottom-led food sovereignty organisation, for instance, may fear the risk of co-optation (Ferguson 2010; Johnston, Biro and MacKendrick 2010; Schiavoni 2017). Thus, it may collaborate under very peculiar, *ad hoc*, or strict conditions, or it may refuse to collaborate with actors holding divergent ethics or visions around food systems. The GASAP organisation is an example. Indeed, when it became involved in weak partnerships with actors from the mainstream food system (see Chapter 3 section 3.3.3), the GASAP leaders were very attentive to protect their autonomous space of action and to respect their own priorities and objectives. Indeed, strong divergences in identities, priorities and value systems may hamper cooperation. As the analysis illustrates, food strategy actors underline the challenge of cooperating with the private sector, and the need to develop specific behavioural strategies or types of collaborative agreement, in order to find a basis for cooperation on divergent priorities.

The above reflections raise questions about what type of transformative action is possible in a given socio-political context and through what types of collaborative approaches as well as communication or mediation strategies. Indeed, one could argue that long lasting or more structural socio-political change may require strong value alignment and shared belief on the necessity for food system change. This recognition may be instrumental to sustain long-lasting socio-political change in important sections of the food system (Ashe and Sonnino 2013, Sonnino 2018). Alongside that, leadership, conflict mediation and resolution, pragmatic and instrumental rationality, are also required in real-life efforts to realise transformative action (Eizenberg 2012; Parés *et al.* 2017). The work of organisations like FoodShare, and the leadership role of personalities like Debbie Field in these organisations, is emblematic of the potential of co-existence of diverse rationalities and approaches to collaboration and co-construction towards food system change. Indeed, long term/radical ideologies of food system transformation and universal access to good and healthy food play a crucial role in guiding the agency of this organisation. These ideologies of radical change also condition the type of allies, target-agencies and actors with whom FoodShare connects and partners. Yet, this organisation needs to devise diverse collaborative approaches and communication or mediation strategies in order to practically pursue its

transformative ambitions. These approaches and strategies include struggles for value alignment at diverse policy levels around food system change[64]; situated, incremental, day-to-day efforts to sensitise and build alliances with local communities; strategies of conflict resolution and mediation with agents that often do not recognise the value or benefits of local food projects[65].

In a way, bottom-linked organisations or policy structures like Food Policy Councils, Food Strategies, or other examples of food security/sovereignty organisations, such as FoodShare, epitomise these struggles to devise or experiment with different collaborative approaches towards socio-political transformation (see also section 6.4).

6.3 Hybrid Governance tensions concerning the land-resource. What did we learn?

The analysis of land-resource governance tensions connects a zoomed-in with a zoomed-out view on the territorial governance of the access to land for urban agriculture. It allows to grasp socio-political dynamics of actors who try to address land-resource constraints and who attempt to sensitise other agents around access to land for urban agriculture. Challenges to bring the land-resource question to a more systemic level, reaching out wider spatial-institutional scales, also emerge from the analysis.

A first contribution from the inquiry on governance tensions starting from the land-resource challenge, is the insight that the contextual characters of the (land)resource itself - thus the pragmatic conditions of its actual availability and accessibility - inevitably impact on the concrete possibilities to realize transformative action. In short, the materiality of the

[64] The Student Nutrition Program provides an illustrative example. Indeed FoodShare has been at the forefront of efforts to work with all political parties in the Province of Ontario and Canada around the opportunities to support a School Nutrition Program. This helps to ensure that funding and support have been given to the Program despite changes in political colours, thus guaranteeing the sustainability of the program through time (interview with Ulla Knowles - FoodShare senior coordinator of Student Nutrition Community Development).

[65] As an example, the manager of the FoodShare's Urban Agriculture Program stresses the amount of time and energy that FoodShare staff needs to spend in negotiation and conflict resolutions with actors such as relevant city agencies or even local inhabitants. Indeed, as the manager underlines, these actors often oppose the establishment of urban agriculture projects (conversation with the Manager of the FoodShare's Urban Agriculture and Community Food Animation program).

resources feeding (alternative) food systems and the political economy and ecology of their access and use (Tornaghi 2017; Tornaghi and Certoma 2018) condition the agency and the transformative potentials of local food systems.

In the Brussels case, this PhD research highlights how urban agriculture advocates face a reality of land fragmentation, produced by the multiplicity of land owners and tenants, resulting from land parcelization carried out generation by generation. To this add land speculation and the presence of a narrow and asset-based view on the land-resource by many land owners, including some public land owners. On top of that, profit oriented forms of coordination promoted by real estate agents or other market actors, provoking the de/re-regulation of land markets (Darly and Torre 2012, 2013), create problems for other actors - such as the local state or land trusts - to gain control over the allocation of land.

Thus, this reality of fragmentation and unequal distribution of power and control over land (Borras *et al.* 2015), inevitably incites the search for pragmatic, incremental, and contextually adapted modes of fostering and managing alternative uses of the land-resource, among which urban and peri-urban agriculture.

A second and related contribution of the Hybrid Governance analysis on land-resource has been to show that communities of change, or socially innovative alternative agency (Moulaert *et al.* 2005; Moulaert *et al.* 2016; Parés *et al*. 2017) exist and hold potential. Looking at the establishment and development of the BBP coalition, the analysis shows how this actor network started from the local, through the building of a cooperative network of actors nurtured by alternative values on the allocation and management of land. **Proactive forms of leadership and cooperation,** also fuelled by the **building of relations of trust and proximity** among the actors of the coalition, were essential to sustain this multi-agent network. Yet, the stability of a longer timeframe enabled by the European ERDF Funds was also essential. Indeed the ERDF funds, financing the implementation of the project, guaranteed a certain financial sustainability to the project partners and constituted a vehicle for implementation. This allowed actors to advance some objectives and to move forwards awareness-raising around the access to land question.

As the analysis reveals, BBP actors devised counter-hegemonic strategies (Purcell 2009) to enable land access and use: in short, these strategies consist of direct implementation of urban agriculture projects, mediation between local authorities, land owners and potential new urban farmers, as well as the establishment of channels of communication and negotiation with other actors within the BCR (see Chapter 4 section 4.3.2). Indeed, organisations such as *Terre en Vue* try to foster and promote locally adapted institutions for enabling land access for urban agriculture, such as win-win land use contracts, or mutually beneficial agreements between land owners and potential new farmers. It is arguable that this type of organisation can be a vehicle of, or medium for the fostering of alternative uses of land such as urban agriculture. The analysis however shows difficulties to foster common values and visions over land allocation and management among diverse actors such as the local state, old/new farmers, land owners, local inhabitants. Thus, a critical question concerns whether and on what basis value alignment and collaborative action among diverse actors at play can be reached, in given circumstances, around the opportunity to enhance access to land for urban agriculture. An incremental, *ad hoc*, pragmatic approach may turn out to be the most adapted strategy in a highly fragmented reality.

