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**Collaborating towards
Berlin Food Policy**

*Exploring civic-state collaboration in current
urban food governance in Berlin – The Case of the
Berlin Food Strategy*

Dinah Hoffmann



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Berlin

COLLABORATING TOWARDS BERLIN FOOD POLICY

*EXPLORING CIVIC-STATE COLLABORATION IN CURRENT URBAN FOOD GOVERNANCE IN
BERLIN – THE CASE OF THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY*

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Course Code: RSO-80433

May 2019

Background image Source: [Alex Galperin](#) via [Unsplash](#) (CC0 license)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a journey on which numerous people provided me with support. First, I want to express my sincere gratitude towards my supervisor Oona Morrow who challenged my views, provided me with useful feedback and guidance through this at times overwhelming thesis process. Thank you for your consistent support, your kindness and patience, your words of encouragement, understanding and always having a sympathetic ear for me. A great thanks to all the respondents of my interviews who gave me their time and shared with me their views on Berlin food governance, a topic that many engage in with their hearts and minds.

My friends and family have been incredibly supportive throughout this period as well, which I am very thankful for. Julie, thank you for being such a good person, for your radiating calmness, and for caring about me when I forget to. You were the best thesis room and lunch break partner, thank you for the walks and tiny horse cuddles and most of all, thank you for always listening to my sudden loud flashes of inspiration which simply cannot be held back. To my friends and family in Wageningen and Berlin, thank you for building such a strong social safety net, for believing in me and encouraging me throughout this whole process. A special thanks to the UNISG people, thank you for the discussion rounds, the female power dinners and walks; it has been a pleasure having you as a part of my life in this time. And finally, a very special thanks to my family who always remind me to be ambitious and especially to my sister Daliah for supporting me continuously and distracting me when needed.

ABSTRACT

Urban food policy is an area that joins actors from civil society, academia, the local state and the market. To accomplish sustainable changes of local food systems these actors work together in governance arrangements. Two prominent instruments that are used in urban food governance where these actors collaborate are the food policy council and the urban food strategy. Both can be initiated through top-down or bottom-up processes or a combination of both with the relationship of local government and civil society having an impact on the success of the initiatives. One of the cities where civil society and local government engage in collaborative food governance is the city-state of Berlin, the biggest city in Germany, surrounded by the agricultural region of Brandenburg. Drawing on data from 11 interviews and 40 documents, this thesis describes and examines the nature of the relationship and governance arrangement of the two main actors in current Berlin food governance. The collaborative governance framework, a categorization of civic-state relationships found in urban food governance and the concepts of integrated food policy and institutionalization were used to guide the analysis. The objective of this thesis is to understand how civic-state collaboration in urban food governance looks like in Berlin, what impact the local context has on the development of the governance arrangement and what strengths and challenges involved stakeholders perceive. The two main stakeholders were found to be the civic food policy council *Ernährungsrat Berlin* and the *Berlin Senate Administration for Consumer Protection*. It was found that the *Ernährungsrat Berlin's* food policy activity brought forward a relationship where they are striving for independence but are linked to the government through a secondary agency, being the aforementioned administrative department. Although not embedded in municipal institutions, which has been identified as crucial for a food policy councils' success, the *Ernährungsrat Berlin* proved to be an agile and resilient structure able to successfully be an independent advocate for civil society and a valued advisor to the government. Their collaboration resulted in the development of a *Berlin Food Strategy*. In this thesis I investigate the process of developing this strategy as a form of collaborative governance. Regarding their governance arrangement around the *Berlin Food Strategy*, the involvement of the Green Party in the current coalition was found to have had a big impact on the position the *Ernährungsrat Berlin* but also food policy was able to occupy on the urban agenda. This research identified a number of strengths and challenges of the governance arrangement including a strong interdependence, a strong and long history of civic action, the presence of political food champions in the coalition and the administration, the limiting structure and functioning of the Senate administrations and the limited inclusiveness and representativeness of the *Ernährungsrat Berlin*.

Key words: urban food governance, urban food policy, food policy council, urban food strategy, collaborative governance, Berlin food strategy, Ernährungsrat Berlin, Senate of Berlin

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Berlin Food Strategy (German: <i>Berliner Ernährungsstrategie</i>)	BFS
House of Food/ Center for communal catering (German: <i>House of Food/ Zentrum für gute Gemeinschaftsverpflegung/Berliner Zentrum für gute Ernährung</i> (working titles))	HoF/CCC
Civil society organization	CSO
Collaborative Governance	CG
Ernährungsrat Berlin	ERB
Food policy council	FPC
Forum Gutes Essen	FGE
Milan Urban Food Policy Pact	MUFPP
Non-governmental organization	NGO
Senate Administration for Justice and Consumer Protection (German: Senatsverwaltung für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz)	SenJV (2012-2016)
Senate Administration for Justice, Consumer Protection and Antidiscrimination (German: Senatsverwaltung für Justiz, Verbraucherschutz und Antidiskriminierung)	SenJustVA (2016-2020)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Something is cooking in Berlin's food policy kitchen. After years of silence on municipal food policy, actors from civil society, academia, industry, and the local government have come together to discuss the current state and future of Berlin's food system, by developing the city's first Urban Food Strategy. With this step Berlin joins a growing number of European cities (including Amsterdam, London, and Malmö) who have recently drafted their food strategies, and many more cities across the world who have developed a food strategy as a starting point for transforming their local food systems.

My interest for this research was sparked when I took a course that dealt with the socio-political aspects influencing the interrelations between food, health, the environment and society. We looked into how these interrelations are reflected in governance arrangements, and in this context we explored how different cities are approaching food policy and food governance. We learned about many different approaches taken all over the world, from Melbourne, to San Francisco, Nairobi and Ghent and I couldn't help but wonder what steps are taken in this field, and who is involved in my home town Berlin.

Urban food policy in Berlin is now receiving more attention, in the media and on the streets¹, where debates arise around the future of urban gardens (Prösser, 2019), of public canteens or production and distribution of healthy, organic and fresh food in and around Berlin-Brandenburg (Baghernejad, 2018; Brüning, 2018; Jäger, n.d.; Kuhlmann, 2018; Niedenthal, 2018a, 2018b; Ronzheimer, 2018b, 2018a, 2018c). Food policy means "any decision, program or project that is endorsed by a government agency, business, or an organization which effects how food is produced, processed, distributed, purchased, protected and disposed" (Vancouver Food Policy Council, 2019). These decisions shape who eats what, when and how and with what consequences. Urban food policies are thus those decisions that fall under the jurisdiction of municipal governments (Mendes, 2016, p. 288). They are often found within broader goals of social, environmental and economic sustainability (Koç & Dahlberg, 1999) and i.e. support urban food production in gardens or on roof tops; encourage short food supply chains; ensure food access to vulnerable groups, and food shopping possibilities in walking or cycling distance; support waste management infrastructure; or support food festivities enhancing social inclusion and community capacity building (Mansfield & Mendes, 2013; Mendes, 2007, 2008, 2016).

Globally, the city's important role in making food policies and introducing innovative governance arrangements has been acknowledged – the local, municipal level is the one where new and creative tools are being tested and implemented. This has become evident with over 160 cities signing the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) in 2015 at the Expo committing to develop sustainable, inclusive, resilient, safe and diverse food systems that provide healthy and affordable food; encourage interdepartmental and cross-sector coordination; seek coherence across government levels (national, regional, international); review and amend policies and lastly, make use of the Framework for Action²

¹ In Berlin, food-issue focused demonstrations like "Wir haben es satt!" or the biannual festival "StadtLandFood" are attracting more and more participants and visitors.

² The Framework for Action addresses themes like an enabling an environment for effective governance; sustainable diets and nutrition; social and economic equity; food production; food supply, distribution and food waste.

(“Milan Urban Food Policy Pact,” 2015). City-dwellers used to be closely connected to their food sources, but over the course of the twentieth century with increasing industrialization and globalization of the food system, urban food systems have become so complex and large that city inhabitants simply lost touch with it (Steel, 2008). Food is shipped and flown globally, seasons do not matter anymore, and food cultures can be imported to almost anywhere. But with growing cities, more mouths need to be fed. Since more than half of the world’s population lives in urban areas now (United Nations, 2018) it makes sense that important food political decisions have to be made not only in rural areas or on a national level but also in cities. And with decreasing numbers of farmers³, with rural-to-urban migration and with the known effects of these long-chain food systems, the impact of food production and consumption habits on the climate, the environment, the planets and the people’s health (Wiskerke, 2009), urban citizens, policy makers and governments have to ask themselves where their food will come from in a sustainable way in the future and who will govern this transition. There is a growing awareness of the connections between various urban problems and food (Wiskerke, 2009). Hence, food is evolving into a policy lens, enabling a new and connected way to consider urban problems (Steel, 2008).

While many cities are jumping on this train only now, groups of urban dwellers have been creating more awareness and have become more active in dealing with food issues, in thinking, talking about it and working with it, by creating alternatives and forming organizations. There are farmers markets, community gardens, community-supported agriculture, urban beekeepers, edible urban orchards, green roofs, anti-food waste discos and many other initiatives where urban citizens found alternatives to the conventional system, by participating at various food events or educating themselves about the origins of their food. One example of a way to address these urban problems and find solutions to them by organizing collaboration, joint thinking and synergies among different stakeholders is the concept of a Food Policy Councils (FPC). The formation of civil-society initiated FPCs has become something like a trend in Germany with Cologne and Berlin being the forerunners. Since 2015 more than 10 have been established throughout Germany and numerous are in the process of formation (Stierand, 2018).

In this thesis I explore where Berlin stands in this movement of cities to develop food policy commitments. I introduce the *Ernährungsrat Berlin*, a citizen-led urban food policy council working towards food democracy and relocalization in the Berlin-Brandenburg region. The *Ernährungsrat* is composed of expertise and experiences from many people and places, and serves as a test kitchen for new policies and ideas in Berlin. I will furthermore explore their relationship to the local government and the governance arrangement they are engaged in. This exploration can broaden our understanding of the institutional forms and contexts that make for successful urban food governance.

This thesis starts with a literature review on important themes of urban food governance including food policy councils, urban food strategies and the general shift from government to governance. Following this introduction to the topic I present the problem statement, the research questions and the societal relevance. Next, the conceptual framework used for this thesis is presented, namely the

³ The concept of “Höfesterben” (dying of farms) is often mentioned in German media as a growing phenomenon and the latest EU statistics say that ¼ of holdings has disappeared resulting in a lower number of farms, but a growing average farm size. There are fewer but bigger farms ((eurostat: Statistics Explained, 2013)

collaborative governance framework and the typologies of urban food policy governance. The concepts of institutionalization and integration are described as well.

The methods are discussed in Chapter 2. The findings are presented and discussed from Chapter 3 to chapter 5. Through a short history of urban food governance in Berlin (Chapter 3) and a description of the main stakeholders involved (Chapter 4), I explore the collaboration between civil society and municipal actors that have led to the emergence and development of the *Ernährungsrat*, and the subsequent development of a Berlin urban food strategy (Chapter 5). This model of citizen-led urban food governance is then further discussed in chapter 6 considering the cultural and political context it operates within, the challenges of representation and inclusion, and the unique opportunities of working outside and alongside more formalized municipal institutions. Chapter 6 is also the last chapter of this thesis and ends with a reflection on the research and a conclusion providing summarized answers to the research questions.

1.1 BACKGROUND: URBAN FOOD GOVERNANCE

Feeding an increasingly urbanized world in a sustainable manner constitutes one of the great development challenges of our time. Food is not only a humans' fundamental need, it is also a vehicle for comprehending and tackling interrelated socioeconomic, cultural, political and ecological processes (Lang, Barling, & Caraher, 2009). Across the globe the importance of food on urban agendas has been on the rise since the late 1990's, as food policy councils arise and authors point to the importance of food for sustainable urban planning in times of "the new food equation" shaped by both ecological and social crisis including rapid urbanization, climate change and food insecurity among other factors (Dahlberg, 1994; Moragues-Faus & Morgan, 2015; Morgan, 2009; Morgan & Sonnino, 2010; Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999, 2000; Sonnino, 2009). Generally, cities are seen as creative, effective and innovative in introducing novel governance tools to tackle these problems. In the realm of food policy, it seems like more is possible on the urban level, than on the national and international level (Sonnino, 2009). Mayors and municipal governments are closer to the issues and to the people and seem to have more levers to tackle these complex issues (Barber, 2013). The pace at and comprehensiveness with which food is being adopted onto urban agendas differs from region to region, though. Some cities have already developed comprehensive urban food policies/strategies (e.g. Toronto, London, Belo Horizonte or New York) while other cities implemented more single-issue food policies (e.g. San Francisco, Quito, Rio de Janeiro) (IPES-Food, 2017).

As Koç and Dahlberg (Koç & Dahlberg, 1999) found out, there are three ways to introduce food into city governance: 1. establishing a food department; 2. forming a food policy council (FPC); and 3. developing a food strategy to integrate food into city planning. In urban food governance, the most prominent tools are FPCs and urban food strategies (Derkzen & Morgan, 2012; Scherb, Palmer, Frattaroli, & Pollack, 2012). They present examples of participatory decision making and new forms of governance in urban food policy (Mendes, 2016). Both can be top-down or bottom-up processes, involving civil society organizations (CSO) and the municipal government (and sometimes also local industry actors). They analyze the local context and come up with measures and instruments to tackle the challenges accordingly and treat food system issues holistically (Mansfield & Mendes, 2013; Moragues et al., 2013; Morgan, 2009).

1.1.1 THE FOOD POLICY COUNCIL

While in Germany the concept of FPCs is somewhat a novelty, they have been around in North America since the 1980s when the first one was established in 1982 in Knoxville, Tennessee. FPCs can be described as groups “that bring together people engaged in a wide variety of food organizations and activities to share ideas about and help initiate projects than advance community food security and food system sustainability and to develop public understanding that a sustainable and secure food system generates a wide mix of community benefits.” (Roberts, 2010, p. 173). Involved actors are usually from the areas of farming, processing, trade, gastronomy, academia, labor unions, environmental associations and representatives of the municipality, so public and private sector are also included (Hamilton, 2002, p. 447; Stierand, 2016c). FPCs typically exists outside of government structures and function as advisory boards (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999). The presence and mix of actor groups varies but five general functions have been identified: 1) to be serving as a forum for discussing food issues, 2) fostering coordination between sectors in the food system, 3) evaluating and influencing policy and 4) launching or supporting programs and services that address local needs (Harper et al., 2009, p. 2), as well as 5) educating each other and the public (Stierand, 2012a, p. 71). Typically, FPCs projects have a focus on food system assessment, municipal food policies and strategies, urban gardens and farms, community kitchens, local food, food access, public procurement, and lastly, conferences and events (Schiff, 2007 in Stierand, 2012). FPCs are regarded as the closes thing to centering attention for food related concerns at the local level (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999), they offer spaces for stakeholders to network with each other, spaces which enable and empower stakeholders of an urban food system.

FPC’s are often not embedded in government structures, but civil-society organizations (CSOs) are often involved in the formation of FPCs and they share the vision to sustainably change the food system of their cities. However, they do not have the decision-making power to do so. There is a need to collaborate with the municipalities – with the policy makers – and there are different ways to do so.

1.1.2 URBAN FOOD STRATEGIES

One way for CSOs and local governments to come together has been over the creation of urban food strategies. They are an example of participatory or collaborative governance as citizen groups and other local food system actors are often involved as partners of the local government in the creation (Mendes, 2016). Urban food strategies can be understood as policy documents that are aimed at mapping out the improvement of a city’s food system by bringing together a range of food policy goals, visions, targets and actions. In that sense, they are like a road map which helps governments to integrate the wide range of urban food system issues under a single policy framework including food production, food processing, food distribution, food access and food waste management (Mansfield & Mendes, 2013; Mendes & Sonnino, 2018). It can also be seen as more of a process, to put food on the urban agenda, to build on existing projects and policies by food system actors and to bring stakeholders together in order to “create synergistic effects” (Moragues et al., 2013, p. 6). Urban food strategies vary in the themes they address, the priorities they set and in their institutional location but common themes have been identified as including the local scale; health, nutrition and wellbeing; protecting the environment; community economic development; participatory governance, social inclusion and community capacity building; social justice and food security and food literacy and education (Mendes & Sonnino, 2018, p. 550). Regardless if seen as a policy document or process,

urban food strategies aim at improving the local food system, build on existing initiatives, create links between policies and actors, integrate new ideas, exhibit and address gaps and present future visions (Moragues et al., 2013).

Both FPCs and urban food strategies are ‘spaces of deliberation’ providing meeting places for civil society, private actors and the local state to transition towards a more just and sustainable urban food system (Moragues-Faus & Morgan, 2015). Having actors from all three sides, the public, the private and the civic sphere, involved in these spaces was found to be very important for the development of long-term food strategies, as well as for their legitimacy and resistance against political change (Wiskerke, 2009). Often the initiation of approaches for urban food policies comes from CSOs and for the implementation they depend on the municipalities to create the appropriate governance structures (Cohen & Ilieva, 2015). This hints at an interdependence of the two actor groups, which is why I want to look into the emerging alliance between local state and civil society in the evolution of urban food policy in Berlin.

1.1.3 FROM GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNANCE

In her paper on Urban Food Systems and Governance published in the book *Critical Perspectives in Food Studies*, Mendes (2016) argues that in recent years there has been a shift from *government* to *governance* when it comes to decision making about urban food systems, opening up spaces for more participation and civic involvement besides that of formal institutions. With a focus on governance, governments can make use of more participatory decision-making processes, bringing in more transparency. This participatory approach with the involvement of the community is crucial, as broad and active participation in decision making when it comes to food system issues has been identified as an essential aspect for food governance (Barling, Lang, & Caraher, 2002). This novel ‘steering instead of rowing’ function of the government implies substituting top-down ‘*government*’ with more collaborative and participatory ‘*governance*’ between state institutions and civic organizations (Newman, Barnes, Sullivan, & Knopw, 2004). This form of participation invites citizens to become “stakeholders in public service provision, participating in consultation exercises” and thus makes citizens take part in governance arrangements (Newman et al., 2004). To summarize, governments become more aware of food as an urban political issue and active citizen groups are pushing this movement forward, with their involvement being a crucial leverage. That is why civic-state collaboration is a point often stressed in existing food policy literature. Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015) address the collaboration between local state and CSO. They found that “concerted action of effective states and organized citizens at the local level” helps with the building of inclusive frames which are needed for the holistic transformation of the urban food system. According to Stierand (2014, p. 196), one of the main typical functions of FPC is influencing and evaluating the municipal food policy, which makes it important that the two collaborate. But there are also other ways these two stakeholder groups can be linked.

Different typologies or models exist for identifying the relationship and degree of links between the different actors in urban food governance. MacRae and Donahue (2013) identified six types of urban food governance arrangements based on those they found in Canadian cities. An overview of these can be found in Table 1 on page 20. They stress that some form of link, through funding or availability of staff or structures, is vital for the development of a long-term sustainable urban food policy (MacRae & Donahue, 2013). Stierand (2012a) proposes a simpler typology with three types of relationships between FPC and government: a) a government organization, b) a non-governmental

organization (NGO), and c) a hybrid model (Schiff, 2008 in Stierand, 2012) bringing together actors from the local government, economy and civil society at eye level (Stierand, 2014, p.171). Dahlberg (1994), Schiff (2007, 2008) and MacRae and Donahue (2013) all see the advantages of hybrid, formalized and institutionalized FPCs outweighing those of the NGO in terms of resource use, financing, power, legitimacy and flexibility. From Table 1, the hybrid relationship with direct governmental links is seen as the most efficient combination of resources, like funding, staff and other in-kind support, from civil society initiated FPC and government. These typologies are all based on north American FPCs which are embedded in a partially different socio-political context from the one present in Berlin. Therefore, this typology could be reviewed concerning its explanatory potential for food governance initiatives in Berlin. Besides, it should be noted that these categories can be viewed as development stages and that the lines between them are blurry as organizational development is a dynamic process, Anne Palmer from the Center for a Liveable Future writes on FPC structures (Palmer, 2016).

Besides various civic actors being involved with food issues, also different governmental sectors are relevant for urban food policy making and planning. Food policy is a topic which concerns several policy areas, demanding responses that cross the separate sectors and calls for cross-sector communication and collaboration, but this poses a challenge for governments (Barling et al., 2002). Mendes (2016) gives a good overview of the intersections between the food system issues and local governments' fields of responsibility. Governmental sectors that are concerned with food-related issues are for example: health, economy, urban planning, mobility, parks, waste management, consumer protection or education. By highlighting these nodes Mendes (2016) points towards the big variety of synergies that cities can harness from integrating food in a range of departments, and by working together towards a more sustainable and resilient food system. The benefits are linked to the development of healthier, greener or more sustainable cities.

Successful and long-term urban food strategies are built on the inclusion of a wide range of food issues, stakeholders and sectors (Reynolds, 2009). This suggests that both collaboration between a FPC and the local government as well as an integrated approach to food issues are very important for successful food policy outcomes, which can for example be seen with the extensively studied case of Toronto (Blay-Palmer, 2009; Roberts, 2010), where a FPC has been operating successfully for over 20 years and a food strategy was collaboratively developed. But important to mention here is, that the examples studied in literature all have their own unique settings, socially, politically, economically, etc., and therefore might not be examples to be replicated in the context of Berlin. Thus, local contexts need to be evaluated to determine what is relevant for approaching urban food governance.

Since in Germany municipal urban or regional food system planning is a relatively new phenomenon – the development stage in Germany three years ago was similar to that of the USA described by Pothukuchi and Kaufman (2000) 15 years ago (Doernberg, Voigt, Zasada, & Piorr, 2016) – not much research has been done on urban food governance in German cities⁴. Pothukuchi and Kaufman (2000) examined the presence of the food system in urban planning, practice and education and found that its presence was very limited that time. Doernberg et al. (2016) found that in Germany integrated

⁴ Scholars that have dealt with the topic are Phillip Stierand (2016b, 2016a), Anna Galda (2014) or Alexandra Doernberg, Paula Voigt, Ingo Zasada and Annette Piorr (2016) and Beatrice Walthall, who is currently writing her PhD dissertation on "Revealing Civic Actions in Urban Food Governance: The Case of Berlin"

urban food policies and their communication and implementation in the form of urban food strategies are still in their beginnings. They also found that administrative departments are not aware about the concept of strategic urban food planning and its potentials for urban development. The situation has changed since 2000 in north America with urban food strategies in place or under development in numerous cities including Seattle, San Francisco, New York, Toronto or Vancouver. With this field being new to the German context there is only little research available on the governance arrangement between CSOs and local government on urban food policy in Germany. But there might be the potential for a development similar to that in north America where cities started to pay more attention to incorporate food onto their urban agenda and into urban planning. Berlin represents an interesting case as urban food governance is rapidly gaining attention in the city. The collaboration taking place between the local municipal government and the FPC in Berlin seems to differ from what is suggested in literature, though. As mentioned, the hybrid model is regarded as the most successful. The FPC literature is used as an explanatory framework for how food policy should work and for suggesting best practices. I argue that, if the way proposed in literature does not apply, there might be other ways of successfully governing urban food systems collaboratively than those previously mentioned in the review. As collaboration between CSOs and local state has been identified as important for sustainably governing urban food systems and their transition, research in the area of governance arrangements of the local context in Berlin is needed.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT/PHENOMENA DESCRIPTION

As previously mentioned, collaboration has been identified by scholars as crucial for successful food policy making or food policy changes (IPES-Food, 2017; Reynolds, 2009). Food policy is a specific case for looking at collaborative governance and shifting relationship between government and civil society or this broader shift from government to governance. CSOs and local governments are two of the important identified actors involved in this collaboration. Furthermore, scholars have identified both institutionalization and integration as two powerful tools for long term success in urban food governance (Candel & Pereira, 2017; Reynolds, 2009; Sonnino, 2009). Urban food strategies are one tool of institutionalizing food policy (Moragues et al., 2013; Rossi & Brunori, 2015). As the developments around urban food governance are relatively recent in Berlin, the ERB is only three years old, resulting in very little research on urban food governance in Berlin. What is evident though is that in Berlin the initial motivation and willingness to change the system comes from the civic level. As mentioned the ERB and the Senate are currently working together on a food strategy. Not only has Berlin not been researched, but collaboration practices in Berlin seem to depart from established best practices in the literature (e.g. formal collaboration with direct links between FPC and administration). I believe that there is something we can learn from Berlin, about emerging models of urban food governance which are adapted to the local context. The local context is decisive as these food policy initiatives are embedded in a variety of structures that differ in every city or town. Simple copying of established food policy practices that have worked in a different setting can but will not always work, considering the contested and place-based nature of sustainable transitions under which food policies fall. Hence, different circumstances and environments require different approaches.

CSOs in Berlin are often the driving force behind food initiatives but lack the formal links and legitimacy to institutionalize and sustain the initiatives they produce and promote. Collaboration

between CSOs and local urban governments is therefore needed for urban food system transitions. To summarize, civic-state collaboration between CSOs and local government in urban food governance in the German context is under-researched due to its recent emergence. More empirical evidence is needed on the potential and limits of urban food policy making (Scherb et al., 2012), which is why I want to explore how these ‘spaces of deliberation’ were created in Berlin, their evolution, with a focus on the relationship between the local government and civil society. Understanding how these collaborations work or do not work will have broad relevance to the further development of urban food governance. This is why I looked for answers to the following questions.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How does urban food governance look like in Berlin?
 - a. What are the recent important developments (history)?
 - b. Who are the main stakeholders?
 - c. What is the relationship and the resulting governance arrangement between the Ernährungsrat Berlin and the Senate?
2. What are the strengths and challenges of the current Berlin food governance arrangement?
 - a. What are the features of collaborative governance found in urban food governance in Berlin?
 - b. What are the strengths?
 - c. What are the challenges?
 - d. How does this compare with the current literature?
3. What can we say about the value of the current urban food governance for institutionalizing and integrating food policy in Berlin?

1.4 SOCIETAL & SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Urban food governance is in its very early stages in Germany. Examining the case of Berlin will provide useful information on how to further manage the development of urban food governance arrangements. For example, by identifying the opportunities and challenges of the governance arrangement. From a scientific perspective, very little research has been done on urban food governance in Germany. There are governance typology schemes used for urban food governance which are based on cases in North America but as often mentioned, urban food governance is always dependent on the local context. Considering the place-based nature, successful governance arrangements could look different in Germany. The identified typologies might not account for the local phenomena. Relevant research needs to be conducted to enhance academics’ and policy makers’ understanding of the situation in Berlin. The case study of Berlin might then be relevant for other German municipalities with a similar context. As Berlin is the capital and among the first cities with a food policy council in Germany they act as a role model. Thus, the successful collaboration between civil society and state and the integration of food policy into government structures, is crucial to demonstrate the usefulness and importance of this collaboration to other cities as well as national governments and states.

1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In the following paragraphs I will explain how the problem will be looked at by describing the concept and tools which will guide the analysis.

1.5.1 COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE

Data will be analyzed through a collaborative governance (CG) lens. I chose this approach, as literature identified collaboration between government and CSO as the ideal base for urban food governance. It is suitable because urban food policies have just recently caught the attention of the government but have been debated for much longer among CSOs. As developing and building administrative governmental structures can be very time consuming, it would make sense for governments to incorporate existing infrastructure and know-how. CG “brings public and private stakeholders together in collective forums” (Ansell & Gash, 2008) and therefore creates a favorable environment for exploring and analyzing novel forms of collaboration regarding urban food governance. CG is a rather new strategy of governance, which emerged in local realities where previous governance attempts have failed (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Ansell and Gash (2008) define CG as:

“a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets.”

This means that the 1) collaboration is initiated by government agencies, 2) non-state actors participate, 3) participants do not only consult but actively take part in decision making, 4) meetings are formally organized, 5) processes are aimed at consensus decision making, and 6) public policy/management are the focus of the collaboration. In more simple terms they describe it as “a type of governance in which public and private actors work collectively in distinctive ways, using particular processes to establish law and rules for the provision of public goods.” (Ansell & Gash, 2008). What differentiates CG from public-private partnerships is the importance given to the institutionalization of a collective decision-making process. But since this definition limits CG to formal, state-initiated governance arrangements the broader definition proposed by Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012) seems more suitable for this research:

“The processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished.”

Here the emphasis is on the interdependent cooperation of people from different sectors and levels regardless of the origin of the initiation. For this research the combination of Ansell and Gash’s (2008) framework and Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh’s (2012) definition was used.

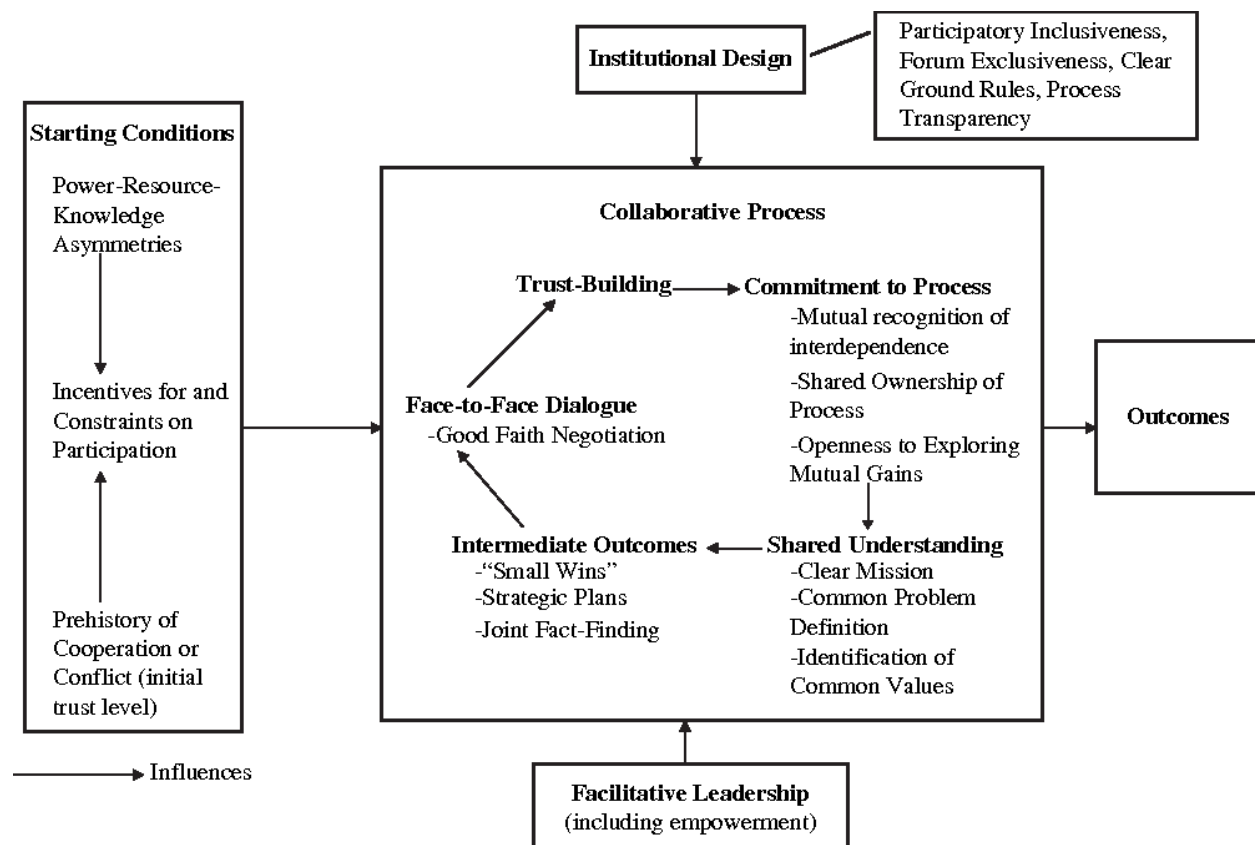


FIGURE 1: A MODEL OF COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE (ANSELL & GASH, 2008)

The model accompanying Ansell and Gash’s framework, depicted in Figure 1, shows how public stakeholders (in this case CSOs) work together with public agencies (e.g. local government) in pursuing consensus-oriented decision making. They identify five factors that are important to consider for explaining (un)successful collaboration between political agencies and civic ones (Figure 1). The starting conditions, meaning the prior history of conflict or cooperation, the incentives for stakeholders to participate, power and resource imbalances, lead to the collaborative process, which is influenced by institutional design and facilitative leadership and results in outcomes. They identify five variables that are important for the collaborative process: face-to-face dialogue, trust building, commitment to the process, shared understanding, and intermediate outcomes.

I applied this framework as a theoretical lens to explore and examine the urban food governance arrangement in Berlin. The framework was used to design the interview guide and well as to structure the collected data.

