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The Strategizing of Policy Entrepreneurs towards the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture

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Abstract

Global collaborations across level, domain, and sector boundaries are on the rise. This article analyses policy entrepreneurship for the establishment of the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture (GACSA), a global multi-actor collaboration to address climate change and foster food security and development. We explore policy entrepreneurship as a process embedded within specific contexts. To that end we focus on the strategizing process, consisting of conditions, activities, and implications. Through a congruence case study based on interviews, documents, survey, and observation we find that: (1) accommodating a varied global community requires flexibility and adaptability from entrepreneurs towards a dynamic and changing environment; (2) the variety of actors constituting GACSA compromises vigour of the collaboration, and confuses the meaning of CSA; (3) whereas collective entrepreneurship is often depicted as joint operation of multiple actors, it might also be characterized by conflicting activities and/or successive involvement; (4) policy entrepreneurship is useful to establish collaborations, but its role is temporary. Entrepreneurs must therefore be sensitive to their potential obsoleteness and withdraw at the right moment. Our results show that policy entrepreneurship is a useful lens to study global policy processes, while providing guidelines to inspire and support practitioners to engage with global policy processes.

Policy Implications

- In a period characterized by complexity, policy entrepreneurs must be flexible and adaptive *vis-à-vis* their environment, to anticipate changing contextual circumstances.
- The umbrella term of climate-smart agriculture seems attractive to unite a variety of actors, but requires explicit and continuous consideration of contradictory interpretations to address conflicting viewpoints, interests and responsibilities.
- The promotion of climate-smart agriculture encompasses multiple and different instances of issue promotion and issue framing, to introduce and sell the concept to different audiences.
- The role of policy entrepreneurs is often temporary, therefore they must be sensitive to their potential obsoleteness, and know when to withdraw.

Population growth, ecological degradation, and climate change are among the key factors threatening agricultural production, development, and global food security (Brown and Funk, 2008; Godfray et al., 2010). Agricultural outputs need to increase to meet the rising demand for food. This will, in turn, further enhance the burden placed on natural resources, climate and environment. Simultaneously climate change and environmental degradation are expected to threaten agricultural production, thereby compromising food security and sustainable development. Climate-smart agriculture (CSA) has been introduced by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 2010 to break this vicious circle. CSA is an approach that claims the transformation of agricultural systems to effectively address the adverse impacts of climate change, increase resilience and agricultural outputs, and mitigate greenhouse gases where feasible. The approach focuses on synergies and trade-offs between agriculture, food security, climate change and development. CSA interventions range from the rehabilitation of irrigation systems to reduce water loss, expanding the capacity of storage ponds to harvest rainwater, and introducing intercropping with drought-tolerant varieties to precision farming or manure management. To realize CSA, proponents advocate increased collaboration between a wide variety of public, private and civil society actors from different policy levels and domains (FAO, 2010; Lipper et al., 2014). In 2014, the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture (GACSA) was created as multi-actor collaborative platform to share knowledge, foster learning, and create a space for discussions between different stakeholders on CSA. The alliance brings together multinational corporations, governments, farmers associations, NGOs, international and regional organizations, as well as a variety of different research institutes.

This global multi-actor collaborative platform is illustrative for a proliferation of policy processes that are no longer confined to national governments but increasingly involve multiple sectors and levels (Crosby et al., 2016; Head and Alford, 2015; Williams, 2002), specifically at the global level (Biermann et al., 2009; Stone, 2008; Moomaw et al., 2017). Given the growing popularity of global multi-actor collaborations, it is increasingly relevant to understand the processes through which these collaborations are established.

In collaborative forms of governance different public and non-state actors engage in collective decision-making to jointly address problems (Ansell and Gash, 2008), often cutting across level, domain, and scale boundaries. In these collaborative processes an important role is assigned to agency (Harting et al., 2010; Huitema and Meijerink, 2010; McNamara, 2014; Meijerink and Stiller, 2013; Termeer and Bruinsma, 2016). Studies have shown that exploring global policy dynamics from a micro agency-centered perspective sheds light on the crucial role of actors in the dynamics through which constellations like GACSA get operationalized (Braithwaite and Drahos, 2000; Partzsch, 2017). Such a micro perspective allows us to understand how actor's activities are influenced by contextual developments, and how these activities in turn transform or reproduce macro-level patterns in the policy process (Torfing, 2012) thereby increasing insight in the mechanisms underlying policy development. Nevertheless, there is limited understanding of the specific processes and dynamics leading to establishing global collaborations, as most literature has a useful, but slightly different, focus (Bryson et al., 2015).

Some of the existing policy literature emphasizes the role of 'boundary-spanners' or 'meta-governors' and their role in existing collaborations (Sørensen, 2007; Torfing, 2012; Williams, 2002), whereas other literature concentrates on the role of leadership in international governance (Saz-Carranza, 2015; Prakash et al., 2015). Within the public policy literature several scholars focus on micro-level processes, and particularly on role of policy entrepreneurs. Whereas policy entrepreneurship has been mainly studied in relation to policies at the national level (Boasson and Huitema, 2017), we argue here that global collaborations are also likely to emerge as a result of policy entrepreneurs' activities (Stone and Ladi, 2015). A few recent studies that have adopted Kingdon's multiple streams framework to explain the formation of collaborations, for example, point to the critical role of policy entrepreneurs in the process (see for instance, Cornforth et al., 2015; Lober 1997; Takahashi and Smutny, 2002).

