

Paper
#11



Food for Justice

Power, Politics
and Food Inequalities
in a Bioeconomy

2024

Food Movements in Germany

**Analysis of actors in
the socio-ecological
transformation of the
food system**

Lea Loretta Zentgraf, Renata Motta

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FOOD FOR JUSTICE: POWER, POLITICS AND FOOD INEQUALITIES IN A BIOECONOMY

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We have aimed to incorporate the discussions and constructive comments into this work; the responsibility for its final result remains our own. Last but not least, we would like to thank Carla Rossmann for the layout of this Working Paper.

Abstract

Around the world, social movements are protesting against the corporate food regime [Friedmann & McMichael, 1989], denouncing the injustices associated with its structural dynamics of neoliberal capitalism, patriarchal domination, racism, coloniality, epistemic violence, and anthropocentric exploitation [Motta, 2021b; Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Holt-Gimenez & Patel, 2012]. Many food movements are calling for a socio-ecological transformation and creating alternative forms to produce, share, prepare, consume and dispose of food, based on relations of care, solidarity and respect. In their heterogeneity, they provide a good analytical lens to explore the multiple and intersectional dimensions of food inequalities denounced and the directions of change desired by organized movements from civil society [Motta, 2021a]. But which are the food movements that mobilize for a socio-ecological transformation of food politics in Germany? What are the main dimensions and intersections of inequalities addressed by them?

Based on an explorative mapping, this research identifies relevant food movements in Germany, their discourses and agendas. It takes as units of analysis food movements organizations with considerable collective actions and participation in social mobilization on a national scale during the last 5 years (2018-2023). Using an analytical framework elaborated in dialogue with theoretical and conceptual works on food movements, food inequalities, and dynamics of transformation in the food regime, the empirical data is presented along the categories: types of movements and activist discourses, time of emergence, juridical form, dimensions of food inequalities addressed, categories of intersectional inequalities considered, spatial locus of action [urban/rural], phases of the food system, sphere of social change most frequently targeted by the food movements. Based on the data, the dynamics of transformations are discussed.

Applying a qualitative and quantitative methodology which combined content analysis and coding, the research results in a mapping of the actors [Mayring & Fenzl, 2019; Saldaña, 2021]. This working paper aims to give a first overview of food activism in Germany by assessing the actors in this field of social mobilisation and analysing their emancipatory potentials and limits.



KEYWORDS: Food movements; food inequalities; food justice, agrarian movements; Germany; socio-ecological transformation

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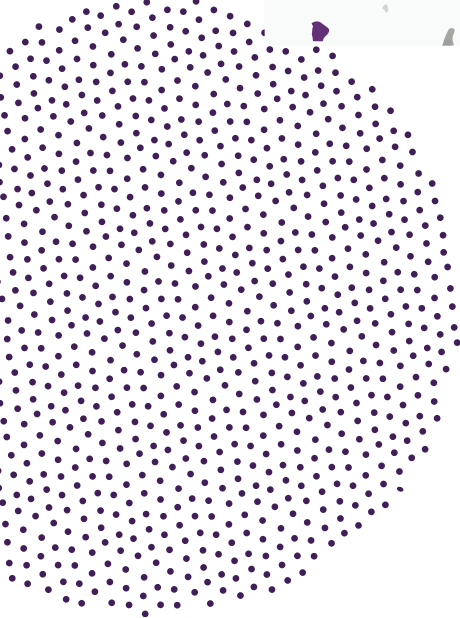
Introduction

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Social movements concerned with food and agriculture play a major role when it comes to transformative strategies and actions, creating innovative alternatives to increase food security and sovereignty around the globe (Desmarais, 2007; Motta & Martín, 2021). These food movements provide a good analytical lens to explore the multiple and intersectional dimensions of inequalities in the food system because they resist against the dominant deregulated structures of capitalist, post-colonial, epistemic and anthropocentric exploitation and violence (Motta, 2021a, 2021b; Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Holt-Gimenez & Patel, 2012). In addition to protesting injustices and inequalities in hegemonic food relations, food movements present alternative concepts for dealing with structural and multi-scalar challenges, combining demands for more food democracy, food sovereignty, and food justice (Fladvad, 2018; Motta, 2021b). Holt Giménez & Shattuck (2011: 114) describe the diversity and landscape of social movements concerned with food and agriculture in their analysis of their reformist and revolutionary character:

Over time, the corporate food regime's persistent social and environmental failures have spurred the formation of tens of thousands of local, national and international social movements concerned with food and agriculture (Hawken 2007). These 'food movements' have developed a wealth of political, technical, organizational and entrepreneurial skills, and advance a wide range of demands that include land reform and food sovereignty (Desmarais 2007); sustainable and agroecological agriculture (Altieri 1995, Holt-Giménez 2006, Gliessman 2007); 'good, clean and fair' food (Petrini 2005); fair trade (Bacon et al. 2008); local food (Halweil 2004); and community food security (Winne 2008). Taken together, these reflect the alternative agriculture-agrifoods wing of the New Social Movements (Sevilla Guzman and Martínez-Alier 2006, Escobar et al. 1998), the Transnational Social Movements (Edelman 1998, Smith et al. 1998, Smith et al. 1997), the World Social Forum's 'movement of movements' (Wallerstein 2006, Klein 2001), as well as parts of labor and class-based 'Old Social Movements' [see Foweraker 1995, Klandermans 1991, Cohen 1985 for a discussion of 'New' and 'Old' social movements].

The actions and political demands of food movements vary greatly, reflecting their unique food environments and communities (Goodman, 2016). For example, Alternative Food Networks (AFN's) mostly draw on concrete and local practices, they advocate for a more just and resilient food system in the local scale (Jarosz, 2014). Such practices are often oriented towards community-based and equitable food production, distribution, and allocation, recognizing the role of food as a unifying element between people and a relationship builder between humans, animals, and nature (Wichterich, 2002). Transnational food movements - such as *La Via*



Campesina –act both on national and international political arenas, focusing on demands for peasants’ rights and pressuring for a structural transformation of the global food system[s] [Desmarais, 2012; Borras, 2008]. Moreover, they built webs of solidarity with other actors to foster coalitions of movements and initiatives which fight for a socio-ecological transformation [Motta, 2021b].

This Working Paper looks at food movements as “agents of change” [Motta, 2021b] for socio-ecological transformation[s] in Germany. There are several works around food movements [Fladvad, 2018; Kropp, 2018; Kropp, Antoni-Komar, & Sage, 2020; Rombach & Bitsch, 2015] and alternative food networks [Rosol, 2018, 2020; Rosol & Strüver, 2018; Zoll, Specht, & Siebert, 2021] in Germany. Many focus on regional or local case studies [Kropp & Müller, 2018; Zoll et al., 2021] or are organized around specific types of movements such as CSA/*Solidarische Landwirtschaft* [Boddenberg et al., 2017; Degens & Lapschies, 2023; Spanier, Guerrero Lara, & Feola, 2023; Wellner & Theuvsen, 2016], Food Councils [Birnbaum & Lütke, 2023; Klein, 2023; Reckinger & Schneider, 2020; Schulz, 2023; Sieveking & Schomerus, 2020] or Food Coops [Antoni-Komar, 2016; Jösch, 2021; Kreuzberger, 2017; Zoll, Specht, & Siebert, 2021]. There are also works on established food movements such as *Slow Food Deutschland* [Garcia, 2022] or coalitions of food movements, for example *Meine Landwirtschaft* with their annual protest campaign *Wir haben es satt!* [Meinecke et al., 2021; Motta, 2022; Nowack & Hoffmann, 2020]. Since 2019, the junior research group *Food for Justice: Power, Politics and Food Inequalities in a Bioeconomy* is working collaboratively on different empirical case studies under the conceptual framework of food movements and food inequalities in the field of critical sociology and transformation research in Food Studies [Motta, 2021a]. This research program includes the goal of mapping food movements in order to show an aggregate picture of their potential as a dynamic of transformation.

This Working Papers elaborates on the research questions: **which are the food movements that mobilize for a socio-ecological transformation of food politics in Germany? What are the main dimensions and intersections of inequalities addressed by them?** Based on an explorative mapping, this work identifies relevant food movements in Germany and gives an overview of the heterogeneous actors in this field of social mobilization.

First, we present the key concepts food movements and food inequalities used in this work and situate them in current debates of critical sociology of food and social mobilization. Second, we present the methods of data collection and qualitative as well as quantitative analysis. Third, we describe the findings on food movements in Germany; based on the data set that categorized food movements’ dominant topics/agendas, juridical form of organization, main dimension and intersection of inequalities, territorial focus [urban-rural], and targeted sphere of social change [state-economy-civil society]. In the final section, we present some reflexions about the main patterns and blind spots identified in the field of food mobilization in Germany.



1 | Food movements and food inequalities: key concepts for the socio-ecological transformation of the food system(s)

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Socio-ecological transformation refers to an ongoing and contested process of transformation regarding the way we extract, distribute, and consume resources in a world with planetary and societal boundaries [Brand et al., 2021; Escobar, 2015; Geels, 2019; Pollan, 2010]. In regards to food systems, this means to address pressing socio-economic and environmental challenges such as pesticide use, soil and water contamination, unequal land ownership, corporate control of food system, food-related health problems and look into alternatives and radical structural changes of the current dominant system [McMichael, 2005, 2009a, 2011]. This transformation is driven by the recognition and critique that the current global food system is unsustainable and contributes to issues such as hunger, malnutrition, environmental degradation, and social inequalities [Bernstein, 2016; Campbell, 2009; Carolan, 2012; Friedmann, 2005; Friedmann & McMichael, 1989; McMichael, 2005, 2009a, 2009b].

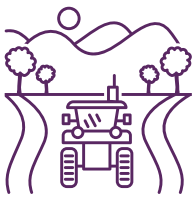
The two analytical key concepts of this working paper are situated in the broader debate about the potentials and limitations of social mobilization and alternative food networks for a socio-ecological transformation. Many scholars argue for the transformative potential of food movements [Fladvad, 2018, 2019; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Holt-Giménez, 2011; Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Motta 2021a, 2021b] and alternative food networks [DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Goodman, DuPuis, & Goodman, 2012]. However, critical approaches call attention to three issues often neglected by food movements: food justice and the racial and gender blindness of alternative food networks [Allen, 2010; Allen & Sachs, 2007, 2012; Guthman, 2008, 2011; Sachs & Patel-Campillo, 2014; Slocum, 2007; Slocum, Cadieux, & Blumberg, 2016], reflexive localism [DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; DuPuis, Goodman, & Harrison, 2006; Fonte, 2013; Kilmer, 2012], and neoliberal strategies which encourage consumers to opt for locally based economic alternatives instead of actively promoting citizen-led reforms or transformations within the food system [Alkon, 2014; Allen, 2008; Mares & Alkon, 2011].

Recent research about German food movements have taken up some of these issues: the work of Kropp and Da Ros [2021] on Alternative Food Politics in Leipzig discusses reflexive localism. Further, Wember's [2019] research on unequal gender relations in innovative approaches to community and public welfare-oriented agriculture brings the structural and intersectional gender food inequalities to the fore by examining different examples such as Solidarische Landwirtschaft, Regio-

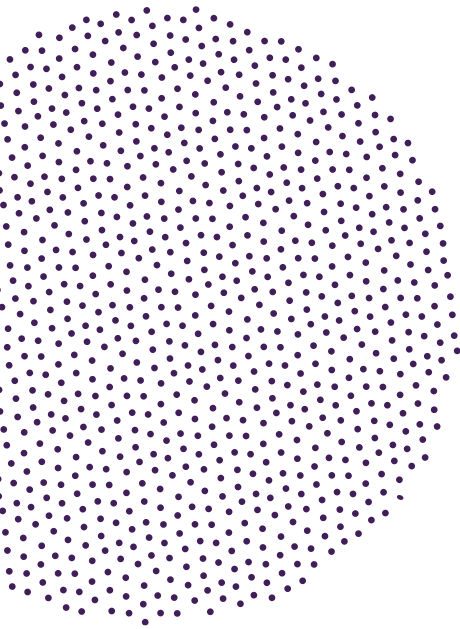
nalwert AG or BioBoden Genossenschaft in Germany. However, this is an incipient research agenda when compared to other world regions such as North America [Guthman, 2008; Slocum, 2007; Goodman, 2006] and South America [Hoinle; 2020; Conway, 2018; Conway & Paulos, 2020; Motta, & Teixeira, 2022].

◆ 1.1 Food Inequalities

Geopolitical constellations of power and forms of agricultural production and consumption illustrate that food plays a critical role in generating or sustaining various dimensions of inequality [Friedmann, 1982, 1993; R. Patel, 2007]. Based on conceptual debates on global entangled inequalities [Jelin, Motta, & Costa, 2017], food inequalities as elaborated here [Motta, 2021a] encompasses four guidelines for research. First, structural orderings in the food system include the more known aspect of economic and capitalist dynamics influencing food relations, political structures, cultural dynamics, environmental dimensions and epistemological dimensions. Second, these structural forces affect populations not homogeneously; rather social groups experience them differently according to how they are situated socially in axes and intersections of inequalities of class, race, gender, ethnicity, citizenship, and interspecies exploitative relations. Third, a multi-scale and relational perspective across spatial units might be better suitable for research designs about food inequalities. Finally, research on food inequalities involves understanding both dynamics of change to overcome them and their reproduction and efforts to prevent change to take place. Amongst the dynamics of change, open debates in the literature relate to emancipatory potentials versus exclusionary practices from food movements, the focus on the state via policy change, market-dynamics or societal change to promote socioecological transformations, as well as the alliances and coalitions that might tip the direction of change towards more systemic radical change or reformist dynamics [Motta, 2016; 2021a, Hólt-Giménez and Shattuck, 2011]. In short, the framework of food inequalities aims to provide an expanded perspective on societal transformation and the multifaceted activism related to food. Structural challenges affect certain groups of people the hardest, leading to an increase in social, gender, generational, and ethnic inequalities in the food system [Slocum et al., 2016]. Further, moments of crisis might exacerbate food inequalities while also providing opportunities for food movements to make food inequalities more visible, to craft new alliances, innovate in their strategies and promote dynamics of change [Zentgraf & Kalix Garcia, 2023; Carvalho et al., 2022].



Further, “though alternative agro-food systems have been often conceptualized in oppositional terms, more contemporary investigations have problematized these binaries to reveal how the “local” or “sustainable” and the “global” or “industrial” are necessarily intertwined and not bound to concrete spatial locations” [Mares & Alkon, 2011, p. 69]. Different studies regarding the spatiality of food movements claim that answering research questions might require adopting a multi-scalar framework and a relational perspective [M. K. Goodman, 2016; Jarosz, 2000; Sar-miento, 2017; Winter, 2005; Motta 2016, Motta 2021a; Borghoff and Teixeira 2021]. This brings together spatial categories [local, regional, national, global], different



spheres [digital, analogue], urban-rural characteristics, or other categories for spatiality of social mobilization such as streets, neighborhood, kitchen, etc. In the German food movements debate, the question of re-localization and the potential of scaling up regional initiatives is more prominent [Rosol, 2020; Roep & Wiskerke, 2012, Vicente-Vicente et al., 2023]. For example, Wittenberg et al. [2022] examine the impacts and challenges of city-region grassroots initiatives in Muenster, Germany, and Birnbaum & Lütke [2023] address the concepts of the “defensive localism” [Winter, 2003] and the “local trap” [Purcell, 2006] in regard to their case study on German Food Policy Councils.

As a result, the socio-ecological transformation of food systems is a multifaceted process that, first, requires the cooperation of various actors, including governments, peasants, consumers, businesses and civil society organizations. Second, structural solutions and actions that consider different scales and spatialities, and third, a systemic perspective to address the challenges of different historical and geopolitical contexts and positionalities to overcome existing food inequalities that foster exploitation, power asymmetries and violence.

◆ 1.2 Food Movements

Under the analytical concept of „Food Movements“ [Motta, 2021a] one can find peasant movements, food sovereignty movements, alternative food networks and initiatives, rural feminist movements, food justice movements, and agroecological movements, among others.