Since successful collaboration between non-state and state actors is important for successful urban food governance I examined the food governance arrangement and collaborative processes between the ERB and the Senate, looking at the factors and variables identified by Ansell and Gosh, revealing the “contextual conditions likely to facilitate or discourage the desired outcomes of” their collaboration by using this framework. I believe that CG provides one way to analyze how urban food systems are governed. It helped in pointing out the strengths and challenges of the collaborative work in the Berlin food governance.

1.5.2 TYPOLOGIES OF FOOD POLICY GOVERNANCE

The urban food governance in Berlin is one example where CSO (ERB in this case) and local government come together in a CG setting. The definition by Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012) asks for actors from different “levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres”. In Berlin food governance there are also other actors involved in urban food governance, but for the scope of this research the focus was laid on the relationship between ERB and local government. To aid in identifying and clarifying the relationship between the ERB and the Senate a typology for food policy governance arrangements, proposed by MacRae and Donahue (2013) was used. The type of relationship between the local government and the FPC defines the governance arrangement.

TABLE 1: TYPOLOGIES OF FOOD POLICY GOVERNANCE

No.	Typology type	Typology Description
1	Municipality driven	Initiatives are financed by the municipality and directed by municipal staff with advice from external groups. They are housed within existing municipal government units.
2	Hybrid governance with direct government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government with a conduit to decision makers through municipal council, and with municipal financing, political champions, and supportive staff. Characterized by formal municipal endorsements, structural links, and accountability to a government body.
3	Hybrid governance with indirect government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government, but with markedly fewer formal attachments and lower levels of financing and government staffing arrangements. The conduit to council is less direct, via departments and government staff.
4	Links to government via a secondary agent	No formal connection to government but linked through secondary agencies. They may have important ties to government (a municipally endorsed food charter) or receive some government grants.
5	Civil society organization with limited and informal government links	A civil society organization or project, in which government officials may participate. The organization may receive some government grants.
6	Independent organizations with no government links	No formal connection to government and do not seek to partner with government nor receive funding. The initiatives reflect clear structures and have the ability to engage government in food system change.

By examining the food governance arrangements of a few Canadian cities, MacRae and Donahue (2013) were able to distinguish six different types (Table 1). What is important to note is that these types differ in the degree of linkages between CSO (like the ERB) and the municipal government (Senate). Depending on the approach, top-down or bottom up, these linkages change in nature and

intensity. If it is more top-down, CSOs may advise but financing and direction comes from the municipality. By contrast, when CSOs initiate a food policy work they can be linked to the government through funding, staff support and availability of space to work in or hold meetings.

The two most extreme types on the scale represent the weakest or nonexistent linkages and thus, no collaboration. MacRae and Donahue (2013) state that a certain degree of cooperation is important for a long-term sustainable urban food policy and governance. They concluded that the second type, the “hybrid” form of governance has the highest chances of success, as it presents the most promising combination of resources from both sides. This type also fits into the collaborative governance definition previously described, being characterized by formal municipal endorsements, structural links, and accountability to a government body. The typologies can also be seen as development stages of a FPC, as an evolution (Palmer, 2016). The FPC can begin as an informal autonomous group and then become institutionalized with increasing contact to the government, or it can begin as a formal structure embedded in the government and take on an increasingly independent position through strong civic engagement. This typology will be used as a guide to describe the relationship between ERB and the Senate.

CG and the typologies are working on different scales. For this thesis, CG provides a wider more theoretical lens to view the governance arrangement in Berlin with. The CG framework was used to identify shortcomings and opportunities of the existing collaboration. The typologies are used to guide the description of the relationship between ERB and Senate in a more applied way.

1.5.3 INTEGRATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION: IMPORTANT FOOD POLICY ENABLERS AND OUTCOMES

Urban food policies occur in different “intensities”, with the more comprehensive ones being integrated approaches (Bricas, 2017 in IPES-Food, 2017). These are policies which aim to tackle a wide array of food system challenges. In order to do this, they require different municipal departments to work together and/or new food governance arrangements or bodies to be formed (IPES-Food, 2017). The concept of integrated food policy recognizes food as a policy field that transcends the boundaries of existing jurisdictions (Candel & Pereira, 2017) and refers to integration across policy areas and governance levels (IPES-Food, 2017). This acknowledges the relevance of CG where the emphasis is also put on the collaboration between different government levels, as well as private and civic actors. In the process, the food environment of the city needs to be analyzed (e.g. in the process of developing a food strategy). All the food related challenges the city faces need to be assessed as well as what the city can do to address them. Commonly, the less comprehensive, single-issue policies are used (e.g., to tackle obesity by introducing taxes on sugary drinks or junk food as seen in Berkeley or Navajo Nation in the United States). They target specific goals regarding specific concerns, for example consumer protection, public health or environmental protection. Food and therefore food policies, are not only about consumption but about the whole system ranging from production, processing, transport, trade, consumption to waste disposal. Hence, one challenge is for government departments, who are said to operate in “silos”, meaning that they lack communication and cooperation, to bridge the gaps between them and acknowledge that food is a connecting theme that requires an integrated approach to health, environmental and social issues (Lang et al., 2009). One way to help different departments acknowledge the importance of food for urban agendas and to ensure political commitment transcending electoral cycles is to institutionalize food policy by e.g. developing and incorporating it into a food strategy together with different municipal departments

and non-state actors, by creating an institutional home for a food policy and secure sufficient funding (IPES-Food, 2017). According to the Oxford Dictionary, institutionalization means the process of becoming a permanent or respected part of a society, a system or organization. To achieve this a CG approach is useful, as it is a possible way to create synergies for different departments and actor groups. Successful institutionalization and integration of food policy, or at least the development towards them, are seen as the outcomes of a successful collaboration between the ERB and the Senate.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I describe and justify the methodical choices made in this study. First of all, I explain why I opted for interpretative qualitative research. Then, I briefly explain the case and which respondents were selected. Next, I explain how the data was collected and analyzed. Finally, I justify which measures have been taken to guarantee the reliability and validity of this research. This thesis's research can be categorized under explorative research as the currently available empirical knowledge and data and the common understanding of the topic is still limited.

2.1 INTERPRETATIVE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In the introduction I described, that this study tries to explain how Berlin food governance has developed, who is involved, how the relationship between the most prominent stakeholders is, and what strengths and challenges the government arrangement is facing. This process takes place in a complex social context with many different types of actors, including various civil society organizations, other non-state actors, the government of Berlin with several Berlin Senate administrations, the Berlin House of Representatives, and the urban society of Berlin. Within this context it is investigated which choices the ERB and the SenJustVA have made, why these choices have been made and what impact they have. I chose qualitative interpretative research to investigate this. In qualitative research the researcher is trying to understand "opinions, attitudes, experiences, processes, behaviors, or predictions." (Rowley, 2012). In this research, I am looking for deeper connections and meanings, making quantitative research not applicable. It did not aim to gain any quantifiable results nor discover any patterns. Instead, the goal is to elaborate on the phenomena through interpretation of individual cases.

2.1.1 INTERPRETATIVE CASE RESEARCH

Interpretative case research was chosen because it fits in well with the research question. It enables the researcher to intensively study a phenomenon over time within its natural setting in one place (Pelz, 2015a), which in this research is the phenomenon of collaboration in urban food governance in Berlin. Interpretative research was deemed appropriate for this research as it assumes that "social reality is not singular or objective, but rather formed by human experiences and the social context", and that therefore, phenomena are best studied within their "socio-historic context by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants (epistemology)" (Pelz, 2015b). An interpretative researcher interprets reality through "sense-making" rather than hypothesis testing (Pelz, 2015). Considering the abstract nature of the phenomena of the present case, urban food governance and collaboration, choosing interpretative research as a method seems appropriate. In this way, members of the ERB, of the SenJustVA and other relevant actors could be asked about their views, opinions and experiences on and with the development of urban food governance (the "socio-historic context") and collaboration in Berlin. They could reflect on the events that have led to the current state of Berlin food policy, on the choices made by the ERB and the SenJustVA and on why these choices were made. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to interpret what the respondents see as strengths and what as challenges. In addition, interpretative research can provide an explanation of the influence that certain stakeholders have on the collaborative processes in urban food governance. It is very difficult to find out causal links between the actions of stakeholders and their respective influence on processes. I decided to investigate in which way the ERB collaborates with the SenJustVA to influence the development process of urban food governance in Berlin.

I chose a case study research design, which Yin (Yin, 2018) defines as “an empirical method that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident”. I decided to use case research as it can help derive rich, contextualized, and authentic interpretations of the phenomenon of interest. This is due to its “ability to capture a rich array of contextual data” (Pelz, 2015 a). Furthermore, the phenomenon of interest can be studied from the perspectives of multiple stakeholders and multiple levels of analysis can be used (Pelz, 2015 a). The research questions are about “a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control.” (Yin, 2018), meaning the events that led up to the initiation of a food strategy for Berlin, the people who are involved in its development and the type of collaboration that evolved during this process. I believe that this design is most suitable as it involves in-depth investigation of one specific area, the BFS development representing Berlin’s urban food governance.

2.1.2 THE CASE

This study was conducted on the basis of a case study design. The Berlin Food Strategy (BFS) process is the case in which it can be investigated what collaboration between an FPC and local government looks like, which factors in the local context influence the collaboration and which factors are seen as strengths and which as challenges. Also, the phase leading up to the BFS process is taken into account for a more detailed field of analysis. As most of the literature on the relationships between FPCs and local governments is based on north American or British types of municipal administrations, I decided to look at Berlin as a special context, being not just a city, but a city-state. I assumed that the type of relationship I find might differ from the ones already investigated and described in literature considering the effect of the local social and political context, the administrative structures on the functions, and thus relationships of FPCs to local governments. Therefore, this can be regarded as critical case sampling (Bryman, 2012, p. 419) where data is collected that allows a logical interference regarding a specific hypothesis. This study sought to clarify and explain the unique features of the case within its special context, investigating the relationship between the ERB and the SenJustVA in the process of the BFS development. Thus, I take on what is called an idiographic approach (Bryman, 2012, p.69).

On the other hand, it is also an exemplary case because it is about a civic-state collaborative process in the field of urban food governance that takes place in numerous cities across Germany, Europe and the globe in a broader sense (Bryman, 2012, pp.70-71). This means that the results could potentially be used to a limited extent for future local policy-making processes (Bryman, 2012, p.69).

2.2 RESEARCH POPULATION AND SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

The research population for this research was based on the findings of the pre-field work research phase into Berlin food governance and of the literature review. It is based on four broad areas:

- members of the ERB to include the civil society and their angle
- staff of the SenJustVA to include the governments’ perspective and understand the leading institution of municipal food policy
- members of the Berlin House of Representatives to include the view of policy makers

- academic experts, who are actively involved with urban food governance in Berlin to include viewpoints based on scientific research and guarantee more objective perspectives.

There are also a lot of other development organizations, NGO's, private sector stakeholders and senate administrations actively or passively involved in Berlin food governance, but it was deliberately chosen not to include them in the research population. This was done because the choice for the ERB and the SenJustVA defines the focus and the size of the research population more clearly and fits better within this research.

2.2.1 SAMPLING

I chose purposive sampling as it allows choosing "participants [or whatever the unit of analysis is] in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed" (Bryman, 2012, p.418). For this research participants were chosen who are familiar with the development of urban food governance in Berlin. Furthermore, I reviewed documents published by the research population.

In view of the time and scope of this study, it was also decided to use snowball sampling, meaning to select respondents based on the network of previous respondents. Some respondents contacted, for example one in the SenJustVA, referred me to other involved staff members, which I would have had a very hard time getting in touch with without any referral or help. Also, my supervisor referred me to some ERB members, who then referred me to other ERB members and members of the ERB speakers circle. Within the network of respondents that had been made available through snowball sampling, a choice was again made from these available respondents via theoretical sampling.

During the proposal phase of the study, I compiled a list with relevant actors from civil society, the Senate of Berlin, the House of Representatives and academia. Several measures were taken to ensure getting in touch with the intended people. I had exploratory phone conversations with two experts of the field, one researcher at a Berlin based consultancy firm for food policy who has already worked together with the Senate, and a food policy researcher, blogger and author. Both conversations helped to get a better understanding of the case and of which actors will be most relevant to talk to. Furthermore, I attended a general assembly of the ERB, which helped in deciding which members of the ERB are the most relevant for this research. At this event, initial contact with about four possible respondents (from the ERB, academia and consultancy) was made and I made sure that respondents knew about the research and the possibility of being contacted.

2.2.2 PARTICIPANT PROFILES

For the purposes of the study, the participants are chosen from organizations that are highly involved with Berlin food governance and civic-state collaboration. During sampling it became clear that there are specific organizations, and units in these organizations, more deeply involved than others. There are four organizations and specific areas that have been selected:

- the ERB's speakers circle,
- the Berlin Senate Administration for Consumer Protection,
- the Green Coalition of the Berlin House of Representatives,
- as well as academics, scholars and researchers active in Berlin Food Governance research.

The people in these four fields represent different sides of urban food governance, which allows for more well-rounded results without a concentration on a certain side.

In the end it proved to be more difficult to get in touch with people from the political side than with those of the civil society side. After contact was established, it was rather difficult to set an interview date. I conducted my field work between November and January, a time where deadlines had to be met and people were very busy. Nevertheless, I managed to speak to people from all sides but could not get ahold of people in political leadership positions in the administration. I talked to four members of the ERB's speakers circle, three staff members of the SenJustVA, one Green Member of the Berlin House of Representatives, one employee of an NGO that is doing research, consultancy, education and networking for sustainable food systems and strategies, one academic from a renowned Berlin University researching urban food governance topics, who is also involved with the ERB, and lastly a food policy researcher, blogger and author, who is more of an outside observer. A total of 11 respondents were interviewed, 10 of which allowed to be recorded. To complement the recordings, I took handwritten notes during every interview. Theoretical sampling involves looking for respondents who form an exception or who can tell the other side of the story. In order to meet this requirement, I looked for respondents from the political side, the administrative side, the civic side and also more "neutral" outside observers conducting research on this urban food governance in Germany, although it is hard to judge how neutral someone is. An overview of the respondents and the categories they belong to is found in Table 2.

Respondent Code	Category
R1	ERB; Academia & Research
R2	ERB; Academia & Research
R3	ERB; Research
R4	ERB
R5	ERB
R6	Research; Urban Planning
R7	SenJustVA/service contractor/Research (ERB)
R8	Parliament, Green Party; (ERB)
R9	SenJustVA
R10	SenJustVA
R11	SenJustVA

Table 2: Interview respondents code and their categories.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION

For this research, most of the data was collected through interviews. In addition, documents have also been collected, read and analyzed.

2.3.1 INTERVIEWS

Respondents were asked about their own experiences, perceptions, visions for and views on the civic-state relationship in Berlin Food Governance. The interviews were conducted in a *semi-structured* manner (Bryman, 2012, p.498), by using an interview guide, containing the relevant topics. I based the guide on literature. My interview guide can be found in Annex 1. It left enough room for the respondents' own story within these subjects. This was an attempt to retrieve all relevant information

about the research topic from the interview, without steering it (Bryman, 2012, pp. 471-472). All the interviews were conducted face-to-face in German, which is my mother tongue. There are several advantages of face-to-face interviews, for instance the chance to also reflect on non-verbal behavior (Bryman, 2012, p. 668). The interviews were conducted between November 2018 and January 2019. To accommodate the interviewees and in the light of their busy schedules I always let them choose a time and place. The locations chosen by the interviewees were either familiar cafes, restaurants and bars conveniently reachable for them, rooms in the workplace of the interviewee and also their homes. Letting them choose the location increases the chances of them perceiving the environment as safe and non-threatening. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours with the average time being an hour. As all the chosen interviewees are actively involved in urban food governance in Berlin, and with the topic of the BFS being so present, and with Wageningen University being known by many as housing many researchers of this field, it was easy to establish rapport with most of the interviewees.

With regards to the first research question on the development of urban food governance in Berlin, this part of the interviews can be regarded as an *oral history interview*. To overcome the possible introduction of bias due to memory lapses and distortions (Bryman, 2012, pp. 491), the answers were collated with documents.

2.3.2 DOCUMENTS

Documents helped in deciding on relevant stakeholders. Various documents, around 40, were used for this research to support or add to the findings of the interviews and to deepen the analysis of the food governance arrangement found in Berlin (Bryman, 2012, pp.550-554). These were documents published by the ERB (e.g.: Catalogue of Demands or Statute), the SenJustVA (e.g.; their website content, minutes from the FGE, documents related to the BFS) and the Berlin House of Representatives (e.g.: parliamentary inquiries and requests), but also media articles covering recent events connected to the topic. The policy documents contain policy goals for Berlin food policy, process descriptions of the BFS, views on urban food governance in Berlin and visions for the further development. The documents explicitly used can be found in the reference list/bibliography, though it should be noted that not all documents looked at were explicitly used.

2.4 DATA ANALYSIS

In qualitative research, data collection and data analysis are not strictly separated from each other. It is not a linear process, nor was this research. The results of the interim analysis have partly determined which data still needed to be collected in further interviews or through documents (Boeije, 2010). This means that all gathered data needs to be organized and arranged in a systematic way, for it to be able to lead to an answer to the main question (Boeije, 2010). Before the analysis could take place, the data had to be prepared for this. After conducting the interviews, in accordance with Creswell (2014), before the data was analyzed it needed 1) organizing and preparation for analysis including transcribing, 2) thoroughly reading all the data to extract general meanings and themes done while transcribing, 3) developing and implementing a coding system, putting the data into categories, and 4) interpreting the results.

2.4.1 ANALYZING A GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENT

To be able to analyze the relationship between the ERB and the SenJustVA specific questions were asked concerning this connection. These were included in the interview guide. During the interviews I tried to get more information on and capture peoples' perceptions and satisfactions regarding:

- the functioning of the collaboration,
- how the collaboration works in practice,
- what the two stakeholders share,
- what are they working on together,
- how they interact,
- which individuals in each organization are actually interacting with each other.

This was informed by the theoretical framework, specifically by the collaborative governance framework (Ansell & Gash, 2008) and the typologies of food policy governance (MacRae & Donahue, 2013).

2.4.2 CODING

The recorded interviews were transcribed to subsequently process them textually (Boeije, 2010; Bryman, 2012, pp.482-484). The interviews were coded, with themes and categories linked to my research questions. A list of codes can be found in Annex 2. Coding was done with the help of the ATLAS.ti program and has taken place in three phases:

Phase 1: Deductive Coding. An initial set of codes was compiled based on concepts linked to the research questions (derived from the literature review) and on the general meanings and themes that were remembered from thoroughly reading the interview transcripts. These codes were related to the collaborative governance framework, the stakeholders, the Ernährungsrat Berlin (ERB), the Senate structure, the local context, institutionalization, integrated food policy and inter-departmental collaboration, as well as strength and challenge.

Phase 2: Inductive Coding. During coding, more codes relevant for the research questions were added to the list as they came up in the data. These were more detailed descriptions of the Ernährungsrat Berlin (financing, structure, vision, network), of the local context (civil society, political, green) and Brandenburg.

Phase 3: after the ATLAS.ti coding was done reports that ATLAS.ti generates were printed for every code with the quotations, comments and all divided by respondents. On these printed reports further coding was done manually to structure the data in even more detail and get a better overview of the reoccurring common themes.

The data analysis provided the brief historical description of urban food governance in Berlin, identified the relevant stakeholders involved in Berlin food governance, described their structures and relationship and analyzed the evolving governance arrangement in the light of the BFS process and therefore provided the data to answer the research questions.

2.5 QUALITY CRITERIA

To guarantee the quality of the research, quality criteria were considered throughout the research process. Various steps were taken to ensure that the findings and conclusions represent social reality as well as possible (Boeije, 2010). Certain measures were applied to increase the reliability and validity of the research (Boeije, 2010; Bryman, 2012, pp. 389-390). In the previous part of the method chapter, several measures were already mentioned which indirectly contribute to the reliability and validity of the research, such as the selection of respondents, the use of semi-structured interviews and the transcription of the interviews. Below I discuss measures that have not yet been explicitly mentioned, but which contribute to guarantee the quality of this study.

2.5.1 *RELIABILITY, REPLICABILITY AND VALIDITY*

Reliability means the results of the study need to be repeatable (Bryman 2015, p.46). By openly spelling out and discussing my methods in this chapter and by discussing them with my supervisor during the proposal, field work and writing phase a sort of external control was used aiming at making this study reliable and replicable (Boeije, 2010). To increase repeatability, it is important to minimize the influence of the researcher on the research (Boeije, 2010; Bryman, 2012, p.390). In this study, this was mainly relevant during the interviews. I have a personal affinity with the topic and thus, needed to actively take on an objective attitude. However, the fact that semi-structured interviews can never be exactly repeated must be considered. The interviews have been made traceable by using the topic list.

To increase internal validity, in addition to interviews, the researcher made use of documents to check the statements made by respondents. This is a form of triangulation. Secondly, respondents were interviewed who experienced the process from different perspectives. This has already been explained above in the theoretical selection of respondents. External validity does not apply to qualitative research.

CHAPTER 3: DEVELOPMENTS OF BERLIN FOOD GOVERNANCE

3.1 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

To understand the current state of food governance and policy in Berlin it is important to look at the developments leading up to the latest occurrences. By asking the interview respondents on their view on the history and development of food governance and food policy as well as examining documents and media articles to check and add to the interview information, I gathered the data needed to draw a picture of the recent history. In this chapter I give an overview of the milestones that have shaped the advancements.

3.1.1 THE BEGINNINGS

Among the interviewees, there was a consensus that the beginning of communal food governance in Berlin was the period between 2015 and 2016 but also, that there were important events preceding this period, shaping the local context which enabled the development of the current state of Berlin food governance. R2 (ERB) for instance noted that already before 2015,

...since 2012 relatively a lot happened. Before that, the term food governance wasn't used much. People thought, what is that actually? What do we have to do with it as a city? The debates went more in the direction, we are not involved with agriculture etc. The responsibility was shifted away. (R2/ERB)

...ungefähr ab 2012 [ist] relativ viel passiert. Also davor war der Begriff Ernährungspolitik noch nicht so in aller Munde. Da dachte man erst so, was ist das überhaupt? Also, was haben wir als Stadt damit zu tun? Und da gingen auch noch die Debatten, also gingen in diese Richtung, wir haben ja nichts mit Landwirtschaft zu tun und so weiter und sofort. Da wurde das noch ein bisschen, also diese Verantwortung abgeschoben. (R2/ERB)

Important to note is that while the city government was shifting away agricultural responsibilities⁵, which happened in 2003/2004 with the agricultural state contract where Berlin shifted these responsibilities to Brandenburg (Ministerium für Ländliche Entwicklung, 2003) a lot happened on the

⁵ The responsibility shift in question refers to the agricultural state contract signed in 2003/2004 by Berlin and Brandenburg in which Berlin ceded all agricultural tasks to Brandenburg meaning that the Land Berlin has transferred the implementation of laws and regulations on agriculture to the Brandenburg Agricultural Administration (Senatsverwaltung für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, 2019). Berlin pays an annual fee to Brandenburg to handle these tasks. The Berlin SenJustVA has a coordination function regarding this contract. With this contract Berlin gave up its voice regarding regional agriculture and thus its direct administrative influence on possible food provisioning from the region. Berlin used to be characterized by small gardens in big agricultural areas inside the city (Lummel, 2004 in Stierand, 2008, p. 31). Berlin still owns land in Brandenburg (Berliner Stadtgüter GmbH, a state-owned GmbH, with the city-state Berlin being a shareholder) and there are still a couple of farms or farm like structures within the city borders like Domäne Dahlem, the CSA Speisegut, Bauernhof Milchhof Mendler in Berlin-Rudow, or StadtGut Blankenfelde in Berlin-Pankow. Brandenburg canceled the contract last year. Until 2020/21 it will be re-negotiated. It is a chance for Berlin to regain some of these responsibilities. Around the same time (from 2003 to 2008) Berlin also privatized a lot of the city-owned agriculturally used land (Schulz, 2005) but ended up keeping some of the properties which the Stadtgüter GmbH leases (Fahrn, 2007). Still, by privatizing and outsourcing agricultural administrative tasks, the city of Berlin cannot control what and how products are produced in its immediate surroundings.

grassroot level in the city, especially the urban gardening movement gained momentum. As R2 (ERB) mentioned:

Simultaneously, a lot developed in the grassroots movement. Urban Gardening has been around for a long time, I think they are the ones who led the way and brought the topic [urban food policy and food governance]) to people's attention.

Gleichzeitig entstand sehr viel in dieser sag ich mal so Graswurzelbewegung. Urban Gardening ist schon viel länger, das sind so glaub ich in Berlin mit die Vorreiter, die das Thema reingebracht haben. Das kam also über die Schiene des Urban Gardening.

Besides the growing urban gardening movement bringing food topics to people's attention⁶, in a city like Berlin there were also events taking place where concerned citizens could encounter each other and academics and discussions around urban food systems started. One of these events was pointed out by R2 (ERB), an art exhibition named "*Hungry City*" in the fall of 2012. As part of the exhibitions' accompanying program, which addressed the connection between the city, the countryside and food (Bethanien, 2012), there were several talks given, one on the concept of *urban food policy* and another one on *continues productive urban landscapes*. These talks⁷ have initiated a debate around the politics of food and

...in the context of this exhibition the idea of a food policy council was floated for the first time. [...] this is where the debate and the idea generation started (R2/ERB).

...im Rahmen dieser Ausstellung wurde dann erstmals die Idee des Ernährungsrates mit in den Raum geworfen. [...] da hat die Debatte und die Ideenfindung angefangen (R2/ERB).

With these talks the involved civil society was informed on and inspired by what is currently being researched by academics and being implemented in other cities. They were also presented with what is already happening in Berlin and confronted with the slow or non-existent developments regarding food policy on the local government level. Researchers from the Free University Berlin, Technical University Berlin and Humboldt University presented their research and had the opportunity to discuss the state and envisioned future of the city's food system. Another event that has contributed to the debates is the [Sustainable Food Planning](#) conference of the Association of European Schools of Planning which took place in Berlin in November 2012⁸. This conference sparked ideas and

⁶ For more on the beginning of urban agriculture in Berlin see references: Landesverband der Berliner Gartenfreunde (2001) ; Theobald (1996) or Meyer-Renschhausen (2011, pp. 4–5)

⁷ Other talks of the accompanying program had the titles "Old cities - new ways. London - Berlin and urban agriculture" (Katrin Bohn -TU Berlin/University of Brighton), "From the black to the white kitchen or from belief to science with paradoxical consequences for life in the city" (Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen - FU Berlin/Allmende Kontor), "Business as usual is not an option: overeating and hunger - farmers dying and agribusiness" (Benny Härlin - Zukunftsstiftung Landwirtschaft), "On the disappearance and return of urban food policy" (Dr. Philipp Stierand), and "The FoodScapes of urban plants – Presentation of student fieldwork on current culinary and garden culture" (Prof. dr. Ulf Matthiesen & Ulla Drenckhan - Institute of European Ethnology, Humboldt University Berlin)(Stierand, 2012b).

⁸ The TU Berlin department "[Freiraumplanung](#)" co-organized the conference. It had the title „Evolving places, processes, products" and conference participants visited various projects in Berlin ([ECF Containerfarm](#) ;[Prinzessinnengarten](#) ;[Landwirtschaftspark Herzberge](#) ;[Spiel/Feld Marzahn](#) (Kreuzberg Salon, 2012).

encouraged scholarly exchange as researchers from all over the world came together for a weekend to present their own research and explore parts of Berlin's food system.

R2 (ERB) noted that, despite these events, it took some time before actors from academia and civil society teamed up and took action. Initiating such a process needs time and people who feel responsible for taking the lead. While the number of actors and organizations in this field steadily grew and the dispersed actors in civil society were slowly finding their ways to each other, the debate started to arrive at the political level. A certain awareness for them was developed (R2/ERB). R2 (ERB) explains the emergence of political awareness in Berlin with the political measures taken in other cities on both the international and the local level. There was a competitive pressure as other European cities took measures regarding sustainable food system transformation and integrated food policies. Cities like London, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Malmö, Ghent and Bristol have municipally endorsed or supported urban food strategies and FPC's since between 2005 and 2013. In these cities the awareness of including food in urban planning was more present in governments than in Berlin. In both the UK and the Netherlands there are also famous universities dealing with food topics⁹. Having these knowledge centers has an impact on developments, as universities collaborate with local governments. Furthermore, there was pressure from below, from the civic level where an increasing number of groups was established, and citizens' demands for and interest in sustainable food grew¹⁰ (BMEL, 2015, 2017, 2018; Köhler & Stüber, 2016). At some point the local government had to become involved. R2 (ERB) refers to this period between 2012 and 2015 as a "*window of opportunity*". R1 (ERB) supports R2's (ERB) statement as around this time changes and developments took place in the city, i.e. the start of projects like *Ackerdemia e.V.*¹¹, and the public debate on state-run canteens serving healthier, more organic and regional food¹², symbolizing a certain sensitivity:

Something started to develop, and sustainable food systems were increasingly regarded as important (R1/ERB).

Da hat sich was entwickelt und nachhaltige Ernährungssysteme wurden zunehmend für wichtig befunden (R1/ERB).

Furthermore, R8 (parliament) mentioned numerous parliamentary inquiries and motions filed by the green fraction (being the opposition back then) aiming at sensitizing the ruling coalition and the local government to food topics in relation to the environment, health and economy. R8 (parliament) noted that in 2013, one of the requests was taken up by the Senate Administration for Justice and Consumer Protection (SenJV; 2012-2016) and a project was initiated aimed at raising awareness and educating Berliners regarding food appreciation and waste¹³. Thus, although the civic organic-, urban

⁹ for example, the City University London with its Centre for Food Policy, Cardiff University with its Research Centre for Sustainable Urban and Regional Food, Wageningen University with its focus on food and life sciences and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam with its Amsterdam Centre for World Food Studies.

¹⁰ Berlin is the „organic consumer capital“ of Europe and there are around 200 organic shops in the city.

¹¹ *Ackerdemia e.V.* is a holistic education project aimed at teaching school children about the food system through farm visits and hands-on experience along the supply chain

¹² The first vegetarian canteen was already opened in 2010, '*Veggie No.1 – die grüne Mensa*' on the campus of the Free University Berlin. The *Studierendenwerk Berlin* is managing the University food and established a climate friendly offer in 2011 (GV-nachhaltig, 2015). Since 2019 there is also a completely vegan canteen.

¹³ This project was called "*Wertewochen*", and happened annually, from 2013 to 2017 (when it was renamed to "*Gutes Essen Berlin*"). It lasts for a week. Another forum called "*Wertschätzung Lebensmittel*" was also initiated.

gardening-, and anti-food waste movements have been active for many years, from 2013 onwards developments happened simultaneously on the civic and the political level. This can be tracked by looking at Figure 2 (on p.35), a timeline of the developments. The “window of opportunity” was widened, when the Green party became part of the Berlin government coalition in 2016. It is the access point, that had been missing, for the active civic level to have a direct access to the political level. Before further emphasizing the meaning of the Green party for the developments of Berlin food policy, there are several milestones worth mentioning.

3.1.2 INCIPIENT STAGES OF CIVIC AND POLICY STRUCTURES

The start of communal food policy in Berlin was the signing of the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) in 2015 by the former State Secretary for Consumer Protection¹⁴ committing Berlin to advance measures for a sustainable food system transformation. Connected to the signing of the MUFPP was the establishment of a municipal food policy council: The *Forum Gutes Essen* (FGE). Representatives of the ERB were among the attendees of the FGE meetings. They criticized the level of transparency, the exclusivity of the membership (invite only), and the unclear vision for food system change across departments. The motivation behind this initiation as well as its timing was regarded as disputable. R2 (ERB), who closely traced the developments, referred to the FGE as “symbolic politics”, and criticized the strong focus on industry actors over civic actors in the meetings¹⁵. The timing of the FGE’s launch was disputable as the state secretary launched the FGE while being aware of the ERB’s predecessor. This move was met with incomprehension by the initiators of the ERB, as they had introduced themselves and the idea of food policy councils to the state secretary. The ERB’s predecessor¹⁶ made its first public appearance as a Berlin food policy council in October 2014 during a food festival (*StadtLandFood*) where the SenJV was also present. The FGE was initiated right around the time of the MUFPP making it seem like a quick move to declare Berlin’s dedication and action regarding urban food policy, regardless of the civic initiative. Nevertheless, despite the criticism of the approach of the former state secretary, respondents regarded it as an important step as now someone with political authority from inside the administration spoke about food political topics and changes on the political agenda. R2 (ERB) noted that „the fact is that she did something and that it sparked a debate”.

In the context of the FGE, over the course of a year, six meetings took place and four topic specific future workshops were held (between June and October 2016). These actor meetings were spaces for networking and brain-storming and sources of information for the SenJV. As an outcome of those workshops, one declaration and three dossiers were published. These documents offered a first overview of the characteristics and gaps of the Berlin food system and a future vision¹⁷. Two organizations supported the FGE¹⁸. One served as a moderator, the other did scientific monitoring.