The aim of this paper is to explain the establishment of GACSA. We critically examine the role of entrepreneurs in the formation of GACSA in an attempt to increase understanding of how policy entrepreneurs strategize to advocate their ideas to different target groups and bring together different levels, domains and actor types in a collaboration at the global level.

The article proceeds as follows. In the next section we introduce policy entrepreneurship and the strategizing process as our framework for analysis. Section 2 presents the methods. In section 3 we report the results in three episodes: the development of the concept, the creation of attention for CSA, and the establishment of a global alli-

ance. In the discussion we reflect on the contribution of this study in understanding policy entrepreneurship for global collaborations. It highlights critical linkages between conditions, activities, implications and reflects on the influence of context on entrepreneurship, the differences in approaches between entrepreneurs, and the limitations to entrepreneurship for maintaining collaborations over time. The final section presents the conclusions of the article.

1. Policy entrepreneurship across multiple boundaries: a framework for analysis

Policy entrepreneurs are actors operating in or out of government whom are willing to take risk and leverage their resources - time, money, expertise - to push ideas and achieve their objectives of creating new policies or transforming existing ones, often in return for a personal gain – for example, a promotion or job opportunity (DiMaggio 1988; Kingdon, 2003; Mintrom and Norman, 2009; Zahariadis and Exadaktylos, 2016). The literature assigns policy entrepreneurship to individuals (e.g. Brouwer and Biermann, 2011; Schneider and Teske 1992), organizations (e.g. Newman, 2008; Roberts and King 1996), or parts of organizations (e.g. Phillips and Tracey, 2007, von Heland et al., 2014). Policy entrepreneurship requires having access to resources such as contacts, possessing certain skills such as alertness to opportunities, and undertaking certain activities, including issue promotion and coalition building (Petridou, 2016). Since we are particularly interested in the actions codetermining the emergence of collaborations, we focus on the entrepreneurial strategizing process.

Strategizing as interactional process

To study entrepreneurship, we build on earlier works suggesting that it is important to consider entrepreneurial strategies in their context (Meijerink and Huitema, 2010; Mintrom and Norman, 2009). (Faling et al., 2018 - paper anonymized, submitted) argue that it is important to consider entrepreneurial activities, the contextual conditions in which they are undertaken, and the implications of the activities for the (policy) output (Faling et al., 2018). That is, taking a processual approach to strategizing prevents a static focus on *strategy* as a variable but rather approaches it as a dynamic process in action (Green, 2017), to analyse a 'sequence of events that describes how things change over time' (Pettigrew 1997, p. 338). Recent literature increasingly acknowledges the importance of context in studying policy entrepreneurship by arguing to pay more attention to the way in which context shapes entrepreneurship, and to the way in which implications of entrepreneurs' actions shape policy processes. A recent and noticeable example is a paper by Boasson and Huitema (2017) that differentiates between entrepreneurship aiming at altering the distribution of authority and entrepreneurship aiming at altering norms and cognitive framework, and different actions to further these aims. In this paper, we adopt the framework proposed by Faling et al. (2018) to study strategizing as a dynamic process. We briefly introduce the key concepts of conditions, strategies, and implications that are central to the framework below.

First of all, contextual conditions refer to the nature of the issue under analysis, and the context within which the issue occurs. Conditions are not objective givens, but subjective constructs designed, understood, interpreted and updated by actors. Many conditions may exist, but only a limited number influences behaviour and choices of actors. For instance, a resource gap — knowledge, funding, or policy impact — around an issue might create opportunities for policy entrepreneurs to promote their desired change by providing expertise and support (Faling et al. 2018). Carter and Jacobs (2014), for example, explain how Friends of the Earth, an international network of environmental organizations, could convince the UK government to adopt radical climate and energy policies, following the government's imminent failure to deliver on its emission reduction targets.

Second, we expect to find certain *activities* undertaken by entrepreneurs to establish collaboration(s). Most important and well-known activities by entrepreneurs include building coalitions to unite stakeholders with different views, framing messages to attract support, and leading by example (see for instance Meijerink and Huitema, 2010).

Third, we focus on the *implications* of entrepreneurs' activities. Every activity has certain implications and these implications, which can be positive and negative, intended or unintended, influence the contextual conditions for the next activities by the entrepreneur. Implications thus include any result following from entrepreneurial activities, such as changes in characteristics, capacities, and propensities of affected entities, until subsequent mechanisms (either entrepreneurial activities or other happenings) act upon them (Bennett and Checkel, 2014). For instance, when an entrepreneur raises enthusiasm with an audience, it might equally raise opposition, leading to deadlock or delay instead of the anticipated change. Orchard and Gillies (2015), for example, discuss how US President Roosevelt aimed to raise support for refugee protection at the global level, but equally raises constraint and opposition from other states, thereby limiting his ability to achieve actual change.

We thus refer to the combination of conditions, activities, and implications as the strategizing process. The verb 'strategizing', rather than the noun 'strategy' highlights the dynamic nature of the process (Whittington, 2003). Strategizing is generally done consciously, but the process is not necessarily scripted, as it can also be spontaneous or reactive (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004). Entrepreneurs are not expected to be fully calculating and rational actors; they might also operate through trial-and-error, be led by path dependency and follow the direction most comfortable to them (Pralle, 2003).

