

Revisiting the Glocal

The critical role of alternative food movements in transforming the global food system

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Lund University Centre for
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Abstract:

The dominant food system is unable to guarantee food security for 11% of the global population and hasn't solved problems of hunger, malnutrition, and obesity on the one hand side, while it also contributes fundamentally to the degradation of natural resources and makes living in a safe operating space for humankind increasingly unlikely. A transformational reform of the food system enabling increased access to food of the world's food-insecure people is much needed. This can only be achieved via a broad political movement which increases pressure on politicians, enabling a fundamental change of the global neoliberal structures underlying the food system. Food sovereignty is a political framework which helps to unify social movements around the globe in this fight for political change. Among these are alternative food movements (AFMs), which work towards the localization of food systems. Some studies suggest that AFMs have great potential to support the transformation, due to their number.

This thesis explores the transformational potential of AFMs by scrutinizing their current practices and presenting a model of what needs to be done to realize this potential. It includes a case study of a promising AFM in Germany, the Ernährungsrat Köln und Umgebung (ERKU; English: Cologne Food Policy Council).

The theoretical frameworks were created using Bourdieu, Gramsci, critical realism and the food regime literature.

Data collections were duly carried out and the analysis of the data was carried out using the models I created based on my theoretical frameworks.

The main finding is ERKU fulfills the conditions to become a successful agent for food system change. It is aware of the global structures underlying the food system and incorporates this knowledge into its activities. Furthermore, ERKU's ambition goes further than establishing an AFM, but to transform the dominant food system.

My results vindicate the focus on AFMs as change agents and point out the necessary conditions under which their transformational potential to support political change may be realized.

Keywords: Alternative Food Movements, Food System Change, Corporate Food Regime, Structural Change, Social Movements, Mobilization

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFM	-	Alternative Food Movements
CSA	-	Community supported agriculture
ERKU	-	Ernährungsrat Köln und Umgebung (English: Cologne Food Policy Council)
FPC	-	Food Policy Council
TNC	-	Transnational Corporations

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1 Introduction

The current food system won't be able to guarantee **global food security** in the face of rising food demands¹ (Hubert, Rosegrant, Van Boekel, Oritz, 2010) and increasing pressure on highly intense agricultural production due to **climate change, water scarcity and land use change** (Schmidhuber & Tubiello, 2007; Battisti & Naylor, 2009). The FAO suggestion that food production must be increased by 70% is assumed to be underestimated (Tilman, 2010), making the pressure to meet global food supply even more urgent (Tilman, Cassman, Matson, Naylor, & Polasky, 2002; Tilman, 2010) and requiring humanity to find remedies at global, regional and local levels. When the International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology's report was submitted, it was accompanied by the stunning recognition that “business-as-usual projections” (p. 15) won't solve the problem (Baintema et al., 2008). Instead of fulfilling its aim – global food security – the current food system is unable to feed 11% of the global population, mostly people depending on rural livelihoods (FAO, 2017), and threatens the planet's environment through greenhouse gas emissions (Smith et al., 2014), pollution of soils, rivers, lakes and oceans, and reducing biodiversity (Smith et al., 2014; Chappell & Lavallo, 2009; Foley, 2011). Social scientists acknowledge, that food access failures rather than the amount of produced food, cause food insecurity (Allouche, 2011; de Waal, 1989; Olsson, 1993; Sen, 1981). The solution to the current food system crisis hence is not to increase food production, but to improve food access of the world's food-insecure people – “a deeply political issue” (Olsson et al., 2013, p.3) which requires a new structure of the food system.

Since the global food and financial crisis (2008-2009) effective governmental proposals to change the structure of the food system (i.e. regulate corporate activities, financial streams, or food supply) are absent (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p.113). Global markets' neoliberal focus is unaffected and witnessing national governments' unwillingness or incapability for reform.

In response to the problems arising with the dominant food system, studies have highlighted alternative food movements (AFMs²) working towards a localization of the food system as potential solutions (Constance, Friedland, Renard, & Rivera-Ferre, 2014). Local food systems increase the environmental, economic and social conditions for farmers and their communities in their locale (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Sonnino & Marsden, 2006; Tovey, 2009). In relationships of trust,

¹ Rising population, dietary changes, food wastage, and over-consumption, in times of competing land use for renewable energy and food production are the main causes (Hubert et al., 2010).

² When using the acronym AFM later, I always refer to AFMs which work towards a localization or regionalization (Buchan, Cloutier, Friedman, & Ostry, 2015) of the food system.

consumers and producers exchange healthy and high quality food, trying to involve all societal groups and “creating space for imagining and creating alternative structure and ways of life based on alternative ontologies, which can be the base of agrifood transformation” (Constance et al., 2014, p.21).

Although AFMs can contribute greatly to sustainability on a local level, the global problems mentioned at the beginning (food crisis, climate change, etc.) have yet to be addressed by them.

If we consider a transformation of the food system, including a reform of the neoliberal structures underlying the food system, as crucial for sustainability in a wider sense (see section 2.1.4), it is important to know whether and how AFMs and this structure interact. Can AFMs lead to structural change? If yes, how? These are questions that urgently need answers if solutions to some of the most pressing problems of humanity are to be developed in time, which leads me to the purpose of this thesis.

With this thesis, I hope to contribute to the development of a sustainable global food system. I claim that this cannot be achieved if AFMs continue focusing only on the local level. The reasoning of this claim is the recognition that although local AFMs might be aware of the “global framework girding the (...) [food system], they are primarily active in local–national arenas” (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p.125) which is insufficient as we will see in section 3.2.

Many scholars argue that AFMs have the potential to change the structure of the food system (Morgan, Marsden, & Murdock, 2006; Goodman, DuPuis, & Goodman, 2011) by leading to a shift in cultural values and the reconstruction of the economic sector. AFMs' change strategy rests on the same structures that produced the food system in the first place: market-based solutions in the neoliberal system (Allen, 2004; Guthman, 2011). One indication of the insufficiency of AFMs to address structural change is the observation that the same transnational corporations profiting from the dominant food system have started conventionalizing, co-opting and mainstreaming AFMs in recent years (see Allen, 2014; Allen, 2008; Fairbairn, 2012; Guthman, 2008; Rosset, 2006). The underlying structures undermined the change strategy.

If AFMs do not go beyond trying to create a change in culture and mentality (political consumerism) and remain in a neoliberal discourse, the food system is unlikely to change fundamentally as the deep structural problems of this same system are not acknowledged. Thus, the conditions for sustainability in a wider sense will not change due to the hegemony of the neoliberal system.

In trying to find a solution to this problem, I will engage with the ideas of social change influenced by Bourdieu and Gramsci. One can apply the belief that change happens on the level of values and

culture to AFMs. Drawing on Bourdieu, I get insights of how such change is produced, whereas Gramsci sheds light on what might be missed out in a cultural change approach. In addition, critical realism (CR) will prove valuable when answering my second and third research question: it provides the frame to scrutinize the rationale of local AFMs, enabling a critical view on their ontology and epistemology. The recognition of the shortcomings of the latter in terms of the aim of creating a sustainable global food system leads me to the literature on food regimes (Friedmann & McMichael, 1989). Food security for the 'hungry people' requires a food regime change, which is tantamount to a transformation of the underlying global structures. I argue that if AFMs recognize this and incorporate this knowledge into their activities, they can make significant contributions to this transformation.

1.1 Research Aim

AFMs working towards the creation of local alternatives to the dominant food system claim to be the solution to the crisis of the latter. However, the first **aim of this thesis is to show that there are tensions between local AFMs and the global food system** because the latter's structure is global and it is driven by underlying root causes which need to be addressed. Thus, I show that an exclusive focus on the local level will never lead to a transformation of the food system. Following the solution-oriented approach of sustainability science (Jerneck et al., 2011), my **second aim is to show that a AFMs practicing on a local level can take into considerations the practical implications of global dimensions of the problem of the food regime**. I demonstrate this **by analyzing a promising case (the Ernährungsrat Köln und Umgebung; (ERKU; English: Cologne Food Policy Council) in Cologne, Germany).**

1.2 Research Questions

Starting from these considerations, I answer the following **research questions (RQ)**:

- RQ1: What are current practices of AFMs?
- RQ2: Are there shortcomings? If yes, what are they?
- RQ3: What are the characteristics of a promising or potentially successful food movement in practice?

1.3 Contribution to Sustainability Science

In order to answer my research questions, I take a standpoint of critical theory, thus questioning how the current situation in the food system came about and normatively determining the choices that have to be made in order to establish alternative social and political orders (Jerneck et al., 2011,

p.77). At the same time, I apply the problem solving approach common to sustainability science and use the knowledge gained through the analysis to identify potential solutions (Jerneck et al., 2011). The thesis also adds to the knowledge on multi-level interactions between formal (such as regulation) and informal (such as norms and behaviors) institutions (Checkland & Scholes, 1990) as suggested by Jerneck and colleagues (2011). One of the reasons for studying the food system and its potential to change is in line with Young et al.'s (2006) observation of increasing stress on socio-ecological systems as a consequence of globalization³. If AFMs are successful in supporting food system change, socio-ecological systems' stress reduces. This study acknowledges the importance of scale and level in and across diverse scientific disciplines searching for sustainability, such as e.g. political science and political economy (Gibson, Ostrom, & Ahn, 2000, p.233): it tries to infer from the actions on one level of analysis at the scale of human aggregations (AFMs) to a higher (i.e. societal groups who suffer from food access failures) and lower level of analysis (i.e. individual decisions in AFMs). The interaction between different geographical/ conceptual levels (Meyer, Gregory, Turner II, & McDowell, 1992, p.256) in ecological systems and different levels of analysis in human systems (Gibson, Ostrom, & Ahn, 2000) plays a major role in the justification of this thesis.

2 Theoretical Foundation & Research Design

Several theoretical concepts are useful to achieve the aims of this thesis. At this step, I will only explain the concepts in a general way. Their usefulness for this thesis will become clear when I apply them in chapters 3 and 4.

2.1 Theoretical and Epistemological Framework

2.1.1 Bourdieu

Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital will be applied to answer RQ1 (What are current practices of AFMs?). Fields, according to Bourdieu, are different social spheres constituted by their own unwritten rules, practices and logics of social action which includes the types of capital required to have access to the field (Bourdieu, 1990). All characteristics of a field are engraved in the habitus. The habitus is explained as follows: "The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions produce conditions of existence, produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structuring structures predisposed to function as structuring structures (...)" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.53).

³ Globalization is defined as the 'widening, deepening, and speeding up of global interconnectedness' here (Young et al., 2006, p.312).

This means the habitus acts as a link between structure and agency, by absorbing and reproducing the structure. However, besides internalization of the structure, the habitus also forms by participating in the “games”⁴, taking place in a field. Capital (decisive for gaining power) determines the ability of agents to join a “game”, thus to participate in a field. There are three different types of capital – social, economic and cultural – which are interchangeable. Symbolic capital is the type of capital being perceived as a legitimization to have a lot of power in a field⁵.

2.1.2 Gramsci

First developed by Gramsci, cultural hegemony can be understood as a dominant form of social organization which is perpetuated by those who support it. In other words: (cultural) hegemony is an interaction of ideological, cultural, political, and economic aspects influenced by a dominant class, which together lead to a consent in civil society, necessary to maintain social conditions that legitimize the power of the dominant class (Eagleton, 2007). Hegemony is created by manipulating the societal belief-systems so that a “common-sense” world-view is formed, introduced as the societal “norm”, which develops to be the status quo and preserves social conditions that are broadly thought to be favorable to all society, while in fact maybe only benefiting those who support it. The constructed world-view is not capable of perpetuating itself, but needs various institutions within civil society and the state to be recreated and reinforced (Eagleton, 2007).

