

CHAPTER 3

THE RESILIENCE OF PUBLIC–SOCIAL ECONOMY PARTNERSHIPS FOR FOOD JUSTICE: A CASE STUDY

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The resilience of public–social economy partnerships for food justice: a case study / Chapter 3

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the organizational resilience of recent partnerships that bring together public and non-governmental stakeholders around local food governance. To examine the organizational resilience of these partnerships, we conducted a qualitative case study on the Lyon Sustainable Food Council, in Lyon, France. The findings revealed the strengths and weaknesses of this organization in terms of resilience: it shows a high capacity to absorb shocks, a moderate capacity for renewing and a relatively low capacity for learning. Results that can shed light more broadly on the governance of public sector and social economy partnerships (PSEPs). We found that the partnership has an innovative approach to food justice and appears to avoid market isomorphism, but there is a risk for the balance of stakeholders.

Keywords: local governance, organizational resilience, social economy, public partnerships, food justice

JEL-Codes: D7, H4, L3, Q18

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INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, serious health crises in the food sector have led to growing consumer concern about the quality of the products they eat. This increased awareness has led in France to a belief that government must help to solve food issues. As a result, a number of public initiatives to this end have been launched at various scales, based on informal or formal rules and procedures that are in the process of development. Typically, at a local level, all the stakeholders concerned (public and private) participate in decision-making and the implementation of collective actions around the food issue (from production to consumption). This dynamic is closely followed by researchers, and a proliferation of studies have emerged that focus on food justice – i.e. the “fair sharing of risks and benefits concerning where, what and how food is produced and processed, transported and distributed, accessed and eaten” (Gottlieb, Joshi, 2010). This view considers food as a commons (Bouré, 2017), beyond a simple commodity (Vivero-Pol, 2017; De Schutter et al., 2019).

In this context, food councils have been developing since the 1990s in North America and, more recently, in France. Local food projects are part of this trend. Arising in France after the 2014 Law for the Future of Agriculture, their objective is to relocate agriculture and food production more locally by supporting local small farmers, promoting ‘buy local’ initiatives or encouraging local products in school or workplace canteens. The common objective of all these projects is to enable cities to be self-sufficient in food needs – in other words, achieving food resilience.

Local food governance can be defined as “processes for coordinating food stakeholders at the regional level to promote their organization and limit the fragmentation of initiatives affecting food systems” (Billion et al., 2016, p. 348). The goal is to build systems based on “collective learning and institutional and organizational reconfigurations/innovations within regions” (Rey-Valette et al., 2011, p. 2). This can be complex, particularly with regard to the scope of these actions (non-profit, public, for-profit) and the need for multi-stakeholder cooperation. Several studies in France have noted that the relationship between social economy organizations and governmental agencies is marked by specific tensions (Gazley and Brudney, 2007; Frémeaux, 2011) as well as by a trend for co-construction (Vaillancourt, 2009; Bance, 2018).

In addition, there can be difficulties linked to the political context (e.g. various levels of government, the electoral calendar) and problems related to the non-profit environment, including the risk of competition between different organizations – mainly for access to resources – fragility of economic models, and implementation capacity. These aspects make coordination more difficult and entail a risk of certain stakeholders leaving. Faced with these challenges, organizations may be more or less able to resist and continue a common project. The concept of resilience, which refers

to the capacity of an organization to overcome shocks, seems an appropriate way to explore the governance of these projects. Studies have shown that the capacity for resilience plays a significant role in organizational performance and innovation (Camisón and Villar-López, 2014; Ali et al., 2016). Thus, local food governance bodies, as innovative partnerships with a purpose of social transformation, would benefit from a capacity for resilience. Our study is based on the work of Weick (1993), which aims to extend and generalize the concept of resilience from the individual to the organizational level: in our case, specifically applied to a partnership. While an increasing number of studies focus on local food governance, few if any approach this from the angle of organizational resilience, despite the fact that the very notion of resilience is at the heart of food policy projects. Moreover, this concept is still little applied to social economy organizations, although these are intended to be vehicles for resilience. Thus, we adopted this as a research question to investigate the resilience of a specific public–social economy partnership involved in local food governance.

To this end, we chose the case of a local food council based on a public–social economy partnership in the French city of Lyon: the Lyon Sustainable Food Council (*Conseil Lyonnais de l'Alimentation Durable*, or CLAD). Only a few cities in France have so far set up a food council of this type, in the framework of an initiative promoted since 2016 by the national government for metropolitan areas to implement food projects. We studied this case using an analytical framework based on the concept of organizational resilience, allowing us to identify the links between the partnership's resilience and its capacity for transformation.