Strategizing in different phases

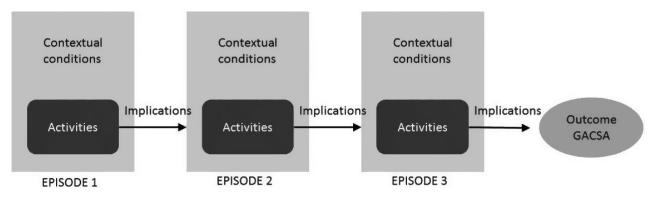
We build our notion of strategizing on work of Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) who depict dealing with complex problems like 'a sports match played in a number of rounds' (p. 83). In line with their approach, we argue that strategizing is a dynamic process that evolves over time, and which can be demarcated analytically into different episodes. The start of each episode is characterized by certain contextual conditions. These influence or trigger the entrepreneur to undertake certain activities. During this interactive process, the entrepreneur discusses, challenges, and negotiates with other actors from different levels or domains. This is a highly uncertain and erratic period during which the implications of the activities undertaken by the entrepreneur become apparent. The episode ends with an important or 'crucial' decision, for example the adoption of a certain piece of legislation, or appointing a new person in charge. The outcomes of this episode influence the contextual conditions for the next episode (Figure 1).

2. Methods and methodology

Data collection

To explain the establishing of the alliance, we conducted an explaining-outcome congruence case study (Beach and Pedersen, 2016). This methodology provides within-case insights about the phenomenon to be explained, and

Figure 1. The strategizing process. The process consists of different episodes. Each episode is characterized by specific contextual conditions; conditions influence the activities undertaken; activities have certain implications, which co-define contextual conditions of the subsequent episode. The process in its entirety explains the observed outcome.



| Interview # | Organization | Date | Location |
|-------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Partnerships, CGIAR | 16 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 2 | Researcher, ActionAid | 5 November 2015 | Amsterdam, Netherland |
| 3 | Lead, The Nature Conservancy | 23 June 2016 | Skype |
| 4 | Civil servant, UK | 15 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 5 | Civil servant, Nigeria | 29 June 2016 | Skype |
| 6 | President, Solutions from the Land | 16 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 7 | Project Manager, FAO | 15 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 8 | CEO, CGIAR | 23 June 2016 | Skype |
| 9 | DG Agro | 8 July 2016 | The Hague, Netherland |
| 10 | Co-chair, GACSA | 15 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 11 | Civil servant, Netherlands | 12 June 2015 | The Hague, Netherland |
| 12 | Civil servant, France | 16 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 13 | Policy Officer, World Farmer's Organization | 15 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 14 | Advisor, World Bank | 5 July 2016 | Skype |
| 15 | Civil servant, USA | 14 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 16 | Policy advisor, UN | 17 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 17 | Co-chair, GACSA | 16 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 18 | Director, wbcsd | 6 July 2016 | Skype |
| 19 | Policy advisor, Norway | 17 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |
| 20 | Special representative, World Bank | 21 June 2016 | Skype |
| 21 | Advocacy manager, Oxfam Novib | 5 June 2015 | Amsterdam, Netherland |
| 22 | Director, EcoAgriculture | 21 June 2016 | Skype |
| 23 | Chairperson, Asian Farmers Association | 15 June 2016 | Rome, Italy |

allows for making probabilistic claims about the function of underlying causal mechanisms (Beach and Pedersen, 2016).

To collect data we made use of different methods. First, we conducted a scoping survey among participants in the 2016 GACSA Annual Forum (N = 43). The survey aimed to identify who the GACSA participants considered to be most important in the establishment of the alliance, that is, who they considered to be the policy entrepreneurs. The survey contained several questions covering the Alliance's achievements, organizational culture, and definitions of CSA. Second, we conducted 24 interviews with key actors involved in the establishment of GACSA, including the actors identified as policy entrepreneurs. Most interviews were held in Rome during the 2016 GACSA Annual Forum and some over Skype between May and July 2016. Interviewees were identified through the survey, meeting reports and snowball sampling. We conducted interviews with different actors to get a good understanding of the different perspectives on GACSA (see Table 1). Third, we used documentation and archival records - meeting announcements and notes, press statements, speech records - to inform the reconstruction of events. Documentation was obtained through internet searches and through interviewees, the latter particularly for accessing documents not publicly available. Fourth, during three GACSA meetings - 2015 member consultation meeting, 2016 Strategic Committee Meeting, and the 2016 Annual Forum - we obtained insight through observation and informal conversations.

Data analysis

Data analysis was done through coding in Atlas.ti. A code book was designed iteratively. We identified general codes for our key concepts - for example, condition, activity, implication, episode -prior to coding, and variables within each of these concepts on the basis of the data. After data collection, we reconstructed a general storyline of the process and sent it to key interviewees for a 'member check', to improve the accuracy, credibility, and reliability of the study. Thereafter we explored the mechanisms underlying the process of strategizing for GACSA. Mechanisms were identified by looking for the processes that were found to be of critical importance to link entrepreneurial activities to implications and effect within a given context (Faletti and Lynch, 2009). An example of a mechanism is the link between the promotion of CSA and increased opposition towards CSA, which can be explained through the mechanism of opaqueness of the decision-making process and a developed-country framing of CSA.