¹⁴ Sabine Töpfer-Kataw from the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), state secretary for consumer protection from 2012-2016.

¹⁵ An overview of participants and their category of the FGE meetings can be found in Table 6 in the Annex.

¹⁶ Further information on the ERB-predecessor can be found in Chapter 3.1.3 (The Start of the Ernährungsrat)

¹⁷ The meeting minutes, declaration and the dossiers can be accessed through the SenJustVA webpage:

<https://www.berlin.de/sen/verbraucherschutz/forum-fuer-gutes-essen/>

¹⁸ the *Stiftung Zukunft Berlin* and *Nahhaft e.V.*

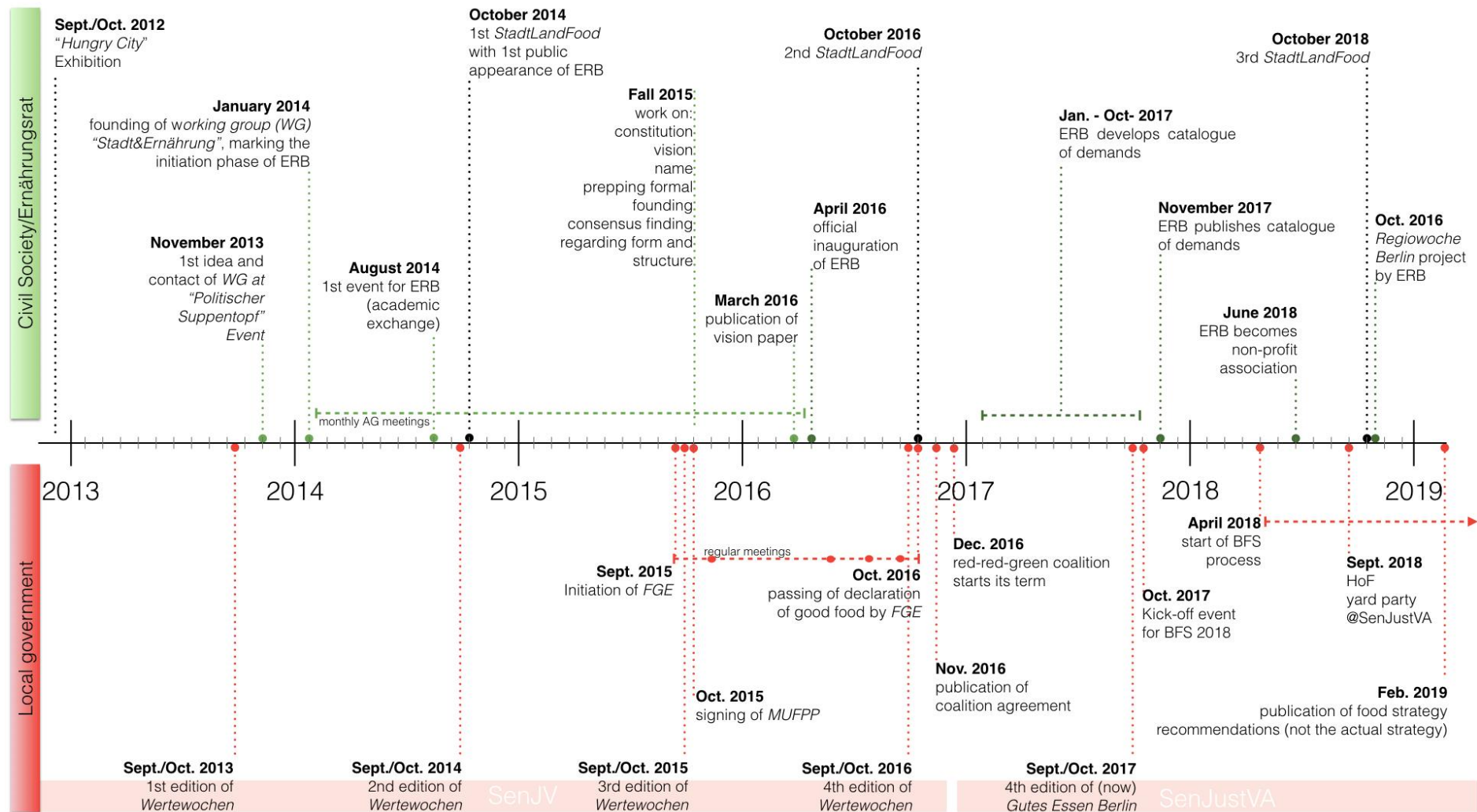


FIGURE 2: TIMELINE OF THE FOOD GOVERNANCE DEVELOPMENTS IN BERLIN.

The FGE was never formerly institutionalized, though. In the declaration it was clearly stated that FGE was not a decision-making body but only served to prepare and challenge decisions regarding the sustainable planning of the Berlin food system (Senatsverwaltung für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, 2016). R9 (SenJustVA) noted that the FGE lacked a real structure and consisted of informal meetings and working groups who operated without a real strategy or goal. Even though the FGE was supposed to outlast the electoral cycle, as it was stipulated in the coalition agreement of 2016 to continue the work of the FGE (SPD; DIE LINKE ;BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, 2016), the last official meeting took place in 2016. It cannot be argued however that the initiation of the FGE has laid the foundation for the current work in Berlin food policy (R9/SenJustVA; R2/ERB). Next, I will explain how the ERB came to be.

3.1.3 THE START OF THE ERNÄHRUNGSRAT

As stated before, the developments in civil society precede those of the political level. R2 (ERB) pointed to the long history and active engagement of the urban gardening movement (with community, intercultural and guerilla gardening) in Berlin. It can be traced back to the 1970's¹⁹ and has become a big and strong social movement since then (Meyer-Renschhausen, 2011; Müller, 2011; Rosol, 2006; Rosol, Manning, & Mayer, 2004). Besides urban gardening, there are numerous organizations, associations, initiatives, activists and startups in Berlin and in the region that are working towards a more sustainable food and agricultural system with both the organic and anti-food waste movements growing strongly (see for example links to these maps and databases: [Urban Gardening in Berlin](#) ; [Karte von Morgen](#), [Greenmeberlin](#), [Berlin Im Wandel](#), [Organic shops](#)).

The idea of a food policy council (FPC) for Berlin has been out there since 2012, there were a lot of organizations, initiatives and people working towards a change in the Berlin food system (e.g. in alternative food networks like community supported agriculture groups, food sharing or academia). The ERB had a long initiation phase, from January 2014 to the official inauguration in April 2016 (see Figure 2). But where did it all become more concrete? Two organizations have been mentioned repeatedly in the initiation process of the ERB: *Slow Food* and *INKOTA*. Both are non-governmental organizations. The former is a civil society organization, has its origins in Italy and stands for “good, clean and fair food”. The latter is a development network, involved with development in the global south. Furthermore, *INKOTA* co-organized an event²⁰ in November 2013 which was the first networking event with actors from Berlin and Brandenburg working with agriculture, urban gardening, food education or in political initiatives. This event led to the formation of an independent civic working group, “a union of people committed to a more sustainable, equitable, diverse and qualitative food system for Berlin”(AG Stadt & Ernährung - Feeding Berlin, 2015) – the *AG Stadt & Ernährung* (working group city & food). The founders are a mix of international practitioners, academics and NGO-members²¹. In this working group the idea of founding a food policy council for Berlin was further elaborated after the debate started back in 2012 around the “Hungry City” - exhibition. They met on a regular basis, as R3 (ERB) remembers. These meetings were open to anyone. From then on, the time leading up to the actual formalization of the Ernährungsrat was used

¹⁹ Urban agriculture has been around even longer with Berlin's *Schrebergarten* culture.

²⁰ The event was called “[Politischer Suppentopf](#)”(political soup pot)

²¹ Udo Tremmel from Slow Food, Christine Pohl from INKOTA, Katrin Bohn (TU Berlin), Beatrice Walthall (HU Berlin), Lynn Peemoeller from Food Systems Planning and Susann Schubert from Food&Movemet e.V. are the founders (AG Stadt & Ernährung - Feeding Berlin, 2015) .

by the *AG Stadt & Ernährung*, *Slow Food* and *INKOTA* to build a network and get supporters on board. This led to a first “Ernährungsrat Assembly”. They discussed and came to a consensus on important content-related and organizational matters. As of May 2015, the actual goal of their monthly meetings, discussions and thinktanks became the initiation of a civic alliance for food system transformation, a civil-society-led Berlin food policy council – the ERB. From autumn 2015 onwards, they drafted a vision paper²² and a constitution²³, defined the goals, principles, the organisational structure and functioning and brainstormed about a name. They started preparing the official inauguration, which would also be the first general assembly.

On the 22nd of April 2016 the Ernährungsrat Berlin (ERB) was formally established. More than 170 people came to inaugurate the ERB to champion “a sustainable²⁴ food and agriculture policy in the region”(Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2017b). At the inauguration, which was the first official full meeting of the ERB (general assembly), the first election for the speakers circle took place, marking the grassroots democratic makeup of the ERB. The ERB describes itself as an “open movement without official membership”(Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019), a place where every citizen is welcome who wants to sustainably transform the cities' current food system. A more detailed description of the ERB's structure is written in Chapter 4.

3.1.4 THE GREEN PARTY

The Green party plays an important role in the development of food policy in Berlin. The Green Party *Die Grünen/Bündnis 90* left the opposition side and entered the government scene after the elections for the Berlin House of Representatives in September 2016, when they became part of a coalition with the Social Democratic Party of Germany *SPD* and the Left Party *Die Linken* (*SPD; DIE LINKE ;BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN*, 2016). There was a consensus among the interviewees that it was the Green Party who primarily pushed food policy related topics onto the urban agenda. R8 (parliament) pointed out:

I can tell you that, without the participation of the Green government nothing would have changed, also in the last two years. That I can tell you point-blank (R8/parliament).

Ich kann Ihnen sagen, dass ohne die Grüne Regierungsbeteiligung hätte sich auch in den letzten zwei Jahren nichts geändert. Das kann ich so klipp und klar sagen.

R8 (parliament) also noted that previous attempts by the Green Party to start discussions on increasing the use of organic produce in school and public canteens were not taken serious by previous coalitions²⁵. Furthermore, R8 expressed his contentment with the parties' and his own achievements so far, referring to:

²² See this link: <http://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/wp-content/uploads/download/Ernaehrungsrat-Berlin-Vision-2016.pdf>

²³ See this link: <http://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ernaehrungsrat-berlin-satzung-160307.pdf>

²⁴ the German word “zukunftsfähig” is used, which can be translated to either sustainable or viable.

²⁵ SPD and Die Linken (2006-2011); SPD and CDU (2011-2016)

1. The former state secretary and senator for consumer protection taking up a proposal by the Green parliamentary group in 2013²⁶ on the development of a food strategy for Berlin initially focused on food waste reduction resulting in the Senate's project "Wertewochen"²⁷,
2. Putting the Berlin Food Strategy (BFS) in the Green election program,
3. Incorporating the BFS in the coalition agreement (SPD; DIE LINKE ;BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, 2016, p. 157), and thus putting food policy onto the urban agenda,
4. A green leadership for the Administration for Justice, Consumer Protection and Antidiscrimination (SenJustVA) (not mentioned as an achievement but as an important factor),
5. The allocation of a budget for the BFS development as well as for the project "House of Food/Center for Good Communal Catering" (HoF/CCC) (working title), being closely related to the BFS.

The third point is the clear link: R8 (parliament) attributed the incorporation of the BFS into the coalition agreement directly to the Green party, thereby clearly marking the Green party's influence on current food policy developments. As a brief remark, a coalition agreement is a non-legally binding letter of intent between parliamentary groups of a coalition that defines the conditions under which the future government will be formed. It also defines its objectives. Even though the coalition agreement does not ensure the implementation of the respective objectives, a coalition's success is judged upon what objectives were implemented. With this being said, the Green parliamentary party put food political topics into the coalition agreement (R8), namely as projects:

1. The collaboration with the ERB as a representative of Berlin's civil society to initiate a food strategy for Berlin, focused on sustainability and regionality, including
 - a. Continuation of work from *Forum Gutes Essen* (FGE) and addition with broad participation of city districts
 - b. Cooperation with urban society to determine priorities and ways of implementation
 - c. Reduction of food waste
 - d. Exploring further possibilities for greater use of regionally produced food in collaboration with Brandenburg
2. To develop a project inspired by Copenhagen's *Madhuis* to raise the proportion of fresh, seasonal and regional produce used in canteens and by caterers while reducing food waste, and without raising costs, by educating and advising communal kitchen staff.

And as policy objectives:

3. To significantly raise the proportion of organic food in day care centers, schools, canteens, cafeterias and catering in public institutions until 2021.

²⁶ The proposal can be found here: https://www.turgut-altug.de/images/files/antraege/antrag/Antrag_Lebensmittelverschwendung_Turgut_Altug.pdf

²⁷ annual two-week project initiated by the administration for consumer protection to foster citizen's appreciation of regional produce.

4. To ensure a choice between meat, vegetarian and vegan meals in those canteens (SPD; DIE LINKE ;BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, 2016, p. 157).

Furthermore, these points are included in the agreement, but cannot be solely attributed to the Green party:

1. More support for and cooperation with universities for consumer related studies (p.157)
2. Acknowledgement food policy responsibilities regulated by the MUFPP (p.157)
3. Setting up a fixed contact person for urban gardening (p.162)
4. developing a citywide concept for urban and intercultural gardens together with the actors in the garden scene (p.162)
5. Making Berlin an "edible city" (p.162)

As previously mentioned, since 2016 SenJustVA, which is introduced in more detail in Chapter 4.2, is administered by the Green Party. R2 (ERB) referred to this administration as *"the fertile grounds, where food policy is initiated and is carried into other administrations and departments."* The former state secretary (CDU) started this process with signing the MUFPP and the establishment of the FGE. The current state secretary (Green Party) continued this work on food policy and, according to R2 (ERB) she is pushing it more engaged, due to the party affiliation:

... [The former state secretary for consumer protection] started with it and I think it is like an inheritance which [the current state secretary for consumer protection] now took on but she is pushing it more actively as a green party member. [...] I would say that now the approach is more holistic but also more authentic. There is more motivation behind it (R2/ERB).

...das ist glaube ich so ein Erbe, was sie dann übernommen hat, aber als Grüne noch aktiver voran pusht. [...] würde ich schon sagen, dass es jetzt einerseits ein ganzheitlicherer Ansatz ist aber auch authentischer. Da ist mehr Motivation dahinter (R2).

Measures taken related to urban food governance of the Green Party are more in line with what the ERB envisions. This is also related to the 'food champion' R8 (parliament), his close relation to the ERB, and the fact, that he has been championing urban food policy goals for a long time. Both R8 (parliament) and members of the ERB's speakers circle mentioned this close connection, with one respondent (R5/ERB) saying that the politician is regarded as a member of the ERB, making the link from ERB to politics official. The ERB and the Green Party agree on advancing policy goals with less economic focus and more consideration of social and environmental themes.

3.2 A FOOD STRATEGY FOR BERLIN

As clearly stated in the coalition agreement, the SenJustVA has the goal of developing a Berlin Food Strategy (BFS) together with the ERB. The first encounter between the ERB and the state secretary for consumer protection was in January 2017, shortly after her installation in office (Jacobs, 2017). Following this, the ERB started to draft a catalogue of demands, a detailed document that defines

their vision on a food strategy for Berlin²⁸. It was published in October 2017, around the same time of the official “Kick-Off” of the BFS. The BFS process did not start before the publication of the catalogue. The SenJustVA relied on the ERB’s input to know how to approach the BFS process, including what to consider in terms of content when looking for a service provider.

The first stage of implementing a strategy is being provided with financial means. Funds were allocated in December 2017. The call for tender for a service provider who manages the process was published in February 2018. In April 2018, a service provider was appointed (*Nahhaft e.V.* and *Netzwerk X*) and the actual process of the BFS started. The first meetings were held in June 2018 to have an action plan ready to present in December 2018. In January 2019 the first document was published by the SenJustVA, presenting the collected recommendations from the participation process of civil society to the Senate for the BFS. This document is an action plan with action areas, concrete measures and responsibilities as well as recommendations for the further development of the food strategy.

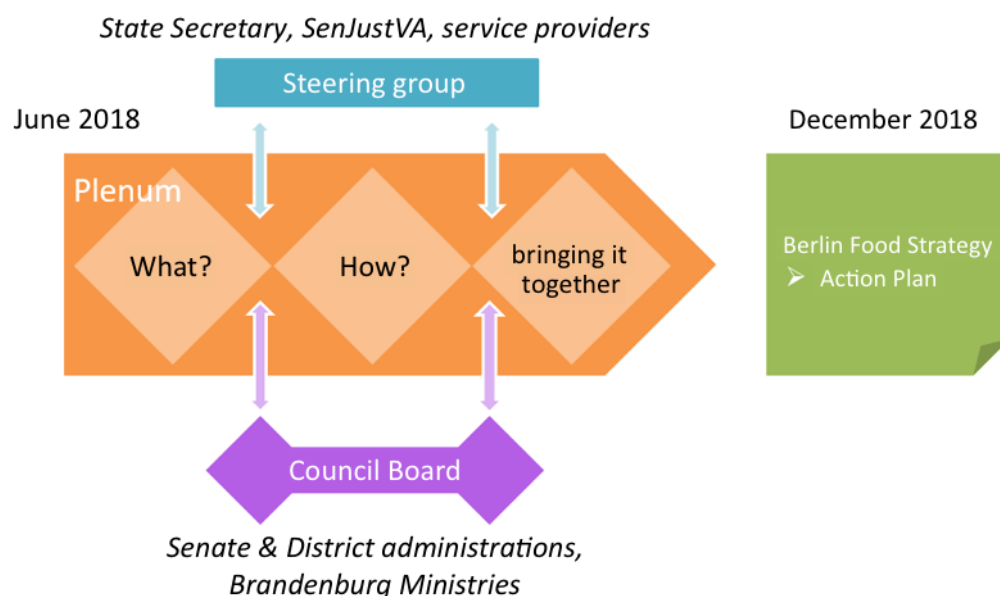


FIGURE 3: AN OVERVIEW OF THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY PROCESS (based on Haack, Eckhardt, Petersmann, & Bauer, 2018)

The meetings took place in two different bodies (plenum and council board). This was done with the aim to involve a diverse range of stakeholder groups, to ensure cooperation between the Berlin Senate administrations and districts as well as Brandenburg ministries to implement the first measures and to ensure a continuity of the process. In plenum meetings, actors from civil society organizations (including the ERB), food industry and research came together. In three meetings action areas and goals, concrete measures and a strategy for communication and continuation of the process was developed. Representatives of the Berlin Senate and District Administrations as well as Brandenburg Ministries met in council board meetings between the plenary sessions and gave their

²⁸ The catalogue of demands is built around nine themes: supporting regional organic production; building regional value-added cycles; saving diverse food supply structures; minimizing waste; creating an edible city; supporting food innovations; exemplary public procurement; holistic food education; integrated food policy. It can be accessed with this link: http://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Ernaehrungsrat_FK_2017_web.pdf

feedback on the proposals of the plenum. The ERB lobby group was consulted on who to invite for the BFS plenum meetings. By looking at Table 5 and 6 (in the Annex) showing the invited and attended actors for the BFS process, it becomes evident that many followed the invitations. From the 32 invitations, nine did not attend, for which another five joined over the course of the process resulting in 28 different organizations being present at the BFS plenum meetings (some organizations sent more than one person, so in total there were more than 28 attendees). What was also observed though was that the invitations sent out to other administrations for the council board meetings (in German: *Beiratstreffen*) have not always been taken seriously though as it happened that staff members were sent to the council board meetings without competences nor power, who did not have any authority, knowledge nor responsibility regarding the topics (R7/service provider). This highlights the difficulty of the SenJustVA to engage other administrations in the process and proves the lack of knowledge on and value/appreciation/importance given to the BFS process by other administrations.

The final proposed seven action fields are: implementing an exemplary public procurement; promoting added-value-creation in the region; promoting innovation for a sustainable food system; creating lively and productive neighborhoods; food education for everyone; minimizing food waste; and securing strategic implementation and communication (Haack et al., 2018). They are very similar to the ones found in the ERB's catalogue of demands (see footnote 28 on p. 39). More on the BFS process is written in the Chapter 5.

Noting that the whole context had an impact on the developments, the growing awareness and action in civil society, the emergence of structures in the government, the championing of the Green party, R1 (ERB) said:

I think due to this interplay, something in the city was activated.

Ich glaube durch dieses Zusammenspiel von diesem ganzen hat sich was in der Stadt auf den Weg gemacht.

To summarize, the urban agricultural movement in Berlin paved the way for the debate around urban food policy to rise among civil society. The debate also had strong supporters in the Green party, political champions, who relentlessly tried to sensitize the ruling parties to urban food political topics. After small successes the debate further gained momentum with initiatives arising in both civil society and the local government: the ERB and the FGE. Over the course of time the ERB proved to be persistent, outliving the FGE. With the Green party being in the current coalition and the SenJustVA being under a Green leadership, food policy was not only put on the urban agenda, but new possibilities for working together on municipal food policy opened up. Before describing and analyzing the relationship between the ERB and SenJustVA, I will describe both in more detail.

CHAPTER 4: THE MAIN STAKEHOLDERS

To understand the current state of food policy and governance in Berlin it is important to look at the stakeholders involved. I did not conduct a full stakeholder analysis of the food governance scene, as this would be too broad for the scope of this thesis²⁹. I will describe the two previously introduced main stakeholders of current Berlin food governance: The Senate Administration for Justice, Consumer Protection and Antidiscrimination with a particular focus on the department for consumer protection (SenJustVA) and the Ernährungsrat Berlin (ERB). What is regarded as municipal food policy started to consolidate when these two actors entered the scene. In the previous chapter I already briefly introduced both, now I will describe their structures and functioning in more depth. A list with other stakeholders involved in the Berlin food strategy (BFS) process can be found in Tables 4 and 5 in the List of Tables in the Annex.

4.1 THE ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN

4.1.1 STRUCTURE, MANDATE AND FUNDING

The ERB's constitution regulates both structure and functioning. It is subdivided into three bodies: 1) the general assembly, 2) the speakers circle and 3) the working groups (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2017a). An overview can be seen in Figure 4.

The general assembly is considered the highest body and usually meets twice a year. Here, elections take place, political demands and goals are agreed upon, decisions about publications are passed and members are updated by the speakers circle. Thus, the ERB is regarded as a grass-roots democratic organization.

The speakers circle is biennially elected by the general assembly, marking the speakers circle's political legitimation. It represents the ERB to the outside world (R3/ERB), handles communication matters, follows current debates on food policy, develops the ERB's positions, initiates activities and takes urgent decisions (Pohl, Morrow, & Hoffmann, 2019). It has between 8 and 14 members who meet regularly³⁰. To ensure a more diverse representation in the speakers circle, of actors 1) present in the general assembly, 2) along the food supply chain and 3) from diverse fields and backgrounds (ethnic, social, etc.), as well as to ensure gender equality, additional spokespersons can be proposed by the speakers circle and voted on by the next general assembly. Since the general assembly only meets twice a year and decisions have to be made on a regular basis, the speakers circle is ultimately more influential.

Within the speakers circle there are specific thematic working groups, e.g. for PR or financial matters, to facilitate communication and decision making among the 14 speakers who cannot meet all together that often (R3/ERB). Spokespersons are also responsible for arranging and managing working groups ("WG" in Figure 4) and coordinating the communication between them as well as the public. Working groups can be established on whatever issues active participants want to deal with but

²⁹ Other stakeholders are: i.e. administrations, activists, groups, organizations, alliances, NGO's, companies, policy makers.

³⁰ In 2018/2019 there were 13 members: 7 men and 6 women (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2018).

always represent the ERBs positions or work on putting the ERBs demands into practice³¹. The current names³² representing the topics worked on can be seen in Figure 4.

Ernährungsrat Berlin Structure

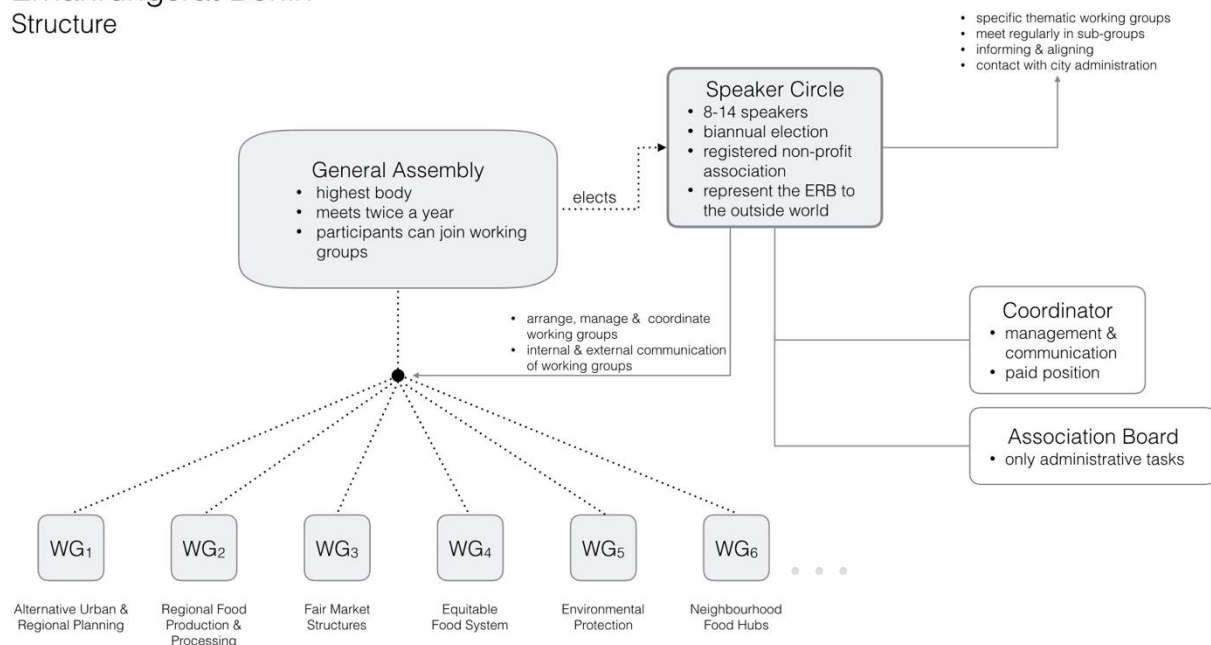


FIGURE 4: OVERVIEW OF THE STRUCTURE OF BERLINS FOOD POLICY COUNCIL ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN

Since June 2018, the speakers circle is a registered non-profit association. This step was taken in order to be able to acquire and manage public or donated funding required to establish efficient working structures which was not possible without a legal form (R1/ERB; R3/ERB).

It is only the speakers circle and not the whole ERB to avoid a “clubby culture” (R1/ERB), to avoid having members and non-members at general assembly meetings, to keep the ERB as open as possible. Some of the interviewed members of the speakers circle made it clear, that although the speakers circle is a registered non-profit association, the general assembly is and will remain the highest body of the ERB and that the ERB is “an open movement”, and “no member club”, open for everyone who wants to get engaged (R1/ERB; R5/ERB). The interviewed spokesperson R3 (ERB) stressed that:

the speakers circle is only using this association as a helpful vehicle for claiming funds/filing applications, but not for building big association structures.

der Sprecherinnenkreis nutzt diesen Verein nur als Hilfsvehikel um Anträge zu stellen, und nicht um richtige große Vereinsstrukturen aufzubauen.

³¹ There is a list of active work groups available on the ERB’s online communication platform wechange.de which the ERB uses for internal communication, publishing protocols etc.:

<https://wechange.de/group/ernahrungsrat-berlin/#>

³² Info is from January 2019

According to German association law³³, a non-profit association is required to have an Association's Board. The ERB's board is part of the speakers circle and only engages in administrative and internal issues, as R3 (ERB) stated:

Basically, it is only an administrative relief agency for us to be able to claim funds (R3/ERB).

Es ist nur ein administratives Hilfswerk für uns damit wir Fördergelder beantragen können (R3/ERB).

The association form was disputed due to the open, grassroot-movement nature of the council which some participants feared could get lost with an association and through financial dependence. The funding is needed though to pay for the coordinator's efforts of running and keeping the ERB together (R1/ERB). Due to the urgency of receiving money to compensate for the coordinator's efforts, which are crucial for the ERB's existence, the general assembly agreed on this legal status.

The coordinator role, a full-time paid position currently divided among two people, is considered as pivotal for the functioning and survival of the otherwise volunteer-based ERB, as R4 (ERB) highlights:

The ERB work cannot be done without [a coordinator], impossible. Not to the extent that we are operating now and with the relevance that we have got in this context. We are constantly receiving inquiries and people have high expectations for us (R4/ERB).

Das [die ERB Arbeit] geht nicht ohne [Koordinator], unmöglich. Also nicht in diesem Umfang wie wir es jetzt mittlerweile machen und mit der Bedeutung, die wir jetzt eigentlich auch bekommen haben in diesem Kontext. Wir bekommen ständig Anfragen und da sind große Erwartungen an uns (R4/ERB).

The coordinator is needed, to keep the ERB together, to coordinate a growing movement which cannot be done with voluntary work alone, as volunteers are busy with their real jobs to make a living (R4/ERB). A voluntary base also means that participation is irregular which poses the challenge to keep everyone updated. The coordinators tasks include calling meetings, reminding members of time plans, writing agendas, schedules and protocols, evaluating meetings and keeping everyone in contact with each other (R4/ERB). Furthermore, responsibilities include:

- The management of all processes (press and media related tasks, event attendances, talks, conferences, presentations, related travels etc.).
- To keep people together, motivated and on track (R1/ERB)
- Manage dropouts and replacements (R1/ERB)
- Manage resources like rooms for meetings, materials for workshops, publications like the catalogue of demands, etc. (R1/ERB)

With the legal status and the coordinator position the ERB can become a durable structure that does not give in to "everyday madness" and conveys a sense of seriousness which helps with being recognized by politicians (R1/ERB).

³³ §26, Abs. 1 BGB

The first funding came from the *INKOTA e.V.* and *Nord-Süd-Brücken*³⁴ to help with the initiation phase. Currently the activities of the ERB are financially supported mostly by the SenJustVA through project-based funding. This means that annual applications and presentable results are required. The coordination of the ERB needs to be framed as an ERB project. This is considered not ideal for the ERB by the interviewed speakers circle members as 1) the idea is to be as independent from the government as possible and not linked through funding, even if it comes without obligations, and 2) because it means annually re-applying for this fund and having to present detailed outcomes. Speakers circle members expressed that it is a challenge to find institutional funding, meaning more long-term funding without liabilities. They do see the need to diversify funding sources (e.g.: charities, crowdfunding, private donors) and are actively looking for ways to avoid receiving direct funding from the government.

Once a year the speakers circle comes together to have a strategy meeting where the structure, activities and role of the ERB are reflected upon and discussed (R3/ERB). Regarding this R3 (ERB) noted that:

it is a solution, which might still be developing, and it also took one and a half years to get to the point of having a proper structure to work with (R3/ERB).

es ist eine Lösung, die vielleicht noch in Entwicklung ist und die auch anderthalb Jahre gebraucht hat bis wir uns ein ordentliches Konstrukt überlegt haben, mit dem wir arbeiten können (R3/ERB).

By having a legal form and clear structure, the ERB positions itself as a possible, legitimate and reliable collaboration partner. The ERB is not a static, but a dynamic organization with a speakers circle that is reflecting on internal and external factors which the organization might need to adapt to over time. The ERB is represented by the speakers circle but is ultimately made up of the general assembly which will be looked at now.

4.1.2 PARTICIPATION, REPRESENTATION AND LEGITIMIZATION

An organization is only as valuable as its members. The ERB had around 170 people present at their inauguration, which also was the first general assembly, pointing out a noteworthy interest in their work. On their online communication platform Wechange.de³⁵, 54 members have subscribed. This number represents the number of regularly involved members, both at general assemblies and in the working groups. The ERB's Facebook-page has a wider reach of 1,101 likes and 1,231 followers³⁶. During the assembly I attended in October 2018, an estimate number of 60 people was present, with usual attendance also being between 40 to 70 people (Pohl et al., 2019).

Participation, except for the coordinator, is based on voluntary work. A projects' success depends on the people involved and their motivation, experience and commitment. If these people have to take a step back due to personal responsibilities this has a big effect on the functioning and on the general

³⁴ The Nord-Süd-Brücken Foundation is a Berlin-based charitable private foundation promoting civil society engagement in the new federal states in the field of development cooperation as well as in development education and campaigns to heighten public awareness of development issues.

³⁵ <https://wechange.de/group/ernahrungsrat-berlin/>

³⁶ All numbers are from the 12.05.2019.

impact of the ERB, R4 (ERB) noted. Consequently, with volunteers, participation is rather unsure and there is a constant need to keep people interested, motivated and active. This highlights again the need for a paid coordinator.