Needless to say, this denomination does not exhaust its agendas and histories, aiming instead to combine a variety of actors engaged in transforming food systems. Social innovations and mobilizations around food form a privileged instance to observe social change because they are actively engaged in transforming food politics and the food system. [Motta, 2021a: 7]

Food movements have mobilized concepts related to food such as food democracy, food sovereignty, and food justice, among others [Fladvad, 2018; Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Motta & Martín, 2021; Rombach & Bitsch, 2015]. These discourses can travel across transnational networks, but they are specific to their contexts. Similar to sustainability discourses, food-related discourses provide a means to comprehend local struggles, their transformative potential, the scales at which they can operate, and their ability to cross spatial and social boundaries [Motta, 2021a]. Thus, it is essential that in analyzing such movements, we are aware of the history and discourses allied to some of these key concepts.

Many Alternative Food Networks [AFNs] call for a transformational political agenda based on alternative socio-environmental relationships and practices that can for example promote diversity, equality, and inclusion in food production, access, and consumption [Rosol, 2019, 2020]. One of the potentials of food movements is their ability to bring together diverse groups and individuals, including farmers, consumers, activists, and policymakers, under a common vision for a more just and



sustainable food system [Motta, 2021b, 2022]. However, this potential is often not [fully] realized. Many food movements struggle against the influence of powerful corporate interests and neoliberal capitalist market logics (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). Furthermore, they face great challenges to become more inclusive to ensure that their agendas and collective actions represent more voices (Allen & Sachs, 2007; Guthman, 2008).

Holt-Guiménez and Shattuck [2011] developed a model to capture the different characteristics and trends among actors in the corporate food regime and in global food movements. They differentiate between four different trends actors concerned with agriculture and food tend to adapt for their strategies and practices: neoliberal, reformist, progressive, or radical. “While the Progressive trend is rich in local/alternative food system practices, the Radical trend excels in more militant, national and international political advocacy” (Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck, 2011: 116). However, certain actors align strongly with one of the four trends, others defy easy classification due to their diverse stances on various issues or their tendency to espouse one position while practicing another. The alignment of a group towards neoliberal or reformist initiatives and institutions might be more tactical or strategic than inherent (Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck, 2011). Examining food movements within neo-liberal modes reveals instances where alternatives operate within neoliberal frameworks. Some movements utilize market mechanisms to promote sustainability and social justice, while entrepreneurial activism becomes a strategy employed by individuals and groups challenging the existing system. Within the realm of reformist approaches, some food movements engage in policy advocacy, striving for regulatory changes that promote sustainability and equity. “Reformists call for mild reforms to the regime, for example through an increase of social safety nets, consumer-driven niche markets, and voluntary, corporate responsibility mechanisms” (Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck, 2011: 115).

Instead of rigidly labeling actors within the corporate food regime or the global food movement, recognizing their varied and adaptable political nature, alongside assessing potential collaborations among them, can assist in recognizing both the obstacles and prospects for transforming food systems (Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck, 2011). In addition, it is important to remain aware that alternatives to the hegemonic system are constantly facing the risk of cooptation by the dominant neoliberal market logics of the corporate food regime.

We are concerned to empirically investigate how progressive and radical actors engaged in the German food movement can be agents of change (Motta, 2021b) and their potential to drive structural transformation towards more sustainable and equitable food systems in Germany and globally (Patel, 2010; Pimbert, 2017). We do not discard, however, the transformative potentials from reformist actors – they still can be critical and boost transformation towards more systemic change by operating within the corporate food regime. In this Working Paper, we analyse the three trends [reformist, progressive and radical] within food movements, as well as the challenges and cooptation they may face.

2 | Research Design and Methodology

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This working paper aims to identify relevant agents of food system transformation in Germany to give an overview over the most significant actors in this heterogeneous landscape of social mobilization. To do so, this research applied a qualitative and quantitative methodology which combined content analysis and coding for a mapping of the actors, their agendas and different dimensions of food inequalities, spatiality and temporality.

◆ 2.1 Unit of analysis

This mapping takes as units of analysis food movements organizations with considerable collective actions and participation in social mobilization on a national scale during the last 5 years (2018-2023). Significant collective actions and relevance are identified through [1] recognition by others (press, state, other movements), [2] participation in political events and strategies such as „good food, good farming“, „Global Food Summit“, „Global Forum for Food and Agriculture (GFFA)“ [3] participation in national protest campaigns, and [4] participation in global alliances such as „La Via Campesina“.¹

◆ 2.1 Data and Methods

A starting point for the mapping was the previous work on a case study of the *Food for Justice* Research Group with the coalition *Meine Landwirtschaft* (Meinecke et al., 2021; Motta, 2022), which is a key actor organizing social mobilization and political demands for a socio-ecological transformation of the food system in Germany (Motta, 2021a; Nowack & Hoffmann, 2020). The coalition is composed of more

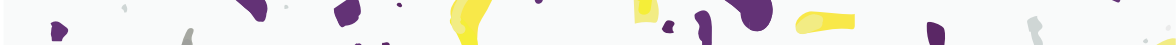
1 [2] The „**Good Food, Good Farming**“ campaign advocates for a fair transition in EU food and farming systems. They unite local, national, and EU groups, amplifying voices to pressure decision-makers and legitimize policy change [<https://goodfoodgoodfarming.eu/>]. Since 2017, the **Global Food Summit** is an annually high-level conference that brings together stakeholders from around the world to discuss pressing issues related to food security, sustainability, and agricultural development [<https://globalfoodsummit.com/>]. The **Global Forum for Food and Agriculture (GFFA)** is an international conference held annually in Berlin, Germany, focusing on key issues in the agricultural sector which brings together policymakers, researchers, and representatives from the private sector and civil society [<https://www.gffa-berlin.de/>]. [3] **National Protest Campaigns** are organized by big coalitions of social movements with the aim of advocating for policy changes and raising awareness about pressing issues in the food and agricultural sectors. An example would be the “We are fed up!” campaign [<https://www.wir-haben-es-satt.de/>]. [4] „**La Via Campesina**“ is an international movement that brings together millions of peasants, small-scale farmers, landless people, rural women, and indigenous communities from around the world. It advocates for food sovereignty, agroecology, and the rights of small-scale food producers [<https://viacampesina.org/en/>].

than 50 organizations and initiatives [Meine Landwirtschaft, 2020]; not all of these were suitable for the criteria established for the unit of analysis of the mapping. Through a snowball effect, many connected or [sometimes] opponent movements and initiatives were identified and added to the data base, if matched the criteria. As a result of this first round of data collection, the data base encompassed a list of 146 entries. At this first stage, the only information collected was the name of the food movement and the link to their website, organized in an excel table. In a second stage of data collection, more information was extracted from the official website of each entry on the Frontpage and the section “about us”, sometimes also called “our history”, “the movement”, “what is...” was used. The data was organized in another excel table according to categories that were developed following the theoretical and conceptual framework and research questions of *Food for Justice*:

*Food for Justice will advance research on these open debates on food movements, bridging between **contestation and alternative food initiatives**. Considering the first debate, it will look into case studies of **broad coalitions of social movements over food**. With regard to the second issue, it will inquire how food movements address various **dimensions of inequalities** and what they leave out, as well as how they relate not only to the environment, but also to technology, **the state and markets** [Motta, 2021a].*

Table 1
Analytical Framework on Food for Justice Research Program (Motta, 2021a).

Category	Definition
AA Name of food movement	This category identifies the name of the food movement, providing a unique identifier for each movement.
AB Type of food movement	This category classifies food movements into various types, including peasant movements, political education/formation movements, food sovereignty movements, alternative food networks and initiatives, food justice movements, agroecological movements, vegetarianism/veganism movements, and others.
AC Juridical form of organization	This category categorizes food movements based on their juridical form of organization, such as unions and associations.
B Time	This category records the year of foundation of each food movement.
C Size	This category captures the size of food movements in terms of membership and cooperation with other associations.
D Food Inequalities	This category identifies which type of social change is aspired by social mobilization and collective action, such as: reformism, progressive change, radical transformation; emancipatory change; exclusionary change



DA Dimension of inequalities	This category captures the primary dimension of structural inequalities that each food movement addresses. It includes political, economic, cultural, environmental, social, epistemological dimensions.
DB Intersection of inequalities	This category identifies the axes of inequalities that each food movement primary focuses on: class, gender, race/ethnicity, citizenship, more-than-human species.
DE Dynamics of transformation	This category identifies which type of social change is aspired by social mobilization and collective action, such as: reformism, progressive change, radical transformation; emancipatory change; exclusionary change.
DC Relational spatial units	This category categorizes food movements based on their geographical focus, including urban and rural dimensions.
DD Multi-scalarity	This category categorizes food movements along scales, such as local, regional, national, European, global.
E Phases of the food system	This category identifies the primary sphere of action within the food system for each movement. It includes production, distribution, preparation, consumption, and waste [Goody, 1982].
F Targeted sphere of social change	This category characterizes the targeted sphere of social change by food movements. It includes market-oriented approaches, engagement with the state, and civil society-based strategies [Carvalho et al. 2021].
G Types of action	This category characterizes the different types of action, including institutional, non-institutional, alternative food practices.
H Activist food discourses	This category identifies different concepts of food activism, some examples are good food for all, food justice, food sovereignty.

Within these categories there was an openness of adding new sub-categories to the codebook, oriented by the findings in the data. In a first test round of extraction for 10 entries, the categories G, and C were excluded because the information on the websites was insufficient to measure the membership and network activities [C] and types of actions [G] of the movements. Further, the multi-scalarity of the movements [DD] would not make sense to include to the final category system, since only national organizations are part of the predefined unit of analysis.

After this second stage of data extraction, the entries were selected to compose the final sample of the mapping, following the criteria mentioned above [N=100]. It is important to state that there is no separate entry for the youth organizations of several movements [jAbL, *Junges Bioland*, *Slow Food Youth*, *NaJu* and *Bund Jugend*]. This stage of data extraction and pre-analysis led to the adaptation of the categories, the creation of sub-categories, following the coding approach by Saldaña [2021]. The categories AB and H were excluded from the final codebook because the data was not fitting to create a typology of movements [AB] or to capture and cluster the activist food discourses [H] in a category system. Other research methods such as interviews and ethnographic research would be neces-

sary. We opted to rather describe the different topics, agendas and discourses the movements organized around which brings together the findings from category AB and H in a qualitative analysis. The final codebook with examples for each set of categories and sub-categories was established after a first round of data extraction and two rounds of recording [see Appendix].

Table 2
Analytical Framework for Food Movements in Germany with examples.

Category	Subcategories	Examples
Temporality	year of foundation	
Juridical form of organization	union	<i>Industriegewerkschaft Bauern-Agrar-Umwelt</i>
	association	<i>ProVeg</i>
	stock company	<i>Regionalwert AG</i>
	cooperative	<i>Ökonauten AG</i>
	foundation	<i>Aurelia Stiftung</i>
	others	<i>Marktschwärmer</i>
Dimension of inequalities	political	<i>AktionAgrar</i>
	economic	<i>Neuland e.V.</i>
	cultural	<i>Slow Food Germany</i>
	environmental	<i>BUND</i>
	social	<i>Fair Trade Germany</i>
	epistemological	<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ernährung e. V.</i>
Intersection of inequalities	class	<i>Agrarbündnis</i>
	gender	<i>Deutscher LandFrauenverband e.V.</i>
	race/ethnicity	<i>INKOTA</i>
	citizenship	<i>Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte</i>
	more-than human	<i>ProVieh</i>
	age	<i>Bündnis für eine enkeltaugliche Landwirtschaft e.V.</i>
	sexuality	<i>Emanzipatorisches Landwirtschaftsnetzwerk</i>
	others	<i>BioBoden Genossenschaft eG</i>



Relational spatial units	urban	<i>Foodcoops</i>
	rural	<i>Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft</i>
	urban-rural	<i>Deutsche Welthungerhilfe e.V.</i>
Phases of the food system	production	<i>Bioland e.V.</i>
	distribution	<i>Tafel Deutschland e.V.</i>
	preparation	<i>Die freien Bäcker e.V.</i>
	consumption	<i>Deutsches Netzwerk für Schulverpflegung e.V.</i>
	waste	<i>Foodsharing</i>
Targeted sphere of social change	market	<i>Demeter e.V.</i>
	state	<i>Save our Seeds</i>
	civil society	<i>Brot für die Welt</i>
Food movement trends	reformist	<i>Fair Trade Deutschland e.V.</i>
	progressive	<i>Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft</i>
	radical	<i>Nyeleni.de</i>

The main findings that will be presented is a result from a methodological combination of qualitative content analysis and frequency analysis (Mayring & Fenzl, 2019, Saldaña, 2021), forming a mapping of food movements in Germany. For some categories, there was only one coding possible (N=100). For categories in which multiple coding was possible, in particular, when more than one dimension of food inequality or axes of food inequality addressed by each food movement, the total number was variable. As any analytical exercise, this method also simplifies reality and reduces the data to main variables according to specific research debates and concepts. But it provides a tool to organize the empirical data in order to identify food movements main forms of action, demands, types, and assess the dynamics of transformation that they aspire to set in place.

3 | Mapping Food Movements in Germany

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In recent years, Germany has witnessed a growing movement of actors coming together to address critical issues surrounding the food system. The overview gives a first picture of the types of movements according to their main agendas identified (Figure 1). This visualization shows the diversity of demands and actors in the landscape of food movements in Germany. Needless to say, as in any analytical exercise, the agendas are simplified and would be difficult to show in their entanglements since many of these actors are engaged in multiple topics and actions.

3.1 Types of food movements and activist discourses

Movement organizations of **peasant & small-scale agriculture, farmer's rights and food sovereignty** strive for improved production conditions, market structures, state support, and societal recognition. They emphasize their indispensable role in producing food, seeking respect and fair working conditions. This category includes organizations like *Agrarbündnis*, *Nyeleni.de* and *Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (AbL)*. On the website of the AbL one finds the statement:

The central concern of the AbL is to raise awareness of the social issue in agriculture. The aim is to prevent one-sided economically or ecologically based perspectives from ignoring the people involved and thus ignoring the social effects. Society and farmers alike want animal welfare, climate protection and the preservation of biodiversity, which means higher costs, which is why the AbL demands economic prospects for farms (Website Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft²).

Within this category one finds actors that pursue conventional, biological and agroecological farming. Further, their range of political positions is quite diverse: it goes from right-wing, e.g. *Land schafft Verbindung*, over center-right and more conservative values, e.g. *Deutscher Bauernverband*, as can be seen in the quotation below, in the defense of "cultural landscape" - to radical-leftist and progressive values, e.g. *Emanzipatorisches Landwirtschaftsnetzwerk*.

2 <https://www.abl-ev.de/ueber-uns>, accessed on 22.11.2023. Original: „Das zentrale Anliegen der AbL ist es, auch die soziale Frage in der Landwirtschaft in das Bewusstsein zu rücken. Damit soll vermieden werden, dass einseitig ökonomisch oder ökologisch begründete Sichtweisen, die handelnden Menschen ausblenden und damit die sozialen Auswirkungen unberücksichtigt bleiben. Die Gesellschaft wie auch die Bauern und Bäuerinnen wollen Tierschutz, Klimaschutz, den Erhalt der Artenvielfalt, das bedeutet höhere Kosten und deshalb fordert die AbL wirtschaftliche Perspektiven für die Höfe“.



Figure 1: Different actors in the social mobilization around food in Germany [elaboration Zentgraf].

Germany has a strong agricultural sector with diverse structures and businesses that are supported by farmers. Anchoring these family and multi-family farms in the regions and taking responsibility for sustainability is an integral part of the DBV's mission statement, as is the protection of the cultural landscape, soil, air and water as well as animals and plants [Website Deutscher Bauernverband³].

There are movements for sustainable agriculture (Altieri 2011, Alkon and Guthmann 2017), organized around the promotion of **agroecological and organic food production**. *Bioland*, *Demeter* and *Neuland* promote methods that minimize environmental impact, enhance biodiversity, and prioritize soil health. By embracing agroecology and organic farming, these movements seek to create resilient farming systems that sustain both people and the planet: "Our farmers and market partners supply you with organic food from sustainable organic farming. With respect for the animals and nature" (Website Bioland⁴). Part of the movements that focus on the ecological dimensions of agriculture include movements critical to chemical inputs and biotechnology, and conversely, in defense of seed diversity and sovereignty. Examples are the *Coordination gegen BAYER-Gefahren* or *SOS Save our Seeds* which address specific concerns such as **pesticide use** and **control over seeds and soil** are strongly connected to demands for food sovereignty and preservation of [local] food cultures. "Save Our Seeds started in 2002 as an initiative to keep seeds free from genetic engineering. We now run many other projects for seed diversity, sustainable agriculture and global nutrition⁵" (Website Save our Seeds).