I. CONTEXT: PUBLIC–SOCIAL ECONOMY PARTNERSHIPS FOR FOOD JUSTICE

The emergence of local food governance

Studies in English-speaking countries were the first to analyse the renewed interest in food issues at the local level, likely due to the degree of disconnection between production and consumption that is more pronounced in these countries (Steel, 2016). This interest also stems more broadly from a critical view of the multiple economic, health and ecological dysfunctions of the dominant agro-industrial food system (Marsden, 2013): for example, malnutrition, food waste and the ecological footprint. Increased awareness is gradually leading to the design of more holistic food policies, which lie at the crossroads of various issues (Morgan, 2015; Lang et al., 2009) and take a systemic approach (based on a global vision of food systems). This perspective no longer considers food solely through the prism of food security, but includes the concept of food justice based on three fundamental pillars: accessibility,

food security and social justice (Hochedez, Le Gall, 2016; Lanciano, Lapoutte, Saleilles, 2019).

In this view, food is considered as a commons (Bouré, 2017; Vivero-Pol, 2017; De Schutter et al., 2019), a renaissance of the concept that has two distinct antecedents (De Schutter et al., 2019). One source is the practices that have developed in traditional communities and been maintained as forms of governance of natural resources (fisheries, forests, land), resisting their commodification. The second source is more recent, involving social innovations that have emerged, often initiated by upper-middle-class urban activists (cooperative supermarkets, farm-to-table strategies, etc.). Studies have pointed out the limitations of both the commodification of food and government bureaucracy and have suggested a commons approach as an alternative. This involves redefining the relationships between the public sector, civil society and the market to create the necessary space to develop commons practices.

In this context, several types of organizations have emerged to address the issue of food justice. At the local level, there are innovative new 'agri-food' initiatives (Bonnefoy and Brand, 2014) that seek to bring together stakeholders around food issues in an inclusive manner. These new mechanisms are indicative of the changes taking place in food governance and its gradual 'relocation' closer to consumers, innovating to address societal needs. They take different forms: they may be created solely by stakeholders, often non-profit groups, in order to pool their resources and carry out joint projects. They are often supported by local governments at different levels. In this way they are an example of the co-production of public goods or the commons in the domain of food.

Of these new organizations, food policy councils (FPCs) are community-based coalitions that aim to promote more sustainable food systems and more resilient food governance. Toronto established its first FPC in 1993, and the number of FPCs worldwide has grown rapidly since the 2000s. In the United States and Canada, there were 236 FPCs in 2016 (Sussman and Bassarab, 2016). These councils bring together the different stakeholders involved in local food issues; the members often represent a broad spectrum of people that depends on the purpose of the FPC. The FPC also has relationships with public sector stakeholders: for example, through the allocation of financial resources or premises.

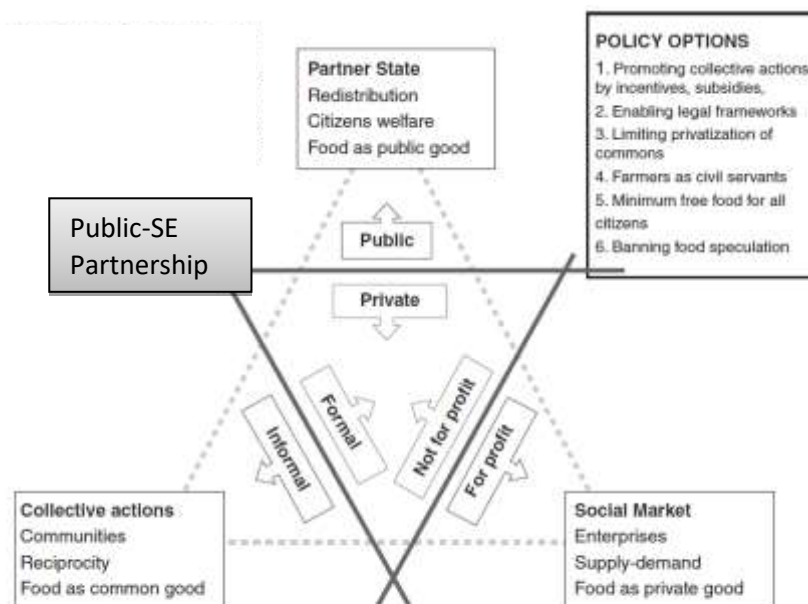
In France, the structure of local governments creates several levels of representation between the central government and citizens. These overlapping levels can make it more difficult to organize local food governance and actions (Perrin and Soulard, 2014). For example, city governments do not have the specific authority or expertise to create food policy, which is mainly the scope of the national and European governments. However, more recently, new metropolitan areas (recently created administrative areas that incorporate several nearby urban areas) do have the means to make food policy, bringing back some local control over food. This has led

to innovative partnership-based forms of local governance of food systems with the goal of the co-production of public goods.