2.1.3 Critical Realism

What differentiates CR from other philosophies of science is its stance on the nature of our knowledge on the world and the methodological means to collect it (Sayer, 2000; Carolan, 2005). In principle, the world “out there” exists no matter what we know about it, but we can study it by means of a variety of practices. The knowledge we collect is almost always flawed as we build it on immature models and theories to inform our inquiry and grasp of it (Bryman, 2008, p.12). Sayer (2000) indicates that “it is the evident *fallibility* of our knowledge – the experience of getting things wrong, of having expectations confounded, and of crashing into things – that justifies us in believing that the world exists regardless of what we happen to think about it” (p.2; original emphasis).

Although an objective, unconditional truth about this autonomous world can never be assured, we have and must use the possibility to determine whether one perspective or account is better than the other. On this notion, many advocates of CR subscribe an emancipatory potential to social science research, as its ideas, whether true or not, influence social practices, and thus, the truth of

⁴ See Appendix 1 for clarification.

⁵ See Appendix 1 for clarification.

the ideas has important consequences for the conduct of society (Sayer, 2000). Or, deciding on the basis of true ideas entails better social practices than deciding based on false ideas.

This introduction of CRs is not just cosmetics but affected my data collection and analysis, therefore, I will explain the concepts I used in more detail.

While going through the concepts, I will point to their importance for this analysis, although they will first be applied in depth in section 3.2.2.

The Transitive and Intransitive Dimensions of Knowledge

As already mentioned, CR adheres to the independence of the world from our understanding of it. Bhaskar (1998) developed the concept of 'intransitive' and 'transitive' dimensions of knowledge on the base of this. The intransitive dimension comprises the static studied objects, whereas the transitive dimension comprises the flexible theories, models and discourses we use to grasp those objects (Sayer, 2000). Changing theories does not entail the simultaneous change of the objects they try to explain (Sayer, 2000). Or, as Sayer (2000) writes: "there is no reason to believe that the shift from a flat earth theory to a round earth theory was accompanied by a change in the shape of the earth itself" (p.11). Applied here, this is of crucial importance when revealing the shortcomings of current practices of AFMs.

Stratification of Reality

Secondly, the concept of stratified reality, laying the basis for the transcendental argument of CR (Benton & Craib, 2011), contributes to this analysis (see section 3.2.3). It claims that "reality is stratified, or layered", in the sense that it is necessary to look "behind or below the surface appearance of things to uncover their generative causes" (Benton & Craib, 2011, p.126).

These layers are comprised by three levels of reality:

- The 'real': the mechanisms, powers, and tendencies which have the potential to be a cause and which science seeks to discover
- The 'actual': the sequences of events that occur from the activation of the powers/potentials of the real
- The 'empirical': the 'empirical' level of observed events (could be observable objects and activated or inactive potentials)

The importance this concept reveals as one considers that observations are not always what they seem, and serious efforts (scientific or otherwise) are necessary to discover the true causes of

diverse empirical phenomena. This is a necessary condition to being able to change them. Applied here, I will set out to show that the actions of local AFMs should go beyond their current practices.

Causality as Mechanisms and Conditions

In CR the concept of causation departs from the empirical realist perception of searching for causes by looking for regularities in the succession of events (Sayer, 2000, p.14; see figure 1.1). The cause of an event is independent of its frequency (Sayer, 2000). This is what Bhaskar calls 'epistemic fallacy': it converts ontological questions – what exists (causes) – into epistemological questions of how we gain reliable knowledge, e.g. by requiring repeated observations (Bhaskar, 1975). Instead, the identification of causal mechanisms in CR must be found in underlying structures and the conditions in which they happen (see figure 1.2). The critical realist concept of causation implies that “the future is open – things could go in many different ways” (Sayer, 2000, p.15). The reason for that is that effects are “emergent”⁶: they result from a causal relationship between a mechanism with causal responsibility, a subject of change and the conditions in which the relationship is embedded (see figure 2). This concept is crucial when considering that food regime change must happen and local AFMs could fundamentally contribute to that if certain conditions are met. It will be crucial to find out what these conditions are throughout this analysis.

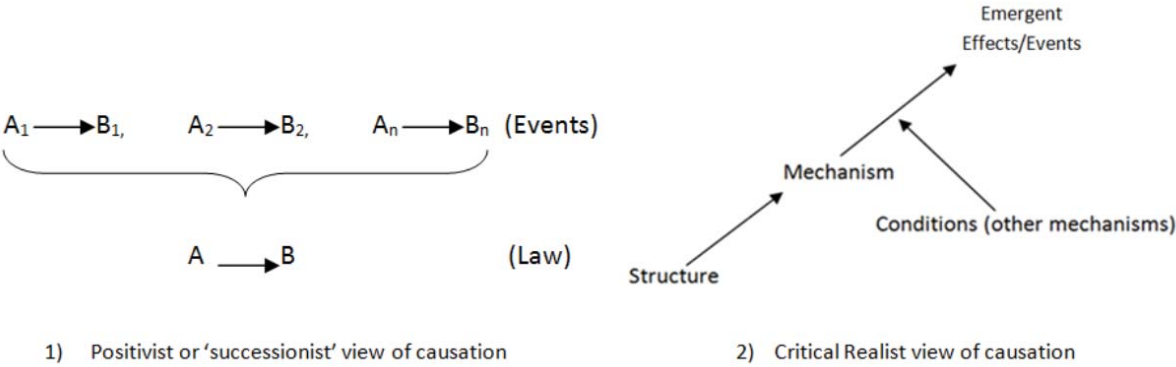


Figure 1. A comparison between the positivist and the critical realist view of causation. (Modified from Sayer, 2000, pp. 14-15, Figures 1.1 and 1.2; retrieved from Boda, 2012).

⁶ The idea of emergence explains “situations in which the conjunction of two or more features or aspects gives rise to phenomena, which have properties irreducible to those of their constituents, even though the latter are necessary for their existence” (Sayer, 2000, p.12).

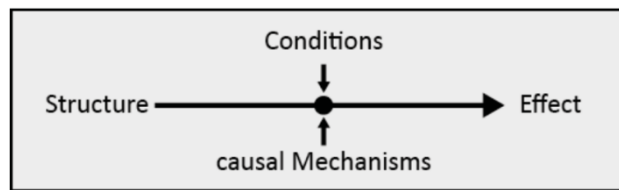


Figure 2. Critical realist view of causation (modified from Sayer, 2010; retrieved from Glock, 2017).

Dualist Ontology of Structure and Agency

CR is not deterministic and has no claim that the structures shape the agent fully (this is quite consistent with Bourdieu).

I apply the perspective termed the 'transformational model of social action' developed by Bhaskar which attributes a dialectic influence to both social agents and structure: they are interrelated but still independent objects of research (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009); or distinct entities on the level of the real resting on the assumption of a stratification of reality (Benton & Craib, 2011; Bhaskar, 1998). While structure only exists if it is (unwittingly) reproduced by the activities of social agents, it also influences or constrains the latter. Conversely, individual and collective agency may modify or transform social structures (Bhaskar, 1998; Benton & Craib, 2011), for instance in cases such as successful social movement or political mobilization (Benton & Crab, 2011, p.133) which position themselves thoughtfully within the structure (Ford, 2003; MacLean, 1999). The implication for my work is, although currently AFMs contribute to reproducing the structure (as we will see), an intended change of the structure is possible under the right conditions which will be critical when finding a solution strategy to change the food system, thereby answering RQ3: What are the characteristics of a promising or potentially successful food movement in practice?.

2.1.4 Global economy, Global Food System

Literature on food regimes offers important insights to take into account as a sustainability scientist, eager to contribute to a more sustainable food system.

The Need to Analyze Food Regimes

The starting point of how this concept evolved was in the 1980s, when it became clear that the development project, relying on the adoption/diffusion⁷ framework and rooted in the modernist framework, had failed. Instead of creating wealth in developing countries, it led to a race to the bottom in debtor countries as a consequence of imposed structural adjustment programs which

⁷ For more information, see Constance et al. (2014).

were to attract transnational corporations (TNCs) (McMichael, 1994, 2009a, 2009b). As a consequence of deregulation and privatization, domestic farmers were subject to global pressures and diminishing social safety nets, and a South/North migration stream was provoked. The failure to create the same wealth in the Global South as in the Global North made it necessary to analyze the food system, including the documentation of “the political-economic dimensions of the globalization of the agrifood system⁸” (Constance et al., 2014, p.16; Bonanno, Busch, Friedland, Gouviea, & Mingione, 1994; Friedland, Busch, Buttel, & Rudy, 1991; Goodman & Watts, 1997; McMichael, 1994). According to the globalization approach, the ultimate drivers of change in the structure of agriculture are located external to production agriculture and within the realm of “national political-economic processes, the global economy, and geopolitics” (Constance et al., 2014, p.16). Increasingly, powerful TNCs and supra-national state forms (e.g., IMF, NAFTA, EU, World Bank, WTO) play a major role as coordinators of the agrifood system.

Food Regimes

Friedmann and McMichael (1989) introduced the concept of 'food regimes' to track how the food system was operated at different points of history (McMichael, 2009c). Following McMichael's (2009c) suggestion that a 'food regime' can be used as an analytical tool to ask questions about the “structuring processes (...) [in] global food relations” (p.148), I infer that it also reveals how it can be changed, thus, helping me to answer RQ2 about potential shortcomings of the current practices of AFMs (see section 3.2).

According to Friedmann (1993) a 'food regime' is a “**rule-governed structure of production and consumption of food on a world scale**” (pp.30-31). The concept, thus, helps to connect time and space of events happening related to the food system. The analysis of regimes is concerned with interacting factors, resulting in stable periods of capital accumulation, alternating with periods of crisis (Constance et al., 2014, p.16; Friedmann & McMichael, 1989). One of the insights for this analysis is taken from a framework by Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) which points to the emergence of social movements in opposition to the prevailing food regime.

2.1.5 Social Movements

Fundamental shifts to how we organize society in the 21st century and beyond are necessary in the face of climate change, global inequality and the unstable capitalist system (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2014; Djelic & Bothello, 2013; Milanovic, 2013; Steffen et al., 2015). As, on the

⁸ The terms agrifood system and food system are used interchangeably in this thesis.

one hand, companies and politics are encased in a straitjacket of the neoliberal capitalist system and are therefore not likely to push for change, and, on the other hand, sustainable policies are often perceived as risky to a country's economy, social movements are important to accelerate this shift by demonstrating support for seemingly unpopular policies.

What Social Movements Are

Social movement research is usually applied in a national context. However, Tarrow (2005) says that the social movements can be extended to a transnational level. The collective action of domestic social movements can spread across borders through the process of *mediated diffusion* supported by brokers (Tarrow, 2011).

