“An occupied space that is always under threat”:

Strategies for civil society participation in the Committee on World Food Security

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Part I

Introduction

1 Problem setting

1.1 The food system has failed

The production, distribution and consumption of food is one of the most pressing issues facing mankind. The total number of undernourished people over the world was measured to be 795 million in 2015. This year marked the end of the period for the monitoring of the Millennium Development Goals targets. The goal, defined in 1996, was to half the number of people undernourished in 2015. Although a decrease in the number of undernourished people has been achieved, coming from 23.3 percent of the total population in 1990-1992 to 12.9 percent in 2015, the goal of halving the number of undernourished people has not been achieved (FAO, IFAD and WFP 2015). This exemplifies the importance of asking the question how can global food governance be improved to end hunger.

In her book McKeon (2015, 11) defines the way food issues are addressed as "products of specific time-bound social, economic, cultural, and political conjunctures". The way of dealing with food issues and the global political governance methods of food related topics have been affected over time, depending on those who were in power (McKeon 2015). During 2007 and the beginning of 2008 a realization among political leaders occurred that a shift in power relations was necessary to make global progress in improving food security. This period was the time that the world suffered from a sudden spike in world food prices. Many developing countries were previously encouraged to exploit comparative advantages, thereby focusing on mono crop production. This led to a rapidly increasing import from developing countries, resulting in very uncertain and often spiking food prices. This, combined with several other reasons, such as low world stocks, a demand for biofuels and increased oil prices, led to a food price crisis and a raising concern about the way global food governance was taking place(McKeon 2015; Duncan 2015). Within 'The State of Food insecurity in the World Report' of 2008 (FAO 2008) it is stated that due to the increased food prices the number of hungry people in the world was 923 million in 2007, which was an increase of more than 80 million people compared to the base period of 1990-1992. Even those countries that made continuous progress in the entire period before the world food price crisis were now suffering from setbacks. It can be concluded that this price crisis contributed to the fact that the Millennium Development Goal of halving the number of undernourished people was not achieved.

For many this moment marked a realization that affordable food was no longer anything that could be taken for granted (Van der Ploeg 2010). The causes of the world food price crisis triggered discussions among politicians, scholars and several other actors. What has became clear is that there was not a single factor that enacted the crisis, it was rather an accumulation of causes. A research report of the United Nations sums up four distinct factors underlying the food crisis (Mittal 2009) Those factors are a decline in growth of agricultural production, a decline in global grain stocks, higher energy prices that led to higher production and transportation cause and finally an increase demand from the rapidly developing economies. Agricultural production has undergone a continuous growth over the last few decades, but the last few year the growth in production level has systematically declined (Mittal 2009, 3). Van der Ploeg (2010) acknowledges this point, thereby stating that the growth in production is insufficient in comparison to the demographic growth. This

cause is stated to be accompanied by other (economic) causes such as a decline in global grain stocks and higher production costs because of more expensive energy (Mittal 2009). According to McMichael (2009b. 32) “this food crisis represents the magnification of a long-term crisis of social reproduction stemming from colonialism, and was triggered by neoliberal capitalist development”. McMichael is suggesting that changing the food system should be enacted by changing the paradigm of thinking about this system. In a different article McMichael (2009a) argues that the current ways of reasoning that are accompanied with food production and food trade represent a reproduction of the capitalistic system. The neoliberal policies, in which the food prices are correlated with fossil fuels and food crops are competing with crop production for biofuels, creates a pressure on the global food production. In short, the global food price crisis showed that the traditional food policy processes had failed.

1.2 A new system for global food governance

The fact that the food price crisis marked the acceptance that something needs to be changed is a crucial element of this research. Stimulated by the world food price crisis, there was a widespread recognition that the world market had not succeeded in ensuring food security for developing countries (McKeon 2015). “Concepts that had been considered taboo or laughable over the past two decades are now being seriously entertained in policy discussions” (McKeon 2015, 23). The fact that the current system had failed and that a shift was necessary is exemplified in the following quote:

> On the positive side, the food crisis was an important catalyst for change. Paradigm shifts are messy and slow; they take shape in particular moments and events. The dramatic pace and the reach of the food price hikes in 2007-08 was a true catalyst. As high prices persisted, and public protest mounted, many governments were confronted with “moments of truth,” the cumulative result of which was to question some of the assumptions that had driven food and agriculture policy over the past few decades. (Wise and Murphy 2012, 5)

The global food price crisis and the shock of the revealed insecurity to have access to affordable food enacted a policy vacuum, in which a demand for new strategies was rising (McKeon 2013). The food crisis in this way might be the trigger of a turning point in the way policies about food provisioning are designed. “Food and security are priorities, and ruling elites have been compelled to rethink how they manage national food provisioning, food competition and rising food prices” (McMichael 2009a, 292). One of the proposed solutions was that those that were directly involved with the production of food should be involved in global policy making processes. McKeon (2013, 108) argues that “the global food price crisis created a political opportunity that rural social movements were prepared to exploit thanks to a decade of global networking and strategizing”. Since the food price crisis has showed the current ineffectiveness of any global food governance policies, it can be envisioned as a clear point in time that allowed for a radical change. De Schutter (2012) argues that a way forward is to shift to a bottom-up approach in policy making, including those that are involved at the local level in governance processes.

Civil society organizations at all levels were voicing their concerns and interests by offering alternative paradigms and bring up issues for discussion that were previously taken for granted. “The transnationalization of civil society has facilitated the emergence of alternative paradigms and

brought pressure 'from below' on governments at all levels, empowering groups that would have remained weaker if still isolated" (McKeon 2015, 23). According to Duncan (2015) the shift to a new paradigm has actually not taken place yet, however debates around food security are increasingly entering a transition phase. As Duncan (2015, 79) phrases it: "food security policy discourse is increasingly contested terrain and multiple actors are now seeking out ways to redefine it". What became clear from the food crisis of 2007 and 2008 is that hunger and food insecurity is still a major problem facing the globe in present time. While some are still favouring for the free market and global trade without many regulations, others are challenging these neoliberal assumptions and argue for structural changes favouring those most affected by food insecurity. Concerns have increased during the past few years, offering space for those who are representing the interest of less powerful groups (Duncan 2015). It is not the first time that food production crises enacted a call for more emphasis and voice for small-scale food production. Different from previous times is the increased understanding within the public discourse that those small-scale types of production are directly influencing availability and quality of food (Van der Ploeg 2010, 105-106).

In short it is clear that a new system of global food governance is needed. The suggested way forward is a participatory approach, in which it is not only governments, but also other actors such as researchers, private sector and particularly civil society need to participate. The involvement of (local) civil society groups in global governance systems demands clear guidance of how to participate in such policy spaces.

1.3 The role of civil society in global governance: towards participation

Greater civil society participation is argued to be a step forward in heading towards an improved global governance system to secure food for a greater number of people on a sustainable base(Duncan and Barling 2012, 144). The question is why this participation of civil society is considered as promising. Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) state that civil society actors represent alternatives and seek to mainstream a new discourse that is providing more sustainable solutions on both social as environmental scale than the current market structure. In other words civil society organizations are stated to be a counter-movement decreasing or slowing down the rate of liberalization (Giménez and Shattuck 2011). Gimenez and Shattuck argue that social movements are the right actors to take the lead in changing the structure of food governance: "As the global crisis spreads and deepens, food movements are likely to grow and increase social pressure on the corporate food regime. When combined with pressure emerging from the climate, financial and fuels crises, these expression could intensify the counter-movement overall , helping to usher in reforms" (2011, 136). It has became clear that governments were previously not accountable for their actions concerning food security. As a result, a high level of food insecurity within a country was not accompanied by any political consequences. Intrinsic motivation to change anything within the existing system was therefore lacking. General agreement has been reached that this was one of the main points on which change was needed. Several states and diplomats agreed that accountability and action concerning the right to food was necessary to enact improvements. As a result the space for social movements was advanced to be a solution, since it was seen as the constituency able to provide an alternative solution (de Schutter 2012, 481). De Schutter (2012, 481-482) refers to this process as 'the alternative paradigm', in which alternative framings are accepted. The participation of civil society is stated to be crucial, because of their ability to think beyond the neoliberal discourse

dominating global food governance and policy making. Oosterveer states “NGOs are capable of building trust between different actors in the food chain over long distances in time and space” (Oosterveer 2005, 183).

Even though recognition that global food governance needs to be changed grows and civil society participation might offer an important contribution to this change, limited research has been done in whether and if so, how civil society strategies in global governance might be influential. Civil society participation does not straight away result in alternative policy making and behavior. The extent to which real change occurs, is dependent on the will of the traditional global institutions (Oosterveer 2005, 183). McKeon (2013) states that a process of civil society representation, involving those that have the positions to speak on behalf of those suffering most from food insecurity is not a “space that can be improvised”. It is rather “the result of almost a decade of interaction” (McKeon 2013, 114). This implies that just including civil society representatives is not enough to create the change many are arguing for. It is a process of adapting, getting accepted and seeking for strategies that are effective in creating a meaningful outcome in terms of food provisioning.

McKeon (2013, 114-118) sums up several challenges civil society organizations need to overcome. First, civil society should strive to maintain a meaningful position in global policy making processes. This demands a great effort and motivation of civil society actors, as well as the other actors to keep debates going and to increase their capacity to participate in global governance processes. Furthermore, the wide range of actors involved in global food policy and governance will make it increasingly difficult to delegate the specific contribution of all involved actors. Shifting all responsibilities to the civil society actors might hinder policy dialogue and accountability instead of helping it forward (McKeon 2013). One of the central dilemmas that occurs when dealing with global governance structures that are based on participation, is to what extent it is the responsibility of civil society to keep participation processes up and running. A final challenge to keep into consideration is the fact that civil society, and in particular social movements are argued to make a difference as a global-local bridge builder. Therefore mere participation might be too limited to hold governments accountable on local and national scale for decisions made at global level. As McKeon (2013, 118) remarks “more attention needs to be given to understanding what characterizes cases in which productive local-global links have been made and how to multiply them”. The implementation of global norms by local actors has potential, but is still “a laboratory for the future reshaping of international governance” (de Schutter 2012). How and if civil society is able to make a difference is something that needs to be researched. “The contributions of committed academics and researchers to rural social movement advocacy platforms will be increasingly important over the coming period” (McKeon 2013, 115).

As shown in this introduction, the global food governance system has failed and the step forward is a more participatory system. Within such a governance system a core role is prescribed to civil society. However little is known about the capacities and roles that civil society possesses in such participatory global governance systems. This research contributes to moving the global governance system forward and shed more light on the role of civil society in it. This research aims to contribute

to this research gap, thereby having a specific focus on the 'Committee of World Food Security' (CFS) and the autonomous mechanism 'Civil Society Mechanism'(CSM).

The following chapter will be a literature review. The literature review chapter provides an overview of the main concepts of this research. An understanding of the main concepts will make it easier to understand the research questions. After the literature review, information about the CFS and the CSM will be provided, since both are at the core of this research. This is why the research questions will follow after the literature review chapter. Afterwards a theoretical framework is provided, which is field theory as originally described by Bourdieu. After the theoretical framework the methods chapter will follow. All these chapters provides a base for the analysis chapters. The analysis chapters consist of two parts. First the structure of the field of the CFS and the CSM will be analyzed and second it will deal with the roles CSM can fulfill. This will lead to the discussion chapter. Finally, within the conclusion there is a reflection on the relevance of the research for the problems addressed in this introducing chapter.

2 Literature Review

Central in this research is identifying how civil society can participate within global food governance processes and specifically policy making processes. To be able to contribute to this aim, this chapter focuses on identifying the way existing literature addresses this topic. Therefore this literature review aims to define several main concepts and to show how they are interlinked. To do this, the chapter is divided in four main parts. The first part deals with the question what is global governance. The second part relates this to the specific case of global food security governance. The third part deals with the importance of shifting to an inclusive participatory global governance systems. Finally focus shifts to the role civil society has to play in this participatory global food security governance system.

2.1 What is global governance?

The original meaning of global governance was the move beyond self-interest of sovereign states to a collective approach in dealing with problems with a global cause (Duncan and Barling 2012). The involvement of several (social) actors has caused more complex international processes in which co-operation has become unavoidable. Ford (2003, 123) refers to a definition of global governance as "intergovernmental relationships, which now also involve NGOs, citizen's movement, multinational corporations and the global capital market". According to her the addition 'global' in the term global governance could only exist if several global actors are included in the process. This is related to the way Duncan (2015) defines global governance. She states that the relational aspect of global governance has become increasingly complex with the interference of a wider range of actors. Global governance can be related to the way societal functions are managed. This is traditionally focused around governmental and societal institutions, but nowadays cannot exist without the inclusion of a diverse range of actors, including private institutions and civil society organizations. Power is not limited to national institutions, since non-state actors are increasing their influence on the global political arena (Duncan 2015). Global governance is thus as a concept undergoing a process of continuous transformation. It refers to associations among the diverse interest and flows of ideas and concerns around the world (Woodward 2006). As Woodward (2006, 253) puts it, 'it is work in progress'.

A common conception among scholars is the view that global governance should not only include traditional powerholders, but should include a wide range of representatives. Castells (2008) explains that a narrowed representation of civil interest in global policy making creates misbalance. He states "a crisis of legitimacy follows because citizens do not recognize themselves in the institutions. This leads to a crisis of authority, which ultimately leads to a redefinition of power relationships embodied in the state"(Castells 2008, 79-80). A system dominated by nation-states would represent the interests of a very limited elite group and therefore can never represent the diverse interests of institutions, citizens and cultures all over the world (Castells 2008). According to Castells (2008, 82) there is a growing gap between the level in which the issues arise (the global level) and the level where the issues are managed (the level of the nation-state). Since nation-states might be incapable of providing solutions on their own or are in some cases even the source of the problems, global governance has evolved as a concept referring to global cooperation of a wide range of parties (Woodward 2006). Alongside this shift has been increasing a recognition that a broad representation

is necessary to meet democratic standards when seeking for globally supported solutions (Duncan 2015).

An important reason for the increasing scholarly attention to global governance has to do with globalization. Duncan (2015, 21) explains that "the concept of global governance emerged alongside governance as a way of conceptualizing the rapid changes to global economics and politics brought about by processes of globalizations". A growing number of global networks problems and structures affect several parties over the world and this legitimizes the interference of an increasing number of actors (Castells 2008). Overall, one could state that globalizations processes, the shifted responsibilities of states and the shifted nature of the problems, have stimulated a shift in the actors involved in global governance. As Woodward (2006) calls it, those processes have stimulated 'globalization from below' and a new conceptualization of the concept of global governance. With the entrance of lower-level civil actors to defend the interest of citizens, the way global institutions are operating and global governance decisions are taken place has altered. It is recognized under a great number of scholars, practitioners and policy makers that global governance should include a diverse group of private, state and civil actors.

2.2 How has global food security governance developed?

When defining global governance it is already unavoidable to mention the participatory aspect of this concept. Before more attention will be paid to the importance of having such a all-inclusive participatory approach, it might be good to have a look at the way global governance around food security has evolved.

Mapping the historical context

Since the production and trade in food already exists for several centuries it is difficult to determine where a historical mapping needs to start. When following the line of reasoning of McKeon (2015), it might be most useful to take into account the food regimes that have been identified. Food regimes are defined as "the political structuring of world capitalism, and its organization of agricultures to provision labor and/or consumers in such a way as to reduce wage costs and enhance commercial profits" (McKeon 2015, 11). Food regimes conceptualizes the hierarchical power systems within global food circuits. According to Friedmann and McMichael (Friedmann and McMichael 1989; Friedmann 2009; McMichael 2009c) three successive regimes can be identified, starting with the British state from 1870s till 1930s, followed by the United States in 1950s till 1970s and continued by corporate power from 1980s till 2000s. The latter one is hereby stated to be undergoing a period of crisis.

The first food regime was characterised by a cheap import from colonial powers of exotic food and food such as grain. While western countries were benefiting from this trade system, by having access to affordable food for its working class, other parts of the world were suffering from famines. The unbalance in the world, resulting in the Second World War, remarked the end of this first global food regime. The second regime consisted of a dominant frame in which the conviction was that as long as the food production was overgrowing the population growth, world hunger would be eliminated. In line with this belief in an increasing supply, developing countries were encouraged by dominant global institutions and several western countries to adopt the technical package of the Green

Revolution. Making use of the easy credit to implement such developments, left developing countries with high debts and the bubble burst during the 1970s when interest rates started to rise and a global food price crisis occurred. The following decades a shift of power slowly started occurring since developing countries were starting to demand improved terms of trade, while corporations were increasing their importance and were pushing for liberalization of markets. This has led to the third regime. While corporations were winning in influence, structural adjustment programs were favouring so-called free trade and states were losing their sovereign power due to increased transnational linkages. During this period counter-movements were occurring simultaneously (Friedmann and McMichael 1989; Friedmann 2009; McMichael 2009c; McKeon 2015). These three paradigm shifts reflect the complexity of global food governance and it explains why the third food regime is undergoing a process of crisis and contestation (McMichael 2009a).

Food security

Apart from having food regimes as a way to map the development of food related global governance, having a look at the way the concept of food security has developed, also shows the complexity of global food governance. In his influential essay Sen (1981) became one of the leading scholars in changing the way other scholars and politicians reflected on food related issues. Sen stated that the availability of food did not sufficiently address the problem of malnutrition and food insecurity. Access to food became a central feature in the way food security issues were addressed on a global level. Thereby recognizing the importance of the individual and household scale in having sufficient access to food. During the publication period of Sen's essay a process was enacted in which a realization occurred that an over-arching theory, applicable to all situations, was not possible. Maxwell (1996, 162-163) summarized this process of realization as: "Policy will need to recognize the diversity of food insecurity causes, situations and strategies". The concept of food security was first introduced in the World Food Conference of 1974, but it lasted till the World Food Summit in 1996 to have the concept of food security officially acknowledged and adapted. It was acknowledged that food security was dependent on four distinct, but interrelated pillars. Apart from the production of enough food, accessibility, utilization and stability were crucial factors as well (Duncan 2015).

Maxwell (1996) depicts how thinking about the concept of food security shifted. According to Maxwell (1996, 155-156) the various uses of food security reflects "the nature of the food problem as it is experienced by poor people themselves". Concerning food security three important paradigm shifts have take place, according to Maxwell this can be explained by a premodernist way of thinking about all development concerns in general. The first shift is directly linked to the work of Sen, and is a process from the global and the national to the household and the individual. This shift from macro to micro triggered a new way of looking at food security, thereby recognizing the importance of looking at individual access instead of just looking at the overall food production (Maxwell 1996). A second paradigm shift is called 'from a food perspective to a livelihood perspective'. The perspective before the shift was that food was a fundamental need, in which all human beings require access to nutrients. This perspective has been questioned, since food is only one of the short-term goals of people. In times of crisis, people accept being hungry on a short-term to invest in a more sustainable food consumption on the long term. It is therefore that the perspective of livelihood came to the fore. Reaching a sufficient amount of food consumption is not enough to label one as food secure,

the likelihood of a crisis that is threatening the food consumption needs to be incorporated in the definition (Maxwell 1996, 158). The final paradigm shift is the recognition of the importance of a subjective perception. The conventional approach was that food security could be measured with objective indicators. This is problematic for two reasons. First, the amount of nutritional value depends on several factors, such as environment, workload, age and sex. Second, objective indicators leave out qualitative factors, such as food quality, cultural values and human dignity (Maxwell 1996, 159). As Maxwell (1996, 160) states food security is "a multi-objective phenomenon, where the identification and weighting of objectives can only be decided by the food insecure themselves".

What both the regime approach, as well as the way Maxwell looks at the development of the term food security in global food governance shows is that currently global food governance entered a transition phase. Realization occurred that food security is complex and therefore uniform solutions do not exists. Organizations 'from below' are arguing for a different way of tackling food related issues, focussing on the right of people to food (Duncan 2015). As McKeon (2015, 22) phrases it "this mounting movement – the other side of the globalization coin – expressed a politicization and deep questioning of the dominant food regime and, progressively, a capacity to propose alternative approaches to addressing the food needs of the world". As Clapp (2014) argues our current understanding of food security represents a more open-ended concept and cannot be directly linked to a global policy agenda. Contrarily, within many definitions of food security an acknowledgment of the diversity is incorporated in the concept. This leads to the next section of this chapter as diversity demands participation of a wide range of actors

2.3 Why has participatory governance become important?

New role of nation-states

As briefly addressed in the previous two sections, within the literature there is a growing acceptance that global food governance should entail an open and more participatory approach. This contrasts the more traditional notion of global governance, which is the sovereignty of nation-states when it comes to decision making. It is therefore necessary to explain why the participatory approach offers a better potential for effective policy making. Before modern globalization processes, such as the development of the internet and other communication system started, states were autonomous and able to function relatively independently, regardless of decisions made by other states. On many national issues this is still the case, but there is an increasing amount of issues that demands a multi-level and multi-stakeholder approach when dealing with them. Increasingly intertwined and complicated patterns and networks have complicated matters for nation-states, ultimately leading to an inability to tackle certain issues themselves. This has led to a new dynamic in which nation-states have to adapt to a new form of governance (Castells 2008). Castells (2008, 87-88) mentions three characteristic mechanisms of the current system. Two important features have to do with network building and cooperation. Nation states are forming networks of states related to specific geographical areas or topics in which they combine forces. Furthermore a number of international institutions have been established. Organizations like the United Nations, the IMF and the World Bank are nowadays incorporated in a dense network dealing with a wide range of global issues. Finally, apart from increasing global governance, decentralization of power is a trend (Castells 2008, 88). Local and regional governments, as well as NGOs and other civil society actors are to a greater extent involved in the decision making process.

Castells argues that these trends result in a system in which nation-states are still playing an important role, but are no longer able to provide solutions themselves. Castells refers to this new role of the state as 'global network state'. A global network state is involving several actors in global decision making to increase its legitimacy and is able to take a step further than defending their own interest. This idealistic form of governing together "requires the coproduction of meaning and the sharing of values between global civil society and the global network state" (Castells 2008, 89). This process of coproduction is what Castells refers to as 'the new public sphere'. This public sphere is consisting of many actors, and an equal number of interests. Though, states had to delegate some of their sovereignty to actors on both global as local level, their participation and willingness to act might be limited. As Clark, Friedman and Hochsteller (1996, 35) already noticed twenty years ago "responsiveness does not necessarily mean acceptance of NGO perspectives". Traditional power holders still will find themselves able to set the limits for the emergence of a meaningful public sphere (Clark, Friedman and Hochsteller 1996). Therefore, let us return to the notion of Castells. He argues that global governance consists of two steps. It is not just about results, declarations and outcomes, but rather one needs to take a step back. Actors engaged in global governance need to be communicate, bring together a wide range of institutions, actors and power holders. Sharing interests, creating common value and meaning is an indispensable step in having a legitimate and representative global governance system (Castells 2008). As Castells (2008, 91) concludes: "public diplomacy, understood as networked communication and shared meaning, becomes a decisive tool for the attainment of a sustainable world order".

Deliberative democracy

A concept that should be briefly introduced is deliberative democracy. The way deliberative democracy is defined provides a clear example of an ideal global governance system. Deliberative democracy is a concept that is undergoing much debate, since there are several interpretations about the details it should include. Nevertheless most scholar agree that the term is useful, since there is a need to reach a consent between citizens and representatives about important decisions that need to be made. Those scholars do agree that deliberation is an important value, since it demands for more informed decisions, that do more justice to diversity of society than voting systems (Hendriks 2006, 491). Deliberation is a central feature, and a process of decision making should in this manner always be preceded or followed by a deliberative process to explain and understand the reasoning. Therefore, the reason-giving requirement is mentioned as being the foremost important element of deliberative democracy. This sheds a bit more light on the concept and the common misconception that deliberative democracy means something like using a referendum for every important decision that has to be made. Rather than aiming for direct involvement of all citizens, the meaning of this concept is that every decision needs a clear reasoning. Governments have to provide reasons to the citizens behind important decisions that they made. If this reason turns out to be false then the justification for the decision made is insufficient and the decisions can be challenged (Gutman and Thompson 2004).

A second characteristic of deliberative democracy is accessibility. The provided reasons should be accessible for all actors that will be impacted by certain decisions. It is important that decision

making takes place in public. According to Gutman and Thompson (2004, 4) this decision making in public has two senses. First, the deliberation must take place in public, rather than in the mind of an individual or in a way that it is only accessible for a rather limited group of people. The other sense has to do with content. Accessibility also has to do with the level of comprehensibility of the content. If someone is for whatever reason not able to understand the content, it is more or less the same as not having access to the content at all. Therefore, transparent, easy-to-access, and understandable reasoning is a precondition for deliberative democracy, otherwise it will limit the impact of the process (Felicetti, Niemeyer and Curato 2016).

Gutman and Thompson (2004) add two more characteristics to the concept of deliberative democracy. One is that "its process aims at producing a decision that is binding from some period of time". Deliberation has the intention to influence a decision of power holders such as the government. This process thus affects decisions making , also in future terms. So in short this has to do with the fact that the public should be able to have an impact on the outcomes of the decision making process (Felicetti, Niemeyer and Curato 2016). Another characteristic is the dynamic nature of the process. The process is open for dialogue among citizens or actors that are concerned and want to be involved. So what is interesting is that the concept of deliberative democracy does not only concern the decision making itself, but what is at least as important is the process beforehand. Having an open process is considered as important, since it allows for modification and justification, especially since decisions that seem to be right for the current situation might be different in tomorrow's context (Gutman and Thompson 2004). This fourth characteristic connects to what Felicetti, Niemeyer and Curato (2016) call authenticity. This has to do with the fact that a process in which some communities, institutions or actors are more powerful and therefore privileged is hindering the process of deliberation. How citizens can deal with their disagreement is a central feature in any situation of deliberative democracy. A wide range of discourses and viewpoints should be incorporated in the process, in such a manner that it provides a fair representation of the interest of the public (Felicetti, Niemeyer, and Curato 2016). As Gutman and Thompson (2004, 7) state: "Citizens and their representatives can continue to work together to find common ground, if not on the policies that produces the disagreement, then on related policies about which they stand a greater chance of finding agreement". To provide a clear-cut answer on what deliberative democracy is, Gutman and Thompson (2004, 7) combine all four elements. They state that this process contains a form of governance in which civil actors are free to access reasoning behind decision making and can contribute in a deliberation with the ultimate goal of reaching an acceptable conclusion that is binding, but still open for debate in the future.

Deliberative democracy for participation

There is a moral basis behind the importance of a deliberative democracy. As Gutman and Thompson (2004, 3) explain: "Persons should be treated not merely as objects of legislation, as passive subjects to be rules, but as autonomous agents who take part in the governance of their own society, directly or through their representatives". Related to this Gutman and Thompson (2004, 10-13) conclude that there are four purposes of deliberative democracy. The first is increasing legitimacy of made decisions. Second it leads to a better concerned public, that gets a better understanding of the different interests that are often contrasting when certain decisions need to be made. The third

purpose is that it increases mutual respect, by getting the opportunity to better understand actor's moral reasoning. Finally, deliberative democracy serves an important task by providing the opportunity to correct decisions that turn out to be mistakes.

According to Bohman (1997) deliberative democracy provides some conditions that will lead to policy making that is more accountable. Two core aspects are hereby central, equality of access and social recognition. Having a deliberate way of policy making encourages citizens to use their political space and making their opinions heard. A global governance system based on the central characteristics of a deliberative democracy should encourage all groups in a society to be encouraged in the system, instead of placing themselves outside this system (Bohman 1997). As Bohman (1997, 343) concludes "The richer and more demanding the conception of equal citizenship that informs democratic practice, the more likely it is that persistent and large scale inequalities can be avoided within it".

Hendriks (2006) shows that deliberative democracy can take place at different levels. She states that there is a difference between the micro and the macro level. Within micro level, deliberation takes place within fora where all participant are equal and have a comparable voice in agenda setting, raising their voice and the ultimate decision making. "The key emphasis in micro accounts is that participants are relatively impartial, willing to listen to each other and committed to reaching a mutual understanding in view of the collective good" (Hendriks 2006, 492). On the contrary, there is the macro conception, which is linked to global governance. Since this has to do with a larger scale, rather than direct involvement, this has more to do with representation by civil organizations. Social movements, and other civil society institutions should represent citizen's interests. Those actors are often not the ones with the ultimate decision power, but are rather intended to raise their voice and alter the process by providing their opinion. According to Hendriks (2006, 494) the micro level provides more formal structures, while in macro settings the role of civil society is more informal, because "civil society is called on to play an unconstrained and even oppositional role against the state by engaging in acts of communication". Deliberating with the state is a conscious decision of a civil society actor, a decision that not all of them choose to make. Deliberative democracy therefore provides the opportunity to get involved, but should not be regarded as a clear-cut concept in which all civil society actors participate. The following remark of Hendriks (2006, 503) is important in this regard:

> I suggest that a more integrated system of public deliberation is best conceptualised as an activity occurring in overlapping discursive spheres – some structured, some loose, some mixed – each attracting different actors from civil society. Mixed discursive spheres are a crucial component of this proposal because they encourage diverse actors to come together and cross-fertilise macro and micro public conversations.

What makes this particularly relevant is the fact that this conclusion reflects the situation of the Civil Society Mechanism. The reform process of the Committee on Food Security has led to a more deliberative process, in which civil society actors can address their concerns in the policy making process. This process encouraged conversation and common understanding, but at the same time it is important to keep in mind that the CSM consists of a wide variety of actors also representing their

local and social interests. The process of deliberation and participation within both the CSM as the CFS offers opportunities for more effective policy making. On the other hand, it also offers complications and questions on how to get something out of this process of deliberation.

2.4 Why should civil society participate in global governance?

Several authors emphasize the involvement of civil society groups as crucial in making global (food) governance successful. According to them participation means that the interest of citizens are represented and civil society is stated to play a crucial role in this (Ford 2003; Hendriks 2006). To understand the role civil society has to play and the limitations there are for civil society participation in global governance, it is necessary to understand the term. Therefore, first attention will be paid to the development of the term and defining it. Afterwards, limitation and key roles for civil society participation in global food governance will be mentioned.

Definition and development of the term civil society

Civil society is a complex concept. This can be partially explained by the fact that several disciplines are using the concept. Since there are different ways of defining the concept, civil society has often been used as a container term without a specific meaning attached (Woodward 2006). Historically, civil society has contained multiple, even contrasting meanings. This is partly the result of the fact that the concept civil society has been used over several sectors and domains (Scholte 2004). It might be useful to get an historical overview of the way civil society has been used, to explain its particular importance in current governance systems. The concept civil society originates from the ancient Greek philosophers, particularly to address an ideal of a political community directly involved in policy decisions on local levels(Woodward 2006). During the period of the French Enlightenment the French Philosopher Tocqueville took this idea a step further by expanding the scope of civil society participation. He compared the Greek idea of a Polis with direct political citizen participation with the New England town meetings. “These associations complemented the State rather than competing with political participation within State institutions and supported private interests” (Woodward 2006, 306). However, it was not until the 1970s that the scope of social interests among citizens crossed the borders of the nation-state. Over the last decades scholars have increased their attention to the significant role of civil society groups, who are uniting their voices to promote issues on levels that are exceeding the borders of the nation-state. This clarifies why scholars added ‘global’ to the concept of civil society (Woodward 2006).

Muetzelfeldt & Smith (2002, 56) define civil society as “a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed of the intimate sphere (especially the family), social movements, and forms of public communication”. What is important in this is that it concerns movements and associations organized by (a group of) citizens, representing certain normative aspects. Clark et al. (1996) take a closer look at the three words that make up the term global civil society. The aspect ‘global’ shows us that this concept is something worldwide, therefore ‘geographically diverse’. The representation is wide varied, meaning that almost every group or norm can be represented, sometimes with even contrasting and opposite movements. ‘Civil’ is defined as “regularized participation in global interactions”, meaning that civil concerns are represented in policy making by civil society actors. Finally, the aspect ‘society’ is to be referred to as a certain code of behaviour and mutual expectations about the way those organized operate and defend their interest.

Scholte (2004, 214) emphasizes the fact that civil society in relation to global governance relates to a political domain "where voluntary associations seek, from outside political parties, to shape the rules that govern one or the other aspects of social life". The level of interference and the parties that civil society seek a dialogue with are nowadays broadened, varying from substate to suprastate level. Civil society is thus by several scholars stated to perform as a bridge maker between policy makers, companies on the one side and local citizens on the other. Although it can also function as a bridge burner, by tearing down alliances and being confrontational and critical. As Bernauer and Betzold (2012) phrase it, civil society organizations are arguably fulfilling a role of public service providers in international global governance processes. "It is the interaction between citizens, civil society, and the state, communicating through the public sphere. That ensures that the balance between stability and social change is maintained in the conduct of public affairs" (Castells 2008, 79).