The Hybrid Governance analysis on the land-resource included **connecting a zoomed-in view** on the land-resource governance at the local scale **with a zoomed-out view**, which considers the land-resource governance at the Regional and higher spatial-institutional scales. In fact, due to the peculiar territorial and administrative arrangements of the BCR, where most of the available agricultural land is located at the borders with the Flemish Brabant Region, multi-scalar institutional governance tensions concerning the land-resource visibly manifest. Thus, the analysis highlights how a key challenge for the current and future development of the Brussels' institutional action on food and proximity agriculture, is to foster **cross-organizational and cross-institutional collaborations** with both, urbanism and planning institutions within the BCR as well as with the neighbouring Provinces of the Flemish and Walloon Brabant and/or with the Flanders and Walloon Regions. Indeed, it is in these neighbouring territories that most of the near-by agricultural land is located and where a

better connectivity between peri-urban/rural farmers and Regional markets can be developed.

When considering urban agriculture from a wider territorial scale and thus, from a more systemic perspective, some key organizational and institutional features of the governance tensions amplify. Thus, as the analysis shows, one key challenge for the BCR's food actors is to **build strategic leadership, vision and openness to cooperation** and to the building of relations **across organizational and institutional spheres**. Some recent experiments and advancements in terms of cross-border dialogue and cooperation - or at least in terms of awareness about the need to cooperate - are visible. The ambition of the Good Food Strategy to target the Brussels' hinterland goes in this direction (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3). Some recent advancements also emerge from the Flemish side, with the recently established '*Brussel Lust*' partnership, involving the Flemish Brabant Province, the BCR, as well as organizations supporting ecological agriculture in Flanders. Started in mid-2017, this partnership aims at enhancing the Brussels' 'food belt', supporting the establishment of short chains among local farmers and BRC's market outlets[66].

These advancements seem to demonstrate **efforts to co-construct supportive institutional frameworks and incentives to sustain cross-organisational and cross-jurisdictional cooperation**. Arguably, such co-construction should be sustained by a shared recognition of the collective benefits of supporting proximity agriculture as a common good. Such recognition should involve key actors and institutionalized agents at multiple levels, not least Public authorities and decision-makers holding responsibility on land use decisions. It can be argued that these actors should take ownership of the land-resource question and facilitate forms of collaboration with farmers and civil society initiatives, through new partnerships, policy directives and accountable policy initiatives around small-scale ecological farming and short food chains. Institutional agencies at higher institutional levels, such as EU institutions, or consortia among funding agencies, can also play a role in enabling institutional frameworks - such as funding and implementation schemes - that sustain

[66] For a glance on the project see the website http://www.innovatiesteunpunt.be/nl/projecten/brussel-lust [last accessed: November 10th 2018].

territorially-based partnerships (Moulaert *et al.* 2007; Pradel *et al.* 2013; Van Dyck and Van den Broeck 2013).

6.4 Enabling and implementing local food policies through bottom-linked governance. Insights on food democracy from Toronto and the BCR

The comparative analysis of the food movement and policy trajectories of Toronto and the BCR brought to light reflexivity and co-learning as central notions. These concepts were revisited through the lenses of the HGA, to show how institutionalization dynamics of alternative food systems are neither linear nor unidirectional or pre-determined processes (Moragues-Fauss and Morgan 2015). Besides, institutionalization dynamics involve the agency of reflexive actors' mobilizing according to value systems, the search for empowering frameworks for collaboration, deliberation and collective sense-making. Institutionalisation dynamics also encompass struggles to actually scale out or up alternative food systems through implementation and policy delivery.

In particular, the analysis of the two food policy trajectories helps to grasp modalities through which **hybrid and bottom-linked types of organizational design** (de Weerdt and García 2015; Eizaguirre *et al.* 2012; Pradel *et al.* 2013) were established in both contexts.
Indeed, the story of the two city-regions' trajectories shows that in different ways, the establishment of hybrid or bottom-linked organizations or initiatives - such as food policy councils, food strategies, other community food (security) organizations (e.g. FoodShare or the STOP Community Food Center in Toronto) - was almost intrinsic to the development of the two food movements (see Chapter 5). The analysis illustrates that these initiatives, driven by the leadership role of key food movement actors, were vehicles of reflexivity and co-learning. Indeed they tried to facilitate the co-construction of accountable modes of local food system governance and policy delivery. In particular, an overarching struggle of food movement leaders has been to re-think the food system as a collective concern and as a field of active socio-political engagement (Welsh and MacRae 1998). Indeed, by experimenting with 'new governance configurations' (Brenner 2004, Swyngedouw 2005), these bottom-linked initiatives aim at re-configuring power relations and modes of decision-making around local food system actions and policies.

Their ambitions and struggles to shape accountable modes of local food systems governance, invite to reflect upon the role that these initiatives play in realising food democracy (Lang 1998, 1999; Hassanein 2003, 2008). Originally introduced in the debate by Lang (1998, 1999), food democracy calls for the active participation of people in shaping the food system and in orienting local food policies. It contests the dominance of privatization and neoliberalisation in mainstream food systems reconsidering the role of 'consumers' as active food citizens (Renting *et al.* 2012; Welsh and MacRae 1998). Thus, food democracy brings to the fore radical or alternative forms of democracy that potentially subvert or at least re-visit or rethink traditional roles, relations and decision-making mechanisms between agents such as civil society and state (Swyngedouw 2004, 2005; Eizaguirre *et al.* 2017).

What role does the state or traditional/representative democracy have in these new governance configurations? Are these configurations radically subversive with respect to traditional democratic institutions?

Learning from similarities and differences in the two food policy trajectories allows us to grasp the ways in which food democracy is practically enacted. This helps to extract some general lessons and recommendations concerning the enablement of accountable local food policy structures. In particular, this thesis highlights the following four.

First, the state is not a uniform or a monolithic entity. Besides, within a certain socio-institutional context, state agencies or sections of the state apparatus can exert both, a constraining as well as an enabling role with respect to new or more empowering governance modes (Lévesque 2013; Martinelli 2013; Pradel *et al.* 2013). In this respect, both the Toronto and the BCR's food movements show a strong presence of the state at the origins as well as throughout the local food policy trajectories. Indeed, progressive sections of the state, open to bottom-linked experiments, provided essential anchors or backbones for the food movement. This is valid for both cases, i.e. the Cabinet of the Environment for the BCR's food movement as well the Board of Health for Toronto. Moreover, in both contexts a favourable and progressive political climate - sensitive to health and food security concerns or environmental-ecological concerns around food - contributed to the formation of key organisations and governing

agencies of the local food movement (see sections 6.1 and 6.2). This corroborates the insight that a progressive and open state culture is likely to sustain enabling modes of governance. In short, it can help more or less subversive and progressive experiments of food democracy to exist and flourish.