The study of social movements has a long tradition in which Charles Tilly came to play a role and added relevant ideas. Tilly and his colleagues Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow recognized in their book 'Dynamics of Contention' (2001) that social movements are a form of contentious politics. They define the latter as: "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when: (a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims, and (b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants or objects of claims" (2001, p.5). For this thesis, I will use Tilly's (2004) definition of social movements which involves three unique components. A social movement is:

1. A sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities (let us call it a **campaign**);
2. Employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering (let us call the variable ensemble of performances the social movement **repertoire**); and
3. Participants' concerted public representations of WUNC: worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies (let us call them **WUNC displays**). (pp.3-4)

What Social Movements Can Do

Social movements' mechanisms of influencing political change are diverse. From the definition we can infer that they are supporting or stopping social change. Broadly summarized, one can say that channeling the attention of the public and power holders on their concerns is the main change mechanism (Burstein, 1999; della Porta, 1999; Tilly, 1999). When trying to further distinguish

between the mechanisms of creating political change, one can see that social movements contribute to democracy in multiple ways. Burstein (1999) explained that social movements add to democracy by theory of democratic representation which is applied to show that governors react to citizens' needs for the sake of being re-elected. The communication of public opinion is thus crucial. Della Porta (1999) frames social movements' influence as increasing the possibilities for democratic participation by challenging decision-making. Thus, in line with Burstein, she argues that decision-making becomes more responsive to public opinion (della Porta, 1999). Burstein (1999), moreover, emphasizes the importance of social movements organizations (SMO) and other interest groups for political change by influencing how the public opinion is perceived by authorities, how it is set up in the first place and how the public opinion's attention can be altered (Burstein, 1999).

What Social Movement Organizations Are

Social movements are complex entities, including multiple interaction groups (Tilly, 1999). SMOs can be crucial in the process of movement mobilization in a multitude of ways (della Porta, 2009; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Tilly, 1999; Tarrow, 2011).

SMOs have many roles to play. One of them is the provision of strategic and tactical leadership (Tarrow, 2011, p.123). Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly (1999) highlight the function of bringing subnetworks and initiatives together, so that an enduring organization of the social movement evolves. SMOs also influence a movement's collective identity by serving to attract and commit individuals, affecting its creation, assertion and political deployment. Moreover, SMOs can help social movements to appear as an integrated group, with one coherent claim. If a social movement has internal struggles, these should be made invisible for external audiences. The performance of all different actors needs to be unified (Giugni et al., 1999). In summary, the importance of SMOs is determined by their ability to increase social movements' WUNC display.

WUNC

Of the three components defining social movements according to Tilly (2004), the display of worthiness, unity, number and commitment (WUNC) is widely used as a measure of internal success of social movements. For them to be successful, external and political opportunities must also be at hand, but due to the scope of this thesis, I will limit my analysis to the internal ones. With a high WUNC display, a social movement is perceived as an agent whose needs must be taken into account by authorities if disturbances are to be avoided. High WUNC can shape public opinion, as well as the opinion of authorities, possibly leading to faster action (Wouters & Walgrave, 2017). Additionally, high WUNC display makes a political message easily understandable for the public and, as

consequence, makes a social movement more appealing to the public, thereby attracting more people (Tilly, 1999; 2004; 2006)⁹.

The usefulness of the WUNC display for this thesis is explained when applying it in chapter 4.

Although the case to which I apply the social movement theory is not a social movement yet, the conclusions I make throughout the analysis about their goals suggest that they need to become a full-fledged social movement if they want to reach their goals.

2.2 Methodology

In this section, I will highlight the methods I used to collect the evidence necessary to answer the three RQs.

For RQ1, 'What are current practices of AFMs?', I use records of scientific literature on AFMs to collect data and infer from the evidence through creating a model, based on the theories discussed in section 2.1.

For RQ2, 'Are there shortcomings? If yes, what are they?', I follow the same process: I collect data using scientific literature and infer from the evidence through creating a model, based on the theories discussed in section 2.1.

RQ3, 'What are the characteristics of a promising or potentially successful food movement in practice?', is answered by applying three different methods of data collection: 1) Official documents of the chosen case study are reviewed and a content analysis of statements made on the official website is used to gain information about ERKU's problems perception, aims and target authorities. 2) Semi-structured interviews are conducted with members of ERKU's board. Only members in a high strategic position were contacted and interviewed, with exception of one case where snowball sampling resulted in contact with a person who had done a thorough observation of ERKU's activities in her capacity as a journalist. 3) Participant observation is applied to gain deep insights into the organizational properties of ERKU.

The subject of the case study was visited three times in five weeks, including 10 data collection events using semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. An overview of the sequence of data collection events is available in Appendix 3.

⁹ For more details on WUNC, see Appendix 2.

The collected data is analyzed to determine ERKU's problem perception, aim, target authorities and WUNC display. From the evidence, inferences are made through creating a model based on theory (see section 2.1) and RQ3 is answered.

3 Opposing the Global? - Analysis and Findings of Current Practices of Local Alternative Food Movements

In this chapter, I am delineating the current practices of AFMs and their change strategy (see section 3.1), thereby answering RQ1: 'What are current practices of AFMs?'. I will then show that this approach has several fundamental shortcomings (see section 3.2) which make an adjustment of local practices necessary in order for them to support structural change which is much needed for a sustainable food system. Thus, I answer RQ2: 'Are there shortcomings? If yes, what are they?'

Although there is no agreed-upon definition for local food production in the literature, I will use the working definition by Buchan et al. (2015) for this analysis as it remains objective in contrast to many other definitions:

Local Food Production is characterized by a short supply chain between the production of raw food product and the consumers within a geographical area generally understood as a local community by its consumers. (p. 5)

In order to stay within the scope of this thesis, I will focus on AFMs which position themselves in opposition to industrialized agriculture and seek to localize the food system in order to increase food sovereignty. The shift to higher aspirations which go beyond merely local food can be related to the criticism local food systems have received (Allen & Wilson, 2008, see section 3.1.2).

Before explaining the implications for the current practices of AFMS, it is important to mention that food sovereignty can be understood in several ways (see e.g. Di Masso & Zografos, 2015). In case of most AFMs, food sovereignty is used to criticize the conventional approach to achieving food security being caused by "relations of power" (Patel, 2009, p.665). That means, food sovereignty involves "refocusing the control of food production and consumption within democratic processes rooted in localized food systems" (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005, p.vii; Hess, 2008; Leventon & Laudan, 2017).

3.1 Can Local Alternative Food Movements Increase Sustainability? Bourdieu and the Cultural Change Model

In the following I will go into the environmental and social benefits associated with local AFMs. This helps me to answer RQ1, 'What are current practices of AFMs?'

3.1.1 Environmental Benefits

The outcome of the practices of AFMs, local food systems, potentially reduce the use of carbon for the transportation of food, although this may not be the case if the carbon used for private transportation exceeds the long-haul transport carbon emissions (Saunders & Barber, 2008).

But there are several other strong environmental benefits. The practices related to local food systems acting within a food sovereignty framework are based on agro-ecological farming, in contrast to industrialized farming in the conventional food system (Robbins, 2015). Agroecology implies farming on a small-scale whilst supporting ecological resource conservation based on the application of knowledge about traditional practices and scientific insights about ecological processes (Altieri & Nicholls, 2008). The pressure on some of the planetary boundaries (Steffen et al., 2015) decreases when agroecological principles are applied (Altieri, 2009; Scherr, 2000) including measures of soil conservation, soil building, nutrient recycling, poly-cropping and biodiversity preservation (Robbins, 2015, p.456; Rosset, Machín Sosa, Roque Jaime, & Ávila Lozano, 2011), although mostly only locally. At the same time, agroecological farming is **producing high yields** per unit area (Banerjee, 1985; De Schutter, 2011; Ellis & Biggs, 2001; Verschelde, D’Haese, Rayp, & Vandamme, 2012), thus, outcompeting industrialized farming methods regarding environmental and social impacts (see more in section 3.1.2).

3.1.2 Social Benefits

Before moving on to the alleged social benefits of AMFs, I want to highlight that they are not inherent to them: a stronger move to localizing food systems started after the Río Conference in 1992 had called for local solution strategies for sustainable development (Morgan et al., 2006). The EU, thus, fostered the localization of food – ascribing to it a high potential for rural development –, and embedded it in rural development programs and multifunctionality, enforced in the EU Common Agricultural Policies (Marsden, Lee, Flynn, & Thankappan, 2000; Tovey, 2009). But only as the 1990s food crisis accelerated were the European take on multifunctionality and its rural development policies questioned (Almas & Campbell, 2012; Marsden, 2013). At the same time, the transformative potential of localism was scrutinized, pointing to critiques such as “the glorification of 'unreflexive localism' [which] overlooks the sexism, classism, racism, and other historical forms of structural inequality embedded in locales” (Allen & Guthman, 2006; DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Hinrichs, 2000, 2003 in Constance et al., 2014, p.20).

In response to these critiques, many local AFMs now act in accordance with “reflexive localism”, trying to avoid all those “-isms” (Kloppenburg & Hassanein, 2006). They can, thus, enable the

creation of a relationship of trust among actors working in the value chain, providing the ground for a long-term development of rural areas (Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002; Marsden, Banks, & Bristow, 2000). They also developed a focus on local food justice by securing access to healthy food for all social groups by means of local production and consumption (Alkon & Mares, 2012; Anderson & Cook, 1999; Bellows & Hamm, 2002; Gottlieb & Fisher, 1996; Holt-Gimenez & Wang, 2011). Thus, many projects include low-income communities in the attempt to be inclusive. Examples are Native American, Black, or Latino communities in the US, the Food Trust building farmers' markets in neighborhoods of low income, collaborations with schools in urban, poor areas¹⁰, and other initiatives bringing affordable healthy food in underserved communities¹¹ (Starr, 2010).

As one could infer from my theory section 2.1.1, it is through the lens of Bourdieu's theories that I have been able to make such observations and data collection.

In the attempt to bridge the distinction between social classes visible in food, one Chef offered cooking courses for people who are less well off: 'Food is [currently] a class issue . . . There's no reason why people with less money should have to eat rubbish. It's all about information and confidence and access to ingredients . . . it's cheaper to do it that way' (Kingsnorth, 2007, in Starr, 2010, p.484).

The activity in community supported agriculture (CSA), farmers markets, and food collectives and coops create alternative socio-economic structures (Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman, & Warner, 2003). They do so with the means of consensus-based decision-making in FPCs, educational projects, cooperatives, etc. (Allen et al., 2003). This simultaneously coproduces ideology and more importantly collective ideological praxis resulting in "practices of decommodification and working towards an artisan food culture" (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007, p.140).

Generally, small-scale agriculture has many positive social effects by offering a path towards growing and developing in an equitable manner in times of increasing globalization (Hazell, Poulton, Wiggins, & Dorward , 2010).

In summary, AFMs support social justice and create more equality amongst the community and for their farmers, but as I already mentioned, these benefits remain on a local level.

¹⁰ See www.thefoodtrust.org for original source.

¹¹ See www.healthycornerstores.org and Bolen and Hecht (2003) Factsheet on land use planning "To get more fruits and vegetables in your neighborhood" from Planning for Healthy Places, a project of Public Health Law & Policy at the Public Health Institute, <http://www.healthyplanning.org>.

3.1.3 Change in Mentality/Culture – A Model, Insights and Implications

The actions of local AFMs follow a model which explains their change strategy (see figure 3).

Drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical concepts introduced in section 2.1.1, I will describe the model which informs the actions of AFM for food system change.

For this aim, I will apply the concepts of habitus, field and capital as heuristics to explain the interaction of food system structure and societal actors in case of AFMs. In this sense, I talk about the dominant food system as a field which cannot fulfill the expectations it created: the provision of secure and healthy food. It is thus catalyzing the recognition of its true nature of capital, thereby losing its legitimacy, and leading to the creation of a new habitus enabling the development of a new field, the alternative, local food system.

The Model for Change in Mentality/Culture

Now it is time to talk about my model explicitly.

The aim of societal actors working in local AFMs is to create legitimacy (i.e. symbolic capital) for what they are doing, thus giving rise to a social structure in the new field of local food systems which benefits collective, local networks, without depending on high economic capital. This is how they can compete with the dominant food system: they rely on different types of capital.