Public–social economy partnerships: a bi-centric system of governance

This partnership dynamic is in line with a new paradigm in running public service organizations (Bance, 2018). New Public Management (NPM) is an approach that encourages public administrators to delegate outside the state sector instead of intervening directly, to support innovation and to measure results according to methods largely inspired by the private sector. One of its tools, public–private partnerships (PPPs), have been deployed throughout the world to reduce public spending while better meeting citizens’ expectations. A number of studies have identified their strengths as well as their limitations: asymmetrical information, incomplete contracts, and transaction costs, among others (Marty, Trosa and Voisin, 2006). Partnerships can also risk a loss of identity for stakeholders, via a phenomenon of trivialization often approached from the angle of institutional isomorphism. Market logic exerts a powerful isomorphism that can threaten to unbalance partnerships. Public–social economy partnerships (PSEPs) are an interesting way to avoid this pressure. They reflect the increasing involvement of social economy organizations in public policymaking: an extension of the scope of the commons and a less centralized and more democratic approach to public administration (Gazley and Brudney, 2007; Bance, 2018).

Figure 1: Governance of a partnership for food as a commons



Source: Based on Vivero-Pol (2017) in De Schutter *et al.* (2019), p. 386.

Different approaches between public and social economy (SE) stakeholders can generate specific risks. Frémeaux (2011) identifies four of the possible relationship risks. (1) 'Integration', in which SE stakeholders are integrated into the public institution but tend to be subordinate to public policy objectives, with the risk of being co-opted and used to achieve these ends. (2) 'Recognition', based on legal recognition of the SE groups by the public institution, also presents a risk of invisibility of the SE stakeholders if they are too integrated. (3) The 'disengagement' of public officials can lead to the risk of degeneration of SE organizations. And lastly (4) 'autonomy', in which SE organizations distance themselves from public authorities because they seek another form of economy or society, leading to the risk of confrontation with public institutions and affecting the sustainability and development of projects.

In response to this, today new types of partnerships are being developed, built by and for the stakeholders who must make them their own (Leloup, Moyart & Pecqueur, 2005).

Resilience as a key issue in partnerships

Local food governance involves public and private stakeholders, including many SE non-profit organizations. Coordination often takes place through stakeholder networks, in an organizational model linking stakeholders and resources for better management. It is therefore a form of governing through partnership, bringing together stakeholders whose interests may differ. Of course, aligning decisions solely with the interests of stakeholders is no guarantee of the sustainability of an organization, and partnership governance can also raise the issue of arbitration between potentially antagonistic interests and therefore issues of legitimacy and conflict resolution (Clarkson, 1995). According to neo-institutional theory, the survival of an organization depends on its legitimacy, i.e. the consideration by the broad public that it is a legitimate entity deserving of the support of stakeholders (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983; Suchman, 1995).

Partnership governance can involve various degrees of commitment, ranging from informal cooperation to true collaboration, which can be described in four stages according to the Austin continuum of collaboration (Austin, 2000; Austin, Seitanidi, 2012). The first is (i) the philanthropic stage, involving a low level of ad hoc commitment; the next is (ii) the transactional stage, or the beginning of a collaborative relationship; followed by (iii) the integrative stage, in which collaboration to work towards real collective action is established; and finally (iv) the transformational stage, which involves a high degree of commitment with a defined common goal. This last stage is when we can speak about the true collective action that corresponds to social innovation.

As mentioned, several risks can weaken partnerships between public and SE stakeholders and make coordination more difficult (the political context, the competition between non-profit organizations, the weakness of their business models for example). Moreover, the forms of partnership are diverse: within the same locality, mixed forms of governance are observed, ranging from cooperation to competition (Demoustier, 2010). In a study focusing specifically on food governance, Billion (2017) highlighted strong tensions between the different levels of public administration, turning food strategy into a power issue. Several authors have observed other difficulties: “non-existent exchanges between different agencies of the same institution”; “the partial representation that public authorities may have of food systems and the stakeholders that make them up” (Billion, 2017) – which may lead to bias in the creation and representativeness of groups of stakeholders in projects; the distribution of expertise between different institutional levels – which influences the intervention of authorities (Capt *et al.*, 2014) with some “going beyond their legitimate field of action” (Bonnefoy and Brand, 2014); and finally the few connections established with certain stakeholders, in particular in food distribution and logistics (Billion, 2017: 14).

Faced with these challenges, a project promoting the food commons may prove to be more or less the concept of resilience, which refers to the capacity of organisations to overcome shocks, therefore seems appropriate for understanding the governance of these organisations and their capacity to carry out their project over the long term. Furthermore, the literature establishes a link between resilience and innovation: the capacity for resilience plays a significant role in organisational performance and innovation (Camisón and Villar-López, 2014; Ali et al., 2016). Thus, the food commons, as an innovative partnership at the service of a social transformation project, should pay particular attention to their resilience capacity.