Second, we can argue that reflexivity, or reflexive practice to a certain extent can enable food democracy. This is very evident in the case of Toronto in particular. Indeed, the TFPC and other key pioneer organisations show a very conscious and early awareness about the need to re-think food citizenship and re-enact food democracy (Welsh and MacRae 1998). Indeed the TFPC and other community food security organisations such as FoodShare, helped to clarify the links between hunger, malnutrition and a malfunctioning food system (Koç *et al.* 2008; Welsh and MacRae 1998). More precisely, the re-framing that these organisations operated since the beginning of the food movement from emergency food to community food security, helped to put the need for community empowerment at the forefront (interviews with Debbie Field and Rod MacRae). Overall, the Toronto food movement shows a rather mature thinking about the role of food as a common good for the city:

> *"A strong concern of the Toronto Food Policy Council is how we can use food as a tool to make this city a better city… a city where there is less poverty, less hunger, healthier people, where the environment is healthier, where we have good relationships with farmers in the surrounding area, where there is social inclusion, where new Canadians feel that their customs and cultures can be celebrated"* (cit. from interview with Lori Stahlbrand).

Indeed this thesis argues that reflexivity, or reflexive practice, can facilitate food democracy when it helps to overcome narrow and inward-looking operating modes of organizations (Levkoe 2014; Levkoe and Wakefield 2014). Indeed, overcoming a compartmentalized and inward-looking way of operating can be challenging not only for state agencies, but also for highly ideologically driven local food network organizations. Indeed reflexivity can help local food actors and organizations to look beyond their

specific perspectives and missions, being open to rethink their very existence and role in relation to emerging and unmet collective needs of a certain socio-spatial context. These outward-looking efforts can inspire agency and reflexive dynamics of both, Toronto and BCR's food movements.

Third, the example of the TFPC demonstrates the importance of building resourceful (bottom-linked) organisations which sustain food democracy. A key advantage of the TFPC is its relative 'stability' through time in the access to key resources, in particular funding, human capital, as well as political connections. This helped the TFPC to build its legitimacy and accountability with respect to the local food movement as well as with respect to other city agencies, as a space for deliberation and local food policy development. Also due to its partial embeddedness in the formal bureaucratic apparatus, the TFPC has acted through time as a progressive agent of food democracy without necessarily overruling or radically contesting the very existence and role of formal political structures.

> *"From my experience as a coordinator of the TFPC, I can say that there is a remarkable maturity in dealing with the city [...] there is a lot of thinking about what is the city priority now, and how we can build on that and work on that*" (cit. from interview with Lauren Baker)

Developed in a later stage, the nascent food policy council in the BCR is still searching for its type of organisational structure as well as its role in relations to Brussels' policy-making processes, as well as in relation to the development and implementation of the Food Strategy. We can argue that the longer experience of Toronto, and in particular the outward looking endeavours of key bottom-linked organisations, can be sources of inspiration for Brussels. We can argue that resourcefulness, stability or some sort of 'negotiated institutionalisation' are needed for bottom-linked initiatives such as food policy councils to acquire legitimacy and accountability as decision-making structures.

Lastly, in both contexts Food Policy Councils, Food Strategies or other inter-scalar or bottom-linked initiatives, are still very experimental

initiatives. They often struggle to mediate between subversive or transformative aspirations, as expressed, for instance, by bottom-led food sovereignty organisations or other citizens' initiatives, and budgetary constraints as well a as policy priorities of elected officials. As a result, socio-political transformative forces need to go hand by hand with strategies of communication, mediation and conflict resolution, as the Hybrid Governance analysis shows.

Furthermore, questions also remain about how representative these new democratic spaces are. The Brussels food policy council, for instance, but also the TFPC, struggle to represent ordinary citizens' voices and to ensure the direct participation of inhabitants. Also, how to represent and mediate potential conflicts among diverse actors of the food system, such as the conventional food sector and grass-root initiatives are still very ongoing and open questions.

6.5 A reflexive look at the HGA. Potential untapped areas and limitations

This last section of the conclusion intends to foster a reflexive look at the HGA itself, highlighting possible untapped dimensions, limits of the analysis as well as potential critiques to the approach. A first point of reflection or critique could be raised around the comprehensiveness and exhaustiveness of the analytical framework. On the one hand, one could argue that the approach is too comprehensive and ambitious, as it embeds many dimensions of analysis. On a different note, however, one may also wonder whether the analysis actually addressed all the relevant ways in which the different types of governance tensions manifest in AFNs. Furthermore, one could ask whether other relevant types of governance tensions were overlooked.

Given its research design and objectives, a considerable degree of complexity and comprehensiveness is intrinsic to this work. Indeed, the ambition to foster an integrative analysis, which looks at the interactivity among the three types of governance tension in each case study, generates this complexity. Yet, it is true that even articulated and multi-dimensional types of analysis may leave out untapped dimensions and could be strengthened by further empirical evidence.

Indeed, the understanding of the different types of governance tensions and their articulation would have certainly benefited from a more

systematic comparative investigation. This could have been carried out, for instance, by embedding empirical evidence from comparative analyses in each of the empirical Chapters. For instance, comparing the ways governance tensions emerge in the development of different AFN organizations would have illuminated on diverse ways in which AFNs cope with such tensions, on what type of pressures and dilemmas they face, what kind of (more or less radical) changes these organizations are ushered, or willing to implement in their own organizational governance, and so on. The analysis of the land-resource question would have also benefited from a comparison with other city-regions that have begun to address urban agriculture from a wider territorial perspective. Toronto itself provides a good example through the establishment of the *Golden Horseshoe Food and Farming Alliance*, an alliance of local-regional authorities, farmers, other food system actors, which aims at enhancing the food and farming sector of the Greater Toronto Area[67].

Alongside these observations, it is also possible to argue that other important features of the three types of governance tensions or even other possible types of tension may have been overlooked by the analysis. What about, for instance, '***temporal***' (governance) tensions, i.e. tensions among different timeframes, such as the long-term timeframe needed to raise citizens' awareness around the value of proximity agriculture and to encourage changes in their eating habits *versus* the short-term timeframe of funding or policy support schemes. Or, similarly, long-term visions, aspired utopias of food organizations and networks, *versus* short-term results required to gain credibility and legitimacy in a certain socio-institutional context. Or, again, the timespan needed to build relations of trust and collaboration among different agents - who are generally not used to collaborate among each other - *versus* the limited time frame of political mandates.

Considering dynamics of reflexivity and (co)learning in AFN organizations and their institutions, an emerging area of analysis perhaps not enough considered by this work, concerns the role of 'trans-local' learning networks, namely alliances of cities and initiatives engaged in local food

[67] See for instance http://www.foodandfarming.ca/ [last accessed on November 12 2018]. See also the IPES Food Report 2017 "*What makes urban food policy happen? Insights from five case studies*" (pp. 52-61)

systems' change from different localities (Blay-Palmer *et al.* 2016; Moragues-Fauss and Sonnino 2018; Sonnino 2016). To mention a renowned example, the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact nowadays engages in fostering shared cross-city indicators to help local authorities to monitor and assess the advancement of Urban Food Policies and Strategies. Being Toronto one of the signatories, the Toronto Food Strategy team takes into account these shared targets and indicators when dealing with food policy development and implementation. With respect to the BCR, the participation of *Bruxelles Environnement* in an UrbACT multi-city program on sustainable food between 2012 and 2015 was also relevant to share practices and inspire the participatory approaches of the Food Strategy[68]. More broadly, inspirations from and reproduction of practices and models established elsewhere partly conditioned the very origins of many organizations or programs, such as the Toronto Food Strategy, the TFPC itself, the Good Food Box program of the FoodShare organization (Blay-Palmer 2009; Blay-Palmer *et al.* 2016; Koç *et al.* 2017), but also some of the alternative food organizations, such as the GASAP, germinated in the BCR.