Vegetarian, vegan and animal rights movements advocate for meat-free or animal product-free agriculture and lifestyles, driven by concerns about environmental sustainability, and health. Initiatives, such as *ProVeg* and *ProVieh*, often challenge mass factory farming practices and aim to raise awareness about the impacts of animal agriculture on various fronts.

The most important thing for us is the understanding of farm animals as intelligent and sentient creatures with species-specific needs and behaviors. This is why PROVIEH is committed to species-appropriate and respectful animal husbandry that is geared towards the needs of farm animals instead of treating them as mere production units [Website ProVieh⁶].

Alternative Food Networks, such as *Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft* or *Food Coops*, foster new forms of interaction between consumers and producers. These networks often promote a circular economy approach, emphasizing local and regional connections to ensure a sustainable and resilient food system. Through direct relationships and shared responsibilities, they encourage a closer connection

3 <https://www.bauernverband.de/der-verband>, accessed 22.11.2023. Original: „Deutschland hat eine starke Landwirtschaft mit vielfältigen Strukturen und Betrieben, die von bäuerlichen Unternehmern getragen wird. Die Verankerung dieser Familien- und Mehrfamilienbetriebe in den Regionen und in der Verantwortung für Nachhaltigkeit ist fester Bestandteil des Leitbildes des DBV, genauso wie der Schutz von Kulturlandschaft, Boden, Luft und Wasser sowie von Tieren und Pflanzen“.

4 <https://www.bioland.de/verbraucher>, accessed 22.11.2023. Original: Unsere Landwirt*innen und Marktpartner liefern dir Bio-Lebensmittel aus nachhaltiger ökologischer Landwirtschaft. Mit Respekt vor den Tieren und Respekt vor der Natur.

5 <https://www.saveourseeds.org/>, accessed 23.11.2023. Original: „Save Our Seeds startete 2002 als Initiative zur Reinhaltung des Saatguts von Gentechnik. Mittlerweile betreiben wir viele weitere Projekte für Saatgutvielfalt, nachhaltige Landwirtschaft und globale Ernährung“.

6 <https://www.provieh.de/>, accessed 22.11.2023. Original: „Das Wichtigste für uns ist das Verständnis von Nutztieren als intelligente und fühlende Lebewesen mit arteigenen Bedürfnissen und Verhaltensweisen. Deshalb setzt PROVIEH sich für eine artgemäße und wertschätzende Tierhaltung ein, die an den Bedürfnissen der Nutztiere ausgerichtet wird, anstatt sie als bloße Produktionseinheiten zu behandeln“.

between producers and consumers and create alternative economies on a small scale.

With solidarity-based agriculture, food is no longer sold on the market, but flows into its own transparent economic cycle, which is co-organized and financed by consumers. Community-supported agriculture promotes and maintains a rural and diverse agriculture, provides regional food and gives people a new space for education and experience [Website Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft⁷].

There are many movements in Germany focusing on **access to food**, mostly from a **global food justice** perspective. These organizations focus on access to nutritious food, particularly addressing disparities between the Global North and South, advocating for policies that ensure everyone has the right to good food. Organizations like *FIAN* work towards establishing fair and just food systems worldwide. The concepts of food sovereignty and food democracy are often entangled with these justice claims, e.g. *Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte* and *INKOTA*. Food access in Germany receives more attention recently through the discourse of **food poverty** – exacerbated by the multiple socio-ecological crisis and Covid-19 Pandemic. It came to the forefront of the public debate, and brought visibility to actors working against food poverty and class-related food inequalities for decades such as *Die Tafel*. “Over 970 food banks, one mission: to save food and help people living in poverty. The food banks rescue food that can no longer be sold and pass it on to people in poverty who cannot afford a balanced diet” [Website Tafel Deutschland⁸]. Last but not least, the topic of **food security** is part of the agenda from many organizations and initiatives that work globally in a development/aid orientation: *Brot für die Welt*, *Oxfam* and *Cis Romero*.

There are also movements against **food waste** such as *FoodSharing*. Their primary aim is to create awareness and concrete practices through food saving actions involving organized civil society. “Our long-term goal is to end the waste of edible food. That is why we act locally: we save food in private households and businesses, engage in dialog with politicians and take our vision out into the world” [Website Foodsharing⁹]. Some movements focus on **food education** to avoid food waste in the first place. They organize their actions in form of educational programs, workshops, etc. to foster informed decision-making when it comes to food consumption and preparation. One of their goals is to make nutritional education a compulsory school subject. These initiatives see a way towards a more sustainable food system by empowering citizens to consume and eat with more consciousness.

Movements promoting **food cultures and food heritage** advocate the preserva-

7 <https://www.solidarische-landwirtschaft.org/das-konzept/was-ist-solawi>, accessed 22.11.2023. Original: „Bei Solidarischer Landwirtschaft werden die Lebensmittel nicht mehr über den Markt vertrieben, sondern fließen in einen eigenen durchschaubaren Wirtschaftskreislauf, der von den Verbraucher:innen mit organisiert und finanziert wird. Solidarische Landwirtschaft fördert und erhält eine bäuerliche und vielfältige Landwirtschaft, stellt regionale Lebensmittel zur Verfügung und ermöglicht Menschen einen neuen Bildungs- und Erfahrungsraum“.

8 <https://www.tafel.de/>, accessed, 23.11.2023. Original: „Über 970 Tafeln, eine Mission: Lebensmittel retten und armutsbetroffenen Menschen helfen. Die Tafeln retten Lebensmittel, die nicht mehr verkauft werden können und geben sie an Menschen in Armut weiter, die sich eine ausgewogene Ernährung nicht leisten können“.

9 <https://foodsharing.de/>, accessed 23.11.2023. Original: „Unser langfristiges Ziel ist es, die Verschwendung von genießbaren Lebensmitteln zu beenden. Darum werden wir vor Ort aktiv: Wir retten Lebensmittel in privaten Haushalten sowie von Betrieben, stehen im Dialog mit der Politik und tragen unsere Vision in die Welt hinaus“.

tion of culinary experience, knowledge of recipes, non-commercialized seeds and foods that are symbols of some places, cultures, histories. These movements adopt strategies towards a more resilient, locally situated and sustainable food system [see Figure 2], e.g. *Freie Bäcker* and *Slow Food Deutschland*. “Slow Food is committed to good, clean and fair food for all and is driving forward the food transition in the public and private sectors. Raising awareness and imparting knowledge through educational work and political advocacy are high on the Slow Food agenda” [Website Slow Food Deutschland¹⁰].



Figure 2: Different Campaigns, Projects and Actions against food waste and for more (local) food education and culture; (a) Facebook Post Slow Food about preparation and consumption of brussels sprout [Reproduction¹¹], (b) Picture from Food Sharing Campaign [Reproduction from Website¹²], and (c) Facebook Post Sarah Wiener Stiftung on the Workshops ‘I can cook’ [Reproduction¹³].

Movements for **seed preservation** are also part of the defense of **local agrobiodiversity and food cultures**. Another movement on food heritage focuses on the **recognition of food workers and their food knowledge**. There are unions of workers involved in food preparation, cooking and restaurants. These movements, exemplified by *Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten (NGG)*, advocate for fair working conditions, cultural preservation, and the recognition of the significance of food heritage.

The diversity of agendas, forms of action, and types of food movements show the heterogeneity of this field, which also implicates struggles for power and impact regarding agenda setting in German food politics. They point to the multiple dimensions of the food inequalities and practices that aim to overcome these, even though it also represents the sometimes-conflicting discourses and practices on how to actually perform the transformation(s). Furthermore, one should not ro-

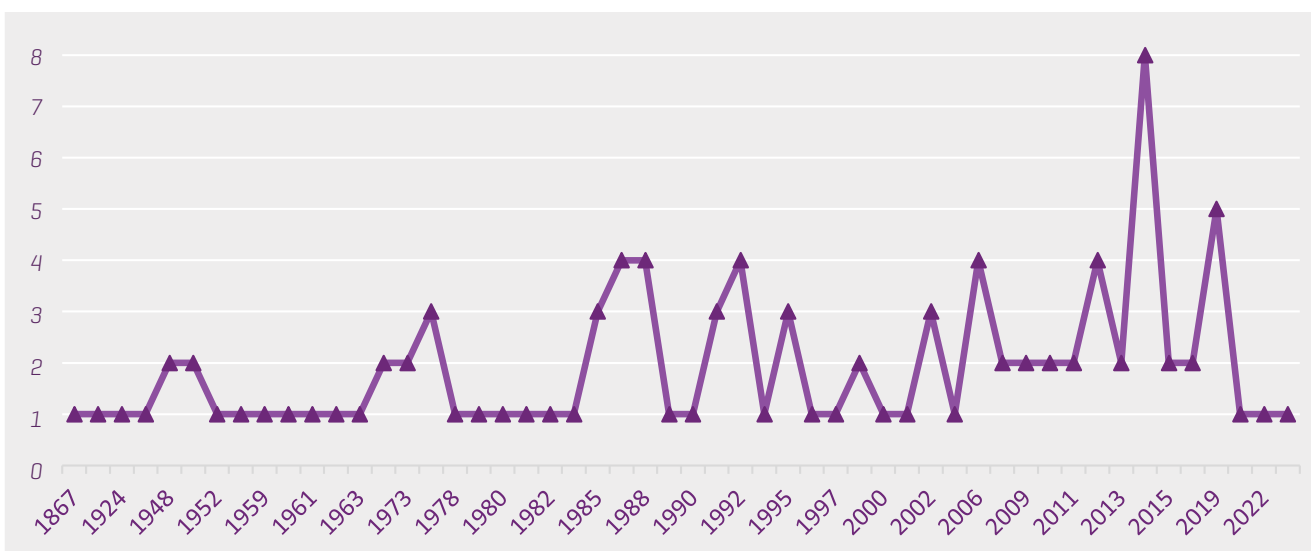
10 <https://www.slowfood.de/wer-wir-sind>, accessed 23.11.2023. Original: „[...] setzt sich Slow Food für gutes, sauberes und faires Essen für alle ein und treibt die Ernährungswende im öffentlichen und privaten Bereich voran. Die Sensibilisierung und Vermittlung von Wissen durch Bildungsarbeit sowie die politische Interessenvertretung stehen weit oben auf der Slow-Food-Agenda.“
 11 https://www.facebook.com/SlowFoodDeutschland/?locale=de_DE, accessed 23.11.2023.
 12 <https://foodsharing.de/>, accessed 23.11.2023.
 13 <https://www.facebook.com/SarahWienerStiftung>, accessed 23.11.2023.

manticize alliances and common agenda between these heterogeneous food movements since these actors are also in constant negotiations of power, struggles and visibility.

3.2 Temporality – historical contexts of emergence of food movements

Food movements do not rise out of nowhere, they are always connected to specific moments of tension in politics and society. To understand trends and identify moments of dispute and stability between different actors engaged in agriculture and food in Germany, Figure 3 shows the years of foundation of the entries of this mapping as an indicator of food politics and mobilization in the recent German context [for a more historical analysis see Peuker, 2014]. The first initiatives already started in the 19th century with the foundation of *ProVeg* and *NABU*. This reflects two of the main topics of socio-environmental tension among actors in the food and agrarian landscape in Germany: the **vegetarian-vegan vs. meat consumption** debate and the issue of compatibility of **environmental protection and agricultural production**. “On 21 April 1867, theologian Eduard Baltzer founded the „Verein für natürliche Lebensweise“ [Association of natural way of life] in Nordhausen, Thuringia, thereby laying the foundations for the history of vegan-vegetarian associations in Germany” [Website ProVeg¹⁴]. This early beginning shows the long tradition of the meatless diet in German society. *NABU* represents the longterm concern with environmental impacts of the modern food system and the questioning of just and sustainable human-nature relations.

Figure 3:
Years of Foundation of German Food Movements [elaboration Zentgraf].



14 <https://proveg.com/de/die-geschichte-von-proveg/>, accessed 04.01.2024

Looking back at a rich history of agrarian mobilization in Germany (Peuker, 2014; Lambrecht, 1977; Perkins, 1984), the First and Second World Wars are a watershed, as they had significant impacts on German agriculture. During both wars, the State implemented policies to increase food production, including the expansion of arable land and the introduction of rationing systems. After World War II, the focus turned towards rebuilding the agricultural sector to achieve food security through intense industrialization. However, due to reparation measures of the Marshall Plan, supply of the armed forces of the victorious powers and lack of workers, Germany faced severe food insecurity and shortages (Hagelschuer/Schade, 1991; Kotow, 1961). Agrarian food movements were organized as a response to the consolidation and agricultural modernization in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) – more commonly known as West Germany – and German Democratic Republic (GDR) – more commonly known as East Germany –, with the founding of the *Deutscher LandFrauen Verband (DLV)* (1948) and the *Deutscher Bauernverband (DBV)* (1948).

The agricultural structure and politics developed quite differently in the FRG and the GDR. Agrarian movement organizations in the FRG such as the *DLV* and *DBV* were important so that farmers could represent their interests and maintain a close relationship to the state by addressing the government as main actor to implement structural reforms through interventions.

The German Farmers' Association (DBV) was founded after the Second World War as a new lobby organisation that brought together agricultural interests in a new, unified organisation with a strong membership [cf. Patel 2010: 162; Puhle 1975]. Puhle (1975) notes a certain continuity with regard to the political orientation: the German Farmers' Association, now rid of all National Socialist ideology, was loyal to the state and remained conservative in its political orientation. Its policies can be seen as contradictory: On the one hand, he propagated the family farm, while on the other he also supported the interests of large landowners. He also called for structural reforms, but at the same time demanded state intervention [cf. Puhle 1975: 109]. (Peuker, 2014: 101)

The agrarian development in the post-war years in the FRG was strongly influenced by liberal market structures, modernization and globalization, and can be divided into three different phases: “consolidation and agricultural modernisation between 1949 and 1960, agricultural integration into the EEC between 1960 and 1972, and a phase of permanent pressure for agricultural adjustment in the FRG within the framework of the CAP between 1972 and 1990” (Wilson, 2001).

The dynamics in the GDR were very different. After 1945, the *Vereinigung der gegenseitigen Bauernhilfe (VdgB)* was established. The aim of the organization was initially to support a land reform and later the development of socialist agriculture. They also fostered the collectivization of GDR agriculture that began in 1952 through the the formation of agricultural production cooperatives (LPG)¹⁵. Never-

15 After the reunification, the *VdgB* was dissolved and different associations emerged in 1990. The *Bauernverband der DDR* [farmers' association of the GDR] and *Cooperative Association of LPGs and GPGs*, the two main associations, were initially in competition. As economic and monetary union and the introduction of the market economy approached, they jointly organized a protest in front of the GDR People's Chamber on 12 April 1990 to draw attention to the needs of agriculture. In the former West Germany, developments in the GDR were initially viewed with suspicion. East German large-scale agriculture was seen as unwelcome competition. In view of the effective association work in East Germany, however,

theless, “cooperatives were therefore only an intermediate stage on the road to the industrialization of agriculture” [Booß, 2015]. The agrarian sector and landownership were restructured into large food production units with many agricultural workers with no land [Lambrecht, 1977; Kotow, 1961]. „After the large-estate owners had been dispossessed and their property allocated to ‘new peasants’ in 1945/46, the collectivization of agriculture profoundly changed the working practices, status and identities of agricultural producers, especially when the process was enforced in 1959/60” [Bauernkämper, 2009: 1] The GDR’s centralized economic system was characterized by large production units, the self-sufficient securing of its own foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials; minimizing all agricultural imports and agricultural exports stood in the foreground of agricultural policy objectives [Hagelschuer/Schade, 1991]. This led to more independence from global value chains and commodity prices. However, there were also periods of food shortages and lack of nutritious variety and, consequently, food insecurity [Bauernkämper, 2009].