While these new governance bodies are highly innovative, they are also subject to multiple disruptions; to examine this potential fragility, we chose the conceptual framework of organizational resilience.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ORGANIZATIONAL RESILIENCE

The concept of organizational resilience

Resilience (related to the concept of absorptive capacity, or ACAP) has been a topic of scientific research for some years now. The English philosopher Francis Bacon first introduced the term in its scientific context in 1626, defining it as the action of ‘rebounding’ or ‘springing back’. In the physical sciences, it refers to measuring the capacity of an object to return to its initial state after a shock or continuous pressure (Dauphiné et al., 2007). It has subsequently been adopted in the field of psychology as well as extended to other fields such as sociology and medicine: it is

generally defined as “the capacity of an individual or group to project itself into the future despite destabilizing events, difficult living conditions and sometimes severe trauma” (Koninckx and Teneau, 2010). In the sense of being able to adjust to a rapidly changing environment, the UN and the OECD have recommended that resilience be taken into account to improve development, crisis management (Dauphiné et al., 2007) and territorial governance (Juffé, 2013).

In management science, the concept of organizational resilience first appeared in the context of research on crisis management and high reliability organizations. The analysis then broadened from the individual to the collective level to focus on “the mechanisms that make a group less vulnerable to sensemaking disruptions” (Weick, 1993, p. 628): that is, the capacity of a firm to absorb, respond to and capitalize on disruptions resulting from changes in the environment (Lengnick-Hall and Beck, 2005). An unexpected event, situation or organizational change can be destabilizing or threatening not only to an individual, but to an organization. These changes can be experienced in different ways, potentially reaching a crisis and affecting organizational identity (Koninckx and Teneau, 2010). Organizational resilience refers to the organization’s ability to counteract this and bounce back – to recognize the value of new information, to assimilate it and to apply it for business purposes (Cohen and Levinthal, 1990). Weick (2003) defines it as a capacity to avoid organizational shocks by constructing systems of continuous actions and interactions designed to preserve the anticipated actions of different individuals in relation to each other.

Research has shown that resilience plays a significant role in organizational performance and innovation (Camisón and Villar-López, 2014; Ali et al., 2016), and that organizations engaged in innovation should pay particular attention to their resilience capacity. This holds true for local food governance bodies, which are innovative partnerships that aim to effect social transformation.

Weick (1993) identifies four sources or mechanisms of resilience (Kammoun and Boutiba, 2015): (i) improvisation (finding new solutions), (ii) virtual role systems (changing roles when necessary), (iii) an attitude of wisdom (avoiding overconfidence, cultivating appreciation, openness and communication) and (iv) respectful interaction (maintaining mutual relationships of trust between the members of an organization). For Weick and Sutcliffe (2007), organizational resilience consists of three stages: shock absorption, renewing, and learning.

Absorptive capacity refers to the ability of an organization to absorb shocks (financial or other) while avoiding collapse. This requires the existence of resources, whether immediately available in the form of organizational slack, or that can potentially be enlisted from external sources (support, loans, assistance, alliances, etc.). In addition to resources, there must also be willingness to provide leadership continuity. A partnership, which provides access to a variety of resources, could be helpful in all these respects; however, the unstable, temporary nature of the commitment of the

various partners can equally be a brake on the longer-term sustainability of the group.

The ability to renew requires thinking about new strategies that break with the usual approach. Beyond absorbing shocks, a resilient structure must be capable of showing ingenuity, curiosity and innovation. It must be able to react and adjust by imagining new solutions to unusual situations (Lengnick-Hall and Beck, 2005; Hamel and Välikangas, 2003). To this end, the diversity of members can be a source of dynamism and creativity.

A resilient organization also has the ability to learn lessons from the situation: to take stock and “be able to learn from the shocks it has faced in order to emerge stronger” (Christianson et al., 2009, p. 131). This stage is the most difficult to observe, especially as there is a time lag between the events and self-reflection (Bégin and Chabaud, 2010). Learning and resilience are inseparable. Learning requires drawing on experience, having an optimistic vision, actively responding to the crisis and deriving both cognitive and organizational benefits from it. Dialogue between partners can be conducive to learning, especially in conditions in which all the participants feel able to express themselves freely in a spirit of equal collaboration. On the other hand, learning can be impeded by unicentric control or power relationships that bias the exchanges.

Based on these concepts, we created a framework of organizational resilience (Table 1) in order to analyse our case study, a local sustainable food council with multi-stakeholder partnership governance.

Table 1: Organizational resilience framework

Concept	Stage	Characteristics
Organizational resilience	Shock absorption	Immediately available or enlistable resources Leadership continuity
	Renewing	Diversification of activities Imagining new solutions
	Learning	Learning lessons from the situation Self-reflection and discussion to emerge stronger

Methodology

The case study is based on a structure in which we have been involved as researchers in the framework of intervention research aimed at supporting the governance of the organization. Our longitudinal case study on organizational resilience took place over a two-year period (2016–18). We acknowledge that there may be limited possibility of generalizing the results, but it offers an in-depth analysis of the organization and

takes its context into account (Yin, 2014). The structure is the Lyon Sustainable Food Council (*Conseil Lyonnais de l'Alimentation Durable*, or CLAD), which brings together some 20 stakeholders around the issue of sustainable food, including representatives from the social economy, researchers and representatives of the Lyon municipal council.