The speakers circle wants the alliance to be made up of manifold stakeholders of the city's food system. In the ERB's constitution it is said that the general assembly is open for anyone who "deals with food" which in the end, is everyone (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2017a). They envision the following possible members: Farmers, city gardeners, local representatives from the food industry, artisanal food production and gastronomy, foodsharers/foodsavers, food activists, activists of associations and organisations, political educators, scientists and consumers (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2017a). There is a large number of initiatives and organizations that is already associated with or supports the ERB. A list can be found in the Annex in Table 3³⁷. This list exposes the wide orbit of the ERB, having attracted supporters and sympathizers from along the food supply chain, from universities, other food policy councils, artisanal producers, alternative food networks, research institutes, urban agriculture groups, the anti-food waste movement, food activists, farmers, architects, et cetera. This list is not exhaustive but shows the wide array of members and followers of the ERB and its broad network. The members of the current speakers circle cover an even broader range of expertise and experience³⁸. As a result, the ERB is legitimized as a representative for people and/or organizations who are involved with the urban food system.

Besides representing food system actors, the ERB sees itself as the representative of Berlin civil society as well, referring to the ERB as a "*mouthpiece for Berlin civil society*" (R3/ERB). Broad civil society representation is a challenge though and the diversity of Berlin's urban society is not represented thoroughly in the ERB, which several respondents acknowledged (R1; R2; R3/ERB). In 2018, over 3.7 million people were registered in Berlin, of which 20% are foreigners³⁹ (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2018, p. 21, 2019). And while the number of German inhabitants slightly decreased, the number of not-German newcomers rose strikingly in Berlin (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2019). Berlin has several large groups of foreigners and inhabitants with migration background⁴⁰ including the biggest Turkish community outside of Turkey as well as large groups of people with roots in Arabic countries, Poland, former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, Vietnam, Bulgaria or Italy (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2019, pp.16-17). Concerning the diversity, one respondent explicitly mentioned that there is a lack of diversity, and instead mostly white academics are present (R1/ERB). Another ERB spokesperson (R3), acknowledged that the ERB, including the

³⁷ This list is not complete, as not every supporter can be identified as such. It is merely used to convey the diversity of affiliations of the ERB. It does not include individual persons but only associations, organizations, companies, institutes etc.

³⁸ They have experience on/with: development work; land-grabbing; rural-urban linkages and logistics; energy and environmental work; biology; journalism; agricultural sciences; farming; food security; food waste/food banks (e.g. Berliner Tafel); alternative food networks; urban gardening; food chain management; food sovereignty; food equality; food justice; food, farming and nutrition education; food policy work; food systems, etc.(Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2018).

³⁹ mainly coming from Syria, Afghanistan, China and Vietnam (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2018, p. 21, 2019).

⁴⁰ Foreigners include those who are not German citizens and people with migration background are German citizens who were not born as German citizens.

speakers circle is actually not representative of Berlin's civil society but defended the ERB's legitimacy with the openness of the general assembly:

We are not necessarily representative, but it helps, that we are an elected body. Every Berliner can come and vote. The only criterion is that you have to be present at the general assembly. But those are open to anyone (R3/ERB).

Wir sind nicht unbedingt repräsentativ aber es hilft, dass wir ein gewähltes Gremium sind. Also, jeder Berliner der möchte kann wählen. Das einzige Kriterium ist, dass man anwesend sein muss bei der Volksversammlung. Aber da kann jeder hin (R3/ERB).

The concept of being open does not grant for a diverse group of members though. With general assemblies being held in German, on weeknights and with food policy issues not being everyone's priority the ERB has an upgradeable reach. According to R3 (ERB) the ERB values to bring together a broad spectrum of actors but also noticed that it is a challenge to engage people from all along the food supply chain, from all corners of the local food system, from all corners of the city-region, and to also include views from people with migratory background and reach people from marginalized, socioeconomically disadvantaged groups, all of which are seen as necessary to be truly representative of civil society. Time was also mentioned as a constraint for some people to attend meetings as those are held at times when some people might be working. Additionally, the meetings are only "advertised" in German, through specific channels which reach only a specific audience. One of the interviewees (R7/service provider) noted that *"of course everyone can participate, but not everyone does, as not everyone feels addressed"* and that both the general assembly and the speakers circle are eventually made up of mostly educated, middle class, environmentally conscious, Caucasian people, which R7 (service provider) referred to as *"obere Öko-schicht"*, meaning upper eco-class. R6 (academic), neither directly involved with the ERB nor the SenJustVA, was very critical of the ERB's representation and said that neither the people nor the perspectives present in the ERB are portraying the urban society. This is hardly remarkable, considering the homogenous, white, academic group that initiated the ERB. The speakers circle is aware of this challenge and actively tries to expand the diversity, become more inclusive and thus representative. In the current speakers circle there are two people with migratory backgrounds, from Nigeria and from Turkey.

Since November 2018 the Ernährungsrat has a new format where citizens can make their opinion public on what "good food for everybody" means to them, with both, pictures and comments. So far 70 people posted on the platform⁴¹. This is one attempt to engage a wider array of people and to come closer to the ERB's objective of being a *"mouthpiece for civil society"*. Besides being a platform for various active organizations, the ERB also has other roles, which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.1.3 ROLE AND POSITION

Much like other FPCs, as depicted in Figure 5, the ERB takes on a lot of roles. While interviewees agreed on most of the roles, some of the views on what the ERB does are contested.

⁴¹ Last checked: 12.05.2019 on <http://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/2018/11/20/sagt-eure-meinung/>



FIGURE 5: FOOD POLICY COUNCILS ARE MULTI-TALENTS AND CAN TAKE ON VARIOUS ROLES. (HEUSER, POHL, URHAHN & BURON, 2017)

The ERB is an umbrella organization that links and unites the many groups and individuals in Berlin who are working towards a sustainable food system change and thereby aims to facilitate greater political impact (R1; R3/ERB). The ERB was referred to as an “Alliance of interest” (R2/ERB) or a “Civil society alliance” (R3/ERB). R1 (ERB) expressed the hope to strengthen the ERB’s role as a “catalyst for transformation”, to give a wide range of food system actors a voice that is heard by politicians and the government, and ultimately to position itself as a supporting structure, a network, which other food system actors consider worth

supporting. In that context R3 (ERB) said:

Of course, the ERB offers a certain platform that allows very different actors to get in touch and exchange information (R3/ERB).

[Der ERB] bietet natürlich [...] eine gewisse Plattform, die sehr unterschiedlichen Akteuren ermöglicht in den Austausch zu treten (R3/ERB).

The ERB wants to be the bridge between the various actors in civil society and the government. It is not about being a competitor, or to “reinvent the wheel” (R2/ERB) of food policy activism, but “It is about connecting the axels of all the wheels” (R2/ERB). Since there are a lot of active organizations and people already pushing for food policy changes, unlike in smaller cities, R6 (academic), not a member of the ERB, does not consider actively promoting policies as the ERB’s main role. R6 (academic) thinks, that the ERB wants to stay away from project work and rather remain in their “neutral observer position”, instead of actively engaging in government projects. At the same time R6 acknowledged that the ERB developed into an advocacy group, advocating for their constituents in Berlin food policy, doing lobby work, voicing criticism and recommendations to the government:

Civil society also influenced the whole process [of food policy in Berlin]. The ERB, as it seems to me, has developed into an advisory body of the senate administration. They sit there rather often. They have had a considerable impact on what is happening at the moment (R6/academia).

Auch an dem Vorgehen, da hat die Zivilgesellschaft auch wieder viel mit reingespielt. Der Ernährungsrat, habe ich den Eindruck, hat sich da auch schon so zum Beratergremium der Senatsverwaltung mit entwickelt. Die sitzen da ja relativ häufig. Haben schon gut mit beeinflusst, was da im Moment passiert (R6/academia).

In this quote it becomes clear again that the ERB is put equally with civil society and is regarded as the representative of Berlin’s civil society. There is consensus among the interviewees in that regard (R1; R2; R3/ERB; R6/academia; R8/parliament; R9/SenJustVA; R10/SenJustVA) with R4 (ERB) directly saying:

we are not representing some institution but civil society (R4/ERB).

[...], [d]ass wir jetzt nicht eine Institution da irgendwie vertreten, sondern die Zivilgesellschaft (R4).

While R6 (academia) calls the ERB an advisory body, one of the ERB speakers said explicitly that the ERB does not see itself as such, but as a civil society alliance which tries to put food policy issues on the agenda and to exert political pressure (R3/ERB). Regarding the ERB's position towards the government it was made more than clear by the ERB interviewees that it is regarded as independent from the government. Their independence is important to the speakers be able to critically monitor the government to put pressure on the government and hold them accountable for made promises (R1; R2; R3; R4/ERB). R4 (ERB) and R3 (ERB) referred to the ERB as an *"independent council"* who wants to *"steer politics in front of them"*. Steering means pushing the government in the direction the ERB wants them to go which goes hand in hand with the previous quotes of R6 (academic) and R3 (ERB) about voicing recommendations and pressuring the government. R6 (academic) added *"opposition"* and R3 said that the ERB is *"completely independent"* and chose consciously to be a civil society alliance, which highlights the political watchdog position of the ERB. This enables them to exert political pressure and freely express their demands without any formal bonds. In one way or another the respondents agreed on the fact that the ERB is lobbying.

R1 (ERB) emphasized that they are *"non-parliamentary"*, not anchored in local government structures, but are seeking an exchange with politics to exert an influence on the government as it's the public sector who has the power and levers to shape and change the underlying (environmental/political) conditions. Thus, the ERB acknowledges that they cannot change the system solely from the bottom up, but is looking for ways to collaboratively approach it, *"seeking exchange with government and politics"*, and to assist in improving the political framework conditions (R1/ERB). This is line with the collaborative governance (CG) approach that acknowledges that certain societal goals can be better achieved when different sectors and groups work together (Emerson et al., 2012). One way of doing this is by expressing their expertise and ideas towards the government (R3/ERB). It was also mentioned though, and this reveals a certain mistrust towards politics, that the ERB cannot be too cooperative as it could risk being pocketed by the government (R2/ERB). It follows, that the ERB is looking for an exchange with government but does not want to get too close to the government as this could stand in the way of the ERB's long term goals (R4/ERB). They want to improve advancements of food policy making. Pushing forward transformation and institutionalization processes and experimenting in the realms of this transformation is regarded as the ERB's current main role, as stated by R4 (ERB).

Considering the previous statements, it suggests that the ERB differs slightly from what scholars have defined or described FPCs to bring together actors from across the food system and from both the public and private sector. Unlike the municipal FGE, the ERB lacks participation from conventional private sector actors and government staff. Scholars have noted though, that FPCs do occur in various forms (Schiff, 2007) as they ideally adapt to the respective local context they operate in, which the case of the ERB proves. The ERB is not necessarily a FPC in the sense where people from civil society, industry, politics and administration come together at one table but provides a platform for all civic food system change activists in Berlin outside government structures. This position allows the ERB to be dynamic in a changing environment, an independent watchdog and less vulnerable to political

changes. Considering the long absence of food political topics under previous coalitions and the importance of the Green Party for bringing food policy onto the urban agenda, keeping the ERB independent from government structures might ensure their existence for the longer term. It also shows that the ERB did not even have a real choice other than that of being independent as current government structures are not able to accommodate the ERB's work.

Leaning on the closing quote of the last sub-chapter:

it is a solution, which might still be developing, and it also took one and a half years to get to the point of having a proper structure to work with (R3/ERB).

es ist eine Lösung, die vielleicht noch in Entwicklung ist und die auch anderthalb Jahre gebraucht hat bis wir uns ein ordentliches Konstrukt überlegt haben, mit dem wir arbeiten können (R3/ERB).

and Figure 5 in the beginning of this sub-chapter, also regarding the role the ERB keeps its options open and enjoys the flexibility and adaptability to changing contexts. There is not one single role, but several ones which they engage in simultaneously. Another role worth mentioning here is that of an inspiration or leader ("*Vorreiterrolle*" (R2)), as in Germany, following the examples of Cologne and Berlin in 2016, more than 15 FPC's have been established or are in the process of establishment in Germany (Stierand, 2018) and they get together in annual network congresses which take place since 2017 (Netzwerk der Ernährungsräte, 2019).

For now, the ERB is lobbying, advising, recommending, criticizing, pressuring, observing, participating, inspiring, experimenting and representing. But the ERB is still in the process of positioning itself (R1; R3/ERB) and it is unknown what roles it will take on in the future. It is a dynamic process which is highly dependent on the local political context and requires constant reflection and re-evaluation of the position towards the government (R3/ERB). The current context allows them to be in close contact with the local government but still, the ERB greatly values its independence. Any form of organizational anchoring in senate structures is completely excluded (R4/ERB). According to R4 (ERB), the main argument for being independent is that the ERB can exert more and stronger pressure on the local government than if the ERB was "*imprisoned*" in the administrative structures. Using this analogy to a prison already shows how the ERB speaker sees the administration, as a body with many walls and barriers, limiting its scope of action, hence the opposite of what the ERB regards itself: freely experimenting and creating alternatives. Let us now look at the structure of the SenJustVA.

4.2 THE SENATE ADMINISTRATION FOR JUSTICE, CONSUMER PROTECTION & ANTIDISCRIMINATION

The SenJustVA is one of the eleven administrations of the Senate of Berlin (see Figure 6). The Senate is the state government, the executive authority responsible for the formulation of regional politics and builds the head of the administration.

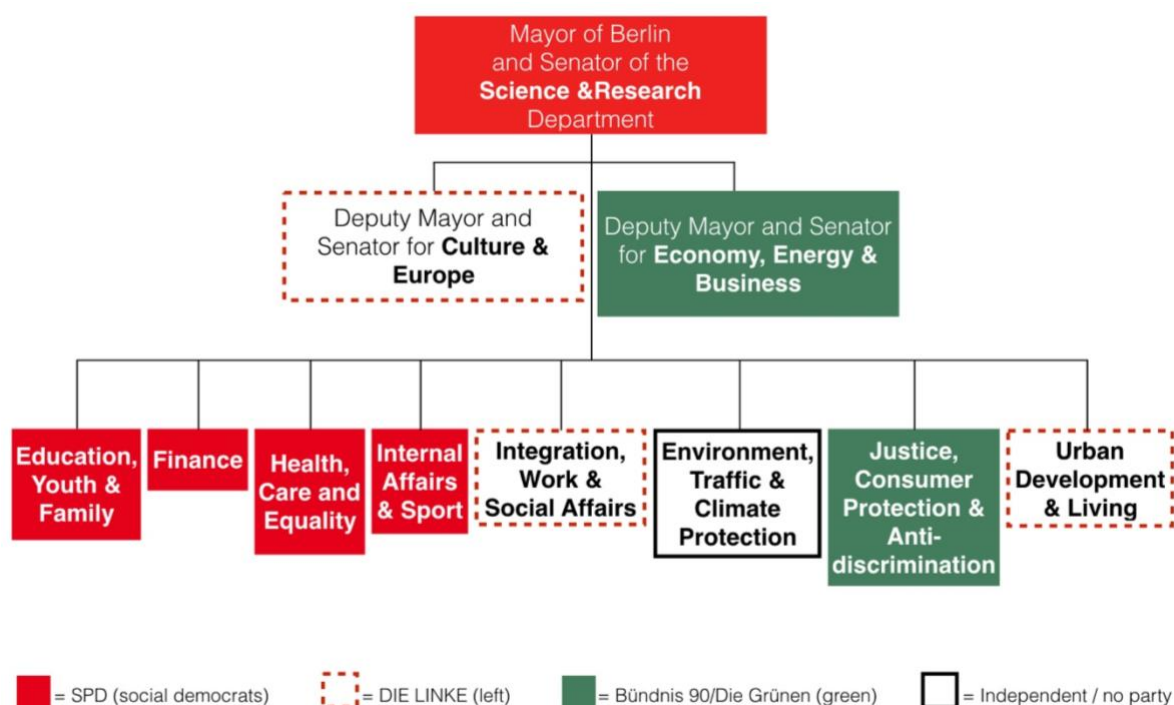


FIGURE 3: BERLIN SENATE STRUCTURE WITH THE MAYOR OF BERLIN AND THE ADMINISTRATIONS WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS.

The Berlin House of Representatives is the city's parliament, the legislative authority and elects the Governing Mayor of Berlin. The Mayor is both member and head of the Berlin Senate. He appoints the Senators (like ministers) of his government, two of whom he appoints as his deputies. The Mayor, together with the senators make up the Senate. The senators lead the administration departments independently but within the directive of the governmental policy. The units (German: *Ressorts* or *Abteilungen*) within the departments are led by state secretaries. Depending on the government, some units can be switched to other departments or not included at all⁴². The units are further divided into sub-units (German: *Referate*). While the senators and state secretaries change with a new mayor, the staff of the administration, the civil servants, stays the same. This means that the administrative staff has to work for senators and secretaries with changing party affiliations and political agendas. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that some administrative staff does not always feel inclined towards the ideas and approaches of the party in charge. The current departments as well as the political leadership are depicted in Figure 6. The SenJustVA is one of the two administrations under a Green leadership.

⁴² The unit "Antidiscrimination" was for example added to the Administration for Justice and Consumer Protection in 2016.

Furthermore, since Berlin is a city-state and divided into twelve districts (see Figure 7), it has a dual administration: the senate administrations and district administrations. While the Senate is responsible for tasks of city-wide importance, the districts perform tasks of local administration⁴³. Districts are for example responsible for administration of schools (including school catering) or parks and recreational areas. This means that there is another level involved in administrative work, further splitting up responsibilities. Thus, if changes are to be made with, i.e. public procurement or creating edible green spaces, also the district administrations are affected. The ERB has not yet made significant contact to district administrations⁴⁴.

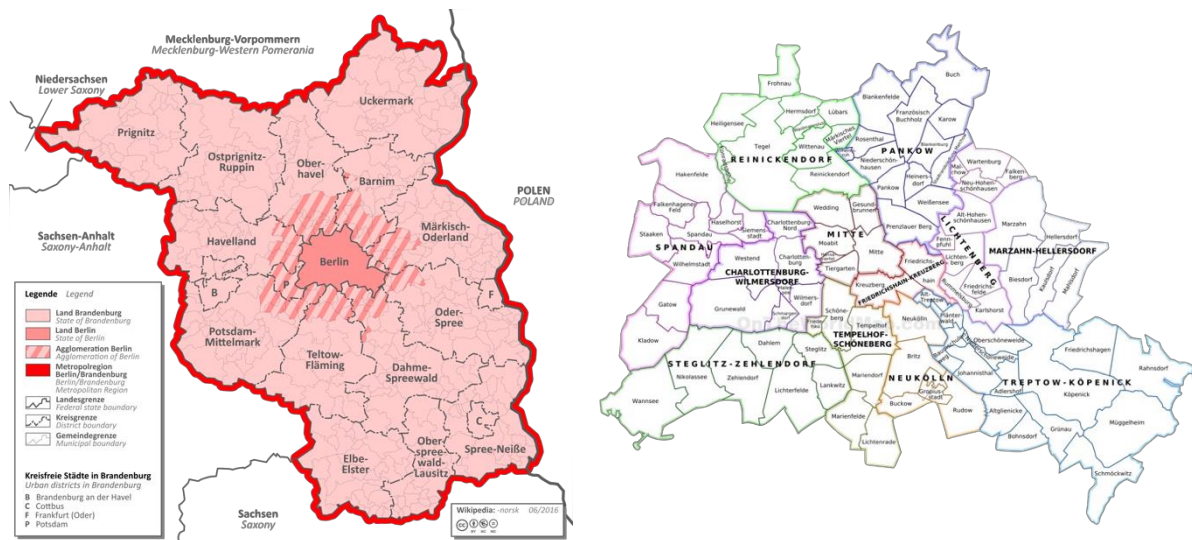


FIGURE 4: MAP OF BERLIN BRANDENBURG WITH AGGLOMERATION OF BERLIN AND BERLIN/BRANDENBURG METROPOLITAN REGION SHOWN (L.) AND MAP OF THE DISTRICTS OF BERLIN (R.) (SOURCE: -NORSK, WIKIPEDIA.DE; ONTHEWORLDMAP)

The responsibilities of the administrations are managed through the allocation-of-responsibility plan (German: *Geschäftsverteilung des Senats*⁴⁵). The term “food”, in German *Ernährung*, is mentioned only once in this plan under the department for economics regarding the case of emergency food supply. The term “*Lebensmittel*”, foodstuffs in English, does occur, with regards to food safety and trade under consumer protection. Thus, food topics outside of the food safety theme are not allocated to any specific senate department and consequently, food is officially no one’s responsibility, stressing the relevance of the gap the ERB and Green political champions are trying to fill. The respective department leaders have started dealing with food topics on their own interest or

⁴³ The districts are not autonomous local authorities but administrative units who operate independently. The districts take over all municipal management tasks of the city. A district mayor (in German: *Bürgermeister/in*) heads the district together with the district councilors (in German: *Bezirksstadträt/innen*). A district council (in German: *Bezirksverordnetenversammlung* (BVV)), like a parliament, controls the district mayor and the district councilors, and like an administration, the district office (in German: *Bezirksamt*), implements the decisions of the district council.

⁴⁴ The ERB has initiated temporary community food center projects (*LebensMittelPunkte*) in two districts, another one is planned. For these, they are in contact with the districts.

⁴⁵ The 2017 version can be accessed through this link: <https://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/regierender-buergermeister/senat/geschaeftsverteilung/#arbeit>

through a natural development (as food is a cross-sectoral issue and linked to various departments) without clear regulations and task divisions, as R9 (SenJustVA) explained:

the political leaderships have more or less pulled the food issues into their departments, without a clear regulation. But I hope that it will come eventually, that we will place a real responsibility where it seems logical. It has always been something that is not clearly defined. Food is quite a broad spectrum (R9/SenJustVA).

durch die politischen Führungen haben wir uns mehr oder weniger die Ernährungsthemen an Land gezogen, ohne eine klare Regelung. Ich hoffe aber, dass es irgendwann kommen wird und wir dann eine wirkliche Zuständigkeit da ansiedeln, wo sie logisch erscheint. Das war immer so eine Sache, die nicht klar definiert ist. Ernährung ist ja doch ein recht breites Spektrum (R9/SenJustVA).

But exactly for this reason, because food is such a cross-cutting theme, the logical allocation of responsibilities to one department is an institutional challenge without the presence of a specific food department. They are various possible entry points as other cities demonstrate, with entry points often being in the department for health, urban planning or environment. A department for consumer protection is not very common in studied cases. The lack of a clear regulation of responsibilities resulted in food issues being scattered over various administrations and units⁴⁶, who rarely communicate with each other. Furthermore, this split administration and division of responsibilities leads to conflicts over competences. As R9 (SenJustVA) reports, one of the biggest problems administrations face is the lack of clear responsibilities, as either no one is or feels responsible or there are several at the same time. R9 (SenJustVA) further described that there is a difference between the sense of responsibilities among the clerk level and leading positions. While the clerk level sees the responsibilities in terms of relation between topic and task, the higher more political levels see the responsibility in more financial terms, meaning budget and staff needed to cover them, both of which are often short (R9/SenJustVA). Here R11 (SenJustVA) supports this impression as during the interview the talk was of more supporters of an integrated food strategy with clear but shared responsibilities being on the technical level than among the department directors, who actually have the power to slow down or boycott processes (R11/SenJustVA). Hence, for advancements, department directors who have authority and power need to be engaged but it is a challenge. As R5 (ERB) noted, it is not easy for the state secretary to make it clear to other administrations that they have something to do with food policy and that it is a question of an ignorant attitude regarding the need for a integrated food policy. Both R9 and R11 (SenJustVA) agree on the need for a better intra-departmental communication and the cooperation between departments to overcome this problem of responsibilities.

⁴⁶ When it comes to the example of school food, the Administration for Education is dealing with students, their health and school food catering, but they do that in consultation with the districts. The Administration for Health is dealing with health in general and is not directly involved with school food. Public procurement law is dealt with by the Senate Administration for Economics, Energy and Business and the Senate Administration for Consumer Protection is also “advocating for a balanced school catering.” (Senatsverwaltung für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, 2019). So, although these are all important aspects of school catering, they are all dealt with in separate administrations.

As R7 (service provider) said, especially with rather new, cross-cutting issues (i.e. food waste) this lack of a clear assignment of responsibility and the lack of staff become evident as there is a general oversaturation with already existing tasks. Others also described that the administrative staff is overworked. The staff does not seem to have the time or energy to take on new tasks, especially if these are also not directly in their field of competence, even if they wanted to (R7/service provider; R9; R10; R11/SenJustVA). Administrations are also understaffed (R7/service provider; R9/SenJustVA). This combination of a lack of topic-specific, technically trained personnel, understaffing and overwork does not feed into people's motivation to take on more work, so especially if it is not part of the staffs' official political office they will not voluntarily deal with it (R3/ERB; R9/SenJustVA; R7/service provider). This turned out to be a hurdle in the development of the Berlin Food Strategy (BFS) action plan, as new projects, and therefore new tasks, were developed and should be distributed across departments. What R11 (SenJustVA) remarked though was the impression that in administrations, lateral entrants are often more open and motivated to changes than established staff members, who are seemingly more closed to changes. But on that note, R11 (SenJustVA) also added that "*it takes forever until posts are filled*" and not many are filled with lateral entrants. This contributes to the slow operation of the Senate, which a few respondents commented on, referring to high levels of bureaucracy, complicated work processes, highly specific formulations and dependency on single staff members to execute, draft or publish certain tasks or documents (R5/ERB; R11/SenJustVA)⁴⁷. This was also mentioned regarding the BFS process, referring to, for example the long time needed from the deciding on a BFS to the publication of a call for tender (see Figure 2: coalition agreement in November 2016; Kick-Off Event BFS in October 2017; February/March 2018 call for tender; June 2019 1st plenum meeting of BFS)⁴⁸.

Nevertheless, with the previous state secretary for consumer protection's engagement in food policy (*Wertewochen*, *MUFPP* and *FGE*) food political topics were taken on by the department for consumer protection (SenJV/SenJustVA) and are largely, but not solely, located in this unit. Also, in the coalition agreement, as mentioned in the previous chapter, food political goals are mentioned in the consumer protection section (SPD; DIE LINKE ;BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, 2016). The SenJustVA has taken on more responsibility than other departments without food policy being officially a specific area of responsibility of the department for consumer protection⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ This also means, that if civil servants are sick, their tasks are not dealt with by anyone else but are left on the desk until convalescence is over. This can lead to significant waiting times.

⁴⁸ Another factor contributing to the speed of administrative processes is the budget planning. The state of Berlin must show all expected revenues and expenditures of one year in a plan. This is referred to as the "public budget" ("*Der Haushaltsplan*," 2019). Every year, the Senate, i.e. the Senate Department for Finance (SenF), draws up a draft budget with the respective individual budgets of the administrations. Under budgetary law, budgets can also be drafted for two years, each separated by year. The Senate makes use of this possibility to present "dual budgets" or a double budget because this reduces the administrative burden of the development of the draft document. After the Senate hands over the draft to the Berlin House of Representatives, it is discussed, adapted and finally agreed upon towards the end of the year. This means that budgets are always decided on for the following two years at the end of the current year. So, for 2018/19 budget plans were agreed on in 2017, for 2020/21 plans are made in 2019.

⁴⁹ School food is largely dealt with by the administration for education, though those for economy, consumer protection and finances are also involved (<https://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/unterstuetzung/praevention-in-der-schule/gesundheit/>). Urban Gardening is mostly dealt with by the Administration for Environment, Traffic and Climate Protection, while Urban Development and Living and the SenJustVA are also involved.

As previously established, the SenJustVA (the unit for consumer protection) is regarded as the entry point for municipal food policy in Berlin having signed the MUFPP and being the administration in charge of the BFS. Therefore, I will describe its structure and functioning in more detail. An organigram can be found in Figure 8 in the List of Figures in the Annex.

The head of the administration, the senator, and the state secretary of the unit consumer protection are Green party members. Neither have backgrounds in food related fields, marking the need for competent staff on the clerk level and advice from the ERB. The unit of consumer protection has three sub-units: Quality management, health- related consumer protection and economic consumer protection. The sub-unit for economic consumer protection is responsible for the promotion of sustainability in all consumer-related fields, for politics of consumer protection and agriculture and since recently food policy (Senatskanzlei, 2017), as well as legal-, budgetary-, and grant affairs. According to their website, the sub-unit for economic consumer protection:

“encompasses a wide range of topics and addresses where consumers come into contact with economic interests through their everyday actions. The ultimate goal of economic consumer protection is the fair balance of interests between consumers and the supplying economy. This includes the protection and strengthening of economic interests and the rights of consumers. In order to give them an overview in the jungle of the confusing variety of offers with sometimes misleading information and to enable independent action at eye level with the economy, information, transparency and education are required. This is the task of consumer education, especially for people with a migrant background, senior citizens as well as children and adolescents⁵⁰.” (SenJustVA)

This description makes clear, that the sub-unit for economic consumer protection aims at establishing a good relation and balance between consumers and the industry and empowering consumers by advocating food literacy, but there is no indication of a holistic approach to food system transformation. Rather, it can be deducted that there is a limited view at food stemming from the work with food safety, food labelling, food law and food education, which the SenJustVA is more familiar with. Still, the unit has several food-related tasks⁵¹ and supports food-related projects⁵². The current leader of the sub-unit, in office since early 2018, has a background in the fields of agricultural-, food-, and consumer protection policy (R11/SenJustVA). Since fall 2018 there is also a new position, the one of a clerk in charge of food policy with a green political background and experience in agricultural and food policy but without administrative experience (R11/SenJustVA; cf. Abghs. Berlin, Drucks.-18/12344). Previously all food related administrative tasks had been dealt with by another civil servant, who is receiving help from an administrative inspector since recently. Both are without a background in food or agricultural policy (R9; R10/SenJustVA). The clerk level deals with project management, answers inquiries from the parliament, drafts and publishes tenders, handles grants and aids in implementing policies.

⁵⁰ <https://www.berlin.de/sen/verbraucherschutz/aufgaben/wirtschaftlicher-verbraucherschutz/>

⁵¹ Organization of the Berlin-Halle at the International Green Week Berlin; Organization of the Global Forum for Food and Agriculture; Coordinating function in the cooperation with Brandenburg in the field of agriculture.

⁵² youth food education program; school catering improvement; urban beekeeping

Thus, with regard to the planned BFS, two new people were hired who brought with them previously missing competences concerning food and agricultural policies. All in all, there are currently five people who are actively working with food political topics in the department: three on a clerk level, one head of the sub-unit and the state secretary (R7/service provider; R9/SenJustVA). It should be noted that the people working on the technical level, the clerks, have little to no influence on the content matter (R5/ERB). This poses the question of how the useful competences that the newly established staff members have are put to work. No matter how interested or motivated clerks are, they are restricted in their power and influence. The clerks are those who actually have to find ways on how to implement policies but in terms of implementation or taking action they are restricted in their scope of action and decision-making (R11/SenJustVA). Furthermore, respondents note that there is a general shortage of competent staff, the people are overworked and underpaid, which affects their work (R7/service provider; R11/SenJustVA). This suggests that for more effective advancements and thus outcomes, more support from higher authorities is needed as well as more staff with topic-related competences and an adequate payment for the amount of work that is done. While these institutional matters pose a challenge for the SenJustVA, the creation of positions dealing with food policy is already a form of institutionalization as it recognizes the importance of food political issues. The employment creation and competent staffing suggests a different, more dedicated approach from the current state secretary compared to the last one, acknowledging the workload that the tasks related to the MUFPP and a BFS require. This matched the perception of respondents from the ERB, who described the state secretary as more “*motivated*”, “*dedicated*” and “*authentic*” (R2/ERB) establishing an initial level of trust and a sense of commitment. Another sign of the dedication of the ‘political champions’ in the Senate and the House of Representatives is that more money was allocated to food political projects, indicating the SenJustVA’s growing inclination and more open attitude towards food policy compared to previous leaderships. As stated in the Chapter 2, R8 (parliament) highlighted that the Green parliamentary group advanced the allocation of rather large sums for the food-projects BFS and HoF/CCC⁵³. This, again, is a form of institutionalization, as allocating money to certain projects means that they are becoming a respected part of the organization. The difference of the sums allocated to the BFS and the HoF/CCC is significant (see footnote 53). This demonstrates political tendencies to support what is expected to show results within a political cycle to be able to present tangible successes. The size of the sums also shows that compared to the ERB whose work is widely voluntary, the SenJustVA has the financial

⁵³ For 2019, 550.000€ were made available to the SenJustVA for the promotion of projects and consumer education (Kapitel 0608, Titel 68475 *Förderung und Verbraucheraufklärung*). From this money, events like the *Stadt.Land.Food* festival and symposium from *Markthalle Neun*, the Ernährungsrat Berlin, beekeeper clubs or *Ackerdemia e.V.* with its *GemüseAckerdemie* project are supported (cf. Vorg. [r18-0061-01](#), p.385). Under another service-title (in German: *Dienstleistungstitel*), namely 45010, more money is made available to the consumer protection departments, a total of 1.214.000€ for 2019 (SenF, 2018, p. 59). In 2018 200.000€ and another 800.000€ in 2019 were allocated to the HoF/CCC and 120.000€ in 2018 and 2019 each for the BFS (SenF, 2018, p. 59). For the BFS development in 2018, 30.000€ were calculated in for the process for each year (SenF, 2018, p. 63) and for 2018 80.000€ were allocated to the service providers to manage the 7-month-BFS-process (cf. Vorg. [h18-1124](#)). In comparison, in 2015, the Berlin House of Representatives asked the Senate “to promote measures based on the Urban Food Pact signed by Berlin with up to 50,000 euros.” (cf. Vorg. [h17-2669](#)). 30.000€ were calculated in in 2015 to support the FGE and 50.000€ were allocated in the end for the service providers in 2016 (cf. Vorg. [h17-2672](#)).

means, albeit limited, to commission or support food policy related projects, both internal and external.