This dissertation argues that above reflections do not necessarily diminish or weaken the analytical/empirical value of the HGA. On the contrary, they show pathways for further enrichment of and reflection upon the analytical framework. Thus, in a way, rather than a comprehensive endeavour to embed any possible dimension of analysis, the HGA should be considered as a methodological tool to investigate critical connections among features of governance. As such, the HGA can help to recognize, address, valorise the critical tensions food movement actors experience and the ways these actors can learn from them.

6.6 Final Remarks. Some reflections on future research directions

As highlighted in the previous section, far from constituting a rigid and monolithic framework, the HGA is susceptible to enrichment, improvement, and also criticism. This concluding section suggests

[68] See http://urbact.eu/sustainable-food-urban-communities (accessed on 10th September 2018).

potential future developments of the approach as well as promising areas for future research.

First, although this study has gone into depth with the city-regional and the interregional scales, the analysis of the Hybrid Governance tensions can be more forcefully applied to the analysis of interactions with higher scales of governance, thus fostering greater empirical evidence about multi-scalar interactions of place-based food movements with the political economy of the National states (Schiavoni 2017) or with the efforts to challenge and change the mode of operation of globalized conventional food systems (Moragues-Faus and Sonnino 2018), including the extractive logics of powerful conventional food players and agri-food policies favouring conventional types of agriculture based on mono-cropping and use of chemical pesticides and fertilisers. What modes of interaction, hybridisation, and ultimately, what kind of 'politics of the possible' as well as transformative outcomes are achievable when interactions with powerful dominant regimes are at stake? How to involve agents, networks and institutions acting at various but connected spatial-institutional scales in realising food democracy?

Second, a further way through which the Hybrid Governance analysis on alternative food systems can widen its scope and impact, is by developing comparative analyses with local food initiatives and movements in other geographical areas, among which city-regions of the Global-South. Looking at the interactions between Hybrid Governance tensions in those contexts can foster research advancements through a fruitful dialogue between Global-North and Global-South realities. Thus, possible questions may concern what type of informal coordination and self-management mechanisms are enacted by local food organizations in Cities of the Global-South. What specific land-resource challenges do they face (e.g. modalities to access land and key material resources, specific logistical challenges in connecting peri-urban farmer with urban areas, and so on). What types of interactions and tensions occur between food security/sovereignty initiatives and multi-scalar state structures (e.g. forms of resistance against co-optation, specific pathways of institutionalization, clashes among values and claims related to food sovereignty or the right to food, particular ways in which the legitimacy of alternative food provision practices is negotiated, etc.).

Third, due to the multi-dimensionality of its theoretical framework, the HGA can build bridges with analyses on social movements in other fields. Examples are social innovations initiatives in other domains (Moulaert *et al.* 2013), social resilience movements (Paidakaki 2017; Paidakaki and Moulaert 2017), bottom-up transition movements (Feola and Nunes 2014, Seyfang and Haxeltine 2013; Shove and Walker 2012), urban/landed commons (Eizaguirre *et al.* 2017; Foster and Iaione 2015; Turner 2017). Cross-fertilizations with these research areas can help the understanding of common challenges faced by the transformative agency of citizen-led initiatives in diverse fields.

Lastly, the HGA on alternative food systems can be empowered (or challenged?) by more radical and critical analytical perspectives - such as political ecology (Keil 2013; Swyngedouw and Kaika 2012), critical-race theory (Reynolds and Cohen 2016), post-political approaches (Mouffe 2005a,b; Swyngedouw 2007a, b, 2011) - to unravel dynamics of socio-spatial (in)justice in the alternative food movement(s) (Reynolds 2015; Reynolds and Cohen 2016). The representation of minorities, ethnically diverse groups, food insecure citizens - including the diasporic influx of food insecure migrants and refugees - are among the hot challenges for the present and the future of the urban food movement(s). Only by embracing this diversity the urban food movement can reinforce its own identity and credibility while valorising its powerful connections with the multiple spheres of our daily urban life.

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ANNEX

This annex reports the key sources of empirical data which were used to carry out the analysis of the different case studies. Tables with the interviewed actors, the methodological table with the key questions asked as well as key documentation consulted are reported for each case study.

CASE 1
Chapter 3. Hybrid Governance tensions fuelling self-reflexivity in Alternative Food Networks: the case of the Brussels GASAP (solidarity purchasing groups for peasant agriculture)

Overview and timeline of the interviewed actors

Name	Position	Date	Notes
First Step Interviews			
Antonin Castel	GASAP steering Group	24-10-2015	
Anne Closset	GASAP steering Group	28-10-2015	
Émilie Hauzeur	GASAP Coordinator	27-11-2015	
François Wyngaerden	GASAP steering Group	30-11-2015	

Agnès Reis	GASAP steering Group	02-12-2015
Florian Delespesse	GASAP employee/ steering Group	10-12-2015
Solène Sureau	GASAP steering Group/ ULB researcher	14-12-2015
Second Step Interviews		
Xavier Hulhoven	Research Agency *Innoviris* – call for projects 'Co-create' living labs	14-01-2016
Catherine Rousseau	Policy Advisor Environment-Food, Cabinet of the Environment (former Green Coalition)	17-02-2016
Barbara Van Dyck	'Co-create' living labs appointed; Scholar	10-03-2016

	activist on urban agriculture		
Serge Peereboom	GASAP Producer, among the GASAP's founders	12-03-2016	Written Questionnaire
Joëlle Van Bambeke	Administrative Agency IBGE (Cabinet of the Environment). Food Strategy Manager	18-03-2016	
Émilie Hauzeur	GASAP Coordinator	26-07-2016	

Overview of the Methodological AO sheet table used to guide the empirical fieldwork