Within the market field, producers and consumers collaborate [, thereby increasing social capital,] to create the 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1984) of legitimacy for the organic object. In this process, the organic object gains worth as a legitimate alternative in the eyes of consumers. This leads to greater value-added for the producer, because the consumer is willing to pay this value (DuPuis & Gillon, 2009, p.46; see also Brunori, 2007).

Relying on different types of capital (Brunori, 2007; Lyson, 2014) also allows for social justice since alternative models of consumption like CSA enable less well-off people to participate in AFMs (Horst, 2017). Gaining legitimacy (symbolic capital) and in consequence more capital in total as more people join local communities will weaken the dominant food system and strengthen the alternative food system. The “local habitus” is thus creating a new social structure of the alternative food system. A promising endeavor as in Bourdieu's (1990) words “[t]here is an economy of practices, a reason immanent in practices”, that is “constitutive of the structure of rational practices, that is, the practice most appropriate to achieve the objectives inscribed in the logic of the particular field at the lowest cost (...)” (p.50). The objective of members of the new field of practice is the creation of an alternative to the demystified, dominant food system, namely local alternative food systems.

The model underlying this logic is exemplified in figure 3.

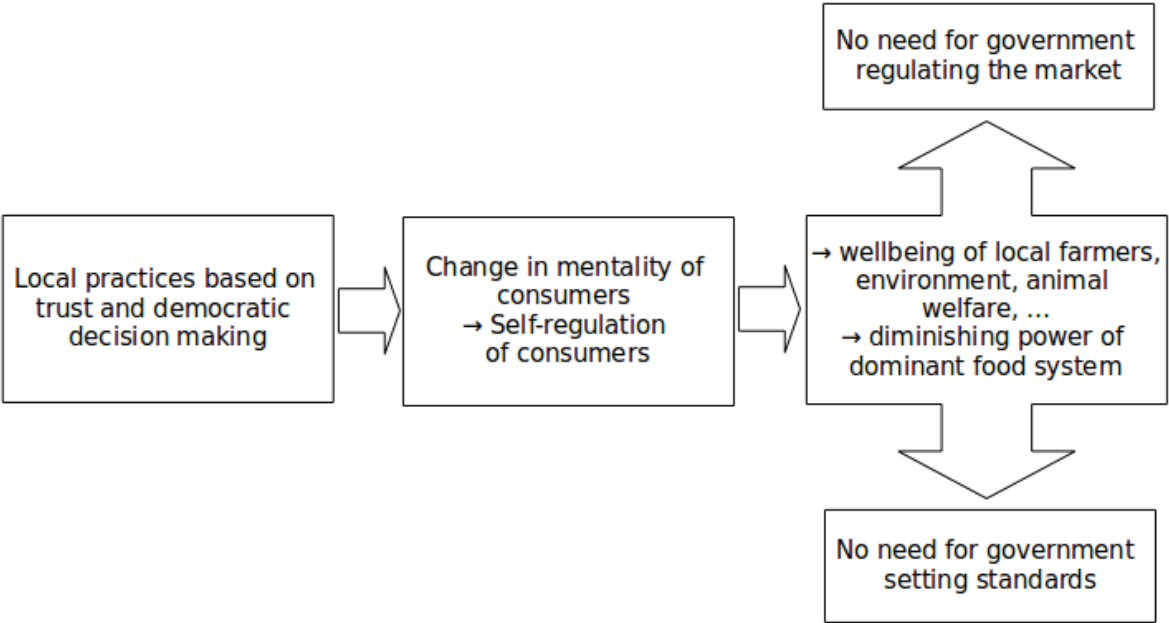


Figure 3. Model of change in culture based on Bourdieu. Source: own illustration.

Implications of the Model for Change in Mentality/Culture

The engagement of societal actors in AFMs and the resulting emergence of local food systems make governmental invasions of the market and regulations of consumption patterns obsolete (Alkon & Mares, 2012). Through voluntary action, problems related to the unsustainability of the current food system are resolved on a local level. This strategy is reflected in the choice of policy instruments by European national governments: it mostly relies in information provision to support the emergence of local (here also sustainable) food systems (Mont, 2008; for German example see Bundesministerium für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft, 2017).

The means of a change in culture/mentality to achieve a sustainable food system does not seem unrealistic if one considers the outcome of a global survey on sustainability values, attitudes and behaviors: over half of the participants in a global survey on sustainability values, attitudes and behaviors saw globalization as a threat to their culture (Leiserowitz, Kates, & Parris, 2006); the work of AFMs can be seen as a response to that. They work towards the renaissance of a culture, necessary to overcome consumerism and commercialization. This contribution is crucial and can be the groundwork of a new ethics on the way towards a *Great Transition* (Raskin et al., 2002) which is much needed in face of the planetary challenges, or -boundaries in Steffen et al.'s (2015) words, humanity is facing. The domination of market forces and the inadequate policy reform make a *Great Transition* necessary, including “profound historical transformations in the fundamental values and

organizing principles of society” (Raskin et al., 2002, p.15). Pretty (2013) aligns with this and regards conventional multi-governance arrangements as offering only discouraging solutions to the pressing problems of climate change, peak-oil and financial turmoil, thus leading people to engage in local initiatives, where practices are collectively developed with the aspiration of pursuing sustainability principles. Along these lines Melucci (1989) argues that the turn to alternative life-styles, which involves the participation in AFMs, must be interpreted as “the appropriate response to new forms of control that no longer correspond solely to state action” (p.171). “New values and development paradigms ascend that emphasize the quality of life and material sufficiency, human solidarity and global equity, and affinity with nature and environmental sustainability” (Raskin et al., 2002, p.15). The authors argue for a new structure of society, which is supported by the transition of many smaller new structures in sub-systems (Raskin et al., 2002, p.15), influencing values and knowledge, demographic transitions and social equity, transitions of economic and governance institutions, transition of technology, and of how environmental effects are internalized (Speth, 1992).

Is this model of change in culture/mentality a successful one then? It is not, as I will argue in the next section.

3.2 Shortcomings

In this section, I will point out which problems related to the dominant food system remain unaddressed in the approach of a change in culture/mentality. In doing so, I will draw from Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony in order to remember what influences social change apart from a change in culture. This will lead me to discover that the ability of AFMs to support change towards local food systems on local-national levels has structural constraints (see section 3.2.1). My point is not to say that the resolution of these structural constraints would lead to a sustainable food system. But, when looking for the drivers of the structural constraints, CR as an epistemology provides the necessary means to discover that the root causes for these structural constraints are indeed global and prohibit the development of sustainable food systems (see section 3.2.3). It furthermore allows me to bridge the divide between structure and agency. The literature on global food regimes is able to demonstrate the global dimension of the dominant food system (see sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4). The sum of insights into the weaknesses of the current approach of local food system enables me to answer RQ2, 'Are there shortcomings [of AFMs' current practices]? If yes, what are they?'

3.2.1 What We Learn From Gramsci: The Need for Political Change

Antonio Gramsci stresses the importance of carrying ideas of social change into the level of culture (Eagleton, 2007, p.114). However, Gramsci also emphasizes the importance of political and economic change to facilitate social change (Eagleton, 2007). With this in mind, I arrive at the necessity for political and economic change.

This necessity is revealed when considering the statement of many food policy experts in a report published by the public charity Sustain (2010), that “the only way to achieve a radical improvement in public sector food [, a goal common to local AFMs,] – for example in (...) schools, hospitals, and care homes – is for government to introduce a new law which sets high, and rising, standards for the food served” (p.II; Reisch, Eberle, & Lorek et al., 2013). Reasons for this statement are that cultural change will not happen as food and agriculture are not on the 'radar' of people (Stevenson, Ruhf, Lezberg, & Clancy, 2007) as food is cheap and convenient. The higher price of food which is produced more sustainably because of the internalization of environmental and social costs (Anderson, 2008) is a barrier, as price is reported to be pivotal for consumption decisions (see e.g. Reisch et al., 2013). Is it then that governments need to step in to enable the creation of local food systems? As the study of Reisch and colleagues (2013) points out that governments are themselves hampered by the structure, the answer must be no.

In summary, I contend that the structures underlying the dominant food system limit the creation of alternative local food systems by preventing necessary political changes from taking place. This answers RQ2 partially.

If the structural constraints are restricting the creation of local food system, what can be done to change them? To answer this question, I will use a CR epistemology which will then lead me to the food regimes.

3.2.2. What We Learn From Applying Critical Realism: Structural Constraints and Promising Agents to Change Them

As mentioned above (see section 2.1.3), several concepts of CR prove useful for this analysis. This is because they can be applied as an ontology and epistemology, but also because they provide the link between structure and agency when applied to food system change. What now follows is the application of these theoretical concepts for this analysis.

Recalling the **transitive and intransitive dimensions of knowledge**, it is important to adjust one's model about the object of research to the best available understanding. This idea is also true for the

case of modeling how food system change can happen. AFMs need to adjust their strategy from merely changing culture to include a change in the realm of economics and politics. Section 3.2.3 will reveal further shortcomings of the approach of local AFMs, making more adjustments necessary.

The next concept, the **stratification of reality** and its three levels – the real, the actual, and the empirical – is of significant importance for this analysis. It reveals that there may be invisible – as inactivated – powers at the level of the truth. Applied here this means that AFMs existing on the level of the real can have the power to change the underlying structure of the food system. This opens up the possibility for a change strategy that incorporates the potential of AFMs to support change in the food system – e.g. through contentious politics – rather than inadvertently supporting the status quo: AFMs as unexercised power.

Besides, the concept challenges the belief in simple causal relationships and triggers scientists or lay people to **search for the true causes of their empirical observations**. If the true causes remain hidden, there is no chance of changing them. This underlines the importance of applying research which analyzes the dominant food system in depth. It can expose underlying structures of the food system as true; thus, if the drivers of the food system are discovered, it ultimately enables us to prioritize holistic approaches as opposed to political consumerism, leading to successful change strategies.

Finally, the critical realist **concept of causality** reveals its importance in acknowledging that emerging social change is dependent on the provision of certain conditions and mechanisms (see figure 2). In answering RQ3, 'What are the characteristics of a promising or potentially successful food movement?', I set out to find out what these conditions and mechanisms are, to be able to foster social change in case of the food system. I will return to this in section 3.3.

3.2.3 Awareness of the Global Structures of the Economy

In this section, I show that the current practices of local AFMs do not challenge the global structure of the Corporate Food Regime which is responsible for many sustainability problems.

Following the suggestions of CR to look for deep underlying drivers of the unsustainability of the food system, I arrive at the literature on food regimes (see section 2.1.4). Insight on how the Corporate Food Regime works allows me to scrutinize the degree to which local AFMs interact with the global structure of the Corporate Food Regime. This helps me to provide a further answer to RQ2 (Are there shortcomings? If yes, what are they?). I will introduce the Corporate Food Regime and then show the shortcomings of the “change in culture” approach applied by AFMs in dealing with it.