Source	Main features of civil society
(Castells 2008) (Clark, Friedman and. Hochsteller 1996) (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002)	Interaction between different actors, network for communicating information and points of view.
(Bernauer and Betzold 2012)(Scholte 2004)(Muetzelfeldt and Smith 2002) (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002)	Public service providers of policy implementation, regulating social interaction to shape social life
(Muetzelfeldt and Smith 2002) (Clark, Friedman, Hochsteller 1996) (Woodward 2006)	Associations and movements of particular groups of citizens, representing non-state actors, associational activity of citizens
(Clark, Friedman and Hochsteller 1996)	Mutual behavioural expectations
(Hopewell 2015)(Woodward 2006)	Normative ideal, voluntarily to advance interests, ideologies, ideals and ideas

Table 1: Overview of the main features of the concept civil society

Table 1 shows some of the main features and gives an overview of what is meant by civil society. What can be concluded from it is that civil society is a broad term, making it difficult to provide a complete definition. Some elements clearly belong to the concept of civil society, such as the normative ideal, the fact that it is a group of citizens that do not belong to the state and service providers bridging actions at citizen's level to public policy. These elements are rather abstract and therefore a wide range of actors and organizations would belong to the domain of civil society. In his effort to get a clearer overview of the meaning of civil society Woodward (2006, 343) refers to the division a special UN Panel has developed. There are six subgroups defined by this UN Panel: Mass organizations, Trades-related organizations, Faith-based organizations, Academe, Public benefit NGOs and Social movements and campaign networks. As Woodward (2006, 266) remarks in his extended study to civil society in global governance "Today's challenge is determining how to integrate and regulate these numerous actors while maintaining a manageable and fair global governance system".

Woodward (2006) provides four factors explaining why the concept of civil society has experienced such an unprecedented growth. An important feature is the technical and economic developments, allowing fast communication on a much broader scale (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). Woodward (2006) continues by referring to the end of the Cold War, allowing for a sustainable move towards solutions on global concerns without the continuous threat of a nuclear war. A third factor is the fact that international systems increasingly allow for civil society participation, this being stimulated by the fact that the economic and political centres of the world are shifting, resulting in more significant contributions of developing states in the last twenty years. The increased global interconnectedness raises awareness as well as relevance for a wide range of actors to start interfering on a global scale (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). Finally, the public has become increasingly dissatisfied with the inaction of states and global institutions on almost all issues of global concern. In many respect current governance systems have proved themselves to be unable to solve growing social injustices. The inability to solve those global issues combined with a global interconnectedness as it has never been before, makes more citizens aware of the need to undergo a transition in the way global issues are dealt with. (Woodward 2006)

The participation of global civil society is by many acknowledged as the best opportunity to effectively change the global policy arena. This has to do with the fact that it directly contributes to bringing in more participation in global governance and it connects to the characteristics of deliberate democracy. This is accompanied with an almost uncontested faith in the good of civil society interference (Bernauer and Betzold 2012, 65). Scholte (2004, 213) states that "civil society associations do indeed offer significant possibilities to increase democratic accountability in global regulatory arrangements", whereas other authors are writing their articles with the same underlying assumption. For most scholars the question is not whether civil society interference could be beneficial, but rather how this interference should be organized. Muetzelfeldt and Smith (2002) are for example analyzing in what ways governments are obstructing or facilitating civil society participation in governance issues, thereby already assuming that allowing those organizations to participate will contribute positively to "the solutions of problems that transcend national boundaries and appear beyond the abilities of states to resolve" (Muetzelfeldt and Smith 2002, 63). This observation of scholars promoting the interference of civil society in global governance without questioning is not meant as critique to those scholars. I rather mean to state that the concept of civil society participation has developed over the years to a uncontested reality, on which it is not the questions *if* it should happen but rather *how* it should happen.

Limitations to civil society participation

Several authors address the potential of civil society actors involved in global governance systems, such as Hopewell (2015, 1129) who remarks that the involvement of civil society in the IMF increased potential of transformation and Scholte (2004, 212) states that civil society could "bring greater public control to public governance". Nevertheless, one should not overlook the current challenges and limitations for civil society to fulfil their role as agents of accountability within those systems. An obvious element that nonetheless cannot be overlooked is the fact that resources for many civil society organizations are limited and that keeping up with the costly transglobal systems of international conferences, meetings and other events is only possible for the prosperous

organizations, more highly represented by 'the global North' (Scholte 2004). Woodward acknowledges this problem stating that legitimate governance systems will only exist in situations in which all of the world population is represented. He states "it must consider the concerns of all members of the global community and respond to grievances of global social movements, and not just to those with the loudest voices, the greatest wealth or the most arms" (Woodward 2006, 296). Apart from the fact that a lack of a fair distribution of resources hinders a legitimate representation, the question of legitimacy in a general sense is often stressed. Bernauer and Betzold (2012, 64) argue that though many civil society organizations claim to speak on behalf of the general public, neither the standpoints nor the actions those actors undertake originate from that public. The public usually has no opportunity to hold those that are representing them accountable. Whereas some civil society representatives have denied the necessity to increase the accountability of their representation, "this neglect of their own accountability can greatly compromise the potentials of civil society associations to democratize global governance" (Scholte 2004, 231). There have been several occasions) in which state authorities simply denied the contributions of civil society by stating that an actor that is not accountable towards the ones it is representing, has no democratic basis and therefore no right to influence global governance systems. Examples are the discrediting of NGOs that were opposing the views of the American Enterprise Institute and questioning the credibility of NGOs in UN Human Rights Council (Scholte 2004; Jordan 2005). Civil society actors are to some seen as a threat to fair representation since they are seeking power in decision making while not representing particular constituencies, some are anxious that civil society is seeking to overtake the sovereignty of states (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). For civil society organizations the participation in international fora is nevertheless very valuable. Especially for those organizations that are originated from countries with restrictive governments it can be important to strengthen alliances and exchange experiences and in this way build capacity to become more effective within its operational context (McKeon 2015; Duncan 2015).

Another point of criticism highlighted by Bernauer and Betzold (2012, 64) has to do with the fact that civil society is argued to be able to contribute to effective policy making processes in situations where traditional policy makers reached a deadlock, while empirical evidence to support this argument lacks. Civil society is argued to contribute to the process by offering new perspectives as well as new information and empirical data. However, if a government does not intend to move forward towards a well-defined collective action plan, the participation of civil society will not alter this attitude(Bernauer and Betzold 2012; Muetzelfeldt and Smith 2002). Scholte remarks "so the structural relationship between state and civil society has, depending on the context, discouraged or encouraged organized citizen action for democratic accountability in global governance"(2004, 229). Scholte (2004) continues that civil society organizations in isolation are hardly able to make any difference and as such cooperation between several and very diverse organizations is required. Such cross-sectoral and geographically diverse networks are valuable, but will be accompanied with many challenges as well. Again networking will require an extra amount of resources, but also time, organizational efforts and tackling of communication barriers (such as language). Even when one does succeed in overcoming those practical hurdles, one still needs to deal with a wide variety of viewpoints on priorities, strategies and tactics. Finally, setting up networking groups will, as with any networking attempt, be accompanied with power hierarchies and internal task division. All those

issues need to be addressed and solved before a group of civil society can effectively combine their efforts and become influential (Scholte 2004).

The main challenge and question one needs to answer is how to deal with this internal diversity, competing interests and different representatives. An important step to be able to move forward is acknowledging that 'civil society' is not this homogenous unity as some of its opponents might envision it (Woodward 2006, 265). According to Aliu, Parlak and Aliu (2015, 1749) the civil society sector has characteristics of "heterogeneity and pluralism rather than homogeneity and isomorphism". There are many examples in which civil society actors within certain global institutions were not starting the process with shared meaning and a shared framework. To cite Clark, Friedman and Hochsteller (1996, 25): "One of the ironies of the global conference phenomenon is that by bringing together so many divergent NGOs, conferences also provide a forum for NGOs to discover their disagreements". Division along geographical lines or between different groups of citizens are unavoidable and even necessary, since it is a representation of the wide varied global society. Only by communicating those differences, one can start finding shared meanings and ultimately designing global policies in which indeed the entire global population can benefit (Clark, Friedman and Hochsteller 1996). Once international actors acknowledge these dynamics, the process can still be very valuable. The dialogue of civil society actors can constitute a debate between the different civil actors with the aim of finding a shared meaning (Castells 2008). Castells (2008) argues that it is through communication that social change can be fostered. The aim of the multi-actor types of global diplomacy must in the first place be to communicate and express opinions rather than convincing and overruling. To answer the questions at the beginning of this paragraph, dealing with the diversity can be achieved by simply accepting it and seeking for a sustainable system in which a dialogue keeps taking place. To quote Castells (2008, 91) once more:

> It is a terrain of cultural engagement in which ideational materials are produced and confronted by various social actors, creating the conditions under which different projects can be channelled by the global civil society and the political institutions of global governance toward an informed process of decision making that respects the differences and weighs policy alternatives.

Key potential roles for civil society representation

Despite the critiques, when the intention among all global governance actors is to provide willingness to gain shared meaning in global decision making processes, civil society has a significant contributions to offer. Both in the first step to start communication and a shared language as in the following step when coming to a shared consensus, civil society has – if allowed to – several roles to play. "The creativity, flexibility, entrepreneurial nature, and capacity for vision and long-term thinking often set NGOs apart from governmental bodies" (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002, 13). For this reason civil has roles and inputs to offer, setting them apart from other actors. This research will deal with five key potential roles of civil society, that if fully applied and stimulated, are theorized to strengthen global governance systems (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). The five roles that are mentioned in the literature form part of the analytical framework. It will be examined to what extent the CSM fulfils these roles.

The first contribution civil society has to deliver is the *information role.* In terms of collecting information, providing new insight and conducting researches NGOs and civic movements have proven themselves to deliver important input. Apart from demanding the provision of information from other global actors, civil society also has a information provisioning role itself (Bernauer and Betzold 2012). The help to make the information more valuable for citizens and contribute by delivering new sources of data (Aliu, Parlak and Aliu 2015). During conferences and meetings, civil society movements often provide documentations and papers containing new information. Those pieces of information are often highly appreciated by other actors and there are several examples in which the debate was altered, because new information was on the table. This enriches debates, since it forces other participants to take stand and argue. Of course to fulfil this function civil society needs both time and resources and in many cases this is not always possible. Another pitfall is the expectation that all civil society actors are offering similar information, let alone are drafting the same statements from it. It is argued that an acceptance for multiple opinions, also within the range of civil society actors is useful (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). Nevertheless other authors do also emphasize the important role civil society has to play when it comes to information provisioning on a global governance level. Ford (2003) states that civil society movements contribute by keeping institutions alert and keep spreading awareness of the social practice. This is supported by Aliu, Parlak and Aliu (2015) stating that civil society actors have proven to address social problems and societal needs. Scholte (2004) points at the possibility of civil society organizations promoting formal accountability mechanisms. NGOs and other non-state actors have proven to be able to provide critical information and analysis and start up new initiatives with "competing ideas from outside the normal bureaucratic channels" (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). An example is the active promotion within civil society associations of corporate social responsibility as a accountability mechanism supported by companies (Scholte 2004).

Next point to address when referring to the added value of civil society is its contribution concerning a*genda setting*. Civil society has the capacity of addressing societal issues that were never addressed before and would not be discussed otherwise. If civil society contributions are respectfully treated and are taken into serious consideration, discussions might occur that were not thought to be possible in traditional governance systems (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). As Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu (2002, 11) put it: "Whereas governmental bodies and intergovernmental organizations often lack analytical capacity or are hampered by bureaucratic constraints and other obligations, NGOs can focus on a dynamic research agenda. And move quickly to address new issues". Raising those issues on the agenda, has led in many cases to NGOs being a significant partner in the final decision making process (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). Ford (2003, 132) states that several civil society actors have been able to direct those decision making processes simply by setting the agenda themselves.

The *operational context* is another role civil society can fulfil. Many civil society organizations, especially the social movement, are distinguishing themselves because they are directly involved at the local level. On a daily base they work with the communities that are directly affected by certain decisions made, or rather failed to be made, at the global governance level. After certain recommendations, decisions or guidelines have been established those civic movements posses the

opportunity to tailor them to specific conditions useful in local settings. Therefore they can add implementations processes, where governmental institution are unable or unwilling to do so. This makes local community groups (social movements) important actors to be involved, also on the global level. If actors possessing power and resources target those groups in capacity building and other types of support, global governance processes will not be limited to 'paper work on the diplomatic table', but can actually make a difference on the ground (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). Several organizations have understood the importance of moving beyond just reporting and publicizing and have translated the information in such a way that it became understandable for the public (Scholte 2004). Aliu, Parlak and Aliu (2015) are making the same statement, defining this process as 'glocalization'. They argue that international institutions and national governments who want to make global governance effective need to consider the involvement of local civil society groups. The cooperation with local and regional actors will result in the reproduction of global values in local and regional governance. This dialogue is the base for "a new force from below in global and regional politics" (Ford 2003; Muetzelfeldt and Smith 2002). This force might be the opportunity to solve solutions that exceed national boundaries.

Monitoring is a key role civil society actors play on the global arena and in which they *hold actors accountable*. Civil society points at the responsibilities of other actors and monitors whether decisions made in global diplomacy are to a sufficient extent implemented. Other organizations do often not have the possibility nor the interest to hold governmental actors accountable, since they are dependent on them and therefore not completely autonomous. Civil society organizations are key providers of local data and therefore they are able to collect accurate information, governmental organizations are often not willing to provide. This makes civil society an actor able to critically monitor the compliance of the international agreements (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). Civil society actors furthermore emphasize the importance of transparency to hold other actors accountable. Scholte (2004, 217) argues that public transparency is a precondition to achieve democratic accountability. Civil society organizations have often campaigned for the publication of policy documentations. Thereby they keep in mind the fact that information needs to be understandable by the local public (Scholte 2004). Scholte (2004, 220) mentions several examples in which investigations of civil society has led to a monitoring function that governments themselves were not willing to fulfil. Those watchdog and evaluation activities are important to make sure that international agreements are effective and valuable.

Finally civil society actors aim at *advocacy for justice*. This has to do with the normative character of the work of civil society actors. Inequalities are addressed by those actors. By providing information, communicating on both public as internal channels and giving those who are suffering a voice, civil society organizations have frequently succeeded in raising global concern on a certain issue (Gemmil and Bamidele-Izu 2002). In this regard those organizations have pressed to have rules changed or processes of awareness and progress started. Symbolic processes of naming and shaming, but also global campaigns will continue to be important to make sure that global institutions will keep proving why they exist, to correct the inequalities and problems people on a global scale are suffering from. There are several examples of situations in which civil movements addressed critical notes on little-questioned agreements, resulting in adjustments to those policy agreements. As Scholte (2004, 220)

puts it “civil society investigations have documented country, class, race, age and other social inequalities that global regimes have often inadequately addressed or even compounded”. Bernauer and Betzold (2012) are acknowledging this role, summarizing the contribution of civil society as the bringers of “legitimacy to intergovernmental negotiations and thus mitigate the deficit in global policy making”.

The emergence of a large number of civil society actors have altered global governance systems. The involvement of civil society in global governance processes might not be a simple answer to all the international problems, however it offers potential to make steps forward in achieving better accountability and more all-inclusive types of global arrangements. In this research attention will be paid to identifying how civil society functions in a global food security governance system and to identify how civil society can strengthen the effectiveness of its participation in such a global governance system.

3 Description of the CFS and CSM

Within this research the functioning of one particular policy platform dealing with food security is addressed. This policy platform is called the Committee on World Food Security (CFS). This is of particular interest, because of the fact that the CFS reformed in 2009. During this reform it was decided to provide a space for a diverse range of actors to be involved in international policy making on food security. The Civil Society Mechanism (CSM) is an example of a mechanism that provides the opportunity for a group of actors to enter the debates in the CFS. CFS has opened up the opportunity for mechanism such as the CSM to develop, and as such the CFS vision is to be 'the foremost international platform for discussion and coordination on global food security' (CFS 2009).This chapter will provide more details about the structure and the importance of the CFS and the CSM. Introducing both organizations is helpful in understanding the remaining part of this thesis.

3.1 Committee on World Food Security

The overall vision of the CFS is to implement guidelines that contribute to more and better access to adequate food for people on a global scale (CFS 2015). The way the CFS strives to reach its goals has over the history of the Committee undergone changes. The food crisis that hit the world in the early 1970s led to the organization of the World Food Conference (Duncan 2015, 87). During this conference there was decided upon the establishment of the Committee. The CFS was tasked to fulfil its function as a consultation forum, but it was also stated that it would function as a review agency. This monitoring function changed over time. Where it was first assigned to review the steps taken by government, after a summit in 1996 this shifted to monitoring agreements established within other Rome-based UN agencies. A minor influence on policy level, combined with a lack of authority, no framework for scientific advice and a lack of follow-up mechanisms resulted in the fact that CFS did not succeed in its monitoring mission. Another worldwide food crisis, in 2008, triggered a realization that to ensure the right to food on a global level and in a structural manner, a different strategy needed to occur. Therefore, "the CFS launched a reform process that would move it away from a monitoring and follow-up body and reposition it as the most inclusive international and intergovernmental platform to ensure food security and nutrition for all" (Duncan 2015, 90). One of the main statements of the reformed CFS was that those most affected by food insecurity should be represented in global policy making processes. By giving civil society a voice from the start of the reforming process and giving them a number of seats in every CFS meeting, the CFS turned itself into a progressive governance body (Duncan 2015). During the reform process all CFS members agreed to "three key guiding principles" (CFS 2009). Those principles are inclusiveness, creating "strong linkages to the field to ensure the process is based on the reality on the ground" and "flexibility in implementation so that CFS can respond to a changing external environment and membership needs" (CFS 2009).

One of the main guidelines for policy makers designed by the CFS is the Global Strategic Framework for Food Security & Nutrition (GSF). This document takes up agreed policy decisions and provides an overview of existing best practices. It contains a reference to the main roles of the CFS as agreed upon in the reform document, which are "providing a platform to promote better coordination at global, regional and national levels; promote policy convergence; facilitate support and advice to

countries and regions; and promote accountability and share best practices at all levels" (CFS 2015, 5; CFS 2009 1). The broad range of goals the CFS has set itself implies that it is a dynamic institution that is able to take a leading role in promoting food security. Rather than reviewing guidelines of other institutions the CFS now particularly focuses on providing recommendations themselves to base strategies, policies and action plans on (CFS 2015). CFS combines the establishment of scientific reports with a direct representation of people on the ground and looking for intergovernmental agreement. This integrative combination offers great opportunity to make a difference in ensuring that policy recommendations will be translated into effective actions on national and local scale.

However, CFS still faces a couple of challenges in its ambition to become the foremost inclusive platform in ensuring food security and nutrition. In the GSF (CFS 2015, 11 + 22) there is a section in which they briefly touch upon the problems to reach solutions concerning the increasing competition for natural resources. Any negotiations concerning trade and agricultural production are accompanied with diverse viewpoints. Issues concerning trade, food standards, market access and the management of the food chain are managed, but all are mentioned as issues that require further attention in the long run (CFS 2015, 65). Duncan (2015) acknowledges this by stating that the CFS should not hesitate to take positions on such fundamental issues. Furthermore on those points in which agreements is reached, it still remains unclear whether anything is taken up at national and local level. Nevertheless, the fact that civil society is included in all negotiations remains a progressive element of the CFS that is worth some further exploration. In the following, the CSM will be highlighted.

3.2 Civil Society Mechanism

As Duncan and Barling (2012) argue the structure of the CSM provides a unique mechanism in which civil society organizations do not just engage with other constituencies, but also have to establish a way to employ mutual relations. NGOs as well as social movements are represented and there is an ongoing process of seeking ways to expand its network. The CSM defines itself as follows:

> *The CSM is autonomous and self-organised. It facilitates the participation of social movements and CSOs in the work of the CFS, including input in negotiations, discussions, consultations and decision-making while providing a space for dialogue between a wide-range of civil society actors. The CSM is inclusive of all organisations concerned with food security at all levels in all parts of the world (CSM 2012).*

What is important in this description is the fact that the autonomy of the CSM is highlighted. The establishment of a space in which opinions and diversity within civil society can be freely expressed, without the immediate pressure of governmental constituencies demanding a united voice of the entire civil society constituency, has been important for the CSM in its aim to represent those that are most affected by food insecurity (Duncan and Barling 2012). In their evaluation Mulvany and Schiavoni (2014) conclude that within the CSM, civil society has been able to expand its network and has enriched the debate and outreach, mainly by bringing the discussion back to the core problems. Furthermore, the fact that positions can be expressed and debated internally, encouraged several organizations to participate.

This research will mainly focus on the Working Groups within the CFS. The working groups discuss and promote internal communities about specific topics and are open to all of the civil society mechanism (CSM 2016a). The working groups have encouraged intersession work and are responsible for the input of civil society during the CFS Roundtables (Duncan 2015). Within the working group there is an internal process starting with a plurality of opinions and backgrounds concerning a certain topic. At the same time there is a need to build a common position when the Working Groups is debating and involved in decision-making policies at CFS level (CSM 2016a). This dual aspect of internal diversity and discussion with other constituencies, makes it interesting to focus on the processes within those Working Groups.

The fact that civil society is autonomously organized offers opportunities, but also goes accompanied with several important questions. To what extent is the diversity within the CSM an important characteristics that must be protected? There is a continuous pressure to have a united vision during a CFS meeting, but at the same time this might undermine the process of engaging with as many actors a as possible. The same holds for the dilemma of 'presentation versus representation'. The CSM is at any time striving to include a wide range of actors, representing different regions as well as groups of constituents. Many local actors however do lack capacity or the possibility to communicate and engage on a regular base (Duncan 2015). The structure of the CSM is promising and offers a potential model of having a effective strategy for civil society to influence global governance. At the same time it includes a difficult task for all representatives to balance their local livelihoods and approaches with other civil society organizations, nation-states and private sectors institutions (Duncan 2015, 150). This makes it relevant to look at what civil society strategies have been effective and which have been not, to fulfil its internal goals and to enact with other CFS constituencies. Providing more insights on this, could not only help the CFS and the CSM moving forward, but can also serve as a leading example for global (food) governance in general.

Structure of the CSM

The responsibility of the CSM is to facilitate participation of those who represent the most affected by food insecurity. To do so it wants to function as a space that has an open character, in order to "provide a space for dialogue between a wide-range of civil society actors" (CSM 2012). As such it has organized itself in such a way that CSM includes actors that represent the wide range of civil society organizations whose work is related to food security. The CSM is governed by the Coordination Committee (CC). According to the CSM the members of the CC are selected by the membership at large. It is comprised of 41 members, divided in 11 different constituencies and 17 Sub-regions around the world (CSM 2012). The CSM states that these members should not represent the organization they work for, but their work is related to all people that belong to their constituency or sub-region. Furthermore, "small-scale farmers make up the largest constituency in the Coordination Committee, because they represent the majority of the world's hungry people and because they produce most of the world's food" (CSM 2012, 40). The CSM is sensitive for keeping a gender and geographically balanced representation.

The structure of the CSM is visualized within figure 1. The Secretariat of the CSM is not in the picture, but their main task is to support the work of civil society members in the CFS plenaries and working

groups. The CFS Advisory Group consists of 13 members, of which four members represent civil society. This Advisory Groups advises the CFS Bureau, consisting of 13 governments. There are 8 civil society members selected by the CC to join the Advisory Group, and they attend the meetings on a rotational basis. Finally, the CSM Forum is open for all interested civil society members, and this is used to discuss and share the position for each coming CFS Plenary session (McKeon 2014; CSM 2016a).

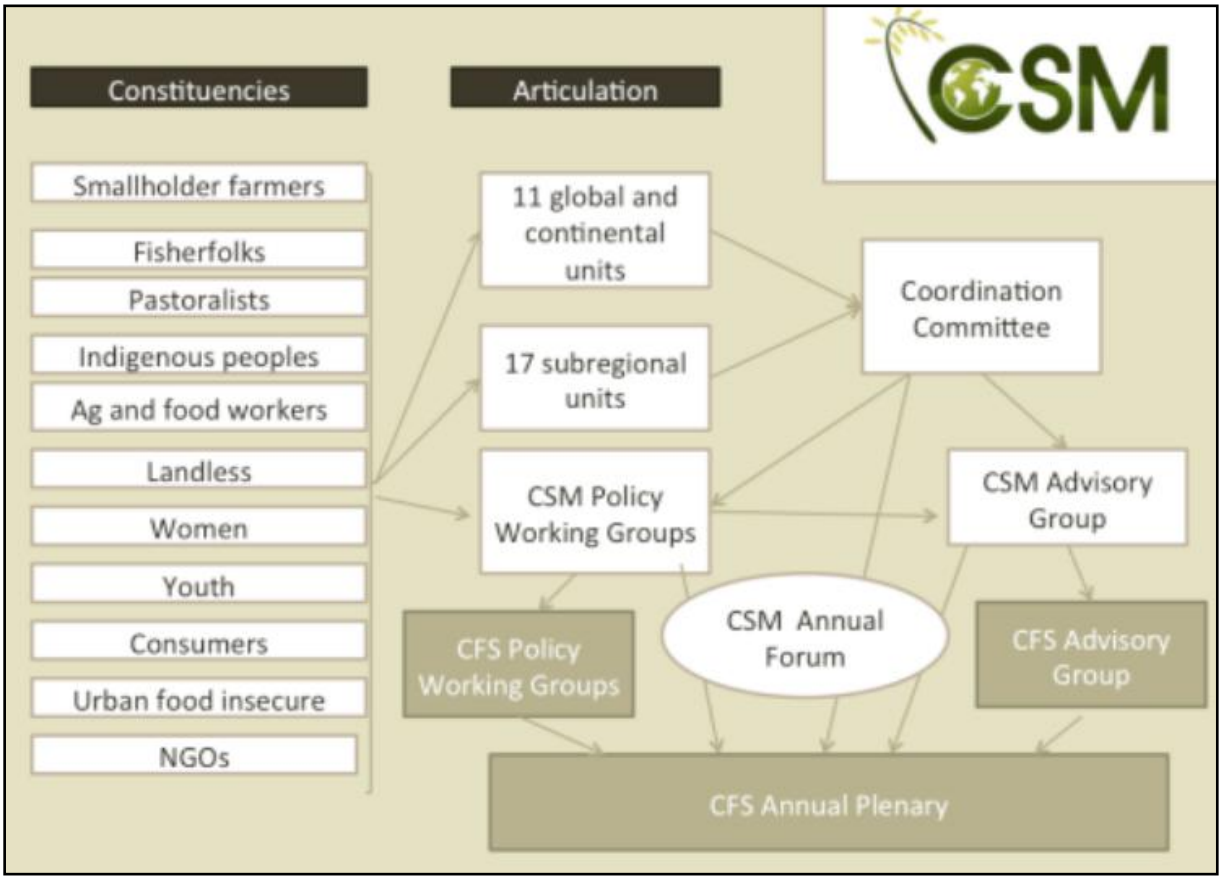

Figure 1: Structure of the CSM. Source: http://www.csm4cfs.org/the-csm/

4 Research questions

The aim of this research is to identify strategies for civil society participation in global food security governance and to assess their effectiveness. The reformed United Nation's Committee on World Food Security provides an opportunity to not only identify how civil society organizations are influencing international debates around food security but also where they are facing difficulties and struggles. The unique structure of the CFS, in which civil society autonomously organises participation through the Civil Society Mechanism (CSM), might be a leading example for other institutions to follow. It is important to clarify that the CSM is not an actor in itself, since civil society organizations are the actors. CSM is meant to facilitate and coordinate civil society participation within the CFS. For clarity, in this thesis, when the CSM is referred to as an actor, this refers to all civil society actors that are involved. In this thesis focus is on understanding the way civil society has organized itself and has engaged in the CFS. Therefore, the main question of this research is as following:

How have CSM participants operated in the field of the CFS?

This main question can be answered by first answering a series of sub-research questions. These sub-research questions are divided into two categories. The first three questions deal with the fields of the CSM and the CFS and ultimately how both are interconnected. The fourth question relates to the types of capital and habitus that is needed for the CSM to fulfil its roles:

How is the field of the CSM structured?
How do CSM participants organise themselves in relation to the fields?
How is the CSM positioned within the field of the CFS?

How can CSM fulfil the roles of civil society in global governance within the CFS?

To understand the way the CSM is able to develop effective strategies to intervene within the field of the CFS I first analyse the internal ways the CSM strategizes. Within the field of the CSM certain dynamics exist and this is directly influencing the way it relates to the CFS. Once this is understood, attention will turn to an examination of the CFS as a field, with a specific focus on the way civil society is positioned within this field.

Afterwards, focus shifts to an analysis of the various roles the CSM fulfils or strives to fulfil within the CFS. Those key roles of civil society participation are based on the roles described in the literature review. The aim is to understand the roles the CSM fulfils within the CFS, while also identifying potential shortcomings and opportunities to improve the fulfilling of the roles.

Structured this way, this thesis provides not only an overview of the current structure of the fields of the CSM and CFS and the way CSM is achieving its objectives, but it also allows for the identification of opportunities to strengthen effective civil society engagement in global governance.

Part II

Methodology

5 Theory

This section introduces the theoretical model that is used in the analysis of the collected data. The central issue that this research is dealing with is the way civil society organizations operate within wider global governance organizations, in particular the Civil Society Mechanism within the Committee on World Food Security. To be able to get a better understanding of the strategies civil society organizations are using and the roles they fulfil through their participation in global governance, Bourdieu's field theory will be used. As several authors state (Hopewell 2015; Husu 2013; Landy 2015) this theory has increasingly been used to describe the interference of social movements within the global policy field. In order to explain and justify the use of this theory, this chapter has been divided into five parts. The first part describes what field theory is and the way it is explaining power relations. The second part introduces the building blocks of field theory. To be able to fully grasp the ideas of Bourdieu, three concepts need to have further elaboration. Field, habitus and capital are the three concepts that are often defined as being the core points of field theory (Husu 2013; Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). Starting with an explanation of field, all three concepts will be further highlighted. Afterwards, focus turns towards a discussion about the relevance of this theory for this particular research. Furthermore it introduces a description of the way it will be applied within this research. Afterwards, attention will be paid to some limitations and the way to overcome those limitations. Finally, attention will be paid in sketching the theoretical framework of the field of the CFS and the CSM.

5.1 What is Field Theory?

Field theory originates from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu claims that the behaviour of every individual can only be explained by looking at the social context, within which he or she is operating (Bourdieu 1993, see also Hopewell 2015). This social context or social space consists of several fields, each with their own internal logic and thus operating successfully in these fields requires different knowledge and skills (Landy2015). As Landy (2015, 258) notes: "The internal constitution of a field can be seen as a magnetic force-field with poles of attraction and repulsion". An individual that possesses the right skills, knowledge and connections (capital) and that is familiar with the field he or she is operating in (habitus) has a better possibility of setting the rules. In conceptualising the social world in this way, Bourdieu offers a better understanding of how power relations within such a social practice can exist and be maintained. To explain Bourdieu's work several authors, including Bourdieu himself, use the comparison with a game. When a social space would be compared to a poker game, the amount and the type of chips or tokens one possesses symbolizes a form of capital Bourdieu is referring to. Examples of other types of capital one can possess in a game, and that increases changes of winning, are experience, the ability to think strategically and insight in the strategies of your opponents. All those aspects combined determine "the player's relative force in the game, the position in the space of play, and also her strategic orientations towards the game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 99). To understand the way actors relate within a field and make use of habitus and capitals the discussion will be turned towards the concept of power.

Power and social space

Power relations and social space are both terms that offer a major insight in field theory. Both are determining the position of a social actor. An assumption that might be easy to make when being introduced to Bourdieu's field theory is that because power relations are created out of a social context they are accepted and uncontested. The image of static relations and pre-determined positions does not correspond to the social reality Bourdieu is describing. Indeed field theory offers an insight into inter-relationships of position-taking, at the same time there is a continuous struggle to change the structure. As Martin (2003) states field theory is an analytical approach, not a static formal system. Each actor, even those with traditionally little influence within a certain social space, can become agents of change by shifting the focus towards capitals that only they posses (Landy 2015). Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, 8) describe the capital "as weapons that are resources that are unevenly distributed across all players in the field". To translate this once again to the metaphor of the poker game, one player might posses more chips, while another player has way more experience than all the other players. Both type of capital give them an advantage over the other players. Being able to make use of their capital would increase their chances of winning.

Networks, influence on the public opinion or the opportunity to provide legitimacy to the process are examples of resources that social movements could bring in when entering the field of global policy making. Even though social movements on the whole have limited financial resources and political power, field theory challenges us to see why and how they still can be fundamentally involved, and effective, in international fields. It does so by bringing into focus how power is constituted, contested and reproduced. At the same time it helps to explain that in situations of international policy making, the involvement of certain actors that are not democratically elected and are not law-providing (private and civil society sector) can still be considered legitimate (Hopewell 2015, 1132; Berling 2016 462-463).

Concerning the concept of power in Bourdieu's field theory, two issues emerge as important. First, different actors possess different capitals, making power relations multi-dimensional. Second, what capital leads to the most powerful actors is contested by involved actors and undergoing continuous struggle. Those two aspects are well-explained in the following:

> By field of power I mean the relations of force that obtain between the social positions which guarantee their occupants a quantum of social force, or of capital, such that they are able to enter into the struggles over the monopoly of power, of which struggles over the definition of the legitimate form of power are a crucial dimension(Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 229-330).