Another big difference between the FRG and GDR was the relation towards Europe and the European market. The integration of the FRG into the European Economic Community (EEC), which later became the European Union (EU), had a profound impact on agricultural policies and provoked different mobilizations in the food and agriculture landscape. Out of the German post-war experiences of food insecurity, a wave of food movements concerned with global food security and advocating for development aid came up in the 1960s. Prominent examples are *Brot für die Welt* [1959] and *Deutsche Welthungerhilfe* [1962]. Raising concerns with the negative impacts of industrial agriculture motivated the establishment of internationally connected initiatives. The *World Wide Fund For Nature Deutschland* [1963] was born to question the modernization of the food system in Germany and the new integration in the European Economic Community (EEC).

From the 1970s onwards, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was established to support European farmers, ensure stable food prices, and promote agricultural development. FRG and GDR became major beneficiaries of CAP subsidies and implemented reforms to adapt to EU regulations and standards [BMEL, 2020]. Due to these new developments, many small farms in the FRG could not keep up with technological advances and changing consumer demand. Policies promoted the modernization of agriculture and the use of machinery and chemical inputs. The *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bäuerliche Landwirtschaft* [1973] was set up to protest against the demise of farms as a consequence of agrarian modernisation policies, thus fighting for the preservation of small-scale and family farming. At the same time, environmental problems such as overfertilization and water pollution raised public concerns and provoked protests organized by new movements such as *BUND* [1975], *Coordination gegen BAYER-Gefahren* [1978] and *Greenpeace* [1980]. Here one can see alliances between food movements and other environmental mobilizations such as the famous campaign “Atomkraft Nein Danke!” [No to Nuclear Energy] in the 1970s [Rieckmann & Damm, 2000].

farmers’ organizations in the old Federal Republic had to come to an arrangement A compromise was outlined which led to a dominant unified farmers’ association: Deutsche Bauernverband (DBV) [Booß, 2015].



Figure 4:
Symbols from the two different protest campaigns; (a) Nuclear energy? No thank you! (b) Pesticides? No thank you! (c) the initiative *Bündnis für Engeltaugliche Landwirtschaft* [Coalition for an Agriculture for Our Grandchildrens' Future] uses this symbol to campaign „100% organic is possible. Healthy soils and bio-diverse communities on the fields secure the future. Therefore: Pesticides? No thank you!“ [Reproduction Website BeL¹⁶]

In Figure 4 one can see the symbol of the campaign against nuclear energy which was a protest movement in many countries in the European Union at that time. The second symbol is an adaptation and reference to this successful mobilization, in this case arguing against pesticides. One can see the coalition of environmentalists and agrarian movements in the *Bündnis für Engeltaugliche Landwirtschaft* [Coalition for an Agriculture for Our Grandchildrens' Future]. The symbol with the bee became very prominent among food movements in Germany (see also logos Figure 1) and could be seen as an actor of resistance itself.

In the 1980s, protests around agri-food politics intensified (see Figure 4) after the full integration of German agrarian policy into the EU-regulations and a growing globalization of the food system, also due to advances in multilateral free trade agreements, leading to what Friedmann and McMichael called the corporate food regime (1989). More consumer-driven movements rose out of concerns with the negative impacts of globalization and commodification of food chains and the growing use of GMOs, such as *Pestizid Aktions-Netzwerk* (1984), *Gen-ethisches Netzwerk* (1986), and *FIAN* (1986). In the 1990s, food movements, like *Slow Food Deutschland* (1992) and *FairTrade Deutschland* (1992), advocated for fairness and just relations along global value chains and preservation of regional food cultures and heritage. Furthermore, there were movements thinking about justice, food security and food waste due to overproduction in Germany as well, exemplified by the foundation of the biggest food bank in Germany: *Tafel Deutschland* (1995).

In the beginning of this decade, a new mobilization from initiatives and movements from the former GDR took place, due to the unification. *Grüne Liga - Netzwerk Ökologischer Bewegungen* (1990) represented mainly the interests of ecological actors from the so called “new states” – integrated (often in a violent way) in the agricultural structures and politics of the former FRG. The conflicts about landownership, dispossession, land market dynamics, and communing land are reflected

16 <https://enkeltauglich.bio/>, accessed 02.01.2024

in the foundation of the *Bundesverband Boden* in 1995, which continued in the following decade with the foundation of *Faipachten* (2006) and *BioBodengenossenschaft* (2009).

In the beginning of the 21st century, consumer protection and food safety became significant aspects of agrarian and food politics. Germany introduced regulations to improve food labeling, traceability, and quality standards. This followed from food scandals in the 1990s, such as the BSE (mad cow disease) crisis, which led to increased scrutiny and stricter controls on food production and processing (Bánáti, 2011; Halkier/Holm, 2006; Dulsrud et al., 2006). But not only consumer concerns were taken up by food movements; rather, one can identify three trends in the formation of new movements. First, a growing concern about food safety and transparency in civil society as well as better conditions for organic farming gave birth to new organic and ecological food production networks such as *ÄoL Die Öko-Lebensmittelhersteller* (2002) and *Bund Ökologische Lebensmittelwirtschaft* (BÖLW) (2002). Second, *Save our Seeds* (2002) took up the protest against pesticides and GMOs by advocating for the preservation of biodiversity and the need for seed sovereignty against the reduction of agrarian production to a very limited number of cash crops for global markets, and the intensification of intellectual property rights over seeds, diminishing, as a consequence, farmers' rights over seeds, thus also affecting agro-biodiversity. Third, the growing concern about animal well-being and interspecies justice became visible in the fights for insects and bees by the *Deutscher Berufs und Erwerbs Imker Bund* (2001) and for farm animals by *Animal Rights Watch* (2004) and *Animal Equality* (2005).

In the 2010s, regional food systems and shortening the distances between producers and consumers motivated the emergence of new alternative food networks such as *Marktschwärmer* (2010), *Solidarische Landwirtschaft* (2011) or *Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte* (2019). Also, more radical movements, advocating for food sovereignty and justice were launched such as *Nyeleni.de* (2014) and *Emanzipatorisches Landwirtschaftsnetzwerk* (2019). In the end of that decade, big farmer's protests from more conservative positions took place against the lack of state support and protectionism considering global market dynamics and price fluctuations¹⁷. These protests were led by a new movement called *Land schafft Verbindung* (LsV) (2019), supported by the *DBV*, however showing that there was dissidence and a heterogeneity of political subjects amongst German farmers: "The German Farmers' Association (DBV) is no longer able to form a powerful political organisation. For a long time, it was able to pool the interests of farmers and articulate them in political decision-making processes, which gave it an almost unique position of power" (Heinze et al., 2021: 365). The emergence of a variety of new farmers' movements [*AbL*, *LsV*, *BDM*, *Freie Bauern*, *Bund der deutschen Landjugend*] evidences that its power has been crumbling.

Nevertheless, there is much to suggest that a mixture of economic existential worries, high bureaucratic requirements and socio-cultural loss of status is the main cause [for these protests]. Added to this is the resentment felt by many protesters at not being heard themselves, while

17 <https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2019-10/bauernproteste-demonstrationen-landwirte-agrarpaket>, accessed 01.04.2024.

the public and politicians react more quickly to „green“ demands [e.g. from the FFF movement] [Heinze et al., 2021: 268].

Especially interesting in this case was the different public perception of these protests: while climate activists who blocked the road with their protest actions were considered radical and extreme in the eyes of the public opinion, the farmers – doing exactly the same with their nationwide protests – received positive feedback and support by many¹⁸. There were also critical voices which raised questions about right-wing extremism and nationalism among the movement and the radical positions against environmental protection regulations [Heinze et al., 2021: 371]. A new wave of farmers' protests emerged in December 2023¹⁹ - when the German government announced savings measures for the agricultural diesel subsidy and vehicle tax; the novelty, this time, was some political convergences between conventional and ecological farmer's movements²⁰. Regarding the historical development of agriculture and food mobilization in Germany, there seems to be a new momentum for farmer's mobilization around the 2020s.

As one can see, agrarian and food politics in Germany are influenced by various factors, including domestic policies, EU regulations, market dynamics, and societal concerns. The conflicts between **[1] environmental protection vs. large-scale conventional agricultural production**, **[2] meat consumption vs. animal welfare/veganism**, and **[3] global market competition and dependencies vs. regional resilience** continue to shape the contemporary landscape of agricultural and food mobilization and politics in Germany [Feindt et al., 2019].

◆ 3.3 Juridical form of organization

Food movements adopt various forms of juridical organizations (Figure 5). From unions and associations to stock companies, cooperatives, foundations, and more, these structures provide platforms for collective action and collaboration around food relations and politics.

Vereine [associations] are by far the most common juridical form amongst food movements in Germany. Exemplified by organizations like *Slow Food Deutschland* and *AbL*, a registered association has its own legal entity, providing certain benefits and obligations to the organization such as enter into contracts, own property, and take legal actions in its own name. To establish a „Verein“, a group of individuals with a common purpose or interest must draft and adopt a statute that outlines the organization's objectives, structure, and rules of operation. Individual members are generally not personally responsible for the association's debts and legal obligations beyond their membership dues or contributions. Many initiatives call themselves *Verband* [another form of association], however, their juridical form is *eingetragener Verein* [e.V.] [registered Association], e.g. *DBV* and *DLV*.

18 <https://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/bauern-proteste-klima-freunde-sind-nicht-eure-feinde-a-1299025.html>, accessed 01.04.2024.

19 <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/bauernproteste-102.html>, accessed 01.04.2024

20 <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/agrardiesel-bauern-rufen-zum-protest-gegen-streichung-von-subventionen-auf-a-609408e7-4998-4412-9a53-7abc328a704f>, accessed 01.04.2024

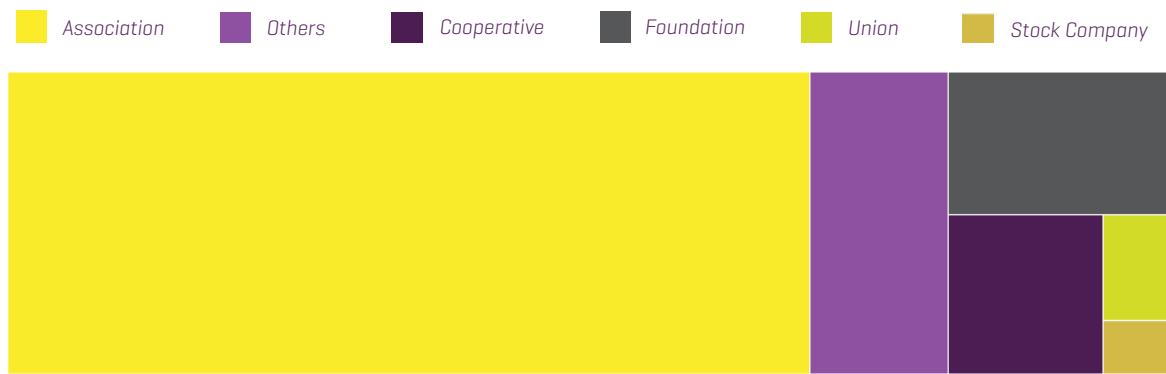


Figure 5:
Juridical Forms of Food Movements in Germany (N=100).

Stiftungen [foundations], like the *Aurelia Stiftung*, are characterised by having a permanent objective and a need to have endowment property. It can be established both as legal entity and as a sheltered foundation. It may pursue private (e.g. family foundation) or public benefit purposes (e.g. charitable purposes). Many foundations do have many different themes and projects, often they are not only dedicated towards food and agriculture issues, instead they have a subsection or several projects regarding these fields. Foundations only became part of this mapping when they had a significant involvement in political protest actions and or campaigns such as the *Heinrich Böll Stiftung* as a main organizer of the alternative green week before the annually “We are fed up!” protest in Berlin and supporter or different campaigns and actions around anti-pesticides, landgrabbing, etc.

Kooperative or **Genossenschaft** [cooperatives], such as many CSAs or *SoLawis*, often referred to as a „co-op“, is a type of business organization that is owned and operated by its members for their mutual benefit. Unlike traditional corporations, where ownership is typically determined by shares of stock and profits are distributed to shareholders, cooperatives are characterized by shared ownership and democratic control. These structures prioritize collective decision-making. Cooperatives foster cooperation and aim to meet the needs of their members while contributing to the broader community. This juridical model seems to be a trend among new food movements, such as *BioBoden Genossenschaft* that fights for better access to farm land to enhance biological agricultural production: „Already more than 6,650 members have secured more than 4,625 hectares of land“ [Website BioBodengenossenschaft²¹].

Gewerkschaften [unions] serve as powerful advocates, safeguarding the rights and well-being of the workforce along the whole food chain. A union is an organized association or group of workers who come together to collectively represent and advocate for their rights and interests in the workplace. Unions typically negotiate with employers on behalf of their members to secure better working conditions, fair wages, benefits, job security, and other employment-related matters. An example is the *Industriegewerkschaft Bauern-Agrar-Umwelt*, which represents the interests of workers on farms and in food industries.

21 <https://bioboden.de/startseite/>, accessed 10.10.2023

Aktiengesellschaften [stock companies] are defined here as business organizations where ownership is divided into shares of stock, which represent proportional ownership in the company. These shares can be bought and sold in public or private markets, allowing for the transfer of ownership without significantly affecting the company's operations. However, this is not necessarily the case as the example of the *Regionalwert AG* shows:

By purchasing shares, citizens participate in sustainably operating businesses in the region. This investment promotes ecological agriculture, independent food production, fair trade and healthy gastronomy. The result is a strong network of businesses and an independently functioning infrastructure. This is good for the environment, the farms and the people who live and work here [Website Regionalwert AG²²].

This approach is not following a capitalist profit-oriented logic, it represents a model of solidarity economies. There are also **other organizational models** within food movements. Non-profit companies (gGmbH) combine business structures with a focus on advancing a social or charitable purpose. Start-ups often emerge as innovative ventures with the goal of disrupting existing paradigms. Alliances [*Bündnis*] bring together multiple movements or organizations, pooling resources and expertise to amplify their collective impact.

In sum, food movements in Germany rely on a variety of organizational structures. Unions protect workers' rights, associations foster collaboration, stock companies can operate within alternative economic frameworks, cooperatives promote collective ownership, and foundations provide long-term financial support and project structures. However, the clear domination of associations in the German landscape of food activism brings also challenges such as the difficult long-term commitment of volunteer activists who are unable to maintain the same work engagement on permanent basis alongside their professional and private commitments. Many grass-roots movements are struggling to organize their actions due to a lack of paid staff and long-term structures. Applying for project funding is frequently the means in which these movements operate, which only allows for topic-specific actions and offers little long-term planning security. With more professionalisation, however, obstacles and mechanisms of exclusion often arise as challenges, such as high membership fees, etc. Some interesting solutions and awareness of these problems can be observed in the concept of solidarity-based bidding rounds of some *Solidarische Landwirtschaft* [CSAs], which tries to reduce economic barriers and create access for as many people as possible through redistribution based on income²³.

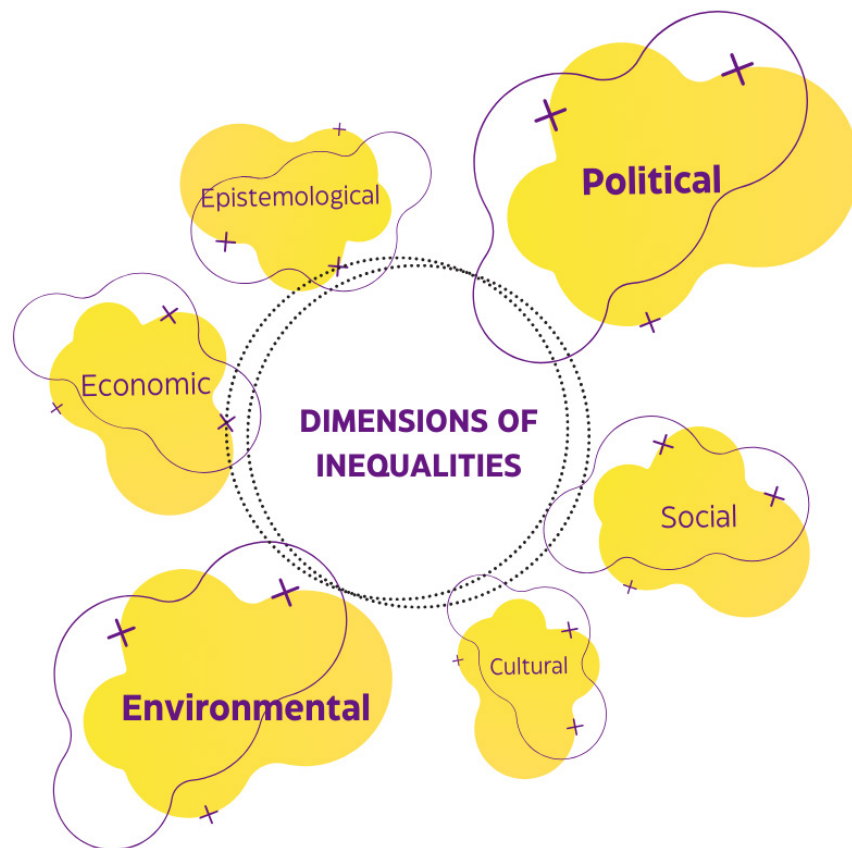
22 <https://www.regionalwert-leistungen.de/ueber-uns/>, accessed 10.10.2023.