Limitations

Although the main focus of the paper is on policy entrepreneurs' activities we acknowledge that other factors could have been important in explaining the establishing of GACSA. This study therefore does not claim to provide a full account of the factors leading to the institutionalization of CSA, but to gain critical insights in the role of entrepreneurs that are influenced by contextual conditions.

Despite our aim for full coverage of all actors involved in the process, we were unable to interview actors from South Africa and Vietnam. Although these countries played an important role in the first phase(s) of the establishment of the alliance, they later distanced themselves from the process. Their motivation for withdrawing could have provided additional insights in the criticized aspects of the alliance. We compensated for their absence by interviewing other critical actors, and questioning other interviewees about South Africa and Vietnam's role.

3. Results: three entrepreneurs, three episodes towards establishment GACSA

We identify three episodes in the establishment of GACSA: (1) idea development; (2) attention creation; and (3) alliance building. We identified three actors as policy entrepreneurs: (1) the director-general Agriculture from the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs (DG Agro), who has been involved predominantly in the first and second phase; (2) the WorldBank contributing with multiple staff members to the establishment of GACSA in all three phases; (3) the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Food Security and Nutrition (SRSG), who has been involved mainly in the third phase. The following sections describe the strategizing process by means of the different episodes, subdivided in conditions, activities, and implications See Table 2 for an overview.

Episode 1 (2009–2010): the development of Climate-Smart Agriculture

Although the interlinkages between climate change, food security, and agriculture have long been recognized, a focusing event in the shape of the food price crisis is needed to put the interdependencies of the issues on the global political agenda. The 2009 food price crisis is characterized by sharp price increases for basic commodities. The crisis hits the more vulnerable segments of society disproportionally hard, and exemplifies the challenges of securing sustainable development under realities of climate change (Behnassi et al., 2014; Wheeler and Von Braun, 2013). Following the crisis the interlinked issues increasingly appear on global agendas. The 2009 FAO World Summit on Food Security Declaration reads 'any recipe for confronting the challenges of climate change [for food security] must allow for mitigation options and a firm commitment to the adaptation of agriculture' (FAO, 2009, p. 2). Around the same time, the 17th session of the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD-17) acknowledges that 'agriculture can and must adapt to climate change if we are to survive. Climate change also poses an important challenge for future food security' (UN ECOSOC, 2009, p. 41). It demonstrates the recognition of the need to mobilize various stakeholders at different levels to address climate, food and agricultural challenges globally in an integrated manner. Several actors are meanwhile increasingly crossing paths at various events where these issues are more and more discussed.

Two entrepreneurs are particularly serious about their objective to bring together the 'separate silos' of agriculture, climate and food: the Dutch DG Agro and the Senior Director Agriculture from the World Bank, whose starting point is a critical attitude towards the – in their view – fragmented and poorly coordinated processes around climate change, food security, and agriculture (interviews 9, 11, 14, 15). They are frustrated with the lack of progress on agriculture within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the lack of any deliberative international body to address agriculture and climate change in an integrated manner. Notwithstanding other international initiatives to address climate and agriculture, such as the UN Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) actions, or the CGIAR research program on climate change, agriculture, and food security (CCAFS), the entrepreneurs envisage to build a separate arena for the collaboration between different actors, sectors, and levels. The DG Agro states that:

within the UN governments might agree on a Convention, but when it comes to implementation this Convention fails. Negotiations take place in separate silos in New York or Brussels, whereas instead we need to invite other stakeholders from multiple silos and groups to make implementation work. (interview 9)

The entrepreneurs discuss their ideas in their respective networks to sense if others share their frustration and ideas. Confident in finding resonance, they form a small but diversified coalition of governmental actors from the US, Ethiopia, South Africa, New Zealand, Norway, Vietnam, and FAO and jointly engage in issue promotion by organizing the first Global Conference on Agriculture, Food Security and Climate Change in 2010 in the Netherlands. The entrepreneurs aim to boost the development of a different approach to agriculture, 'place the issue on the agenda globally, and build political momentum' (interview 20). They strategically select a diverse group of stakeholders, including farmers organizations, international organizations, foundations, and governments from both Western and Southern countries, which they envision will be able to spread the entrepreneurs' ideas and translate it into action. Both the varied audience and high-level representation – among them Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General – aimed to create prestige and visibility among different actor groups, according to one of the entrepreneurs (interview 9). After discussions with the entrepreneurs, FAO during the conference introduces a scoping paper on Climate-Smart Agriculture: a 'triple-win' approach 'that sustainably increases productivity, resilience (adaptation), reduces/removes GHGs (mitigation), and enhances achievement of national food security and development goals' (FAO, 2010, p. ii). The Conference, chaired by one of the entrepreneurs, concludes with a Roadmap for Action that calls for a paradigm shift towards viewing agriculture as a solution to food and economic crises, to broaden and initiate partnerships based on inclusive engagement (Global Conference, 2010). Whereas the Roadmap suggests

agreement among participants and a unilateral interest in the promotion of CSA, it is drafted by a small group mainly consisting of the coalition that organized the conference.