One can envision social space as the position an individual actor occupies to be able to have a certain influence. Bourdieu stresses that behaviour and attitude of a social actors cannot be understood in isolation, but must always be viewed as embedded within a social space (Hopewell 2015, 1132). As Bourdieu himself phrases it: "Agents can be defined by their relative positions within that space" (Bourdieu 1985, 723). This is indeed key to Bourdieu's theorizing since social behaviour, such as taste, purchasing certain goods and services, but also interaction among actors, can be partially explained by the position an actor has within a certain social space (Bourdieu 1985). As Bourdieu

(1989, 19) states: “to be more precise, they choose, in the space of available goods and services, goods that occupy a position in this space homologous to the position they themselves occupy in social space ”. To once again refer to the poker game the way the players are performing in the game is determined by the capital they possess and their familiarity with the game (habitus). They all have a different position within the social space of the poker game and this determines the power they posses to influence the game. However, this situation is dynamic, since after every game of poker the odds will change and the positions each player find themselves in might change along.

5.2 Building blocks of field theory

Field

The concept of field is used by Bourdieu to describe a social reality that has certain rules, but it is not an officially organized social space. As Berling (2016, 460) explains: “Bourdieu sought to develop a concept that could cover social worlds in which practices were weakly institutionalized and boundaries were not well established ”. According to Berling (2016) four points are central to get a full picture of Bourdieu’s meaning of field. First of all, Berling highlights Bourdieu’s use of the French term *champs de lutes*, which means fields of struggle. This part of the concept of field has to do with the reproduction of power relations by all actors within a field. Those with most power determine what is necessary to stay powerful, while those with less influence will try to change the dynamics of the field. This element of struggle is what Bourdieu (in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) refers to as ‘field of power’. He considers field of power as an important concept since it offers the opportunity to overcome the idea of a traditional dominant class to a concept that explains that power can be gained in different ways. The power dynamics is something that will be further analyzed in the second part, in which a description of field theory is provided.

Secondly, a field is defined as a “structured space in which dominant and subordinate positions based on types of capitals and paradigmatic distinctions are pivotal” (Berling 2016, 461). A third important factor is the fact that all actors agree that it is important to be incorporated in the field and therefore they accept that struggling for positioning is necessary. Finally, fields are considered as relatively autonomous. This means that even though fields are tied together and are sometimes part of even broader fields, Bourdieu considered a field as a ‘distinct circuit’ operating with its own logic compared to other fields. “This point also means that a position of importance in one field does not translate directly into such a position in another field” (Berling 2016, 462). As Martin (2003, 23) remarks this does not mean that external factors do not have an influence, but as he state “they need to be translated to the internal logics of the field”. The characteristics of the field that Berling is addressing could be traced back within the description that Hopewell (2015, 1133) is offering:

> The strategies that actors employ are thus ‘relational’ to the configuration and content of the field. Different fields provide distinct opportunities for certain strategies while denying others, depending upon the relative positions of players within it, the strategies of other players, and the modes of action valorized within that field. Entry within a field requires the tacit acceptance of the rules of the game, meaning that specific forms of struggle are legitimated whereas others are excluded. The field thus imposes specific forms of struggle;

> otherwise, one risks being ignored or discredited by other agents within the field. (Hopewell 2015, 1133)

An important aspect that could be traced back in Hopewell's definition, and that is perhaps a bit lacking in the four points Berling is mentioning, is the relational aspect of the field. A field will not be defined by a dual relationships between two actors, but rather will be determined by the entire set of networks and linkages (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008, 6). This means that the relational aspect between all actors involved (be it groups, individuals or organizations) determine what capital is useful. For this reason Bourdieu himself refers to the relational aspect when defining a field by stating that it is "a set objective, historical relations between positions" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 16; Husu 2013, 266). The way actors within a certain field will behave and exert their power is dependent on the elements that they will bring into the field. In terms of Bourdieu (2004, 34 in Berling 2012, 462) the properties, abilities and stakes actors possess and distribute are 'instruments or weapons' that one needs in order to 'have a chance of winning'. The resources that one need to possess to gain a better position or rather to safeguard their position is undergoing transformation and continuous debate, but do also define the borders of the field. Those that do not posses relevant capital, will be excluded of the field completely (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008; Husu 2013; Berling 2016). With his description of the social space of such a field, Bourdieu sketches a simplified model, that nevertheless offers a useful framework to understand the position of a certain actor within a certain field (e.g. political arena, institution and so forth). To get a better understanding of the elements that determine the position of actors within a field it is necessary to understand the concepts of habitus and capital.

Habitus

Habitus is the second concept in Bourdieu's field theory. The concept has to do with the range of past experiences that determines the understanding of events happening at the field (Özbilgin and Tatli 2016). Bourdieu defined habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" and "as determined by past conditions which have produced the principle of their production, that is, by the actual outcome of identical or interchangeable past practices" (Bourdieu 1977 in Berling 2016). Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, 4) explain that habitus links future decisions that will be taken with individual action and also macro-structural setting. All actors use their experience from different fields and take this with them as they move on to the next. As a result, "each member of an organization brings to it a habitus formed under specific past conditions, some of which will be shared with other members and some of which will differ from them substantially " (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008, 4). For Bourdieu (1989, 19) all past experiences within a field and within different fields result in a "systems of schemes of perception and appreciation of practices, and cognitive and evaluative structures". The concept of habitus is useful to explain certain structures and representations within fields, by pointing at their structural positions in the past. Certain agents that are involved within a field for a long time have internalized the ways to behave within that field and are used to its internal structure. In this way they develop an advantage compared to those that are new to the structure of the field. Along these lines habitus is developed by individual relations, but influences behaviour in a structural way (Husu 2013, 266-267; Emirbayer and Johnson 2008).

Capital

Bourdieu (1985, 724) describes capital as "the active properties that are selected as principles of construction of the social space". He explains that capital exists in different forms, whereby financial resources and material capital is mentioned to be the most obvious one. However, solely focussing on the economic capital would be short-sighted; overlooking the other aspects that determine one's (economic) position within a field. He mentions several types of capital. The main types Bourdieu mentions are cultural, symbolic and social capital. These different kinds of capital determine the position in the field dependent on what specific elements are considered as important within that field. To make it more concrete, Bourdieu (1985, 724) explains this as following: "The kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are powers that define the chances of profit in a given field (in fact, to each field or sub-field there corresponds a particular kind of capital, which is current, as a power or stake, in that game)". Bourdieu explains that within a field where cultural capital is considered as important, actors that posses a great amount of cultural resources might increase their potential of being influential. The distribution of the different kinds of capital, which according to Bourdieu can be divided in two; embodied or materialized, defines the power relations within a field: "It determines the actual or potential powers within different fields and the chances of access to the specific profits that they offer" (Bourdieu 1985, 725). The distribution of different types of capital among all players within a field, defines their position within that field at a certain time (Bourdieu 1984).

Other authors, using the work of Bourdieu as a starting point, have further developed the concept of capital. Depending on the field you look at, a wide range of forms of capital can be defined. Apart from the economic capital, and the cultural, social and symbolic capital (which has more to do with prestige, status, networks and legitimacy), forms as political capital, informational or scientific capital, technical capital and military capital have also made their way through the field theory (Hopewell 2015). Informational capital is defined by Bourdieu as an extrapolation of social capital. It is also known as knowledge capital and therefore refers to the possession of a specific type of knowledge that is valued within a particular field. This can be practical knowledge, but also educational and academic knowledge. It might also refer to a type of knowledge about the way other fields are organized that are relevant to that specific field an actor is involved in (Munk 2009). Another type of capital that needs some explanation is political capital. Schugurnesky (2000, 3) defines political capital as "the capacity to influence public policy". This means that it is not strictly prescribed to politicians, since with more inclusive governance structures more actors are able to influence final policy making. Informational capital and political capital can be strictly related, since a person that is more familiar with knowledge on how policy processes work and how they can be influenced, "is more likely to have an advantage to influence the political process over other individuals and groups" (Schurgurnesky 2000. 5). Symbolic capital is by several authors highlighted as a special type of capital. Bourdieu (1989, 23) himself describes symbolic capital as 'a credit'. It has to do with the fact that an actor is accepted and recognized by the rest of the group. To be able to speak on behalf of others, to mobilize actors or to be authorized to make important decisions, a process of institutionalization needs to take place. Having authority within a field can only be obtained "as the outcome of a long process of institutionalization, at the end if which a representative is instituted, who receives from the group the power to make the group" (Bourdieu

1989, 23). What can be concluded from this is that symbolic capital seems to be a necessity to become powerful, since recognition of being authoritative in a specific field is a precondition (Berling 2016, 455). This implies that according to Bourdieu's field theory "the objective configuration of actor-positions" can vary from the more subjective meanings that actors possess out of their cultural and symbolic capital (Go 2008, 206).

A conclusion that could be drawn is that roughly a division of two distinct types of capital exists. On the one hand, one needs to possess materialized capital to wield power, but without the acquired recognition, depending on the amount of embodied capital, a position within a field might still be weak (Bourdieu 1985). What capital is appreciated within what field is something that varies within each field and might undergo transformation over time (Go 2008, 207). The actors that are dominant within their fields are often the ones able to shape the amount of appreciation of each form of capital within the field (Hopewell 2015, 1132). Importantly, "capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 101). An example has been given by Berling (2016, 455) in her study in which she used field theory to explain the situation of the European security field. She explains that previously military capital was valued as one of the most important forms to be influential in the security field. Those countries or actors possessing most military capital were allowed to participate. However over the years, social and informational capital became more valuable and one could notice a shift in types of actors entering and becoming influential in the field of European security.

One could summarize this first function as an instrument to wield power and become influential within a field. Capitals therefore serve as mechanisms to establish a certain hierarchy within a field. For Bourdieu it serves as "a weapon and a stake of struggle which allow the processors of that capital to wield a power, an influence, and thus to exist in the field, instead of being considered a negligible quantity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 98, see also Berling 2016 455). However, Hopewell (2015, 1132) draws attention to another function of capital. Capital also serves as a gate-keeping mechanism, allowing those that are strongly involved within a field to set the boundaries of entry. One needs to know what the rules of the game are and to what extent individuals are allowed to be involved in certain issues. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) explain that this has once again to do with the embodied forms of capital, those that possess the right capitals know how to behave within a certain field, thereby possessing the power to reproduce those unwritten social rules and repel those actors that lack this knowledge and type of capital. Capital therefore serves a two-fold function, it is needed to become accepted as a player within a field, but also to improve an actor's position within that field (Hopewell 2015, 1132). This dual function of capital is clearly explained by Berling (2016, 468): "The possession of capital is thus important for being accepted as a player in a field (capital is boundary-setting) but also for understanding the positions and power bases of agents and thus the hierarchy in a field. It is therefore not what you say, but where you say it from that matters".

5.3 Relevance

Field theory is valuable insofar as it provides a way of explaining people's, organizations' and institutional behaviour and also helps to shed light on internal processes and power relations. As Go (2008, 207) phrases it: "In field organizational theory, the capacities and forms of any given organization do not emerge from qualities intrinsic to the organization but in relation to other

organizations and existing form circulating in the field". One question that remains particularly interesting is the space there is for people to successfully challenge the structures in the field as Bourdieu is describing them (Landy 2015, 258). In this section of the chapter attention will be paid to the question to what extent this theory is relevant for studying civil society organizations participating in formal global governance. This will be followed by a review of limitations of the theory.

The value of field theory is that it helps to describe relations between actors in and through practice. By analyzing the amount of capital the actors within a field possess, researchers might get a better understanding of the characteristics of the field. Actors can aim for two different strategies within the field. They might strive to improve or maintain their position in the hierarchical order, or their goal is to transform the power system within the field (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008, 1139). Analysis of position-taking, cannot be effectively done without taking into account the level of possession of capital and habitus and also the differences that exists within fields (Husu 2013, 275; Go 2008, 207). Recognizing the significance of symbolic capital, helps in analyzing the structure of an organization (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). Questions including to what extent are certain actors able and willing to communicate in the language of the field are helpful in setting a step towards a better understanding of that same field (Hopewell 2015, 1139). In the following quote Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) explain important points of insights that field theory offers when researching a certain field:

> It is important to determine in precisely which ways its different constituent actors, differently positioned as they are in the field and in the distribution of capital therein, perceive themselves, their competitors, and the field as a whole, in all its opportunities and challenges, and gravitate in the direction of one or the other of these opposing strategies of action in respect to it (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008, 12).

As Berling (2012, 474) puts it, "The Bourdieusian framework requires that we (researchers) ask difficult and empirically demanding questions". However, she also states that those type of questions will help in getting a better picture of the structures involved in international governance. Field theory does help to get a better understanding of an empirical research. The chaotic mess of collected data that might come out of empirical research can be structured and analyzed in such a way that patterns start occurring. Field theory helps in providing this structure (Go 2008, 209). Furthermore the field approach helps to avoid privileging a certain dimension of the field over the other. In short, field theory offers the opportunity to have a broader perspective and especially when looking at international policy making to see "the larger global series of relationships and connections" (Go 2008, 223).

Field theory in studying the participation of social movements in global governance

There is a growing interest in implementing field theory to studies of civil society participation, and in particular social movement participation in global governance (Husu 2013; Hopewell 2015; Landy 2015). It is therefore important to consider the relevance for using field theory in understanding the practice of this type of enrolment of civil society in global institutions. It is important to keep in mind

that “global civil society is not an independent or exogenous force in global governance, but shaped and influenced by the institution it targets” (Hopewell 2015, 1151). Field theory offers an insight in understanding the choices and rational behind decisions made by civil society actors when intervening in global policy making. As Hopewell (2015, 1151) phrases it, it is crucial in understanding ‘the invisible rules of the game’. Movements act in local fields, but when entering global governance fields they are required to play different roles. Therefore they are adaptive, but also continuously seeking for other actors with comparable interests on a certain issue, so they can compensate for the types of capital they themselves lack (Husu 2013).

What makes field theory considerably applicable for social movements, perhaps even more than for other actors? Civil society has been around and challenging the fields of global governance for a longer period of time now. Nevertheless, they are not traditional actors that hold power because of their democratic representation. Therefore civil society needs to seek for other types of capital that legitimizes their involvement within global governance. Gatekeeping functions of traditional power holders create a barrier for local movements to enter the debate in a constructive manner. In many cases, such as within the WTO and during the development of the NAFTA, civil society organizations have been considered as difficult and inappropriate actors that are threatening the system (or field) of international trade policy (Hopewell 2015, 1137; Evans and Kay 2008). This makes it even more important for those civil society actors that want to have a voice in the global arena to get familiar with the dynamics of the field. They have to get familiar with the type of capital that is accepted and considered as important and what type of behaviour is rather delegitimizing their position (Husu 2013; Hopewell 2015). According to Hopewell (2015, 1133) there is “considerable pressure on global civil society to adapt their behaviour, discourse and advocacy positions to the dynamic of the field in which they are operating”. According to her research on the usefulness of Bourdieu’s field theory in situations in which civil society is involved in global governance, field theory is important because it offers a way of understanding why certain NGOs or social movement are more successful in reaching any influence than others. As Hopewell (2015, 1149) describes:

> Of those civil society actors seeking to engage with the WTO, the most successful – in terms of their ability to access the field and to be received as legitimate players within it – have increasingly moved towards more technocratic forms of advocacy, closer relationships with policymakers, and campaigns that resonate with the dominant values and orientation of the field.

Field theory has thus been used to derive deeper insights into types of involvement of global civil society in global governance. Those actors that are seeking to become embedded within the structure, have to undergo a process of adaptation and accumulating the right capital to become an accepted member of the field. Other NGOs or social movements are either not able to acquire the right type of capital, since they are for example too small scale and marginalized, or are simply not willing to accumulate (Hopewell 2015). In case of interference within the WTO, social movement organization La Via Campesina purposely criticizes the field of international trade, and in particular the WTO. By stating that it is a flawed institution, that is operating at the costs of the poor, it places itself outside the field, unwilling to adapt to the required capital and habitus that is necessary to

operate within the context of the WTO (Hopewell 2015, 1151). Field theory is an important tool to understand the rationale of the decision of a civil society organization to what extent they want to be involved in global governance. While this tactic of opposing the current system results in an inability of La Via Campesina to change the system of the WTO from within, doing the opposite also has its downsides. Developing the right type of capital to operate as a social movement within a field opens the opportunity to become influential, but at the same time limits or in some cases even undermines the possibility to criticize (Hopewell 2015). Hopewell (2015, 1153) states that using field theory helps to understand how and why global civil society operates, since it "demonstrates how the transformative potential of global civil society – its ability to introduce alternative discourses and perspectives into debates and deliberations, broaden participation, and foster global democracy – can be inhibited by the global governance institutions themselves and the dynamics of the field in which they are situated". It is important to understand that the position of social movements might be subordinate since they usually have a disadvantage in terms of useful capital (Evans and Kay 2008, 988). However, by using field theory it is not just possible to see and understand the limitations of civil society involvement, it also becomes clear where the opportunities are. Promoting a different type of capital that distinguish them from other actors offers the opportunity to challenge traditional actors within a global governance field (Evans and Kay 2008; Landy 2015; Husu 2013). Evans and Kay (2008, 988) state that civil society actors "are constrained, but not inescapably defined" by the system and Landy (2015, 267) clarifies this statement by saying that "such a conceptualisation of social movement actors as embodied carriers of external habitus to local fields explains how social movements can act as agents for change and how transformation from below is sometimes possible".

Theoretical framework in this research

Field theory will be used in this research to explore how, when and why the CSM and the CFS are influencing each other. It is assumed that those civil society actors that participate within the CSM decided to change the system from within. Based on the several roles of civil society that were defined in chapter two an analysis will be made what capital civil society has to offer within the CFS. Furthermore it will be analyzed whether this capital is useful to become influential within the field of the CFS.

A different assumption that has been made is the fact that different types of capital is needed to be influential within the CSM than within the CFS. To what extent the possession of certain capital and habitus is necessary to become influential within both fields is something that will be further explored in the following of this research.

5.4 Limitations

This section will highlight two of the limitations that are accompanied with the implementation of the field theory in the research. To the extent possible a remark will be made on how to overcome these limitations.

Relationship between fields

A first point of criticism deals with the fact that the main concepts of field theory (field, habitus and capital) deal with the dynamics of one specific field, thereby overlooking the interrelationship

between different fields (Evans and Kay 2008, 972). Evans and Kay (2008) claim that the image of a single field with clearly defined borders is too simplistic, since it focuses simply on in- and outsiders, thereby overlooking the influence of other actors and fields.

> Political action and ultimately social change, frequently occurs through the judicious use of multiple fields. Analysis of these phenomena therefore requires understanding the mechanisms at work across fields(Evans and Kay 2008, 973).

According to Evans and Kay (2008), missing the point where fields overlap leads to an incomplete analysis of a situation. The short-sighted vision has two components. First, the fact that fields overlap and exert mutual influence should be incorporated. Second, one should not overlook the fact that actors often exist within different fields. This results in a mutual influence and actors fulfilling different positions within different fields (Husu 2013; Evans and Kay 2008).

Bourdieu (1985, 723) himself recognizes the fact that there is an influence among different fields. However, he tends to focus on field hierarchies, arguing that the process of mutual influencing each other is often one-sighted, in which those fields that are higher in hierarchy are exerting pressure on other fields. The particular situation central in this research already shows a different picture. Within this particular research one could state that two separate fields are incorporated, the CFS as well as the CSM. Developments at one of the two fields will affect the other field. It is therefore important to understand that strategies and decisions of individual civil society members within one field will be influenced by developments in the other field. This is directly related to the statement of Landy (2015, 260) saying that one should also focus on the relations between fields and actors that are performing as translators between those different fields. This offers the opportunity to understand agency and the rationale behind decisions of civil society actors within the CFS.

Changes in a field

Another criticism that has been expressed based on the work of Bourdieu is what Landy (2015, 260) refers to as 'determinism'. This means that Bourdieu's field theory is often applauded for being able to explain social relations and types of conflict, but pays little attention to the possibility of transforming these relations. It therefore "provides no mechanism by which the dominated in a field can successfully challenge, rather than dispositionally manoeuvre their way through the dominant status quo" (Landy 2015, 256). An example of this is the way Bourdieu describes the role of states within global governance. He remarks that states in general are possessing a concentration of different capital. "It is this concentration as such which constitutes the state as the holder of a sort of meta-capital granting power over other species of capital and over their holders" (Bourdieu et al. 1994, 4). This type of reasoning is sometimes interpreted as the description of a situation in which the marginalized groups will not have a chance to achieve any change within the system (Landy 2015. 259). Nevertheless social change occurs, and change from below has happened and still happens.

In response to the criticasters, who accused Bourdieu of pessimism and overlooking those positive events, Bourdieu responded by challenging researchers to prove him wrong and prove that the one that are marginalized within fields are able to achieve changes (Landy 2015, 267). This research will

to a certain extent deal with the position of a less powerful actor, at least less powerful in terms of political capital. It will testify the situation of a field, thereby wondering to what extent it is possible to establish any change and have a voice within a global policy field as a civil society mechanism.

5.5 Defining the field of the CFS and the CSM

To be able to continue with analyzing the way the CSM functions as a field, it is important to compare the analyzed structure with an 'ideal' model of how the CSM could operate. This ideal model will be compared with the empirical data to analyze how the CSM is organized. During this research the analysis of the field of the CSM and CFS was not strictly separated. It has rather been an iterative process in which the structure of the field was sometimes only clearly understood during the process of analyzing the data. Nevertheless, it will be presented as a comparison, since this provides the opportunity to clearly see how the CSM has organized itself and how the CFS distinguishes itself from other global governance fields. This section will present a theoretical model, after the data analysis chapter, the theoretical frameworks of how a global governance field like the CFS can be structured will be compared with the actual model of the CFS and the CSM.

Defining global policy fields

Hopewell (2015, 1131) analyzed global governance by using the field theory of Bourdieu. She states that global governance does not function as a separate sphere, but consist of many different actors coming from different backgrounds, fields and interests. On the other way around, civil society is not an independent sphere that independently acts upon the state and the market. Hopewell (2015, 1131) argues that "global civil society is not simply an exogenous force that acts upon the institutions of global governance, but profoundly influence by the institution(s) it targets". The first conclusion we can draw when analyzing the structure of global policy fields is that it exists out of many connections and relations and it shapes, but at the same time is beings shaped by the actors that are involved.

According to Kauppi and Madsen (2014) much of the literature on fields of global governance provides an insight in new forms of participation, describing the structure of multi-actor governance. However, as they continue, it often only offers a superficial explanation of how these fields really work. Furthermore they state (Kauppi and Madsen 2014, 325) that "it generally fails to provide an answer as to why such networks are powerful in the first place". Within this research the governance fields will be analyzed by looking at the types of capital and habitus actors possess. This will provide a clear framework for understanding the dynamics at play, as well as the defined power relations. The capital and habitus agents within a field possess define their practices. These practices function therefore as an important aspect of defining the structure and dynamics of the field. For defining the fields of the CFS and the CSM habitus, practices and the following types of capital will be used: political, informational, symbolic, social, cultural, economic and professional capital.

Defining the fields

As a global governance field, the CFS is directly related to a wide variety of other fields on all different levels. The CFS consists of several main groups, however these groups consist of individuals coming from very distinct backgrounds. There is a potential danger of envisioning these groups as homogenous entities, which would lead to bypass the fact that private sector for example exists of a

wide variety of businesses, of which small and middle size types of businesses defend very different interests as multinationals. The same holds for governments, representatives of governments all come from very different countries and possess different experiences, interests and power. For this research, focus will solely be on the way civil society positions itself within the field of the CFS. Therefore, the others actors, such as private sector and governments will not be deeply analyzed even though interesting differences might exist between the types of capital and habitus they posses. For practical reasons, these differences are left out the scope of this research.

A visual representation is presented of the way civil society is represented in the field of the CFS (see figure 2). The coloured squares represent the types of capital each actor in theory should possess. This theoretical modelling is based on how global governance is defined within literature, as described in chapter 2. This implicates that all actors in the CFS should possess all types of capital, only on some types there is a variety in the amount they posses. On level of cultural, social, informational and professional capital there is an assumption that the amount of capital is more or less comparable. Even though each actor might possess different social connections and networks (social), provide different perspectives (informational) and possess a different set of negotiation and related skills (professional), all actors have something to contribute. Related to economic, symbolic and political capital a difference is to be expected. Related to economic capital civil society is expected to possess more limited financial resources as the other actors in the field do. Related to political capital all actors according to CFS procedures have an equal say during negotiations. There is a difference, because governments are responsible for the final decision, and can therefore bypass the other actors if a consensus exists amongst themselves. Finally, a small difference is to be expected in symbolic capital. All actors possess this type of capital, since they all are needed to make the CFS an all-inclusive platform. However, the CFS has formulated the vision in the CFS reform document that it wants to represent those that are suffering most from hunger and food insecurity. Civil society has the closest connections to this group and is supposed to represent them and therefore their symbolic capital is stronger than the symbolic capital of the other groups. Concerning habitus, the extent to which habitus fits the field of the CFS differs per individual. Therefore, it is to be expected that each group will contain people with a well-suited habitus. Private sector and governments send in representatives that are specifically hired for representing them at global governance platforms. This enhances the likelihood that they possess a well-suited habitus within the field of the CFS (Roloff 2007) However, within civil society there might be more individuals with a less-suited habitus, since they are less used to operating in global governance arenas. Finally, all actors are related to other fields and are influenced by it, as well as those fields are influenced by the field of the CFS. One particular example, is the field of the CSM that is affected and affects the field of the CFS.

The field of the CSM is also presented in figure 2. What is important when defining this field is the concrete division that is made between NGOs and social movements (CFS 2010). Social movement groups as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are both associations of people representing the interest of certain groups without a profit driven governance system (Woodward 2006). Woodward describes the difference between both as NGOs being organizations delivering certain (advocacy) services on a professional level, while social movements are a more loose kind of

associations, represented by people defending a certain interest that is personally affecting them. The main characteristic in which a NGO can be distinguished from a social movement is the fact that NGOs are organized on a larger level and address issues in support of the good of the general public, while social movements are less organized, more spontaneous movements in support of a particular subgroup (Woodward 2006). De Souza (2013) agrees with this distinction, and is arguing that for several reasons social movements should have political priority over NGOs. It is argued that NGOs are not democratic representatives of those that are most vulnerable and even though the name implies the opposite it is highly questionable how independent those NGOs are from governments and the corporate sector. Their right of existence is based on a continuous conversation with those constituencies. "At the same time, however, they are often more or less disconnected from national, regional and local requirements and governmental control in countries of the 'global south'" (de Souza 2013, 258). It seems that this distinction is undergoing much debate within academic and political writing. De Souza (2013, 259) is stating that the term civil society should refer to social movements, since they are representing a part of an entire society, while NGOs are not representative of someone but rather an organization. Others such as Esteves et al. (2009) argue that we should get rid of this binary: "One should not consider social movements and NGOs as two totally distinct spheres. Instead they are different modes of popular organization, the later typically with input from states and donors or rune by the local middle classes, the former typically with only self-generated resources" (Esteves, Motta, and Cox 2009, 18). Rather than opposing them, they should reinforce each other and support each other's roles. Esteves et al. argue that this might blur the sharp 'analytical' distinction between both, but stimulate the change of gaining political acceptance.

In theory this means, that if the CSM makes a difference, it indirectly assumes that both groups are there to possess different capital and therefore add different expertise to the field of the CSM. This is visible within figure 2. It is presented as a strict division between NGOs and social movements. It does not implicate that NGOs cannot possess these types of capital, but it is rather meant to illustrate that they are not expected to bring these types of capital in the CSM. NGOs are stated to represent economic (more financial opportunities) and professional capital (since they are states to be focused on providing services). On the other hand, social movements are more connected to those that are most vulnerable and should therefore possess more symbolic, informational and cultural capital. Furthermore they have better connections to local fields, this can be referred to as social capital. Therefore, they should have a prioritization within the CSM and therefore social movements are assumed to possess more political capital. The division between local fields and professional fields is theoretical and based on how the literature describes the differences. NGOs are expected to be more connected to formal institutions, such as governments. Therefore the posses access to such fields. Social movements are rather stated to directly represent the local people and therefore they are stated to be more connected to local fields of citizen movements. Finally related to habitus, both groups include of individuals that are experienced with cooperating with civil society organizations and therefore it is not to be expected that on average there is much difference in the suitability of their habitus.

Roles of civil society

Within the literature review chapter the potential roles of civil society were defined. These roles will provide a basis to analyze how the CSM has organized itself within the field of the CFS. To do so, a theoretical model of the needed capital will be compared with the capital that follows from the data analysis. Table 2 contains the assumed types of capital that is needed for civil society to fulfil each role within the field of the CFS.

Roles	Types of capital	Explanation
Information	Informational	In order to provide new perspectives civil society needs to come up with new types of information and different viewpoints.
Agenda setting	Political	Civil society needs to possess political capital, since it needs to be legitimized as an actor influencing the issues that will be negotiated. A suitable habitus might be supportive to be treated as a legitimized actor.
Operational context	Informational, social	This implies that civil has better connections with local fields and therefore they have a better understanding of what is needed to make sure that policies benefit the most vulnerable.
Monitoring	Political, Economic	To be able to hold actors accountable civil society needs to be a legitimate player within the field and therefore needs political capital. Furthermore, in order to be actively engaged in monitoring the implementation civil society needs financial resources.
Advocacy for justice	Symbolic	This implies the awareness that the presence of civil society legitimizes the CFS field and therefore it possesses symbolic capital.

Table 2: theoretical types of capital needed to fulfil civil society roles

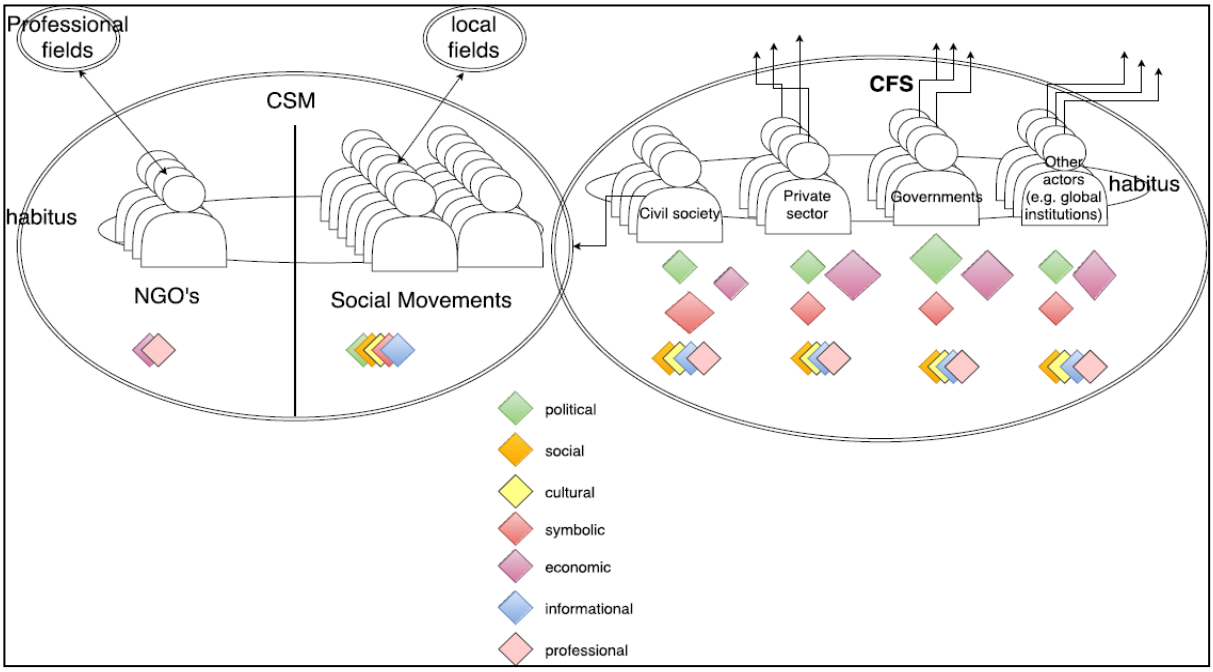

Figure 2 Defining the theoretical (ideal type) fields of the CFS and the CSM

6 Methods

This methodology chapter consists of three sections, containing a more detailed description of how the data was collected and interpreted. The first part of the data collection will be a review of existing documentation developed by all the working groups of the CSM. By setting up a spreadsheets, all the working groups was evaluated on the same criteria. Afterwards an interview guide has been developed, based on the findings in the spreadsheet. This led to series of interview with representatives from several working groups. Finally, a brief reflection will be provided on the CFS 43 session, in which data was gathered mainly by doing observations and having small talks or informal conversations. The methods are presented in more detail below.

6.1 Documentation review

The documentation review is a process in which documentation literature on a topic is reviewed, analyzed and interpreted following a similar pattern in such a way that a new perspective will be generated (Torraco 2005). The relevance of having such a review is to be able to provide new frameworks about a certain topic so lessons can be drawn and patterns can be distinguished (Torraco 2005, 358). In this particular case the scientifically common term 'literature review' has been slightly altered to do more justice to the nature of the used research method. The aim of the review is to get a critical perspective on the direct outputs of the CSM. By looking at the documentation that is made publicly accessible by all the working groups, one is able to gather an insight in the structure and effectiveness of the working groups that is going beyond the expressed decision boxes and agreements after each CFS Round Table. All the documentation and web pages that were available were incorporated in the research. This does not concern scientific literature, but rather policy papers, evaluation documents, meeting agendas, web pages, draft and final versions of agendas, agreements, policy papers, decision boxes, guidelines and other related type of documentation, so called grey literature. Therefore, the term documentation review is preferred in this context, nevertheless it still fits into the relevance and aim of doing a literature review.