Now that we have an idea of how both organizations work and which challenges they face, it is time to look at their relationship and how they collaborate.

CHAPTER 5: RELATIONSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN AND SENATE ADMINISTRATION FOR CONSUMER PROTECTION

5.1 THE RELATIONSHIP

The relationships between FPCs and government or policymakers have been identified as valuable assets in terms of a FPC's visibility, legitimacy and for governments to give FPCs feedback on the feasibility of their policy recommendations (Clayton, Frattaroli, Palmer, & Pollack, 2015). The relationships FPCs and governments have differ and were found to have an impact on the success of the FPC in terms of having an influence (Koç & Dahlberg, 1999). Thus, I will now lay out what I found out about the relationship between the ERB and the SenJustVA and policy makers, based on the typologies of food policy governance by MacRae and Donahue (2013) (Table 1 in the Annex).

In Chapter 4 on the stakeholders, it was already stated that the ERB is regarded as independent of the government. The reasons given by ERB speakers circle members for the independence include being a more dynamic and flexible organization in terms of structure and work making it easier to be able to react quicker to changing conditions. The ERB does not want to be *“trapped in administrative structures”* (R3/ERB) meaning that the ERB wants to be able to have its own agenda and not be influenced or limited by the government's agenda and structure. The Senate's structure and processes are regarded as limiting due to the high level of bureaucracy, which complicates and heavily slows down processes. R2 (ERB) said,

The Senate administrations and so on, they all have their own structures and ways of thinking and the Ernährungsrat is very, let's say, flexible with its organizational form. It can also quickly adapt to new things much better than the Senate Department, which has some set meeting intervals and is on some council boards. So, it's a giant ship, which cannot move so fast. Yes, institutionally and organizationally, this is a slow process in politics, but also in terms of content, of the debate. [...] This administration infrastructure is moving very slowly, but also the content is very slow. You just have to give them some time, they are not ready yet (R2/ERB).

Die Senatsverwaltungen und so, die haben ja alle ihre eigenen Strukturen und Denkweisen und der Ernährungsrat ist da sehr sag ich mal flexibel aufgestellt mit seiner Organisationsform. Der kann sich auch schnell neuen Sachen viel besser anpassen, als in der Senatsverwaltung, die halt irgendwelche Sitzungsturnusse hat und in irgendwelchen Beiräten ist. Es ist also ein Riesenschiff, was sich nicht so schnell bewegen kann. Ja, also institutionell und organisatorisch läuft das in der Politik einfach langsam aber auch inhaltlich von der Debatte. [...] dass sich diese Infrastruktur von der Verwaltung sehr langsam bewegt, aber auch, dass die Inhalte sehr langsam sind. Da muss man einfach mal ein bisschen denen Zeit geben, die sind noch nicht so weit.

This autonomy is linked to the importance given by the ERB's speakers circle members to freely critique policies or government actions and publish statements with freedom of expression. Examples of the ERB voicing critique are the FGE process, their catalogue of demands in which they highlight

gaps of the current system (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2017b, p. p.24)⁵⁴ and more recently an open letter they published regarding the BFS process in which they call for more citizen participation and process transparency (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019). While their independence is contested in terms of finances, with the ERB's activities being currently mainly financed by the SenJustVA, the ERB is clearly not embedded within a government agency. Still, there are close ties between the ERB and the SenJustVA.

5.1.1 FINANCES

Currently the ERB receives a financial grant from the SenJustVA with which they finance the coordinator. As described in the previous chapter on the ERB, this has not always been the case as previously the ERB was financially supported by another NGO. Also, the ERB's speakers circle members agree on that the ERB should not keep receiving money from the SenJustVA for the coordinator, as the ERB aims to be as independent as possible from the government. They see the controversy in getting money from an institution which they lobby for, as R4 (ERB) mentioned. The speakers circle also does not want the ERB's coordination work to be dependent on money from the government in light of the fact that, at the moment the relationship to the government is a good one and they "kick at an open door" (R8/parliament), but as this can change with the next elections, they risk losing the main source of budget for the coordinators work on which the ERB largely depends. Thus, considering the unpredictability and incalculability of the government's commitment to food policy, the ERB was actually not left with a choice but had to opt for independence to ensure long-term survival. Moreover, R4 said that the procedure of applying for this project grant annually is tedious and the ERB would prefer long-term institutional funding without liabilities (R4/ERB).

5.1.2 STAFF AND IN-KIND SUPPORT

The ERB does not receive any in-kind support from the SenJustVA, meaning for example meeting rooms. Furthermore, there is no government staff directly appointed to the ERB. But one must bear in mind that one of the BFS service providers follows the work of the ERB and attends the general assemblies, which can be regarded as being a member, and also the Green political champion is regarded as a member of the ERB, according to R5 (ERB). The relationship the ERB has with the Green policy maker, who has similar views as the ERB, helped bring the ERB's ideas onto the political agenda. The current presence of food policy topics is framed as being a direct influence of the ERB in the interviews, especially by mentioning that the policy maker is also part of the ERB. R5 (ERB) explicitly pointed out that:

The vast majority of what has now entered in the program of the Greens, in the Senate in terms of food policy, i.e. in what Margit Gottstein [the state secretary] concretely does, the vast majority comes from us. Whereby "us" in this case includes [the Green policy maker] (R5/ERB).

⁵⁴ On page 24 it states for example: "The vacuum that politics and administration have created over decades is being filled by a lively civil society: the will to make food policy a top priority for the city has long been unrecognizable, as well as the necessary cooperation of food related departments of the Senate administration, or between state and district administration levels and with Brandenburg."

Das Allermeiste was jetzt an Ernährungspolitik eingegangen ist in die Programmatik der Grünen im Senat, also in das, was Margit Gottstein konkret tut, das Allermeiste kommt von uns. Wobei "uns" in diesem Fall Turgut Altug miteinschließt (R5/ERB).

The relationship between the ERB and such a 'political champion' (MacRae & Donahue, 2013) from the House of Representatives marks the direct link between the ERB and the legislative which is favorable to have in case the relationship to the executive, to the Senate, changes. But as seen with previous coalitions, if the Green party is in the opposition, advancements and approaches are not in line with the 'food democracy' vision of the ERB.

5.1.3 THE TIES TO THE GOVERNMENT: THE "LOBBY MEETINGS"

Another 'political champion' crucial to the development and the current relationship is the state secretary of consumer protection. This position forms the conduit between ERB and Senate. There are regular meetings taking place between the "lobby-group" of the ERB, made up of about four people, and the state secretary. These meetings took place especially in the beginning phase of the BFS. There were approximately five meetings per year, adding up to about 10 meetings between January 2017 and January 2019. The first encounter was public at the August-Bebel-Haus where the ERB speakers circle met the red-red-green Senate represented by the state secretary for consumer protection to discuss about the future of feeding Berlin (Jacobs, 2017). After that the lobby meetings started, took place *"behind closed doors"* (R3/ERB) and depending on the matter discussed, other administrative staff (different levels, administrations, also Brandenburg) were invited to join those meetings. But the main contact person in the Senate of Berlin for the ERB is the State Secretary for Consumer Protection. From the beginning, she made *"no secret that she sympathizes with the initiative of civil society for a sustainable food system in Berlin"* (Jacobs, 2017). By the speakers circle members, the state secretary was described as accessible/approachable, constructive to work with, reliable, as a careful, cautious and thoughtful/deliberate person, as a good listener and dialogue partner, as good to talk with and as giving the impression of grasping what she hears. The meetings were described as private and confidential meetings, as constructive, as meetings with dialogues at eye level, with reciprocal treatment and as fostering a close connection. It was mentioned that the state secretary does not make promises she cannot keep and also does not convey the feeling of trapping the other into a political game. All these descriptions lay the base for the "trust building" needed for engaging in collaborative governance (Ansell & Gash, 2008), which I will get back to when looking into the governance arrangement more closely, analyzing the Berlin Food Strategy (BFS) process by applying the Collaborative Governance (CG) framework.

During those meetings, the ERB, or rather the lobby group, provides advice to the government. The ERB has the expertise, the connection to the wide array of food system actors and the creativity to come up with innovative solutions, while the SenJustVA has the knowledge on administrative regulations and feasibility, the financial means and executive leverage to realize them. As an example, the catalogue of demands the ERB drafted from January 2017 to October 2017 was very much welcomed by the state secretary with open arms. In fact, she needed it as a source of information on Berlin's food system and mechanisms of municipal food governance, to familiarize herself with it as she is a stranger to the field (R1/ERB). One interviewee had the impression that the SenJustVA state secretary squeezed the ERB like a sponge and then absorbed everything, like a sponge (R6/academia). It got to the point that the catalogue of demands was already on the state secretary's desk before the

official publication as she insisted on receiving it as early as possible as the SenJustVA could not draft anything themselves without the ERB's expert views on the issues (R5/ERB). R6 (academic) observed

the gratitude of politics and administration for the fact that people had dealt with the topic and who had already done some preliminary work on it with this catalogue of demands (R6/academic).

die Dankbarkeit von Politik und Verwaltung, dass da Menschen waren sich mit dem Thema auseinandergesetzt hatten und die über diesen Forderungskatalog auch schon inhaltliche Vorarbeit gemacht haben (R6/academic).

This implies an unequal relationship as the ERB is doing the (preliminary) work for the government. At the same time caution is needed on the side of the government to not solely adopt the views and perspective of the ERB, but to check what is missing, for example social justice topics or an industry engagement (R6/academic). So, despite the SenJustVA being dependent on the ERB's input, they have to remain critical.

From what has been presented in the previous chapter (the roles of the ERB) and in this one, it can be inferred that the ERB thus offers recommendations for actions and approaches to the government, can exert pressure on the government to take action due to commitments and promises made (with election touchstones⁵⁵, the coalition agreement and the *MUFPP*), has the freedom to critique the actions and lastly, is supported by the political champion from the Green parliamentary group (also other parties but foremost by the BÜNDNIS 90/Die Grünen). This support becomes evident with the regularly filed motions and submission of brief parliamentary enquiries regarding food political topics (in German: *Kleine Anfragen*) (Cf.: Halbzeitbilanz, Altug, 2019; written inquiries: Drucks. 17/17718; Drucks. 18/15466; Drucks. 18/0633; Drucks. 17/1994; Drucks. 17/0784; Drucks. 17/2701; Drucks. 18/1625; Drucks. 17/18187). The ERB is strongly connected to the Green party but does not want to exclusively interact with the Greens and it was said that the speakers circle also tries to use the established connection to the legislative to get in touch with other parties (R1/ERB).

Thus, although the ERB is not embedded in government structures, has no members appointed by government nor been created by legislation, it still receives support from the SenJustVA (both financially and generally, in terms of commitment to the food system transformation process) and offers recommendations to the SenJustVA. But not only does the ERB offer recommendations to the

⁵⁵ Election touchstones are questionnaires sent to parties before elections. In most cases, the senders are associations, organizations and institutions, which in this way can query the topics that are important to them and, based on the answers, can give a recommendation to their members. With an event in 2016 around such election touchstones (*Wahlprüfsteine* in German) the ERB could put out a few wheelers to see how each party stands towards the ERB's visions concerning Berlin food policy prior to the election. Furthermore, the parties published their positions in written forms making it possible for the ERB to have something tangible in their hands and to hold the parties accountable to stick to their promises made. To read the answers of the parties, click here: <http://ernaehrungsrat-berlin.de/wp-content/uploads/download/ernaehrungsrat-fragen-und-antworten-berlin-wahl-2016.pdf>

government, these recommendations are received with open arms. From my research, it became clear that the ERB has a big influence on the policy making and government actions. This is due to the 1) close relationship the ERB has with the very committed Green politicians in the administration, 2) the ERB's position as the organization with the most expertise on Berlin's food system and 3) the necessary network and 4) the interdependence between the ERB and the SenJustVA in terms of resources, like power and knowledge. This interdependence will be elaborated more in the next sub-chapter on the governance arrangement. But before going into the analysis of the governance arrangement I want to take a close look at the typologies of food policy governance (Table 1 in the Annex) and where the ERB fits. A visualization of the allocation of the ERB into the categorization is depicted in Table 4 on the next page.

When looking at the typologies in (Table 1 or Table 4 in the Annex), the ERB takes on or has taken on quite a few of the typology types. As the ERB has no formal government links, a clear structure and is actively engaging the government in food system change, they seem to fit into type 6, especially because the initiation of food policy in Berlin came from civil society, from the ERB, as interviewees noted (R1; R2; R5/ERB). R2 (ERB) formulated it in the following way:

I would almost describe it in a way that civil society is not included in the process by the government, but that civil society includes the government in the process or rather that they urge the government to participate. As the debate strongly originates from civil society they do not have to include themselves, but approached the government and said, we want dialogues, we want to talk (R2/ERB).

Ich würde das fast so beschreiben, dass nicht die Zivilgesellschaft in den Prozess miteinbezogen wird, sondern dass die Zivilgesellschaft die Politik in den Prozess miteinbezieht, bzw. die Politik fordert, dass sie daran teilnehmen. Also dadurch, dass die Debatte sehr sehr stark von der Zivilgesellschaft angestoßen wurde, müssen die selbst sich ja nicht einbeziehen, sondern sind halt dann auf die Regierung zugekommen und haben gesagt: wir wollen Dialoge, wie wollen Gespräche führen.

Thus, the initiation clearly comes from civil society, who have the energy and expertise required for food policy advancements. It is not municipally endorsed, and as there are no formal connections like institutional funding, provision of working space or participating staff, type 1 to 3 can be excluded. Since the ERB and the local government, meaning the SenJustVA, do work together, especially on the BFS and since the ERB currently does receive funding, type 4 or 5 are very fitting too, even more fitting than 6. What seems plausible is actually that the ERB started off as something like type 6 (not formally connected to government, not seeking to partner with government or receive funding, having a clearer structure and ability to engage government in food system change) and then could evolve into type 4 (no formal connection to government, but linked with ties to government like government grant or a municipally endorsed food) with the enabling political environment, i.e. the Green party in the coalition, the BFS in the coalition agreement, and the ERB as the explicitly mentioned collaboration partner.

TABLE 4: FOOD POLICY GOVERNANCE TYPOLOGIES WITH THE ALLOCATION OF THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY AND THE ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN (MACRAE & DONAHUE, 2013; MENDES & SONNINO, 2018)

No.	Typology type	Typology Description
1	Municipality driven	Initiatives are financed by the municipality and directed by municipal staff with advice from external groups. They are housed within existing municipal government units.
2	Hybrid governance with direct government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government with a conduit to decision makers through municipal council, and with municipal financing, political champions, and supportive staff. Characterized by formal municipal endorsements, structural links, and accountability to a government body.
The Berlin Food Strategy		
3	Hybrid governance with indirect government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government, but with markedly fewer formal attachments and lower levels of financing and government staffing arrangements. The conduit to council is less direct, via departments and government staff.
4	Links to government via a secondary agent	No formal connection to government but linked through secondary agencies. They may have important ties to government (a municipally endorsed food charter) or receive some government grants.
The Ernährungsrat Berlin		
5	Civil society organization with limited and informal government links	A civil society organization or project, in which government officials may participate. The organization may receive some government grants.
6	Independent organizations with no government links	No formal connection to government and do not seek to partner with government nor receive funding. The initiatives reflect clear structures and have the ability to engage government in food system change.

This thought of the typologies as development stages (Galda, 2014, p. 36), as an evolution, fits into the concept of “form follows function” (Palmer, 2016), considering that the function is shaped by the local context and that in the beginning of the ERB the local political context (or what will be referred to as “starting conditions” with regards to the CG framework) was not as favorable as it is now. R1 (ERB) nicely observed this possibly changing way of food governance in Berlin:

Well, in Berlin, the initiative came from civil society, but has already found a connection to politics. That's the way we go. No idea if it will succeed. Let's see what's in 10 years (R1/ERB).

Also in Berlin kam die Initiative aus der Zivilgesellschaft. Hat aber schon Anschluss gefunden an die Politik. Das ist jetzt der Weg, den wir so gehen. Keine Ahnung ob der erfolgreich wird. Mal sehen was in 10 Jahren ist.

Contrary to what literature suggests building upon these typologies, the ERB, whilst being as independent and not housed within government institutions as it is, it still has a big impact on the government. The ERB has made its mark and is valued by the government. This positive development of the ERB's reputation is nicely stated by R2 (ERB):

One notices with the reaction of the parties, "Ah, Ernährungsrat". They talk to you in a different way. One notices that they do not talk derogatory or say, "Oh no, I do not feel like it now", but it makes them sit up and take notice and now they are able to make use of the term

Ernährungsrat. A few years ago, they did not know who or what the Ernährungsrat is. [...] They are definitely respected and have a good stable position in politics (R2/ERB).

Man merkt schon bei den Parteien so "Ah, Ernährungsrat", und die reden mit einem ganz anders und man merkt, dass die nicht so abfällig reden oder sagen: "Oh ne, darauf habe ich jetzt keine Lust", sondern die sind schon hellhörig geworden und können mit dem Begriff auch etwas anfangen. Vor ein paar Jahren wussten die gar nicht wer oder was der Ernährungsrat ist. [...] Die haben auf jeden Fall Respekt und eine gute stabile Stelle mittlerweile in der Politik (R2/ERB).

As Dahlberg (1994) found, FPCs generally do not receive much attention or support from municipal governments in the first place. They are often only seen as useful knowledge pools who can be contacted to keep the city informed, like any other advisory group. In previous research on food policy by MacRae and Donahue (2013, p. 13) they found that more independent organizations have weaker government support and tend to have less successful outcomes. This has implications for how we understand Berlin food policy. But in Berlin, as previously laid out, although rather independent, the ERB does receive government support and has an influence and from what we can see and say now, outcomes are rather successful. Examples are the initiation of a BFS and the initiation of a public procurement project, the 'House of Food' (HoF/CCC), which the ERB further advanced with a project themselves⁵⁶. In Berlin the ERB is indeed seen as a useful knowledge pool to the SenJustVA but it is also highly valued. This becomes evident with this quote from R8 (parliament):

I'm thrilled with how many people there are in this city who address and deal with this topic and around it, I call it politics with fork and knife and Berlin has potential and we as a parliamentary group, as administrations led by us [Green Party], the administrative management, we are aware that we have this treasure, and by treasure I mean the civil society that we have in Berlin and which we should support (R8/parliament).

Ich bin begeistert, wie viele Menschen es in dieser Stadt gibt, die sich mit dem Thema und Drumherum beschäftigen und sich damit befassen, ich sag Politik mit Gabel und Messer und Berlin hat Potenzial und wir als Fraktion, als von uns geführte Verwaltungen, die Verwaltungsführung sind uns dessen bewusst, dass wir diesen Schatz, und damit meine ich die Zivilgesellschaft die wir in Berlin haben und die wir unterstützen sollten.

From this quote, the dedication, commitment and strength that comes from civil society in the food scene is highlighted again and shows that also without government action in the past years advancements have been made. Authorities in the government and politics recognize and value the energy and capacity of the civic initiative ERB to see beyond the walls of the administration. And although an active civil society can achieve a lot by itself, it should not, as changing framework conditions is also a political task. In that context, Dahlberg (1994) further notes that cities rarely have

⁵⁶ The project is called "Regiowoche". To demonstrate the potential of local and organic school food, the ERB teamed up with the catering association and in one week made organic meals with local ingredients for 50.000 students in 275 Berlin schools. The project also had teaching units about the food. The project was a pilot and appeal to the Senate of Berlin and their plan HoF. For more information please click: <https://www.regiowoche.berlin>

departments of food which is a third instrument for food policy governance (Koç & Dahlberg, 1999). Berlin is no exception, as there is no administration for food, unlike on the national level where there is a Ministry for Food and Agriculture. Dahlberg (1994) continues to connect this lack of a department with the low financial and staff support food related issues receive from the municipal governments. This is partly in line with my findings. On the one hand, interviewees have mentioned that the senate administrations are understaffed, overworked and lack competent personnel. On the other hand, recently rather large sums of money were made available for the HoF/CCC project and the BFS and not as new but still relevant, to support various food-awareness initiatives. But comparing the sums, the HoF/CCC received more than six times as much as the BFS in 2019 (120.000€ vs. 800.000€), which is supposed to be the basis for all coming food policy actions, the identifier of needed measures and ideas for actions. Spending more money on the HoF/CCC project could be seen as a way for politicians to have something tangible to present to the citizens (the Senator seems to be a very big fan of this project). However, it can also be seen as a way to “have a first success to build credibility” (MacRae & Donahue, 2013, p. 27) to ensure long-term success of other food political projects, which again are part of the strategy. It is not clear why the BFS received so much less, but it is noteworthy, as it feeds into the theory of governments thinking in political terms and projects and the resulting need for the ERB to advocate long-term food system transformations. Regarding the staff support mentioned by Dahlberg (1994), a food department would probably involve more positions but it cannot go unnoticed that new positions have been created to work on food policy in Berlin, although there are still not enough people working on these topics considering the amount of work needed in this field, with the inter- and cross-departmental communication needed due to split administrations and responsibilities and food being an inherently cross-sectoral topic.

Often touched on in literature, also by MacRae and Donahue (2013), is the position of a FPC to the Mayor. The ERB is not close to the Mayor’s office in the Senate of Berlin. R7 (service provider) pondered about whether a closer relationship to the mayor could change the impact of the ERB on other senate administrations:

basically, the mayor would have to back it [the food strategy and related cross-departmental collaboration], if one really wanted that it concerns the whole city, but... (R7/service provider)

im Prinzip müsste auch der Bürgermeister sich dahinter stellen, wenn man wirklich wollte, dass es die ganze Stadt irgendwie tangiert aber... (R7/service provider)

It is referred to that the authority of the mayor could affect the way other administrations deal with food policy, make the politicians and staff take cross-cutting food political issues more seriously, make the division of responsibilities clearer, make them collaborate more and finally result in a more integrated food policy for the city, as seen in Bristol or London (Halliday & Barling, 2018). But according to scholars, there are positive and negative effects of a FPCs closeness to the Mayor’s office. Dahlberg (1994, p.4) notes that “If a FPC is a part of the Mayor’s office, then the degree of support it receives (whether budgetary or policy) can change significantly as mayors change. Also, the FPC is more likely to be politicized and to be pushed/pulled according to the priorities of the current mayor”. Halliday and Barling (2018), although recognizing the enabling powers of a mayor, point towards various factors that need to be taken into account before being able to make a statement about how helpful the mayor’s involvement actually is. If a FPC is distant from the mayor’s office, then it is much more free to pursue its own agenda and set priorities but may not receive as much support

for them from the mayor's office. In my research, the relationship with the mayor's office was not a source of debate. However, the current relationship with the SenJustVA raised concerns about dependency or rather reasons for independency. Still, the concerns are similar, and include not only agenda priorities but also the freedom to critique the existing food policies of the government. In the case of Berlin, the underlying condition made the ERB keep its distance from the government in order to ensure its independence, and one interviewee expressed that if the ERB was more closely linked or rooted in political and administrative structures, it could lose its flexibility (R1/ERB). But for food policy developments in general, support from a certain higher authority in the government, as for instance the mayor's office, could indeed be helpful for establishing a united goal and in overcoming the challenges of inter-departmental collaboration, lack of support from department leaders and the troubles with split responsibilities.

Across my interviews there was wide agreement that the ERB had helped bring the food policy debate onto the political agenda, shaped what is currently being developed as Berlin food policy, initiated the collaboration between civil society and government around food policy and has shifted the perception of food policy and the ERB by politicians:

The debate was strongly initiated by civil society (R2/ERB),

The initiative came from civil society, but has already found a connection to politics (R1/ERB),

The vast majority of what has now entered into food policy [...] comes from us (R5/ERB),

They [the ERB] are respected (R2/ERB),

Therefore, my findings are in line with Derkzen and Morgan (2012) and Wekerle (2004) who report that "civil society actors play an important advocacy role, hold governments to account, and provide insights, specialist expertise, creative energy, and capacity that may be lacking within local government" (Halliday & Barling, 2018). With the catalogue of demands, their 'Regiowoche' project and during the BFS process the ERB proved that they advocate, hold the SenJustVA accountable, they offered their expertise, insights, creativity and resources which the SenJustVA did not have. The collaboration between the ERB and the SenJustVA is actually seen as "the basis, or rather the engine" (R2/ERB) for Berlin food policy. Without it, there would not be any. And here I want to draw the attention to the local context again, because the collaboration between the two organizations is tightly linked to the Green party. The fact is, that the Green party's position in government, not as an oppositional party, but as part of the coalition, is a crucial factor for the development of food policy in Berlin. Without the Green political champions pushing for the BFS being included in the coalition agreement, without the previously established government entry point SenJV/SenJustVA being under a Green leadership, without the ERB being explicitly mentioned as a BFS collaboration partner, this development would not have been the same. This in turn feeds into the theory that the local context is a decisive factor for the evolution of food governance and important to take into account when structuring a FPC and starting a collaborative governance arrangement. As mentioned before, "form follows function" – form here can account for the organizational structure of the ERB, the roles the ERB takes on, the relationship with the government – but what is important to note is that function is determined by the local context. Which functions a FPC has, depends on the environment it works in.

5.2 EXPLORING THE CURRENT GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENT: THE CASE OF THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY

We now understand the developments, the organizational structures and the general relationship between the Ernährungsrat Berlin (ERB) and the Senate Administration for Consumer Protection (SenJustVA). Since multi-actor collaboration has been identified by scholars as crucial for successful food policy making or food policy changes (IPES-Food, 2017; Reynolds, 2009), since food strategies are an example of participatory decision-making (Mendes, 2016), and as laid out that the food strategy process (including the phase leading up to the actual process) is the one area where ERB and SenJustVA have come together the most, I will now present and discuss my findings in relation to the collaborative governance arrangement around the process of the Berlin Food Strategy using the collaborative governance (CG) framework by Ansell and Gash (2008) and the categories *Starting Conditions*, *Institutional Design*, *Facilitative Leadership*, *Collaborative Process* and *Outcomes*. A visualization of the CG framework can be found in Figure 1 in the List of Figures in the Annex.

5.2.1 STARTING CONDITIONS

In Chapter 3, by describing the developments around Berlin food governance, an introduction of the starting condition is already given but more concretely concerning the *Power-Resource-Knowledge Asymmetries* I found that the ERB is perceived as having the knowledge and even expertise on as well as experience with and connections in the Berlin food system and innovative tools used in urban food governance. R3 (ERB) expressed this by saying:

I mean the ERB was founded in 2016 and in the same year there were the elections and it was written in the coalition agreement that the ERB is at least involved in the development of the Berlin food strategy. And in order to make progress in this political goal of the Senate Administration, they are of course also dependent on technical expertise and I believe that the Ernährungsrat or the lobby group, but also all the other participants, very quickly showed that we [the ERB / speakers circle] have specialist expertise. The Senate quickly realized that it is relatively important and has therefore increasingly involved us in things (R3/ERB).

ich meine der ER hat sich 2016 gegründet und im gleichen Jahr gab's die Wahl und da wurde reingeschrieben im Koalitionsvertrag, dass der ER da zumindest an der Entwicklung der Berliner Ernährungsstrategie beteiligt ist. Und in diesem politischen Ziel von der Senatsverwaltung da voranzukommen sind sie natürlich auch auf fachliche Expertise angewiesen und ich glaube da hat sich der ER bzw. die Lobbygruppe, aber auch alle anderen Beteiligten, sehr schnell gezeigt, dass wir da fachliche Expertise haben. Der Senat hat sehr schnell gemerkt, dass es relativ wichtig und hat uns deswegen vermehrt in Dinge einbezogen.

This shows that there is an imbalance of knowledge on the matter, making collaboration an almost unavoidable option if advancements are to be made within a legislature. This view is further supported by the following quotes. R5 (ERB) mentioned that the ERB's expertise has fed the BFS process with their catalogue of demands "on an already highly professional level", and R2 (ERB) supports this perception with the statement that "also with regards to food policy, the expertise was with the Ernährungsrat, who set the bar" (R2/ERB). R5 remembers the state secretary asking the ERB lobby group for advice, "always with the remark that we [the speakers circle lobby group] are the experts in the field and they [SenJustVA] cannot tinker anything, if they do not know expert opinions" (R5/ERB).

R9 (SenJustVA) shares this opinion and clearly marks the (inter)dependence by saying:

The Ernährungsrat brings in input that we would not have ourselves (R9/SenJustVA).

Der Ernährungsrat bringt schon Input mit, den wir alleine nicht hätten (R9/SenJustVA).

Another resource that is attributed to the ERB and often missing in administrations is the creative and experimental approach. R3 (ERB) sees the ERB's role as "giving ideas", as "idea enrichment" and said the ERB members see themselves "as experimenters" (R3/ERB). And while the ERB brings the expertise and creativity to the table, the SenJustVA has the knowledge on political, governmental, administrative and juridical processes, bringing with it barriers and levers which the ERB does not have. R3 (ERB) notes, regarding this lack of knowledge on administrative processes:

we're not experts in administrative structures, and sometimes you have ideas where you think that would be something that the Senate could implement, but for some reason that's not possible. I think that this is definitely a learning process for me. Just to understand the administrative structures and understand, where could you locate it [ideas on food policy and projects] there. Of course, it is also our first direct source of information on things that may not yet be in the newspaper, on what happens at the Senate level [...] our source to know what is currently happening politically (R3/ERB).

Also zum einen sind wir auch keine Experten in Verwaltungsstrukturen und manchmal hat man Ideen, wo man denkt, das wäre doch etwas, was der Senat mal umsetzen könnte, was aber aus irgendwelchen Gründen nicht möglich ist. Ich glaube schon, dass das auf jeden Fall für mich ein Lernprozess ist. Also einfach die Verwaltungsstrukturen erst mal zu verstehen und zu verstehen, wo könnte man es dort verorten. Natürlich ist es auch erst mal unsere direkte Informationsquelle an Dingen, die vielleicht noch nicht in der Zeitung stehen, was gerade auf Senatsebene passiert [...] zu wissen was politisch gerade passiert (R3/ERB).

Although the ERB is almost completely made up of volunteers, there are more people involved with the ERB than in the SenJustVA on food policy, marking an asymmetry regarding personnel. This is linked to the resource of time and knowledge. The ERB has a rather large group of representatives who can share participation and thus time spent on collaborative processes and can contribute with a wider range of ideas. As written in Chapter 3, the staff of the SenJustVA is often overworked, understaffed and not equipped with the technical knowledge and can therefore use the help of the ERB. The SenJustVA on the other hand has the access to money and close links to decision makers who have the power to start and fund projects (internal and external of administrative structures) which the ERB currently also depends on. Furthermore, the SenJustVA has executive leverage to implement new projects related to policies on which the ERB wishes to exert influence, making a collaboration useful. However, this comes with the risk of transferring state services to non-state actors which fuels the emergence of unequal geographies of resources and power, overly relying on motivated civic actors who pick up what a 'shrinking state' cannot accomplish.

According to Ansell and Gash (2008) skill and expertise are required to participate in discussions about certain problems. For the SenJustVA to engage in discussions with more actors from the food system and other administrations during the BFS process they thus first rely on the input of the ERB. And for the ERB to be able to know what is going on in the government, and to actively influence

developments, the speakers need to engage with the SenJustVA. All in all, both sides contribute resources, they complement each other, but there is no balance in terms of power-resource-knowledge asymmetries. There is an excessive reliance on the volunteer-based and motivated ERB, which invests a lot of time and energy while having the least resources available.

Nevertheless, both sides acknowledge their interdependencies which brings us to the *Incentives for and constraints to participation*. The ERB demands structural changes in their catalogue and for those to occur, the government needs to participate. The ERB clearly hopes for meaningful results, as they spend a lot of time and energy on the whole BFS process with the catalogue of demands, the lobby-meetings, participation at the plenum meetings, and their extensive input for feedback on the strategy draft, as R7 recalls. Additionally, the SenJustVA is basically obliged to engage in a collaborative BFS process as it was agreed upon in the coalition agreement.