Whereas the concept of CSA raises enthusiasm with many participants it also raises opposition. Some NGOs express their concerns. In their view CSA symbolizes carbon markets, global free trade, and increasing food production, risking to become a tool for high-income countries buying off their mitigation responsibilities (interviews 2, 12, 21). Opposition argues the process lacks representation of smallholder farmers and indigenous peoples in the activities of the entrepreneurs. Oxfam represents civil society in a plenary statement to the Ministerial Roundtable of the Conference: 'According to CSOs these people [small holder farmers, indigenous people and women have not been present, nor consulted, nor genuinely participated in this process' (Oxfam Novib, 2010, p. 1). Despite the successful efforts of the entrepreneurs to involve different stakeholders in search for common ground, some governments, businesses and NGOs experience unequal power relations leading to exclusion from the process. The closed process of drafting the Roadmap for Action and the traditional set-up of the conference with governments at the center and others in observer positions are particularly criticized (Oxfam Novib, 2010)(interview 9, 19). As one government official puts it: 'there was a close working group, and there was no proper consultation with the other participants. The meeting could have been much more open and inclusive'.

Episode 2 (2011 -2013): creating attention for CSA

Despite the criticism, the enthusiasm from actors like the Clinton Foundation, private parties, and governments inspires the two entrepreneurs to continue with CSA. The broad interpretation of CSA creates a common ground to depart from, but some actors raise the question what is and what is not – CSA. Although the entrepreneurs have initiated CSA as an alternative approach to those initiated by existing institutions, developments regarding agriculture in the UNFCCC negotiations seem to impact the broader interest in CSA in the second episode: support for collaboration around CSA declines with Parties requesting a formal Program of Work around agriculture at the 17th UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COP17), and rises again when at the 18th UN Conference of the Parties (COP18) their request is rejected (Muldowney et al., 2013). In the words of a researcher: 'CSA was important to us because we were looking for an alternative platform to get agriculture into the UNFCCC' (interview 8). The entrepreneurs DG Agro and the WorldBank have created political momentum, and now face the challenge of how to take the collaborations forward.

With input from conference participants the entrepreneurs list a number of different initiatives to promote CSA (Global Conference, 2010). They engage in issue-promoting activities, both jointly and individually, to raise support for and address criticism against CSA. They organize various dialogues in Africa, and convince Vietnam to host the second Global Conference in, 2012. This focus beyond the Western

world is a strategic move to showcase non-Western countries' support for CSA, counter the view of CSA as backdoor for mitigation obligations, and aim for equal representation of relevant stakeholders (interviews 9, 14). To demonstrate the value of CSA, the World Bank sets up a CSA pilot project in Kenya. The Agricultural Carbon Project aims to showcase the feasibility of CSA in practice. Moreover, the World Bank reports on the project in its presidential speeches, news items, and blogs (see for instance Warutere, 2011; interview, 20). Key to the project is the – controversial – BioCarbon Fund to mobilize finance through conserving carbon in agro-ecosystems (Atela, 2012). While this project demonstrates the feasibility of CSA, it reemphasizes concerns regarding developed countries passing their mitigation responsibilities onto non-Western countries. Meanwhile, the DG Agro and the Dutch Minister of Agriculture promote CSA at various events. The Dutch government, in cooperation with the DG Agro, signs an agreement with the Clinton Foundation to roll out a CSA project in Tanzania and Malawi. The Dutch ministry finances the Clinton foundation (NL Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2013), to further enthuse the Foundation and the US government for CSA (interview 9). Whereas the entrepreneurs interact with the Clinton Foundation as representative for civil society and non-governmental organizations at large, many in fact, do not identify with the Clinton Foundation. Meanwhile, the DG Agro and the Ministry engage in framing different messages to different audiences. The Dutch Minister for instance highlights the value of CSA for Dutch corporations: 'As agricultural exporter it is our job to address food insecurity through global agricultural policy. Besides, this [deal with the Clinton Foundation] is an opportunity for innovative businesses with an abundance of agricultural expertise to invest in Africa' (translated from Dutch by authors, National Government, 2013). At the third Global Conference in South Africa, the entrepreneur DG Agro emphasizes the necessity to address food insecurity, the importance of the position of women farmers and the importance of ending poverty, hunger and malnutrition. The DG Agro deploys different frames to emphasize different aspects of CSA, depending on the targeted audience. A broad umbrella concept like CSA, which can be tailored to different audiences by including specific messages, has a specific function for the entrepreneurs (interviews 9, 20). Following the increased attention for CSA and the aim to have an impact, the entrepreneurs decide they want to institutionalize the initiative by creating an alliance, with a leading role for both entrepreneurs. The alliance should coordinate the exchange of resources globally, support farmers in their daily practices and facilitate fundraising, by offering a value-free space and a simple organizational structure that allows for balanced discussions between different stakeholders (interviews 4, 6, 7). Discussions about the alliance take place within a small coalition of actors (interview 4).