The procedure has been as follows. The process has started with a selection of working groups. After those groups were selected a spreadsheet was designed in Excel. This spreadsheet contains ten columns on which the analysis of every working group was based. Finally, a selection of documents for each working group took place. The selection criteria were varying per working group, however still followed some universal reasoning. For each step in this process a short description will be provided. Finally, this section concludes with describing some limitations of the used methodology.

Selection of working groups

First of all, the reason why the review focused on the output of the working groups is the fact that the working groups focus directly on the Roundtable with the CFS. Usually, they are established around a topic that is going to be discussed during the annual CFS plenary meeting. The working group members are the ones that are directly negotiating with other constituencies in the CFS. Therefore, it is argued that this offers a concrete perspective on the effectiveness of the CSM to have an influence within the Committee on World Food Security. An overview of the working groups can be found on the official website of the CSM (http://www.csm4cfs.org/). To avoid any obscurity about

when a group can be considered as an official working group, the list on the website has been adopted. This has resulted in an initial list of 17 working groups. After reviewing each of them, it is decided to remove the 'CFS Programme of Work' working group from the list, since this was an alternative working group. The other working groups were focused on one topic and the development of any sort of documentation concerning this topic. The 'CFS Programme of Work' was rather focused on developing the general outline and selecting agenda issues for the Multi-Year Programme of Work 2016-2017. One small remark needs to be added. The Working Groups on Water, MyPoW and Sustainable Agricultural Development are not included in the list, simply because they were not included at the time of developing the spreadsheet, see below. In the limitations paragraph this will be further explained

Development of the spreadsheet

After the selection of the working group, the criteria to analyze the working group documents on, were defined. Nine columns were added. In table 2 those criteria are listed, including an explanation of the meaning and a short description of their relevance.

Title	Meaning	Relevance
Core issue	Main topic in one or a few word described.	In some cases the name of the working group didn't cover its core business. For those groups this offered a clear overview of their main concern.
Year started	Year in which first documentations were developed by the working group.	Shows the relevance of the work. Was it an explorative working group or rather a new one, that is still in the starting up process.
CFS meetings	The CFS meetings that are mentioned in the documentations.	Idem
Key issues	Core issues that are the crucial points throughout all the work of the working group.	Gives a brief overview of what working groups consider as important. Provides the possibility to find common themes.
Main message	A short summary of the main reason of existence.	Offers the opportunity to see why a working group is established and how successful they were in spreading their message.
Successes	List of what has been successful in achieving the aims and goals the working group set itself.	Provides insight in how a working group proceeded, on what point they achieve

		results. And on a collective level it makes it easy to compare the working groups.
Challenges/ failures	List of what has been unsuccessful in achieving the aims and goals the working groups set itself.	Provides insight in the struggles of the CFS process. Makes it possible to structure working group related problems and reoccurring problems.
Additional comments	Other points that are relevant when reviewing the working group.	If there were any relevant processes in the processes, that did not fit in one of the other columns, it was placed in here. Also a notification was included if any internal evaluation lacked.
Key points of attention (coding)	Summary of all the work of the working groups in several words.	This is a summary of all the data, but not by having full sentences, but by having key points. Makes coding and comparison of the working groups afterwards easier. In practice it turned out that many of these points overlap with the key issues column.

Table 3: Table of criteria in spreadsheet, including meaning and relevance.

Selection of documentation

The selection procedure of documentation to be reviewed was a separate process for each individual working group. The variation in documentations was apparent, with the documents varying in type, length, amount and content. Of those working groups that had a limited range of documents (up to five documents) every document was read and numbered. The relevant information was added to the spreadsheet and in each column there was mentioned what document numbers were used. There were also working groups with very much information on the website. Some went even up to 72 documents. For those working groups a slightly different procedure was used. First, a quick selection procedure took place. Any documents describing the view- and standpoints of the civil society constituency were added. Furthermore evaluation documents, documents with feedback from civil society and summaries of internal meetings were selected. A few working groups had not enough relevant information. For those it was often possible to compare their suggested draft version with the final version of the decision box. This provided the opportunity to still have an insight in the process this working group went through. Finally there are two working groups without any documentation on the website ('Connecting smallholders to markets' and 'Sustainable development goals'). For those groups I based my conclusions solely on the information that was provided on their web page. As a final remark apart from the documents of the working group, one

additional document has been used. The evaluation of the CSM executes by Schiavoni and Mulvany (2014) already contained an evaluation of the effectiveness of some of the working groups. In some cases judgements were made based on their findings, but if there was enough information available I checked whether this was retraceable to the internal documents.

Limitations

There are a few limitations I would like to touch upon. First of all, after the spreadsheet was finished a new web page was launched. Several working groups were not accessible any longer and the previous web pages of those working groups were not retraceable. Therefore, it was not possible to find new documentation and many documents that are mentioned in this paper are not publicly available any more. The newly added working groups were outside of the scope of the project and therefore not included, although they might offer interesting perspective of the latest developments within the CSM. Another limitation is the fact that not all the available documents are analyzed for this research. I cannot guarantee that any of the documents that were excluded in the scanning procedure would have provided additional information. Finally, analyzing the documents is often based on interpretation. I was not present during any of the CFS or internal working group meetings, so all judgements are based on what was written in the documentations. This might differ from opinions of people that have been internally involved in the process.

6.2 Interviews

After the completion of the spreadsheet some general observations and conclusions were drawn. Those formed the basis of the interview schedules. The selection and contact procedure for the interviews is the first part that will be discussed. Afterwards more details will be provided about the types of interview and the way they were conducted. Finally, a short section deals with the limitations of the used methods.

Selection procedure

The first group of people that were selected were the coordinators of a list of twelve working groups. Those working groups were selected based on the findings in the spreadsheet. For several reasons the groups were included: some had a very clear internal evaluation so more detailed questions were possible, some were very limited in their documentations so it was useful to be able to ask them more questions and other groups were rather very extended but didn't provide any internal evaluative documentations. In all cases interviewing those coordinators provided the possibility to ask them about the reasoning for certain decisions and (in)effective strategies. The reason why the coordinators were selected was that they were not only involved in the process of designing strategies for the CFS meetings, but also actively involved in the internal process. Therefore, they might be the best group to receive detailed information about internal processes in the CSM. Unfortunately, many of the group pages were not accessible on the internet, making it difficult to track who the coordinators of those working groups were. With some of the coordinators communication was not possible, because of a language barrier. Another group of people did never react on the invitation mails and the reminders. This has led to the decision that other working groups members would also be included in the research. Advantage of including those members is that they might have more time available and that it became possible to compare data even from within one working group. Some members argued that they did not have any experience, since they

had recently become part of the CSM. Many of those members offered suggestions for other people I could contact. In those cases the method was linked to a snowball sampling strategy. During the selection procedure it was important to have a good geographical representation. Since internal political tensions based on regional representation exist within the CSM and since representatives from developing countries as well as developed countries and NGOs as well as social movements are present, geographical area might influence the viewpoints of the respondents.

The selected respondents of which an email address was traceable, were contacted by a standardized letter (Annex A). This was copied to a mail and in each mail a copy of a part of the spreadsheet was copied. This part was particularly related to the working group the respondent had participated or is participating in. The purpose of this was that each approached person became acquainted with the project and could get an impression of the purpose of the research. Once a person was willing to participate a list of questions was send to him or her. This helped again to give an impression of the interview and since the time frame for an interview was rather limited (30 to 45 minutes) it resulted in more information if they already thought about it beforehand. Furthermore, many respondents asked for a list of questions themselves.

Type of interview

Several types of interviews exist and for this research it is a bit difficult to label them. Personally, I would place the used method on the continuum between a semi-structured and a standard type of interview. The more standardisation within an interview, the more it becomes a structured type of interview (‘t Hart, Boeije and Hox 2009). Forced by time limitations the interviews existed of a standardised list of questions, of which some are core questions and are repeated within each interview. Annex B contains an interview guide used during one of the interviews. As one can see, it consists of three parts. First of all there is a general part. This was always the starting point and people were asked about their general opinion about the CSM and the effectiveness of it. During the interview focus changed to the effectiveness of working groups and if still relevant the interview was finished by asking questions particularly related to one single working group. During the interview this division was intertwined, because I always related the questions to the points addressed by the respondent. This meant in practice that a certain topic was addressed and deepening questions were addressed. After a while the topic was finished and I returned to the interview guide. Therefore the order was not leading, but was not completely lost out of sight during the interview. Two interviews took place by answering questions on paper, because the respondents did not had the time to conduct a conversation. Because the interviews are conducted with experts doing other organizational activities outside the CSM, the methodology became a bit flexible. Also the amount of interviews was low with a set minimum of ten. This was because again because of time limits, but also because of the fact that it were interviews with experts.

During the data analysis, several respondents were contacted again. They were asked for their reflection on the preliminary conclusion. This stimulated further dialogue and provided the opportunity to see whether the key thinking of those respondents corresponded with my interpretations.

The group of people that were matching the criteria for an interview was limited. They had to be actively involved in the CSM, preferably fulfilling or previously fulfilled organizing roles within the CSM, such as being part of the Coordination Committee or a facilitator of a working group. Most of the participants fulfilled one of such roles, which was really valuable to get a better understanding of the way the CSM was operating. However, it also leads to a difficult matter which is keeping all of them anonymous, while also providing some information about their role and background. It is important to make sure all information that is provided does not correspond to a certain member, since it should not affect their position within the mechanism. For this reason the participants are referred to as numbers rather than names. Since it is relevant to get an insight in the geographical representation, I provided an overview of the region all participants are coming from. The inclusion of important themes provides information about the core points discussed during each interview, but also hints a bit at the background of the participant. The same holds for whether they come from a NGO or a social movement. Important to add here is that quite often the participants did not mention this themselves. Therefore it is my interpretation, based on the way each participant introduced him- or herself. I did not mention specific functions within the CFS or CSM, neither did I mention gender, age, nationality or other specific personal information. This might give too concrete information, making it easy to determine what person I am talking about. In the following I will address all participants by the number that is mentioned within the table underneath. All participants are referred to as males, regardless of what their real gender is.

Number	Interview Type	Region	NGO or social movement	Important theme(s)
1	Skype	South-east Asia	Social movement	Gender, Local initiatives, Representation, Accountability
2	Skype	Western Europe	NGO	Food loss, Diversity, Negotiation strategies
3	Skype	Southern Europe	NGO	Climate Change, Participation, Agriculture, Biofuels
4	Skype	Southern Africa	Social movement	Markets, Negotiation strategies, Guidelines
5	Skype	Western Africa	NGO	Food chain, Gender, Language, Diversity
6	Skype	Northern America	NGO	Markets, Tenure, Smallholders, Conflict of interests
7	Skype	Western Europe	NGO	Food prices, Inclusiveness, Accountability, Tenure
8	Skype + emails	Pacific	Unknown	Private sector, Water, Diversity, Smallholders, Representation
9	Skype	Asia	NGO	Rights, Monitoring, International governance

10	Skype	Eastern-Europe	NGO	Local initiatives
11	Skype	Oceania	NGO	Local initiatives, Diversity
12	Skype	Northern America	NGO	Smallholders, Water, Trade, Representation, Monitoring
13	On paper	Oceania	Unknown	Diversity
14	On paper	Central Africa	Social movement	Gender, Small-scale initiatives

Table 4: Numbering the participants

Limitations

Again the used methods leads to several types of limitation the research was conscious of. First of all the interviews were conducted on Skype. This resulted in a lack of body language and facial expressions, which might make it more difficult to give a good interpretation of emotional attitudes towards certain concepts and issues. A second point, already mentioned a couple of times, is the limited time. Though qualitative interviewing techniques have been used, sometimes certain questions or explanations could not be asked for, because this would take too much time. I noticed that the time frame of half an hour for each interview was simply too limited. During almost each interview I asked whether it was fine with the respondent to continue a bit longer. Most of the interviews therefore lasted between fifty minutes and an hour. Furthermore, the busy time schedule of the members of the CSM made it complicated to schedule interviews and limited the response. Another limitation is the fact that I approached persons related to one working group. Detailed questions were always prepared based on one working group, but during the interview it almost always turned out that people were involved in several distinct ones. Because of time limits it was not possible to deal with all working groups in detail. However, the selection of the working group as discussed in detail previously was therefore a bit random. A final limitation is the geographical spread of the respondents. As shown in figure 1, some parts of the world are better represented as other. Especially the Latin-American countries are underrepresented, and this has to do with the language barrier. The same holds for some respondents in Africa, who were only capable of speaking French.

6.3 Observations

From the 17th of October till the 21st of October 2016 the CFS 43rd session took place in Rome. During this meeting I observed several side events, as well as plenary meetings. It was at a period in which I already finished the data collection based on interviews, and I therefore decided to add another methodology to the research process. During this week I observed behaviour, strategies and approaches of civil society during the plenary meetings, side events and during informal talk. I spoke with several CSM representatives for a short period of time without a pre-designed list of questions. I used this week therefore as a way to observe processes and to ask people for their specific opinion on certain preliminary conclusions.

Observations

During the week I selected several side-events organized by the civil society mechanism, or in which the CSM had a specific contribution. I particularly paid attention to the way the CSM was addressing certain issues, the way it was framing the importance of the topic that was discussed and the space they provided for other actors to provide counter arguments or respond on certain remarks.

Furthermore, I paid specific attention to the statements civil society provided during several CFS plenary sessions. I concentrated on the content of the statements. On what points was the CSM supportive of the proposed documents and where was the CSM offering points for improvement. It was also interesting to focus on the responses civil society got from other actors, however the way the negotiations were structured did not provide much room for reacting on specific remarks.

Small talk

Apart from the observations, there was also the opportunity to speak with actors that were involved in the CFS meetings. I had conversations with several civil society actors, but also with other representatives, observers and participants. From the civil society actors there were a few that I did not speak to before, but I also spoke to several people I already did an interview with. I did not record any conversation, neither did I design a list of questions. During most conversations I only asked one specific question, but there were also conversations that took longer. The most important difference when comparing long conversations with the Skype interviews is that fact that I was way more stirring. I took an active role by purposely giving my opinion and invite them to react on it. During the interviews I did the opposite by asking as many open questions as possible without providing any judgement or personal opinions.

Part III

Data Analysis

7 Structure

This chapter first introduces the structure of the fields. This chapter is divided into two sections. One section will explore the dynamics in the field of the CSM and the second section will deal with the dynamics of the field of the CFS, especially related to the role of civil society within the CFS.

Chapter 8 will continue describing the roles of civil society. Based on the five roles (information, agenda setting, operational context, monitoring and advocacy for justice) a deeper review will be given about the way CSM has strategized within the CFS. Based on the main roles that civil society can perform within a global governance system, an analysis will be made of the capitals and habitus that CSM possesses and are valued within the field of the CFS.

7.1 CSM as a field (Internal)

The initial focus in this research was the way the Civil Society Mechanism positioned itself around international negotiations within the CFS and related to other constituencies such as governments and the private sector. During the process of collecting data it became clear that the way civil society organized itself, was crucial to understand the dynamics of the CFS. In other words, one cannot understand the ways the CSM is participating in the field of the CFS, without having a good understanding of the field of the CSM. As participant 3 phrases it CSM should be a space in which all members are given the time to reach results, rather than a place for power struggles and competing for visibility. Important point to address is to what extent it is possible to keep those types of dynamics outside of the CSM. According to field theory every field is based on social relations and therefore includes an element of power. To what extent does the structure of the CSM follows the logics of a field as Bourdieu defines it?

This section about the field of the CSM is split into three topics that were frequently mentioned in the collected data. The first topic deals with representation. This includes the distinction between non-governmental organizations and social movements, one of the main characteristics CSM bases itself on. Afterwards, the diversity within the CSM will be further elaborated on. Finally, the discussion shifts towards the question whether it is possible to create a common ground among such a variety of actors, both in terms of geographical representation as on professional background. The second topic has to do with the negotiation process. This process deals with the way all different CSM groups are able to link their work and search for common themes and a comprehensible message. Important in this is also the way CSM evaluates his own work in a structural manner. Afterwards attention will be paid to the power relations present within the CSM. The last topic is shorter and deals with three practical issues that were frequently, but briefly touched upon during the interviews.

7.1.1 Representation

NGOs and Social Movements

The following is stated within the founding document of the CSM: “The CSM will be an inclusive space open to the full range of constituencies concerned about and affected by hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition, including social movements and NGOs, particularly those from developing countries, those affected by hunger and those committed to the realization of the right to food and food sovereignty” (Committee on World Food Security 2010). Within this single statement

two core principles are mentioned. On the one hand, the CSM provides an open space open for all civil society actors or organizations that are dealing with food insecurity. On the other hand it privileges those organizations that directly relate to those that are suffering the most from food insecurity and hunger. Those statements have a contrasting character and are open for different interpretations. Among the participants there were indeed a multitude of understandings of the importance of having such a distinction. In general, a dual notion of the importance of separating NGOs from social movements is visible.

Let us first turn towards the participants that explicitly highlight the importance of making a distinction between both civil society groups within the CSM. The characteristics that were used to describe both NGOs and social movements offer an interesting starting point to understand the importance of making such a distinction. Participant described people who are engaged in a social movement as passionate and true representatives of those that are suffering the most from food insecurity. NGOs on the other hand consist of professionals who are not intrinsically motivated, but have to make a living. Their talents are within organizational and institutional tasks, but they are not stated to be true representatives of local populations struggling to get the right amount of food and nutrition. Participant 14 phrases this as following: “while social movements are basically made up of progressives who are driven by passion and believe very much in what they want to do and their mission, organised from bottom up, the NGOs are registered organisations, made up of professionals who will many times only work as per their job descriptions”.

This person is belonging to a majority that is while describing the distinction, tended to make positive statements when explaining the role of social movements, while doing the opposite for describing NGOs. Participant 6 for example focuses on the amount of time and energy both groups want to spend on certain topics. This person states that social movements have a limited amount of time and money available and therefore seek only to be part of international field or global forums if they are able to make a difference there. NGOs on the other hand will get paid anyway and are therefore not really concerned with the effectiveness of their actions, as long as it enhances visibility and attracts attention. Participant 11 defines the situation in its own country as quite a weak civil society. Asking for elaboration on this statement it became clear that a lack of what he defined as passionate, non-hierarchical social movements and instead a NGO-only model, was what he described as weak. NGOs are considered to be professional workers doing their duties rather than performing as persons that gap the bridge between local reality and policy making institutions.

This last statements connects to another characteristic of both types of civil society organizations, the difference that is made when speaking about representation. Participant 6 is praising the current structure within the CSM, thereby stating that it is progressive to bypass the dominant position of NGOs in global policy forums. According to participant 6 it is “totally clear that NGOs have no right to speak for anyone”. Participant 6 states that within the CSM there is consensus that NGOs provide different type of resources, but should not be allowed to be a dominant factor within discussions about the positioning of the CSM. Participant 3 mentions the fact that because social movements really know the problem on a local level, a NGO should assist their work rather than overtaking it. The fact that within social movements people are represented that are coming from the ground

makes it legitimate for them to speak on behalf of the most marginalized. Many members of the CSM do agree that the main contribution of the mechanism is the fact that it offers an opportunity to get those represented that are experiencing the main problems on the ground. NGOs are according to participant 2 a link in a chain. They do not directly represent those that are suffering from hunger and undernourishment, but they possess an understanding of what is needed. By offering technical and financial means their role is to assist social movements in getting the support they need to address their main concerns and propose the right solutions.

In short, the opinion of the group that is a proponent of a strong division between NGOs and social movements is based on two elements. Social movements on the one hand, do without question address the real problems, because they are driven out of passion and experience the everyday problems on the ground. NGOs, on the other hand often work based on second-hand information and there is always this opportunity that they act out of different interests, for example to attract funds, to please donors and gain attention and visibility. Nevertheless, none of the participants stated that according to them NGOs should not be involved at all within the CSM. As already touched upon most of them stated that NGOs are needed to fulfil their function as a supportive actor. In the following quote participant 10 summarizes it as following:

> It is very important that there is a division, because actually most of the movement are closer to the real problems. And they speak on their behalf, not on behalf of others. It is a big difference I think, because the NGOs are the group who work with someone (so not directly involved). It is also a synergy, because sometimes for social movements it is really difficult to pick up the language that is understandable for decision makers, but a NGO can provide those board tasks, because they have more experience, and skills, and knowledge in this regard (interview 20-07-2016).

What this last part of the quote shows is that digging deeper into the usefulness of the distinction and the concreteness of what it implies to make such a difference, complicates the matter. How does this distinction between social movements and NGOs work in practice and how useful is it to have such a distinction? In the following the other side of the coin will be highlighted, thereby showing why several participants felt that the distinction that is being made is artificial.

Asking participant 8 what his opinion was on the distinction between NGOs and social movements the following reply was being given: “That is a very interesting question. To me that is a false distinction. It is occasionally used to marginalize the local-focused, independent-minded and the self-sufficiently type of NGOs”. Interesting aspect of this opinion is the fact that this person touches upon an important question. Where is the borderline between calling a well-organized local organization that is founded to defend some local interests and even pays salaries, a social movement or a NGO. The characteristics that were just mentioned about the differences between NGOs and social movements do not correspond with the observations I made at the CFS meeting. Many NGOs representatives were actively voicing the interests of civil society and had a similar intrinsic motivation as social movements representatives had. Similar opinions are, sometimes more hidden in diplomatic statements, offered by almost all participants. Participant 5 was not a proponent of

making a strong division, because this person noticed that between both terms a thin line existed. Referring to an example of a national NGO that was successfully activating its members to organize themselves to defend women and human rights, participant 5 was wondering to what extent was correct to state that this organization is just a NGO without any knowledge on the problems at a local scale. In this person's own terms: "At the end of the day all of them all trying to debate issues around the social". Another interesting perspective is provided by participant 10. This person was involved in a CSM working group, but has not been involved in the CSM in general. This offered a perspective how people that are entering the CSM to get engaged in a certain topic, are reflecting on its organizational structure. What makes it even more interesting is that this person was not really aware of the formal principles of the CSM, so the participant was hardly biased. Being confronted with the fact that this formal distinction is made within the CSM participant 10 responded by stating that he did not get any impression of such a distinction at all. It was stated that they all had an equal opportunity to speak, each based on their own background and experiences. Issues like a fair representation of social movements were not addressed at all. The overall message was that all representatives within the working group had a varied perspective and different types of expertise that each of them brought into the discussion. Formal distinctions, such as the organization one represents or on behalf of who one is speaking were not mentioned according to this person's experiences.

Even the people that were favouring the distinction and were pointing at the importance of having a privileged position for civil society movements were hardly able to address how this should be done in practice and where also facing difficulties in phrasing a clear borderline between social movements and NGOs. For example participant 7 stated that the distinction within the differentiated roles of social movements and NGOs is clear for all participants within CSM. However, this contradicts the statement participant 7 made just before, that there is a grey zone in such a way that social movements can also be organized at international level, while NGOs can be very local-oriented. To what extent is it fair that an international movement is representing all farmers in the world, while those local NGOs should not be allowed to speak on behalf of the region they are operating in? Participant 7 explains: "These types of discussion come up and then you sometimes also have at local level a mixture between movements and NGOs, where the distinction is not always clear. So sometimes there is a certain level of confusion". This confusion increases when people are addressing their own role within the CSM. Participant 11 states that he is working for a NGO, but at national level they would rather call the organization a social movement. It is based on a cultural interpretation since better structured organizations within developed countries are often working on professional level and therefore considered as NGOs, but they can still be involved in collective action within a local community. Participant 2 states that it might be difficult to know what representative is really speaking based on their own experiences, and what representatives are speaking on behalf of their organization. He states that several social movements have an organizational structure and a secretariat with employed people. According to this person "this is actually almost the same as a NGO". What is interesting to mention is that all of the participants were professional workers themselves and all were getting paid to represent their organization. Nevertheless, they still referred to NGOs in third person and during their introduction a vast majority did not mention whether he or she was part of a NGO or a social movement. This highlights the gap

that exists between the theory they were defending (social movements should have a privileged voice within the CSM) and the situation in practice (there is a big grey zone in calling a certain organization a NGO or a social movement).

Besides the difficulty in operationalizing what is meant by the two type of organizations an important point of critical thought is the lack of expertise and opportunities of the most marginalized people. NGOs are recognized as possessing more technical knowledge, but also are stated to posses more expertise in providing data that is supporting certain statements. In terms of field theory, social movements are valued for their social and symbolic capital (local knowledge and networks and representation of those that are marginalized), but they need NGOs for technical, informational and professional capital. According to participant 10 the CSM needs to search for this balance of new blood that is involved with local problems, and experienced people with a knowledge on negotiating skills and an understanding of what is needed to get your point across. So to speak these experienced people have a more suited habitus within the CSM.

Not all issues addressed within the CSM are within the core concern of those on the ground. Technical issues, such as trade and biofuels were frequently mentioned as examples of topics that do not directly correspond with the main concerns of local food producers. Both participant 3 and participant 7 mentioned that it is difficult to have a strong representation of the most marginalized groups within issues they are not directly involved in and are considered as complex and political. According to participant 3 this is not necessarily problematic, since “some people from social movement decided not to engage and prioritize on other issues, also because they trust the people that were already involved in the working group”. It seems that there is a bit of a contrasting trend. Where it is frequently mentioned that CSM should consist of the most marginalized, all participants I interviewed had a good educational background. It seems that those people are needed to structure the debate, even though participant 6 says “it has to be very clear that it is people’s movement who have the political right, or political legitimate to determine what decisions are that civil society brings into the CFS”.

This leads towards a concluding part of this section and that actually has to do with power relations within the field of the CSM, based on the possession of the right capital. Characteristics of social movements are defined as types of capital that are highly valued within the structure of the CSM. Being able to know the problems on the ground, to represent the most marginalized people, so to be fully engaged on a local level offers a privileged position within the CSM. Email conversation about the selection procedure for the CFS meeting made this clear. The selection procedure is a process in which CSM selects the persons who are allowed to speak on behalf of the CSM during the plenary sessions of the CFS. Within this email conversation it was stated that there was “a need to prioritize the attendance by social movements”. Digging deeper into this topic offers a bit of a different perspective. Technical knowledge, as well as appropriate skills and experience are types of capital and habitus that provide the opportunity to become an influential player within the decisions made in the field of the CSM. Certain topics, such as biofuels, requires types of capital that do not fit to the way the participant described social movements. One of the respondents stated that you cannot choose one actor over the other, because that is making one particular group more powerful. This

person was stating that sometimes big global formations are called social movements, and that prioritizing those type of movements can lead to a marginalization of the smaller scale movements. What is important in looking at the strategy of the CSM is that giving voice to small-scale marginalized groups is something that is legitimizing the CSM's existence. It therefore offers an important characteristic of the field, but there is also a tendency to stick too much to this artificial division. One could change the dynamics of the field and only involve topics that are addressed by the local food producers themselves or acknowledge that this division between NGOs and social movements is not completely representative of reality. As participant 13 said: "The importance actually lies in how we work together to achieve common goals. I see the value of belonging to the CSM as a vehicle to work together".

Translating this to field theory it can be concluded that an important characteristic of the field of the CSM is the representation of local marginalized groups. Being directly related to small-scale project provides CSM participants a beneficial position within the field. It therefore is a type of symbolic capital. However, contrarily to what many participants stated this type of capital is not strictly related to the fact whether one is part of a social movement or a NGO, it is rather dependent on the acknowledgement of others in the field. If an individual can convince others within the field of the CSM that he or she is speaking on behalf of the most marginalized groups, he possesses this type of symbolic capital, regardless of the fact whether this person officially belongs to a NGO or a social movement. Possessing symbolic capital is therefore not based on the question whether one belongs to a NGO or a social movement, way more important to possess this type of capital is the way an individual gains the trust of others in the CSM that he or she is justified to speak on behalf of others. Symbolic capital nevertheless is only one of several types of capital that actors within the CSM can possess to gain influence. Actors that are envisioned to belong more to official NGOs can emphasize the fact that they have way more experience (habitus) as well as social and professional capital. This explains the fact that during the latest CFS meeting many CSM representatives within the plenary session belonged to NGOs.

Diversity

Diversity is considered as one of the central feature of the structure of the CSM. As participant 14 explained the CSM functions as a bridge between the CFS and food-related civil society. He explained that "the civil society has a great diversity when it comes to issues of world food production. The CSM is a great space for interaction, sharing and is also very inclusive, no civil society organization should feel left out while the CSM exists". Participant 4 argued that this diverse representation leads to a diversity in skills and experience:

> So there is a vast array of people that are involved in different parts of food producing that is repeated throughout the CSM. So, that makes CSM particularly useful and particularly powerful. Because it is able to bring all those different views and experiences into the debate and decision making at the CFS level. So that's why I think there is nothing similar anywhere in the world or in any other UN agency or department that has the value that the CFS has (interview 20-06-2016).

Two important aspects that are addressed within this quote are the fact that it states that the CSM has already been able to gather a diverse range of actors and perspectives and that this diversity makes the position of the CSM stronger. According to participant 11 the aspect of diversity is what makes civil society a powerful voice in the negotiations. Speaking on behalf of only one group makes it easy to dismiss a suggestion, but collective involvement of civil society makes it difficult for any other actor to bypass its suggestions.

Striving towards diversity creates some difficulties. An important point of discussion is the fact that diversity creates a plurality of viewpoints, opinions and perspectives. When explaining the importance of the CSM participant 2 frequently emphasized the fact that multiple voices, "as in plural", should be represented instead of just one voice. When I asked for a further explanation he explained that the CSM should never claim that it is a homogenous group. Disagreement on certain points are necessary, since looking at certain topics from different backgrounds will also lead to a diversity in solutions. To quote participant 2: "All solutions are relevant within their own context. This is why it is important to have different voices represented instead of looking for one single solution that deems most relevant at first sight. It is about the plurality of solutions that have to fit within the different contexts people live in". "Enriching the discussion" (participant 5) is in this respect a core value of the field of the CSM.

In practice it turns out that dealing with this diversity is also accompanied with some difficulties. First, several people explained that having internal differences rather than a uniform statement undermines the position of civil society within the CFS negotiations. This makes diversity more difficult to deal with, because starting from a diverse range of viewpoints might be seen as valuable, ending up with a plurality of opinions as civil society representation undermines its position during negotiations. This topic will be further explored later on in this chapter, but keeping it in mind makes it easier to understand why several people explained that diversity can be complex. To refer to one of the participants (12) "while the CSM brings us together under one really vital umbrella for civil society, it is challenging to come to common tactics". As a main suggestion for improvement several participants, such as number 5 come up with the need to have a good strategy on how to deal with all these people from varying backgrounds in such a way that the CSM's position within the CFS is not undermined, but CSM is still doing justice to the diversity of opinions it consists of.

There is disagreement among participants whether the CSM is yet succeeding in this mission to do justice to the diversity of civil society. While some of them believe that the CSM is distinguishing itself because of its diverse character, there is some criticism about the way the CSM provides opportunities for dissidents. The power relations within the CSM will return later in this section, but important to already address is the fact that there is concern that a great number of participants within the CSM is in some way connected to a limited number of international movements, making those movements very influential within the CSM. The problem is that in many cases majority decides when CSM needs to come to a final statement. The general way of reasoning is that "there may be troubles on how to get there, but we will agree on the end goal" or as another participant is stating "at the end of the day we build on consensus to arrive on common positions".

Those common positions are a worrying trend for some of the respondents. Participant 1 stated that "majority wins and that becomes a problem, because you marginalize people that have voices of descent". He concludes that the current way the CSM is functioning does not allow diversity and the full burden of doing justice to diversity is on the working groups. Participant 10 addressed this concern as well. He stated that it is worrisome that by taking decisions on political issues the majority often decides. Reflection on the range of other opinions is therefore not, or just to a limited extent, present. According to participant 13 the way the CSM deals with differences is dependent on the issue and the desired outcomes. This already opens some room for concern, since there are cases in which diversity is simply not reflected in the outcome of the process. The following quote of participant 8 illustrates the concerns participants have about this:

> They should actually strive for consensus, but the majority does not tolerate dissidents. They forget about the plurality part, which should be balanced. You can have autonomy, but you need to have plurality. When you don't have plurality, you keep making the same mistakes over and over again. Cause someone is not telling you, don't put your foot in that hole. So their view is very narrow, they don't see the holes. So you need a divergent point of view that says: 'don't go that way, that's the wrong way' (interview 07-07-2016).