Concerning the *prehistory of cooperation or conflict* (the initial trust level) we need to look at the *Forum Gutes Essen* (FGE) as this was the first contact between ERB and senate administration. The ERB initiators were rather critical towards the initiation of a municipal FPC, the FGE, during the ERB initiation phase. The initiation of the FGE was referred to as “*symbolic politics/tokenism*” by R2 (ERB), showing the skepticism. R2 (ERB) also said that the former state secretary publicly announced that she brought the idea of a FPC to Germany regardless of knowing that the civil society initiative was close to its formal establishment. ERB initiators attended FGE meetings, but only as “*critical observers*” as R3 (ERB) recalls. There also was a critical and skeptical attitude from ERB interviewees towards the FGE approach with its strong “*focus on promotion of economy*” (R2/ERB), but only little civil society involvement (R4/ERB). The list of attendees of the FGE meetings can be seen in Table 7 in the List of Tables in the Annex. The interviewees perceived the former state secretary to lack commitment as she was for instance not willing to cooperate with Brandenburg (R2/ERB), which is of major importance to the ERB members. Furthermore, the structure of the FGE was lacking political legitimacy (R3/ERB) and there was unclarity about long-term visions or further implementations (R3/ERB). Still, interviewees acknowledged the actions taken, the importance given to sustainable food system transformation (R4) and the importance of the FGE’s actions for the further development of urban food governance in Berlin (R2; R4). With the 2016 elections and the new Green leadership of the SenJustVA this critical relationship between ERB and SenJV had the chance to be turned around as the new constellation opened up new possibilities for working together on urban food policy. While the relationship between ERB and SenJV accounts for a prehistory of conflict, the relationship between the Green parliamentary party and the ERB accounts for a prehistory of cooperation. The initial trust level previous to the start of the BFS process between the ERB and state secretary might have been positively shaped by the efforts and accomplishments of the Green parliamentary group.

5.2.2 INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

The institutional design refers to the participatory inclusiveness, forum inclusiveness, clear ground rules and process transparency (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

With respect to the openness and inclusiveness of the collaborative process around the BFS I found that the openness of the ERB was used as a pretense by the Senate staff to not include the broad sounding “*urban society*” (in German: *Stadtgesellschaft*) that was mentioned in the coalition agreement. In it, it says: “*In cooperation with the urban society priorities and implementation steps are defined*” (SPD; DIE LINKE ;BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, 2016, p. 157). R9 (SenJustVA) referred to the

ERB as being equal to civil society as *“every average citizen has the opportunity to go the Ernährungsrat [...] They have no restrictions. You can become a member without any obligation”* (R9/SenJustVA). It appears, the urban community is not included as “all citizens from the city” but rather as a *“part of the population and / or organizations with one specific reference to the city.”* (Rodenstein, 2013). The BFS collaboration process’ inclusiveness is much broader compared to the FGE process though and was referred to as more open and participatory than the latter (R7/service provider). The ERB acknowledges the collaborative attitude of the SenJustVA, there was however critique and a demand for greater direct citizen participation (R5/ERB; R7/service provider (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019).

The ERB had a decisive influence on the people who were invited to the strategy meetings. There is no publication stating who was specifically recommended to the SenJustVA but from the comparisons with the participant list of the FGE several points are striking. To compare them I compiled three lists (Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7 in the Annex) showing 1) the participants who were invited to the BFS plenum meetings, 2) the participants who attended the BFS plenum meetings and 3) the participants of the FGE meetings. There is a different civil society-industry balance between the FGE and the BFS lists. While there is no wholesaler or supermarket present in the BFS attendees list, there is more participation from communal catering. Looking at the meeting minutes and the included participant lists showed that the participant numbers of the FGE decreased towards the later meetings. This may indicate that the forum was not perceived as very effective, therefore lacking incentives for participation. The participant number of the plenum meetings for the BFS increased and showed a bigger diversity of participants, indicating the commitment and believe for the cause of the BFS participants.

When looking at the invitation and attendance list from the BFS plenum meetings there are a lot of civil society organizations and some industry but a lack of bigger market players, wholesalers and supermarkets. This lack can pose a threat for the procedural legitimacy as collaboration *“must be broadly inclusive of all stakeholders who are affected by or care about the issue”* and should include *“a broad enough spectrum of stakeholders to mirror the problem”* (Ansell & Gash, 2008, p.556), which in this case is the state of the food system. It was mentioned by R7 (service provider) that certain market players were invited, but some did not follow the invitation. It was further mentioned that time constraints limited the service providers’ ability to actively seek after a broader spectrum and more participation from industry players (R7/service provider). Furthermore, the plenum meetings of civil society, market and research actors were separated from the council board meetings for state actors, marking a certain exclusiveness and lack of transparency as information that was discussed in the state actor meetings was not made public⁵⁷. Regarding clear ground rules, the role of the ERB in the strategy process was not completely clear as R4 (ERB) and R7 (service provider) said in the interviews. R4 (ERB) talked about the confusion about only getting one seat at the plenum table like everyone else:

We have already included so many people in this catalog of demands. In fact, we claim to be a kind of civil society grouping, and it would have been good to reflect that in the process.

⁵⁷ Over the course of this research another public meeting was held in February 2019, to firstly update the public, and secondly to bring all actors and other interested people together to have a chance to discuss.

Meaning that we do not only represent some kind of institution, but civil society. But it was okay in the end (R4/ERB).

Wir haben ja vorher schon, in diesem Forderungskatalog, unglaublich viele Personen mit eingebunden. Wir beanspruchen ja tatsächlich sozusagen eine zivilgesellschaftliche Bündelung zu sein und dafür wäre es dann schon gut gewesen, das auch durch den Prozess widerzuspiegeln. Dass wir jetzt nicht irgendeine Institution vertreten, sondern die Zivilgesellschaft. Aber das ist am Ende schon in Ordnung gewesen.

The ERB is one organization of many during the BFS process and received one seat, like the others. R4 (ERB) shared that the speakers circle had to accept this equal treatment although they are seen as representing civil society and see themselves as the initiators of the whole process and main input givers. They thought they deserve more. In the end, they were officially present with one person, but representatives of other organizations who attended the meetings were also members of the speakers circle or close to the ERB raising their final participation to around three people. In addition, R7 (service provider) shared that initially more intermediary meetings were planned with the ERB and the SenJustVA in between plenum meetings but those did not take place in the end. Also, the third state actor meeting did not take place. Consequently, there was a slight lack of clear ground rules in these areas.

A lack of transparency of the council board meetings was also mentioned by R7 (service provider). While the FGE meetings were mixed actor groups, the strategy meetings were divided into plenum and council board (German: *Beirat*) meetings. The council board was meant as an advisory body, established to ensure the practical implementation of the action plan, examine the results of the plenum discussions with regard to their feasibility from the perspective of the administration, identify synergies with ongoing projects of other departments and provide feedback on the compatibility of the concepts discussed (Haack et al., 2018). This separation turned out to cause a divergence between plenum and council board due to a lack of transparency of the council board meetings (R7/ERB). It is not clear who was present in the council board meetings, and only two out of three planned council board meetings took place (R7/service provider). It is said that all Berlin Senate administrations and representatives of three ministries in Brandenburg (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy, Ministry of Justice, Europe and Consumer Protection and Ministry of Rural Development, Environment and Agriculture) have been invited, and that representatives of the Berlin Senate and district administrations as well as Brandenburg ministries were present. Who actually attended is not clear. I found out that in the first meeting some of the people who were sent to represent the administrations, departments and units were partly clueless of what they were doing there, what the sense of their participation was and that they were in part merely incompetent, meaning food was not connected to their specific field of responsibility while other units of the same administration might have been more suitable to attend in terms of responsibility. This did not make it easier for the process to bear fruits. Furthermore, it was said that the SenJustVA is in steady contact with relevant actors in politics/members of parliament, but again, it is not said who (Altug & Gerlach, 2018). There clearly is a lack of transparency in the process which is also a point of critique from the ERB (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019). This is important to note with regards to the CG framework where process transparency is a factor that is highlighted and said to influence the collaborative process (Ansel & Gash, 2008). There are no public records of who was there and what was discussed. It is also unclear how filtered the plenum received information from the council board meetings.

Ansell and Gash (2008) note that in collaborative meetings deadlines can limit the scope of discussion and in the case of the BFS the tough deadline of seven months for the strategy process was perceived as limiting the scope of discussion and possible outcomes (R7/service provider). The outcome was now described as *“too small and shortsighted”* (R6/academic) and could have been more concrete with a longer timeframe available for more preparation and more meetings. There would have been more time to actively try to establish a more representative and inclusive plenum as well.

Ansell and Gash (2008) say that *“stakeholders often enter the collaborative process in a skeptical frame of mind”*, but that this can be overcome by *“fair hearing”*, making stakeholders feel like the process is *“fair, equitable and open”*. Stakeholders can be *“sensitive to issues of equity, concerned about the power of other stakeholders, and alive to the possibility of being manipulated”*. R5 (ERB) showed signs of this by mentioning that the state-secretary is nice to work with, as one does not get the feeling of being suddenly involuntarily involved in a political game. By mentioning this, R5 (ERB) assumes that politicians usually convey the feeling of involving others into political games, which indicates the *“skeptical frame of mind”*, but that the state-secretary seems to have eased this frame by showing commitment and *“fair-hearing”*. According to Ansell and Gash (2008, p.557) *“process transparency means, that stakeholders can feel confident that the public negotiation is “real” and that the collaborative process is not a cover for backroom private deals”*. In the case of the BFS, it is not completely clear what will happen with the developed recommendations. This unclarity can impact both trust and willingness of stakeholders to further collaborate.

5.2.3 FACILITATIVE LEADERSHIP

In the BFS process the state secretary together with the service providers of the BFS process take on the role of the leaders. The state secretary is leading the project BFS in general. The service providers take on role of facilitators, for moderation, communication and scientific supervision of the process (R7/service provider; R9/SenJustVA). It was criticized that there were not enough people, time and resources for the facilitation, and a lack of knowledge on administrative structures and routines among the service providers (R7/service provider; R11/SenJustVA) impacting the course and outcome of the collaborative process. It was further perceived as a bigger struggle to manage the council board meetings than the more harmonious plenum meetings (R7/service provider). The struggles with the state actors were linked to disputes over unclear responsibilities and a more asymmetrical distribution of power than in the plenum meetings. Following the theory of the CG framework, collaboration demands a strong organic leader who is respected and trusted among the meeting participants (Ansell & Gash, 2008, pp.554-555). Instead of the service providers leading the meetings of the state actors alone, the state secretary, the senator or someone with even more authority, like the mayor, could potentially have had an impact on the course.

5.2.4 COLLABORATIVE PROCESS

“Communication is at the heart of collaboration” (Ansell & Gash, 2008), which is why we now explore the communication between the ERB and the SenJustVA around the BFS process.

Face to Face dialogue

The first face-to-face communication took place at an event though, in January 2017, but the *“lobby meetings”* between ERB lobby group and the SenJustVA state secretary are the face-to-face dialogue part of the pre-, during- and post-BFS draft phase. These meetings were described as constructive and direct dialogues behind closed doors (R3; R5/ERB). At the plenum meetings the state secretary

only attended the first to welcome the participants, but other SenJustVA staff participated in these meetings, making this the second part of the face-to-face dialogue. Engaging in these face-to-face interactions is already a sign of commitment to the BFS process.

Ansell and Gash (2008) argue that face-to-face dialogue is necessary but not sufficient to build successful collaboration which is why we now move on to trust building, which they found to be among the most prominent aspects of early collaborative processes.

Trust building

Already the first meetings with state secretary were positively perceived by the ERB lobby group. R2 (ERB) explicitly mentions that trust between ERB and SenJustVA exists:

I believe that politics and the Ernährungsrat are more on a par with each other than they were before. If you consider that the Ernährungsrat was founded only two years ago. They are not around since that long. But they are already taken very seriously. Trust exists (R2/ERB).

Ich glaube, dass die Politik und der Ernährungsrat sich mehr auf Augenhöhe begegnen als es der Fall war. Wenn man bedenkt, dass der Ernährungsrat sich erst vor zwei Jahren gegründet hat. Die sind noch gar nicht so lange auf der Bühne. Dafür werden sie schon sehr ernst genommen. Vertrauen gibt es (R2/ERB).

Moreover, R3 (ERB) mentioned that “there is already a basis of trust on both sides to work together”. R6 noted that the SenJustVA leadership was fond of the BFS topic, that the administration leadership was eager to do something but did not know how, as they were pioneers in Germany with regards to an urban food strategy. This dedication, together with the state secretary showing the ERB that she relies on the ERB by agreeing to regular meetings, fostering a good relationship with the lobby group and continuously expressing her need for the ERB’s expertise, a certain level of trust was established. The state secretary has asked for advice from the speakers circle lobby-group since the beginning of the BFS process, thus including the ERB in the process and conveying a sense of trust (R4/ERB). Also, the way the state secretary is perceived in these meetings had an influence. She was described as actively listening, absorbing the ERB’s input and expressing her gratitude for the input, as trustworthy, open, being discrete and meeting the ERB on an eye level (R2; R5/ERB). By keeping a consistent group of people in the lobby-group, having this continuity, always the same three to four, trust towards the ERB could be established and positions could be made clearer (R2; R3; R4/ERB). All in all, trust is perceived to be present between the ERB and the state secretary, but what could harm this level of trust is the food strategy not being integrated, institutionalized nor used at all to holistically transform the urban food system in the coming months, as the ERB hopes and asked for in their catalogue of demands.

Commitment to the process

The level of commitment to the collaborative process was found to be a critical variable for successful collaboration (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Here, there was more tension than with the previous variables. Particularly standing out was the perception of one interviewee on the level of commitment behind some of the SenJustVA staff. Commitment is closely related to the original motivation to participate in CG and although SenJustVA basically had to engage in a collaborative BFS process with the ERB as it was agreed on in the coalition agreement, the interviewees agreed that the state secretary, and also the senator, are very committed to the process (R1; R2; R3; R4; R5/ERB; R7/service provider). This

was for example shown with the new position created for food policy in the unit (R5/ERB), the senator calling himself “*Agrarsenator*” (agriculture senator) in public (R5/ERB) and the quick allocation of an extra budget for the ERB’s *Regiowoche* project (R5/ERB). Also, both sides acknowledge their interdependence:

I think that was just a quick exchange at eye level because both sides are of course to a certain extent dependent on each other (R2/ERB).

Ich glaube das war halt schnell ein Austausch auf Augenhöhe, weil beide Seiten natürlich voneinander in einem gewissen Maße grade abhängig sind (R2/ERB).

The SenJustVA has certain political goals for which they rely on the ERB’s expertise, and the ERB needs SenJustVA for policy implementations, to understand administrative processes, bring their views on food policy further into the local government and to bring together a wide array of stakeholders that might not follow an invitation by the ERB. This is supported by the CG approach which assumes that actors come together “in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished” (Emerson et al., 2012) with only one actor side. But one ERB interviewee (R5/ERB) was particularly skeptical about the level of commitment of the administrative staff which is not elected but outwears electoral cycles to really put in all their strength in the projects of the current administrative leadership (which also R7 mentioned). Thus, the loyalty of this staff was questioned. This respondent expressed seeing varying levels of commitment, varying from eager to change things to a reluctant attitude to change and seemed wary of possible inclinations towards certain political parties over others. It was commented on the difficulty of diffusing ideas from the leadership level to other levels of the senate structure, again strengthening the perception that the SenJustVA leadership is committed but that there is a struggle with engaging the units and other units’ staff who might not be on the same page.

Ultimately, the level of dedication of the clerk level has an impact on the BFS process. Possibly varying degrees of commitment among clerks can influence the development of food policy and the relationship between ERB and the SenJustVA even though the clerks do not have decision-making powers. For example, R5 (ERB) noted that if someone is truly dedicated, tasks are executed differently than if someone only carries them out formally. Also, the speed and depth of information exchange between SenJustVA and ERB was mentioned to be influenced by the level of commitment. Committed clerks were thought to share more information with the ERB and let them know about things faster. R7 (service provider) noted that there are clerks who show more motivation and dedication, who go to conferences, speak with people and explore the field, while “*others seem to only sit in their offices*”. Nevertheless, on both sides there are actors who share ownership over the BFS process. The ERB as the initiators, and the SenJustVA as the lead administration. The ERB has brought the debate on a BFS into politics. The ERB interviewees openly expressed their standpoint by highlighting the ERB as the initiator of the process, who brought in the idea of a BFS and provided the template. R7 (service provider) also noted that, as the plenum meetings were all voluntarily, the time and energy the stakeholders, including the ones from the ERB, have put in, with commenting on and adding on the draft of recommendations is a big sign of commitment and ownership as this was all done because “*they hope that this will actually achieve something*” (R7/service provider). The Greens have put the BFS in the coalition agreement, the SenJustVA is under a Green leadership, and this leadership openly expresses that the BFS is their political goal, which is proof for their sense of ownership

(R8/parliament). As there is a high interdependence between the stakeholders and with a high likelihood of an ongoing cooperation according to Ansell and Gash (2008, p.560) a strategy for the further collaborative governance would be useful.

Shared understanding

There is a shared understanding between the Green party and the ERB about the importance of the topic of food policy on the urban agenda. In that context, R2 (ERB) sees the two sides as having the “*same/similar political glasses*” (R2/ERB). This was proven in the coalition agreement, with the mentioning of the creation of a BFS in corporation with the ERB, the creation of a food policy position and the allocation of money for food policy projects. R5 (ERB) has the feeling that the ERB and the state secretary “*act in concert*” and R4 (ERB) said that all in all the BFS process was what the ERB had in mind but also noted that there are still points to critique, for example the transparency, broad civil society participation and a missing outlook on an actual integration and the cooperation with other administrations, which the ERB also highlighted in an open letter to the SenJustVA in February 2019 (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019). The understanding of where to go with this BFS and how to continue to approach it seems to be diverting. Both sides seem to have two different horizons. Concerning the Senate’s long inactivity and now quick action regarding the BFS, R3 (ERB) said,

The reason they have to push it so fast now is because they were so slow before. It took forever until there was a start, until there was a call for tenders for a service provider who can take over. The service provider then just had very little time. Of course, they have an interest in things going fast, and the political cycle has just different lengths than our demands. It is clear to us that the transformation of the food system that we demand is simply not feasible in two years and one legislature. [...] of course this is always a conflict, because the Senate has a very different interest. Their interest is to take actions that they can implement over the next few years or over the next two years. Our interest is to initiate a long-term transformation, and that just requires very different approaches (R3/ERB).

Der Grund, warum sie es jetzt so vorantreiben müssen ist, weil sie vorher so langsam waren. Es hat ja ewig gedauert bis es dann irgendwann einen Auftakt gab, bis es eine Ausschreibung gab für einen Dienstleister, der das übernehmen kann. Der Dienstleister selber hatte dann einfach nur noch sehr wenig Zeit. Klar haben die ein Interesse daran, dass es schnell vorangeht und der politische Zyklus hat einfach ganz andere Längen als unsere Forderungen. Uns ist klar, dass die Transformation des Ernährungssystems die wir fordern einfach nicht in zwei Jahren und einer Legislaturperiode umsetzbar ist. [...] das ist natürlich immer ein Konflikt, weil der Senat ein ganz anderes Interesse hat. Deren Interesse ist Maßnahmen zu nehmen, die sie in den nächsten Jahren oder in den nächsten zwei Jahren umsetzen können. Unser Interesse ist es eine langfristige Transformation anzustoßen und dafür braucht es einfach ganz unterschiedliche Herangehensweisen.

While the vision of members of the ERB is broader, that of the Senate is rather narrow. The ERB thinks in longer-terms, while the government is prone to thinking in shorter, legislative terms. Moreover, members of the ERB mentioned that they imagined a development of measures and clear division of responsibilities for these measures, of a collaborative process with other administrations involved and broad citizen participation but ultimately perceived the process as “*erratic*” (R5/ERB).

R3's (ERB) disappointment with the current outcome of a BFS that is not institutionalized shimmers through in the statement:

in my opinion it is not a long-term strategy development but just a short-term prioritization of a few measures that the Senate could implement. [...] What has finally come out is basically a prioritization of a few sub-aspects and not a transformation of the food system. Or no strategy at all in our sense of what a food strategy would be. Maybe we expected too much. You have to start small. But of course, we think bigger and we also see our role in having a systemic view on it. One of our core concerns was the long-term anchoring, the institutionalization of food policy in the Berlin Senate, and that is one of the points that are still high up and discussed.

Es ist meiner Meinung nach keine langfristige Strategieentwicklung, sondern eben ein kurzfristiges Priorisieren von wenigen Maßnahmen, die der Senat umsetzen könnte. [...] Was dabei jetzt endlich herausgekommen ist, ist im Grunde eine Priorisierung von wenigen Teilaspekten und nicht eine Transformation des Ernährungssystems. Oder überhaupt keine Strategie in unserem Sinne von was wäre eine Ernährungsstrategie. Es war vielleicht auch ein bisschen zu viel erwartet. Man muss ja klein anfangen. Aber natürlich denken wir da größer und wir sehen unsere Rolle auch darin, einen systemischen Blick drauf zu haben. Eines unserer Kernanliegen war da eben eine langfristige Verankerung, eine Institutionalisierung von Ernährungspolitik im Berliner Senat und das ist auch einer der Punkte, die jetzt noch weit oben stehen und diskutiert werden.

In this quote the difference between approaches becomes clear by the use of opposing words like long-term vs. short-term, prioritization vs. transformation or institutionalization and small vs. big. The ERB is perceived to think bigger, more holistically, and more long-term while the SenJustVA is perceived to think smaller, more compartmentalized, in silos and terms, more short-term. The ERB sees the BFS as what Morgan and Sonnino (2018) called a 'strategic policy document', while the SenJustVA sees it as a process. R4 (ERB) noticed that the SenJustVA "had a more narrow thematic focus" before the ERB advised them on how to approach the BFS saying: "No, that's not enough, big institutional changes need to happen, other actors need to be engaged and broad participation needs to be organized". But still, after the first part of the development process is done not all recommendations have been completely taken up the SenJustVA and R5 (ERB) thinks that:

They try to translate what should actually be a dynamic strategy development with citizen participation into administrative processes and into budgets and legislative periods. [...] you have to be very careful that not everything gets so small that afterwards system gaps are stuffed with the individual measures, but the system does not change (R5/ERB).

Man versucht das, was eigentlich eine dynamisch Strategieentwicklung mit Bürgerbeteiligung sein müsste in Verwaltungsvorgänge und in Budgets und Legislaturperioden zu übersetzen. [...] man [muss] ziemlich aufpassen, dass nicht alles so klein wird, dass man nachher eigentlich mit den einzelnen Maßnahmen Systemlücken stopft, aber das System nicht ändert (R5/ERB).

The SenJustVA thinks in and faces administrative barriers and overcoming these barriers of public institutional structures is a challenge. While the SenJustVA, especially the Senator, and also the

parliament seem to be focused on public procurement⁵⁸ proven by i.e., a lot more money being allocated to the HoF/CCC, the ERB appreciates and supports this project but has a more holistic vision with many entry points to transform the local food system to become more sustainable, regional etc. and the vision of having many administrations on board (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019). In this regard, R5 (ERB) made a critical statement:

No matter which project you approach, if you only have one aspect in mind [...] then you will not reach a conclusion, but you always have to adjust several screws, which, however, emanate from a conceptual thinking that is sustainable and holistic. And as long as this idea does not prevail and, above all, if it cannot prevail against thinking in legislative periods and re-elections, budget and law and administrative regulations ... those should actually be there to establish proximity to citizens and solve problems that citizens have and not the business enterprises. Actually, I have thought so far that administrative regulations must be there exactly for that. (laughs) It would be nice if this thought would be brought to life, that the citizens come first and then the law [...] that is in recourse exactly what we mean by food democracy (R5/ERB).

Weil man, egal an welches Projekt man herangeht, wenn man nur einen Aspekt im Auge hat. [...] dann wird man nicht zu einem Ergebnis kommen, sondern man muss immer an mehreren Schrauben drehen, die aber von einem Konzeptdenken ausgehen, dass nachhaltig und ganzheitlich ist. Und solange sich dieser Gedanke nicht durchsetzt und vor allen Dingen, wenn er sich nicht durchsetzen kann gegen Denken in Legislaturperioden und Wiederwahlen, Haushalt und Recht und Verwaltungsvorschriften...eigentlich sollen die doch dazu da sein Bürgernähe herzustellen und Probleme zu lösen, die Bürger haben und nicht Wirtschaftsunternehmen. Eigentlich dachte ich bisher, dass Verwaltungsvorschriften dazu da sein müssten. (lachen) Es wäre schön, wenn das mit Leben erfüllt werden würde dieser Gedanke, dass erst die Bürger kommen und dann das Recht. [...] das ist im Rückgriff genau das was wir mit Ernährungsdemokratie meinen.

With this quote the different ways of thinking are highlighted, as well as the demand of the ERB to make food policy and governance more democratic and participatory.

With regards to institutionalization, the mission to institutionalize the BFS is not shared by everyone in the Senate. In general, there are different views on institutionalization and the BFS: anchoring the BFS in institutional structures and encompassing long-term transformation vs. an un-institutionalized plan that guides the focus on certain measures. The presence of this divide is further supported by the following quote of R9 (SenJustVA):

The food strategy can still be imagined to be relatively spongy, like a cloud somewhere. It is not clearly defined. It is big, will probably stand on multiple pillars sometime [...] The food strategy will never be institutionalized. It's a strategy. [...] It is a plan. A plan that is made concrete, which takes in different aspects, sometimes also omitting them and in this way

⁵⁸ Public procurement proves to be a powerful lever of municipalities in shaping local food systems (Morgan, 2008, 2014; Morgan & Sonnino, 2013; Renting, Schermer, & Rossi, 2012; Renting & Wiskerke, 2010a, 2010b; Wiskerke & Viljoen, 2012).

adapts the determination of focuses to the circumstances over the years. [...] these are recommendations. Action recommendations, action plans, which then take on a structure in other things (R9/SenJustVA).

Die Ernährungsstrategie kann man sich immer noch relativ schwammig wie eine Wolke vorstellen irgendwo. Es ist nicht klar abgegrenzt. Sie ist groß, wird auf mehreren Säulen stehen irgendwann vermutlich. [...] Die Ernährungsstrategie wird nie institutionalisiert werden. Das ist eine Strategie. [...] Es ist ein Plan. Das ist ein Plan, der konkretisiert wird, der verschiedene Aspekte mit reinnimmt, auch mal welche weglässt und sich so durch die Jahre, die Schwerpunktfindung den Gegebenheiten anpasst. [...] das sind Empfehlungen. Also Handlungsempfehlungen, Aktionspläne, die dann in anderen Sachen eine Struktur annehmen.

Thus, according to R9 (SenJustVA), the BFS will never be institutionalized. According to the quotes of the ERB speakers circle members however, exactly this institutionalization is their vision. I argue that it already has been partly institutionalized simply by being publicly funded, with the creation of the position of a clerk in charge of food policy who is specifically dealing with the implementation of the strategy measures and also by being supported by the administration. Maybe it will not be institutionalized in the way that the mayor and all other administrations sign it off, with them also developing a sense of ownership over the BFS, with it becoming an overarching city-wide strategy, but then again, maybe it will. The new food policy clerk plays a mediating role, trying to foster communication between departments and support from them (R11/SenJustVA).

However diverging the views on the institutionalization of the BFS are, the ERB still considers it *“necessary to push ahead with the food system change in Berlin and Brandenburg as a comprehensive, holistic change process”* (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019). The first part of the BFS development process is over, but the collaboration between ERB and SenJustVA will likely continue until a concrete BFS is published. It remains to be seen how this divergence of the expected outcome of the BFS process will affect the collaborative process as a whole in the future and if the ERB will manage to fundamentally influence the SenJustVA’s views and scope of horizon.

Intermediate outcomes

As the catalogue of demands was drafted while the collaboration between the ERB and SenJustVA was already going on it can be seen as an intermediate outcome. There was a need for advice and the ERB reacted with publishing a template for the BFS providing the SenJustVA with a first idea of what food policy could address and look like in Berlin. Furthermore, the allocation of money for the strategy process can also be seen as a “small win”. Lastly, the ERB’s project *“Regiowoche”* can be seen as an intermediate outcome. The work was done solely by the ERB, but the money readily came from the SenJustVA and this project served as a proof of the “overall value of collaboration” between various stakeholders, showing what can be done when actors come together and how important municipal public procurement can be for urban food system transformation, which was “joint-fact finding” on the way towards the HoF/CCC.

The current draft version of the BFS can be seen either as an intermediate outcome or as a final outcome of the collaborative governance arrangement between SenJustVA and ERB. It remains to be seen what the SenJustVA will make out of it and whatever happens, it will impact the level of trust and commitment that has been established until now. Regardless of what will happen, the ERB has made one thing clear: that they are *“convinced that only together can we succeed in quickly getting*

the food system change in Berlin going and making it an irreversible development” (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019).

5.2.5 OUTCOMES

It is too early to see a definite outcome of the collaborative governance but both the BFS draft and the HoF/CCC project are important advancements. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen what the future holds. For the ERB an appreciated outcome of this collaboration would be an integrated food strategy and further institutionalization of food policy by forming a *“Strategic Steering Group that systematically advances the process of food system change at all levels and together with Brandenburg by developing a work plan for all key strategy projects. In this group, all the Senate Department's units that are relevant for this topic should be represented as well as civil society, to the same extent. The latter, for example, in the form of the Ernährungsrat, which represents a large part of the active food policy movement in Berlin.”* (Ernährungsrat Berlin, 2019). But before something like this can happen, meaning a democratic, transparent process, with an integrated, systems thinking approach, which R2(ERB) and R7 (service provider) regard as strictly needed, there are numerous challenges in the way, far and foremost the struggle with overcoming public institutional structures, the narrow and short-term way of thinking of administrative institutions, the lack of inter- and intra-departmental collaboration among the Berlin administrations, the creation of genuinely participative structures with representation, accountability, transparency and legitimacy and lastly the overdependency on motivated food champions both, political and civic.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 DISCUSSION

When starting this research, I expected the typologies of urban food governance to be too compartmentalized to capture the arrangement of Berlin, but the categories of food governance developed by MacRae and Donahue (2013) are, after all, suitable for identifying the relationship between FPC and local government, contrary to expectations. The fourth category fits the relationship of the two while the second category fits the arrangement around the BFS (see Table 4). As discussed in Chapter 1.1 previous studies have dealt with the location and relationship between FPCs and local governments. Feeding into this literature, this case shows how a FPC organized outside of the government but maintaining close collaboration with the government can do both, retain its independence and still successfully promote inclusive policy making and link local actors to the government. This suggests that collaborative governance arrangements between FPC and local government do not have to be formalized to result in successful policy advancements and for trust to be built between the two. My findings are thus in line with Gupta, Campbell, Munden-Dixon et al. (2018) and contrary to those of MacRae and Donahue (2013). MacRae and Donahue (2013) suggest that the key to “success” for urban FPCs is becoming embedded in governmental institutions, thereby securing funding and staff, access to policy makers and influence across various city departments. This is not the path that Berlin is taking. The case of Berlin disproves the idea that a FPC is more successful or influential, if it is involved in administrative structures. This research shows that a grassroots driven food policy council can still be effective in influencing policy. Berlin is not the only case which proves this. Other examples are found in Brighton and Hove (Stierand, 2012a), Toronto (Blay-Palmer, 2009), Detroit (Harper et al., 2009; IPES-Food, 2017) or in several cities in California (Gupta et al., 2018), where strong, active and committed civil society organizations and individuals have successfully shaped urban food policy and have over time engaged in various types of partnerships with the local government. Food politics are a pressing concern of the Berlin people, where the municipality’s attempts at food policy have yet to show results. In this scenario, the ERB proved to be a dynamic and durable organization bringing together various stakeholders, withstanding political changes, outliving administrative structures, and developing into an advocate and watchdog for civil society and an advisor for the government.

Feeding into the existing literature (Moragues et al., 2013; Morgan, 2009), the case of the ERB also proves that the local context defines the structure and the role a FPC takes on. Just like in biology or architecture where “form follows function”, FPCs’ form and operations follow its function in the specific local context. Unlike in biology the evolution is a more conscious decision, of course. Unlike what might be the case in smaller towns, in Berlin, there is an established base of various active actors and the ERB thus consciously decided to take on the role of a bridge builder between all actors, to give them a stronger collective voice and use the good relationship to the current government to bring this voice to the government’s attention. But they are not only a network and lobbyists. Considering that Berlin is the capital of Germany, a popular city to the point that it is rereferred to as the “*heart of Europe*”⁵⁹, and that the local government has been absent as a food system change

⁵⁹Axel Springer used this expression in 1973 and Obama referred to Berlin as the “heat of Europe” in his speech at the „Young Leader“ Town Hall Meeting in Berlin in April 2019: <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/obama-besuch-in-berlin-es-ist-gut-zurueck-zu-sein-im-herzen-europas/24190410.html>

actor for a long time, they also want to set examples, set demands and help with the implementation of measures for a sustainable, globally just food system for Berlin and Brandenburg, thereby acknowledging their pioneering role in this country. This value attributed to the local context means that a copy-and-paste approach of best practice examples is not recommendable if not adapted to the specific local circumstances.