23 <https://www.solidarische-landwirtschaft.org/fileadmin/media/solidarische-landwirtschaft.org/Solawis-aufbauen/Vorlagen-Dokumente/Netzwerk-Solawi-Bieterrunde.pdf>, accessed 10.10.2023.

3.4 Multiple dimensions of food inequalities

The analysed material on the websites addressed a wide range of food inequalities related to political, economic, social, environmental, cultural and epistemological dimensions [Motta, 2021a]. In these categories, it is important to remember that the analysed data represents the positions from the official websites and is not based on deeper analysis of discourses and practices of the movement's actions. In Figure 6, one can see the relative frequency of the different structural forces addressed by the analysed actors in the landscape of food mobilization in Germany. Overall, **political and environmental dimensions of food inequalities** are most prominent in the material analysed, while cultural aspects are less frequently addressed.

Figure 6: Relative frequency of dimensions of structural inequalities addressed by food movements in Germany (N=209) [elaboration Zentgraf].



By advocating for policy change, actors like *FIAN* and *AktionAgrar*, place political inequalities at the forefront of their claims, highlighting the structural asymmetries in agrarian and food policies between promoting the corporate food regime, on the one hand, and alternative, small-scale, peasant, and ecological agriculture, on the other hand. They seek new regulations on land ownership, state subsidies for peasants, and policy reforms that address the needs and rights of agricultural workers. Further, they demand food politics that don't leave the responsibility for transformation to the market or to individual consumers. These movements aim to shape governance structures and policies that support a fair and sustainable food regime [McMichael, 2013].

In Figure 7, one can see different statements from the *Aktion Agrar* Homepage. Paula Gioia, peasant from Bienenwerder Farm comments that “*Aktion Agrar* makes urgent and complex agrarian politics tangible and visible through creative actions” and Georg Dürmuth, baker in Mainz explains that “nowadays agrarian politics is often made against people and nature” [Website *Aktion Agrar*²⁴]. The first statement addresses the difficulty of understanding food politics due to its complexities and also highlights the question of invisibility of agrarian and food issues in a broader political arena and discourse of socio-ecological transformation. The second statement makes it more concrete and critiques that the current food system and its politics are harmful for people and nature and therefore neither sustainable nor democratic or just.

STIMMEN ZU AKTION AGRAR



Ottmar Ilchmann, Milchbauer aus Niedersachsen

"Aktion Agrar finde ich wichtig, weil wir Milchbauern gesellschaftliche Anerkennung und Unterstützung im Kampf für unsere Höfe brauchen!"



Paula Gioia, Bäuerin aus Bienenwerder

"Aktion Agrar schafft es, durch kreative Aktionen dringende und komplizierte agrarpolitische Themen greifbar und sichtbar zu machen. Das ist ein wesentlicher Bauste



Georg Dürmuth, Bäcker aus Mainz

"Gerade als Bio-Bäcker ist es wichtig über den eigenen Blechrand zu schauen. Agrarpolitik wird heute oft gegen Mensch und Natur gemacht. Aktion Agrar ist hier ein



Frederik Schulze-Hamann, Vorstandsmitglied Slow Food Deutschland aus Blunk in Holstein und Berlin

"Diese öffentliche Stimme ist für all die bäuerlichen Betriebe, Lebensmittelhandwerker und Köche, die sich täglich für ein sauberes und gutes Lebensmittelsystem eng

Figure 7: Voices from *Aktion Agrar*. Different statements about political inequalities by citizens engaged in the campaigns and actions from *Aktion Agrar* [Reproduction Website *Aktion Agrar*].

Environmental Inequalities are also frequently addressed in the material. Claims both highlight the negative environmental impacts of the corporate food regime and demand a more ecological food system. Environmental preservation and protection lie at the heart of the claims identified here: the promotion of biodiversity, the reduction of pesticide use, and dissemination of agroecological practices. By focusing on environmentally sustainable methods of production, movements like *BUND* and *NABU* seek to reduce the negative impacts of industrial agriculture on the environment. “*BUND* is committed - for example - to organic farming and healthy food, climate protection and the expansion of renewable energies, the protection of endangered species, forests and water. It is one of the largest environmental organizations in Germany” [Website *BUND*²⁵].

24 <https://www.aktion-agrar.de/ueber-uns/>, accessed 27.12.2023.

25 <https://www.bund.net/ueber-uns/>, accessed 27.12.2023. Original: „Der *BUND* engagiert sich – zum Beispiel – für eine ökologische Landwirtschaft



Das globale Huhn
Die Folgen unserer Lust auf Fleisch

Mitglied der
act alliance

Brot
für die Welt

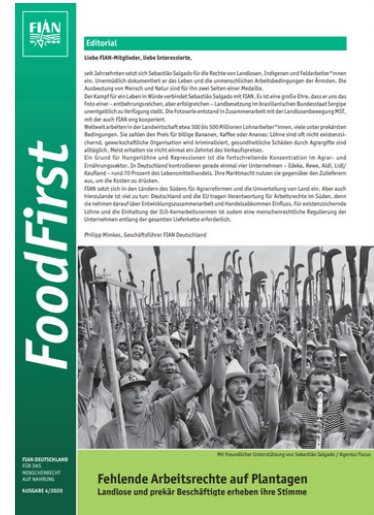


Figure 8:
Publications by Inkota, Brot für die Welt and FIAN: (a) chocolate with seal: buying with good conscience or label fraud²⁶; (b) the global chicken: consequences of our desire for meat²⁷; (c) Missing workers rights on plantations²⁸ [Reproduction Website Inkota, Brot für die Welt and FIAN]

Food movements address **structural economic inequalities** for food producers both in Germany and world-wide. On a global scale, many food movements advocate for fair trade contracts with producers in the global South, also highlighting the effects international commodity chains to global food justice. In Figure 8, one can see two publications by *Inkota* and *Brot für die Welt* which criticize intransparency and consequences of unequal food chains around the globe. They problematize the negative impacts for workers rights, consumer's health, and lack of fair trade principles in the current system and address social inequalities as one of the main structural dimensions. Economic inequalities are part of structural problems of the German food system for producers. There are claims for fair prices for farmers, and social recognition of the vital role peasants play in German society despite being such a small group. Food movements like *Neuland e.V.* focus on creating better market conditions for food producers, combating dumping prices driven by dominant retail players, and advocating for fair trade practices and wages from the farm to the plate: "The NEULAND quality meat programme is an association for products from sustainable livestock farming that is unique in Germany. The NEULAND value chain extends from the farmer to the shop counter [...] The price of meat must follow its value, not the other way round"²⁹. By addressing **economic inequalities**, food activists strive to ensure fairness for producers in the food system as well as promoting alternative food distribution systems. However, many actors in the data set focus mainly on economic sustainability for food producers, without considering broader aspects of social justice. In that way, strategies to benefit producers based on price, for example, might generate other inequalities, as not all consumers are able to pay the price of good healthy food, a narrative and strategy that

und gesunde Lebensmittel, für den Klimaschutz und den Ausbau regenerativer Energien, für den Schutz bedrohter Arten, des Waldes und des Wassers. Er ist einer der großen Umweltverbände in Deutschland."

26 <https://www.inkota.de/news/infoblatt-was-steckt-hinter-den-schokoladen-siegeln>, accessed 27.12.2023

27 <https://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/themen/haehnchenexport/>, accessed 27.12.2023

28 <https://www.fian.de/fian-download/download-publikationen/magazin-foodfirst/>, accessed 27.12.2023

29 <https://www.neuland-fleisch.de/neuland-uebersicht/vermarktung/>, accessed 05.01.2024. Original: „Das NEULAND-Qualitätsfleischprogramm ist ein in Deutschland einzigartiger arbeitsteiliger Vermarktungsverband für Produkte aus nachhaltiger Nutztierhaltung. Die NEULAND-Wertschöpfungskette erstreckt sich vom Landwirt bis hin zur Ladentheke [...] Der Preis von Fleisch muss seinem Wert folgen, nicht umgekehrt“.

also encode a cultural politics of food consumption activism that is class and racial blind. More recently, food activists in Germany became more aware of **economic inequalities** within the German food system regarding issues of unequal access to healthy and nutritious food. They defend initiatives such as social supermarkets, food sharing and food cooperatives that prioritize access to "good food for all" – an expression that has been added to many slogans, to emphasize the need to include those most marginalized by the food system – and try to implement more inclusive approaches to tackle food poverty in Germany as a class issue [Figure 9].

To recognize diverse knowledge(s) related to food and to question hegemonic systems of knowledge and power within the corporate food regime is a key aspect of food movements like *Bioland*. In Figure 9, one can see a slogan against genetic engineering and patents – one of the most dominant and powerful knowledge systems in global agriculture nowadays which maintains monopoly over seeds in the hands of a few influential corporations. These actors challenge this kind of **epistemological inequalities** and foster alternative seed exchange that makes visible other knowledges over plants and farming, based on commoning principles in society-nature food relations.



Figure 9: Slogan from the Bioland Website: “Genetic engineering and patents stay off our fields” [Reproduction Website Bioland³⁰] and poster from the We’re fed up! protest 2023 with the slogan ‘good food for all’ [Reproduction Website WHES³¹].

Preserving and recognizing culinary traditions are at the core of food movements like *Slow Food Deutschland* or *Die freien Bäcker*. These initiatives emphasize the importance of traditional national and local cuisines, celebrating local products, and adapting dishes to reflect the unique characteristics of specific regions. On the *Slow Food* Website it says: “food in the Slow Food sense should be produced in a traditional, artisanal way, in an environmentally friendly and resource-saving manner, free from genetically modified raw materials, flavourings and, with a few exceptions, free from additives”³². This also includes initiatives such as promoting the use of traditional crops, protecting food heritage, and supporting small-scale farmers and producers. However, **cultural inequalities** seem to be less relevant

30 <https://www.bioland.de/verbraucher>, accessed 05.01.2024

31 <https://www.wir-haben-es-satt.de/informieren/rueckblick/demo-2023>, accessed 27.05.2024

32 <https://www.slowfood.de/was-wir-tun/vielfalt/lebensmittelqualitaet>, accessed 05.01.2024. Original: Ein Lebensmittel im Slow-Food-Sinne sollte in traditionell handwerklicher Art sowie umwelt- und ressourcenschonend hergestellt sein, frei von gentechnisch veränderten Rohstoffen, Aromastoffen und bis auf wenige Ausnahmen frei von Zusatzstoffen.

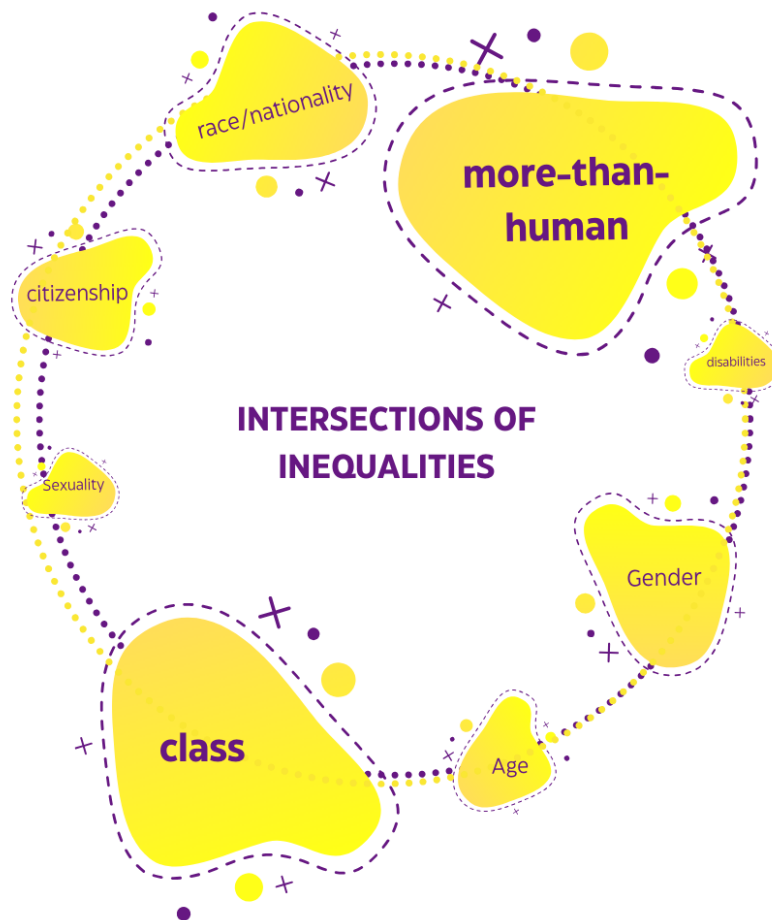
then other dimensions of inequalities in Germany.

Overall, food movements in Germany are working to address a wide range of structural inequalities within the food system in Germany, with a particular focus on political, environmental, and socio-economic structural forces. The multidimensionality of these demands and a growing awareness for their interdependencies can be seen in coalition agendas for structural socio-ecological transformation[s].

◆ 3.5 Axes of intersectional food inequalities

Food movements in Germany also address how specific categories of groups are more affected by multidimensional food inequalities, and this often happens in intersectional ways. Considering as isolated categories, there is a clear predominance of claims dealing with inequalities experienced as **class groups** and **more-than-human species** (Figure 10). Considering historical developments and the already described lines of dispute in current food politics in Germany, this result reflects for examples the struggles for landownership for younger generations, and debates around animal welfare and veganism.

Figure 10: Relative frequency of intersections of inequalities addressed by food movements in Germany (N=164) [elaboration Zentgraf].



Class inequalities are a target of food movements like *Agrarbündnis* and *AbL*. These movements emphasize the recognition of peasants as important actors in society and how these are particularly affected by the dominant agrarian policies, namely, systemic inequalities such as land prices, bad working conditions, economic

difficulties. They demand fair prices for those who produce food. The lack of access to affordable land affects particularly the youth, who would like to start their own small food production unit and does not see a perspective, showing an intersection between class and generation in German agrarian system.

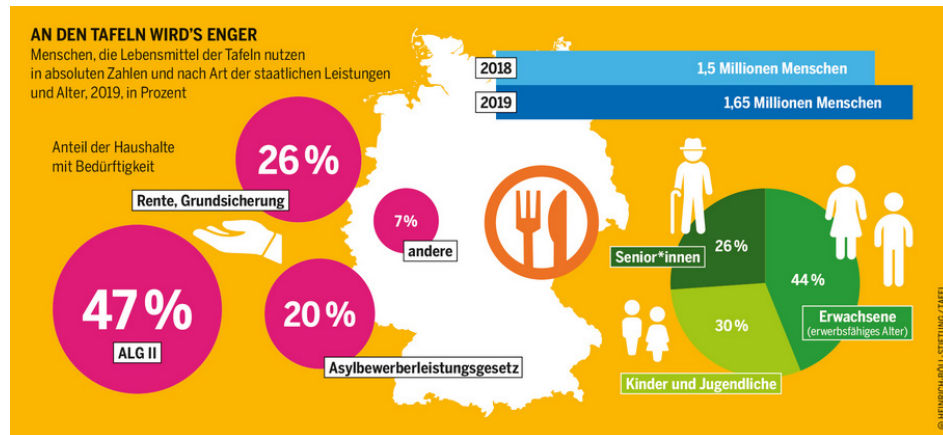


Figure 11:
People using food banks from Tafel Deutschland in 2019 [Heinrich-Böll/Tafel: Holdinghausen/Stockmar, CC BY 4.0³³]

Further, initiatives like *Die Tafel Deutschland* and *Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung* attempt to bring in the perspectives of the most marginalized classes of consumers when it comes to the question of who has access to high quality food. They are criticizing the lack of state interventions who incorporate the perspective and realities of those who are economically disadvantaged to buy food and need to go to food banks as one can see in Figure 11.