Another difficulty that was mentioned when addressing the importance of creating diversity within the CSM was that it is difficult to get local food producers involved. Participant 7 stated that a very strong participation of those local producers is currently a weak point of the CSM. What is interesting is that this person remarked that CSM has the tools and mechanisms to increase representation, however it still has not reached full potential. Others make similar statements, an interesting perspective is offered by participant 12 who addressed the problem by pointing at the need to improve the representation of agricultural workers and landless farmers, because they are tempted to be somewhat underrepresented. He also mentioned a reason for this underrepresentation by stating that it is "quite difficult and quite terrifying to be a representative of a marginalized community and find yourself in Rome where the culture and the way of working is quite alien". Finally he summed up solutions to improve participation of this group. They should get financial support, but also more support and training in how to be part of such an international institution. Participant 9 mentioned the opposite, because he stated that civil society had a fair representation within the working group he participated in. When he was asked how he would define a good representation, he mentioned several actors that were participating within the working group. He mentioned several representatives for Asian farmers, as well as farmer groups from Spain, Italy, Great-Britain and the Netherlands. It is remarkable that representatives from countries outside Asia and Europe were not mentioned, neither did he refer to more constituencies than the farmers.

Participant 12 already provided an answer on the question why this group of locally oriented workers is underrepresented within the CSM. Several others also delivered input in addressing those problems. Participant 7 addressed a point of unfamiliarity with the potentials of the structure of the CSM. According to him it takes a lot of energy and time to connect to local movements. As participant 7 stated:

> It takes a lot of time and energy to connect, to inform about what the CFS is, what the CSM is , what the issues are, what the role of the CSM can be to influence what happens at grassroots level. So there are a lot of conditions that still need to be worked upon, so that people will understand the relevance of the CFS for their daily struggles in their daily life (interview 06-07-2016).

Connecting the work of the CSM to the daily lives of people is a core point to encourage wider representation of local constituencies. Participant 10 explained that being engaged in a Working Group is time consuming and intense. Those local representatives that are involved within the CSM will most likely pick the topics that can be directly translated to their daily experiences. This has led to a poor participation within several working groups. Participant 11 explained that people that are focused on "their fight at home" will not directly see the potential of being involved in international negotiations. He argued that explaining how the CFS and the CSM are operating might sound bureaucratic. Instead a good strategy to get more diversity is "to hook people directly through their own interest through the committee". What one also needs to keep in mind is that the culture of civil society representation varies over the world. Regions with a strongly regulated civil society are likely to consist of many NGOs rather than social movements that are based on spontaneous collective action. It seems likely that the best way to increase participation of local groups within the CSM is to make a detailed unique plan for every region and make sure that within the representation of the region there is enough capacity and support to be actively engaged with the developments.

Within the field of the CSM diversity is considered as a main characteristic. However there is also a concern that it undermines the position the CSM has within the field of the CFS. Internal disagreement limits the potential to become a powerful actor within the CFS. Unconsciously this has an impact on the dynamics of the CSM field. CSM is looking for more local civil society groups. They are considered as important to be involved, since they provide cultural and symbolic capital. However, they do not necessarily posses the right capital and habitus to fully understand the way the CSM is operating. Furthermore, not all local groups will be interested to enter the field of the CFS, because it will demand too much energy and time for them to posses the right type of capital and habitus that is needed to make a difference. The problems of how to deal with dissidents within the CSM, and the barrier for local movements to enter the field of CSM, can be summarized as the two main explanations that CSM has not fulfilled its full capacity to have a fully diverse group of civil society actors.

Common understanding

The point of common understanding within the field connects to the diversity of the CSM. Having, or at least striving for such a diverse group of civil society actors to come to consensus on what are important themes, is challenging but nevertheless important. A common understanding entails having an agreement of what the most important themes are and furthermore is about creating an atmosphere in which all actors can cooperate well. Again, opinions concerning the ability of the CSM to create a common understanding vary. While some of the participants are supporting the way all actors create a common ground within the CSM, others are worried that CSM is not fulfilling its full potential. First the people that are enthusiastic about the way CSM deals with creating a common

ground are highlighted. Afterwards, attention will be paid to two points of criticism; some contested terms and the thin line between consensus and a majority that rules.

Most of the participants referred to their experiences within working groups when they were emphasizing the successfulness of the CSM in creating a common understanding. According to participant 9 the basic principles, which are according to him the core points a working group was striving for, were the same among all actors. It was not necessary to strive for consensus, because there was unanimity on these points. According to him it was not a matter of discussing what the ultimate goal should be, but rather on how to get there. This way of reflecting on the cooperation within a working group was actually coming back in several other groups as well. Participant 11 states that "the consensus within the working groups has been very high". Everybody was recognizing the need to have NGOs involved that had a lot of expertise in the topic, but also actors that were passionate on the topic and could bring in stories of personal experiences. Again this reflects the different types of actors that can become influential within the field of the CSM. On the one hand those that possess the symbolic and local social capital, on the other hand those with more habitus and capital when it comes to negotiating on a global level. Participant 11 further remarked: "We have not had any restrictive disagreement around consensus at all, we had very engaging discussions about what to do about the process, which had been one of our main concerns". This person stated that reaching consensus was very successful within this working group and in cases of disagreement, solutions were always found. This common understanding of the general principles a working group wants to strive for are considered as a crucial element of having a successful CSM structure. When participant 7 is asked to name the biggest contribution of the Working Group he has been part of, he summarizes it as follows: "In general what we have achieved for civil society is probably having a better understanding of what the issue means and also trying to put in a bit more general principles that are needed to address these big issues. So it is about creating a common understanding and certain principles to address it". Participant 12 nicely summarizes it:

> In terms of broader messaging I think we mostly agree. Such as that the CFS is a body that is really founded on human rights and the right to food. So those kinds of things we sort of agree on, the underlying and not often outspoken standards of the CSM. But how you get there is where we have differences (interview 13-09-2016).

The last sentence implies that despite this general agreement on the standards there are also some points in which opinions differ. It is important to have an understanding about the end result that civil society is striving for. Later on more attention will be paid to the role of the CSM in translating its results to local contexts. However, what is already important to state is the fact that opinions differ on when an end result can be considered as something valuable. A good example are the tenure guidelines (Voluntary Guidelines on the responsible Governance of tenure of land fisheries and forests in the Context of national food security), while some were arguing that this was a big success of the CSM, since it forces other actors to deal with the problem, others were stating that those guidelines have actually been a waste of time, since it did not make a difference on the ground.

Another point in which several participants expressed their concerns about the lack of common understanding was the use of generally accepted terms. The tendency is to accept those terms since they are considered as UN language. Some were arguing that civil society is the right group to address difficulties with certain terms and to argue for terms that do more justice to local situations. To quote participant 8: “I don’t care about accepted terms, I want terms changed because it is arbitrary”. Several examples could be mentioned about terminology that is generally accepted within the field of the CFS, but that is contested by some actors within the field of the CSM. Some terms that were discussed during the interview is the difference between food security and food sovereignty, use of small-scale producers or farmers, and economic empowerment of women. Not all of the contested terminology will be further explored, but the discussion about the use of the generally accepted term small-scale producers is interesting to pay attention to. When several working group members were asked for their personal opinion one of the participants came up with his point of concern that “there is an overdose of the use of the word smallholders in our civil society system”. According to him smallholders was not a term any farmer would feel confident with. The term ‘small’ implies that they actually need to grow; “farmers will not identify with us, what we say and our movement and initiatives as the farmers do not identify with the term small”. Interesting to notice are the reactions that followed. A term that is usually uncontested within the CFS and the CSM, suddenly became point of discussion, with new suggestions such as local farmers. An observation that was addressed was the fact that the private sector used the terms smallholders as larger business in waiting, thereby undermining its value. Such ongoing discussions are valuable and do justice to the diversity of people that are represented within working groups and within the CSM as a whole. Several participants state there should be more room for divergent viewpoints. Ongoing discussions should be communicated to other levels of the CSM and might be discussed in even broader setting. One could argue that this has more to do with disagreement about language, rather than a lack of a common understanding of the issues the CSM is dealing with. However, this can also be analyzed with a field theory framework. Those respondents that had more experience with international negotiations and therefore a more suited habitus are more likely to stick to language that is common in the field of the CFS. Others rather emphasize their habitus with more local fields and would like language to be changed according to the wishes of the most marginalized people. When having such a perspective, this point exceeds just disagreement about language and can be envisioned as a difference in perspective about how the CSM should function. The dilemma therefore is, how should the CSM balance its connection to local fields on the one hand and the global governance field on the other hand?

A final point in which common understanding might be threatened is the fact that when at the end of the day majority decides, this might lead to power struggles and less diversity as hoped for. Participant 2 remarks that in plenary sessions with the CFS aim is to have one united voice. Expressing several contrasting opinions would limit your negotiation position. This line of reasoning is understandable, but also offers a potential danger. Participant 2 sketches a situation in which the different opinions and viewpoints are analyzed and by discussing and striving for consensus common ground will be formulated. This process of creating consensus is important, but there is a thin line between having a system of consensus or having a system in which majority decides. Some argue that within the CSM there are as they call it ‘political blocks’ who are deciding on important issues.

During several important discussions within the Coordination Committee a voting procedure took place. This system of voting undermines the process of having different opinions raised and coming to a process of consensus, but also provides more power to those actors that possess the best social and political capital and have the strongest habitus within the field of the CSM. Those concerns are strongly raised by one of the participants: “The majority within the CSM thinks that consensus simplifies, but consensus does not simplify. Consensus means that you need to ask all people their opinion, you have all these different options and you have to reach a common ground and meeting place and then move forward. That is not simple, voting is much more simple”. On the other hand this system might also allow for the existence of dissidents. Power imbalances encourage people to challenge the system and to emphasize different types of capital that powerful actors do not possess. In the following part about the negotiation processes within the CSM, further attention will be paid to the power relations. What is important to remark for now is the fact that a general conclusion that can be drawn is the fact that within Working Groups there is much more opportunity to address different opinions than in more general CSM decisions, such as those that are taken within the Coordinating Committee. As a final statement let us take a look at the words of participant 3: “In the CSM group everybody should try to reach agreement, and if agreement is not possible everybody should find a way in which different positions are presented in the CFS meeting or whatever space”.

Linking representation to field theory

What can be concluded by this representation part is that the CSM is a mechanism striving for uniformity, but also legitimizes itself by giving voice to a wide range of opinions. Representation therefore refers to representing a wide range of actors that belongs to food related civil society. Civil society representatives have stated that it is important to have a flat power hierarchy. When taking into perspective the core values of the CSM, which is giving a voice to those that are suffering most from food insecurity and hunger and which is also having a diverse group of civil society actors represented within its structure, some interviewed participants raised doubts whether using votes is an appropriate system to make decisions within the field of the CSM. They stated that voices of minorities should be taken seriously and some suggested a system in which different viewpoints are Having a clearly defined structure to deal with divergent opinions of minorities of the CSM seems to be favoured by the participants over sticking to the artificial division between NGOs and social movements. Professional skills and experience is an aspect that certain workers within NGOs can bring in and therefore both groups need each other.

What has become clear from this representation of those that are most affected by food insecurity part is the fact that the diversity of civil society actors as CSM aims for, is in practice actually a diversity in capital and amount of habitus. Those actors that experience the problems on a local scale on a daily basis are very important within the field of the CSM, because they legitimize its existence and offer new type of insights and networks. One could state that local representatives within the CSM contribute by providing social, symbolic and informational capital. However, in many cases those type of actors lack habitus in such a way that they are not familiar with international governance processes, have difficulties in understanding the field of both the CSM as the CFS and do not always posses the right organizational, networking, lobbying and negotiation skills. Civil society representatives from developed countries or big social movements provide this type of habitus and capital. They posses political, organizational and different types of for example informational and

social capital and thereby legitimize their existence within the field of the CSM. The field of the CSM forms a continuum consisting of actors that have local knowledge and international negotiation skills. Most actors are in-between both extremes, but as the people that were interviewed concluded the CSM needs a variety of capital to exist. Some participants argue that within the CSM there is a tendency to prioritize those that possess better negotiations skills. What might be a better explanation for the power differences within the field of the CSM is the habitus and social capital that people have within the CSM. Those with good connections and experience in the field of the CSM are more likely to become influential than actors that are new and relatively isolated within the field. The power relations within the CSM will be discussed within the next session. Within the next section of this chapter we will have a look at the negotiation processes within the CSM. We will take a look at the way the field of the CSM is organized and finally pay more attention to the power relations that are accompanied with it.

7.1.2 Policy and strategy processes

Linking work

Since the reform of the CFS and the establishment of an autonomous CSM several discussions have taken place and decisions have been made. The CSM has extended the number of participants that are active and a wide variety of themes and topics have been discussed. The CC is responsible for internal strategies and has focussed to make sure that certain red lines are maintained within the discussion. According to participant 2 there were some overarching themes that are coming back within all the working groups and form the basis of the work of the CSM. Several examples are given, such as right to food, women's rights , food sovereignty, sustainability of agriculture and the importance of small-scale producers. This statement seems to be justified when looking at the spreadsheet based on all documentation that is produced by the Working Groups and publicly accessible on the CSM website. Some themes are frequently mentioned within several working groups. Almost every Working Group is somewhere within its documentation addressing the importance of smallholder producers, human rights and the rights to food, sustainability, agro-ecology, and gender. Themes that were not mentioned by all working groups, but nevertheless coming back several times are land grabbing, water, guidelines, nutrition, monitoring and natural resources. Setting those lines on the overall strategy of the CSM is an important process that is helping to link all the work of the CSM. Participant 7 noticed the importance of having some structured themes and linkages in the all the work of the CSM. As he remarks:

> It helps to built from past experiences. And that is not only to facilitate coordination or better understanding between the working groups, so that their working is parallel, but also building on the work of previous working groups. So the we bring the past experiences into a more collective knowledge and experience (interview 06-07-2016).

These lines of reasoning are commonly accepted within the CSM, based on the fact that several of the participants addressed similar opinions. Many of them are mentioned examples of ways in which this is already happening. However, most of them are also remarking that this was a decision made by a particular individual or group instead of a structured way of organizing it. This fits the pattern that is visible when analyzing the overview of the Working Groups. Hardly any working group is referring to documents or meetings that were produced by other groups within the CFS and the CSM.

Core focus is always on a newly designed decision box or guidelines. There is not a systemized way of including previous work of any other CSM group.

This is not to say that good interference between different (working) groups within the CSM does not exist. Participant 14 remarked that within all the working groups he was involved in, they tried to look for collective strategies and cooperation with other working groups. Participant 13 stated that communication among the working groups could be stronger, but he mentions some exceptions in which cooperation is already happening.

What is interesting to mention is that core focus within working groups is to pay attention to the fact that all of its members should have a fair chance to contribute. This is important because it connects the topic of representation we dealt with in the previous part. A downside is that not much focus is on including themes that are within the main strategy of civil society, but CSM is rather reacting on what the CFS is producing. A Working Group aims to produce a certain document. Based on the decision box or draft of the document that is produced they are defining their main interest. This makes civil society reactionary instead of taking initiative. It limits the potential to link with other working groups and come up with new suggestions. Respondent 11 described a process of a working group that had to provide a reaction on a long zero draft document that the CFS had produced. Civil society was worried about its potential since it contained a lot of general statements, without really saying anything. He expressed his concerns about the fact that civil society was not able to have any influence on what had to be included in the first decision box. Instead he said: “Over time we hope that we perhaps can shape this into something useful ”. Participant 10 described a similar process when explaining how decision making and communication within a working group is taking place. Instead of starting as a civil society constituency to look at what has already been done concerning the topic and define how civil society would like to see improvements, the process is described as reacting on documents produced by the CSM. The process is described as following:

> We share all the documents provided by the CFS about this topic and give time for feedback and reflection on the information to the group members. And there are quite a few people, but there are people who give feedback and then we make again and we try to consolidate the comments and to build a common point of view (interview 20-07-2016).

The following two points are remarkable. First, although there is opportunity to provide feedback, this way of working limits the potential involvement of all civil society actors. It seems that when asked to react on existing work, civil society members feel a higher barrier to provide their own opinion than in situations in which civil society would have discussed its own point of view concerning the topic. This might create a barrier to enter the field of the CSM as a civil society actors while the CSM strives to have a broad participation. The second point is that civil society only reacts on what is written in the CFS documents, thereby having a great risk of missing points it wants to address itself. One of the participant concludes: “Sometimes things slip through and we don’t actually insert what we should insert. But there is so much to keep track of, it is too much for one person to keep track off”.

The fact that there is not much opportunity to create an own strategy before the process of reacting on suggestion of the CFS starts, might also explain why most of the participant felt that linking the work of the CSM is happening, but not within a structured manner. Participant 4 stated that there are different processes, but at some point they do intersect each other. “Quite often there is a cross-coordination of people who serve on different working groups. But my experience is that it does not happen often enough”. The same opinion is stated by other participant, number 7 for example remarks that there is a minimal exchange, and there is a need for improvement. “My sense is that very often in the preparation of the working groups there is a lot of parallel work. So I think it is potentially one of the elements for improvements”. In conclusion it could be stated that there is simply not much opportunity to create their own strategy as civil society and to take the time to see to what other groups and work of the CSM a particular process can be linked. Instead of strategizing beforehand and using this a guideline for the working group during the entire preparation and negotiation process, it is often a process of reacting on what others propose. This means that within the field of the CSM is for its outcomes

Participant 3 paid attention to a different point, which is that there are many Working Groups in which people are involved that also have experience with other Working Groups or processes. Those people have a strong legitimacy to interfere in new working groups, because their expertise and experience enhances their habitus. As participant 3 stated these people “manage to bridge the gap and to raise potential issues in terms of completing strategies or completion of different working groups”. Those people are needed to keep track of developments within the CSM. As remarked by one of the participants (4) “we also need to acknowledge that there are different capacities and we do not always have the means to participate in all different working groups”. There is a potential risk that those people with a more suited habitus and more capital in terms of knowledge about former CSM and CFS processes can increase their power, since they have an advantage over other actors. Their position within different working groups gives them an advantage over other inexperienced persons. There is a danger that such a difference in habitus and capital leads to stronger power relations between actors and limits the potential of other civil society actors to intervene in the policies and decision making processes. During several informal conversations I had during the latest CFS meeting, several CSM members responded to several of my question with the reply that they were not always able to keep up with all the processes and that I could better direct my questions towards those that were more experienced and had better social capital (connections), political capital (better positions within Working Groups for example) or better professional capital (more negotiation and networking skills). This exemplifies the tendency from newer and more inexperienced actors to put those with these types of capital and more suited habitus higher on the hierarchy.

In summary of this section, in terms of linking work within the CSM there are two core problems identified. First, CSM is operating as a reacting mechanism, because responding to the suggestions of the CFS might limit the opportunities to define its own focus points and strategies. Second, there is limited possibility to link work, since the work of the CSM is simply to diverse to keep track of everything as an individual actor. An example is the Gender working group. They reached promising agreements after their CFS roundtable during the CFS 37 session and they strived to mainstream the

arrangements within all work of the CSM. They wanted to make sure that all Working Groups were referring to gender issues. Their conclusion was that this was too much to keep track off. “The mainstreaming part of it was too much for us. We are all volunteers and you had to look at all the documents, it was a bit too much”. Similar results were mentioned by other participants, such as number 9 who stated that “we tried to relate to other documents, but overall the result was pretty poor”.

Asking for solutions, participant 7 stated that the CSM should better document what it has done. This is an interesting suggestion, since on the website of the CSM there is already a lot of documentation available. Some Working Groups had a very limited documentation, and this makes it very difficult for outsiders to get a perspective in the process and the results. When taking a look at the list of Working Groups those differences are immediately visible. Looking at the differences between the nutrition Working Group, with very limited documentations and the gender working group, with more documentation and even an internal evaluation, one can immediately see that the latter one provides much more insight in what has been successful and what was not. However, there were also Working Groups with a very high amount of documentation, such as the protracted crisis and conflict, monitoring and mapping and the land tenure Working groups. This makes it also very difficult for an outsider to see what was important and to filter the core points of this working group. Providing documentation is already moving towards a better internal structure, but something needs to be added in order for it to be useful. Participants 8 provided more details about the way this documentation should take place: “I think there is a need for more coordination. When it is systemized it would be probably better”. Within this systematic documentation it is important for each group to explain how the, as participant 13 called it, overarching values, approaches and strategies will be addressed. Instead of waiting as a working group to react on drafts and decision boxes that the CFS provides, each working group could already be one step ahead. They can have a discussion with every member of the working group, discussing what they consider as important concerning that specific topic and what and how they want to have changed. The Working Group concerned with the Global Strategic Framework operated in this way and stated that “the preparation of a CSO statement before the actual drafting was considered as fundamental for defining the political aims for the CSM's engagement with the CFS”. This leads to a standardized document that each Working Groups has to design. It includes the core points the working group wants to have included and also how this should be done. Furthermore it includes a legitimacy how it addresses the overarching themes of the CSM and a section in which is stated to what former groups or documents the new working group wants to refer to. By making sure that each working group follows this structure both problems addressed in this section are solved. First, it provides the CSM working groups a clear blueprint to analyze all CFS documentation and negotiations with. It also increases the potential to come up with new points, that CSM had defined beforehand, but were not included in the draft versions or the decision box. Second, it will decrease dependency on those CSM actors that have a strong habitus and a experience with working groups and CFS documents. It offers actors with less habitus and capital the opportunity to provide their opinion without the need to have a good understanding of the field of the CSM and the provided documents. This will increase the justification of representation within the CSM.

It is not only at the beginning of each process where a standardized way of documenting will benefit the efficiency and effectiveness of the CSM. Having a standardized way of reflecting at the process afterwards will also be beneficial. We will deal with this further in the next section.

Internal evaluation

This part is about the process after a Working Group has finished. It addresses the extent to which processes and strategies are evaluated and following up plans are designed to make sure the effort will have long-term benefits. The structure follows the same pattern as the previous part. First, attention will be paid to what is already happening within the CSM concerning internal evaluation. Afterwards, focus will shift to the points of criticism that several participants addressed. Finally, just as with the part about linking the work within the CSM, a suggestion will be made on how it can be improved.

Evaluation after a CFS meeting was already happening within the CSM. Participant 7 remarked that it is common practice to look back after a negotiation process at what has been achieved and what was unsuccessful and to reflect on the used strategies. According to him there is also a follow up strategy to see how issues can be brought back into other workstreams and discussions. Other participants brought up the same opinion. They told that there are evaluation processes taking place and in case of a successful outcome a strategy on how to continue is discussed. Participant 13 emphasized the importance of having such a debriefing, because it helps in preparing a better strategy for the next time. By having lessons learned documents and open evaluation immediately after a negotiation, the CSM hopes to improves its strategies and ways of organizing. Participant 2 explained that in many occasions civil society stays in the room after negotiations to evaluate and design the next steps. After plenary meetings in October there is more organizations and the CC often has a special meeting to strategize. The evaluation is often written down, at least to a certain extent. As shown in the Working Groups list this provides the opportunity to make statements about what has been successful and what has not.

However, as the documentation in the Working Group list also shows the evaluation process is not in all cases very clear and therefore transparent. In many cases there were no specific Working Group evaluations available and each of the Working Groups had its own strategy. Some statements were hidden within long documents and therefore it requires spending much time to analyze all the documentations of a specific working group. This makes it complicated for individual actors to get track of the CSM, let alone to base further policy on. Again as an example the Gender Working Group will be used. They provided a clear evaluation document with concrete bullet points on what have been done well and what was unsuccessful. They also produced a concrete plan of action on how to continue to make sure gender would be mainstreamed within the CFS in the future. By doing this they were one of the most productive and successful Working Groups, functioning as leading examples on what could be the norm. However, they also experienced some difficulties as was explained in an interview with one of the participants. He explained that it became difficult to keep the other Working Group members excited about the after a while, because they were not supported and had to take initiative themselves to make sure gender was mainstreamed within every working group. As he said: “that is one of the major challenges, that a lot of the burden is now on the working

group without any kind of good participation". He was disappointed in the fact that all the burden to get the gender guidelines involved in local policy and within other discussions was on the members of the working group and there was very little support from the CC of the CSM to make this effective. As shown in the following quote, this led to an inability to come up with an effective evaluating and following up strategy:

> What we didn't do was come back and review what was working or not. So we didn't had that opportunity because what happended is that during the possibility of getting together in the CSM Forum, we had so little time, that we just had to focus on our working groups for that particular year. And so I tried to incorporate gender, but we did not come together as a gender working group later. Looking back at it, maybe we should have done that, but there was too much to do (interview 25-05-2016).

The gender working group is not the only group that addressed the problems with a lack of a strategized evaluation process. Participant 9 reacted surprised when being asked on an evaluation process. He told that he was not involved in that and he was not aware of the fact that such evaluation processes were happening. Participant 12 addressed the fact that several evaluation processes are happening, but that there is much variation within the level of elaboration. As he explained this is dependent on the time available and the motivation of the people that are involved. He said "it does depend on the working group and the circumstances". This actually connects to the point participant 8 made that there is a lesson learned process, but these processes are not sufficient enough, because there is a lack of time and critical consideration by many members. According to him it needs a lot more work. This can be explained by referring to the statements of participant 3. He states that the evaluation of a working group is often happening after an entire week, when people want to go home. This leads to a lack of time and effort of people.

Just as with the topic of linking the work the solution of having a better evaluation process that provides real opportunity to learn lessons out of former processes and to draw following-up plans on has to do with systemizing the process and provide support to the members of the different groups. Participant 4 explained that strategizing in a systematic way is important to provide the opportunity for newcomers to understand the process and avoid making the same mistakes again. This might help in making sure that the barrier to enter the field of the CSM keeps being low. In other words the CSM strives to have a wide-varied civil society representation and for this it helps to make sure that it does not requires much suited habitus and capital to enter the field of the CSM. The exact content is of course dependent on the process, the topic and the way the negotiations worked out, but the way evaluating and designing a follow-up plan can follow the same structure for every process. As participant 3 remareds there are two important points, the successfulness of the negotiations and the quality of the guidelines. Reflecting on the negotiation strategies might, whether the outcomes were positive or not, always be beneficial to improve in future. Another thing to reflect on is the procedure the working group has followed. The way the end product is evaluated depends on the content. As participant 3 stated: "If the recommendations are strong and good, people will use it. If it is not a big deal, then it is just an amount of energy for nothing".

What can be concluded from both the linking of the work and the evaluation procedure is that they provide insights in how the field of the CSM is structured. CSM participants are dependent on their own knowledge about how the CSM is structured and how processes developed in the past. Several participants remarked that they thought that they would benefit from a better training on how the CSM is organized and what is expected from participants. Experienced participants are therefore envisioned as more suited to expectations. Their experience provides them a privileged position over newer actors. This difference in suited habitus as well as social, professional and informational capital characterizes the field of the CSM and explains the way participants within the field of the CSM are organized and related to each other. Even in cases in which new actors possess better symbolic capital, since they are strongly involved in local fields, they are dependent on participants with more experience. This complex nature of the field of the CSM can also greater a barrier for new participants to enter the field. Several participants argued that a more systematized process to link and evaluate the work of the CSM would help to limit the power indifferences within the field. As shown in the next section, evaluation and linking the work are not the only reasons that power differences in the field of the CSM exist.

Power relations

Power relations among the CSM actors is an issue that is actually only mentioned by a small number of participants. However, it is still considered as important to include in the analysis of the field of the CSM. Within field theory, the concept of a field of power is crucial in understanding the dynamics of a certain field. An explanation for the fact that only little respondents addressed this issue can be found in field theory. The other participants consider the dynamics within the fields in which the possession of capital and habitus is creating hierarchies as a given. Another explanation is the fact that they are not the ones being hindered by the power hierarchies. However, as is the case with every field of power it is preventing some from offering the contribution to the field that they would like to contribute. The participants that addressed the issues all clearly stated that according to them it is limiting their potential to have a meaningful contribution.

Within the CSM one general movements is strongly represented. Being connected to this movement seems to imply the possession of a more suited habitus and social capital and thus a greater potential to be involved in certain decision making processes. This habitus implies that an individual has experience in related relevant fields and is therefore better able to understand the processes going on in the CSM. A better possession of social capital means that this individual has a good network and a good reputation and this makes it easier to voice his or her interests. The high amount of people that are involved in this movement makes it a majority within the CSM and thereby a big power holder in decision making processes. As one of the participants explains this strongly involves the strategic choices that are made within the CSM. The issues of voting on the policies of the CSM has already been addressed. According to respondents the movement is always voting as one unity, making decisions already decided upon, before they are even discussed. An example is the question of whether the CSM should structurally work on translating documents to local and national contexts. One of the participants explained that there is a lot of politics within the CSM. In his words there is one movement, or one block, that prevented the translation of work towards regional or

national level. This block is for whatever reason preventing certain processes and thereby preventing real effectiveness.

The inability of some actors to have a voice in the decision making is causing frustration. It is stated that important decisions within the CSM should be taken with consensus and opinions of the minority should influence the outcomes of the process. The frustration is reflected within the following quote of participant 8:

> They all vote the same way and are at the same meeting, they think we don't have eyes and we don't see them sitting at a table in a meeting we are not invited to. You really cannot have backward voting deals and not having everybody to know about it. It is power politics, cheap politics (interview 07-07-2016).

A point that is in particularly causing frustration and feelings of power inequalities exists when it comes to the selection procedure within the CSM to become part of a certain task team, negotiating team or other type of committee. As one of the participants state there are problems with the election of coordination committee members into the advisory group. He does not provide more details about the nature of the problems, but just states: "These kind of things become linked to power, which if for me always a waste of time and energy". Others do provide more information and they link the problem once again to the powerful position of this specific movements. One of the participants state: "If you are not part of this group, you will not get on a task group". What is interesting to mention is an elaboration on the question why this dynamics provide such a feeling of frustration. To refer to field theory, the actors that posses a lot of capital, that is considered as important within the CSM, can still be excluded from the process because they lack the right habitus. Again I refer to a quote of participant 7 to provide an insight in this process:

> You don't need any skills, you don't need any goodwill, what you need is the connections to the dominant global formation. So those with greater skills, experience and expertise do not actually get in to the positions that they should be in to (interview 07-07-2016).

What can be concluded from this quote is that according to this participant he possesses better capital in terms of professional skills, political and local knowledge, but power hierarchies within the field of the CSM are strongly dependent on the amount of social capital one possesses. Within email contact about the selection procedure for choosing representatives from working groups to participate within the CFS 43 meeting the issue was raised again. It was stated that "the selection procedure is not transparent". It was stated that the criterion of having to be an active working group member was unclear and was applied on people that did not participate before, while very active participants were not provided the label of active. It is stated that 40 of the 44 available positions were provided to members of the dominant movement. What is particularly important in terms of field theory is the following statement of participant 7:

> I have not been selected for a single session even though I have greater education, expertise and experience in the topic than most if not all selected. So no matter how meritorious an

> organizations is, if they are independent or self-reliant or unaffiliated or a maverick or *no member of the movement*, they will not be selected (interview 16-08-2016).

This last statement is particularly interesting because it shows that the CSM forms a field consisting of different actors that posses different capital and different habitus. Even though the CSM strives to be all-inclusive, as within every field, the field of the CSM also seems to encompass power relations. Within this last quote, the person stated that he possesses better or more knowledge capital than other members of the CSM. It shows that simply possessing this type of capital does not assure a powerful position within the field. Within this section it became clear that social capital is emphasized as crucial to gain influence within the field of the CSM. As an individual possession of the right relations and networks is important to have a meaningful voice during internal negotiations. This exemplifies that the CSM is directly related to a range of other fields. It is however questionable whether distinguishing professional fields and local fields does justice to the actual situation, since participants did not mention such differences. Later on attention will be paid to the way it is related to the field of the CFS, but this section showed that it is also related to fields like certain global social movements. It seems that those that are related to these global movements have a better experience in working in global formations and this makes there habitus more suited to function in the CSM. The habitus one possesses and the networks one has within the field, but also within related fields (social capital) turns out to be influential to have a better say within the field of the CSM. For most of the actors these types of relations will develop unconsciously and an important question we need to ask ourselves is whether it can be avoided. Nevertheless it has become clear that the power relations are a concern to several actors within the CSM and dynamics within the field should be changed to provide those actors the feeling that their involvement is meaningful.

According to field theory power hierarchies are not uncontested. The quotes of participant 7 illustrate that not all CSM members agree with the way the CSM is functioning. This participant purposely chooses not to adapt to the structure of the field by not putting much effort in increasing his social capital within the field. This automatically places him in a difficult position, since he has little connections to send his recommendations to. The current way social capital is valued therefore can only be changed if there are several individuals that argue that something within the structure needs to be changed. However as long as the participants with most social capital are also the ones with most experience and thus more suited type of habitus, it seems difficult to avoid those types of power structures to occur.