There is one fundamental lesson other cities can learn from this case: there is no one size fits all approach. Both, development and structure of spaces of deliberation like food policy councils or groups developing an urban food strategy must be place-based, adapted to the local context, and build upon the knowledge, practices and vision of civil society. While a copy-and-paste approach might seem less complicated in the short term, I believe a place-based approach will be more resilient in the long-term.

Since administrative structures like the Berlin Senate are not known for their innovative approaches and fast working methods, it is not surprising that the ERB does not want to be caught in administrative structures but prefers a form outside the government and administration. In that way the ERB agrees to take on risks or some uncertainty associated with funding and volunteering (Dahlberg, 1994; Harper et al., 2009), but it does provide the ERB with a free, dynamic, flexible way of working and the ability to unconditionally criticize the work and deliveries of the government. Only the current funding of the ERB's coordinator stands in the way of complete independence. If independence for the ERB was a real choice or the only option in the given context can be debated though. Unlike in other city governments like Malmö or Amsterdam, the acknowledgement and support that food policy receives is still low in Berlin government entities. This makes it unlikely that a municipally embedded food policy council or department in which the ERB would participate could be established in government structures. For the visions the ERB speakers have regarding food democracy in food system transformation and the uncertainty of government support, operating outside the municipal structures seems to have been the only possible option. With the Green party in the current coalition and the SenJustVA being under a green leadership, a close but informal relationship is a welcome interim solution. Interim, because the connection always depends on the attitude of the respective government which changes every four years. The current large influence of the ERB on food policy in Berlin is directly related to the policy of the Greens and is also due to the fact that those in the leading administrative positions as well as their subordinate administrative staff are no experts, i.e. they are not familiar with food policy instruments and thus more or less reliant on the advice of the ERB speakers. A change in government and a changing relationship between ERB and government could substantially affect the development of food policy in Berlin.

In line with Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015), another finding was that inclusiveness, participation and legitimacy pose challenges for 'spaces of deliberation'. Both the ERB and the BFS process struggle with inclusiveness and representation as including broad civil society and big industry players is either unwanted or challenging to attain. But according to the CG framework for collaboration to be successful all affected actors need to be involved in the process. Contrary to what Ansell And Gash (2008) propose though, this example of collaborative governance shows that it does not have to be initiated by a public agency, but can also be brought forward by civil society organizations, which is more in line with how Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012) see collaborative governance. In their definition collaborative governance entails to "engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government [...] and private spheres" (Emerson et al., 2012). Although my

research focused on the civic-state collaboration it also became evident that this governance arrangement in Berlin really struggles with engaging other administrations and industry players which I see as a threat to the legitimacy of this arrangement in the future. While the ERB is a civil society organization and does not necessarily need to be representative of the urban society, the BFS process is municipally endorsed and with that comes the responsibility to create a strategy for all the people of Berlin. It is the role of the government to ensure that the views of all concerned are included in an urban food strategy. It is not enough to refer to the fact that a civil society body strives to be and has the status of a representative of the entire civil society, if in reality it is not representative of the Berlin urban society. Food democracy is the basis of the ERBs agenda, meaning the inclusion of all in the urban food governance, and both inclusion and diversity play critical roles. They acknowledge that developing a truly fair, equitable, holistic food strategy requires broad citizen participation. But the ERB was initiated by a homogenous group of white academics, limiting the diversity in their structure and perspectives which in turn poses a challenge for inclusion and representation in the ERB. To combat this the ERB is actively trying to find ways to work in a more participatory and inclusive manner. But this arrangement highlights the danger of relying too heavily on civil society who do not have any check nor accountability to include all relevant stakeholders. At the same time the ERB is much closer to the people and is more concerned with the inclusiveness of its forum, making the ERB more effective at engaging the public than the senate administrations. It should not be forgotten that still, so far it is still a partial and privileged public that the ERB is reaching, making the need for the government to ensure broader participation even more striking.

During the BFS process the ERB, with its still limited representativeness, and actor groups from across the food system were involved but actors from bigger industries did not attend. For the BFS process, the SenJustVA together with the ERB did come up with a group that was able to work together and managed to balance out the discrepancy between industry and civil society actors present in the meetings from the FGE (see Tables 5-7) but in terms of representativeness, I argue that it still does not sufficiently reflect the cities society and food system actors, as big broad civic participation and industry players were missing, so it does not satisfy the need, identified by scholars, for a comprehensive urban food strategy to be effective in the long run, *“to integrate and promote participation of the local state, market actors and civil society”* (Moragues et al., 2013). With a lack of actors with different or more radical views, without these *“potentially troublesome stakeholders”* (Ansell & Gash, 2008), and people with different backgrounds (demographics, race, education, income, etc.) these ‘spaces of deliberation’ might lose their intended openness and inclusivity by excluding others, intended or not. This in turn can undermine their legitimacy and the legitimacy of the outcomes of the collaborative processes around them. If weak or non-inclusive representation threatens to undermine the legitimacy of collaborative outcomes (Ansell & Gash, 2008) I argue that it is of utmost importance to ensure a broad, open and inclusive collaborative process for the further development of the BFS. I argue this in light of the importance of food/food related issues for the city development, for climate mitigation, environmental protection, regional development, economic development, tourism and the impact of good food on the quality of life of city dwellers of all ages.

In the interviews expressions around the terms “boat” and “ship” were reoccurring and it sparked an image in my head: it really seems like the ERB is like a new and shiny speed boat, agile, dynamic, flexible, aiming towards the horizon where they see a food system transformation. But this speed boat is dragging behind it a heavy, slow steam boat, the Senate of Berlin. The ERB initiated the joined quest. They want to and need to take the government with them, as the government has the power

and money to make and implement policies. The speed boat is trying to work with its whole power but only has limited resources. In general, the speed boat cannot get far without the support of the steamer. Currently, only one engine of the steamer supports the speed boat though, on the quest towards a sustainable urban food system: only the SenJustVA is actively engaged with trying to make integrated food policy for Berlin and it is a challenge to secure engagement of other departments. But there is a limit to how far you can go as a single administration. On the one hand, only a few staff members are working on it, who are faced with administrative issues of chronic understaffing, overworking and a payment that does not correspond to the workload. On the other hand, integrated food policy entails the collaboration between different departments. So, in order to give this steam boat a boost, it cannot rely on the speed boat to do all the work but has to activate more engines, meaning more departments, and the captain, meaning the mayor, could get behind the wheel as well. The mayor has a certain leverage and authority he can use to promote integrated urban food governance across the departments (Halliday & Barling, 2018; IPES-Food, 2017). For the development of integrated food policy and a transformation of the food systems, to reach the horizon, all food-related departments have to be on board. Resources in form of staff and budget have to be made available, but this involves very slow bureaucratic processes and Berlin is not a rich city, so its capacities are limited and its ability to actually invest the needed resources for a long-term food strategy is doubtful. Still, the government of Berlin should not rely on the work of political food champions and only one administration which in turn is overly dependent on civil society organizations like the Ernährungsrat, on volunteers, to do the heavy lifting when it comes to urban food governance, as this makes a very unsustainable way of governance.

6.1.1 RESEARCH REFLECTIONS, LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research offers an in depth understanding of a single case. It gives insights into what happens during civic-state collaboration in urban food governance, but results are unlikely to be generalizable to other initiatives in Germany or Europe. Nevertheless, other city governments and civil society organizations like FPCs can learn something from Berlin. Civil society is crucial for setting examples and for creating a context that impels changes inside the local government. It becomes evident that changes are only really instigated when both sides collaborate. They can achieve certain goals individually but for the long-term, systemic change collaboration is desirable. Furthermore, the case of Berlin shows that the presence of food policy champions can really impel advancements but also that a shortage of staff and resources in the government can slow down processes considerably and feed into neo-liberal approaches of “outsourcing” state responsibilities to civil society. Both governments and civil society organizations should be wary of this while working on the urban food governance arrangements in their cities. This research demonstrates an approach that can assist local governments and food policy councils to work more collaboratively and effectively to advance equitable local food system policies and programs in their communities and suggests that finding a suitable approach is context-dependent.

To further explore the participation of state, industry and civic actors I could have used the agri-food governance triangle (Renting & Wiskerke, 2010b) but since I primarily looked at the civic-state relationship I decided against it. Further research could take the agri-food governance triangle more into account. Moreover, further research could include government staff of other administration as well to explore opportunities and barriers for a more integrated urban food policy in Berlin.

It should be noted that due to the limited number of actors involved with urban food governance in the Senate and in the ERB, a limitation is that anonymity might not be completely guaranteed for everybody. Nevertheless, I actively tried to keep the results as anonymous as possible. As all interviews were conducted in German but the thesis was written in English, some things might have been lost in translations. For clarification I included the German version when incorporating longer and more meaningful quotes. I was very glad about the respondents' enthusiasm about my research and the open attitude I encountered with the interviewees. Having said this, it is hard to call out a social desirability bias, but I acknowledge that interviewees might have said what they thought I want to hear as they knew that I am researching collaboration in Berlin food governance. I always tried to remain critical of this during the interviews. Moreover, me as the researcher brought in a bias to the research having a strong passion for the topic, coming from Berlin and besides having used the interview guide, the interviews would have gone differently with another researcher as the conversation was shaped by both interviewee's and researcher's knowledge and interest. Furthermore, this research resembles a snapshot in time of Berlin food governance and the perceptions of the interviewees, the state of Berlin food governance as well as the arrangement are likely to change over time. This means that stability or obtaining the same results at another point in time is rather low.

Given the relatively small sample of this study, it is not clear how generalizable the findings might be. I hope other researchers can further test the ideas on collaboration in urban food governance and I look forward to continuing my work with practitioners seeking food system change and effective relationships between civil society led FPCs and local governments. A lot is going in the city, there is much interest for the topic at the moment and I think it will keep growing. Possible further research could explore the different frames around the goals of urban food policies by actors from CSOs and the local government to understand where their understanding aligns and where it differs significantly.

6.2 CONCLUSION

6.2.1 ANSWERS TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: How Urban Food Governance looks like in Berlin

In Berlin, for a long time nothing happened in the field of communal food policy and the previous governments were rather closed to the topic. Political champions had been trying to ignite the debate for quite some time, but in vain. Food movements on the grassroots level were all the more active. In 2016, with the green party *Die Grünen/Bündnis 90* as a coalition partner of *SPD* and *DIE LINKEN* and the ongoing commitment of political champions to integrate food political issues into the coalition agreement, a chance opened up (a window of opportunity) to create a link between the civic-led Ernährungsrat Berlin (ERB) and the local government, thus enabling the ERB to influence food policy developments. This opportunity has been seized and now makes it possible to give food policy topics a new political significance. The previously critical relationship between ERB and the Senate Administration for Consumer Protection (SenJustVA), the entry point for food policy in Berlin government, could be turned into a more fruitful one but the ties still remain informal. The ERB is not embedded in government structures but operates outside of government institutions as an independent non-profit organization. The social and political local context have been decisive factors

for the development of urban food governance and food policy in Berlin. In this governance arrangement, the government heavily relies on the ERB, on their advice, their dedication, motivation, action and creativity, while the ERB needs the senate administration to understand administrative processes, currently for funding and to advance food policy changes.

RQ2: Strengths and Challenges of the current Governance Arrangement

There is a co-production spirit and both, ERB and SenJustVA acknowledge their interdependence. The current food governance is a mix between a bottom-up initiation and a top-down food strategy development indicating commitment from both sides, which is a valuable asset of the current arrangement, an asset that ensures ownership and accountability from both sides. The ERB welcomes the collaborative attitude of the SenJustVA and is open to future collaborations but demands a more integrated approach regarding the food strategy, greater citizen participation and more transparency. The informal collaboration was established through motivated citizens, politicians and municipal officers ('food champions'). These food champions play an important role for food policy developments, but it is pivotal that their attitudes and approaches also spread beyond them, their department, to a wider following. In Berlin besides the ERB, the SenJustVA state secretary and the Green parliamentary group are the main food policy champions but securing the engagement of other departments and parties has been a challenge for them. The presence of those champions is a strength for the governance arrangement at the moment but can also be viewed as a challenge in the future as dependency on individual commitment and motivation is unreliable if not accompanied by forms of institutionalization and the wide spreading of the champions' approaches and attitudes to ensure long-term and wide-ranging effects.

The SenJustVA recognizes and values the commitment, energy and capacity of the ERB to accomplish what the administration cannot not deliver alone, as administrative barriers limit them. But these barriers, including the lack of resources, staff and powers, together with the independence and volunteer-base of the ERB create an unbalanced relationship where there is an inordinate reliance on volunteers resulting in civil society actors investing the most time and energy while having the least resources available to them. Additionally, the ERB and the SenJustVA have a different understanding of institutionalization and different approaches to food policies, the former having a more holistic long-term vision, and the latter a more single-policy short term vision. Food is related to many urban problems, including social, economic and health related-ones, and relying on one sub-unit of an administration with five people working in it (who also have other tasks) to guide the transformation of the food system reflects a lack of determination, dedication and understanding of the government. Hence, for a more successful collaborative governance arrangement improvements have to be made regarding inclusiveness of the spaces of deliberation (ERB and BFS process), process transparency and the shared understanding of the actors' roles and the goals of the collaborative process.

From the government side the biggest challenges are firstly, to overcome the institutional limitation of the administrations, where responsibilities are not clearly defined, where departments and units do not sufficiently communicate, whose staff members are burdened with high levels of bureaucracy, understaffing, lacking specialist staff and overwork. There are not enough resources made available and there is not enough inter-departmental collaboration for successful integrated urban food governance. Secondly, the government struggles to include a genuinely representative group of actors in their participatory processes. This all feeds into the current governance arrangement, in which civil society actors invest the most time while having the least resources, which results in an

inordinate reliance on voluntarism, motivation and individual commitment. The biggest challenges for the ERB are acquiring long-term funding to ensure their continuous existence independent of the government and becoming more diverse in both their structure and perspectives, and thus more inclusive and representative. Also, the government has to actively look for ways to engage the broader public into their processes, especially for the development of a Berlin food strategy. They should not rely on the ERB to become more representative and then excuse the lack of broad civil society participation with the ERB's inclusion into the processes.

The initial idea of a FPC was for it to exist inside municipal structures and to bring together actors from the administrations, the mayor as well as civic and private sector actors to collectively analyze the local food system, identify the needs, possible levers and come up with measures and actions to start its transformation. But over time other FPC structures evolved and more often they are now situated outside municipal structures. This set-up has its strengths and challenges connected to financial security, freedom of agenda setting, commitment and inclusiveness. This also applies to Berlin. The ERB, opted for independence from the local government and accepted the accompanying risks of having to find donors for paying the coordinators efforts and keeping volunteers motivated. At the same time, it enjoys the freedom to set its own agenda and criticize the governments work. This set-up also does not hinder the ERB and the local government, represented by the SenJustVA, to collaborate. However, the independence was the only option for the ERB as the SenJustVA does not have the time nor the staff and budget resources to engage in another arrangement. This means that the current relationship and governance arrangement do not offer any certainty about continuing the collaboration with the next government. While trying to keep a safe distance from the local government, the ERB has established itself as the advocacy group of Berlins food system actors and the advisory body for all things food for the SenJustVA. Having this position, in the process of developing the BFS they ended up taking on two roles, that of one actor besides the many others, but also that of a co-steerer, as they shaped the process quite a lot. Important to note is that, considering the homogenous, white academic core group of the ERB, there is a risk associated with decisions being made by a small group of well intentioned, but elite middle class individuals who are representing an organization which is not yet, and might never be, representative of the whole urban society. Usually, literature suggests that for a FPC to have support from the government and an impact, it should be embedded in government structures but the case of the ERB and the BFS shows that with the 'right' context conditions, in this case a long history of civic engagement in urban food system topics, a wide variety of civic food system actors, the presence and commitment of food champions and the power position of the Green party in the coalition, a FPC can be successful as an independent civic body.

RQ3: Institutionalization and Integrated Food Policy in Berlin

I included the concepts of institutionalization and integrated food policy from literature as these are two concepts that are often mentioned in relation with successful food governance and there are interrelated (IPES-Food, 2017). While institutionalization of food policy, in the sense of food policy becoming a permanent or respected part of the administrative system, or the administration as an organization, is clearly visible in Berlin, the concept of integrated food policy has not yet taken strong roots into the city's government. The concept of integrated food policy recognizes food as a policy field that transcends the boundaries of existing jurisdictions (Candel & Pereira, 2017) and refers to integration and across policy areas and governance levels (IPES-Food, 2017). Although the BFS

process is an attempt to start bridging the silos the administrations work in, it is still too early to say if the lead administration, the SenJustVA, will manage to plant the seed of the thought for a need for integrated food policy deep down in the administrative structures and whether it will actually find nutritious grounds there. So far it looks like the involved SenJustVA staff lacks the power to advance integrated food policy in Berlin. Maybe the ERB will prove to be helpful, for example by approaching the district administrations. In the meantime, the current state of institutionalization does make us see some light in the darkness, with the:

- 1) the coalition agreement containing the goal of raising the proportion of organic food in public canteens, starting a project with caterers to serve more organic, season and fresh food, reduce food waste and serve a variety of vegan, vegetarian and meat-dishes; and developing a Berlin Food Strategy in collaboration with the *Ernährungsrat Berlin*; continuing the work of the *Forum Gutes Essen* and engaging the district level as well;
- 2) creation of new positions in the Senate Administration for Justice, Consumer Protection and Antidiscrimination (and for Urban Gardening in the Senate Administration for Environment, Mobility and Climate Protection) and allocation of staff with technical competences;
- 3) the allocation of money for food policy projects (Berlin Food Strategy and House of Food/Center for Communal Catering);
- 4) and the funding of the *Ernährungsrat Berlin*.

The current state of institutionalization of food policy and the governance arrangement is welcomed but there is also the downside of it only being done via the SenJustVA which can both, depending on their relationship to other departments, limit or open up the links to those other departments. But ultimately, without a FPC or a similar structure like a food department inside municipal structures actively working towards overcoming the lack of intra- and cross-departmental collaboration, both vertically and horizontally, and advancing broad institutionalization a certain degree of integration is simply missing.

6.2.2 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Collaboration around the BFS has been successful due to the high degree of interdependence among the main stakeholders and the positive steps taken by the SenJustVA to remediate the low levels of initial trust. In the Berlin, the Ernährungsrat Berlin (ERB) is sensitizing the Senate to food political issues and “feeds” them with information and ideas but really depends on the Senate’s readiness to act where the ERB sees flaws. The strategy development is a space of deliberate democracy which should be used as such, meaning that broader involvement of urban society and a more heterogenous stakeholder participation from industry should be strived for. The ERB hopes for “concrete, tangible, effectual policy outcomes” (Ansell & Gash, 2008) making them eager to collaborate with the SenJustVA. The ERB strongly lobbies for their demands, they advocate their viewpoint and as a result the SenJustVA gave the ERB a special position in the strategy process. The SenJustVA now has to make sure, that the ERB and also other plenum stakeholders do not feel like the whole process was “largely ceremonial” (Ansell & Gash, 2008) which negatively impacts the incentive to collaborate. The recommendations have to be taken seriously, they have to be further developed, in consultation with other city and district administrations, to make a real strategy out of the draft and start implementing measures. The implementations could be done together with some

of the stakeholders to add more value to their participation. But it seems to be of utmost importance to not just let the draft be a file buried in oblivion in some drawer.

Using collaborative governance has proven to be a good way to involve various groups and interests in exploring problems and proposing solutions to address them. However, the use of such participatory decision-making processes comes with the risk of handing over the responsibility of sustainable development governance to informed, motivated and committed civil society organizations, paving the way for neo-liberalism. This seems to be exacerbated when resources are short and/or unequally distributed. Berlin's government, in this case represented by the Senate Administration for Consumer Protection, does not have a lot of staff (with time and energy), expertise nor money to provide this collaborative governance arrangement with. Berlin, again represented by the Senate Administration for Consumer Protection, signed the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) committing to develop a sustainable, inclusive, resilient, safe and diverse food system that provides health and affordable food, encourages interdepartmental and cross-sector coordination, seeks coherence across government levels and reviews and amends policies. The resources and support that the administration currently receives simply do not cover what is needed to effectively meet all their commitments made with the MUFPP. The administration is heavily dependent on civil society organizations like the Ernährungsrat Berlin, on their willingness to spend their time and energy for free, on their pool of knowledge, creativity, motivation and long-term thinking they bring into the arrangement. This makes it even more important to pay attention not to exploit the Ernährungsrat Berlin and other civil society organizations and the resources that they bring into the collaborative governance arrangement, as this could put the arrangement itself but also the potential, this opportunity of the city of Berlin to enter the municipal movement of integrated food governance at risk.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

Writing this thesis was not only a possibility for me to reflect on my work habits but also to explore sides of my hometown that I had not known before. I have been interested in food activism and food innovation since quite some years now, but my focus had always been on the civic and industry level. Exploring what the local government does in Berlin was a new territory, one where I had a lot to understand first, as I was not very familiar with the structure and functioning of government institutions. During this research, I was strengthened in my view that I enjoy working with people. I prefer exchange, discussions and a collaborative environment over solitary work. I very much enjoyed conducting the interviews, talking to people from the field, learning from them and understanding their viewpoints. I was surprised about how open they were and how positively they reacted to my research. It was nice to see so many people dedicating their hearts and minds to championing food policy advancements in Berlin. It turned out to be a great chance of expanding my network in Berlin, but also abroad as I attended topic specific conferences where I made contacts with practitioners from other cities as well. Moreover, one interview resulted in a very interesting internship position in the Senate which I will start right after the completion of the thesis. Thus, I can further deepen my understanding of municipal structures and processes and hopefully contribute to more integrated food policy developments in Berlin. During the writing phase I shared a room with a friend with whom I could exchange ideas, experiences, feedback etc. My supervisor also initiated something like a thesis ring with the students she supervised to give each other feedback, which is not common for the chair group I was writing my thesis with. I noticed, this was very important to me. The meetings with her were also always very insightful as she challenged me to be more critical. Writing your thesis can catapult you into a space of loneliness and into a narrow-minded state, where you stop seeing things clearly. For me, having someone around who understands my struggles and challenges my views really made a difference though.

Writing this thesis was a journey of growth and reflection: I had to face weaknesses and overcome them. But more than that it was a great opportunity to expand my knowledge on urban food governance and urban food policy, both in general and in the context of Berlin and it fueled my interest to continue working in this field. Luckily this is a field which is exceptionally characterized by the need to collaborate, by coming together in networks, by transdisciplinary work, hence I am positive that I will get on well working in it.

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TABLE 1: FOOD POLICY GOVERNANCE TYPOLOGIES (MENDES & SONNINO, 2018; MACRAE & DONAHUE, 2013, p. 8)

No.	Typology type	Typology Description
1	Municipality driven	Initiatives are financed by the municipality and directed by municipal staff with advice from external groups. They are housed within existing municipal government units.
2	Hybrid governance with direct government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government with a conduit to decision makers through municipal council, and with municipal financing, political champions, and supportive staff. Characterized by formal municipal endorsements, structural links, and accountability to a government body.
3	Hybrid governance with indirect government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government, but with markedly fewer formal attachments and lower levels of financing and government staffing arrangements. The conduit to council is less direct, via departments and government staff.
4	Links to government via a secondary agent	No formal connection to government but linked through secondary agencies. They may have important ties to government (a municipally endorsed food charter) or receive some government grants.
5	Civil society organization with limited and informal government links	A civil society organization or project, in which government officials may participate. The organization may receive some government grants.
6	Independent organizations with no government links	No formal connection to government and do not seek to partner with government nor receive funding. The initiatives reflect clear structures and have the ability to engage government in food system change.

TABLE 2: INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS CODE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

R1	ERB; Academia & Research
R2	ERB; Academia & Research
R3	ERB; Research
R4	ERB
R5	ERB
R6	Academia; Urban Planning
R7	SenJustVA/service contractor/(ERB)
R8	Parliament, Green Party; (ERB)
R9	SenJustVA
R10	SenJustVA
R11	SenJustVa

TABLE 3: SUPPORTERS OF THE ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN – LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS, BUSINESSES, INITIATIVES ETC. WHO HAVE BEEN OR ARE ASSOCIATED WITH AND/OR SUPPORT THE ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN (SOURCES: : AG STADT & ERNÄHRUNG PROZESS DIAGRAMM; NETZWERK ERNÄHRUNGSRAT ; ERKLÄRUNG ZU UNSERER ABGABE EINER INTERESSENSBEKUNDUNG ZUR PROJEKTFÖRDERUNG FÜR EIN „HOUSE OF FOOD“ IN BERLIN)

	Name	Category
1.	<u>2000m²</u>	Agriculture/Education
2.	<u>Agrathaer GmbH – Strategische Landnutzung</u>	Agriculture
3.	<u>Aktion Agrar</u>	Agriculture
4.	<u>Allmende-Kontor</u>	Community Garden
5.	<u>Spreeacker e.V.</u>	Agriculture
6.	August-Bebel-Institut	
7.	Bäckerei Vollkorn	Bakery
8.	<u>Berlin21</u>	

9.	Berliner Tafel e.V.	Food Bank
10.	Bohn&Viljoen Architects	Architectural Firm
11.	Bündnis Junge Landwirtschaft	Agriculture
12.	Deutsche Umwelthilfe e.V.	
13.	Ecologic Institute	Research Institute
14.	Ernährungsrat Köln	Food Policy Council
15.	Ernährungsrat Prignitz-Ruppin	Food Policy Council
16.	Ernährungswende	
17.	Food Systems Planning	Planning and Consultancy
18.	Food&Movement e.V. (inactive)	Blog
19.	Foodsharing Berlin	Anti-Food waste initiative
20.	Fördergemeinschaft Ökologischer Landbau Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.	Organic Agriculture
21.	Gemeinwohl Ökonomie – Ein Wirtschaftsmodel mit Zukunft	Economy
22.	Genusswandel Ernährungsberatung	Nutrition counselling
23.	GRÜNE LIGA Berlin e.V. Landesverband Berlin - Netzwerk Ökologischer Bewegungen	Organic Agriculture
24.	Himmelbeet Gemeinschaftsgarten	Community Garden
25.	Hochschule für nachhaltige Entwicklung Eberswalde (HNE)	University
26.	homemade GbR	Farm
27.	Humboldt-University-Berlin	University
28.	id22: Institute for Creative Sustainability	
29.	INKOTA e.V.	Development organization
30.	Institut für Ökologische Wirtschaftsforschung	Research Institute
31.	Junge Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (jAbL)	Agriculture
32.	Kulinarische Maßnahmen	
33.	Leibniz-Zentrum für Agrarlandschaftsforschung (ZALF) Müncheberg	Agricultural research
34.	Märkisches Landbrot	Bakery
35.	Markthalle Neun	
36.	Marktkost	
37.	Mehrwertvoll e.V.	

38	Meine Landwirtschaft/Wir haben es satt!	Demonstration
39	<u>Mundraub</u>	
40	<u>NahHaft e.V.</u>	Research institute
41	<u>Obergudt</u>	
42	<u>Ökonauten EG</u>	
43	<u>Oxfam Deutschland</u>	
44	<u>Prinzessinnengarten</u>	Urban Garden
45	<u>Regionalinitiative Prignitz Ruppin e.V.</u>	
46	Regionalwert AG Berlin-Brandenburg	
47	Restlos Glücklich	No-Waste Restaurant
48	Slow Food Berlin	
49	<u>Slow Food Youth Berlin</u>	
50	Solidarische Landwirtschaft – Koordinationierungsgruppe Berlin-Brandenburg	CSA group
51	Stadt-Land.Move – Werkstatt für Sozial-Ökologischen Wandel	
52	Taste of Heimat e.V. (inactive)	Food policy council
53	Technische Universität Berlin	University
54	<u>The Food Assembly/Marktschwärmer</u>	
55	Urban Food System Blog (inactive)	
56	Wandelwoche Berlin/Brandenburg	
57	<u>World Food Institute – Institut für Welternährung e. V.</u>	
58	<u>Yeşil Çember – ökologisch interkulturell gGmbH,</u>	Environment
59	<u>Zentrum Technik und Gesellschaft</u>	TU Berlin Center for inter- and transdisciplinary collaboration

TABLE 4: FOOD POLICY GOVERNANCE TYPOLOGIES WITH THE ALLOCATION OF THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY AND THE ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN (MENDES & SONNINO, 2018; MACRAE & DONAHUE, 2013, P. 8)

No.	Typology type	Typology Description
1	Municipality driven	Initiatives are financed by the municipality and directed by municipal staff with advice from external groups. They are housed within existing municipal government units.
2	Hybrid governance with direct government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government with a conduit to decision makers through municipal council, and with municipal financing, political champions, and supportive staff. Characterized by formal municipal endorsements, structural links, and accountability to a government body.
The Berlin Food Strategy		
3	Hybrid governance with indirect government links	A hybrid of civil society organizations and government, but with markedly fewer formal attachments and lower levels of financing and government staffing arrangements. The conduit to council is less direct, via departments and government staff.
4	Links to government via a secondary agent	No formal connection to government but linked through secondary agencies. They may have important ties to government (a municipally endorsed food charter) or receive some government grants.
The Ernährungsrat Berlin		
5	Civil society organization with limited and informal government links	A civil society organization or project, in which government officials may participate. The organization may receive some government grants.
6	Independent organizations with no government links	No formal connection to government and do not seek to partner with government nor receive funding. The initiatives reflect clear structures and have the ability to engage government in food system change.