More-than-human entities and beings are very well represented by food movements in Germany. By promoting ethics of care, food activists prioritize just and respectful relationships with farm animals, insects, soil and water. “In the ‘cycle of life’, protecting our soils as the basis of all existence is one of our most important tasks”³⁴ says a member of *Bioboden Bodengenossenschaft*. There is a variety of imaginaries regarding the role of animals in food systems: some activists oppose to intensive livestock farming practices but still advocate for animal farms as part of a small-scale farming model, recognizing the interconnectedness of ecosystems and the importance of ethical treatment of animals within the food system. *ProVieh* explains “the most important thing for us is the understanding of farm animals as intelligent and sentient creatures with species-specific needs and behaviour. [We are] committed to species-appropriate and respectful animal husbandry that is orientated towards the needs of farm animals instead of treating them as mere production units” [Website *ProVieh*³⁵]. Others are completely against animal

33 <https://www.boell.de/de/2021/09/15/ernaehrungsarmut-wer-schlecht-isst-ist-nicht-selber-schuld>

34 <https://bioboden.de/startseite/>, accessed 05.01.2024. Original: Im ‚Kreislauf des Lebens‘ gehört der Schutz unserer Böden als Basis aller Existenz zu unseren vornehmsten Aufgaben.

35 <https://www.provieh.de/>, accessed 05.01.2024. Original: Das Wichtigste für uns ist das Verständnis von Nutztieren als intelligente und fühlende

farming and promote veganism as a basis for ethical lifestyles and co-habiting the planet with more-than-human entities.

Far less addressed are **gender inequalities**. Some food movements call attention to how women are specifically affected by inequalities in the food system, such as *Aktion gegen den Hunger Deutschland*, *FIAN* and *INKOTA*. They denounce sexism and sexist violence against women in agriculture and advocate against gender pay gaps in food production. Recently, debates about the valorization of care work connected to gendered divisions of food-related work are coming to the fore; however, they are often addressed in contexts of malnutrition or exploitation of women and girls in the so-called Global South and not necessarily in Germany. *FIAN* writes about the intersection between gender and rurality: “unbelievable but true: 50 per cent of the world’s hungry people are smallholder farmers. Hunger is rural. And hunger is female. 70 per cent of the hungry are women and girls” [Website *FIAN*³⁶]. Related to the German context, the *Deutsche LandFrauenverband [DLV]*, the German Association of Rural Women, addresses the unique challenges faced by female farmers and agricultural workers, such as their visibility as food producers and owners of production units, showing an intersection of gender and rurality.

*In the view of the DLV, de facto joint farm management must also be recorded in agricultural statistics in the future. Even if the household and family are still largely in the hands of women, many see themselves as [co-]entrepreneurs and in many cases also contribute their labor. At the same time, however, this does not mean that women are also legally involved in the business. Only 11% of respondents own the entire business [Website *DLV*³⁷]*

There is only one movement which is organized around the political subject that emerges from the **intersections of categories of gender, sexuality and rurality** with a **queer/LGBTQI+** identity: *Emanzipatorisches Landwirtschaftsnetzwerk*.

Since 2019, we are an open association of queer and FLINTA people [women, lesbian, inter, non-binary, trans,*] of different ages from all kinds of agricultural backgrounds. We are not okay with the current situation for all of us, we ask ourselves questions and feel the need to come together. We want to deal with queer-feminist issues in agriculture, we want to get to know each other and above all exchange ideas, forge ideas together, learn practical things from each other, empower each other [...] [Website *Emanzipatorisches Landwirtschaftsnetzwerk*³⁸]*

When it comes to **inequalities based on race/ethnicity**, there are even more blind spots in the food movements agendas in Germany. Only some actors, like *Nyelendi.de*, combat racism and discrimination explicitly – often based on nationality in the German context – and put this on the top of their agenda. Due to several

Lebewesen mit arteigenen Bedürfnissen und Verhaltensweisen. Deshalb setzt PROVIEH sich für eine artgemäße und wertschätzende Tierhaltung ein, die an den Bedürfnissen der Nutztiere ausgerichtet wird, anstatt sie als bloße Produktionseinheiten zu behandeln.

36 <https://www.fian.de/was-wir-machen/themen/kleinbauernrechte/>, accessed 22.11.2023. Original: Unglaublich aber wahr: 50 Prozent der weltweit Hungernden sind Kleinbäuerinnen und Kleinbauern. Hunger ist ländlich. Und Hunger ist weiblich. 70 Prozent der Hungernden sind Frauen und Mädchen.

37 <https://www.landfrauen.info/themen/landfrauen-und-landwirtschaft/detail/mehr-wertschaetzung-und-foerderung-von-frauen-auf-den-hoefen>, accessed 06.01.2024. Original: Aus Sicht des dlw muss die faktische gemeinsame Betriebsführung zukünftig auch in der Agrarstatistik erfasst werden. Denn auch wenn Haushalt und Familie zum Großteil weiterhin in Frauenhand liegen, verstehen sich viele als [Mit-]Unternehmerinnen und bringen in vielen Fällen auch ihre Arbeitskraft mit ein. Gleichzeitig bedeutet das aber nicht, dass die Frauen auch rechtlich am Betrieb beteiligt sind. Denn nur 11 % der Befragten gehört der gesamte Betrieb.

38 <https://elannetzwerk.wordpress.com/>, accessed 22.11.2023.

scandals during the Covid-19 Pandemic, poor working conditions of seasonal migrant workers and workers from the meat industry became part of public discourse [Küppers, 2021]. Before, racial inequalities were most often discussed in relation to fair treatment and equal rights for workers in the global peripheries. Often, non-European – and often, non-white – racialized groups experience particular forms of exclusions due to their citizenship status. Thus, there is an **intersection between citizenship and racial inequalities**. Initiatives like *INKOTA* and *Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte* [Network of Food Policy Councils] emphasize the right of every citizen to shape the future of our food system[s]. The *Berliner Ernährungsrat* [Food Policy Council] which is part of the *Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte* organized the event “Everyone at the table”³⁹, which they explain as such: “Berlin’s food system is characterized by the vibrant food craftsmanship of migrant communities and a diverse food supply that appeals to many different food cultures. [...] At the same time, the various migrant communities have so far been poorly represented in the initiatives and organizations working towards a change in food politics” [Website Berliner Ernährungsrat⁴⁰]. They clearly address the lack of basic citizenship rights for many groups of the population which are excluded to participate actively in a food democracy such as migrant communities, people suffering from food poverty or with no access to land or worker’s rights such as seasonal (migrant) workers. Instead of only problematizing socio-economic and class struggles; food insecurity, poverty, and lack of access to healthy and nutritious food, these movements rather concentrate on the actor’s perspective and try to empower migrant communities to stand up for their right to food and to actively participate in shaping food policies as a citizen in Germany. Citizenship inequalities are often perceived as strongly interrelated with inequalities of class and race/ethnicity, creating a vicious spiral of subalternity and silence.

Sometimes connected to new climate movements which address **intergenerational inequalities** frequently, food movements also organize against **generational inequalities**. With their agenda to ensure a „Healthy Future for All Generations“, food activists from the *Bündnis für eine enkeltaugliche Landwirtschaft*, center their efforts on intergenerational equity and emphasize sustainable practices that safeguard the well-being of both people and the planet. These movements especially consider the long-term impacts of the food system on younger and future generations. In recent years, there have been new mobilizations of young activists in several movements such as *junge AbL*, *junges Bioland*, *Slow Food Youth*, *Junge LandFrauen*, etc. which needed a new room to address specific needs and demands from their perspective when it comes to generationl justice due to the climate crisis, access to land, and resources and others.

Food movements also address **other intersecting inequalities**, such as those affecting people with disabilities, religious minorities, specific dietary needs and challenges posed by right-wing extremism and Neo-Nazism. Looking at their

39 <http://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/zugang-zu-gutem-essen-fuer-alle/>, accessed 02.01.2024

40 <https://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/lets-grow-diversitat-und-empowerment-im-berliner-ernaehrungssystem/>, accessed 02.01.2024. Original: „Das Berliner Ernährungssystem zeichnet sich durch ein lebendiges Lebensmittelhandwerk der migrantischen Gemeinschaften und einer vielfältigen Lebensmittelversorgung aus, die sehr viele verschiedene Esskulturen anspricht. Zugleich sind die verschiedenen migrantischen Gemeinschaften in den Initiativen und Organisationen, die sich für eine Ernährungswende einsetzen, bisher nur wenig repräsentiert.“

agendas, several food movements strive for more inclusivity recently – focusing on different categories – and work towards dismantling barriers that perpetuate discrimination and marginalization. An example is the statement from the *Gen-ethisches Netzwerk*: “we are committed to combating racism, ableism and global inequality. Our perspective is always an intersectional feminist one. We question health ideals, police-state promises of security and the agribusiness industry’s promises of solutions”⁴¹.

3.6 Spatiality – rural and urban spaces of mobilization

Food movements recognize the distinct dynamics and challenges faced in **urban, rural and urban-rural areas**. Most food movements in this mapping aim to bridge the gap between urban and rural regions, fostering connections and creating opportunities for collaboration [Figure 12]. Several movements primarily focus on rural areas as spaces of mobilization and transformation, and a few concentrate their efforts in urban spaces. It is important to highlight the diversity of urban and rural spaces in Germany, and the heterogeneity of agrarian and urban contexts of mobilization within Germany.

Figure 12: Rural and urban spaces of mobilization addressed by the movements (N=100) [elaboration Zentgraf].



41 <https://www.gen-ethisches-netzwerk.de/ueber-uns>, accessed 05.01.2024. Original: Wir engagieren uns im Zuge dessen gegen Rassismus, Behindertenfeindlichkeit und globale Ungleichheit. Unsere Perspektive ist stets eine intersektional-feministische. Wir hinterfragen Gesundheitsideale, polizeistaatliche Sicherheitsversprechen und die Lösungsversprechen der Agrarindustrie.

Urban-rural spatiality, exemplified by *Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft* and *Marktschwärmer*, seeks to reestablish connections between cities and countryside and to create relationships based on solidarity between producers and consumers. They involve direct marketing models, such as Community Supported Agriculture [CSA], where consumers support farmers and have access to locally produced, high quality, ecological food. By establishing these direct links, urban and rural areas can mutually benefit from sustainable food production and consumption practices. “At Marktschwärmer, your purchase only has to travel an average of 40 km before it ends up on your plate” [Website Marktschwärmer⁴²]



Figure 13: Two illustrations from the websites to visualize spatiality: (a) figure which shows the 40km radius of the food purchased at *Marktschwärmer*; (b) documentation of the DLV project which encouraged women to set up a business in rural areas [Reproduction Websites *Marktschwärmer*, *DLV*⁴³]

Food movements coded in the **spatial category rural** aim to improve living and working conditions in rural areas. This is the case of the *DLV*, which brings together women living in these areas, some being farmers or food producers, advocating for fair prices, access to resources, infrastructure and support, and the preservation of rural traditions and livelihoods.

Movements coded in the **spatial category urban** primarily operate and tailor their strategies and actions to metropolitan areas and medium and big German cities. Movements in this category aim to transform the urban food system by promoting sustainable and equitable practices within diverse urban landscapes and communities. They advocate for urban agriculture, community gardens, and initiatives that increase access to healthy and affordable food in urban environments. A quite successful strategy – also incorporated in the repertoire of actions of many food councils from the *Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte* – is the concept of ‘edible city’. “As part of their work on the vision of edible and green cities in the Ruhr region, the Essen, Bochum and Dortmund Food Councils have created the idea of a string of pearls of „edible snacking places“ along the RS1, Emscher-Weg and RuhrtalRadweg cycle paths” [Website Netzwerk Ernährungsräte⁴⁴].

42 <https://marktschwaermer.de/de>, accessed 06.01.2024. Original: Bei Marktschwärmer legt Dein Einkauf durchschnittlich nur 40 km zurück, bis er auf Deinem Teller landet.
 43 <https://www.landfrauen.info/projekte/abgeschlossene-projekte/selbst-ist-die-frau>; <https://marktschwaermer.de/de>, accessed 06.01.2024.
 44 <https://ernaehrungsraete.org/2022/12/06/gruendung-des-ernaehrungsraetenetzwerk-nrw/>, accessed 06.01.2024. Original: Die Ernährungsräte

Most food movements recognize the importance of addressing both urban and rural contexts to enhance socio-ecological transformations in food systems. The predominance of urban-rural spatiality shows that most actors defend systemic approaches, while acknowledging the specific characteristics, challenges and possibilities of urban and rural settings. Such linkages in food movements do not mean that context-specifics for different local and regional areas are ignored; rather these are understood also as part of a bigger food system. This also helps knowledge and social innovations to travel across different contexts, encouraging exchange and adaptation without losing situatedness since there are also enormous differences between rural and urban landscapes *per se*.

◆ 3.7 Targeting different phases of the food system

Following Goody’s approach [1982], the targeted five phases of the food system – production, distribution, preparation, consumption, and waste – were mapped. Figure 14 shows that most activists focus their actions in the stages of **production** and **consumption**, the last stage of **waste** is clearly underrepresented in the strategies and actions of the mapping. The examples are only to illustrate the different stages and do not represent all actors mapped in each category.



Figure 14: Five phases of the food system as spheres of action (N=168) [elaboration Zentgraf].

Food movements targeting the **phase of production** focus on agricultural practices; they advocate for sustainable and regenerative farming methods, organic certification, and the preservation of biodiversity, as does *Demeter*. Many of them work towards environmentally friendly food production techniques that promote soil health, and ensures the long-term viability of agriculture and animal farming.

Essen, Bochum und Dortmund haben im Rahmen ihrer Arbeit an der Vision von essbaren und grünen Städten im Ruhrgebiet mit dem „Schlaraffenband“ die Idee einer Perlenkette aus »essbaren Naschplätzen« entlang der Radwege RS1, Emscher-Weg und RuhrtalRadweg, geschaffen.

Due to many peasants', farmer's and other food producer's movements in the data set, it is not surprising that the stage of production is the most represented. Nevertheless, many peasant and agroecological movements also tackle the consumption stage, since production and consumption are strongly interrelated.

The second stage within the food system which was most targeted by food movements, like *Deutsches Netzwerk für Schulverpflegung [DNSV]*, was **consumption**. This movement works to improve the quality of food consumption for pupils: "school catering is a social pivot. School catering always works when the canteen is an integral part of the school and is not seen as an annoying new appendage. [...] There are still many schools that are unable to provide a satisfactory range of break or lunchtime meals" [Website DNSV⁴⁵]. Other movements in this category work towards healthier consumption patterns in kindergardens and public/private canteens as one of their main strategies for a transformation of the food system. They advocate for nutritious shared meals, food education, and initiatives that foster a positive food culture within educational institutions, company canteens, community kitchens and private homes.

The phase of **distribution and preparation** were almost evenly targeted. Preparation-focused food movements, such as *Die freien Bäcker*, emphasize the importance of artisanal and traditional food preparation methods, supporting local craftsmanship, and promoting healthy and sustainable food choices. These movements aim to preserve cultural and culinary heritage while advocating for environmentally sustainable practices in food preparation.

Figure 15: On the Website from *Die freien Bäcker* one finds this illustration about the different claims connected to regional, faire and manual bread production [Reproduction Website *Die freien Bäcker*⁴⁶].



45 <https://www.dnsv.eu/philosophie>, accessed 06.01.2024.
 46 <https://www.die-freien-baecker.de/>, accessed 05.01.2024.

Distribution-focused food movements, exemplified by organizations like *Welthungerhilfe*, primarily concentrate on the issues of distribution and access to food. They advocate for global justice and food security. However, their strategies and actions can be categorized by a reformist logic of the food system and have a development aid orientation, which is important to solve immediate problems of hunger, but the challenge lies in combining them with more political actions to tackle structural causes of hunger at first place [Holt-Giménez/Shattuck, 2011].