Although the entrepreneurs desire to launch the alliance in, 2013, potential participants are not (yet) sufficiently convinced to participate. Most stakeholders feel their concerns have not been adequately addressed. Most actors continue

| Episode | Entrepreneur(s) | Conditions | Activities | Implications |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 1. The development of an idea | DG Agro WorldBank | Understanding/attention interlinkages challenges Prior collaboration No issue capture | Coalition-building: bringing together stakeholders to organize conference Issue promoting: adopting and promoting concept CSA at Global Conference | support for CSA Opposition to CSA by NGO's and other actors Issue capture (some form of) Taking CSA forward |
| 2. Creating attention for CSA | | Understanding and naming interlinked challenges Issue capture (some form of) Opposition to CSA UNFCCC parties request and reject Work Programme on agriculture | Issue promoting: communicating CSA at various events, outreach activities Leading by example: CSA pilot projects by WorldBank; Leading by example: CSA project NL – Clinton Foundation Issue framing: different messages | Support for CSA Opposition to CSA Questioning trust and transparency movement Impasse Issue capture Wish for institutionalization CSA |
| 3. Building alliance | UN-SR FS DG Agro WorldBank | Institutionalizing interlinked challenges Issue capture Lack of transparency, legitimacy Impasse | Coalition building: uniting actors in conference calls for establishment alliance Issue (re)framing: adapting interpretation CSA Issue promoting: attracting actors for alliance (issue promoting) | Lack of funding Difficulties with communication, openness, and transparency Institutionalization and acknowledgement GACSA Inclusion agriculture in UNFCCC Growing member base Questioning trust and transparency |

Note: the table provides an abstracted and therefore non-dynamic overview of strategies, and should therefore be considered in light of the accompanying text providing a description of results (section 3).

to criticize the uncertainty and closed-door atmosphere surrounding the process, leading to distrust among several actors and towards the entrepreneurs (interviews 4, 8). As one government official describes: 'The proposal was to have a charter, but the process was still fairly tight and opaque with regards to the engagement of other countries, and there was a lot of questioning of what it was about ... what CSA was about'. The entrepreneurs conclude that catching the wide variety of interpretations of and the uncertainty about CSA in a charter that accommodates a wide variety of views would require more time.

Episode 3 (2013 -2015): Establishing a global alliance on CSA

Whereas the World Bank and DG Agro have decided to develop an alliance, opposition and discussion among some actors complicate matters. Some critics fear investments in CSA will divert finance away from smallholder farmers, as these will promote public-private partnerships unattainable for smaller parties. Because the approach lacks clear guidelines on what comprehends CSA, any stakeholder can label its activities as climate-smart – a practice referred to as corporate greenwashing. Some disapprove having large corporations like Monsanto and Unilever around the table. Others criticize GACSA for overly focusing on technical and farmlevel interventions, relative to the ecosystem and landscapes component of CSA as acknowledged in FAO's definition of CSA (FAO, 2010).To get the process moving again, a breakthrough seems to be needed.

The deadlock was overcome during the Third Global Conference in December, 2013. Support of several governments, including the USA, Norway and South Africa, and stronger involvement of FAO give new stimulus to the process. But above all, a breakthrough was realized through the involvement of a third entrepreneur, the United Nations Special Representative for Food Security and Nutrition (SRSG). The UN is looking for venues to promote the linkages between agriculture, food security, and climate change. As a result of closed discussions about the alliance, the Dutch State Secretary for Agriculture and the UN Secretary General decided to launch the Alliance during the Climate Summit, held in September 2014. This gave a boost to the process and increased the willingness of other parties to get actively involved (interview 5, 16). The SRSG takes the lead in a set of conference calls to set up the alliance (interviews 1, 8, 16). Whereas the other two entrepreneurs focused on small groups to push for CSA, the SRSG strategically builds a large coalition by inviting many people to join. He aims to address concerns regarding inclusiveness and transparency of the coalition. The coalition grows extensively and conference calls contain over 100 participants (interviews 1, 3, 4, 8, 9). Although this seems to have the desired effect as actors feel increasingly included, the calls are chaotic and lengthy (interviews 9, 10, 13, 19, 20). Some continue to question the legitimacy of the Alliance (interview 23). High-level support from the US State Secretary and the Dutch Minister for Economic Affairs and Agriculture serve to enthuse as many other stakeholders as possible in the run-up to the launch of the alliance (interview 8).

During the Climate Summit the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture (GACSA) is launched through an Action Statement. In reaction to concerns raised by NGOs, governments, and research organizations about the balance between adaptation and mitigation and to acknowledge regional differences, the Action Statement refines the 'triple win' approach as an approach that is context-specific. CSA is framed as aiming for 'sustainable and equitable increases in agricultural productivity and incomes, greater resilience of food systems and farming livelihoods, and reduction and/or removal of greenhouse gas emissions associated with agriculture (including the relationship between agriculture and ecosystems), wherever possible' (GACSA, 2014, p. 2). By reframing CSA from 'triple-win' approach to an approach in which mitigation is conditional, the coalition addresses concerns around mitigation responsibilities (interviews 11, 19, 22). In general, however, GACSA claims to be a collaborative platform which facilitates debate, and therefore largely refrains from addressing conflictual debates about the meaning of CSA. The launch of GACSA marks the end of the SRSG's active involvement. At the same time, the DG Agro steps back as co-chair and entrepreneur from the process.

After four years the efforts of the entrepreneurs around CSA result in GACSA, financially supported by the Netherlands, Norway and the USA. As of, 2016, the alliance consists of over 140 members. The understanding of what GACSA is or ought to achieve remains vaque, and sustained funding remains an issue (interviews 12, 17, 22). GACSA acknowledges there is room for improvement, for instance through better communication and openness to improve transparency. The free and voluntary membership has become a challenge to GACSA's decisiveness, and increased involvement of private parties and farmers is considered to be essential for the credibility of the Alliance. Nevertheless, CSA seems to be increasingly acknowledged and appreciated in different venues. Around 80 per cent of countries mention agriculture in their Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs), and 15 per cent mention CSA (Strohmaier et al., 2016). In September, 2015 a majority of countries adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which underscores the link between climate change and agriculture (United Nations, 2015b). At the 2015 COP21 agriculture reappeared on the UNFCCC agenda. The preamble of the Paris Agreement recognizes 'the fundamental priority of safeguarding food security and ending hunger, and the particular vulnerabilities of food production systems to the adverse impacts of climate change' (United Nations, 2015a, p. 1).