Data collection was based on semi-structured interviews with various CLAD members. The interviews investigated the resilience of the organization through questions about its origins, activities, operations and perspectives. The interviews were transcribed in full and subjected to content analysis following Miles and Huberman: "Examining a series of field notes, transmitted or summarized, and intelligently dissecting them, while retaining the relationships between data segments, is the core of the analysis" (Miles and Huberman, 2003: 112). The coding first analysed the three stages of resilience and then supplemented this with notes and metacodes (Miles and Huberman, 2003) that go beyond descriptions to identify more general or conceptual elements. The citations presented in this paper are left anonymous to avoid potentially sensitive situations. In addition to the interviews, we made observations as participants in CLAD meetings and events. We were also in frequent contact with stakeholders in another Lyon-based non-profit group working on food issues (Le Bol), which gave us access to another voice in a relatively free and informal capacity.

III. THE CASE STUDY: THE LYON SUSTAINABLE FOOD COUNCIL (CLAD)

Emergence: the European URBACT programme

The context of the creation of the food council was the European Union URBACT programme, whose aim is to encourage sustainable urban development in cities in the EU. It is funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the EU member states as an instrument for regional cohesion and cooperation. It fosters exchanges and learning between cities in order to develop sustainable solutions that integrate economic, social and environmental aspects of urban development. The city of Lyon first participated in URBACT II 'Sustainable food in urban communities'. Today, the metropolis of greater Lyon is participating in URBACT III. The URBACT project involves bringing together stakeholders and taking part in study visits to other European cities. The approach is based on the concept of 'free-range civil servants', with public officials encouraged to work more in the field and in contact with citizens in an approach of more open governance. In Lyon, the URBACT programme is led by a city official financed by European funds. The stakeholders expressed appreciation of his capacity of coordination, his proximity and his commitment to the project: "He has much more know-how in terms of participatory work – he taught me a lot. In half-day meetings we managed to come up with concrete results such as the documents we produced." "He was very good at coordinating the network, sending emails almost

every week, and his tone, language and editorial style were just right". The project meetings were held at locations in the social economy network (a restaurant, farm, etc.).

Within the framework of the URBACT programme, in 2015 a plan for about 50 actions was drawn up with the goal of developing sustainable food in Lyon. One of these actions was to set up the Lyon Sustainable Food Council (CLAD), a body based on local governance that was initially intended "to pilot this action plan", with the aim of "building a network of relationships and supporting the emergence of collective projects adapted to the needs of the locality". This would be done by bringing together different stakeholder members to share knowledge, analyse the situation, raise issues, and find solutions or avenues for improvement, taking into account feedback from peers. The intended partners would include those already involved in sustainable food issues as well as those open to developing their practices in targeted areas.

Establishment: the launch of CLAD

In 2016, the idea for CLAD was transferred from the ending URBACT programme and the city official responsible for it to another department of the Lyon city council in charge of the Social and Solidarity Economy. The city set up a sustainable food council, piloted by the elected representative of the department and bringing together around 20 local stakeholders in the social economy (small farmer organizations, food coops, etc.), municipal agencies and researchers concerned about sustainable food issues. The first official meeting of CLAD was held in March 2016 at the Lyon City Hall, a more formal setting than the pre-CLAD meetings in the context of the URBACT programme.

The new council had no legal status – an informal structure was chosen as it was considered risky and politically undesirable "to institutionalize a structure that gives the city a somewhat hegemonic position in the organization of this partnership". Moreover, "The city does not have the flexibility for this type of organization, so it is simpler to be informal than to set up an ad hoc legal structure, especially since the advantage of a legal structure would be to raise funds and that is not part of our mandate."

As soon as CLAD was established, its first action was to produce a citizen's call to politicians to take account of the issue of sustainable food. Public policy advocacy, which includes lobbying, is one of the key activities of food councils. Concretely, a text was drafted and proposed by the elected representative at the first CLAD meeting, discussed and then modified following the meeting, and the final version was signed by CLAD's 26 members. The advocacy document was then sent to the candidates for the 2017 French presidential and legislative elections. The document appears to have at least in part achieved its goal, as various candidates expressed

their willingness to take into account the issue of sustainable food, but when questioned about this, the stakeholders did not seem to be aware of this result.

Concrete projects: La Fabrique à Manger

In 2018, CLAD's objective was to become more operational by moving on to concrete activities. There was a concern not to waste time in meetings with the partner organizations, who are often volunteers: "The elected representative did not want to bring people together for the sake of getting together," given that "time is precious for volunteers and employees in these organizations, which are sometimes struggling or very fragile."

At the same time, the local food association Le Bol emerged, whose aim is to facilitate cooperation and pooling between social economy organizations involved in food in the Lyon region. This "relieved CLAD of some of its coordination activities" and meant that CLAD needed to position itself between Le Bol, which has a strong collective dynamic, and the municipal government, which is responsible for the local food project.