Linking policy and strategy processes to field theory

Within this section the way the CSM organizes itself has been analyzed. Two aspects that have been discussed within this section are the way CSM links its work and evaluates. Having a system in which all the work of the different groups is clearly recorded and linked is the first one. The second one is establishing an evaluation after finishing the work of each group and designing a following up strategy. In general those two aspects are important because participants state that it helps for the CSM to develop a clear red line and strategy. Both processes are already happening, but not within a systematized manner. It is suggested by several participants to develop a consistent strategy, so all Working Groups are producing clear and similar documents about their main contributions, good and

weak points of their process and possible steps for the future. It is interesting to analyze why these participants consider this as an important improvement. By having a consistent system it is easier for an individual to understand the dynamics in the field, because it is easier to keep track of past processes and to understand the procedures that are accompanied with decision processes. It is not only about a systematized way to document decisions and to discuss them, participants also suggest to provide training for CSM members to keep on track of the field of the CSM. This offers a better potential to have lessons learned for all members of the CSM, but it also increases the potential of CSM members that have not been part of certain processes to understand the work and the field of the CSM in general. To refer once again to field theory, having a consistent way of documenting and evaluating enhances the possibilities to undertake practices relevant for the field of the CFS, since it is easier for an individual actor to understand and use the work of the CSM. It also limits the dependence on the actors with more suited habitus in terms of experience and possession of political, professional and informational capital. Reducing this amount of capital and habitus leads to less strict borders of the field of the CSM and a better potential to get the widespread participation of civil society actors it aims for.

The issue of power as also addressed in this section actually does the opposite. Having dominant actors within the structure of the CSM, creates a hierarchy and a difficulty for individual actors that lack the right habitus, as in connections and networks, to become influential. However, what is important to keep in mind is that fields of power are not static, on the contrary, they are dynamic and always a point of struggle. The following quote provides a clear example that having unique capital leads to changes in power dynamics:

> The only exception of the total domination of *the movement* in the advisory group is found within *a specific working group.* The coordinator of this group was recognized as an expert on the subject by the CFS, so *the movement* excluding this person from the working group would have raised eyebrows (interview 16-08-2016).

This quote of participant 7 illustrates that it is possible to create differences in the recognition of certain capital and habitus to change power dynamics. This person possesses certain unique capital that is different from the other powerful actors within the CSM, but still leads to a powerful position. The CSM could strive to actively work on changing certain dynamics within its field by consciously recognizing actors with different capital. In this way they create the diverse representation CSM claims to strive for. This quote illustrates one other thing. The field of the CSM is directly related to the field of the CFS. The person in the quote apparently had a strong habitus within the field of the CFS, and this led to a prioritized position within the CSM. For this reason the field of the CFS and the position of the CSM within it will be subject in the next chapter. Before moving to this chapter, first briefly attention will be paid to three practical issues within the field of the CSM.

7.1.3Practical Issues

Time and capacity

Among participants there are three types of practical problems that were mentioned several time. Interesting to see is the fact that those problems were in many cases just briefly addressed while

answering another question. This leads to an assumption that the issues are not considered as core problems, but they are still influential to the field of the CSM.

The first issue is the lack of capacity and available time of many movements and organizations to get acquainted and therefore involved within the system of the CSM. There is a concern that those people that would bring in important types of capital, such as social movement leaders, do not have the time to fit in with the process of the CSM. As participant 3 remarked those type of people "have a wide range of responsibility, so for them it is really challenging to find time". People that are working on the ground on food related issues are already fulfilling a job and this makes it complicated to find the time to understand the field, keep track and finally to be influential. As participant 4 explained: "It is not an easy function at all and therefore you do not always have the time. Apart from sitting there, representing the global level organizations, you also work in your own community on the ground".

What this shows is that to become a meaningful actor within the CSM an actor needs to pass several barriers. An example is the participation in negotiations of working groups on technical issues. Participant 7 stated for example that there are many technical questions one needs to understand before he or she is able to have a meaningful contribution to a negotiation. As he stated: "that can also confuse a lot of participants and when you don't have that technical knowhow it is more difficult to participate". Participant 11 addressed a similar point stating that "people have not the capacity or interest and also the time frame as the CFS Secretariat, and this makes it extremely difficult". Apart from the fact that movements might lack the capacity to participate, participant 6 also remarked that they will only enter certain fields when they think it is effective. "And these are organizations that obviously will not waste their time in global forums unless there really is a return for them, that they get something out of that".

It is clear that the issues of time and capacity create a barrier for actors to enter. Especially those actors that do not have the possibility to combine their daily life activities in their local fields with the field of the CSM will hesitate to enter the field of the CSM. The more habitus and capital they need to fulfil a meaningful function to enter the CSM, the more likely they will make the decision not to be engaged with the work of the CSM. To finish this part with, participant 3 addressed the point that the CSM should try to keep the barriers to enter the field as low as possible and that if people that bring local capital into the field are willing to participate, they should be actively supported: "The CSM should not become a space for sides around power and visibility, but we need to make sure that it is really a space where people are giving the time to get results".

Language

Another issue is the language barrier. Even though the CSM actively tries to translate documents into different languages, there will be some groups excluded because they are not able to communicate or understand the processes. Being a good English speaker provides an advantage over other actors, since it is a type of social and cultural capital that non-English speakers do not possess. Good communication and linguistic skills is so to say considered as social and cultural capital helping someone to have a better say within the CSM. Participant 6 stated for example that certain groups

that are speaking English are better able to keep up with the process. He related this to the experience of the Working Group he was involved in. During the negotiations this Working Group had to communicate in English in order to be time-efficient. This automatically excluded the group of non-English speakers. Participant 9 also stated that in the latest Working Group he was involved in there were problems in terms of linguistic representation. The Spanish speakers were not able to understand the communication, which was only in English, which excluded them from the process. A final example came from participant 10. He stated that the workshop they organized could only take place in English. This excluded people coming from Latin America, while they had a great amount of experience and expertise in the related topic. This means that a lack of a specific type of social and cultural capital excludes people from specific processes in the field, despite of how many other important types of capital or well suited habitus they might possess.

Language is acknowledged as a problem in attracting groups or people to participate within the CSM. Many respondents were actively engaged in overcoming problems. What has already turned out to be effective is being flexible and adapting to the structure of the group. There are examples of flexible processes in which working groups or regional groups incorporated translation to languages of people that were represented within that group. Nevertheless it is still difficult to avoid that language will function as an important capital within the field of the CSM. Speaking several languages will provide individuals an advantage over other actors, since it is a capital that is distinguishing them from others. Nevertheless it is possible to take care that language is not too much of a barrier, by taking the effort to translate to certain languages of people that are involved. However, this translation often requires financial resources, an issue that will be addressed now.

Financial

Several participants addressed the financial restrictions of the CSM. Financial grounds are directly influencing structural and organizational decisions within the CSM. The selection procedure is for example influenced by financial argumentation given the following quote provided in an email at 11 August: “The CSM has limited financial resources and can only support the participation of up-to-six participants (depending on travel costs) and simultaneous translation in one language (Spanish, given the current record of engagement in the Working Group)”.

The limited amount of financial resources is directly influencing the CSM in such a way that it has less capabilities and possibilities to have a meaningful influence. Some short quotes from different interviews immediately addressed the problem: “financial constraints”, “no funds to organize this”, “this costs additional money, so it is limited”, “there are financial limits”, “financial proposition is not allowing this”.

It is difficult to tackle this problem, and making suggestions to improve are outside the scope of this research. Nevertheless it clearly shows that prioritization might be necessary in the future. To be able to make a well-argued and rationalized decision on what to prioritize, it is important to look at what do CSM participants want to have as the core values of the CSM. Several participants made suggestions on what they considered as crucial within the field of the CSM. Participant 11 stated that funding should become available to have a better focus on supporting the influence of the regional

constituencies to build capacity and engagement on a local level. Participant 1 stated that funding should be prioritized towards having a monitoring and implementation system on the ground. And also participant 7 addressed that funding could be used to reinforce linkages with regional constituencies. All of them addressed the importance, but all of them also mentioned that this was currently not possible because of financial constraints. The way the field of the CSM is characterized is therefore also dependent on financial decisions.

Link practical issues to field theory

The field of the CSM is in theory accessible to any civil society actor whose work is related to food security. However in practice CSM operates as a field, composing of different actors that occupy different power positions related to the amount of capital and habitus they posses. The three practical issues show that the barrier to enter the field of the CSM, but also to become influential within the field, are present. A lack of capacity and time of local movements, but also a difficulty in translating to several languages provide problems to enter the field. Financial resources are needed to overcome these issues, which offers a potential risk that those actors that are able to bring in financial capital will become most powerful within the CSM. To keep representation diverse within the CSM, participants stated that the CSM needs to provide guidance and support to those that lack certain capacity, linguistics skills, communication means and time. It is likely that the CSM needs to prioritize on what it considers as its main tasks. The practical issues that are mentioned within this section can thereby function as a important aspect to keep into consideration.

The CSM as a field is a dynamic mechanism in which the amount of capital and habitus is varying strongly per individual that is involved. Those individuals with experience and knowledge about the system seem to occupy important positions within the field of the CSM. They are strongly involved in the organization of practices within the field and their position is by a majority being accepted. From this, we can conclude that having a well-suited habitus, and social and informational capital about the field of the CSM helps to become more effective. Those who bring in other types of capital are valued for bringing in diversity, but based on the observations and interviews, this group accepts the fact that they cannot put their (local) knowledge into practice without the guidance of the more experienced group within the CSM. Field theory in itself described the relations within fields, but also states that these are dynamic. This chapter indeed showed that some of the current structures are contested by some participants. Over time, the power structures might be affected, since over time people will gain experience and the current powerholders might lose their advantage. However, even within the situation of the CSM, who states to strive for a flat hierarchy and open participation, some type of power relations are unavoidable.

7.2 CFS (External)

The CFS is considered as a distinct field with its own dynamics and range of actors. Nevertheless it is strongly connected and even overlapping with other fields, such as the field of CSM. This will be accompanied by a field of power, with several constituencies trying to expand their influence or rather minimize the influence of other constituencies. About the role of the CSM within the CFS participant 4 said that it was “an occupied space that is always under threat”. This second part of the chapter deals with this battle to maintain and occupy a dominant position within the field of the CFS. This part will thus elaborate on the question what role civil society plays within the field of the CFS.

This part is split into two aspects. The first aspect deals with two problems that were addressed and that hinders potential of the CSM to become an influential actor within the field of the CFS. First, the power relations will be analyzed. Afterwards, attention will be paid to the concept of contentious issues. The second aspects deals with the way CSM negotiates when it is in a meeting with other actors. How does it strategize itself and what has been effective and what aspects were not effective? Within the analysis of this part of the chapter focus will be on the interviews, however references are also made to the analysis list of the different Working Groups.

7.2.1 Problems addressed

Power relations/ Political support

One of the central features of the field of the CFS is that it is an inclusive platform aiming to involve a wide variety of constituencies in its internal structure. This leads to a variety of actors that is represented within the CFS, all possessing different types of capital and habitus. Even though in theory every constituency should have an equal stake during negotiation processes, in practice it turned out that the field of power is influencing the extent in which a certain actor is able to influence the end result. Of course the fact that governments are the only one that are able to have a final vote and therefore to have political capital , already contributes to an unequal power distribution. However, strictly focussing on this political capital is too simplistic to explain the field of power belonging to the CFS. There are different types of capital that play an important role in determining how much influence actors have. Furthermore, the amount of influence is dependent on the level of experience of individuals that are involved in the fields. Therefore it could be stated that types of capital and habitus are crucial in understanding the dynamics in the field. This section focuses on the aspects that define power struggles within this field, particularly focussing on the interests of civil society.

Civil society is fighting a continuous battle to maintain and even improve its position within the field. As stated by several participants its position offers a potential threat to traditional powerholders such as governments and the private sector. The role of civil society is two-sided, on the one hand civil society offers symbolic capital that helps to legitimize the processes and outcomes of the negotiation processes. On the other hand, civil society brings in statements that might be conflicting to the interest of those traditional powerholders. In terms of field theory this means that civil society is an actor within the CFS that does not simply accept all processes and practices going on in the field. Civil society might also perform as an actor that strives to achieve change within the field. However, civil society also wants to fulfil a function within the field of the CFS and therefore it needs to adapt to certain characteristics in the field of the CFS. Since civil society does not, or to a lesser extent, possess economic and political capital it is easier to bypass the influence of the CSM. Therefore civil society balances between two extremes, it needs to be accepted as an influential player within the field of the CFS, but on the other hand it needs to go against the status-quo sometimes, since it is not an actor that possesses most economic and political capital. This is why participant 4 stated that “it requires a lot of patience. It requires a lot of resilience. And it requires a lot of almost aggression, or determination for civil society to force its way to take part”. Civil society should continuously play its card of the symbolic value it adds to the process. Symbolic capital is a type of capital that characterizes civil society within the field of the CFS. Therefore for civil society it is important to emphasize the importance of symbolic capital. To be able to do this, habitus seems to

be a decisive factor, since the relations, allies and experience determine to what extent it is unavoidable for governments to implement civil society's viewpoints. The way civil society actors are used to the way the field of the CFS is functioning and are capable of lobbying and networking with other actors in the field determines the amount of influence civil society can exert in the field. This means that civil society actors needs to have suited habitus and social capital within the field of the CFS in order to increase CSM's influence. Answering the questions whether civil society was able to have an influence during CFS negotiations, participant 7 responded as follows:

> Yes we can, and we often do, but we are sometimes also confronted with the political will or the political support. So on certain issues we are all also ignored and we cannot have sufficient support so that our proposals are accepted in the policy recommendations (interview 06-07-2016).

It is clear that to quote a phrase said by participant 4 "CSM has occupied a space that is always under threat". Important questions are when is the civil society mechanism ignored within the CFS and why are they ignored?

An important point to address when explaining existing power relations within global food governance is economic capital. While civil society proposals are often related to social capital, the private sector's main interest is to maintain its economic power. In many cases governments are led by a search for increasing economic power, thereby having the tendency to prioritize the interest of the private food producing sector. As participant 9 explained "they want to put money out of the international organizations". Interesting is the reflection of participant 4, he not only explained the differences in interests, but also the capital governments and civil society possess:

> Governments will not translate guidelines into an accessible language or an accessible form. Because that is not the government's agenda. Governments have the agenda of a state. Their priority is to grow the GDP, to grow the economy and to develop policies that will in essence grow the countries. But that does not necessarily produce nutritious food. So it is civil society organizations who need to bring that. Because governments' first interest is that of political power and maintain their political power (interview 20-06-2016).

In cases in which civil society proposals are directly threatening the economic interests of the actors that are possessing political or economic capital, it is more likely that civil society will be ignored. Participant 12 stated that corporate and industrial actors are increasingly able to prevent civil direction at the CFS and try to block the agenda. The CSM working group working on tenure guidelines concluded the following after their negotiations: "The influential governments do not accept any policy measures that move beyond market mechanisms". In many working groups there were similar statements in which private sector influence was remarked as a solution even though there was a strong disagreement by civil society actors.

This tendency to prioritize the market and private sector can be explained by referring to participant 6. He stated that the corporate or private sector has become increasingly interested in having an

influence at the CFS. According to him “previously they were not interested, but now that they understood that it is an important policy space, they are trying to take up their space very strongly and they are pushing for more space”. At time of the reform of the CFS, the symbolic capital CSM brings in distinguished it from other actors, providing the opportunity to have more seats at the Advisory Groups than the private sector mechanism. As is the case within every field, power relations are not static, but dynamic and continuously contested. CSM sees a potential threat in the new developments and tries to hold back the development of private sector becoming a more influential factor within the CFS. Participants 6 and 7 explained that civil society was organizing a side-event for CFS 43 in which the urgency of this manner is addressed by pointing at the conflicts of interests that are at stake. There is a concern about conflicts of interest when the private sector becomes to influential within the CFS. Having big food producing companies at the negotiation table when designing policy on food and nutrition is mentioned as an example of the power struggles going on in the CFS. During CFS 43 this side event took place and civil society organized it to make several people aware of the consequences of bypassing the privileged position of civil society within the CFS. The CSM is currently busy with addressing this concern, because it shows the value of the symbolic capital of the CSM, while it also shows the lack of this type of capital for private sector actors. The other way around is also happening, because private sector can increase its power because they posses economic capital, which is considered as important by many governments and is not in possession of civil society actors. Some argue that the CSM should not take such a confrontational attitude when it comes to private sector, but rather should look for points of common agreement and thereby improving its social capital and habitus. As participant 8 explains:

> the private sector mechanism also has some social responsibility. We should get into reached agreement. Because if we automatically exclude dialogue with people, how do we get them to actually agree with us. To the opposite, since we don’t want to talk to them, they are against us (interview 07-07-2016).

Another issue in which the different interests are visible is the way the report of the High Level Panel of Experts is used when designing the documents. Participant 11 stated that the reports of the HLPE could be valuable for civil society, since they are able to express the main concerns around a certain topic and provide CSM legitimacy to argue for certain recommendations. A good example is the fisheries and aquaculture working group, who continuously addressed the same core arguments that were directly linked to the recommendations of the HLPE report. In cases in which the recommendations of the HLPE report are regarded as a potential threat, governments have proved themselves to be able to bypass them. The CSM working group on price volatility remarked for example that the HLPE report was ignored during the negotiations, since “FAO feels threatened by the HLPE and its legitimacy”.

Looking for an explanation about why certain actors, such as the FAO or the governments have the power to simply ignore certain recommendation, many participants referred to the voluntary nature of the CFS. Participant 11 for example argued that governments do often not feel obliged to take the recommendations seriously, because they cannot be held accountable for guidelines that are not compulsory. Governments have the political capital to decide what they want to do with outcomes of

negotiation processes. Even in cases in which final outcomes are binding, it is very difficult for other actors to force governments to implement guidelines. Governments are the actors making the final decisions and the actors that decide if and how they want to use global policies and these are reasons that the extent to which governments consider the guidelines as important directly influence their behaviour. Participant 12 explains that governments sometimes prefer certain topics to be discussed at other fields, since civil society is a less influential player in those fields . “The model of inclusive governance of the 21st century”, as he calls it, can therefore only work if the most powerful actors consider it as important to have these kind of open processes.

Within all fields of the CFS clear power hierarchies exists. Something that distinguishes the CFS from other international institutions is its symbolic value of being an all-inclusive platform for food security. This makes the CSM an influential player within the field of the CFS. However, the CSM also lacks specific types of capital, such as economic and political capital. As decisions made at the CFS have symbolic rather than legally binding power, it seems that the structure of the fields of CFS is a bit varying depending on the topic. Where on certain issues, CSM is able to organize itself strongly and is succeeding in gaining much political support, on other issues this political support is lacking. The habitus of the CSM within the field of the CFS therefore differs per process, depending on the issue at stake. This is why focus will now be shifted towards contentious issues within the CFS, in which CSM has a difficulty to have a noteworthy influence on the process.

Contentious issues

Two types of issues that are contentious to discuss within the CFS, will be discussed in this section. By many actors within the CFS these issues are simply being blocked or ignored. These type of issues can be split into two categories. First, it is about all issues that have to do with agriculture. Second, all topics related to trade are contested within the CFS. In some cases, such as biofuels and agricultural investment, both topics are combined making it even more difficult to reach meaningful results.

When dealing with those topics, governments will try to avoid strong recommendations and keep the produced documents in a general language. It is remarkable that almost all cases in which civil society was not able to implement any of its core statements, were related to at least one of the two contentious issues. A good example is the biofuels group. Even though CSM considered it as a win that it was added on the agenda and therefore actors were forced to take a standpoint, the actual outcome of the process was not very meaningful and inadequate to base policy on. As the workgroup states “the decision text failed to translate the affirmations into firm policy recommendations ”. The recommendations were considered as weak, in which weak language such as ‘if feasible to do so’ are highly represented. Negative language and action-oriented decisions were purposely avoided. A competition between biofuel crops and food crops was not recognized by many power holders. This shows that it is difficult for CSM to exert any influence during related negotiations. Habitus of the CSM is limited, since they are not able to find allies and support and civil society is not recognized as legitimate to force actors to implement certain recommendations on any of these contentious issues. Participant 1 acknowledged this problem and stated that concerning these type of issues there is “a situation where we cannot get very much out of it and I think that we should have rejected it”.

Participant 12 stated that governments prefer other political arenas, and in term of Bourdieu they prefer involvement in other fields to discuss trade-related issues. Participant 12 mentioned the example of the WTO, a field in which there is considerable less influence of the CFS, "where at the CFS there is a multiplicity and room for unexpected things to happen. So governments want to do a lot of the negotiations of the harder issues behind the door and do not open the door for us to come in". What can be concluded is that on certain topics the CSM is able to have a influential role. Especially when the CSM is able to distinguish itself by making use of certain types of capital and a well-suited habitus with experienced people that know how to get the support of other constituencies. On trade and agricultural related issues on the contrary, CSM seems to have a disadvantage from its position. The result is that governments who possess political capital exert their power and simply avoid any meaningful result at all within the process. This connects to the noticed challenges within the list of Working Groups and the observations of the participants. Participants 9 for examples remarked that his working group was not even able to provide any recommendation concerning trade: "We were blocked, they were saying that everything needs to conform to international trade". The following quote of participant 3 illustrates the two-fold distinction that can be made when looking at the topics discussed in the CFS:

> For example the United States they were much more flexible in the wording relating to the right to food in the discussion on protracted crisis, because for them it is related to restoration of poor countries living in protracted crisis. They were far less flexible and open to use the same kind of language in investment in agriculture. Cause in that case it would have applied to all countries including themselves (interview 01-06-2016).

Following field theory, the CFS contains several fields. The characteristics of these fields are depending on the situation. The topic that is discussed is of importance for the position of all actors involved. Trade-related issues, as well as agricultural issues have often led to a disadvantaged position for the CSM. Apparently the symbolic capital civil society possesses is considered as more important on other issues (such as gender and human rights) and economic and political capital are more valuable when dealing with these contentious issues.

Linking power relations and contentious issues to field theory

The field of the CFS is a complicated space for CSM to operate in. CFS is being appreciated because of its inclusive nature. This nature is providing civil society an advantage within the field. Nevertheless, the position of the CSM is always under threat since the private sector, governments and global institutions provide other types of capital, experience and knowledge. Especially in socially related topics, such as gender and protracted crisis and conflict, civil society has been able to use its position within the field to reach promising agreements. However, topics related to agriculture and trade have proved themselves to be contentious and one could state that civil society is having a disadvantage from its important position within the field of the CFS in those type of discussions. An important question to raise is whether discussing those contentious issues is worth the effort for CSM. After all, governments prefer to discuss those issues within fields in which civil society is less influential. On the one hand, it forces governments to express their opinion to civil society and it might open up potential for better discussion and policy processes in the future. On the other hand,

spending much time on these issues can be considered as a waste of time and resources, which are already limited within the CSM. This question will be addressed again later on in the advocacy and justice role of the CSM. It is clear is that the field of the CFS is dynamic and its characteristics are depending on the topic. Therefore, the position of the CSM within the field is also varying and this is reflected in the strategies CSM uses. The strategy the CSM chooses for a specific negotiation might have an influence on its position and on the end result. Therefore we now move on to the strategies CSM uses within the field of the CFS.

7.2.2 Way of Negotiating

Based on the interviews three types of negotiating can be distinguished when looking at the contribution of civil society within the CFS. Several participants mentioned different styles of negotiation. The style the CSM uses for a particular process in often based on the decision of the Working Groups. Looking at the way the Working Groups have organized themselves during CFS meetings, these divergences in style are reflected as well. During the discussion of the Food Price Volatility Working Group for example stated that the governments "failed to tackle the root causes of price volatility" and because of the flawed process the civil society organizations decided to leave the negotiations. A similar type of approach was observable during some plenary discussions at CFS 43. For example during the opening plenary session, there was a debate about the impact of climate change. The civil society representative criticized the ineffectiveness of some decisions that were taken and made concrete suggestion on how smallholders can be supported to adapt to climate change. This confrontational approach was supported among the observers of the plenary session, who made statements on social media such as "civil society is most definitely in the building with some great representation" and "interesting representative of civil society". A completely different approach can be found within the food losses and waste group. They tried to meet different constituencies beforehand and spend time networking before the official negotiations had started. Again I can refer to an observation of CFS 43 as another example. During the side-event about conflict of interests that was organized by civil society, CSM clearly took an approach that invited for an open discussion amongst all actors, instead of confronting private sector and governments with their shortcoming. Afterwards, some CSM participant expressed that they were disappointed that the point they wanted to make did not lead to a passionate discussion, but others stated that they were happy that this side-event was organized in such a way that it stimulated an open discussion and left a good potential to keep the debate going with governments and private sector in a constructive manner. The opinion of the civil society members concerning this side-event can be linked to the assessed habitus of the different actors. Those with much experience and a well-suited habitus were favouring this approach for an open discussion to stimulate a good level of cooperation between civil society and other actors. The civil society actors that stated to be disappointed by this approach, were less experienced and therefore possessing a different habitus. The three types of negotiation styles of the CSM within the CFS are: a confrontational approach, a reformist approach and a revising approach. The naming of these strategies is based on the terminologies the respondents used during the interviews. All three types will be briefly explained, but first attention is paid to the way in which CSM determines its strategy when starting to negotiate within the CFS.

Participant 2 clearly stated what is considered as important when entering the field of the CFS. To have a strong negotiation position, it is necessary to come up with a uniform opinion as civil society

delegation. Before each meeting there is space to provide different opinions. Aim of such meetings is to make sure that all are heading in the same direction and thus to reach consensus about the points civil society wants to aim for. Participant 12 said that the ideal situation for a Working Groups, is that once representatives are selected to participate during the CFS meetings, they are speaking on behalf of the complete CSM rather than on behalf of their constituency or their region. Participant 12 phrased it as following: “the people who come to the table are not directly bringing the constituency that they represent to the CSM, but rather they are here to further complete the CSM as a whole”. According to him it is balancing your self-interests over the collective goals of the CSM. This shows the important position the representatives of the CSM have during the CFS possess. They are responsible for following the strategy that was decided upon.

One of these strategies is the confrontational approach. A confrontational approach consists of the activist attitude civil society has used during many other global governance processes, especially when it was not provided a strong position within a particular governance field. It is an attitude of demonstrating at the barricades of the field. It is not within a logical line of reasoning to expect this way of behaving of the CSM, since the CSM is an accepted part of the field of the CFS and tries to conform to the logics of the field of the CFS in order to expand its influence. Nevertheless, it is an approach that is present. An example has already been addressed, civil society took an activist approach when it decided to leave the negotiations during the price volatility negotiations, trying to make a firm statement that the outcomes of the process were not in compliance with the viewpoints of the CSM. The fact that CSM is currently actively addressing the conflicts of interests within the CFS can also be remarked as a confrontational approach, since they are trying to undermine the legitimacy of the interference of specific actors. Another example is the way the CSM addressed the topic of ‘mega mergers’ during CFS 43. Even though several actors within the CFS had expressed that this was not something to discuss at the plenary, civil society actors brought it up. To a certain extent addressing contentious topics such as biofuels is already a confrontational approach in itself, since this is not happening within any other international policy field. This approach is reflected in the main strategy of the CSM biofuels group, which could be summarized as “the CSM was able to consistently challenge the CFS to deliver”. A confrontational approach might not always lead to good results, as the biofuels negations also shows. The working group was not able to get any of its statements, let alone recommendations included in the final text.

This is the reason why some participants argue for different approaches. In the mail contacts as preparation for the coming CFS meeting one of the group members (participant 8) stated the following:

> The tone of the submission in my opinion is scolding with an overdose of ‘shoulds’ and ‘rights’, Perhaps a less confrontational approach may be more productive, especially at this early stage. I would suggest a more embracing approach rather than an ‘in-your-face’ approach. Much may be worded as suggestions rather than directives (interview 08-07-2016).

This participant is afraid that the confrontational approach is limiting of potential of the CFS, since it might limit the CSM’s social capital and suited habitus. Based on his experiences with former CFS

negotiations he stated that the relations of the CSM with other actors in the field is negatively affected by this approach. Social capital is thus better when CSM chooses a different approach in some cases. This can be related to the norms of the field, a specific type of habitus. Sometimes the CSM needs to conform to the unwritten rules within the field of the CFS and this might mean that it is not always beneficial to choose a confrontational approach, since it might negatively affect social capital and norm-related habitus. Participant 12 had a similar opinion. He brought forward two different approaches, by stating that tactical decisions need to be made in deciding whether to go for either a reformist position or rather for revising approach.

A reformist approach means the ambition to get recommendations and viewpoints implemented in the outcome of a negotiation process. It implies coming up with new and additional information and bring up own viewpoints rather than refer to statements as they are already made in draft version or by other actors within the CFS. It could be envisioned as an in-between way of approaching, since it implies looking for allies and fully participating in the field of the CFS, but it is not just connecting to already existing structures. Participant 1 described such a reformist process. The Working Group he was involved in, went in the negotiations well-prepared with a clear communication of what it considered as important to have included. They collected information that supported their core points and lobbied with governments to get support beforehand. At the end they managed to get support from African, Latin-American and some developed countries. The final result was that “we got most of what we wanted, with a kind of softening language, but we got that”. Participant 2 also remarked that it is important to negotiate with governments beforehand to know how much support you can gather. According to him if the CSM wants certain changes, it needs to lobby beforehand to be part of the right networks and the right moments during the decision making process. One could state that a reformist approach requires a certain type of habitus, as well as social, professional and cultural capital. Having people with experience and a good reputation at the field of the CFS involved is crucial to be able to make the reform process happening. CSM actors that posses good knowledge in lobbying and networking (professional capital), that know the way the CFS functions (cultural capital), that have connections, allies and networks within the CFS(social capital) and that have past experiences with negotiations (habitus) are needed to be able to choose this approach. This shows that it is important to have different type of civil society actors involved in the CFS. Those with much local experience are important, but they do not always possess the types of capital and habitus that were just mentioned. The Protracted Crisis and Conflict Working Group can be considered as a successful example of a reformist approach. They actively lobbied to have their points of view impacting the process, which finally led to a transformation from this issue “from a taboo into a priority matter within the CFS”.

A final approach is the revising approach. Within this approach the working group of the CSM adapts to the structure of the field of the CFS and reacts and replies on work of the CFS rather than trying to get their own work incorporated. A risk of this approach is that the CSM follows the lines of reasoning of the CFS and might not enter debates about what it considers as root causes of a problem. Participant 10 for examples explained that the working group he is part of, is basically reacting on the first draft produced by the CFS. This draft was very general, including several non-action oriented statements. He concludes: “It is an approach that should be used. Because I think it’s

very important to walk in the problems deeper and to look at the root cause of the situation". However, this approach might also be effective in achieving any successful alterations in complex and contentious processes. The agricultural investment working group forms an example. During this CFS process a document called 'Principles on Responsible Agricultural Investment' (RAI) was already designed without the involvement of civil society. The RAI document was originally designed by the World Bank, UNCTA, FAO and IFAD in 2009, but the CSO delegation successfully blocked endorsement to renegotiate the document. The renegotiated document is still contested by civil society, since small-scale producers were still not prioritized within the document, even though according to civil society representatives improvements have been made. Once the CSM was founded, they encouraged the revision of the document, this time with suggestions from civil society included. They did not actively try to reform the entire process on agricultural investment, but rather tried to revise the already existing document in a positive manner. According to participant 9 the second version of the RAI was much better from a civil society perspective. This is also coming back in the spreadsheet in which it is stated that civil society has been successful in having text changes, including improved terms and having governments acknowledging more responsibilities. It might be that in this particular case the revising approach led to a better outcome for civil society than the reformist or confrontational approach could ever have achieved.

Linking ways of negotiating to field theory

Three approaches for the CSM to act within the field of the CFS are distinguished within this part. Of course, those three approaches are to a certain extent theoretical and in practice might overlap each other, but it forms a good base to understand the way the CSM is positioning itself in the field. Based on the way Working Groups have operated and the opinions of the participants, the reformist approach is the most appreciated one within the CSM. Within this approach the CSM can bring in capital in which it is distinguishing itself as an actor within the field of the CFS. When well-prepared, it can bring in social, cultural and informational capital, with the ultimate aim of getting most of the civil society's recommendations implemented within final CFS documentation. However, there are cases in which the possibilities of such approaches are limited. As shown in the previous section, in cases CFS deals with contentious issues such as trade, there are very limited opportunities to take a reformist approach. In practice a trend is visible that in such cases the confrontational or the revising approach is used. The confrontational approach can be used to undermine the legitimacy of the process, because without the acceptance of the CSM any agreement will lose its credibility and thus its symbolic meaning. The revising approach means that civil society accepts that its influence is minimal and civil society will try to get most out of this minimal amount of influence. Different types of capital and habitus are needed for each approach. The confrontational approach specifically demands symbolic capital, since other actors do need to be aware of the importance of the interference of civil society in the process. Only when the contribution of civil society is considered as important for the outcomes to be legitimate, civil society is able to use its symbolic capital. The revising approach on the other hand requires much more a well-suited habitus as well as cultural capital, because when CSM actors want to use this approach they need to be experienced, since it is important to know the procedures and ways negotiations take place within the CFS. The reformist approach requires cultural, social, professional capital and well-suited habitus. CSM actors need to

network and be strongly involved in the field. They therefore need to know the norms and procedures and be experienced to know what one can and what one should not discuss.

The approach CSM needs to choose depends on the dynamics of the field, and as shown in the previous section therefore depends on the topic. There is no ultimate way of negotiating, but it is important to have an ultimate agreement as CSM on what approach it will choose within a negotiation process. For the CSM to be aware of its position within the field and to adapt its negotiation strategy accordingly, could mean a major leap forward.