The Corporate Food Regime

The neoliberal food regime, or the Corporate Food Regime, relies on flexible strategies of accumulation applied by TNCs who use global sourcing to secure the best production factors, thereby frequently disadvantaging subordinate groups and substantive forms of democracy (Bonanno & Constance, 2008; Burch & Lawrence, 2007; Fold & Pritchard, 2005; Harvey, 1989; McMichael, 2005). It is driven by free trade and capital accumulation interests. Neoliberal restructuring of the economy and society based on deregulation and privatization build the foundation of this regime (McMichael, 2005, 2009c). More explicitly, it is grounded on the corporate rights framework, which is founded on neoliberal philosophies, neo-conservative politics, organized by global governance bodies such as the WTO, IMF, WB, NAFTA, and EU, and enforced by nation-states who give up on their sovereignty to increase credit worthiness and investment, privileging the rich and punishing the rest of humanity¹². Acknowledging that *inter alia* people of color and women bear unacceptable suffering due to the global food system (Gertel and Sippel (2014) for instance determined the social costs for women migrant workers stemming from the consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables by privileged consumers in the global North), collective political action must lead out of the hegemony of this system (Buttel, 1997; Contance et al., 2014; Ford, 2003; Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011).

In the light of the global dimensions of the structure underlying the Corporate Food Regime, the attempt to support the transformation of the Corporate Food Regime by building alternative socio-economic structures (Allen et al., 2003) reveals its limitations.

In this section, I have augmented my answer to RQ2 by arguing that the structures underlying the Corporate Food Regime 1) limit the ability of governments to support local food systems, and 2) prevent local food systems from emerging. This leads me to conclude that only a change of the underlying structures will allow for sustainability in a wider sense.

3.2.4 Negative Impacts of the Global Structure on the Food System

In the previous section, I discussed the global structure of the Corporate Food Regime. Now, I will describe the consequences and problems it brings about.

For traders, low commodity prices enable commodity dumping in the world market (assisted by export subsidies, especially European), forcing local prices down at the expense of small farmers. . . . Despite the rhetoric of free trade, the Northern agenda is realised through a corporate-mercantilist comparative advantage in a highly unequal world market. (McMichael, 2005, pp.278)

¹² This points to the political economy framework which explains that the wealth of the rich is founded on the shoulders of the poor (Perlas, 2000). For more detail, see e.g. Hinrichs and Lyson (2007, pp.48)

As a consequence of what McMichael describes, the intra-national markets break down and the dependency on food imports of the agricultural importer nation-state increases. This often comes along with loss of employment and decreased access to agricultural products in importer countries, leading to a decreased ability of the social groups working in agriculture to sustain themselves. This results from the rules governing the food system.

Another example of the severe consequences the global structures bring about is the case of land grabbing. The high material throughput (e.g. for energy demands, meat intensive diets¹³, ...) in wealthy nations demands new 'acquisitions' of 'underused' land in developing countries, as the World Bank (2010) frames it (McMichael, 2013; Rosset, 2009; Zoomers, 2010). This contributes to the exacerbation of “environmental degradation (...) [and] food crisis” (Rosset, 2011, p.23); furthermore, circumstances degrade for small-scale, subsistence farmers, who lose their land amid the worsening crisis of “poverty, low wages, [and] rural-urban migration” (Rosset, 2011, p.23). What makes this situation possible is the so called “security mercantilism” (McMichael, 2013, p.50) or “developmental outsourcing” (Hofman & Ho, 2012). It is a result of the attempt of agro-industrialized nations to secure land in developing countries as the intense and unsustainable land use they applied on their own lands, mostly located in the global North, decreased the abilities of cheap domestic food production (McMichael, 2013)¹⁴.

To summarize sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.4, the global interconnectedness across economic, political and geographic scales and levels makes it unlikely that actions of local AFMs will contribute to a change of the underlying structures of the Corporate Food Regime. However, if actions to create local food systems proceed without demanding significant reforms at the state level, (Reisch et al., 2013), governments are absolved of their responsibility to protect citizens from the power of the neoliberal market (Guthmann, 2008; Alkon & Mares, 2012). The actions of local AFMs are thus reproducing rather than challenging the Corporate Food Regime (e.g. Alkon & Mares, 2012).

I conclude that the answer to RQ2 is yes, there are shortcomings: current practices of local AFMs disregard the need for political change and are unaware of the global structure underlying the Corporate Food Regime.

My point is not to suggest that AFMs are inappropriate to support the shift to an alternative food system. Instead, AFMs are an essential contribution in the fight against the Corporate Food Regime,

¹³ McMichael (2013) writes: “Weis [(2010)] has noted that about half of global grain production is consumed directly as food grain, while 35% feeds livestock and 17% is dedicated to biofuel production” (p.50).

¹⁴ See McMichael (2013) for more detailed information.

which rests on neoliberal structures (Allen & Wilson, 2008), but they need to fulfill certain conditions to unfold their potential.

3.3 Inference: A Good Food System Movement Must Take Into Account the Global Level

Inferring from what has been said, I summarize the conditions a good food system movement must fulfill.

A good food system movement needs to take into account the global level of the Corporate Food Regime in order to overcome its structural problems. The reasons for this are:

- the inability to achieve a change in culture without the support of political change,
- political change is prevented by regulations which are part of the global structure underlying the Corporate Food Regime
- the underlying structure of the Corporate Food Regime which creates poverty, inequality and environmental degradation.

3.3.1 Fixing / Redefining the Model

This section presents a new model for AFMs which can lead to a change of the Corporate Food Regime by taking global level, underlying structures into account.

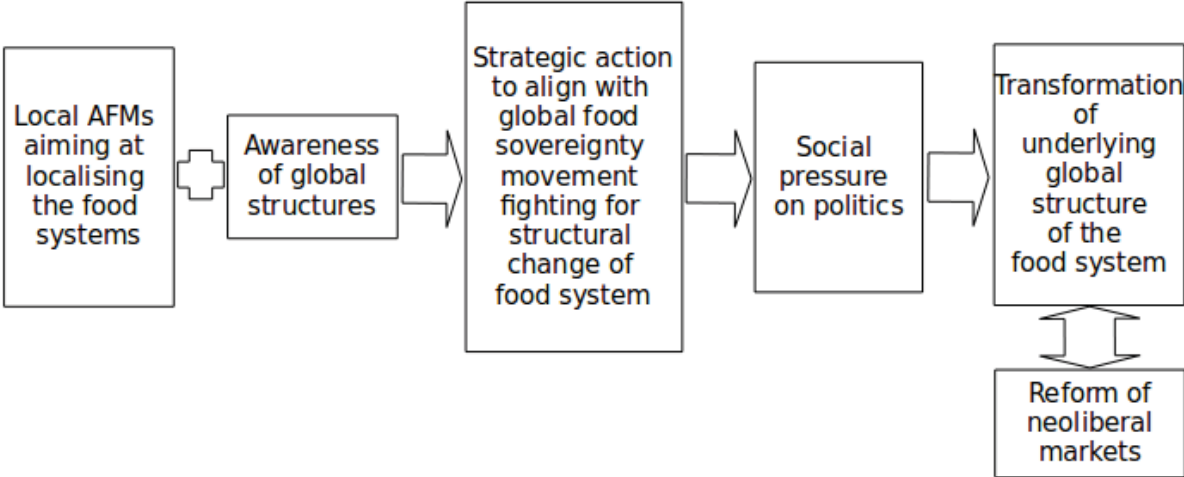


Figure g 4. The structural transformation model. Or: Model of promising or potentially successful food. Source: own illustration.

3.3.2 Food Sovereignty

I argue that food sovereignty is an alternative food regime which enables the achievement of food security in a sustainable manner. After outlining the implications of food sovereignty, I will show how it can lead to food regime change.

Food sovereignty is the only approach to food security which recognizes the human right to food as something political and hence calls for deep structural transformations of the Corporate Food Regime (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011).

The approach is grounded in the struggle for human rights and peasant farming, and is critical of the food security approach for being based on free trade and corporate rights. It is the radical trend of the movements opposing the Corporate Food Regime and suggests the attainment of self-sufficiency applying indigenous knowledge and agro-ecological principles enabled through land reform (Desmarais, 2007; Fairbairn, 2012; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Wittman, Desmarais, & Wiebe, 2010; see also Desmarais, Rivera-Ferre, & Gasco, 2014; Rosset & Martínez-Torres, 2014).

Food sovereignty sees the inevitability of a full-cost accounting approach – ending the externalization of environmental and social costs – and argues for a **framework based on rights instead of the market**. And finally, in contrast to the WTO-promoted intellectual property rights/copy right framework, food sovereignty promotes a copy-left and open-source framework. A striking example of this is the fight over seed sovereignty between GMO seed companies and La Vía Campesina (Kloppenburg, 2010).

Food sovereignty is widely acknowledged to be a political framework which helps to unify social movements around the globe in the fight for a political change which allows for structural transformation necessary for a food regime change (Rosset, 2011).

3.3.3. Alternative Food Movements as Promising Change Agents

With this in mind it becomes very clear that the action of AFMs to reach food sovereignty must not be limited to practicing food sovereignty on a local level. Instead, AFMs should take into account the (absent) global impact of their action, especially on the Global South, the environment and poverty. Their current practices don't change the neoliberal structure of the Corporate Food Regime, and hence, have no influence on other localities especially and very generalized those located in the Global South, which are highly influenced by the structures of the Corporate Food Regime. As mentioned above, poverty and inequality will only change when a structural transformation of the Corporate Food Regime happens.

As the actors in charge of power in the Corporate Food Regime won't give up their power, only a big number of social agents, united in the claims and actions of a broad social movement can *lead to a change of the Corporate Food Regime by exerting social pressure on politics* (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). This united transnational social movement – let us call it the global food sovereignty movement – is composed of many movements in different localities across borders, who are aware

of the need for structural transformation of the food system. This awareness leads them to join the global food sovereignty movement which is united in demands for a structural transformation of the Corporate Food Regime.

If AFMs are aware of the underlying global structures, they can start aligning with the global food sovereignty movement, thus contributing to a food regime change. In other words, if we imagine the end of the road, AFMs need to become fully fledged social movements.

Given that an example of an AFM which might fulfill these conditions currently exists, I have the opportunity to investigate whether the constructed model functions in practice.

The example I talk about is the FPC in Cologne, the ERKU. Whether it is aware of the underlying structures and has the potential to activate local AFMs, thus overcoming the weaknesses of the current approach of most AFMs, will be investigated in the chapters 4 and 5.

4 Appealing and Healing - the Case of the “Ernährungsrat Köln und Umgebung”

In this section, I will justify the choice of choosing ERKU for this analysis and briefly introduce it. Then, I explain the process of the data analysis and report about my data.

4.1 Choice of Case

Of all German local AFMs I came across in my inquiry, ERKU stood out as the richest case due to its awareness of the global underlying structure of the dominant food system. The combination of practical action towards localizing the food system in Cologne and its surrounding areas, and the connection of its action to global food sovereignty made the case unique and important to investigate. Furthermore, a case in Germany was chosen for practical reasons (language, accessibility, contacts, thus convenience sample (Bryman, 2008)).

4.2 Organizational Structure of ERKU

Before I go into the data analysis, I will briefly delineate what ERKU is and how it is structured in order to reach its strategic goals. ERKU is the first FPC in Germany and an initiative of the association “Taste of Heimat e.V.” (English: Taste of Home Association). It has voluntary staff, except the managing director. At the preliminary network meeting in 2015, four thematic committees were founded. They represent the topics 1) Public Procurement and Food Education, 2) Regional Direct

Marketing, 3) Urban Agriculture and Edible City, and 4) Catering and Artisanal Food Production. They meet regularly in order to create and implement pilot projects which contribute to localizing the food system. The thematic committees are composed of interested actors from civil society, the private sector, the municipal government and other public authorities. Each of the four thematic committees has two representatives. The sum of all representatives, the chairman of the ERKU advisory board and ERKU's managing director form the coordination committee which meets biweekly and represents all members of ERKU and the thematic committees. The ERKU advisory board advises the municipal government on food policy issues and consists of 30 members: 1/3 of each, civil society, private sector (agriculture, retailing, and food service), and municipal government or other public authorities. The members of the latter are chosen so that as many public authorities as possible are represented. The advisory board has an elected chairman (Valentin Thurn), who is the initiator of ERKU. When I use the term ERKU, I refer to ERKU's network, the thematic committees, the coordination committee, and the ERKU advisory board.