As a concrete action, the elected representative proposed using the remaining budget to organize a series of actions under the theme La Fabrique à Manger (FAM), neighbourhood events in which community organizations involved in sustainable food would promote their activities and raise awareness of healthy, environmentally sound eating. The initiative was presented as follows: "The idea is not to reach people who have already started changing their practices and simply want to continue on this path. The idea is to go and find the people you might not expect to be interested and meet them where they are ... working-class families, enlisting people from community centres, nursery schools, communal gardens, sports clubs, neighbourhood associations, etc. – to be completely integrated in the local fabric so that those involved take up the issue of sustainable food."

In this objective of raising awareness in local communities on the issue of sustainable food, the first FAM was held in Lyon's 8th arrondissement on Saturday, 2 June, the day of the annual neighbourhood party. With the watchword "Making makes a difference", FAM encourages citizens to cook collectively, make compost, cultivate plants – to get involved in the issue concretely, in the neighbourhood, at home. The event included several activities: preparing and sharing a community meal, composting, creating a neighbourhood recipe booklet, and ended with a concert. Following this first event, the city launched a second FAM, on 15 October in Lyon's 4th arrondissement, during the annual Heritage Day. The two selected districts are priority districts in terms of urban development policy.

The activities organized by CLAD (meetings, FAM events, etc.) are financed by the city, which leads the project. The preparatory meetings bring together different social economy organizations (such as Eurequa, Epicentre, La Légumerie,

Centre Social la Sauvegarde, la Miécyclette) in a collective approach which is “essential if we want to advance the goal of sustainable food”.

According to interviews with those involved in CLAD from public agencies, the food council’s prospects depend on the next elections. They envisage two possible paths: either the government will take the decision to place sustainable development issues at the heart of public policy and give it adequate support, in which case there will be a major momentum for events such as FAMs; or there will be a political shift away from this and a focus on austerity and budget cuts, concentrating food issues in the hands of the major food-processing and distribution groups and lobbies. In the latter case, the question will arise as to whether food justice will remain an issue for the municipal government. The other non-governmental members of the organization did not mention their opinion of the prospects for the future of CLAD.

CLAD’S ORGANIZATIONAL RESILIENCE

Based on our observations of CLAD over the two-year period 2016–18, we analysed its capacity for resilience in terms of shock absorption, adaptation and learning.

A proven capacity for shock absorption

The main shock to CLAD occurred at the time it was officially established, bringing to a halt the dynamic that existed during the URBACT programme. When support from this programme ended, the new structure found itself without the funding to run its activities. Added to this was an unfavourable regional political context for funding non-profit organizations, which directly weakened certain member groups. Unlike the URBACT programme, CLAD did not have dedicated human resources to carry out its missions. Faced with this financial shock, CLAD called on the Lyon municipal government for funding from the social economy budget. To absorb the impact in terms of human resources, CLAD enlisted help from a member organization, La Légumerie, which took over the coordination of the Fabrique à Manger events in conjunction with the elected representative and quickly set up a meeting bringing together several CLAD actors. This shift in organization was confusing for some CLAD members: “The CLAD meeting was introduced by X; I sometimes find it difficult to differentiate between La Légumerie and CLAD.” This reveals both the advantages of the network strategy and its disadvantages in terms of a lack of clarity for certain stakeholders.

These shocks led to the depart of some stakeholders, particularly non-profit organizations, which were disappointed by the lack of continuity with URBACT. However, from the outset, CLAD was conceived as ad hoc rather than continuous, with its “aim to meet once a year”, so as not to waste stakeholders’ time. This indicates a possible lack of common perception about CLAD’s positioning. While

CLAD risked “premature death” as a result of the end of URBACT support, without funding and human resources, its institutional leadership (Kraatz, 2009; Michel, 2015), consisting of the elected representative and the partnership-based governance, favoured agility and improved its shock absorption capacity.

Table 2: CLAD shock absorption capacity

Strengths	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Enlisting the services of the elected representative (project manager and secretary) – Requesting funding from the Lyon municipal council social economy budget – Institutional leadership of the elected representative – Rapid reset of the project based on co-steering between the municipal government and the non-profit La Légumerie; bringing together CLAD and network stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Stakeholder confusion about the organizational shift post-URBACT – Loss of momentum and commitment of stakeholders

A medium capacity for renewing

Following the reset of CLAD, two concrete actions were devised and implemented: public policy advocacy and La Fabrique à Manger. This indicates that the organization was able to effectively diversify its activities. However, while partnership governance made it possible to quickly implement actions, the initiative came more from the city than from a collective impetus. Some stakeholders were also unhappy that the action plan drawn up during URBACT was not sufficiently drawn upon. The projects were restricted, in particular by having to coordinate different levels and departments of public administration. Cooperation and discussion were also limited due to the financial dependence of the non-profit organizations on the city.