8. Roles

Within the previous chapter the fields of the CSM and the CFS were analyzed. Both fields are directly connected and influencing each other, however both also have their own structure. Within this chapter attention will be paid to analyze the way CSM influences the field of the CFS. Five distinct roles of civil society are defined, based on the literature as described within the literature review. The five roles that are described within this chapter are information role, agenda setting, operational context, monitoring and finally advocacy for justice. There was an attempt to define additional roles, but based on the collected data no further roles have been defined. Each role will be analyzed separately. Attention will be paid to the question is the CSM able to make use of this role and to what types of capital and habitus is this related? Central within this chapter are the types of capital and habitus that civil society needs to develop to create effective strategies to intervene within the field of the CFS. Based on the data it will be defined to what extent the CSM is fulfilling and have fulfilled the roles within the field of the CFS.

8.1 Information role/ provisioning of local perspectives

One of the first steps within the negotiation processes is the provisioning of new viewpoints by providing information. As was recognized by all participants I interviewed, civil society has a better knowledge of the developments on the ground than any other CFS constituency and is therefore able to provide information for a different perspective. However, being able to offer this new data and information in an effective manner that suits the field of the CFS requires a suitable habitus and organizational capital. This type of habitus implies experience with the global governance process to translate these perspectives to an acceptable and workable language for the field of the CFS. Therefore, the requirement of possessing the right skills to translate the on-the-ground information to UN language is essential to be able to state anything about the current successfulness of the CSM in fulfilling this information role.

New perspective

Many participants within the CSM consider the role of delivering the experiences of those that are most affected by food insecurity as one of their main tasks as a civil society representative within a global governance framework. Participant 5 explained that the diversity of CSM has proved to be effective in having a well-informed perspective. Participant 11 illustrated this by describing the process of the working group he was engaged in. He stated that the main strategy was based on voicing the opinion of smallholder market groups. By providing more information about the way they were experiencing the main problems, the Working Group tried to embed an understanding within the field of the CFS. Participant 14 stated that civil society has been successful in providing new information by giving a stage for movements that are usually not in the position to address their issues. According to him this brings in new information.

What can be concluded is that most of the participants are convinced that the CSM has been successful in contributing to the provisioning of new perspectives within the field of the CFS. However, it is difficult to get clear examples about these perspectives. An example that could be mentioned is the way civil society is addressing certain concepts and terminology. The terms food security and food sovereignty are a good example. Both terms have been debated within global

policy level and also within academic literature. CSM has offered a new perspective by providing a vision of how those two concepts are used within perspective of the people on the ground. Another example provided by participant 9 “government officials are sometimes not very knowledgeable about certain aspects surrounding agriculture”. Dealing with a certain topic as a diplomat is considered as completely different than working on a everyday base with this topic in the field. This element is considered as a type of professional and informational capital that is distinguishing CSM from other actors within the CFS field and therefore provides the CSM legitimacy to be influential within the field. Participant 4 states that bringing in the human dimension of food production would not take place without the interference of civil society. To quote participant 4 “so there is a particular function that our diversity brings to the debate about the processes of food production in the world”.

Even though it is difficult for the participants to find examples, based on these statements one could state that bringing in new information, or to formulate it better, bringing in a new perspective, provides symbolic legitimacy to the processes within the CFS. The CFS as a field within global governance is distinct from all the other fields by being the foremost inclusive platform on food security. Without the provisioning of viewpoints from producers it lacks participation that maintains this characteristic. Therefore one could state that the informational role of CSM is not only about bringing in informational capital, but perhaps even more about bringing in symbolic capital. Informational capital means the provisioning of perspectives of those that are most effected. The informational role is therefore of crucial importance to maintain an influential position within the CFS field as civil society. Participant 4 recognized the distinctive character of this role by stating that “by offering new information and new perspectives, civil society organizations bring a particular dimension to the debate that governments would not automatically have engaged in”. For each CFS process it is important to actively define how civil society can bring in this type of symbolic capital. Those with a strong connection to the people on the ground have the greatest potential to offer this type of capital. This might also be part of the explanation on why the CSM provides a prioritized position for those who are directly related to food producing activities on a local scale. Once again a quote of participant 4 clarified this way of reasoning:

> We need to have a high determination in order to occupy the space that we have. Civil society always has to use an element of determination to make sure that we enter the debate and that we progress in the debate. We take the debate or the discussion to a higher level by introducing issues that is of relevance to small-scale food producers (interview 20-06-2016).

Skills

Contributing by fulfilling the role of providing information is referred to as something that cannot happen without experienced people with the right skills and background to translate the information to what is referred to as ‘UN language’. Participant 10 referred to the importance of having people that are able to “orient themselves in the discussion, they know the problem and they know how to articulate it”. He argued that those types of people are able to function as bridge makers between the information of local-oriented civil society and the complex system of the CFS. Other participants

bring forward similar kind of arguments, thereby stating that just having practical knowledge on food production is not enough to get a message across during CFS negotiations. As participant 4 stated:

> You always need an additional set of skills in order to be able to participate at the CSM. You need organizing skills essentially. So it is not a typical skill that you need, that is strictly defined around food production or around farming or fishing or pastoralism. The most important skills are on how to push technically around governments (interview 20-06-2016).

It is interesting to notice that this directly relates to the debate about the division of civil society in NGOs and social movements. Again it shows that even though many participants stated that locally-oriented social movements are prioritized within the CSM, more experienced people with a well-suited habitus and organizational and professional capital are much needed as well. The skills those participants refer to can be directly translated to field theory. Field theory can be used to explain why just having symbolic capital is not enough to effectively fulfil the role of information provisioning. Habitus and professional and cultural capital within the field of the CFS is another requirement to succeed in fulfilling this role. Professional skills can be understood as this set of skills that the participants refer to. Having knowledge about the real problems is not enough, to use the words of participant 12, the CSM needs people that are familiar to 'the rules of the game'. This has to do with cultural capital, but also habitus which means the collectively shaped unwritten rules of how to behave and how to interact with each other. Participant 12 referred to this habitus and types of capital as negotiation tactics and according to him most of the CSM actors lack this habitus and capital to have an effective voice within CFS negotiations. He states that "there have been examples in the past were we felt that we needed some more capacity on how to negotiate, how to lobby, what to ask for and when".

Some participants argues that the CSM might possess more capital if it is able to provide training to new actors that are going to be part of the negotiation process within the CFS. By having them mentored by people that gathered a good knowledge of the CFS, accompanied by the possession of strong networks and the rights skills, several participants believed that CSM could be more successful in fulfilling its role as bridger between their local fields and the field of the CFS. Participant 12 addressed the fact that training could help in improving negotiation and lobbying skills and will make CSM actors aware that just possessing good knowledge of the issues is not enough to have a stake within the field of the CFS. Participant 11 agreed, as he stated that becoming familiar with the structure of the fields is essential in translating information from actors in the CSM to language that is acceptable within the field of the CFS. However, he also addressed a concern: "However, I don't want to see all CSM members being trained in this stuff, because part of the power of the CSM is speaking to the powerholders directly and not trying to change the language to United Nation's norm". He states to be a fan of training, but not of professionalizing all actors. In other words, CSM could start by acknowledging its diversity in skills. Some of its members are able to contribute symbolic and informational capital by providing on-the-ground experience and knowledge. However, the CSM also needs people with as suitable habitus in the field of the CFS to translate this information in such a way that it fits within the field of the CFS. For the CSM, to successfully translate

the perspectives of food producers to the global field of the CFS, it requires an acknowledgement that different types of actors are needed possessing a diversity of skills.

What can be concluded is that the information provisioning role, as defined in the literature does not completely suit the situation of the CSM. The CSM does not necessarily provide new information in terms of scientific reports, it rather aims to collect the viewpoints of a wide range of food producers that are suffering most from food insecurity. Therefore in this particular research using the role can better be called 'provisioning of local perspectives'.

8.2 Agenda setting

The following role of civil society is setting the agenda on what to discuss during global negotiations. Again there are several perspectives about the current extent to which CSM is successful in changing the agenda. In general, participant 12 provided a conclusion about the role of the CSM in changing the agenda. He stated that there are different categories and the degree of successfulness in setting the agenda is varying per category. As he remarked there are three different degrees. There are topics that have successfully been put on the agenda and were discussed within the CFS as CSM proposed. There are topics that have been put on the agenda, but were not discussed in a satisfying manner. And finally there are cases in which civil society has not been successful at all to get certain topics on the agenda. All three cases will be analyzed within this section.

Participant 2 stated that the CSM has been able to have influence on the content of decision boxes, but a strategy that is perhaps as important is to influence the subject of the decision box. He states that civil society has been able to influence this, however there is no further explanation on how this was done. Participant 5 provided a bit more details about this process. According to him setting the agenda means lobbying at the CFS. This lobbying strategy is most successful when civil society collects views from its members and evidence and information about the relevance of the suggested topic. Presenting those viewpoints and information raises the likelihood of finding CSM topics on the CFS agenda. Participant 5 phrased it as following: "We try to find evidence to prove that what we are suggesting is important. Because they are expecting this of us, to show what the underlying reasons of hunger and malnutrition are". Based on this statement it could be stated that informational capital is important for the CSM to be successful in getting issues accepted on the agenda. However, informational capital on itself is not sufficient to gain results. Information need to be accepted as relevant and objective and therefore the position of civil society actors is crucial. A well-suited habitus, as well as social and symbolic capital is necessary to not only present the information, but also make sure that other actors are willing to listen and act. Participant 11 line of reasoning supports this statement. He stated that proactively lobbying and presenting the issues that CSM considers as important plays a significant role in getting issues accepted on the agenda. This lobbying and networking role to get proposals accepted might be called social and symbolic capital. As an example I can refer to a Central-American CSM participant I spoke with during the CFS 43 meeting. He was referring to the actions civil society members had to take before they were able to get nutrition discussed within the CFS. They collected concrete examples of the relevance of nutrition related to their local backgrounds. The most experienced (those with a suitable habitus and social and symbolic capital) presented some of these examples and tried to convince other CFS members of the

relevance of discussing nutrition. It turned out to be an effective strategy, since nutrition was one of the topics discussed during the 43rd CFS meeting.

As already stated, not all attempts of civil society to influence the agenda were successful. There are cases in which the proposal was accepted to be discussed, but not as a first priority. Related to this there is also the risk of having proposals formally accepted on the agenda, without a willingness of the other CFS actors to have a meaningful discussion about it. Participant 11 concluded "I think we have significant influence, however it does not always translate in the outcomes we want". According to participant 4 this can be explained by the fact that governments want to cut back the space civil society has to make them discuss the so-called contentious topics. Some topics were on the agenda, because civil society was able to point at the importance to have it discussed within the CFS, however having an issue on the agenda is not enough to ensure that there is any meaningful outcome. Participant 12 clearly explained what this means:

> There are a number of examples on international trade, where we have put that on the agenda, but have not done very well. In those areas we were able to put it on, but we didn't feel that we were able to influence too much or get across some of the fundamental values and principles that CSM wants to get across (interview 13-09-2016).

There are also cases in which proposals of civil society were completely rejected, which means that they were not discussed during any CFS meeting. Examples that participant 12 mentioned are agro-ecology and genetic resources. Participants 7 also pointed at some example. Again he referred to genetic resources, but also a theme like food sovereignty has not been accepted. Looking at an explanation of how it is possible that some topics are hardly discussed or even ignored, even when highlighted by the CSM, reference can be made to field theory. Participant 7 remarked: "There are different proposals that are not put on the agenda. Because we do not have the political support, or sufficient political support to translate and to put them on the agenda". What becomes clear from this quote is that to place an issue on the agenda and to trigger a meaningful negotiation process, political capital is needed. As shown when looking at the power relations within the CFS, governments distinguish themselves within the field of the CFS by possessing the political power to make and implement decisions. Civil society does not possess sufficient political capital, because it cannot make the final decisions and civil society is also not allowed to make laws in national and local contexts. Therefore is always dependent on other actors within the CFS to have their proposals accepted. Therefore the CSM needs strong social capital and habitus to be able to cooperate with the most influential power holders. In this way of defining the field of the CFS, influential powerholders are those that possess political capital, which means the power to decide how deeply a certain topic can be discussed. In theory the CSM has an equal stake as other actors to decide what is on the CFS agenda, but in practice it often needs allies that acknowledge the importance of a topic addressed by the CSM. Participant 7 stated that this is something that CSM has not always succeeded in. He mentioned an example in which civil society lobbied with developing countries. However during the decision making process it turned out that "there was a higher participation of developed countries in setting the priorities and not enough from developing countries". This example shows that within this specific case, developed countries possessed better political capital and perhaps a stronger habitus and where therefore more powerful actors than the developing countries. Focussing solely on developed countries was therefore a concrete mistake of civil society to get a desired meaningful

debate started within the field of the CFS. The same type of argument holds for the megamergers discussion. After CFS 43 participant 6 expressed his concern about the way this topic was addressed during the plenary. Civil society addressed this topic during the plenary, even though it was not on the agenda. Participant 6 stated that this was initiated by a CSM member that was "not very sensitive of the way the CFS works and was insufficiently sensitive to the fact that the CSM that the CFS principles and procedures are accepted". His concern that someone with less social capital and suited habitus (since he lacked a lot of experience) might address an important issue ("I don't think that anyone was discussing the importance of the issue") without taking into account the dynamics of the field and therefore negatively affect the position of the CSM in future events. The core point that can be made from this is that having political capital (so the right to add topics on the agenda) or informational capital (evidence that the topic is relevant to discuss) is not necessarily sufficient to get topics discussed in the field. Possessing a suitable habitus, as well as social and symbolic capital is by many of the participants considered as crucial in enacting a meaningful discussion about issues that are important to the CSM.

It is not to say that CSM has been completely unsuccessful in setting the agenda at the CFS. Participant 8 stated that civil society get about the same percentage of proposals accepted on the agenda as other participants. Participant 11 agreed when he was saying that CSM "certainly doesn't win all the battles, but it does make a significant contribution". Even cases in which the outcome was poor or topics were not accepted at all, number 8 stated that it has proved to be influential just to get your point across and raise attention towards a certain concern. Participant 5 made a similar statement that in cases where proposals have been rejected, most civil society members felt that they still were able to move the discussion within the CFS forward. Participant 12 thought that even in cases where CSM might expect little political support, it is important to address the issues and point at the fact that CFS should function as a body dealing with all food related issues. Saying that civil society has no political capital at all in the CFS is therefore too simplistic. When it comes to final decision making it lacks political power, but the fact that it is acknowledged as an actor within the field of the CFS provides it the opportunity to add issues on the agenda. As already stated, this right in itself is ineffective, if the CSM would lack any symbolic and social capital and well-suited habitus.

Overall, the conclusion of participant 12 that the results of agenda setting are mixed from a civil society perspective is crucial. There are issues that have been successfully addressed by civil society. In those successful cases civil society was able to use its social, informational and even symbolic (emphasize the fact that CFS should deal with all food related topics) capital. Especially cases where civil society members with a suitable habitus and social capital lobbied and networked with government officials, have proved itself to be successful. This means that civil society can make use of its political capital, which is the right to suggest issues to be implemented on the agenda. This is effectively done in cases in which civil society lobbied with other representatives (social capital), conformed to the structures and procedures (cultural capital and suitable habitus), and addressed the importance of the topic (informational and symbolic capital). On some issues it is more difficult to create political support and to convince those actors that posses much political capital. Particularly in those cases, it is important to cooperate with different actors, so that more types of capital can be combined and CSM position in the field becomes stronger. CSM will not win all battles, but by actively using its social, cultural, symbolic, political and informational capital and suited habitus can

at least raise awareness and discussion on the topics it considers as most important and increase the potential of being more successful in having the topic on the agenda in the future.

8.3 Operational context

Most of the participants described this role as a crucial one in the work of civil society. Apart from its importance, it is a point on which opinions are ambiguous. Quite often this role was described as the second stage in the development of the CFS. As participant 2 stated: “this is the second step of the CFS reform and it has already started”. Participant 1 offered a different opinion by stating the following: “of course it is a good space, but there is a big gap about what is being discussed in Rome and what is happening on the ground”. Even though this variety in opinions about the current state of the translation of CFS policies to the local context exists, all respondents agreed on the importance of the role. Participant 7 explained that the legitimacy and credibility of the CFS is directly related to the implementation of the decisions. The divergent viewpoints started occurring when asking further on the current state of the implementation. Within this section, first attention will be paid to the successful attempts of the CSM to enact any difference. Afterwards, attention shifts to concerns and limitations that were raised by the participants. Finally this section will deal with the discussion about responsibility for the implementation of CFS policies.

The relevance of the implementation of CFS guidelines and recommendations is something that within the field of the CFS opinions vary on. While some participants argue that this has been a concern of the CFS since the reform, others remark that only recently CFS participants started to act. ‘Making a difference on the ground’ is in general envisioned as a next step in moving the CFS forward. When being asked on the successfulness of the CSM in contributing to this ‘next step’, several examples were provided. Participant 12 provided two concrete examples to illustrate the usefulness of CFS policies at a local level. First, he points at the tenure guidelines (Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of land, fisheries and forests in the context of national food security) and its implementation at national and sub-national level (total number of 68 activities). Another example are the food losses and waste recommendations. As was discussed during the side event on this topic at CFS 43, those guidelines have encouraged several governments and institutions to actively start translating it to their own legislation. The European Commission for example recently launched a new research program, and the FAO has developed a three-level approach to systematically improve food losses and waste policies in metropolitan areas. Participant 2 pointed at the food losses and waste policies as well, stating that the government of his country used the guidelines as a framework to base a conference about this topic on.

When directly related to implementation processes led by civil society, successfulness of national or local implementation of the CFS policies depends on individual engagement of CSM members. There is no overall structure within the CSM to have a follow up after it finished a negotiation process. Successful cases of CFS implementation encouraged by civil society, are caused by individual engagement and this is nicely illustrated by participant 14. He stated that he as an individual strives to spread all the information with his own network during the coming CFS meeting. The aim of this communication is “striking the iron while it is still hot” and as a representative of a certain civil society constituency he felt responsible to ensure “that the information from the CFS reaches the people intended for”. Pretty much every participant stated that they personally felt responsible for

making sure that the CFS process made a difference on the ground. Participant 6 remarked that civil society members consider it as a main task to ensure that the outcome of the negotiations is something that they can take back home and is useful at national level. Participant 7 emphasized the importance of this translation role. He stated that civil society is "in a better position to see if these policies and the implementation of the voluntary guidelines really have an effect". Translating the agreements to local realities is also by participant 14 highlighted as a crucial role of civil society.

There are several examples in which individual Civil Society Mechanism members have used certain recommendations or guidelines to support their national or local work. Participant 5, 9, 10 and 11 all provided examples of how they used the policies of the CFS as a reference point to base their work with civil society and government representatives on. According to participant 11, all CSM representatives are responsible to function as "information distributors". Consequence is that successfulness of the CFS within specific regions "is very much dependent on how active you as a CSM members are", to quote the statement of participant 10. This is concerning, especially given the fact that there is a general agreement that civil society is providing value to the field of the CFS by fulfilling this role of the translator between the local and the international level. CSM provides information on what is happening on the ground and thus distinguishes itself by adding informational capital. However, I would argue that in relation to this role, civil society has another type of capital that has the potential to provide CSM a prioritized position within the field of the CFS. I would like to call this role 'action capital' and this relates to the fact that they are the actors that are able to contribute in working to make CFS policies have a positive influence on people's life. I would define action capital as a type of capital that enables actors to establish policy making that meets the need of the most vulnerable. Action capital is therefore the ability to connect policy making to a local context, this means designing policies that is relevant for those that are suffering most, but also that policies can be adapted to a local situation. In theory private sector and governments should posses action capital themselves, but to act upon policies many respondents noticed that they often seek the help of civil society organizations. Given those two types of capital, CSM can provide itself a very meaningful position within the field of the CFS. Active contribution of information and action capital gives CSM an influential position within the field of the CFS. In this context, the remark of participant 4 is concerning, he states that the successfulness of translating agreement to a local scale is dependent on "time and capacity of the local, national and international organizations that take part".

This is a crucial problem, addressed by several participants. Current support or a clear outline from the CSM on how to fulfil this role does not exist. Participant 4 remarked that CSM needs the support from the CFS secretariat and other organizations to effectively translate policies to a local context, as well as design policies in such a way that it is suitable in multiple and varying local contexts. According to him the production of the guidelines was sufficient, but the CSM has not been able to set up a clear system that translates guidelines into instruments, mechanisms and regulations that are needed to implement them. He states that civil society is putting effort into it, "but we are not always able to do it effectively. " Participant 11 stated that it strongly depends on the context in which CSM members are working. They have to set up an implementation system themselves, because support from a broad CSM group does not exist. This demands a lot of energy, time and

effort from the individual members, who need to combine their daily work with the goals of the CSM. As participant 11 stated, the voluntary character of the guidelines and the high amount of effort to make international guidelines applicable to a local situation, put high pressure on the local representatives. He remarked that it demands a high amount of work to fulfil his CSM related tasks. Similar concerns are addressed by other participants, participant 10 stated for example: “And also for me, as a person who is fulltime employee at home, this is quite difficult to reach and break through, so to really change the level of participation of the region”.

For participant 1 the lack of implementation of any guidelines on the ground was a main disappointment in the CFS and the CSM. He states that CSM functioned well in having information about what is happening at a local scale, but fails to translate the CFS process in action. He remarked: “I am more and more inclined to using the UN processes as an exposure of what is happening on the ground rather than to get anything useful that we can use on the ground”. The main disappointment of the participants about the current way CSM is contributing to this specific role is nicely summarized in the following quote of participant 1:

> It has to be part of the CSM process to discuss what happened at the national and local level. Every two years we design guidelines, we have resolutions and we have recommendations coming up. Where does all of this have to go to? Can we focus on the few that make sense to the majority of the CSOs on the ground? Look at where can we with this, are we really useful on the ground? No such discussions are taking place (interview 25-05-2016).

One could state that this touches upon two fundamental discussions within the CSM. First, this statement that the CSM is not discussing local implementation at all does not match the examples other civil society participants told me. There were a lot of CSM members, who where on individual base or within small groups actively working on taking guidelines home to their own settings. Participant 12 for example was part of a North-American civil society group that met regularly to discuss how they could implement civil society agreements in their home countries. Participant 1 states that there are no structural discussion or procedures within the CSM to facilitate local implementation. This does not mean that no initiatives for local implementation exist, it rather means that this only happens when individuals take initiative themselves. Another discussion is about, how far does their responsibility go? Participant 2 clearly stated that implementation of any policies, guidelines or recommendations is outside the responsibility of the CSM. According to him it is the primary responsibility of governments to act. This contrasted with the general opinion of the participants, as phrased by participant 7: “I think civil society has a role to play and is also being recognized by many CFS actors to have the capacity to link what is happening on the ground with the discussions at institutional level at the CFS”. This seemed to be the general opinion within the CSM, even though there were concerns that the resources and support is too limited.

Conclusively, the conversation within the coordination committee of the CSM about the extent to which they want to fulfil this role needs to be developed. The current system is depending too much, if not completely, on the individual efforts of CSM members within their region. There is no support or exchange among members and something like an overview of local activities based on CFS work

does not exist. The current situation can be translated again to field theory. Within the field of the CFS the importance of implementation at local scale is increasingly being recognized. Being able to fulfil this role provides the CSM a unique position with the field of the CFS. Providing action capital therefore provides the opportunity to become influential within the field of the CFS.

However, the field of the CFS and the field of the CSM seem to have a disparity in the way action capital is valued. This shows the relevance of mapping out the types of capital that is valued within both fields. A clear comparison will be included in the conclusion, but concerning the local implementation role it could be stated that within the field of the CSM possessing action capital is not actively encouraged nor acknowledged. There is no system in which individual contributions in implementation are evaluated, let along appreciated by the CSM. Where an active role in implementation of CFS policies offers potential within the CFS field, the field of the CSM does not provide this space. Giving implementation a more prominent role within the field of the CSM could therefore potentially be an important way for the CSM to be influential. Active discussing, stimulating and supporting of implementation activities within the CSM could lead to an improved position within the CFS as well. There is a high potential for the CSM to become a more influential actor within the CFS if it actively engages in implementation activities and communicates this with other actors in the CFS field. There is a big potential that this will lead to support of other actors and might provide CSM a better position within the field. However, to fulfil this role within the field of the CFS, the importance of this role should first be acknowledged within the field of the CSM. According to the interviewed participants, this requires a strategy consisting of regular discussions and evaluations and a supporting system for those actors that are actively engaged in local implementation activities.

8.4 Monitoring

According to all the participants an implementation system requires monitoring. To refer to participant 9 “there is no sense in setting up the guidelines if there is no monitoring and evaluation”. During the latest CFS Plenary meeting, civil society launched a report as a starting point for a monitoring system on the Tenure Guidelines (CSM 2016b). Within this report CSM clearly expresses their point of view of the need of having a monitoring system within the CFS:

> It is essential to ensure effective monitoring, including the creation of adequate monitoring mechanisms, in order to assess the progress of their implementation as well as their impact on the ground and their contribution to the improvement of tenure governance according to their objectives(CSM 2016b, 14).

This report illustrates that civil society values this role within the CFS system. Within a CSM publication that evaluates the CFS 42nd meeting (CSM 2015) the CSM phrases it even more firmly. They state that an innovative monitoring mechanism is needed to allow for reflection, discussion and assessment of progress. Without it, “CFS is unable to truly fulfil its mandate... and will fail to fulfil the great expectation behind its reform” (CSM 2015, 13). When discussing the current way civil society was fulfilling this role several processes were addressed. The first part of this section will deal with the contributions CSM already works on.

When being asked whether it was possible to hold actors accountable based on CFS guidelines, participant 6 responded by pointing at some positive developments. He referred to a manual designed by the CSM, that made it possible for local and national actors to understand how they can use the guidelines and what they can expect from other actors. CSM considers it as one of their main goals to translate guidelines to action-oriented approaches. As participant 7 explained: "This is something which is very consistent within the CSM approach, that we try to push for clear recommendations that highlight who needs to do what".

As raised by several state representatives during the latest plenary, monitoring should be an objective process that is supported and executed by a diverse group of actors. In this respect, monitoring cannot be solely allocated as the responsibility of civil society. Participant 11 provided an interesting perspective on the current state of monitoring. As he remarked, rather than carrying all responsibility for the monitoring system, the role of civil society is to lobby and advocate among all CFS actors to encourage development. The process is holistic and all-encompassing, because monitoring will only work if it is supported by all actors. As many participants stated, perhaps strengthened by the voluntary nature of all policies, governments often feel reluctant to get monitored and evaluated by an autonomous group. On the other hand, within the field of the CFS an increasing agreement develops that it is needed to have a monitoring mechanism to move the CFS forward. Within this tension, civil society can provide a supporting and propelling role. Participant 4 phrased this role as follows:

> The only way to ensure pressure on governments and bureaucracy means that you have to have an active monitoring group. A group that calls on various forms of monitoring to take place, and that monitoring should be implemented on a manner that there is enough pressure on governments to do things and to do things thoroughly (interview 20-06-2016).

Concerning this supporting role, the CSM has already started taking the lead to move the process forward. The monitoring report on the voluntary guidelines for land tenure functioned as a first step to show how CSM feels monitoring should look like. Within the 43rd CFS meeting this report was praised several times and it provided CSM legitimacy to make sure their voice was being heard. Another contribution was addressed by participant 12. He mentioned an example of a regional civil society group that is holding governments accountable for what is discussed within the CFS. By actively engaging with different actors, this local group strives to keep track of what is happening with the CFS policies on a regional scale.

CSM is setting first steps on a very complicated task. As participant 7 stated, for many governments CFS is not the only global governance field they are involved in. Consequently, not all actors want this function to be part of the field of the CFS, as participant 7 said: "there are certain member states that don't want CFS to look into their policies and policy coherence". This role of civil society is therefore a contested and complicated one. Especially in cases where the guidelines are not action-oriented and do not clearly define responsibilities, participant 10 saw a problem. The limited amount of resources, capacity and time available results in the fact that CSM should 'pick its battles'. Not every guideline is similarly important. Therefore, it might not be worthwhile to spend time, energy and

money in setting up a monitoring system for all of them. Participant 2 stated that monitoring should be the responsibility of the CFS in general. If all actors agree to certain guidelines, he stated that all should carry responsibility to monitor the implementation of them. There is also a critique by some of the CFS actors that the CFS would turn into a 'talkshop' again. However, there might be a difference since this time the CFS does not only exist for monitoring, but monitoring is one among several tasks it needs to fulfil.

When relating this to field theory, one could state that the importance of having a monitoring mechanism is something that is only recently becoming increasingly acknowledged by several the participant that were interviewed. This is interesting, because apparently it is a role that is by these actors envisioned as something that is only relevant after other roles are fulfilled. Monitoring is a responsibility of all CFS actors, but CSM can deliver a significant contribution by using their capital. Informational capital, but also social and symbolic capital are important within this monitoring system. Informational and social capital implies contributing to collecting data and networks to base the monitoring system on. Symbolic means to encourage the development of a monitoring mechanism by lobbying and taking the lead. In this sense the recently launched report (CSM 2016b) is already an important step forward.

Setting up a good monitoring systems requires much effort, given the fact that so many actors are involved. This implies that the CSM needs to have a well-suited habitus and capital within the field of the CFS to lobby for certain monitoring guidelines. The types of capital that are needed are informational capital in terms of collecting information about the implementation of policies This needs to be supported by social capital, since monitoring is often a multi-actor activity. Cultural capital and a suited habitus are important to become accepted as a member that is responsible for measuring the effectiveness of implementation of policies. It is important to keep in mind that CFS policies are designed in such a way that implementation is mainly the task of governments. If governments are responsible for implementation, the CSM needs to prove its usefulness and trustworthiness as a monitoring actor. Therefore, cultural and symbolic capital and habitus are important for this role. However, not all guidelines and recommendations are equally important and useful for civil society to base monitoring indicators upon. It is most logical to invest most strongly in those guidelines that were considered promising and contain action-oriented statements with a clear responsibility for certain actors. Participant 11 provides an interesting example of a case in which such a monitoring process might be not worthwhile: "with the organization of *my working group* to be honest, we are still on the point of dealing with structuring the mess. Frankly, we are at a point that we are not really convinced of the utility of what is produced".

This brings the discussion to another point to consider within the CSM. Several participants pointed at the existence of a CFS Monitoring Working Group, in which a few civil society representatives are represented. The civil society members that are part of this working group are considered responsible for all the CSM activities that have to do with monitoring. In many cases participants remarked that they were not part of this working group, and therefore they had little insight in how the monitoring process was developing. This shows a current discrepancy between the priority that CSM states to give to monitoring and the actual structure of the field of the CSM. Active participants

of a working group have good insights in the relevance of the work and are strongly engaged in the topics and its relevance at a local scale, but all other CSM members seem to disassociate themselves from this role. Making a little amount of civil society actors responsible for the monitoring role might put a high pressure on these actors. It does not necessarily need to be the civil society actors that are involved in the monitoring working group that are the ones that are best capable of setting up a monitoring system for a specific policy. The capital and habitus one possesses might vary per topic, since an individual might have more experience, knowledge and connections when dealing with a topic he or she is strongly involved in. Monitoring is therefore a complicated role that demands cooperation among several actors and therefore well-suited habitus and social and informational capital within both the field of the CFS (multi-stakeholder monitoring programs) as the field of the CSM (cooperation among several civil society members, depending on the topic)

8.5 Advocacy for justice

This role of civil society is somewhat distinct, since it has an explicit normative character. The participation of the CSM is an element that differentiates the CFS from other global governance institutions. As participant 13 phrased it: "The CFS is regularly referred to as the most inclusive UN platform. However, it is the CSM that validates this inclusiveness because it is the most diverse member without which the CFS would simply be another UN forum". Following this line of reasoning, civil society has the task to value the CFS process by deciding whether or not it considers CFS as a legitimate forum to raise their concerns. The advocacy for justice role therefore is directly related to providing symbolic capital to the CFS and providing legitimacy for its existence. This role requires a well thought-out reasoning why the CFS is the right field for civil society to invest its time, resources and capacities on. Two reasons were provided by the participants why they felt motivated to be part of the CSM and the CFS.

Giving a voice

The opportunity to give a voice to those that are suffering most from food insecurity and hunger is for almost all the interviewed participants an argument to state that CFS is an important field to be part of. Within this reasoning, a strict distinction is being made between a field in which civil society has no other function than to observe and a field in which civil society has the opportunity to participate. Participant 14 for example stated that "if civil society actors only came in as invited and did not meaningfully participate, then it would be only a spectator space, but it is not". The question why this participatory character makes the CFS particularly useful, is often answered by referring to the fact that the structure of the field is unique in its opportunity to link knowledge and expertise of civil society organization to the global governance level. According to participant 4 the way the committee is structured is crucial, because otherwise the voices, experiences and understanding of the civil society actors would never be articulated at global policy level. All interviewed participants had a common agreement that voices of the local groups that were suffering most from food insecurity should be raised at global level. Another common agreement was that they considered global fora or institutions as an important mechanism for making a change when dealing with global food security and nutrition. By taking those two viewpoints in account, they considered the CFS as the most valuable global governance field. The opportunity of being able to voice the concerns of all civil society organizations around the world is an aspect that makes the CFS a legitimate forum for civil society members to be engaged in. As participant 11 stated: "To my knowledge if it is not unique

in the United Nations, it is one of the very few ways that civil society, and particularly in this case social movements, can directly engage with nation states around such fundamental international human rights to food". Participant 10 pointed at the meaning of participation for regions that are not used to have a strong civil society representation. He stated that the possibility to raise a voice as civil society has enacted a learning process on how to be effective in global policies platforms. He remarked: "It is providing a really good opportunity for all regions in the world to be engaged and to bring your voice on the international arena".