GOVERNANCE TENSIONS			EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS	
Type of GT	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms	CASE 1 GASAP	CASE 1 Governance Outcomes (current/expected/ foreseeable)
ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS: tensions in the governance of the organization of the AFNs stemming from different sources	Growth in the Organization/ Network (increase of actors, social, material bases) requires other governance structure	-Tensions between horizontal-participatory and hierarchical-economic efficient decision-making arrangements -Economic efficiency vs qualitative needs satisfaction -Tensions in values, principles, identity	-Who are the key actors composing the GASAPs organization and its governance? -What kind of actors' relations mainly characterize the governance of the GASAP organization? -Looking at the evolution of the network up to nowadays, what changes in your modes of governance have been generated by/ are expected to be provoked by the growth of the network? -Do you perceive tensions between modes of horizontal/participatory governance, volunteer commitment, vs professionalization and efficient decision making? -What are your organizational governance strategies to cope with these tensions? (e.g. increased self-reflexivity, elaboration of new modes of governing the organization, changes in forms of communication with the wider network, etc.)	-What consequences are these tensions producing in the organizational governance of the initiative (e.g. greater self-reflexivity, increased internal communication, etc.)? -Consequences on the organizational structure of the GASAP: is it altered or only minimally affected by the encountered organizational tensions?
	Dynamics of decentralization and inter-spatiality in the organizational-territorial structure of the project/network	-Tensions between the tendency to decentralization/enlargement of the territorial reach and the need to federate the network -Tensions in protecting the key features of the CSA economy: e.g. relations of proximity, trust, knowledge, between producers and consumers. -Cross-territorial food projects intersecting different jurisdictional subdivisions (constraints/opportunities)	-The trajectory of the network shows an increasingly inter-spatial organizational character (see also location of producers), -Has the GASAP the ambition to grow further in future, in terms of territorial reach as well as in the amount of producers and consumers, also diversifying the consumers base?. =>What would be the advantages and disadvantages of this territorial organization? More specifically: a) Do you see opportunities to find "scalar connections" in other territories (e.g. new GASAPs in Wallonia)? a) How this can affect (now and in future perspective) the need to federate the network and maintain a character of a unified social movement? b)What consequences this can produce in communicating with the wider participants, agreeing collectively upon decisions, etc.? c) What consequences this may create with the need to guarantee your type of economic organization (e.g. direct contact, face-to-face relations between producers and consumers)? d) In what way are you dealing/planning to deal with that?	-Outlining the foreseeable socio-spatial evolution of the GASAP and grasping the aspired governance modes to self-govern the organization (as well as the expected tensions)

GOVERNANCE TENSIONS

Type of GT	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms
RESOURCES GOVERNANCE TENSIONS: **tensions in the governance of the access to and use of resources (land, capital, skills, tacit knowledge, physical infrastructures, tools ...)**	**Searching access to and control of material resources (logistics, cultivable land, infrastructures, finance, etc)**	- Tensions between diversity of institutional actors (state, corporate, communities, organizations) as to their control capacities of access and use of resources -Interactions bottom-up food networks top-down state/corporate systems for negotiating/ claiming access/control of resources -Strategic leadership, forms of proactive conflict management and cooperation -Conflicts among visions concerning the allocation of resources

EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS

CASE 1 GASAP	CASE 1 Governance Outcomes (current/expected/ foreseeable)
-Given the current challenges and growth of the network, **what type of resources you mainly need for further development**? (e.g. stable funding schemes, human capital, knowledge, expertize, land, etc..) -What resources you can mobilized yourself and for what key resources a **support from "external" agents** (institutions, other organizations etc.) is needed? -How this 'exchange' / complementarity is institutionalized? -**Who are the key agents** you are connecting/you aim at partnering with in order to access the needed resources? -Concerning financial resources, what are the main problematics associated with the **dependence from external subsidies** (short term funding, uncertainty in renewal, etc..)? -Do you aspire to be **financial autonomous?** Is this achievable, or rather, you need constant financial support? Who are your competitors? -How **changes in Brussels' political coalition** (2014-15) affected your possibility to access/secure financial resources? Do you experience greater financial uncertainty? -If so, in what ways can you cope with **financial uncertainty**/what strategies you are pursuing/aim to pursue for securing financial resources?	-Understanding the **way resource needs will influence the GASAP governance in future** (e.g. constant dependence from external resources, vs increasing capacity of resource autonomy, will to build networks for accessing resources and expected tensions, etc)? -Understanding the **impact of institutional and organizational factors on the capacity of the GASAP to acquire and secure resources**

GOVERNANCE TENSIONS			EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS	
Type of GT	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms	CASE 1 GASAP	CASE 1 Governance Outcomes (current/expected/ foreseeable)
INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS: **tensions in the socio-political and socio-professional governance structures embedding the AFN and its governance**	**Global-local (multi-level?) state governance (conflicts plus subsidiarity)** **Power struggles between AFNs and state/corporate institutions at different scales** **Divergent values, behavioral routines, agendas between AFNs and institutional or other agents responsible or/influencing the food governance (agricultural and spatial policy, food strategy agencies, local municipal/regional government, stakeholders of the corporate food systems, etc)**	-Tensions between global, national, regional governance (EU, WTO,…) -Socio-political transformative forces -Hybrid actors' and policy networks negotiating supportive policy/institutional spaces -Socio-political transformative forces - AFN constraining vs. enabling institutions -Relation building towards participatory commoning governance institutions	-In general, how is it important for your organization to build close **relations with Brussels' institutions** and to have a supportive political environment? -Do you perceive **changes in the new political coalition** with respect to the previous one? Are they **affecting your organization**? In what ways? =>What do you think about the new coalition adopting the **current food strategy** (promising, supportive, not reliable..)?Do they share common values with the GASAP organization? =>**Do you trust Brussels institutions** currently dealing with sustainable food? =>Do you feel the **GASAP interests are well represented** by the current Brussels' institutional food actors? =>Is there a **commonality of values** between institutional actors and the GASAP organization? -Do you aim at exercising a relevant role in the Brussels' strategy on Sustainable Food? Or influencing Brussels food agenda? How? -What are your expectations from the **new co-create partnerships** (co-create project)? =>What are the challenges of dealing with conventional food actors? =>What are their expectations (conventional actors) and your expectations? -Given your attempt to connect to Wallonia Government, what type of synergies do you see with Walloon policies on Agriculture and Sustainable Development? =>e.g.do you aim to exercise advocacy action, or having a role/impact on the agro-food system of Wallonia? If so, in what ways?	-Impact of the political-institutional systems on the GASAP organization and vice-versa (current/expected). -Understanding outcomes produced by favoring areas of collaboration/mutual-learning among an organization such as the GASAP, decision-makers, and, in case, the private sector, for the purpose of improving local food systems. -Understanding promising governance arrangements to support local food systems?