Table 3: CLAD renewing capacity

Strengths	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Diversification of activities: public policy advocacy, neighbourhood food events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of organizational memory – No actions carried out in certain areas initially planned (e.g. canteens)

Limited capacity for learning

The stage of resilience involving learning lessons and assimilating these is still ongoing, which limits the analysis. One goal is to transform FAM into a call for projects, which would make the events more sustainable. As far as we are aware, no assessment of the various actions has yet been made: the collective has not embarked on a phase of reflection conducive to learning. The political context is a risk for the future of CLAD, which prevents the stakeholders from making projections into the future, affecting their capacity for resilience. Although the stakeholders sometimes express doubt about the real usefulness of the food council, they nevertheless show an attachment to it (“it’s good that it exists”), indicating that they think it is important symbolically, politically and cognitively that such a space exists. Moreover, its existence is valued both internally (within the city or the larger metropolitan area) and externally (by national and international authorities). However, some stakeholders regard this as “a passive and free appropriation of their activism”.

Table 4: CLAD learning capacity

Strengths	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Willingness to continue an action– A recognition by stakeholders of the importance of the organization’s existence	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Reservations expressed by the stakeholders about the usefulness of the organization– No assessment, little reflection– Uncertainty about the political environment, difficulty in projecting into the future– Limited cooperation due to the financial dependence of non-governmental partners on the city

IV. GOVERNANCE OF A PUBLIC–SOCIAL ECONOMY PARTNERSHIP

A logic of food justice

The innovative governance of CLAD allows co-produced actions between public and social economy stakeholders in a perspective of food justice, which considers food beyond its attribute as a market commodity. A vision of food as a public good and as a commons are both reflected in the governance structure. The public officials have a strategy of benefiting the public good by targeting actions in priority neighbourhoods of the city to ensure access to quality food for all. The non-governmental organizations promote mutual aid and food independence, using their expertise to carry out actions to raise awareness and help citizens take more control of their food in a collective approach (communal cooking, composting, sharing recipes, etc.).

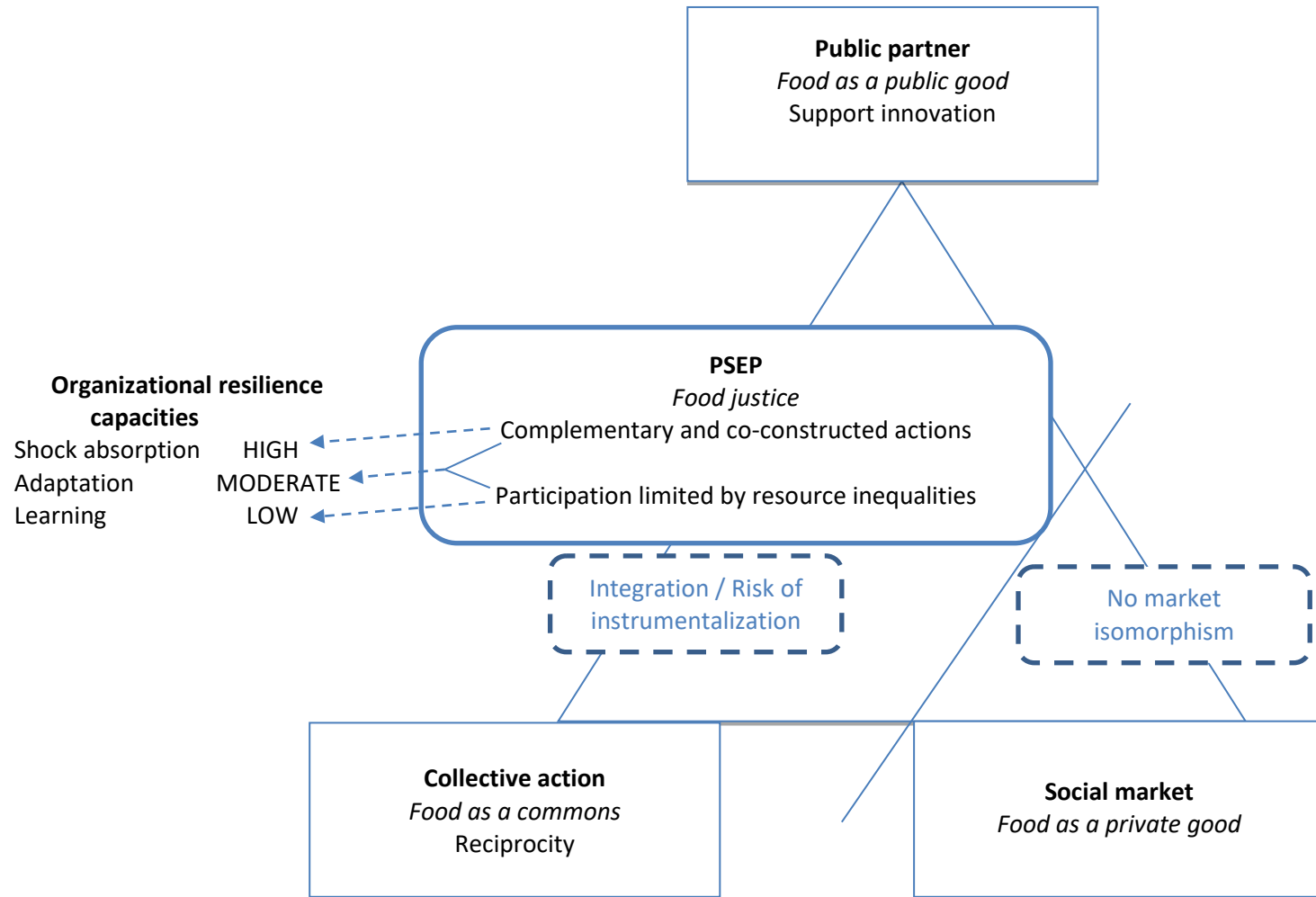
The actions of the partnership reflect a three-dimensional approach to food justice (Hochedez, Le Gall, 2016), both in its public policy advocacy and in the FAM events. CLAD plays a political role in the emancipatory project of making healthy food accessible to all: giving consumers access to quality products close to where they live; promoting sustainable and ecological food and supporting its producers; and finally, educating citizens about food issues in order to reduce inequality.