Addressing issues

Another core reason for civil society actors to consider the CFS as the legitimate field to operate in is the opportunity it raises for addressing issues on a global level. Participant 3 argued that this has resulted in a discussion about topics that civil society would never have been able to address in any other global governance field. He addressed the example of biofuels. According to him this is a topic that was avoided during global policy discussions in any other forum. He considered it as a win that civil society has a opportunity within the field of the CFS to get discussion ongoing. Others recognized this potential as well. The fact that civil society is able to present proposals to discuss is highlighted by participant 7 as a way to get international attention raised for certain topics. Participant 2 stated that what distinguishes CSM from all other types of civil society participation on the global level is their all-inclusiveness on different aspects. This all-inclusiveness relates to representing all regions, types of civil society actors, but also by addressing all different types of issues concerning food security. As this participant stated "CSM aims for the entire spectrum of problems that accompanies food security and nutrition". The following quote of participant 5 illustrated the importance civil society members attach to having an all-inclusive approach in addressing issues that they consider as most crucial in tackling food insecurity and hunger:

> We need to make sure that the issues discussed at the CFS address the actual points that can reduce hunger and malnutrition. It is important for us that we show interest in the problems of the vulnerable people. The whole world is taking a look at us, while we are representing their livelihoods (interview 30-06-2016).

These two legitimacies that were addressed as the reason to be involved in the CFS might sound a bit repetitive, but it concretely shows the reason for individual participants to join the CSM. It also clearly defines the symbolic capital that CSM adds to the field of the CFS. This last quote symbolizes the awareness that the interviewed participants had of this capital that they added to the field.

The significance of this role in the field of the CFS

What can be concluded is that the CSM needs the field of the CFS to legitimize its existence. However, the other way around should not be underestimated. Without the participation of civil society, CFS loses its distinctive value as a global policy forum. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that CSM is not an organization or a unity, it is a field consisting of many different individual actors. All those actors make a reasoned decision what field they consider as most useful and likely to reach their aims concerning the improvement of food security. The involvement of each individual actor provides therefore important symbolic capital to both the field of the CFS and the CSM.

Without the involvement of the CSM actors, both fields will lose its legitimacy. This is why the role of advocacy for justice is of crucial significance.

For having an influence in global food governance simply participating in the field of the CFS might be insufficient. For each issue that is addressed, civil society actors possess certain capital and habitus. They need to consider in what fields they can use what type of capital and based on this determine a strategy to get attention raised. As participant 4 stated "in civil society organizations, there is a vast amount of experiences, or research and analysis that governments do not have access to". This implicates that CSM possesses capital that other CFS actors do not posses. Within this chapter several of these types of capital have been highlighted. Apart from the symbolic capital that the CSM adds to the field of the CFS, several other types have been distinguished. Social capital (regional and local connections), action capital (bridging the gap from policy to action) and informational capital (offering new perspectives) are a few examples of types of capital that civil society has to offer. On issues in which civil society add new types of capital to the field of the CFS, debating and lobbying within the CFS might be effective since civil society has a more influential position in the field. As participant 2 and 9 both stated the way capital is valued differs per topic. Accordingly, the position of the CSM in the field will also differ per topic. In cases in which it is unlikely that CSM possesses the right capital and habitus in the field, there are basically two strategies for CSM; choose for a confrontational approach or 'fight the battle' in a different field.

Several participants argued that the confrontational approach had potential to have an influence on the long term. Participant 2 stated that it is important to voice your concerns, even if you lose the battle. As he stated "you never know, some day you might get actual support from unlikely supporters". Participant 3 made a similar argument referring to the process a working group he was involved in. They did not manage to reach government contribution on the short term, but by raising the issue on the table he believed that on the long term this will be different. However, structurally looking for a confrontational approach might be counterproductive in the long run. In case other CFS actors start to distance themselves from the CSM, there is a potential threat that cultural capital will decrease, and the relevance of the interference of civil society will be challenged. Even in future situations in which civil society has a good potential to be influential, this might result in a less influential position because of this altered habitus and cultural capital.

For this reason it might be a good approach to design a strategy at the beginning, and perhaps also during each process. What fields are relevant to reach the goals of civil society actors and what capital and habitus can civil society use? Participant 12 provided a clear example of a situation in which it is clear what capital is important and what fields they want to approach:

> We make our own workplan to fight for that when we are back home. But it is the government that made a commitment. So yes it is really important for them to translate their commitment into action, they are responsible for that and as an elective government be accountable to that. And then I think it is our job to make them accountable. To create public attention for that particular issue, for an action or inaction, to raise awareness, to talk to the media, to say look our government made this possession and we need to hold them to it,

> whether it is a positive or negative. And in the RAI negotiations, *my country* was one government that was withholding its consent by disagreeing to the guidelines, so we came back here and talked to the media and got a lot of petitions happening that put pressure on the government to reverse their position, so it's both (interview 13-09-2016).

Analyzing this statement I would like to make my concluding point. Within this quote several fields can be analyzed; the civil society of this specific country, the CFS, but also the field of the national media. By using symbolic, cultural, information, action and social capital they could assert pressure on the government to act on promises that were only voluntary. It clearly demonstrates the powerful position civil society can possess when it is aware of its role in advocacy for justice. Even though the CFS is an important field for CSM to operate in, it might be beneficial to start looking for additional fields to raise their concerns. Operating in one field does not necessarily exclude the other field, contrarily it can reinforce each other. Concluding point is that picking the right fields, and emphasizing the right capital and habitus within each process, might improve the effectiveness of civil society to address the main issues and to reach their main goals. Civil society actors should not be afraid to choose for different fields than the CFS if the potential gains are higher in that particular situation.

Part IX

Discussion and Conclusion

9. Discussion

This research has focussed on identifying the way civil society actors have positioned themselves and operated within a global platform for food governance. It has been descriptive in identifying both the field of the CSM and the field of the CFS, but is also focussed on analyzing the way civil society strategized to make an influence in global governance. The study highlights the importance of analyzing governance on an individual level by relating decisions actors within a governance field make to habitus and capital. The study emphasizes the importance of these dynamics to be able to understand positions, strategies and effectiveness of groups of actors in global governance. The dynamics within governance fields are often neglected by envisioning groups like civil society as uniform actors, and this limits the potential to understand the dynamics going on in a field. Within this chapter we will move towards answering the research questions. First, focus will be on the way the CSM has organized itself and the implications this has for its effectiveness.

9.1 CSM as a field

Important message is that the Civil Society Mechanism is better understood when it is envisioned as a field with its own logics, structure and power dynamics. The current way the field is structured is to a certain extent contrasting with the overall aim of the CSM, which is functioning as a supportive, non-hierarchical, openly accessible platform for civil society organizations that want to be influential at the CFS. As Bourdieu already remarked, every field consists of a group of several individual actors possessing different habitus and capital. The way they are able to make use of their habitus and capital determines the successfulness they have in the field and therefore the amount of power they possess. The CSM is no exception in this. It certainly provides some conditions that allows for diverse civil society participation, but at the same time some limitations exist that limits its open character.

This already starts with two contrasting basic principles of the CSM. On the one hand it claims to be a mechanism supporting all civil society actors that are involved in food security. On the other hand it clearly states that it provides a prioritized position for those that are involved with people suffering from food insecurity themselves. This line of reasoning is logical, it provides legitimacy to the CSM as a field and improves its position within the field of the CFS. However, as shown, this strict dual division is in practice unclear, as well as contested. After all, the capital those small-scale social movements provide would be useless without the organizational and social capital, as well as the more suited habitus, well-organized NGOs provide. One could state that the priority for social movements does only exist on paper, but does not exist in practice. I would state that divisions made between civil society organizations is often artificial and does not improve the CSM as a field.

This has to with other types of power relations within the field as well. As already stated, power relations within field are unavoidable. However, one of CSM fundamental principles and goals is to represent a wide and diverse civil society. Therefore, even though according to the theory some level of hierarchy will always exist, CSM should strive to provide structure that allows for as much flat organization as possible. This implies, keeping the boundaries of the field to enter and participate as low as possible and make sure that divergence of opinions is not simply bypassed but as much recognized as possible. Concerning the first part, keeping the boundaries low can be achieved when

creating a standardized strategy that makes it easier to understand the dynamics of the CSM and the CFS. As argued this implies having standardized manners to link work of working groups, to evaluate the process and to decide whether follow-up processes are useful. It also implies paying attention to practical issues that limit the potential of small organizations to participate. This will help to have those organizations or individuals with less experience (less-suited habitus), knowledge of the field (cultural capital), and connections and influence in the field (social and symbolic capital), better able to participate in the process. On the second part about valuing the divergence of opinions, there might be cases in which this aim of the CSM will limit potential influence in the field of the CFS. Diversity of opinions is valued within the CSM, but within the CFS civil society is supposed to offer a uniform viewpoint. The CSM should be aware that this process of coming from a wide range of opinions to a uniform statement might be accompanied with power struggles. Therefore the CSM might keep in mind that it is likely that those with the best-suited habitus, as well as most capital will have most power when it comes to a final decision on civil society's position. A way forward could be to take more initiative when formulating opinions, rather than being reactionary. Having a few core points that all actors agree upon and strive for will increase the intelligibility of the CSM among other CFS actors, but will also allow for a more diverse involvement of civil society.

In short, as CSM participants already clearly remarked, diversity is embraced by all CSM actors. The current structure of the field nevertheless does not allow for fulfilling its full potential. On the one hand artificial divisions are made, while both types of capital and habitus are needed, on the other hand current processes create boundaries for certain actors to understand, enter and participate in the field. It might be a good step forward to prioritize on certain issues or processes civil society actors consider as most valuable, as shown in the following section this can be determined based on the potential outcome it has within the field of the CFS.

9.2 way CSM participants organised themselves in relation to the fields

CSM participants have organized themselves in such a way that they are often only involved in parts of both fields. Those that feel that they can add capital and have a suitable habitus when it comes to a certain issue, will involve themselves in this particular discussion. However, not all CSM participants possess suited habitus and knowledge of the way the CFS and the CSM are organized (organizational and cultural capital), and the way to lobby and negotiate (social and professional skills). Those actors that possess more of these types of capital and a better-suited habitus within the field of the CFS are often the ones that are most strongly involved in the field of the CFS and its negotiation and policy processes. Obtaining a more powerful position within the field of the CSM directly relates to the amount of influence an individual can have within the CFS. CSM participants seem to be aware that if they want to influence decisions within the field of the CFS, they first need to adapt to the way the field of the CSM is organized. This implies that only those that posses appreciated capital within the field of the CSM and only those that have a well-suited habitus within the CSM are the CSM participants that are involved in the field of the CFS.

9.3 Positioning of CSM within the field of the CFS

The position of civil society within the CFS is dependent on the type of discussion that is going on. Basically, it could be stated that the dynamics of the field of the CFS vary per topic. In theory civil

society has some unique types of capital to deliver, of which symbolic capital is perhaps the most important one. Without the interference of civil society, CFS would lose its legitimacy as the foremost inclusive platform on food security. However, civil society also lacks types of capital, of which political capital is of crucial importance. On the so-called contentious issues this lack of capital becomes visible, since governmental actors clearly prioritize other fields to discuss trade-related issues on. The types of capital that are valued within a negotiation process, as well as the amount of habitus civil society possesses, thus varies during each negotiation process.

These differences in position of civil society within the field of the CFS has implications for the strategies it chooses to use. In general, three types of strategies have been distinguished. The reformist approach has resulted in the most encouraging examples. However, this way of approaching the negotiations demands for a well-suited habitus, the right types of capital (social, symbolic, cultural and informational) and much effort from civil society actors. This relates to the former question, when dealing with the field of the CSM. A reformist approach demands for good cooperation from civil society, reaching consensus about what they consider as the main goals when discussing a certain topic and distributing the work according to the type of capital and habitus individual civil society actors possess. Some actors have a good understanding of local situations and are therefore able to deliver informational and symbolic capital, while others have social capital and a well-suited habitus and should focus on networking with other actors. I would argue that this approach does most justice to the aims of CSM and maximizes possibilities to get something meaningful out of the negotiation process.

However, as discussed this approach is not always possible. There are certain cases in which it is not possible to use this structured procedure. This is for example the case when dealing with contentious issues in which civil society simply lacks habitus, but also in cases in which working groups have limited capacity, situations in which small-scale social movements are not interested to participate, or situations in which there is a lack of time. Question that needed to be addressed is, how useful is it to participate as CSM in such situations? Opinions on this questions differed. Some stated that issues need to be addressed, because discussing them at international scale is already a step towards coming to international consensus, even if the outcomes are meaningless. Furthermore there are also encouraging examples in situations CSM chose a more confrontational or revising approach. Others stated that CSM has a limited capacity and can better focus on a few specific points and organize themselves very well on this, than fighting all battles at half capacity. Personally, I would state that this needs more discussion within the CSM. Regularly choosing a confrontational approach might affect the position of the CSM within the field of the CFS in general. Furthermore, if there are topics on which civil society actors know beforehand that they will not be able to be influential, it might be worthwhile to choose another field to fight this battle. It is not up to me to state when civil society should invest time and effort in a certain negotiation, but an important message is that CSM actors should take procedures within the CFS not for granted. It is important to discuss the approach beforehand. Strategizing should be a continual part of the start of each negotiation process. Thereby it is important to frankly discuss the same fundamental questions, is CFS the right field to discuss the topic, and if so, how are we as civil society going to strategize ourselves most effectively?

9.4 Roles of civil society

CSM is having a contribution in each of the five key roles of civil society in global governance. In table 4, it is shown what types of capital CSM possesses to fulfil a role and how habitus influences the potential in fulfilling this role. Important to notice is that symbolic capital is frequently mentioned. We can therefore conclude that CSM mainly distinguishes itself by providing legitimacy to the field of the CFS. Another important conclusion is that when the theoretical model is compared with the empirically identified types of capital, civil society has way more to offer to a global governance field, but its work is also much more complicated than expected. On the one hand it needs to adapt to the field of the CFS by having a suitable habitus, and strong social, organization, professional and cultural capital. On the other hand, it needs to occupy an important position in the field of the CFS by delivering new types of capital, such as informational and action capital.

Roles	Theoretical types of capital	Empirical types of capital	Explanation of required types of capital and habitus
Information/ local perspectives	Informational	Organizational, informational, symbolic, professional, cultural	Broadly there are two types of civil society actors. Some actors possess knowledge of local situations and therefore provide symbolic legitimacy and important information, others are better capable of organizing all this information and communicating it in a manner that fits within the field of the CFS, they possess a more suited habitus within the field of the CFS and better organizational, cultural and professional habitus.
Agenda setting	Political	Political, social, symbolic, cultural, informational	A combination of informational and symbolic capital, but also a good lobbying strategy increases the likelihood of getting points on the agenda. The habitus civil society actors possess vary per topic, the more suited habitus and cultural capital they posses, the more likely it is that the topic will be incorporated on the agenda. A certain level of poltical capital, the right to add issues on the agenda, is a precondition.
Operational context	Informational, social	Action, informational, social	Currently the CSM system relies almost entirely on the initiatives of individual CSM actors within their own local, national or regional field. They possess a strong knowledge of those fields and have connections to perform as a bridge between the global policies of the CFS and the local contexts they usually operate in.
Monitoring	Political, Economic	Informational, social, cultural, symbolic	By taking a leading role within the CFS to support monitoring, the way the CFS field around monitoring is structured is changing. This provides civil society

			actors a more knowledge on monitoring, but also provides them the legitimacy they need to be accepted as actors that hold others accountable.
Advocacy for justice	Symbolic	Symbolic (by possessing social, action and informational)	By bringing in capital that only civil society possesses, CSM distinguishes itself from other actors in the field of the CFS. Based on the way their habitus and capital is valued within the CFS field, individual civil society actors should determine for themselves whether the CFS is the right platform to succeed in achieving their goals.

Table 5: Roles of CSM related to capital and habitus.

On each role CSM provides value that is crucial for the field of the CFS. This value is provided in terms of legitimacy, because without the support of any civil society organization the reform process of the CFS can be considered as a failure. However, it provides different types of capital as well. Civil society distinguishes itself by being directly engaged with the people that are suffering from food insecurity and hunger. It is important to remark that it is more difficult to reach local food producers, fishermen and malnourished people, since participating in the field of the CFS and the CSM demands a certain habitus and types of capital related to global governance systems that most of them lack. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily negative, since those people that are involved in social movements are directly representing them. By offering their opinion, they provide new types of information other actors within the CFS do not have access to. Furthermore, they provide new social relations by being the only one that are directly engaged with these local groups. This allows them to deliver action capital and directly implement agreements on a local scale. One could state that fulfilling those five roles provides CSM its legitimacy to be an influential player within the field of the CFS. Therefore core focus of CSM structure should be on supporting those roles and increasing their influence.

The roles of the CSM can be divided in two. Information provisioning, as well as agenda setting are roles that the CSM is engaged in since its existence. Therefore several examples exists in which civil society was successful when performing those roles. Generally points of improvement are still possible, most importantly on providing more training on understanding the dynamics of the field of the CFS, but considerable influence is already noticeable. Implementation and monitoring is by many CFS actors, including many CSM participants, considered as a following step. In my opinion, this is not a follow-up step but a crucial part of the successfulness of the CFS process. Given the fact that other CFS actors increasingly start to emphasize the importance of those two roles, civil society has a lot to gain in this respect. The current structure within the CSM is strongly dependent on individual initiatives, and processes within the CSM hardly providing support, especially to those actors that have to work in situations with limited political support and limited civil society awareness. Just as was the case with the report on monitoring, civil society could increase its influence by taking the lead in this 'next step'. This demands a well defined, structural approach in which implementation and monitoring becomes a more central feature. For implementation and monitoring CSM will remain dependent on individuals or small groups that know the local situation and are willing to

perform as a bridge between the global governance fields and the local field they are involved in. However, the CSM might provide more guidance for individuals who want to start such initiatives. Setting up regional CSM groups and internal discussion could for example help move implementation forward and monitoring should be a topic every working group includes in its process. These are examples of improvements that could help the CSM in providing a structure rather than depending on individuals responsible for all implementation and monitoring.

9.5 Strategies for civil society engagement

Basically, the CSM provides a very important and good example of how civil society organizations can organize themselves to improve their position within the a global governance field. They have been able to influence the field of the CFS by fulfilling different roles. An important insight is that a field such as the CSM and an all-inclusive governance field, such as the CFS are mutually influencing each other. The way the CSM deals with its diversity and the way it strategizes itself, influences the position it has in the field. Some CSM actors might possess a well-suited habitus within the CFS, because they are experienced, but they might not necessarily possess specific types of capital other civil society actors do possess. This explains the importance that has been given to make sure the dynamics of the CSM field allows for a system that is as open and non-hierarchical as possible. By fulfilling the key roles of civil society participation in global governance, the CSM affects and even changes the field of the CFS.

I would state that the example of the CSM within the CFS is of crucial importance to understand the dynamics that are happening when talking about civil society participation in global governance. CSM has a leading role in showing how important civil society organizations can be in having a impact on global problems. The CSM is already an influential set of actors in the field that has offered several contributions in tackling global food insecurity. By being self-reflective and dynamic they can learn important lessons of which other civil society mechanisms will benefit as well. This thesis provided not only insights in how the field of the CSM and the CFS are currently organized, and in which CSM is developing successful strategies to influence the negotiations within the CFS. It also showed aspects on which civil society can improve itself and become even more influential. In this way CSM can keep functioning as a leading example for all civil society organizations that are involved in global governance processes.

10. Conclusion and reflection

10.1 Conclusion

Field theory in global governance

This research has shown the relevance of translating Bourdieu's field theory to the field of global governance. Although the concepts are often a simplification of the actual situation, since every field has its unique structure and dynamics, it offers several useful tools to get a better understanding of results. The concepts capital and habitus offer an interesting way to gather more detail on explaining why a certain actor gains an influential position within a global governance field. It also helps in explaining why this situation changes over time, or is different per topic and international institution. Furthermore, both concepts have proved to be useful in highlighting the importance of a certain constituency, actor or group at an international global governance field. By focussing on the capital and habitus a certain actor adds to the process, a deeper understanding is generated of how this actor can strengthen its participation.

The fact that Bourdieu considers every field as dynamic, existing of social relations and a distinct field of power provides opportunity to reach a better analysis. Finally, the interrelatedness between fields and the fact that actors perform in different fields at the same time, and experiences at one field have an impact on another field, contributes to a better outline of the complex relations going on in global governance.

By using this theoretical framework I have been able to gain certain insights I would otherwise have overlooked. In this specific case it helped me to understand the way CSM participants operated in the field of the CFS. And in order to understand this, one needs not to solely focus on the dynamics in the field of the CFS, it was also crucial to understand the dynamics of the field of the CSM as well. What became apparent is that practices in the CSM and CFS are interrelated, but that the dynamics in both fields are distinct. This observation connects to field theory and describes a situation in which two fields are related by individuals that are performing as translators between those fields, but nevertheless both fields have a different power dynamics and value for capital and habitus. Developments at the level of the CFS directly impact the CSM, while strategic decisions made within the CSM directly relate to what is happening at the CFS field. Without the theoretical framework this level of connectivity was most likely overlooked and the level of data analysis would have been more superficial.

The way CSM participants operated in the field of the CFS

CSM participants have a challenging position, since they have to adapt to the dynamics of the field of the CFS, while at the same time doing justice to the fields the use to work in on a daily basis. Only a limited amount of CSM participants is therefore capable of possessing enough social, cultural, professional capital and well-suited habitus to effectively participate in the field of the CFS. Therefore the field of the CSM is of crucial importance to cover the distance between the global level field of the CFS and the locally oriented participants of the CSM. Those actors that do not possess much experience, knowledge and skills to participate in the field of the CFS still have important types of capital to deliver that help to give the CSM a better position within the field of the CFS. The CSM is

aware of the importance of having those civil society actors involved as well, but has still potential to improve the opportunity for those type of actors to effectively participate. The roles civil society actors can fulfil in global governance have been used within this thesis as a base to analyze the influence CSM has in the field of the CFS. I would argue that they can also be used as a baseline for the CSM to evaluate its work and to concretely define on what roles and how they want to operate. What type of capital and habitus do CSM need and how can the CSM shape its structure to open enhance the possession of these types of capital and habitus? In general, it can be concluded the field of the CSM is important for civil society actors to become involved in global governance fields such as the CFS. It provides civil society actors more opportunities to gain more capital and more suited habitus related to this global governance field. An important conclusion is therefore that in order to understand civil society participation one needs to focus on the individual level, since civil society is a heterogeneous collection of actors that posses very different levels of capital and habitus. To do justice to the diverse nature of civil society, mechanisms such as the CSM are of crucial importance to reach a fair civil society representation in global governance.

When the theoretical model of the field of the CFS and the CSM (figure 2) is compared to the empirical data, important conclusions can be made. First of all, the theoretical model presented is too static. The field of the CFS cannot be described by presenting one figure, but is dynamic and the amount of capital and habitus individual actors possess vary per topic and process. This explains why the results the CSM was able to reach were varying. Individual CSM actors therefore choose different strategies for each process, depending on the amount of habitus and capital they have to offer. Another important difference between the model and the empirical data is the fact that a strict division within civil society, as presented in the model, does not exist. It is possible to define different type of civil society actors, each possessing other types and amount of capital and some possess a more-suited habitus than others. However this situation is dynamic. CSM participants strategize themselves according to the types of capital and habitus they expect to need to reach a certain result within the field of the CFS. A general concluding statement is that a theoretical figure of the field of the CFS and the field of the CSM is useful to base data analysis on, but does not adequately represent the dynamic nature of both fields. The habitus and capitals vary per process, and per individual that is involved. Therefore, the way civil society participants should operate in the field of the CFS in order to be influential, needs to be analyzed as individual cases rather than in a generalizing manner. Another important conclusion is that civil society members often posses different types of capital and different levels of well-suited habitus. Therefore, being organized in a collective manner and helping to support each other is an important contribution of the CSM.

Relevance for global governance and civil society participation in global governance

As already remarked in the introduction, among a broad range of actors agreement starts to occur that to make global governance more useful a more inclusive approach is necessary. With the changing role of nation-states it has become increasingly relevant to include other actors such as the private sector, research institutions, international institutions and civil society. The case of civil society participation within the CFS is therefore relevant to show the effectiveness of such an all-inclusive approach.

This research shows that civil society participation at the global level has indeed potential to move global governance, and food governance in particular forward. Examples are the fact that CSM had an active contribution in designing CFS policies, such as the RAI and the voluntary guidelines on tenure, it also addressed issues that would not have been discussed otherwise and a final example is the monitoring report for a monitoring system on tenure guidelines (CSM 2016b) that, as several CFS participants stated during CFS43 brought the designing of a strategy for monitoring in the CFS to a more concrete level. However, civil society participation goes accompanied with a long process of adaptation, negotiation and struggling to receive and maintain an influential position within a global governance field. There is a thin line between the specific roles civil society has to offer and ascribing all major responsibilities to civil society, so that other actors can no longer be held accountable. Civil society, and especially a situation in which civil society represents the local populations that are suffering most from a certain global problem, has some unique contribution to deliver to global governance. It provides legitimacy to the system, as well as an opportunity to translate global policies to small-scale solutions. This might however not imply that civil society should carry all responsibilities to make sure the policies are effective and acted upon.

What has become clear is that civil society can only fulfil its potential roles in a satisfying manner, while holding other actors accountable rather than taking away all their responsibility, if global civil society is well-organized. This implies finding a right balance between representing the ones that suffer most and having the right capital to organize themselves and lobby strategically. This is a process that demands support from other actors. It is a transition phase, and even a platform as the CSM, which might be regarded as a leading example, has enough room for improvement through learning by doing. To refer to the title of this research, CSM has taken an important step in the future of global food governance by occupying a space to fulfil its potential. As within any global governance field this space should not be taken for granted, but is always under threat of other global actors. CSM has the responsibility to keep occupying the space, while keeping into account its core values. By offering a space for local actors to voice their concerns civil society already proves its legitimacy to play a role within any global governance field. CSM should always keep in mind that its structure should guide and support the bridging role of civil society between global level and local practices. In this way it keeps playing a leading role for all global governance platforms that need to reform to a more inclusive system.

In short, I would say that the CSM is a leading example because it took the first step already. It occupied an important space to have a wide representation of global civil society within a global governance setting. Having a space and being able to raise your voice is a first step, and it is an important step for other global governance platform to follow. However, CSM should maintain its leading role and therefore not just feel satisfied that it is able to express their concerns. The following step is to actually make a difference for those it represents in all local areas around the world. Only when this is achieved can the CSM show the full potential of civil society participation in global governance.

10.2 Reflection

I would like to start by stating that doing this research was a challenging, but also a very interesting and educational experience. During the research I discovered that civil society participation in global

governance is a complex topic that demands not only an overview of the positioning of civil society actors within a field with other international actors, but also requires an understanding of the dynamics within the field of civil society itself. During the research process I discovered that although civil society is often treated as being a uniform entity, the diversity of viewpoints, backgrounds, interests and cultures makes it quite the opposite. Within this research three types of civil society participants can be distinguished. There were participants that were exclusively optimistic, they had the tendency to keep describing the structure of both the CSM and the CFS and to highlight the potential this had to offer. On the other side of the spectrum there were people that were utterly disappointed in the system, and pessimistic in that it does not make any difference in the life of people on the ground. The third category was the in-between group, highlighting the potentials, while at the same time realizing there are still points for improvement yet. I think I succeeded in having a balanced representation of all three groups, but I am also aware that striving for a balance in the three types of people might not be a good representation of the actual situation. This can be considered as a weakness of the research. Even though effort is made to take care that the respondents are geographically and gender-related balanced, the group of respondents might still not fairly represent all actors participating in the CSM, let along the food related global civil society.

Another point I want to reflect on about this research is the fact that it is highly based on interpretation, making it an important limitation of the research. During the design of the spreadsheet I made a selection of documents that were important in understanding a process of a working group. This in itself is already a process of personal interpretation. More importantly, I have not been part of any policy process myself. Therefore, I can only base my judgements on interpretations of documents and information others provided me. In this regard visiting the CFS 43 plenary session has been very valuable. It was a moment in which I could see negotiation processes happening with my own eyes and develop a better understanding of what participants meant during the interviews. The fact that the research is based on interpretations is in my opinion not necessarily a weakness. As a researcher, not being part of a field yourself provides the opportunity to observe things that insiders might overlook because they take it for granted. Within anthropology this is referred to as home-blindness. It might be the case that some civil society actors might not recognize certain statements or recommendations within this thesis. This is absolutely not problematic. One of the main goals I hope to achieve with this research is enacting a discussion. Disagreement on any level is useful in moving the debate forward.

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Annex A

Standardized letter to respondents

Dear INSERT NAME,

I am a research student working on a project to identify and understand the effective strategies of the CSM Working Groups when negotiating at the CFS. The project is supervised by Jessica Duncan and Thierry Kesterloot.

I am writing to ask for your support in expanding and validating the research. Given your work on the NAME OF THE WORKING GROUP, I am specifically interested in your insights and reflections on what you found effective, and not so effective in terms of engaging in the policy negotiations.

I understand you are very busy and so I would limit the interview to 30 minutes. The interviews would take place by Skype or telephone, depending on your preference. You will remain anonymous and you can withdraw your participation at any time.

The interviews will feed into a report which will be shared with the CSM. The report will include:

1. Analysis of the interventions and positions of civil society as facilitated through the CSM to begin to better understand and identify effective strategies for engagement.
2. Identification of different interventions and positions so as to provide insight into:
    a. What are the common positions defended between the different issues, its underlying principles and assumptions?
    b. What are contradictions or unclear points?
3. Mapping and analysis of:
    a. where the CSM has been able to influence the CFS;
    b. where it was able to block a proposal the CSM deemed negative;
    c. where it did not have any notable influence.

To be able to provide answers on those research goals I have analysed all publically available material produced by the working groups. To be able to get a nuanced understanding from those involved, I am now conducting interviews.

I am available to answer any questions you may have. You may also direct questions to my Supervisors whose contact information is below.
Attached is a part of a table in which the documents of the working group have been analyzed. You can use it to get an impression of the research

I look forward to hearing from you and thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

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Annex B

List of questions (example from nutrition WG)

Interview outline
Interview 15:00
Skype
Name of participant – Name of Working Groups

Introduction

- Hello, good evening/morning, Thanks for speaking to me
- ask is it ok to record?
- Suggest introducing ourselves, then introducing myself
    - Bachelor and master student
    - Internship
    - Netherlands, Nijmegen
- Introducing research:
    - Effective strategies for civil society engagement in global food security governance: An analysis of CSO interventions in the Committee on World Food Security
    - Central question: How successful has the CSM been in developing good strategies to influence the CFS meetings?
    - What was successful, what was unsuccessful and what was the internal strategy
    - Looked at different working groups, defined what they reached, both on CFS level as internally
- Structure of interview
    - Part 1 General part about CSM
    - Part 2 Working groups
    - Part 3 Gender

Can be interchangeable, always own contributions

Part 1 CSM

- What is the importance of the CSM? How does it distinguish itself?
    - How do your share information to external interested stakeholders?
    - How do you include some common themes, such as Gender? Is there any communication between the different working groups?
    - What is the value of defining certain categories, such as small-scale producers?
    - How can you link the work of the working group to other CSM working groups?
    - How important is the distinction between NGOs and social movements?
    - Is there a strategy to reflect on the decisions internally after CFS meetings?
    - What is the relevance of having a division between food sovereignty and food security?

    - To what extent do actors that want to participate need to require certain skills and goodwill before they are able to participate?
    - How much input does civil society has in setting the agenda?
    - Does civil society provide new information? What kind of information?
    - Are reached agreements translated to a local context?
    - How is the process monitored afterwards?

Part 2: working groups

- What were the main goals of the working group?
- How was the internal cooperation and consensus building within the CSM working group?
    - How do you share information within the working Group?
    - Where has the CSM working group been able to influence the CFS?
    - Where has the CSM working group blocked proposal of the CFS they deemed negative?
    - Where has the CSM working group not been able to reach its goals? What does it consider as major losses?
    - Did, and if so how did, the working group evaluate the process afterwards and design a follow up strategy?
    - How much input did civil society had in phrasing the decision box before it was publicized?

Part 3: Nutrition

- What has the general contribution of the nutrition working group been?
    - What is the importance of a reference to Right to Food?
    - How has the perception about nutrition changed within the CFS?
    - How was the representation of civil society within the working group?
    - Why were the right-based approach and food sovereignty perspective considered to be outside of the scope of the CFS?
    - What were the following up steps after the roundtable on nutrition?

Conclusion:

If you could make establish any improvements in the CSM, what would it be?
Do you have any own remarks or inputs you would like to add?
Thanking for participation and promising to send the report.


CSM
CSM