4.3 Data Analysis

In this section, I will organize my data according to the social movements' theoretical framework and report about it. This enables me to infer from the data through the model I created and discuss the findings in chapter 5.

Collecting the data as introduced in section 2.2 allowed me to gain insights about ERKU's understanding of the problem, which influences its **aim, target authorities** and their **repertoire** (see Tilly's definition of social movements on p.12). To be able to make a statement of ERKU's potential to attract more participants, most importantly existing local AFMs, these factors will be related to the concept of WUNC. The reason for doing this is that the WUNC display of a social movement can be related to its internal success, impacting its ability to attract new members. Therefore, it is a useful means of assessing the potential of ERKU to bridge the action of local AFMs and the actions of social movements struggling against the global underlying structures of the Corporate Food Regime.

Now, I am going to report about the data, that means I reveal ERKU's aim, target authorities and repertoire including their relation to the WUNC constitutes. The capital letters in brackets are attributed to the data collection events (see Appendix 3).

4.4 Problem Perception, Aim, Target Authorities

4.4.1 Problem Perception

The problem is perceived by Valentin Thurn as follows: the current food system is not able to guarantee future food security for the growing human population. Instead, the intention of the dominant food system to create one big solution makes the problem worse and creates barriers for sustainable food production through excluding environmental and social externalities from the price (T). National governments, who should contribute to change this situation are influenced by lobbies and trade groups (T). Further, the problems of the Global South have their origin in the Global North¹⁵ (W). On the web page, the problem perception slightly differs. What is emphasized here is that decisions about our food are made far away as a result of the internationalization of the food system. A promotional video on the action of FPCs deepens the problem analysis and defines 1) worldwide farm exit of peasant farmers, 2) TNCs who dictate prices and norms, and 3) the long transportation of food resulting in environmental degradation as the problem. As a way out, the video presents a solution.

4.4.2 Aim, Target Authorities

According to the video, these problems can be overcome through a FPC induced change of the food system, starting in cities and municipalities. In the interview, Valentin Thurn claims that in order to feed the world, many small and local solutions in line with food sovereignty are necessary. Supporting this is ERKU's aim¹⁶ (T). Additionally, ERKU aims to help solve the problems in the Global South (W). This is reflected in the charter which outlines the guiding principles of ERKU – it says: “Good for the people in Cologne. Good for Cologne and the Region. Good for the World.” (ernährungsrat-köln.de, 2017).

In order to reach these two aims (small solutions in line with food sovereignty and helping the Global South), ERKU wants to support a substantial transformation (W). The strategy to achieve this transformation is to support a change in mentality in order to mobilize people for the exertion of pressure on political actors (W). Decision makers of ERKU are aware that **changes in policy from the municipal government, up to the national government (Z) and the EU level (T, W) are necessary to**

¹⁵ I use the terms “Global South/North” and “developing/developed countries” interchangeably in this thesis.

¹⁶ The term 'aim' describes the overarching goals ERKU wants to reach.

'Strategy' describes how the aim can be reached.

'Goal' describes the concrete means to realize the strategy.

To realize the goals, a repertoire (I use the term: **tactic**) is applied.

enable the creation of many small, local solutions, in line with food sovereignty. These changes in policy shall be reached by **exerting pressure on political actors from below** at the municipal, state, national, and EU level (target authorities). This must be done with a big number of people (T, W) and by **offering positive examples of the viability and achievability** (W) of the project of creating many small and local solutions¹⁷. The mobilization of an adequate number of people shall be achieved by linking actors in a learning-and-action network. In order to create such a **learning-and-action network** and to produce **positive examples**, ERKU has three goals: 1st) the connection of societal actors and actor groups which are already working towards local solutions, 2nd) the partial localization of the food system in Cologne, and 3rd) a change in mentality which motivates actors to engage in the aims of ERKU (InF, W, T, Z) and facilitates the previous goals. ERKU uses a big repertoire to reach these three goals, which will be presented below. All three goals can be better reached with a high WUNC display.

4.5 Repertoire

Two overarching tactics can be observed to reach the goals: first, the tactic of creating a big network in and outside of Cologne, henceforth called the **“network tactic”**; and second, the tactic of implementing pilot projects with a multi-stakeholder approach, henceforth called **“pilot project tactic”** which show the viability and achievability of localizing the food system.

4.5.1 The Network Tactic

I divide the network tactic into two main sub-tactics and a summary of alternative sub-tactics.

Involving Important Agents

The gist of the matter of involving important agents from the public, the political, as well as the media realm is the increase of WUNC. For reasons of space, I have assigned the detailed description of this sub-tactic to Appendix 4.

Organization of Strategic Public Events and Regular Public ERKU-, or Thematic Committee Meetings

The gist of this sub-tactic is, again, the increase of WUNC: first, the transparent, open, and democratic approach in meetings and events increases the trustworthiness and thus, the **worthiness** of ERKU as perceived by participants and interested actors (KCM, Z); second, the transparent and

¹⁷ Of course ERKU is only occupied with food system localization in Cologne and not in other locales, but they highly promote the foundation of food policy councils (FPC) in other locales.

straightforward organization increases the municipality's confidence in ERKU and the ERKU advisory board and subsequently increases the support for its goals (P).

The description of this sub-tactics was also assigned to Appendix 4 for reasons of space.

Alternative Sub-tactics to Increase WUNC

This section could also go in the Appendix, but since much of the novelty of ERKU is demonstrable in these sub-tactics I will keep it in the text

a) No local label

ERKU refrains from creating a local label as often done by initiatives which aim to localize the food system. According to Thurn, the reason for this decision is that labeling is in the hand of commercial structures. ERKU is a political community which does not want to be related to commercial structures (Thurn at InF). This increases worthiness. A label would furthermore cause conventional farmers to be excluded, thus preventing them from participating in a discussion where their input is perceived as valuable (Thurn at InF) (number increases). To enable civil society to distinguish between industrialized producers and small-scale producers, aiming to localize the food system, a catalog with criteria is developed (CC1, CC2). In-group/ out-group criteria are avoided, increasing unity (CC1). Many members of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft e.V. (AbL; English: Association for Peasant Agriculture) are in the ERKU network which shows that the emphasis on unifying factors is successful, benefiting the number. The AbL can build the bridge to animal rights activists which might also join the ERKU network (K).

b) Lobbying

When strategic decisions, events or even pilot projects are planned and the commitment of important key actors is too low to join, strategies like lobbying are applied (W, Z).

c) Leaving Framing Open

A big network means that the actors' interests in ERKU's goals can be quite different. Thus, the framing must be broad in order to keep the number high. The broad framing of ERKU's goals to localize the food system was visible on a political debate, organized *inter alia* by ERKU, where political parties drew several parallels to their political goals (except for the liberal party (FDP) which thinks that education is sufficient for food system change) (W).

d) Voluntary Work

What further increases the worthiness of ERKU is the fact that all engaged participants in ERKU itself or in its network and committees are doing **voluntary work**, except the managing director (CC1).

e) Independence

Moreover, the collaborations of ERKU visible on the web page are restricted to organizations which are engaged in the fight for human rights (Misereor), the democratic implementation of public projects (GLS Treuhand), and the municipal government. The **absence of private business and firms** increases worthiness. Additionally, Valentin Thurn is independent from any lobby groups such as Greenpeace, or conventional or organic farming (T). This can be good for worthiness and supports the growth in number as none of these groups feels excluded.

f) Network With Existing Initiatives

Initiatives or movements like SlowFood Deutschland.e.V., the Regionalwert AG (a national stock company which tries to build a local, fair, and environmentally friendly economy; regionalwert-ag.de, 2017), or the Agora Köln (a citizen's initiative which tries to contribute to the socio-ecological transformation in Cologne) are collaborating with ERKU which leads to an increase in number.

g) Transnational Conference

In November 2017, a transnational conference called “Ernährungsdemokratie jetzt!” (English: Food Democracy Now!) will take place in Essen, Germany. All initiatives which engage in the localization and democratization of the food system in German speaking nation-states are invited and shall be connected in a learning-and-action network (W, Z).

4.5.2 The Pilot Project Tactic

Before going into pilot projects as such, it is important to say that the very inclusive multi-stakeholder approach is an overarching approach (T).

The general logic of implementing pilot projects in Cologne is that their success can increase the **worthiness** of ERKU in the perception of politicians (W) and the general public (CMPP, P), subsequently, numbers can increase. In case of pilot project success, **unity** within ERKU increases because the common goal of localizing and democratizing the food system is partially achieved. Furthermore, the **commitment** of engaged actors is maintained or strengthened (Z).

Involving Scientists

When scientists are involved, (CMPP; W), projects may be perceived as more promising by participants and political actors because the outcome is more legitimate. The secondary outcome can be increased **commitment** because the participants think the solution is better (CMPP).

Involving Stakeholder Representatives

If children and respectable people are stakeholders and engaged in pilot projects, worthiness increases. Furthermore, if the process is democratic, worthiness and subsequently commitment increase (CC2; CMPP). Additionally, the number increases: by involving all stakeholder groups, the number of involved people increases (W). If involved stakeholders feel that they can make a difference, this increases their commitment for the according pilot project and ERKU's goals (W).

5 Findings, Discussion & Further Research

In this chapter, I interpret the data through the model I created (see figure Abbildung) based on the theory introduced in section 2.1. I present the findings thereby answering RQ3 (What are the characteristics of a promising or potentially successful food movement in practice?) and discuss them.

5.1 Findings

By summarizing the findings, I also answer RQ3:

From the collected evidence, I infer that ERKU is aware of the global underlying structure of the Corporate Food Regime and the need for political change to transform this structure.

I also infer that ERKU is trying to become a fully fledged social movement and has the potential to attract new members, in particular local AFMs. However, the framing could be more inclusive. "Frames have been described as discourses that define social problems, identify causes of the problems, suggest solutions, and mobilize people to action" (Stevenson et al., 2007, p.53)¹⁸.

¹⁸See Kolb, 2007 for more information.

5.2 Discussion

5.2.1 Awareness

The awareness of the global dimension of the Corporate Food Regime is unusual for AFMs according to literature. At first glance, most AFMs appear to be aware of the global dimension, but on closer inspection their actions contradict this, as they are limited to local to national arenas (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). Therefore, many scholars claim that this crucial step to fully recognize underlying structures is rarely done by AFMs (Alkon & Mares, 2012; Di Masso & Zografos, 2015; Fairbairn, 2012). I propose that the awareness of ERKU is linked to the production of two documentaries on food waste and future food security by Valentin Thurn and the educational background of Anna Wissmann (the managing director) in development and environmental studies. Both apply a critical realist ontology.