Agriculture itself remains absent from the Paris Agreement. Although the Alliance is characterized by disagreement and is typified by critics as discussion group rather than decisive body with substantive influence, GACSA might have contributed to the debates around the integration of climate, food, and agriculture, and might have inspired

countries to take up food security, agriculture, development and climate in an integrated manner (interviews 7, 10).

4. Discussion

Actors from different policy levels, sectors, and domains from around the globe increasingly collaborate to address complex and pressing societal problems. It is therefore increasingly important to understand and explain the dynamics through which these collaborations are developed. In this paper we discuss development of the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture (GACSA), through the lens of a dynamic policy entrepreneurship framework that differentiates between conditions, activities, and implications. Below we discuss our main findings and their implications for research and policy practice.

First, based on the framework we argued that strategizing is a process that unfolds in different episodes, whereby conditions form the starting point for activity choice, and whereby activities have certain implications. These implications - together with other external contextual conditions in turn create the conditions for the following episode. Our study demonstrates the value of adopting the perspective provided by this framework as it goes beyond listing strategies or decontextualized explanations of the emergence of (global) collaborations. To illustrate, the DG Agro and the WorldBank started organizing events around CSA as an activity in reaction to the conditions of some recognition of the challenges surrounding food security, climate change, and poverty eradication. The interpretation of CSA by the entrepreneurs subsequently had the implication of increased opposition from certain groups, which inspired the policy entrepreneurs to adapt their activities and reframe CSA to address opposition. Simultaneously, the unfolding of the process was linked to wider events, such as the prospects and possibilities for discussing agriculture in the UNFCCC process and the level of interest for CSA. The need for considering contextual conditions as well as the sequential nature of policy processes is often advocated in policy studies literatures (Trampusch and Palier, 2016), but few policy entrepreneurship studies have been able to conceptualize and operationalize this. Our conceptual framework that considers the dynamic interplay between conditions, activities and implications - or strategizing - helps us to better understand and explain how policy entrepreneurs operate, and appreciate the process of establishing collaborations between a diversity of actors from different levels, domains, and sectors to address global complex problems.

Second, given the wide variety of (potential) actors united in the process of establishing (global) collaborations, policy entrepreneurs get confronted with an array of different (and sometimes competing) interests, ideas, and responsibilities. They have to navigate in a policy environment characterized by non-hierarchical and unclear power relations and high levels of complexity due to the multiplicity of target audiences. The policy entrepreneur(s) involved in building such a collaboration thus needs to deploy specific activities, such as strategically composing varied coalitions, softening up

varied audiences through a broad interpretation an framing of their 'pet proposals', or high-level support for their initiative. We expect these strategies to be essential in other efforts for collaborative governance, as they touch upon the starting conditions for collaborations to occur, such as equal representation, clear incentives to participate, and facilitative leadership (Ansell and Gash, 2008). Our study shows how policy entrepreneurs are manoeuvring in this complex environment, thereby adapting their activities to changes in their direct environment, partly responding to the implications of their own activities. For instance, when the entrepreneurs noticed an overrepresentation of Western actors and rising critique on the (perceived) industrialized countryfocus, they asked South Africa to host the conference, to seek a more balanced and representative support from different actors. Such 'opening-up' strategies are well recognized in the literature. Moreover, whereas DG Agro and the World Bank in the first episode formed a small coalition of actors to discuss the promotion of CSA, the SRSG observed the dissatisfaction with the closedness of the process, and opened it up to other interested actors. This is in line with the argument that policy entrepreneurs strategically decide when to involve which actors (Berkes, 2009; Brouwer and Biermann, 2011; Olsson et al., 2007) and that these decisions can dramatically differ between episodes. Our findings also point to differences in the interpretations of context and the desired activities undertaken by the entrepreneurs, despite their shared aim for the establishment of the collaboration. For example, whereas the SRSG wanted to involve as many actors as possible to improve transparency and legitimacy of the collaboration, the DG Agro believed that although 'involving all relevant stakeholders' is a beautiful adage, it is impracticable and undesirable, and success can also be achieved with a smaller group. Individual characteristics (beliefs, norms, experiences) of the entrepreneur therefore matter in their selection of activities, and consequent implications. Our findings show that the DG Agro's selective approach in the first episode led to criticism and opposition to the collaboration, while the inclusive approach from the SRSG in episode three greatly enhanced the complexity of the process but addressed some of the criticism raised by the other entrepreneur earlier in the process. Collective policy entrepreneurship is often described in the literature as multiple actors jointly creating an idea and nurturing it through initiation, design, and implementation (see for instance Roberts, 2006). This study, however highlights how - in a global environment characterized by complexity and diverging interests – entrepreneurs among themselves might actually have different interpretations of the context, leading to deviating and possibly even conflicting activities, and successive instead of parallel involvement. Difference in interpretation may lead to stalemate or deadlock because the entrepreneurs will oppose each other's activities. However, as we see with in our GACSA case, these different interpretations might actually complement each other, and thereby boost change. Adopting the processual perspective of this study allowed us to capture these dynamics and how they reinforce each other.