Movements targeting the last phase of the food system work to reduce **food waste**, for example, by collecting surplus food from various sources and redistributing it to those in need such as *Die Tafel*. They often strive to improve access to nutritious food for marginalized communities, tackling food insecurity and poverty and addressing inequalities in food consumption. Food waste seem to be less relevant among the food activists in this mapping which is quite unfortunate, since around 11 million tonnes of food waste are generated every year in Germany. The few waste-focused food movements, such as *Foodsharing*, aim to reduce food waste by connecting individuals, businesses, and organizations to share surplus food that would otherwise go to waste. These movements have the potential to promote community-building and raise awareness about the environmental and social impacts of food waste. The phases of **waste and distribution** are closely connected, since some of the food saved by activists from *Foodsharing* goes to distribution hubs or projects organized by consumption-focused food movements such as *Yeşil Çember*.

◆ 3.8 Targeted spheres of socio-ecological transformation

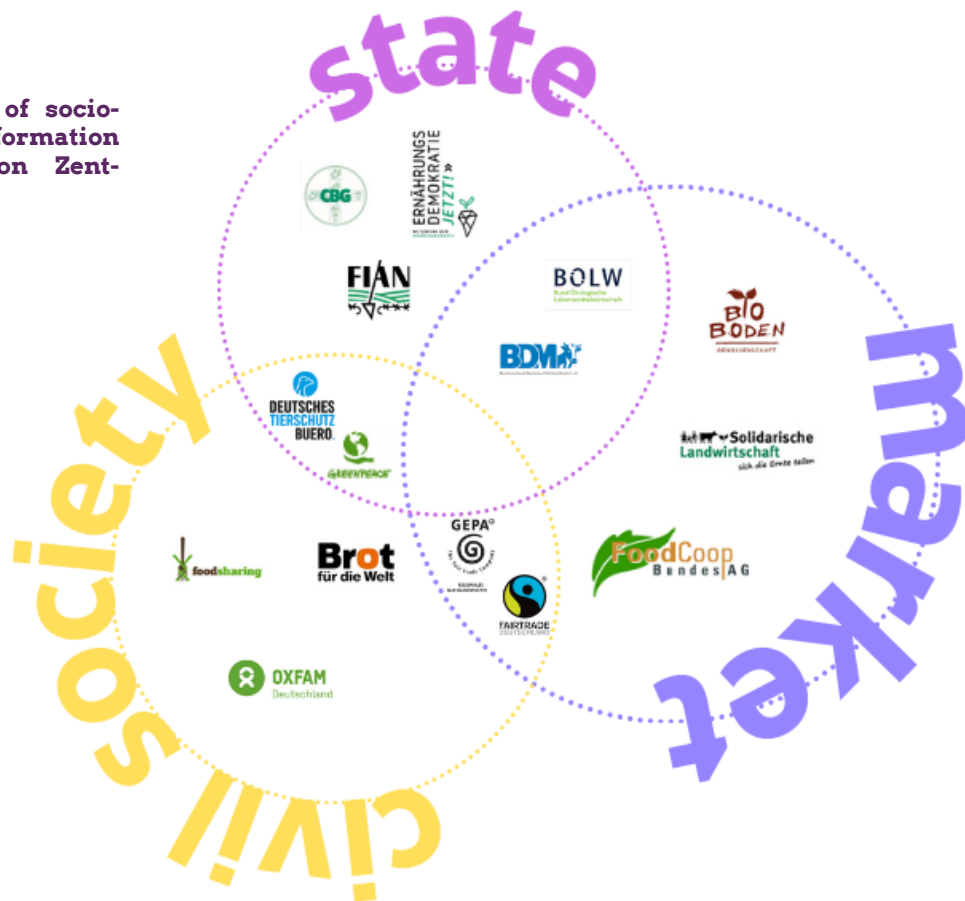
Food movements might choose to focus on specific spheres for promoting social change: market(s), state, and civil society. There is a relative balance between these three spheres addressed by the different actors of this mapping. Figure 16 shows the frequency and some examples for each category. There is a slight majority of food movements that orient their strategies and actions towards the market sphere in comparison to civil society and state.

Food movements **targeting the market**, such as *Bioboden Genossenschaft*, *Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft* and *Foodcoop*, aim to change market dynamics to support small and circular economies embedded in the local contexts and regional circumstances. An example is “food cooperatives, or „food coops“ for short, as a practical approach to food sovereignty. [We say] work instead of money: buying in bulk together lowers the price. [...] The members do the ordering, sorting and invoicing. From customer to participant - it's different from the supermarket” [Website Foodcoops⁴⁷]. The movements in this category often form associations or cooperatives that establish better conditions for small-scale farmers, enabling

47 <https://www.foodcoops.de/>, accessed 05.01.2024. Original: Die Lebensmittel-Kooperativen kurz „Foodcoops“ sind ein praktischer Ansatz zur Ernährungssouveränität. [...] Arbeit statt Geld: Der gemeinsame Großeinkauf senkt den Preis. [...] Bestellen, einsortieren, abrechnen übernehmen die Mitglieder. Vom Kunden/in zur/m Teilhabenden – das ist anders als im Supermarkt.

them to compete with larger players of industrial agriculture. They promote fair trade practices, organic certifications, and consumer education to foster a market that values sustainable and ethically produced food. Nevertheless, many of these movements still operate within neoliberal capitalist market logics and, therefore, have a limited transformative potential in creating alternative economies.

Figure 16:
Targeted spheres of socio-ecological transformation (N=122) [elaboration Zentgraf].



Many food movements in Germany operate with counter-hegemonic discourses and thus target the **civil society** when they promote alternative values associated to food, such as respect for the environment, for animals, the visibility of peasant agriculture, and denounces of the corporate food regime. Some food movements, such as the *Sarah Wiener Stiftung* and *Brot für die Welt*, seek to engage civil society directly in concrete actions in the food system, including education campaigns, donations, and collaborations. The lema of donation for self-help by *Brot für die Welt* exemplifies the idea of an engaged civil society which helps herself and others to transform and change the world to the better [Figure 17]. In this case, this idea of philanthropy is clearly linked to food insecurity in the Global South and focuses more on the dimension of global food justice. If this type of action is a way of implementing structural change and provide food security and sovereignty for marginalized communities has been questioned by many scholars [Akhter, 2011; Agarwal, 2014].



Figure 17:
Three donation types (one-time donation, supporting membership, godparenthood) at Brot für die Welt: “Many ways can help” With your donation you can help projects and give help for self-help” [Reproduction Website Brot für die Welt⁴⁸]

The sphere of the **state** is bit less addressed which reflects the strength of the market in the corporate food regime and might also be a sign of certain criticism and skepticism towards the state as a powerful actor for implementing structural transformations in food politics. Food movements that target the **state sphere**, like *Save our Seeds* and *Coordination gegen BAYER-Gefahren (CBG)* choose to transform food policies and regulations at the governmental level. These movements engage in advocacy efforts, challenging politicians and policymakers to curb corporate power and create a more democratic, just, and fair food system. In the case of *CBG*, they criticize the strong influence of Bayer lobbyism of German in EU politics: “Since the 1920s the company has financed German political parties and has formed business associations in order to increase its influence on politics and the media. Several of Bayer’s managers became ministers in German governments” [Website *CBG*⁴⁹]. They denounce political, social, citizenship and class inequalities on a national and global scale.

3.9 Trends of food movements

When organizing the entries of the mapping along the three different axes reformist, progressive and radical of the *food regime/food movements model* by Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck [2011], it is not surprising that the majority of active food movements in Germany are situated along the progressive trend.

The eclectic ‘model’ for the progressive development of the food system focuses on local foodsheds [Kloppenburg 1996, Meter 2010], family farming and ‘good, clean and fair’ food [Petrini 2005] with a strong representation from urban agriculture and direct rural-urban linkages, e.g. farmers markets and forms of Community Supported Agriculture [CSAs] [Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck, 2011: 125].

48 https://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/spenden/allgemein/?pi=BW0YSE-02.02&p=F-BW00236s=90&utm_campaign=bfdw-cash%20%7C%20search%20%7C%20brand%20%7C%20spenden%20%7C%202023&utm_medium=cpc&utm_source=google&gad_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCQiA-keSsBhDUARIsAK3tiefu403wn1BooDjLa77gt_Mzp_bzDFSR4DwJJ5qPYIHvzV_4WoIuoywaArH7EALw_wcB, accessed 05.01.2024

49 <https://www.cbgnetwork.org/271.html>, accessed 05.01.2024

Examples from the mapping for the **progressive trend** are *Netzwerk für Ernährungsräte*, *Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft*, and *Food Coops*. The relation between consumers and producers in the German Network of CSA is described as “an association of farms or market gardens with a group of private households. Producers and consumers form an economic community that is tailored to people’s needs and takes account of the environment, nature and animals” [Website Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft⁵⁰]. As stated before, progressive food activists engaged in international alliances of food movements are important agents of change which advocate for food justice, often combined with other concepts such as food democracy and meal sovereignty [Brückner, 2020]. In the German case, many of the progressive movements have a local focus; their actions are not so much targeting global challenges. Their strategies and practices address food inequalities in the national or regional food system and foster new forms of food relations by creating urban and rural connections and (re-)connecting producers and consumers [Patel, 2010; Pimbert, 2017].



Figure 18: Illustration of the different trends identified in the mapping with three food movements with a more progressive, reformist or radical characteristic. The intersection of the different trends is represented by the overlapping of the circles [elaboration Zentgraf].

As one can see in Figure 18, the more **radical claim** of food sovereignty is present in Germany in the AbL, which is part of the transnational peasant movement *La Via Campesina*, from which the master discourse on food sovereignty emerged, and also the *Nyéleni.de* movement: “since mid-2014, there has been a group in

50 <https://www.solidarische-landwirtschaft.org/das-konzept/was-ist-solawi>, accessed 12.12.2023. Original: „handelt es sich dabei um einen Zusammenschluss von landwirtschaftlichen Betrieben oder Gärtnereien mit einer Gruppe privater Haushalte. Erzeugende und Verbrauchende bilden eine Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft, welche auf die Bedürfnisse der Menschen abgestimmt ist und die Mitwelt, Natur und Tiere berücksichtigt“.

German-speaking countries that works activistically on food sovereignty and sees itself as part of the Nyéléni movement” [Website Nyéléni.de⁵¹]. They are a good example for the more radical trend of global food movements which seeks a structural transformation of agriculture and food which finally means a transformation of society itself [Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck, 2011: 128].

We are committed to self-determined, ecologically sustainable and socially just agriculture and good food for all. We are concerned with the democratization of our food system. To this end, we rely on the holistic concept of agroecology. We want to take the design of our food and agricultural system back into our own hands - on the basis of solidarity between people in the countryside and in the cities. Our aim is to bring about a broad socio-ecological change by changing the food and agricultural system. An essential part of our lively resistance is the development and strengthening of self-determined and solidarity-based economic and living practices for a communal alternative to capitalism [Website Nyéléni.de⁵²].

Eventhough there are several movements in the mapping which were classified as radical, this trend is clearly a minority when compared to progressive but also to reformist. An example for the food security discourse of the **reformist trend** is the *Deutsche Welthungerhilfe*: “Welthungerhilfe is helping to end hunger: „Zero Hunger wherever we work“ - that is our goal” [Website Welthungerhilfe⁵³]. It becomes clear in this statement that there is a recognition of the unequal access to food and their goal is to change the food system via the guarantee of food security. Nevertheless, this reformist position does not tackle necessarily the structural causes of hunger, it focuses its strategies and action to help those more affected by it, thus amounting to a reform instead of radical transformation.

Furthermore, it is important to understand that neither reformist nor progressive actors mapped here can be automatically situated with the German politically left or a capitalist-critical position. Both trends include food movements on the left and the right of the political scale and operate within neoliberal market structures - but what they have in common (despite all the criticisms and differences) is that they recognise the state as an important actor and defend basic democratic principles. This is the case, for example, with agricultural subsidies; although organisations such as the reformist *Deutscher Bauernverband* and the radical *Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft* have different ideas about how subsidies and state regulation should change, neither initiative is in favour of a completely unregulated market economy as in the neoliberal trend of Holt-Guiménez & Shattuck [2011].

51 <https://nyeleni.de/nyeleni-geschichte/>, accessed 12.12.2023. Original: „Seit Mitte 2014 gibt es im deutschsprachigen Raum eine Gruppe, die aktivistisch zu Ernährungssouveränität arbeitet und sich als Teil der Nyéléni-Bewegung versteht“.

52 <https://nyeleni.de/selbstverstaendnis-von-nyeleni-de/>, accessed 12.12.2023. Original: „Wir setzen uns für eine selbstbestimmte, ökologisch zukunftsfähige und sozial gerechte Landwirtschaft sowie für gutes Essen für alle ein. Es geht uns um die Demokratisierung unseres Ernährungssystems. Dazu setzen wir auf das ganzheitliche Konzept der Agrarökologie. Wir wollen die Gestaltung unseres Lebensmittel- und Agrarsystems wieder selbst in die Hand nehmen - auf Basis einer solidarischen Verbindung von Menschen auf dem Land und in den Städten. Unser Ziel ist es über die Veränderung des Lebensmittel- und Agrarsystems einen breiten sozial-ökologischen Wandel herbeizuführen. Ein wesentlicher Teil unseres lebendigen Widerstandes sind der Aufbau und die Stärkung von selbstbestimmten und solidarischen Wirtschafts- und Lebensweisen für eine gemeinschaftliche Alternative zum Kapitalismus.“

53 <https://www.welthungerhilfe.de/informieren>, accessed 12.12.2023. Original: „Die Welthungerhilfe trägt zur Beendigung des Hungers bei: „Zero Hunger wherever we work“ - so lautet unser Ziel.“.



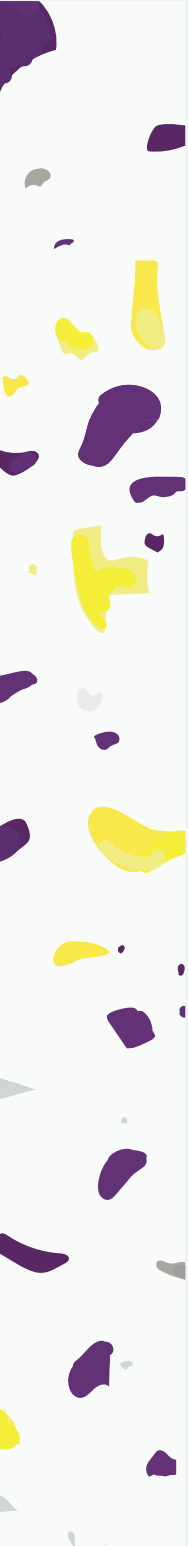
4 | Food movements and food politics in Germany

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The majority of food movements were classified in the progressive and reformist trend and advocate more for food security and food justice than for food sovereignty. This tendency of more moderate mobilization in the field of food and agriculture shows the challenges for a more radical system change. Collectively, this mapping shows a landscape of diverse **types of food movements, focusing on many topics and agendas** to shape a socio-ecological transformation of the food system. However, one should not conclude that this aggregate picture of social mobilization over food and agriculture points to a convergence and romanticize alliances and common agendas. Between these heterogeneous food movements there are constant negotiations of power, struggles and visibility as well as instances of coalition and solidarity. They challenge the status quo of the corporate food regime and its actors, but there are also internal power hierarchies and structures within the net of food movements.

The findings regarding the year of foundation of movements give information about shifts in political agendas for agrarian and food change over time. As shown in the historical reconstruction of the contexts in which social mobilization emerged in the country, agrarian and food policies in Germany are influenced by various factors, including domestic policies, EU regulations, market dynamics and societal concerns. Figure 1 and Figure 3 illustrate the variety of **agendas and different historical waves of mobilization**. There are not always common agendas; often, there is divergence of goals, which can lead to conflicts. We have argued that conflicts between [1] environmental protection vs. large-scale conventional agricultural production, [2] meat consumption vs. animal welfare/veganism, and [3] global market competition and dependency vs. local resilience shape the contemporary landscape of agricultural and food mobilisation and politics in Germany.