In this way, CLAD is an illustrative example of the capacity of public and social economy stakeholders to co-construct projects in a shared strategy of food justice. Its relatively informal, community-based structure, quite rare in a public-authority led project, is an innovative approach that shows promise. In this specific case, as food is not considered as a profit-making commodity, the choice to exclude private sector, for-profit stakeholders was explicit, consistent with the aim of social transformation. While this deprives the PSEP of an additional capacity for action and distribution that could be part of a social, non-profit maximizing strategy, it limits the constraints of isomorphism.

Resilience of the PSEP

A transformational partnership, according to Austin and Seitanidi (2012), corresponds to cooperation in the strict sense, i.e. a collective action towards a common goal. It is marked by the co-creation of a change at the societal level. In the case of CLAD, the partners do share a common goal (food justice) and co-create actions to achieve this. This seems to make the partnership transformational, although the predominance of the public stakeholder could limit its scope. Although the shared aim of food justice cements the partnership, various factors limit the capacity of co-construction: lack of organizational memory, lack of reflection that would enable learning, weak co-operation dynamics, and issues of access to resources. There is a risk of reducing the partnership to exchanges of resources and skills (financing versus project management), more along the lines of a transactional partnership.

Figure 2: Resilience of CLAD as a PSEP



However, the interactions within CLAD remain marked by power relationships and the financial dependence of the non-governmental organizations on the public authorities. There is a certain caution on the part of the stakeholders, visible in the fairly formal, consensual exchanges, and even a passivity with regard to allowing the city to steer the partnership. This reveals the challenges of partnerships led by public authorities to achieve more cooperative governance led by civil society stakeholders. This limits the organization's capacity for resilience, alongside other challenges summarized below (Table 5).

Table 5: PSEP resilience

Resilience	Strengths	Weaknesses
Shock absorption Immediately available or enlistable resources Leadership continuity	Complementarity of stakeholders Improvisation	Inequality of resources
Adaptation Diversification of activities Imagining new solutions	Complementarity of stakeholders Improvisation	Objectives need to be clarified Lack of organizational memory
Learning Learning lessons from the situation Self-reflection and discussion to emerge stronger	Wisdom Strong cognitive legitimacy	Insufficient reflection Insufficient horizontal governance

While the agri-food sphere (Bonnetoy and Brand, 2014) exists as a political space in Lyon, it requires further investment. In this ecosystem, Le Bol is a more representative example of a strategy of cooperation: it is a long-term project based on a collective approach and has inclusive shared round-table governance and relationship charters. This shows that there are different spheres of action and possible partnerships in the area of food systems.

While CLAD is a real example of a co-construction approach, it is also marked by a certain tension between public authorities and social economy stakeholders (Frémeaux, 2011). The integration of social economy initiatives into public policy left some stakeholders with the feeling that these were being 'instrumentalized' to legitimize politicians. The risk of institutionalization of the social economy within

a political body is however limited in this case, as CLAD is informal, which makes it an unusual configuration and different from most PSEPs. This is likely to protect the autonomy of the stakeholders, but the consequence is a governance strongly marked by issues of access to resources.

CONCLUSION

This study focused on the resilience capacity of a local food council. Based on an innovative public–social economy partnership, the organization showed varying resilience, with a good capacity to absorb shocks thanks to the complementarity between public and civil society groups and effective leadership. However, its capacity for adaptation and learning were mixed, in part due to the political environment.

As the results pertain to a specific case study, it would be valuable to confirm them on a broader scale. Another limitation of the study is that it did not analyse the effect of the PSEP on the resilience of the local food system, which is one of the aims of food councils. This was not the focus of this study, but would be a useful extension. Overall, this analysis indicates some ways that PSEPs might improve their organizational resilience and in turn strengthen their collective action in favour of a social transformation project.

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