5.2.2 Multi-dimensional Strategic Orientation

A second crucial difference is the strategic orientation of ERKU. It is often said that AFMs chose to do work of either “builder”, “warrior”, or “weaver” groups; all of them complement each other in supporting food regime change (Stevenson et al., 2007). According to Stevenson et al. (2007), builder's activities are oriented towards what I outlined in section 3.1, recreating local food systems in an inclusive way. Warriors' activities target politics and civil society in order to resist the Corporate Food Regime. And weavers are occupied with the development of “strategic and conceptual linkages” between AFMs and other organizations working for food regime change (Stevenson et al., 2007, p.43). From ERKU's strategic goals I infer that ERKU combines builder, weaver, and warrior work. This is exciting as it increases ERKU's potential to reach its goals. One reason for ERKU standing out and overcoming the one-dimensional strategies of other AFMs could be its outstanding campaign. It results in increased access to resources e.g. through the collaboration with the municipality (e.g. see Dahlberg, 1994) which enables ERKU to follow its strategies. The lack of these resources could limit other AFMs (Allen et al., 2003; Clancy, Hammer, & Lippoldt, 2008). Whether other factors played a role is worthy of further study, since it might be relevant for other AFMs.

5.2.3 Public Attention

Lastly, the fact that ERKU attracts a lot of public attention is a contrast to what studies of others FPCs have found” (i.e. they have found that FPCs generally get little public attention). This could be because the ability to work effectively with the (municipal) government is assigned to low public attention as Clancy et al. (2008) found. The more likely reason: ERKU's strategy of mobilizing people

for pressuring politicians by supporting a change in mentality requires a lot of attention. Furthermore, one interviewee said that positive public attention increases the political will to support food system change. It is too early to draw final conclusions, but the tactic to increase public attention points to the strategy of 'public preference' as a causal mechanism for political change (Kolb, 2007).

5.2.4 EU level Focus

There are currently no plans to build a learning-and-action network on EU level although the aim to perform activities on the EU level exists; the organization of the transnational conference in November is a first step towards EU level. The reason could be that ERKU focuses first on the change in mentality (thus, pilot projects), hence, time for the EU focus lacks. Alternatively, ERKU might rely on other organizations which do weaver work on a transnational level in Europe or beyond. This could be a meaningful strategy as the political framework of food sovereignty is included into alternative transnational food movements like the “Nyéléni-Europe Movement for Food Sovereignty” (nyelenieurope.net, 2017). However, Nyéléni-Europe's framing is narrower than the current ERKU framing. Managing to merge the framings will be decisive for the success of the movement. If the framing of ERKU is much broader than the Nyéléni-Europe's, the actors mobilized as a result of ERKU tactics won't be committed to support collective actions suggested by Nyéléni-Europe. If the Nyéléni-Europe movement opens its framing it may increase its number. It will be interesting for further studies to clarify the framing and coalition possibilities for ERKU.

5.2.5 Framing

On this notion, the coverage of topics in the framing of ERKU is limited. In order to build a greatest possible network, ERKU should include topics like “health”, “climate protection”, and “animal welfare” in its framing. Also “fair payment” of farm workers is not made a big topic. Keeping in mind that these topics are not exhaustive of the framing, all of them offer already established networks and initiatives which would increase the number of ERKU members. Concurring with Clayton, Frattaroli, Palmer, and Pollack (2015), I suggest that partnerships with these networks would increase the number of people directly and quickly, and bring other benefits. I assume the links are missing because of the insufficient time to establish these connections since the foundation of ERKU – this is the impression I got “in the field”. Another reason could be that the question of food in relation to health, especially concerning meat (Beardsworth & Bryman, 2004), is a very delicate topic in many countries and therefore difficult to include in the framing. Nevertheless, it was suggested as

a potential frame for food movement coalitions in literature (MacRae 1997; Nestle 2002; Pollan 2003). An investigation of the framing can be a topic for further research.

5.3 Further Research

As the results of my study are preliminary, I suggest that further studies on ERKU's campaign, including its tactics, should be made.

Furthermore, research must concern the political opportunities for food regime change. The success of social movements is not only dependent on their internal strength (which was investigated through the WUNC display) but also on external opportunities (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001). How are those opportunities currently constituted in Germany and on a transnational level? When are strategically good moments to act? These are crucial questions for a successful outcome of ERKU's aims and goals and need to be clarified for the specific case of food regime change.

Also, the question of how ERKU will design its master-frame is interesting and could be used in other cases. A master-frame brings together various views on a social problem (Kolb, 2007). The question of a successful master-frame is open in food system change literature (Stevenson et al., 2007, Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011) but crucial, as finding a meaningful master-frame which increases the number of possible coalitions between social movements is decisive for food regime change (Buttel, 1997). Stevenson et al. (2007) suggest that coalitions must be formed within the food system change community and with other change communities which provide synergies between the problem perceptions (p.54). Proposals have been made concerning the anti-WTO coalition: sustainable human development was suggested. My point is that food system movements are also important for the fight against neoliberalism as the underlying structure of the Corporate Food Regime is rooted in neoliberalism. The overall goal of sustainability related movements must be to overcome neoliberalism for a more sustainable human existence on this planet.

Studies of other scholars have suggested that AFMs have the potential to change the Corporate Food Regime. Few have investigated this assumption, however. With this analysis, I show that -, and how - the crucial link between the work of builders, weavers and warriors is made in the case of ERKU. This makes me feel confident about the possibility for food regime change.

6 Limitations

The first limitation is related to the timeliness of this research. ERKU is still a very young organization (preparations started in 2015). Claims about the success of the campaign and the success of reaching its aims and strategic goals cannot be made yet. Whether cultural change will happen as a result of the tactics is unclear. And whether this change will result in the commitment to act contentiously cannot be predicted with certainty. However, the most important finding that ERKU is aware of the global underlying structures of the food system could be made and the attention this could channel on ERKU might lead to widening this awareness.

Second, data collection was limited to a certain period of time and saturation was not reached. This implies that things may have been missed. But since the overall strategic goals could be revealed I doubt they would affect the general conclusions.

And finally, the data used for this analysis are partially primary data gained from ERKU participants, thus, can be biased or even imprecise. The argument in favor of using this data is that the respondents have the best understanding of what occurs in ERKU. I am aware that the answers might diverge from what a neutral observer had said but, I didn't have time to corroborate the information I got in the interviews.

7 Conclusion & Significance

Summarizing, the most important findings of this analysis are that AFMs can contribute to a change of the Corporate Food Regime if they are aware of the underlying global structure. Therefore, they need to become a fully fledged social movement and form coalitions with a broader solidarity movement beyond the local in order to reach their goals.

There are many “embryonic examples of the ‘convergence in diversity’ among opponents of the neoliberal food regime that Amin (2008) claims is needed for regime change” (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p.134).

ERKU could serve as a model on a smaller level of how this convergence might be done.

This thesis highlights the importance of master-frames; the attempt to construct a master-frame for studying food system change should be the preoccupation of many researchers in sustainability science and other scientific fields in the face of a much needed broad social movement for food system change. Sustainability scientists can contribute to that, making use of trans-disciplinary

methods. Furthermore, sustainability- and other scientists can support existing domestic, regional or local AFM weaver organizations in the attempt to align with the political goals of the food sovereignty framework.

For political scientists and sociologists this thesis is important as its implications show that the assumption of prevailing structures in the investigation of supportive policies for local food systems must be replaced, further assuming structural changes.

And perhaps above all, for the general public this thesis can be useful as:

- AFMs can feel vindicated as their importance for a change of the Corporate Food Regime is highlighted, given that they incorporate into their activities an awareness of the global structures underlying the food system.
- AFMs recognize the importance of joining a coalition which supports a transformation of the Corporate Food Regime. This will enable them to adjust their strategic goals. They will try to increase the awareness of the global structures within their community.
- People who knew about the global structures but didn't have a strategy to fight against them learn with the help of this thesis how to support change. Hence, they can adjust their behavior.
- So called new social movements (Laraña, Hank, & Gusfield, 1994) or those who want to become it, recognize the potential of AFMs for system change. Such movements could be constituted by environmentalists, animal welfare activists, climate change activists, farm worker unions, etc. Thus, they are more likely to enter alliances with ERKU initiated network or the food sovereignty movement.

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Appendix 1: Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital

Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) developed the concept of habitus as a link between structure and agency. Social agents act according to the internalization of the social structure in which they grow up (Bourdieu, 1986). As Bourdieu (1990) explains it: “The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions produce conditions of existence, produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structuring structures predisposed to function as structuring structures [...]” (p. 53). Besides conceptualizing the habitus as being constituent of the internalization of social structure, leading to its unconscious reproduction, Bourdieu describes another mechanism influencing the habitus: the agency to participate in the games humans play, restricted by the unwritten rules that define the game and “motivated by the stakes”, both constituted by the social structure¹⁹ (Burawoy, 2002, p. 190). The continuity of the game, being itself defined by the field accommodating it (more on field see below) and its institutions, is then what determines social reproduction (Burawoy, 2002). Game playing is in Bourdieu's framework part of the human nature trying to control its environment (Burawoy, 2002). After scrutinizing Bourdieu's determinants of social action, Burawoy (2002) concluded that the internalized, deep notion of habitus leading to the impossibility of change apart from habitual adaption to external structural change can be dropped, leaving social agency open to the possibilities and constraints of game-playing in all kinds of field thus giving it (i.e. human agency) back the potential of contesting the social order and intending social change under certain conditions (which I will explain later). The explanation of Burawoy's (2002) conclusion was the finding that social agents don't reproduce the social structure because they internalized it, resulting in the habitus; but, because the conditions of social reproduction, and the concomitant domination of certain social classes, are mystified in the social structure itself (Burawoy, 2002). Mystification is then the reason for (in)action of social agents, thus reproducing power structures. This is in agreement with what I think and with what is useful for the analysis of this thesis. Without the notion of habitus as internalization of structure, the opposing views of structuralism and methodological individualism can more clearly be combined in the habitus.

Assuming that mystification obscures the truth about domination, it is important to understand the mechanisms that enable social agents to recognize domination, thus, the mechanisms of demystification. This is what leads me to the concept of *fields*.

¹⁹ In Burawoy's (2002) words, the second mechanism can be described as “the notion that human beings are constituted by the games they play, giving rise to a notion of social structure as rules that guide individual strategies” (p.190).

Field

For Bourdieu social fields are different social spheres constituted by their own unwritten rules, practices and logic of social action which includes the types of capital required to have access to the field. All characteristics of a field are imprinted on the habitus.

The logic of the field is determined as 'struggle' between the members of that field for the accumulation of rare resources and for symbolic power of/in that field. It can be understood as composing certain structures, actors (e.g. consumers, producers, politicians, etc.), and institutions. The historically determined rules of the field are tacitly and unconsciously accepted by the members of the field at the point of their entry. Those rules are labeled 'illusio' (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu, Beister, & Schwibs, 2001). The structure of the field reflects the power relations between struggling actors and institutions in the field, in other words it reflects the distribution of certain types of capital, which have been accumulated in earlier struggles and distributed subsequently between actors (Bourdieu, 1990). If more actors join the field, its capital increases.

The basis for all struggle is the distribution of power and thus, the distribution of symbolic capital, specific for each field. Power determines the position in each field. Bourdieu calls the consensus on the existence of a field-specific symbolic capital – hence, the rules determining the way of struggle or playing the game in the field – the 'doxa' or field-specific 'illusio' of a field of practice (Bourdieu, 1990). For actors external to the field, neither the doxa, nor the field in itself, is comprehensible. The influence of 'illusio' reaches as far as the field reaches. With more actors entering the field, adopting the 'illusio' and playing the game, the boundaries of the field become wider. By entering the field and competing in the struggle, actors reproduce the field as they believe in the value of what is at stake in the field, thus reproducing it (Bourdieu, Beister, & Schwibs, 2001).

The illusions of a field correspond with the wishes of agents being part of it. Each actor in a field has needs it wants to accomplish by being part of that field, in the sense that it offers certain legitimacies to actions which help to accomplish one's needs (Bourdieu, 1996).