Key documentation consulted

Documentation retrieved/provided by the GASAP actors

_GASAP's Charter

_GASAP's general assembly reports from the year 2012 to the year 2017

_GASAP's action plans (*missions prioritaires*) for each year (2012 to 2017)

_GASAP's yearly activity reports

_Notes and reports from monthly meetings of the steering group (participant observations and reports provided by the GASAP actors)

_Documents of the two Co-Create living lab projects (Choud'Bruxelles, COSYFood)

Other relevant primary/secondary sources on the GASAP

José Bedia Sobrecueva, (2016). *Etude de consommateurs au sein d'un réseau de distribution defruits et légumes en circuit court : le cas des GASAP bruxellois,* Unpublished Master Thesis, UCLouvain, School of Management

Scientific sources on the GASAP and/or other AFNs in Belgium

BELSPO Food4Sustainability project. Annual Reports and deliverables available at: https://sites.uclouvain.be/food4sustain/outcomes/ (last accessed October 10 2018)

Bauler, T., Mutombo, E., Van Gameren, V., Crivits, M., Paredis, E., Boulanger, P., Lefin, A., Ruwet, C. (2011). Construction of Scenarios and Exploration of Transition Pathways for Sustainable Consumption Pattern "Consentsus"- Final Report. Brussels: Belgian Science Policy – 131pp.(Research Programme Science for a Sustainable Development)

Crivits, M. and Paredis, E. (2013). Designing an explanatory practice framework: Local food systems as a case. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 13*(3): 306-336

van Gameren, V., Ruwet, C. and Bauler, T. (2015). Towards a governance of sustainable consumption transitions: how institutional factors influence emerging local food systems in Belgium, *Local Environment, 20*(8): 874-891

Zwart, T.A., Vanderveken, E., Avermaete, T., Mathijs, E. (2016) *'Local' level analysis of FNS pathways in Belgium. Exploring two case studies: Voedselteams and CSA*. TRANSMANGO: EU KBBE.2013.2.5-01 Grant agreement no: 613532

CASE 2

Chapter 4. Scaling out access to land for urban agriculture. Governance hybridities in the Brussels-Capital Region

Overview and timeline of the interviewed actors

Name	Position	Date	Notes
First Step Interviews			
Antoine Sterling	Activist Urban Farmer, among the initiators of the BBP Coalition	30-08 -2016	
Catherine Fierens	BBP Project Coordinator (Administrative Agency *Bruxelles Environnement*)	08-09-2016	
Sylvie Fosselle	Employee Flemish Land Agency VLM - Vlaamse landmaatschappij (Brussels branch)	08-09-2016	
Marie-Hélène Steurs	Civil servant at the Municipality of Anderlecht, Sustainable Development Division, active	09-09-2016	Interview + Field visit in Neerpede-Anderlecht

	member of the BBP Coalition		
David Dupuis	Member of the *Terre-en-Vue* organization. Project partner of the BBP Coalition	10-10-2016	Expert on land accessibility for small scale farmers in Brussels/ Belgium
Second Step interviews			
Luc Vander Elst, Johan Laeremans	Employees at the Flemish Land Agency VLM - Vlaamse landmaatschappij (Leuven branch)	27 10 2016	Leaders of the Study on the Vlaamse Rand (Flemish Crown) experts on Land accessibility for small-scale farmers, knowledgeable on peri-urban producers in the BCR's hinterland
Noémie Maughan	Researcher at the Agroecology Lab – ULB, Action-researcher within the Co-Create living labs projects	04-11-2016	Expert on Urban Agriculture in the BCR
Hélène Stoléar	BBP Project contribu at at the *Maison Vert*	21-11-2016	

	Bleue – bottom-linke agency supporting ecology and agriculture in in Anderlecht		
Maelle Thueux	Employee at the ADT-ATO (perspective. brussels) Brussels' Regional Planning Department	22-11-2016	
Catherine De Zuttere	ERU Urbanism. Brussels-based Planning and Urbanism expert; engaged in supporting access to land for Urban Agriculture in the BCR	22-11-2016	Telephonic Interview
Frank Vermoussen	Employee at the *Green Spaces* division of the Environmental Agency Bruxelles Environnement	25-11-2016	
Jérôme Rassart	Employee at Crédal, Solidarity financing organization	29-11-2016	

	Partner of the BBP project		
Benoit Perilleux	Chief at *Bruxelles Développement urbain* (territorial management administrative department)	29-11-2016	Department in process or re-organization
Gaëtan Van Goidsenhoven	Alderman of Urban Planning at the Municipality of Anderlecht	29 11 2016	Email interview
Frank Nevens	Scholar at the University of Gent – Expert on peri-urban agriculture and Brussels-Flanders relations	14-12-2016	
Cindy Boonen	Civil Servant at the Flemish Department of Agriculture and Fishery	10-01-2017	
Caroline Philippe	Civil servant at the Division of "Agriculture" of the Regional Cabinet of the	25-01-2017	

Economy and
Environment

Name	Position	Date	Notes
UPDATE INTERVIEWS			
David Dupuis	*Terre en Vue*	02-10-2017	Updates interview on Skype
Catherine Fierens	BBP Coordinator	18-10-2017	
Johan Laeremans	VLM	July 2018	Written update questions
Frank Nevens	UGent	23-08-2018	

Overview of the Methodological AO sheet table used to guide the empirical fieldwork

GOVERNANCE TENSIONS			EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS	
Type of GT	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms	CASE 2 LAND ACCESS GOVERNANCE Focus Case: Boeren Bruxsel Paysans Project	CASE 2 Governance Outcomes (current/expected/ foreseeable)
RESOURCES GOVERNANCE TENSIONS: tensions in the governance of the access to and use of resources (land, capital, skills, tacit knowledge, physical infrastructures, tools ...)	**Searching access to and control of material resources (logistics, cultivable land, infrastructures, finance, etc)**	- Tensions between diversity of institutional actors (state, corporate, communities, organizations) as to their control capacities of access and use of resources -Interactions bottom-up food networks top-down state/corporate systems for negotiating/ claiming access/control of resources -Strategic leadership, forms of proactive conflict management and cooperation -Conflicts among visions concerning the allocation of resources	-What land is available for urban agriculture in the BCR, and what major **constraints to liberate more land for small-scale/proximity Urban-Periurban Agriculture**? (understanding land scarcity, pressure of competitive land uses, high land values, the property structure, soil contamination, impact of planning rules and multi-scalar state structure, uncertain support from local political coalitions, juridical constraints, etc...) =>Thus, what is the impact of the specific nature and the conditions of the resource (e.g. lack of quality land, unfavorable land property/use regimes, etc)? -Is there the **intention to expand the amount of land accessible** to small scale proximity agriculture, tackling nearby areas or other areas of the BCR (including privately owned land)? => **What kind of resources** (usable knowledge, methods, human capital, physical capital, etc..) are needed to address this expansion? =>What **agencies/organizations** are active or can be activated to provide these resources? => In what ways these organizations can facilitate the matching of demand (from farmers) and supply of land? **-Who owns the land and what types of contracts** or win-win solutions have been set up to access/secure land for small scale/proximity urban agriculture? -In what ways the **necessary human and physical infrastructures** are provided? **-How funding is channeled** to finance the overall project and, more specifically, the UPA's operations (e.g. land improvement, needed infrastructures and tools, etc)? -Does this funding help to achieve concrete results in the short term and to **secure the implementation and medium-long term sustainability** of the project?	-Land resource characters, constraints, opportunities impacting on the governance for the accessibility of small scale urban-peri-urban agriculture - Understanding outcomes of the specific constraints linked to the availability/usability of the land resource in the BCR.