Within the realm of food movements, various **organizational structures** play a vital role in advancing collective action to promote social change. The clear domination of **associations** in the German landscape of food activism brings also challenges such as the **difficult long-term commitment of volunteer activists** who are unable to maintain the same capacity on an ongoing basis alongside their professional and private commitments. Many grass-roots movements are struggling due to a lack of paid staff, as long-term structures are often not guaranteed. Project funding is often necessary for financing, which only allows for **topic-specific ac-**



tions and offers little long-term planning security. With more professionalisation, however, obstacles and mechanisms of exclusion often arise as challenges, such as high membership fees, etc.

Overall, food movements in Germany address a wide range of **structural and intersectional inequalities** within food systems. On a structural level, especially **environmental and political inequalities** are most frequently at the core of the food movements agendas which is little surprising when one looks into the history and emergence of alternative agriculture organizations in the 1970s and 1980s and their strong relations with environmental activism emerging in the same period as a reaction to the negative impacts of agrarian modernization policies. These two structural dimensions often affect mostly classes of small farmers and peasants and more-than human species.

These intersections of **environmental justice, class inequalities, and interspecies justice** in the discourses and actions of food movements in Germany are not only a reflection of historical development. In current food politics in Germany, this reflects one of the mayor conflicts between **progressive food movements advocating for environmental protection** versus **reformist large-scale conventional farmer's organizations** which try to compete with global market prices production. Nevertheless, many food movements have been promoting climate resilient, sustainable and ecological farming methods to maintain soil fertility, water quality and biodiversity instead of industrial and extractivist practices. Further, claims for access to **landownership** for younger generations and the critiques to land concentration as well as heated debates around **animal welfare and veganism** as part of a healthier and interspecies just diet that also promote climate action shows the interplay of environmental and capitalist structures of domination in the current German food system. The protest against the devastation of arable land by the corporate food regime brings to the fore the interconnected **generational inequalities and justice claims** for a future of young food activists willing to transform the system very much in line with goals of **climate justice** movements.

Another line of divide relates to **interspecies food justice and small-scale peasantry**: between **family farmers** who understand livestock in smaller scale as part of their agricultural model and do not agree with **vegan activists'** demands for an animal-free food system. Another growing conflict is the question of how to reconcile the defence of the family farming model with the fight against **gender inequalities** in a patriarchal food system. These lines of conflict are negotiated and can be overcome in alliances such as the campaign "We are fed up!" but they also bring obstacles to a strong coalition between food movements in Germany.

Further, there is a growing commitment of many movements with **social justice** through the topic of **access to food**, using discourses such as food justice and the concept of "good food for all". However, more reformist movements direct their attention mostly to people and communities in the Global South. The recognition of structural economic inequalities in Germany – thinking of **food poverty** among low-income families – and no or little **worker's rights for seasonal migrant workers** in German fields and factories are relatively new to food movement's agendas




and concerns.

This can be explained also by **cultural inequalities** that often intersect with **racial categories, gender and citizenship status**. Among some of the recently emerged food movements, one can identify the aim of cultural inclusion, of seeing Germany as multicultural foodlandscape, including Arabic and Turkish, Vietnamese, etc, food cultures and practices and not only Italian and French cuisine. Nevertheless, a position of critical whiteness and the gendered dimension of food inequalities is still quite marginalized among most movements in the mapping.

Most food movements in this mapping recognize the importance of addressing both **urban and rural spaces** in the socio-ecological transformations of the current food systems. This shows that most actors foster the potential of systemic approaches that create more sustainable and just food relations through connecting urban and rural areas. By acknowledging the specific challenges and opportunities in urban and rural settings, these movements can contribute to creating more resilient and locally situated food systems which try to bring consumers and producers closer together again; e.g. Community-Supported Agriculture. Further, many movements focused on the rural sphere, being the main site of food production, as a relevant space for change. Eventhough, there might be a risk of pushing the responsibility of transformative action towards the rural spaces without recognizing the accountability of urban areas and its consumers for a shared collective action towards a fair, ecological and just food system. Overall, a political approach for change depends on mobilized citizens that address the state, and also establish solidarity relations across differences.

This links directly to the underrepresentation of tackling food waste among the analyzed movements. Eventhough the stages of the food system of **production and consumption** are more represented in the mapping, **food waste** – most of it produced in big cities – has a huge potential to contribute to more sustainable and resilient food systems. The prevention and recycling of food waste leads to an impediment of senseless loss of valuable resources and a different appreciation of food – the latter a central demand of many movements. Considering the preferred spheres targeted to promote social change, there is a slight majority of food movements that orient their strategies and actions towards the **market sphere** in comparison to civil society and state. This shows that food activists aim to generate concrete and direct reactions and alternatives to the **corporate food regime**. When not coupled with strategies that also address structural transformation, these forms of local alternatives reflect one of the weakness of being small islands of good food for few, operating within a broader landscape of neoliberal capitalist markets and falling into their logics of individual responsabilization and narratives of political consumption, therefore, not able to create completely alternative economies as stated in some of their strategies and agendas.

We expect that the more recent trends of **progressive, alternative food networks**, which focus on local circular food economies and practices and the **reformist, predominantly conservative farmer's protests**, will shape the debates and food activism in Germany in the upcoming years. The first will have to deal with issues of its



white privilege and middle-class membership and the question of inclusiveness to offer alternatives to everybody and not to an elitist group. The latter will have to fight against radical-right wing forces which seems to try to undermine these new farmer's mobilizations with anti-democratic values and populist and discriminatory rhetoric and practices.

Last, but not least, some **methodological reflexions** are important. The overall goal of this mapping – a methodological combination of qualitative content analysis and frequency analysis (Mayring & Fenzl, 2019, Saldaña, 2021) was to generate empirical data in a systematic way, organizing the content in order to form a broader picture with valuable insights into the characteristics, goals, and strategies of food movements in Germany. The analytical framework was elaborated in dialogue with theories and debates on socioecological transformations, agrarian and food studies on trends of reformist and radical change in food systems and food inequalities. Such a framework might be used as a starting point for organizing and interpreting data also from other parts of the world, with the adaptations necessary and further elaboration. Based on this analytical framework, the empirical results of this mapping exercise allowed us to identify patterns and gaps, such as the main dimensions and intersections of inequalities addressed by food movements, the spatiality of their agendas (urban-rural), the main targeted spheres (state, market, civil society) to promote change, and the stages of the food system that they focus on.

There are limitations and potentials of this mapping, as it can only reflect a moment in time, and should rather be an ongoing and collective exercise, in order to keep updated; new organizations will emerge and other organization will probably demobilize. We hope that this mapping can serve as a starting point for continuous elaborations, enabling researchers and practitioners to build a systematic analysis of the dynamics of food movements in Germany. An important next step would be participatory methods in co-production with the movements to yield more accurate self-classifications of their types, agendas, strategies of change. This working paper showed how German food movement's agendas and strategies address structural and intersectional food inequalities in Germany and in the world. More research with the activists and movements is needed to better understand the complex interplay of mobilization and transformation. This mapping is only a first step towards an overview of food activism in Germany.

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Appendix

Table 3
Codebook

<p>Juridical form of organization</p>	<p>union (Gewerkschaft): A union is an organized association or group of workers who come together to collectively represent and advocate for their rights and interests in the workplace. Unions typically negotiate with employers on behalf of their members to secure better working conditions, fair wages, benefits, job security, and other employment-related matters.</p>
	<p>association (Verein): a registered association with its own legal entity, providing certain benefits and obligations to the organization such as enter into contracts, own property, and take legal actions in its own name. To establish a „Verein“, a group of individuals with a common purpose or interest must draft and adopt a constitution that outlines the organization’s objectives, structure, and rules of operation. Members are generally not personally responsible for the association’s debts and legal obligations beyond their membership dues or contributions.</p>
	<p>stock company (Aktiengesellschaft): a stock company is a business organization where ownership is divided into shares of stock, which represent proportional ownership in the company. These shares can be bought and sold in public or private markets, allowing for the transfer of ownership without significantly affecting the company’s operations.</p>
	<p>cooperative (Genossenschaft): A cooperative, often referred to as a „co-op,“ is a type of business organization that is owned and operated by its members for their mutual benefit. Unlike traditional corporations, where ownership is typically determined by shares of stock and profits are distributed to shareholders, cooperatives are characterized by shared ownership and democratic control.</p>
	<p>foundation: a foundation (Stiftung) is characterised by having a permanent object (Zweck) and a need to have endowment property (Stiftungsvermögen). It can be established both as legal entity and as a sheltered foundation (Treuhandstiftung). It may pursue private [e.g. family foundation] or public benefit purposes [e.g. charitable purposes].</p>
	<p>others: non-profit company (gGmbH), start-ups, etc.</p>
<p>Dimension of inequalities (Motta, 2021a)</p>	<p>political: political goals are the main aspect of the claims, such as new political regulations for land ownership, or state subsidies for peasants, etc.</p>
	<p>economic: economic change/sustainability is the main aspect of the claims, such as better conditions on national and global markets for smaller farmers, no dumping-prices pushed by big players, etc.</p>
	<p>cultural: cultural preservation/recognition is the main aspect of the claims, such as traditions of national and local cuisine, local products and dishes adapted to the location, etc.</p>
	<p>environmental: environmental preservation and protection is the main aspect of the claims, such as promotion of biodiversity, small-scale production with less pesticides, agroecological forms of production, etc.</p>
	<p>social: social transformation/justice is the main aspect of the claims, such as fair-trade contracts with producers in the global South, fair payment and social recognition of the peasant’s role for society, etc.</p>
	<p>epistemological: epistemological transformation is the main aspect of the claims, such as recognize and share new/alternative knowledge about our food system, create access to knowledge for everyone, etc.</p>

Intersection of inequalities [Motta, 2021a]	gender: the main intersection of inequalities targetted by the FM is gender, against every form of sexism and sexist violence against women*, against gender pay gap in production, distribution and preparation, recognition of the care-work connected to gender and food, malnutrition among women/girls higher worldwide, etc.
	race/ethnicity: the main intersection of inequalities targetted by the FM is race/ethnicity, against every form of racism and discrimination because of your nationality, against bad conditions of plantation workers in the Global South and seasonal migrant workers in Germany.
	citizenship: the main intersection of inequalities targetted by the FM is citizenship, right of every citizen [producer and consumer] to decide over the future of our food system and to have access to the food they want to consume.
	more-than human species: the main intersection of inequalities targetted by the FM is more-than human species, especially just and respectful relation with farm animals, against intensive livestock farming, protection of insects.
	age: the main intersection of inequalities targetted by the FM is age, in other words, the focus is on intergenerational inequalities and the perspective of a good and healthy future for future generations.
	others: people from the „third world“, people with disabilities, sexual orientation, religion, right-wing extremism, Nazism.
Relational spatial units	urban: main sphere of actions and transformation is in a urban area [capitals and cities].
	rural: main sphere of actions and transformation is in a rural area [country side and very small cities].
	urban-rural: main sphere of actions and transformation is to bridge the urban and rural areas and to create connections, especial via direct marketing between producers and consumers.
Phases of the food system [Goody, 1982]	production: main sphere of action in the food system is production.
	distribution: main sphere of action in the food system is distribution.
	preparation: main sphere of action in the food system is preparation.
	consumption: main sphere of action in the food system is consumption.
Targeted sphere of social change	waste: main sphere of action in the food system is distribution.
	market: main goal is to change the market dynamics; one common practice are associations or cooperatives to establish better conditions for small/agroecological famers competing with big players.
	state: main goal is to change the food politics by challenging politicians, regulations and laws to create a more democratic, just and fair food system.
	civil society: main goal is to change the relation between civil society and our food system through education, donation, cooperations between different actors in the food sector.

Food movement trends (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011)	<p>Reformist: food movements in this trend advocate for food security. They are engaged in mild reforms to the food system through development aid, for example through an increase of social safety nets, consumer-driven niche markets, and voluntary, corporate responsibility mechanisms.</p>
	<p>Progressive: food movements in this trend advocate for food justice. They are focusing on local/alternative food system practices, such as Community Supported Agriculture. Their actions are directed at empowerment and investment in underserved communities through solidarity economies, regulated markets and supply and by fostering agroecologically produced local food.</p>
	<p>Radical: food movements in this trend advocate for food sovereignty. They have a more militant character and endorse national and international political advocacy for food sovereignty. Their actions are directed at entitlement and redistribution by dismantling the corporate agri-food system and its monopolization of power over land, water and knowledge.</p>

Table 4
All entries from the final data set.

Agrar Koordination & FIA e.V.	Die freien Bäcker e.V.	Netzwerk Biodynamische Bildung gGmbH
Agrarbündnis	Die Tafel Deutschland e.V.	Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte
Aktion Agrar – Landwende jetzt e.V.	die tierbefreier e.V.	Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft e.V.
Aktion gegen den Hunger Deutschland	Ecoland e.V. – Verband für ökologische Land- und Ernährungswirtschaft	Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte
Animal Equality	ECOVIN BUNDESVERBAND ÖKOLOGISCHER WEINBAU e.V.	Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft e.V.
Animal Rights Watch (ARIWA)	Emanzipatorisches Landwirtschaftsnetzwerk ELAN	Neuer Imkerbund e.V.
ÄoL Die Öko-Lebensmittelhersteller	FairBio e.V.	Neuland e.V.
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bäuerliche Landwirtschaft e.V.	Fairpachten	Nyeleni.de
Aurelia Stiftung	FairTrade Deutschland e.V.	Öko-Junglandwirte-Netzwerk
BioBoden Genossenschaft eG	FoodFirst Informations- und Aktions-Netzwerk (FIAN)	Ökonauten AG
Biokreis e.V.	Foodcoops	Oxfam
Bioland Deutschland	foodsharing	Pestizid Aktions-Netzwerk e.V. (PAN Germany)
Biopark Ökologischer Landbau	Forum Moderne Landwirtschaft e.V.	ProVeg
Brot für die Welt	Freie Bauern Deutschland GmbH	ProVieh
Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland [BUND]	Göa e.V. Ökologischer Landbau	Reformhaus
Bund der deutschen Landjugend e.V.	Gen-ethisches Netzwerk e.V.	Regionalwert AG
Bund gegen Missbrauch der Tiere e.V. [bmt]	GEPA	Sarah Wiener Stiftung
Bund Ökologische Lebensmittelwirtschaft [BÖLW]	Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten [NGG]	Save our Seeds
Bundesverband Berufschäfer e.V.	Greenpeace	Schweinsfurth Stiftung
Bundesverband Boden	Greentable e.V. – Initiative für Nachhaltigkeit in der Gastronomie	Slow Food Deutschland e.V.
Bundesverband Deutscher Milchviehhalter e.V. [BDM]	Grüne Liga – Netzwerk Ökologischer Bewegungen	Stiftung Ökologie & Landbau [SÖL]
Bundesverband Naturkost Naturwaren [BNN] e.V.	Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung	Stiftung Tiernothilfe
Bündnis für eine enkeltaugliche Landwirtschaft e.V. [BeL]	IG Nachbau	vegane Gesellschaft Deutschland e.V.
Christliche Initiative Romero e.V.	Industriegewerkschaft Bauen-Agrar-Umwelt	VegOrganic e.V.
Coordination gegen BAYER-Gefahren e.V.	information.medien.agrar e.V.	Verbund Ökohöfe e.V.
Dachverband Kulturpflanzen- und Nutztiervielfalt e.V.	INKOTA	VIER PFOTEN Deutschland
Demeter e.V.	Institut für Welternährung e.V.	Weltladen-Dachverband
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ernährung e.V. [DGE]	Kulturland eG	Weltpartner eG
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ernährungsmedizin e.V. [DGEM]	Land schafft Verbindung e.V. [LsV]	World Wide Fund For Nature Deutschland [WWF]
Deutsche Welthungerhilfe e.V.	Marktschwärmer	WorldWide Opportunities on Organic Farms Deutschland [WWOOF]
Deutscher Bauernverband [DBV]	Mellifera e.V.	Yeşil Çember
Deutscher Berufs- und Erwerbs Imker Bund e.V. [DBIB]	Mensch Tier Bildung e.V.	
Deutscher LandFrauenverband e.V. [DLV]	Naturschutzbund Deutschland e.V. [NABU]	
Deutsches Netzwerk Schulverpflegung e.V. [DNSV]	NAHhaft e.V.	
Deutsches Tierschutzbüro e.V.	Naturland	



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Power, Politics
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