The position (possession of power) of a social agent in a field is the result of the strategies and capitals deployed by it, its investment of field-specific capital into the game that is played for the stake of the power to (re)structure the field.

Those who accumulate most of the field-specific capital try to reproduce the social structure, thereby mystifying their capital (i.e. their domination) in form of symbolic capital. Those who have less capital tend to pursue strategies that overthrow the social structure once they recognize the domination.

As long as the expectations and opportunities in a field don't diverge, social actors continue believing in the 'illusio' of the field and maintain their habitus. However, when expectations and opportunities, dispositions and positions are discrepant, the 'illusio' of the field can't legitimize the rules of the game anymore and social agents react, maybe creating new rules or leaving the field. In other words, the domination is demystified which allows for a change of the habitus.

This is the leverage point of AFMs engaging in local food systems.

Capital

Let us turn back to the field-specific capital. Bourdieu divides capital into social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital and associates them with *power* (Bourdieu, 1986).

According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital relates to everything that is directly convertible into money, e.g. time, but also property rights. Cultural capital relates to education and could be a book, knowledge, or institutionalized as in titles or degrees. Social capital relates to social relations based on trust and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). All types of capital can be transformed into each other. Symbolic capital is the kind of capital which can represent the accumulation of all other forms of capital as legitimate, thus covering the domination of those who hold the capital. Bourdieu (1986) writes (p. 27): "Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital – in whatever form – insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity".

Appendix 2: WUNC concept

WUNC: Further Explanation

Constructed collective identities are incorporated in a high WUNC display (Tilly, 1999) and can, if recognized by the public as well aligned with their values and ideas, attract bystanders as they perceive a benefit in joining the social movement (Tilly, 1999). Hence, strong WUNC displays animate members of the public to participate in a social movement if the claims suit them (Tilly, 1999).

WUNC increases with each constituent increasing, so that one weak constituent can be compensated for by another ($\text{Impact} = W \times U \times N \times C$; Tilly, 1999). However, a missing constituent curtails the overall ability to challenge targeted authorities. In conclusion, a high WUNC display enables the social movement to exert more pressure on authorities and increases the likelihood of being heard and having demands addressed.

WUNC: An Exemplification by Tilly (1999)

Instead of defining the distinct WUNC features, Tilly exemplifies them:

Worthiness is created if a crowd appears in a decent condition, reflecting legitimization and trustworthiness, (e.g. when mothers and children join, respected personalities support the cause, etc). This justifies high political and public attention.

Unity is given if the group of people make cohesive claims and are buttressing the same cause. It can be performed by using symbols, colors, similar clothing, posters, etc. Also behavioral performances can reflect unity, such as holding hands, marching together, singing, chanting, etc.

Number means that there is a multitude of supporters. A high number could be observable by physically participating in events, petitions, membership enrollment, etc.

Commitment involves that people are willing to participate in social movements' activities, up to a certain 'cost' (Tarrow, 2011). This cost could reach from the participation in a protest, the risk of being arrested during a rally, traveling when going for a protest, to dying when protesting in a very rigid regime.

Appendix 3: Sequence of Data Collection Events

Overview of data collection events including from left to right the number, the date, the event, the attendees including the **acronyms** in brackets used in the text, the position of the interviewee, the location of the event, and the method.

No	Date	Event	Attendees and Acronym in brackets	Position	Location	Method
1	2017-04-24	Interview	Peschen, Konrad (P)	Head of the Environmental and Consumer Protection Office in Cologne municipal government	Cologne	Semi-structured interview
2	2017-04-24	Interview	Thurn, Valentin (T)	Initiator of ERKU and chairman of ERKU advisory board	Cologne	Semi-structured interview
3	2017-04-24	Coordination Committee meeting of ERKU	All thematic committee representatives and ERKU advisory board chairman Thurn and ERKU advisory board managing director Wissmann (CC1)	-	Cologne	Participant observation
4	2017-04-25	Thematic Committee meeting Public Procurement and Food Education	Committee board members and normal members (CMPP)	-	Cologne	Participant observation
5	2017-04-26	Information meeting for the foundation of the food policy council Frankfurt; keynote speaker: Thurn, Valentin	Preliminary actors involved in food policy council Frankfurt and Thurn (InF); if Thurn said something: (Thurn at InF)	-	Frankfurt	Participant observation
6	2017-	Interview	Zens, Peter	Thematic	Co-	Semi-

	04-27		(Z)	Committee board member of Public Procurement and Food Education	logne	structured interview
7	2017-04-28	Interview	Kabisch, Susanne (K)	Journalist and member of thematic Committee Regional Direct Marketing	Co-logne	Semi-structured interview
8	2017-05-15	Interview	Wissmann, Anna (W)	Managing director of ERKU	Co-logne	Semi-structured interview
9	2017-05-15	Coordination Committee meeting of ERKU	All thematic Committee board members and chairman/initiator Thurn and managing director Wissmann (CC2)	-	Co-logne	Participant observation
10	2017-05-23	Kickoff thematic Committee Meeting Catering and Artisanal Food Production	Preliminary committee members and ERKU advisory board chairman & initiator Thurn (KCM)	-	Co-logne	Participant observation

Appendix 4: The Network Tactic - Contd.

For reasons of space, a detailed description of two subtactics ERKU applies to increase its network are given in this Appendix.

A. Involving Important Agents

The strategy of involving important agents results in an increase of WUNC display. What follows is a closer look on what “involving important agents” means, how it is done and what it results in.

a. From the Public Realm

ERKU *involves actors who have a high authority in the public and the political realm*. If well-known actors or people who have a high authority in the public join the network of ERKU, civil society perceives the movement as being more credible (K)(increased **worthiness**). Examples of such actors from the public realm are Winfried Bommert (head of the institute for food security) and Frank Vasco (consumer protector on the state level of North Rhine-Westphalia) (K). Even the initiator of ERKU, and head of the ERKU advisory board, Valentin Thurn, has a good reputation in media and makes use of this (P) as he is the producer of two documentaries which scrutinize global food waste and future food security in the face of hunger and deteriorating resources. As a consequence, **worthiness** is increased. The involvement of a famous chef for a multi-stakeholder cooking event for one of the pilot projects is another example of the application of this method (KCM).

b. From the Political Realm

i. Municipal Government

If *people from the municipal government* join, civil society perceives the movement as being more legitimate (increased **worthiness**). The use of this mechanism can be seen on the ERKU web page where the mayor of Cologne is presenting the charter of ERKU together with the initiator Valentin Thurn on a photo from its founding event. Further, the text mentions explicitly that the mayor was present at the inauguration of ERKU. Second, municipal employees can support the **worthiness** in the sense that they know how mechanisms for a good media representation work (can also affect **unity, number, and commitment**) (Z). An example for this is given below in the case of the approval of a 'municipal government' suggestion to increase ERKU's public profile. Moreover, wherever possible, ERKU uses municipal financial resources to organize events which are suggested by the collaborating municipal employees in order to increase the awareness of the topic in civil society, thus, the **number** of interested people and the **commitment**, and which are suggested by the collaborating municipal employees (CC1; CC2). The commitment can also increase directly: the people who are engaged in ERKU's goals and the tactics might be more committed because they perceive the

possibility for effective change as higher; **if change happens as a result of the collaboration (has already happened in case of pilot projects), this can stabilize or increase the commitment of participants (Z)**. There are several ways which could lead to a more effective change: 1) municipal employees know which political strategies can better lead to success e.g. the development of a municipal food strategy can serve to secure financial resources for employees or other costs needed in ERKU projects; 2) municipal employees can support change in internal municipal decision-making processes if they are engaged in ERKU action, i.e. ERKU goals/tactics can be better realized if the municipality is involved; 3) the collaboration opens the access to important key decision makers (W). Not only municipal political actors are relevant, but also state politicians.

ii. State, Nation-state and Transnational Level

If **politicians from the state level join**, it gives the movement a higher credibility and increases the perceived importance of the topic (**worthiness** increases). As a secondary result, the **number** and the **commitment** of actors can also increase. So far, actors of the coordination committee show that the state level is perceived as important: they developed a good relationship with Minister Rimmel (Minister for the Environment, Agriculture, Nature- and Consumer Protection in North Rhine-Westphalia). Since Minister Rimmel was replaced after the state elections in May 2017, the coordination committee has expressed the will to deepen the connection to the state level, once the learning-and-action network at the state level is founded (CC2, W).

Even on the **national state level**, two important ERKU actors try to use their contacts to influence national politicians, thus trying to increase the likelihood of success of pilot projects (T, Z).

Lastly, **actors from the transnational level** (Brazil) have been invited to a conference in November which is supposed to show that the topic is of transnational importance (T). This can further increase the perceived **worthiness** and thus, the **number** and the **commitment**.

iii. From the Media Realm

Finally, ERKU has cultivated the **involvement of actors who work in media** (K), which can contribute to **WUNC** overall by framing ERKU so that it increases each of the WUNC constituents.

B. Organization of Strategic Public Events and Regular Public ERKU-, or Thematic Committee Meetings

First, the transparency (openness to the public) and the democratic approach in meetings and events increases the trustworthiness and thus, the **worthiness** of ERKU as perceived by participants and interested actors (KCM, Z); second, the transparent and straightforward organization increases the

municipality's confidence in ERKU and the ERKU advisory board and subsequently increases the support for the goals of ERKU (P). One example of the attempt to increase worthiness is that the preliminary network meeting in 2015 took place in the technical town hall in Cologne in order to secure a certain political standing (W). On the web page, it is mentioned that over a hundred persons attended, including farmers, representatives of civil initiatives, municipal employees, artisanal food processors, etc.

a. Events and Committee Meetings

During strategic events or thematic committee meetings, unifying goals are often emphasized which increases **unity** (CMPP). The openness of these events/meetings makes it easy for interested actors to join. One interviewee reports that the head of the building authority of another city attended a public committee meeting (K). If the interested actors feel persuaded and join the network, coming to important events (K), they increase the **number** and are **committed** as a result of the democratic approach (Z). The democratic approach increases the **commitment** of participants in that it gives them a voice in meetings / events (e.g. the visioning event) (CC1, Z).

The setting can also be a disadvantage: if the transparent and straightforward setting, e.g. as perceived by Anna Wissmann at the first ERKU advisory board meeting, does not allow for good networking, the **WUNC display can decrease**. As the coordination committee is aware of this, it experiments with more exciting settings (CC2; W).

b. Public Events

Public events to increase awareness in civil society about ERKU are organized (e.g. the New Year's Reception in 2017; Z). They are combined with the presence of public authorities and provide opportunities for informal networking which is important to strengthen the **commitment** and the **unity** (Z).

The members of the coordination committee and Konrad Peschen, head of the Environmental and Consumer Protection Office in the Cologne municipal government, are aware that ERKU needs to attract a bigger public audience, hence the tactics are changed to suit the occasion. ERKU's project is represented at bigger events in the form of cultural highlights (e.g. poetry slam; P) and information distribution (stand with flyers; CC1; CC2). This can increase awareness and, thus, the **number** of participants.

c. Regular Annual Meetings

ERKU holds regular general meetings (ernährungsrat-köln.de, 2017), where participants become aware of their common goals and the large number of like-minded members. This can be positive for the display of unity, number, and subsequently commitment.

d. Visioning Workshop

The visioning workshop which was planned for September 2017 can have an important role for the unity of ERKU. The unifying (common goals) features are emphasized and divisive issues are discussed and a common denominator is found; if not, they are simply not emphasized any longer for the sake of a good collaboration (increased **unity**). This makes everybody feel part of the whole movement (CC1, W, Z).