GOVERNANCE TENSIONS			EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS	
Type of GT	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms	CASE 2 LAND ACCESS GOVERNANCE Focus Case: Boeren Bruxsel Paysans Project	CASE 2 Governance Outcomes (current/expected/ foreseeable)
ORGANIZATIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS: **tensions in the governance of the organization of the AFNs stemming from different sources**	**Growth in the Organization/ Network (increase of actors, social, material bases) requires other governance structure**	-Tensions between horizontal-participatory and hierarchical-economic efficient decision-making arrangements -Economic efficiency vs qualitative needs satisfaction -Tensions in values, principles, identity	-**Who are the key actors**, organizations, (state) agencies, networks etc., playing a role in the project? -**In what ways they have been entering the project** giving shape the current organizational arrangement (trajectory reconstruction)? In what ways relations among actors have been built and play a role in the organization? -What are the different **motivations, ambitions, professional/ethical positions** of the partners involved and of other actors on the access to land? -What **practical actions** have been pursued trough time by actors of the coalition to address access to land and its scaling out? -What are the **experienced constraints** over the access to land and in what ways key actors try to tackle them?	-Understanding the ways in which coalition building and leadership have worked in re-positioning the land question on the agenda -Role/limits/expected outcomes of this multi-stakeholders organization in facilitating/enhancing the land accessibility.
	Dynamics of decentralization and inter-spatiality in the organizational-territorial structure of the project/network	-Tensions between the tendency to decentralization/enlargement of the territorial reach and the need to federate the network -Tensions in protecting the key features of the CSA economy: e.g. relations of proximity, trust, knowledge, between producers and consumers. -Cross-territorial food projects intersecting different jurisdictional subdivisions (constraints/opportunities)		

GOVERNANCE TENSIONS

Type of GT	Factors of Tension	Nature of Tension in Hybrid Governance terms
INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE TENSIONS: **tensions in the socio-political and socio-professional governance structures embedding the AFN and its governance**	**Global-local (multi-level?) state governance (conflicts plus subsidiarity)**	-Tensions between global, national, regional governance (EU, WTO,…)
		-Socio-political transformative forces
	Power struggles between AFNs and state/corporate institutions at different scales	-Hybrid actors' and policy networks negotiating sup portive policy/institutional spaces
		-Socio-political transformative forces
	Divergent values, behavioral routines, agendas between AFNs and institutional or other agents responsible or/influencing the food governance (agricultural and spatial policy, food strategy agencies, local municipal/regional government, stakeholders of the corporate food systems, etc)	- AFN constraining vs. enabling institutions
		-Relation building towards participatory commoning governance institutions

EMPIRICAL QUESTIONS

CASE 2 LAND ACCESS GOVERNANCE Focus Case: Boeren Bruxsel Paysans Project	CASE 2 Governance Outcomes (current/expected/ foreseeable)
- What types of **existing institutions** (e.g. domuinant land use contracts, land use arrangements, juridical and planning mechanisms regulating land, and so on) constrain or enable the access to land?	-Grasping outcomes in terms of **institutional responses to the land question** in the BCR
-What **changes in existing institutions or new institutions** are pursued to favor access to land and its scaling out?	-**Current/expected impact of (multi-scale) institutional systems** on the capacity to increase the land resource accessibility for urban-peri-urban agriculture
-Up to which point **BBP actors have been capable of influencing (state) institutions** in giving support to advance knowledge and actions on land accessibility? - In case of relevant weight of private stakeholders, in what ways interactions with these actors have taken place? What constraining/enabling role do they play in the governance for land accessibility to UPA?	-**Tensions/trade-offs** in ensuring areas of collaboration among a diversity of actors for enhancing land accessibility.
=> What **constraints** to enhancing land accessibility come from the **multi-scalar nature of state institutions** as well as from the path dependency of professional and bureaucratic organizations?	-Understanding **potentials for cross-organizational/cross-institutional cooperation** in facilitating the land accessibility for small-scale UPA
-In what ways knowledge production on land accessibility as well as values and ethical stances circulate among a diversity of actors and generate or NOT formalized/durable institutional support?	
-Are there forms of cooperation with the bordering territories pursued to protect and promote urban-peri-urban agriculture in the Brussels hinterland?	

Key documentation consulted

On urban agri1culture and land access in the BCR:

Cahn, L., Deligne, C., Pons-Rotbardt, N., Prignot, N., Zimmer, A., Zitouni, B. (2018). *Terresdesvilles. Enquête potagères de Bruxelles aux premières saisons du 21siècle*. Éditions de l'éclat

Lecocq, V. (2012). *Analyse des contraintes règlementaires, techniques et financières au développement de l'agriculture urbaine commerciale en Région de Bruxelles Capitale.* Unpublished Master Thesis, University of Liege

Lefebvre, A., Tsurukawa, N., Haissam, J. *et al*. (2018). *Étude urbanistique et juridique pour le développement de l'agriculture urbaine en Région Bruxelloise*. Available at : https://www.goodfood.brussels/fr/ressources/cultiver/études (last accessed: October 9 2018)

Terre en Vue (2016). *Rapport final: mise en place d'un système d'information géographique pour les terres agricoles en région de Bruxelles-Capitale* (internal document Courtesy of Terre en Vue)

Bruxelles Economie et Emploi (2014). *L'agriculture urbaine à Bruxelles. L'émergence d'une filière*. Proceedings of a Symposium on urban agriculture, March 26 2014, Brussels

Studies and documents on the BCRs' hinterland:

Departement Landbouw & Visserij, *Boeren rond Brussel. Kansen en bedreigingen voor voedselproductie in de Vlaamse Rand.* Available at: https://www.vlaanderen.be/nl/publicaties/detail/boeren-rond-brussel (last accessed: October 10 2018)

Departement Landbouw & Visserij, *Landbouwstudie Vlaamse Rand. Eindrapport*. Available at: https://www.vlm.be/nl/projecten/vlm-projecten/vlaamserand/studies (last accessed: October 10 2018)

l'Institut Bruxellois pour la Gestion de l'Environnement (Bruxelles Environnement (IBGE) and Vlaamse Landmaatschappij (VLM) (2015) *Plan directeur interrégional pour Neerpede – Vlezenbeek - Sint Anna-Pede* (report phase 1 and report phase 2 and Action Plan), avaliable at: https://environnement.brussels/thematiques/espaces-verts-et-biodiversite/action-de-la-region/plan-directeur-pour-la-zone (last accessed: October 10 2018)

Vlaams Bouwmeester (edit.). (2016). Metropolitan Landscapes. Available at: https://www.vlaanderen.be/nl/publicaties/detail/metropolitan-landscapes-open-ruimte-als-basis-voor-stedelijke-ontwikkeling-espace-ouvert-base-de-d-veloppement-urbain (Last accessed: October 10 2018)

Other documents from civil society organizations:

Terre en Vue (2016). *Guide de rédaction d'un contrat pour la mise à disposition des terres agricoles*. Available at : https://terre-en-vue.be/IMG/pdf/guide_redaction_contrat_finalsmall.pdf (last accessed: October 10 2018)

Bouchedor, A. (2017). *Pressions sur nos terres agricoles* (FIAN Belgium). Available at:
https://www.fian.be/IMG/pdf/fian_etude_terre_web.pdf
(Last accessed: October 10 2018)

Regional Planning Documentation

Retrievable at: https://urbanisme.irisnet.be/lesreglesdujeu/les-plans-daffectation-du-sol/le-plan-regional-daffectation-du-sol-pras (last accessed: October 10 2018)

CASE 3
Chapter 5. Realizing local food policies. A comparison between Toronto and the Brussels-Capital Region's stories through the lenses of reflexivity and co-learning.