Third, this research showcases that the role of the policy entrepreneur might be temporary and loses its significance once collaborations are in place (Mitchell and Shortell, 2000; Takahashi and Smutny, 2002). Whereas entrepreneurs seem to be effective and useful in building collaborations, they might not be the most suitable candidates for maintaining and leading collaborations. In our case we observed how both DG Agro and SRSG withdrew their involvement after the institutionalization of GACSA, whereas within the World-Bank responsibilities for GACSA were turned over to lower levels of authority. We have two possible explanations for this. First, as GACSA becomes more institutionalized and formalized, leadership becomes solidified. This reduces the institutional void in which the entrepreneurs can manoeuvre. An established and institutionalized collaboration often involves formalized leadership, which makes the role of the policy entrepreneur redundant as certain rules and principles become solidified. The process of setting up a collaboration is significantly different from maintaining a collaboration, and requires different personal skillsets, characteristics, resources and activities. Whereas policy entrepreneurs might be effective in raising support for an idea and building collaborations, they may not excel at maintaining, sustaining, or adapting particular collaborations to changing conditions over time - roles generally associated with leadership functions (see for instance Galanti and Capano, 2015; Mattli and Seddon, 2015; Selznick, 2011). Our study therefore suggests that policy entrepreneurship that aims to unite actors across level, domain, and sector boundaries at the global level requires a high-level position to allow the entrepreneur to demonstrate legitimacy and authority among different actor groups, and have access to broad networks across boundaries, for instance to obtain resources, support, and start pilot cases. Hence, policy entrepreneurship might be the appropriate function for processes of innovating and starting change, leadership might be more apt for aims related to stability and continuity in processes. It would be valuable to study these processes of transformation whereby policy entrepreneurship makes way for leadership, and where policy ideas become institutionalized in collaborations, as this would enhance our insights in processes of not only initiating the establishment of collaborations, but also the transformation towards maintaining and deepening the collaboration.

Fourth, although we can conclude that the entrepreneurs have been successful in establishing the alliance, the unexpected implications of their activities to establishing a global collaboration demonstrate dynamic complexities in such processes. The continuous struggle of entrepreneurs to address opposition, discuss and settle leadership issues, address the complexity involved in working with a variety of actors, and create trust and legitimacy mirrors the ongoing discussion in the organization and management literature on collaborations (Bryson et al., 2015; Crosby and John, 2005; Sénit et al., 2017). Overcoming these challenges is, however, necessary for establishing such a global collaboration. This is reflected in the ongoing episode after establishing the alliance (2016-onwards), as it is characterized by

considerable disagreement regarding the interpretation of CSA, indistinctness regarding the exact role and position of the collaboration, and a lack of trust among members. It is therefore crucial that the governing of complex global collaborations, which are characterized by actors with diverging aims, interests, and authority, involves facilitation and management of these differences (Klijn and Koppenjan,, 2016). Specifically for cross-cutting, complex and controversial issues such as climate change, policy entrepreneurs require to find solutions to address different (perceptions of) problems from different viewpoints that emerge from the multiplicity of actors at different jurisdictions and scales that experience problem (and solutions) differently. In the case of GACSA this has led to ambiguity and vagueness of both the concept of CSA and GACSA itself, as a functional tool to accommodate this diversity.

Fifth and finally, adopting this framework has proven useful in providing a more dynamic and processual approach to policy entrepreneurship for collaborative forms of governance such as GACSA. It offers a lens to study entrepreneurial strategies as part of a process, thereby specifying the causal mechanisms through which changes are achieved. In doing so, it highlights the role of entrepreneurship vis-à-vis other factors in policy change processes (Green, 2017). Furthermore, the framework provides insight in unintended and 'negative' consequences of activities, a topic which is understudied in current policy entrepreneurship literature. We argue that a better understanding of the role of context requires a (re)focus on the process of strategizing. This allows us to better capture the dynamic process through which context helps or hinders entrepreneurship to create policy change (Boasson and Huitema, 2017).

Conclusions

The Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture (GACSA) is a cross-boundary collaboration to promote the global adoption for climate-smart agriculture (CSA) and to address food insecurity, enduring poverty, and climate change. It aims to bring together actors from governments, international organizations, multinational corporations and farmers associations. This multi-level, multi -domain, and multi -actor collaboration is part of a wider global trend focusing on collaborative endeavours in both academia and decision-making practice. It is consequently becoming increasingly important to analyse and understand the dynamics through which global policies and collaborations evolve. By focusing on the strategizing process and the role of policy entrepreneurs, this paper provides an in-depth and micro-level account of the role of entrepreneurs in establishing boundary-crossing collaborations.

Based on our findings we conclude that policy entrepreneurship offers a useful analytical lens to study and explain the emergence of global collaboration initiatives. The case study on GACSA shows that strategizing for global collaboration is indeed a dynamic and interactive process between contextual conditions, the activities of entrepreneurs, and their implications which evolves in multiple

episodes. Taking a processual approach to policy entrepreneurship that is context-sensitive is vital to explain why GACSA was established and which role entrepreneurs played. We propose to further study the dynamic interplay between contextual conditions, activities and implications — the strategizing process — in the emergence of other global collaborations.

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