Field Work in Toronto –Interviews

Name	Organization/ Field	Position	Date	Notes
Rod MacRae	York University, TFPC	First Coordinator of the TFPC, Scholar/Multi -level Food Policy Expert	10-03 -2017	
Joe Nasr	Ryerson University/ Toronto Urban Growers (TUG)	Independent Scholar, activist, expert on urban agriculture, coordinator of TUG	13-03-2017	
Debbie Field	FoodShare	Activist, Executive Director of FoodShare from 1992 to 2017	14 03 2017	

Rhonda Teitel-Payne	Toronto Urban Growers (TUG)	Urban agriculture activist coordinator of TUG	15-03-2017	
Wayne Roberts	Activist, journalist, TFPC	Second Coordinator of the TFPC, Food movement activist	16-03-2017	
Barbara Emanuel	Public Health - Toronto Food Strategy	Civil servant - Food Strategy Manager	20-03-2017	
Joe Nasr	TUG	Independent Scholar, activist, expert on urban agriculture, coordinator of TUG	22 03 2017	Follow-up interview
Lauren Baker	Sustain Ontario, TFPC	Independent Scholar, urban agriculture activist, third coordinator of the TFPC	22-03-2017	

Jessica Reeve	TFPC	Interim coordinator of the TFPC	03-04-2017	
Garth Armour	City Staff (Parks and Recreation Department)	Civil Servant, urban gardening program - Parks and Recreation Department	13-04-2017	
Angela ElzingaCheng	FoodShare	Manager Urban Agriculture Program of FoodShare	13-04-2017	
Mary Fragedakis	City Council	City Councilor, member of the TFPC	18-04-2017	
Solomon Boye'	Parks and Recreation Department	Civil Servant, director urban gardening program - Parks and Recreation Department	20-04-2017	Written Interview
Katie German	FoodShare	Field to Table Schools and School Grown Senior Manager	21-04-2017	

James Kuhns	TUG	Urban agriculture activist, coordinator of the TUG	26-04-2017
Sonia Dihr	Government - Toronto Region Conservation Authority (TRCA)	Staff of the TRCA	01-05-2017
Ran Goel	Urban Farming- Fresh City Farms	Urban Farmer	02-05-2017
Ulla Knowles	FoodShare	Senior Manager of Student Nutrition Operations and HR	05-05-2017
Moorthi Senaratne	FoodShare	Manager Good Food Program	08-05-2017

Jane Welsh	Urban Planning Department	Civil Servant, Urban Planning Department	08-05-17	
Tara Amkhelawan	FoodShare	Good Food Markets Senior Coordinator	09-05-2017	
Debbie Field	FoodShare	Executive Director FoodShare	12-05-2017	Follow-up interview
Janet Horner	Golden Horseshoe Food and Farming Alliance	Executive Director	23-05-2017	
Mark Krakovski	FoodShare	FoodShare Board Member	26-05-2017	
Beth Hunter	McConnell Foundation	Chief McConnel Family Foundation	26-05-2017	Telephonic Interview
Lori Stahlbrand	TFPC	Food movement activist and scholar, current Coordinator of the TFPC	05-06-2017	At that time just appointed as Coordinator of the TFPC

Additional fieldwork visit – April 2018

Name	Organization/ Field	Position	Date	Notes
Lori Stalhbrand	See above	See above	16-04 -2018	
Wayne Roberts	See above	See above	16-04-2018	Skype Interview
Barbara Emmanuel	See above	See above	17-04- 2018	Informal exchanges with other members of the Food Strategy team as well
Mustafa Koç	Ryerson University – Faculty of Sociology – Food Secure Canada	Food movement Scholar and multi-level food policy activist	18-04-2018	
Lauren Baker	See above	See above	18-04-2018	
Rod MacRae	See above	See above	18-04-2018	
Cathy Crowe	Practitioner, Ryerson University – Department of Politics and Public Administration	Distinguished visiting practitioner at Ryerson	19-04 -2018	Knowledgeable on anti-poverty movements' history in Toronto

Interviews on Case Study 3 in the BCR[69]

Name	Organization/ Field	Position	Date	Notes
First Round Fieldwork				
Marcelline Bonneau	Consultancy	Independent Consultant/ action-researcher	10-02-2016	Knowledgeable on the Brussels' Food Policy trajectory
Cordelia Orfinger	Group One (social enterprise incubator)	Director	12-02-2016	Among the facilitators of the participatory processes of the Food Strategy
Catherine Rousseau	Environmental Cabinet - Previous Coalition	Advisor on Food-environmental policies for the Cabinet of the Environment (previous coalition, until 2015)	17-02-2016	NB: also informative for the GASAP Case study

* NB: I gained insights on case study 3 in Brussels also through the work on the other case studies as many of the actors overlap.

Joelle Van Bambeke	Bruxelles Environnement (Responsible of the Division Sustainable Consumption)	Civil servant, Food Strategy Manager	18-03- 2016	NB: also informative for the GASAP Case study
Second round fieldwork				
Cordelia Orfinger	See above	See above	06-06-2018	
Olivia Szwarcburt	Food Association 'Rencontres des Continents'	Activist, leader of food organization, member of Consultative Council	14-06-2018	
Rob Renaerts	Consultancy, RABAD network of food organizations	Consultant on Sustainable Food (in particular public procurement), member of the Consultative Council	15-06-2018	
Marie Detienne, Wijn Ness	Government Agency of the Cabinet of Economy and Environment dealing with the implementation	Civil servants of the agency, members of Consultative Council	25-06- 2018	NB: also informative for land access case study

	of Urban Agriculture		
Aline de Hasse	Urban Agriculture organization *Le Début des Haricots*	Activist, leader food association, member of Consultative Council	26-06-2018
Sébastien Kennes	Rencontre des Continents (see above)	Food movement activist, member of the Consultative Council	10-07-2018
Noémie Maughan	ULB/Co-Create (see above list case study 2)	Researcher/Activist (see list case study 2)	13-07 -2018
Maxime Bacq	Consultancy, Groupe One	Consultant on Sustainable Food/social enterprise	18-07-2018
Joelle Van Bambeke	Bruxelles Environnement (Regional Administration of the Environment) (see above)	Civil servant, Food Strategy manager (see above)	04-09- 2018

Guiding questions for Toronto and the BCR's food policy trajectories
(questions further elaborated and specified on the basis of the specific actors interviewed)

Key additional documentation consulted

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