TABLE 5: INVITED STAKEHOLDERS OF BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY PLENUM MEETINGS WITH THE RED ONES INDICATING THE NO-SHOWS
(SENATSV ERWALTUNG FÜR JUSTIZ, VERBAUCHERSCHUTZ UND ANTIDISKRIMINIERUNG, 2018)

	Stakeholder	Description	Stakeholder Group
1.	Verbraucherzentrale Berlin e.V.	Berlin Consumers office/consumer association	? Civil Society?
2.	Gemeinschaftskrankenhaus Havelhöhe GmbH	Anthroposophical Community Hospital in Berlin-Kladow with a canteen serving locally sourced, seasonal, freshly cooked food	? Market
3.	Berliner Ernährungsrat	Berlin Food Policy Council	Civil Society
4.	Berliner Tafel e.V.	Berlin Food Bank	Civil Society
5.	Bündnis Junge Landwirtschaft / Ökonauten	Alliance of young agriculture/farmers	Civil Society
6.	Förderungsgemeinschaft Ökologische Landwirtschaft e.V. (FÖL)	Association for the promotion of organic food in Berlin-Brandenburg	Civil Society
7.	Landesseniorenbeirat Berlin (LSBB)	Berlin State Seniors Council advises the Berlin House of Representatives and the Berlin Senate on the basis of the Berlin Senior Citizens' Benefits Act.	Civil Society
8.	Oxfam	independent aid organization	Civil Society
9.	Prinzessinnengärten	Urban Community Garden/ social and ecological urban agriculture in Berlin-Kreuzberg	Civil Society
10.	ProVeg Deutschland e.V.	German non-governmental organization advocating for the interests of vegetarians and vegans	Civil Society
11.	Über den Tellerrand e.V.	Non-profit organization working for the societal integration and social participation of people with escape experience/refugees through shared food experiences	Civil Society
12.	Vernetzungsstelle Kita- und Schulverpflegung Berlin	Berlin networking office for daycare and school catering is a nonprofit organization that supports high-quality and health-promoting public catering for children and adolescents and promotes the food/consumer education of all actors involved in communal catering.	Civil Society
13.	Gemüse Ackerdemie/Ackerdemia e.V.	Organization working on Food Education projects	Civil Society/ Academia/Science/ Research
14.	averdi's	Organic/sustainable communal catering consultancy	Market

15.	<u>Bäckerinnung</u>	Baker's Guild	Market
16.	<u>Bauernbund Brandenburg e.V.</u>	Farmers' Association Brandenburg e.V., advocacy group of rural family businesses in the state of Brandenburg, Christian, traditional	Market
17.	Berlin Partner für Wirtschaft und Technologie GmbH	Berlin Partner for economy/business and Technology GmbH	Market
18.	<u>Bioland e.V.</u>	Association and certification for Organic Farming in Germany	Market
19.	Clustermanager Wirtschaftsförderung Land Brandenburg GmbH (WFBB)	Cluster Manager Business Development Land Brandenburg GmbH (WFBB)	Market
20.	<u>Fleischerinnung</u>	Butchers' guild	Market
21.	<u>Gartenbauverband Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (GVBB)</u>	Horticultural Association that bundles the interests of ornamental plants-, fruit and vegetable cultivation, of perennials, nurseries and horticultural service providers, such as gardening and landscaping, cemetery gardening, retail horticulture and floristry.	Market
22.	<u>Handelsverband Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.</u>	Trade Association Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.	Market
23.	<u>Handwerkskammer Berlin</u>	Chamber of Crafts Berlin	Market
24.	<u>Hotel- und Gaststättenverband Berlin e.V. (DEHOGA Berlin)</u>	Hotel and Restaurant Association Berlin is a business and employer association as well as a modern service provider for the hospitality industry.	Market
25.	<u>Markthalle Neun GmbH</u>	Privately operated historic market hall offering regional and artisanal foods	Market
26.	<u>pro agro – Verband zur Förderung des ländlichen Raumes in der Region Brandenburg-Berlin e.V.</u>	Association for the Promotion of Rural Areas in Brandenburg-Berlin working with agricultural and food industries as well as rural and nature tourism	Market
27.	<u>Terra Naturkost</u>	Organic wholesaler	Market
28.	<u>Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Ernährungsindustrie Berlin-Brandenburg (WVEB)</u>	Economic Association of the Food Industry for Berlin-Brandenburg	Market
29.	<u>Forschungsverbund FoodBerlin</u>	Research association alliance of four universities in Berlin-Brandenburg: Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Technische Universität Berlin and Universität Potsdam	Research

30.	<u>Hochschule für nachhaltige Entwicklung Eberswalde (HNEE)</u>	University for Sustainable Development in Eberswalde (Brandenburg)	Research
31.	<u>Leibniz-Zentrum für Agrarlandschaftsforschung (ZALF) e.V.</u>	Leibniz Center for Agricultural Landscape Research (ZALF) e.V.	Research
32.	TU Berlin, Fachgebiet Bildung für Nachhaltige Ernährung und Lebensmittelwissenschaft	Technical University Berlin, Department of Education for Sustainable Food, Nutrition and Food Science	Research

TABLE 6: ATTENDED STAKEHOLDERS OF BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY PLENUM MEETINGS WITH THE YELLOW ONES INDICATING ACTORS THAT ATTENDED WITHOUT BEING MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS LIST WITH INVITED STAKEHOLDERS (HAACK ET AL., 2018)

	Stakeholder	Description	Stakeholder Group
1.	Fördergemeinschaft Ökologischer Landbau Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (FÖL)	central contact point in the metropolitan region for consumer information, public relations and market development around the topic of "bio".	? Civil Society/ Market
2.	Gemeinschaftskrankenhaus Havelhöhe GmbH	Anthroposophical Community Hospital in Berlin-Kladow with a canteen serving locally sourced, seasonal, freshly cooked food	? Market
3.	<u>Verband der Berliner und Brandenburger Schulcaterer e.V. (VBBSC)</u> and now <u>Verbandes Deutscher Schul- und Kitacaterer e.V. (VDSKC)</u>	Association of Berlin and Brandenburg school and day care caterers	? Market ?
4.	Berliner Tafel e.V.	Berlin Food Bank	Civil Society
5.	Bündnis Junge Landwirtschaft e.V.	Young Farmers Alliance	Civil Society
6.	Christliche Initiative Romero e.V.	Registered association working against inequalities	Civil Society
7.	Ernährungsrat Berlin 2x	Berlin food policy council	Civil Society
8.	ProVeg Deutschland e.V.	German non-governmental organization advocating for the interests of vegetarians and vegans	Civil Society
9.	Urban Gardening Netzwerk Berlin	Urban Gardening Network	Civil Society
10.	Verbraucherzentrale Berlin	Berlin Consumer Advice Center	Civil Society

11.	Vernetzungsstelle Kita- und Schulverpflegung	Network center for day care and school meals	Civil Society
12.	Bäcker-Innung Berlin	Berlin Bakers' Guild	Market
13.	Berlin e.V. Fleischer-Innung Berlin	Berlin Butchers Guild	Market
14.	Bioland e.V.	Association and certification for Organic Farming in Germany	Market
15.	<u>Gartenbauverband Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (GVBB)</u>	Horticultural Association Berlin-Brandenburg	Market
16.	Handelsverband Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.	Trade Association Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.	Market
17.	<u>Hotel- und Gaststättenverband Berlin e.V. (DEHOGA Berlin)</u>	Hotel and Restaurant Association Berlin is a business and employer association as well as a modern service provider for the hospitality industry.	Market
18.	<u>Industrie- und Handelskammer zu Berlin (IHK Berlin)</u>	Berlin Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Market
19.	Markthalle Neun	Market Hall focused on craft, regional and organic production	Market
20.	pro agro e.V.	Association for the Promotion of Rural Areas in the Brandenburg-Berlin region working in the fields of agricultural and food industries as well as rural and nature tourism	Market
21.	<u>Wirtschaftsförderung Brandenburg, Cluster Ernährungswirtschaft</u>	Regional business development agency	Market
22.	Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Ernährungsindustrie Berlin-Brandenburg	Berlin Brandenburg Economic Association of the food industry	Market
23.	Ackerdemia e.V.	Nonprofit association which develops and implements innovative social and impact-oriented concepts in order to sustainably increase awareness of the responsible use of nature and the appreciation of food in society. Among other things, the association has launched the multi-award-winning education program "GemüseAckerdemie", which is aimed at schools, kindergartens and other educational institutions in the children and youth sector.	Research
24.	Dipl. Agrarwissenschaftlerin	Individual Graduate agronomist	Research
25.	Forschungsverbund FoodBerlin	Research association alliance of four universities in Berlin-Brandenburg: Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Technische Universität Berlin and Universität Potsdam	Research

26.	Hochschule für nachhaltige Entwicklung Eberswalde (2 People)	University for Sustainable Development in Eberswalde (Brandenburg) with a focus on sustainable development of rural areas	Research
27.	Leibniz-Zentrum für Agrarlandschaftsforschung (ZALF)	Leibniz Center for Agricultural Landscape Research (ZALF) e.V. in Müncheberg	Research
28.	Technische Universität Berlin (2 People)	Technical University Berlin	Research
29.	Senate Administration for Justice, Consumer Protection and Antidiscrimination (3 people)	Staff from consumer protection participated in the meetings	State- City Politics and Administration

TABLE 7: STAKEHOLDER OVERVIEW FORUM GUTES ESSEN MEETINGS WITH THE GREEN ONES INDICATING THOSE WHO ALSO ATTENDED THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY PLENUM MEETINGS (NAHHAFT E.V. & STIFTUNG ZUKUNFT BERLIN, 2016; SENATSVERWALTUNG FÜR JUSTIZ UND VERBRAUCHERSCHUTZ, 2015)

	Stakeholder	Description	Stakeholder Group
1.	<u>Cooks Connection</u>	Chef's network, event location and online platform for dedicated culinary professionals in Berlin	? Civil Society/ Market?
2.	Fördergemeinschaft Ökologischer Landbau Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (FÖL)		? Civil Society/ Market?
3.	Hendrick Haase/Wurstsack		? Individual/Civil Society ?
4.	Verein <u>Geschmackstage Deutschland e.V.</u>	association with nationwide organized associations as members and renowned partners organizing Germany's largest action week around the diversity of regional, seasonal and artisanal food.	? Market /Civil Society?
5.	<u>INKOTA-Netzwerk e.V./ Berliner Ernährungsrat</u>	Developmental policy organization working towards "a world in which the vital interests of all people are more important than the economic interests of the privileged."(Facebook)	Civil Society
6.	<u>Slow Food Berlin</u>	Berlin-based group, part of the international Slow Food movement for good, sustainable, fair food and a sustainable food culture	Civil Society
7.	<u>Bauernbund Brandenburg e.V.</u>	advocacy group of rural family businesses in the state of Brandenburg	Market
8.	<u>Berliner Großmarkt GmbH</u>	Berlin wholesale market	Market

9.	<u>Bio Company GmbH</u>	Organic supermarket chain from Berlin	Market
10.	<u>Deutscher Bauernverband e.V. (DBV)</u>	Leading Association of German Agriculture and Forestry, supported by its 18 state farmers associations (traditional, Christian and conventional)	Market
11.	Handelsverband Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.		Market
12.	Industrie und Handelskammer Berlin (IHK Berlin)		Market
13.	Kumpel & Keule Metzgerei	Transparent/glass, artisanal butchery inside Markthalle Neun	Market
14.	Markthalle Neun 3x		Market
15.	<u>Metro Cash & Carry Group</u>	Germany's leading wholesale company with three locations in Berlin	Market
16.	<u>Next Organic Berlin</u>	Platform for High-Quality Foods & Eco-Social Food-Pioneers	Market
17.	pro agro e.V.		Market
18.	Wirtschaftsvereinigung der Ernährungsindustrie in Berlin und Brandenburg (WVEB)	Economic Association of the Food Industry for Berlin-Brandenburg	Market
19.	HU Berlin		Research
20.	Stiftung Zukunft Berlin 2x		Research
21.	NAHhaft e.V. 2x		Research/Civil Society
22.	<u>Landesamt für Bauen und Verkehr (LBV) Brandenburg</u>		State - Brandenburg Administration
23.	<u>Zukunfts Agentur Brandenburg GmbH (ZAB)</u> now <u>Wirtschaftsförderung Brandenburg (WFBB)</u>		State - Brandenburg Administration/ Market
24.	Bezirksamt Spandau	District Office of Berlin-Spandau	State - City Politics and Administration
25.	Gesundheitspolitischer Sprecher FDP	Health policy spokesman FDP	State - City Politics and Administration
26.	MdA LINKE-Fraktion	Member of the Berlin City Parliament of SPD parliamentary party	State - City Politics and Administration

27.	Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt	Senate Administration for Urban Development and Environment	State - City Politics and Administration
28.	Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, Technologie und Forschung	Senate Administration for Economics, Technology and Finance	State - City Politics and Administration
29.	VisitBerlin	Berlin Tourism & Congress GmbH	State - City Politics and Administration
30.	Berlin Partner für Wirtschaft und Technologie GmbH	Economic promotion and technology promotion for companies, investors and scientific institutions	State - City Politics and Administration / Industry
31.	MdA SPD-Fraktion	Member of the Berlin City Parliament of DIE LINKE parliamentary party	State – City Politics and Administration
32.	Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Wissenschaft	Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Science	State – City Politics and Administration
33.	Senatsverwaltung für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz	Senate Administration for Justice and Consumer Protection	State – City Politics and Administration

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: A MODEL OF COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE (ANSELL & GASH, 2008)

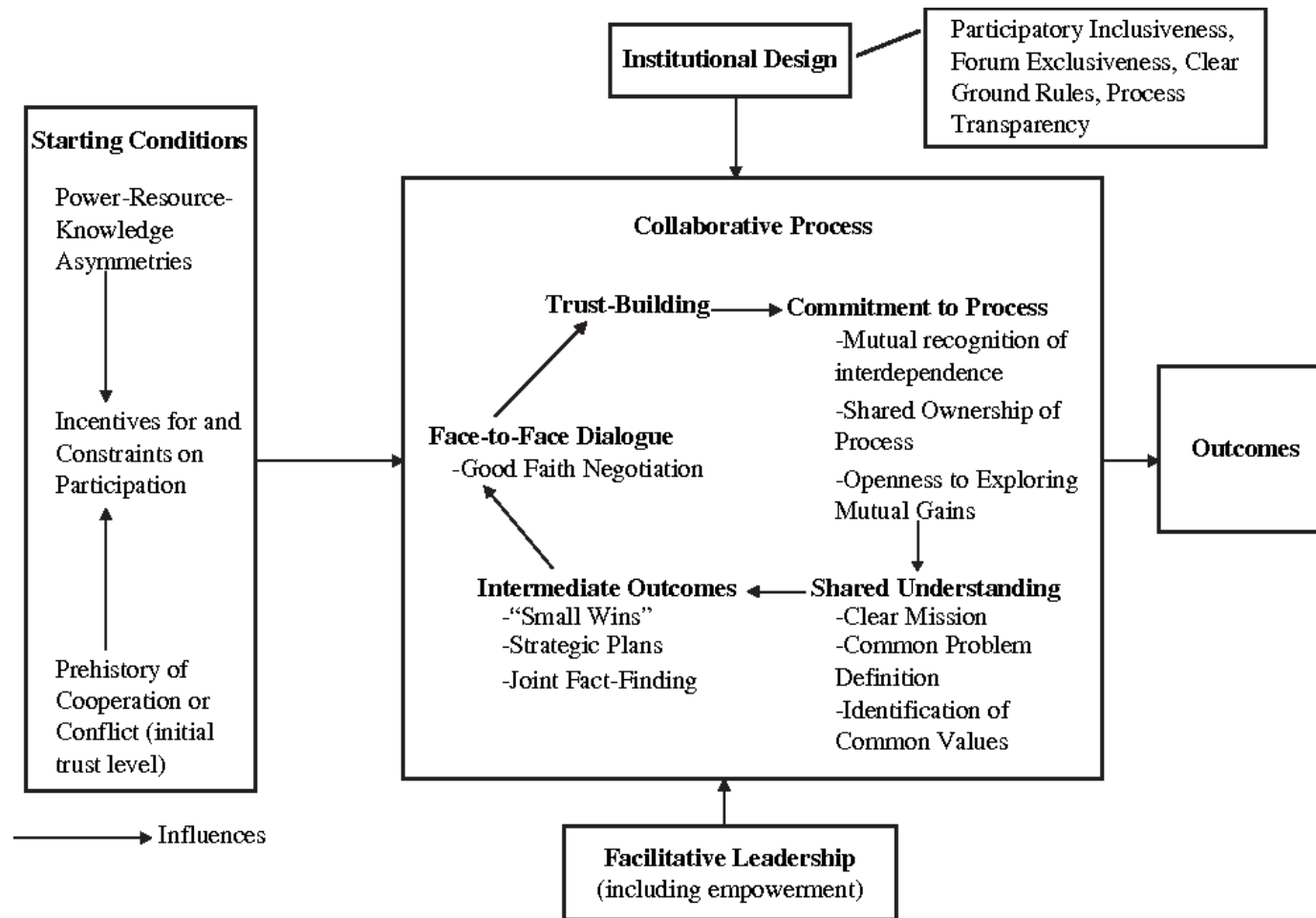


FIGURE 2: TIMELINE OF FOOD GOVERNANCE DEVELOPMENTS IN BERLIN.

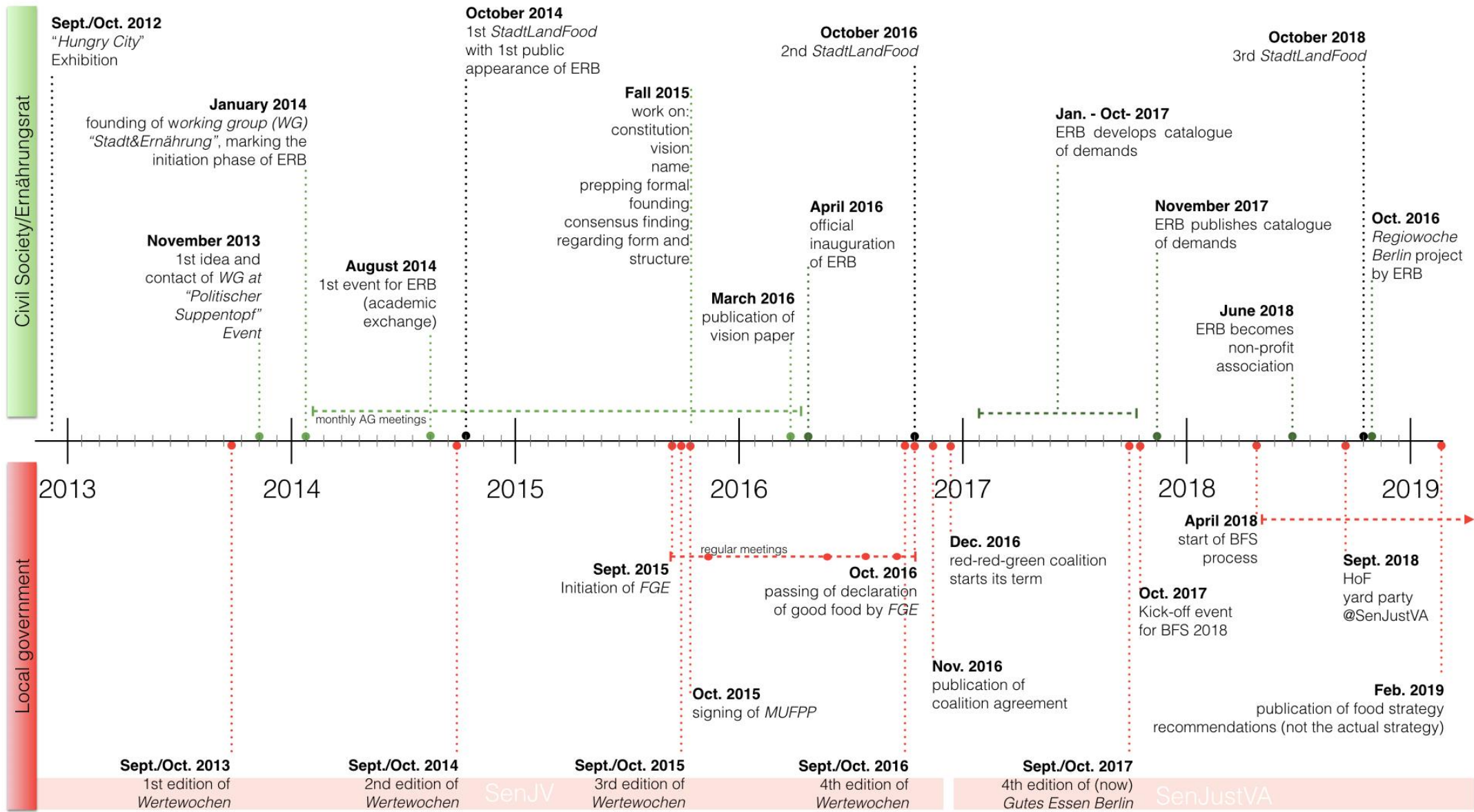


FIGURE 3: AN OVERVIEW OF THE BERLIN FOOD STRATEGY PROCESS (Haack et al., 2018).

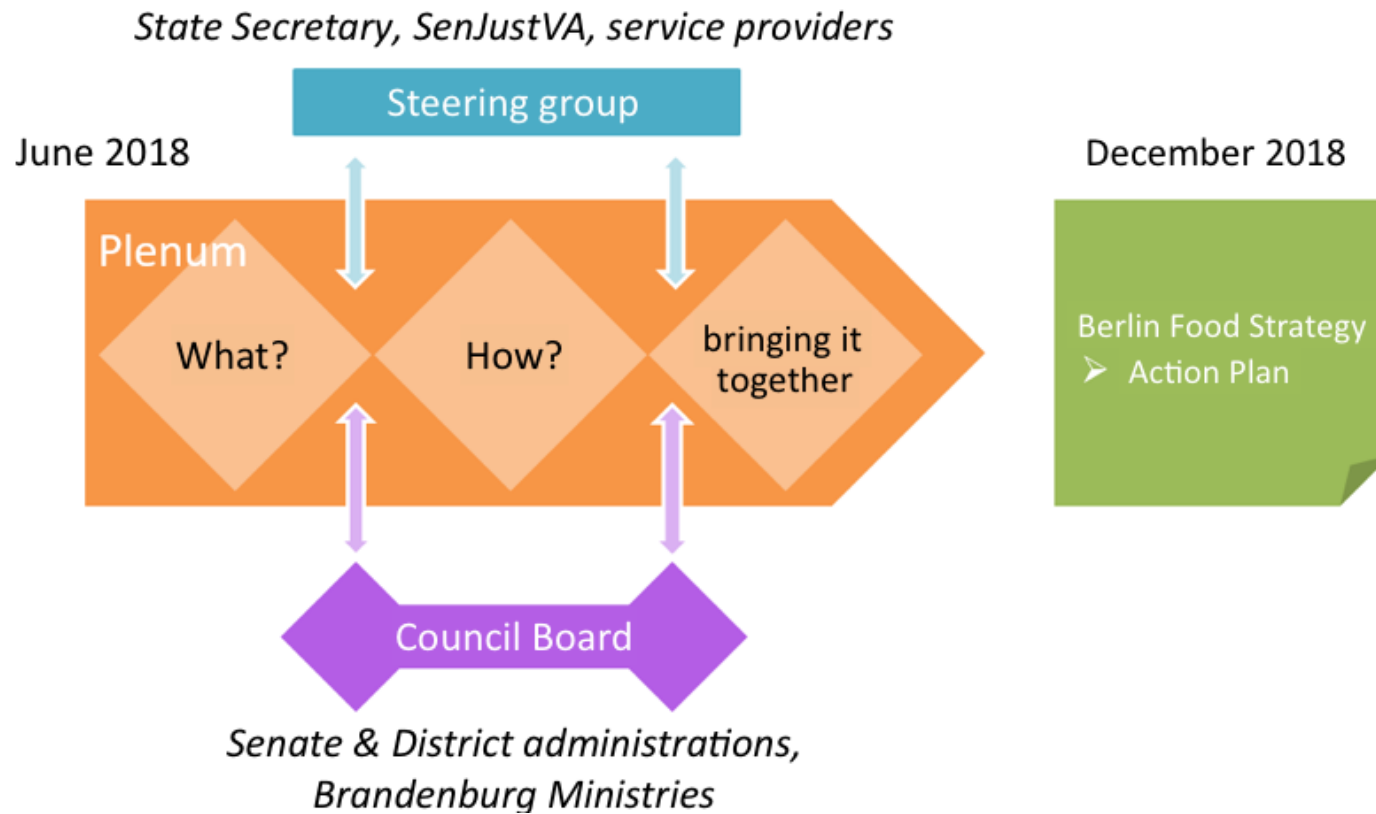


FIGURE 4: OVERVIEW OF THE STRUCTURE OF BERLINS FOOD POLICY COUNCIL ERNÄHRUNGSRAT BERLIN

Ernährungsrat Berlin Structure

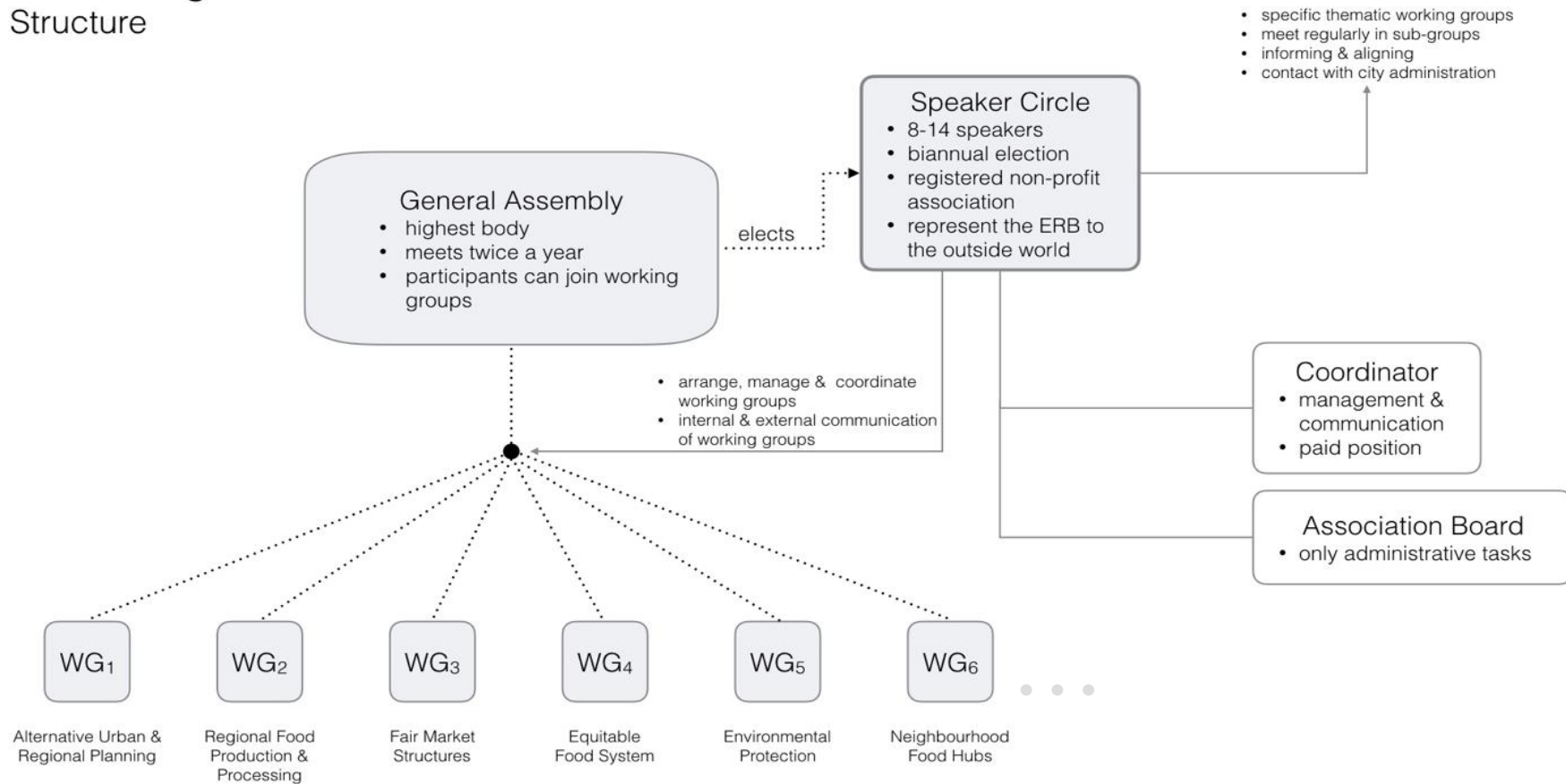




FIGURE 5: FOOD POLICY COUNCILS ARE MULTI-TALENTS AND CAN TAKE ON VARIOUS ROLES. (HEUSER, POHL, URHAHN & BURON, 2017)

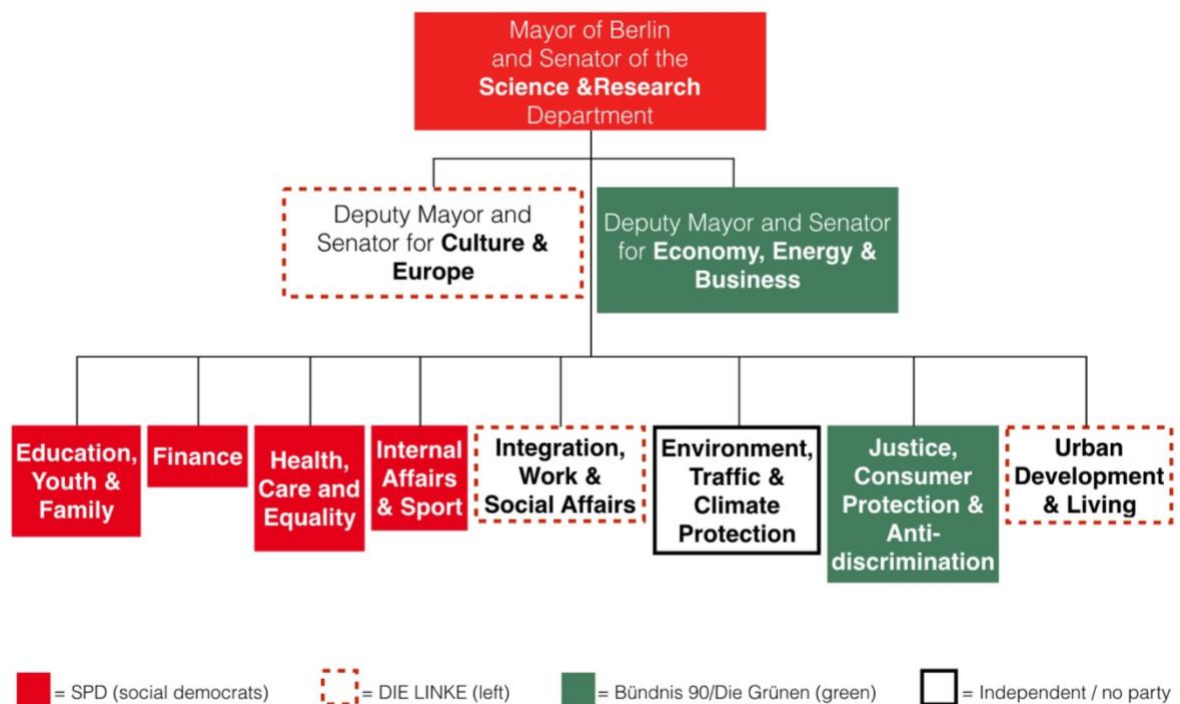


FIGURE 6: BERLIN SENATE STRUCTURE WITH THE MAYOR OF BERLIN AND THE ADMINISTRATIONS WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS.

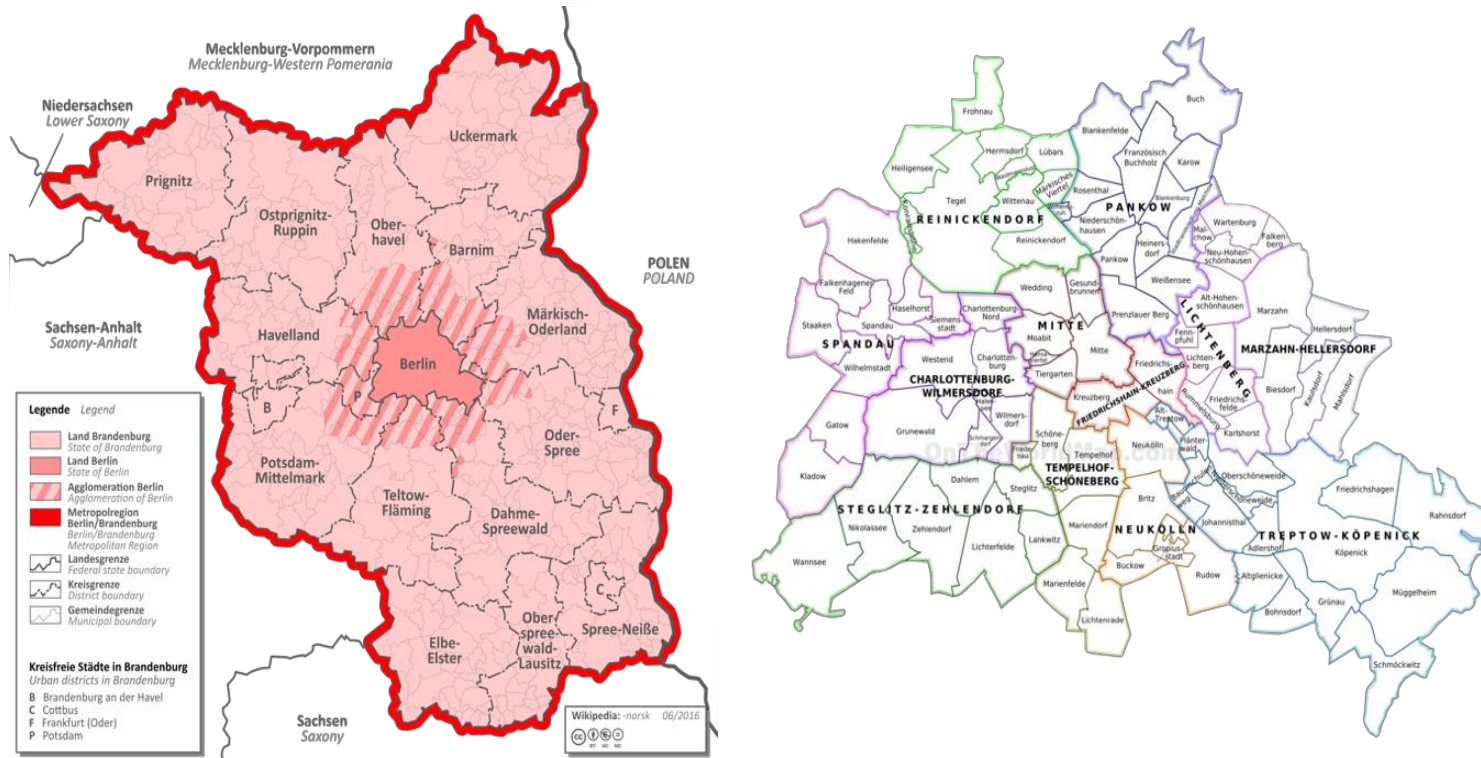


FIGURE 7: MAP OF BERLIN BRANDENBURG WITH AGGLOMERATION OF BERLIN AND BERLIN/BRANDENBURG METROPOLITAN REGION SHOWN (L.) (SOURCE: -NORSK, WIKIPEDIA.DE; ONTHEWORLDMAP)

Organigramm

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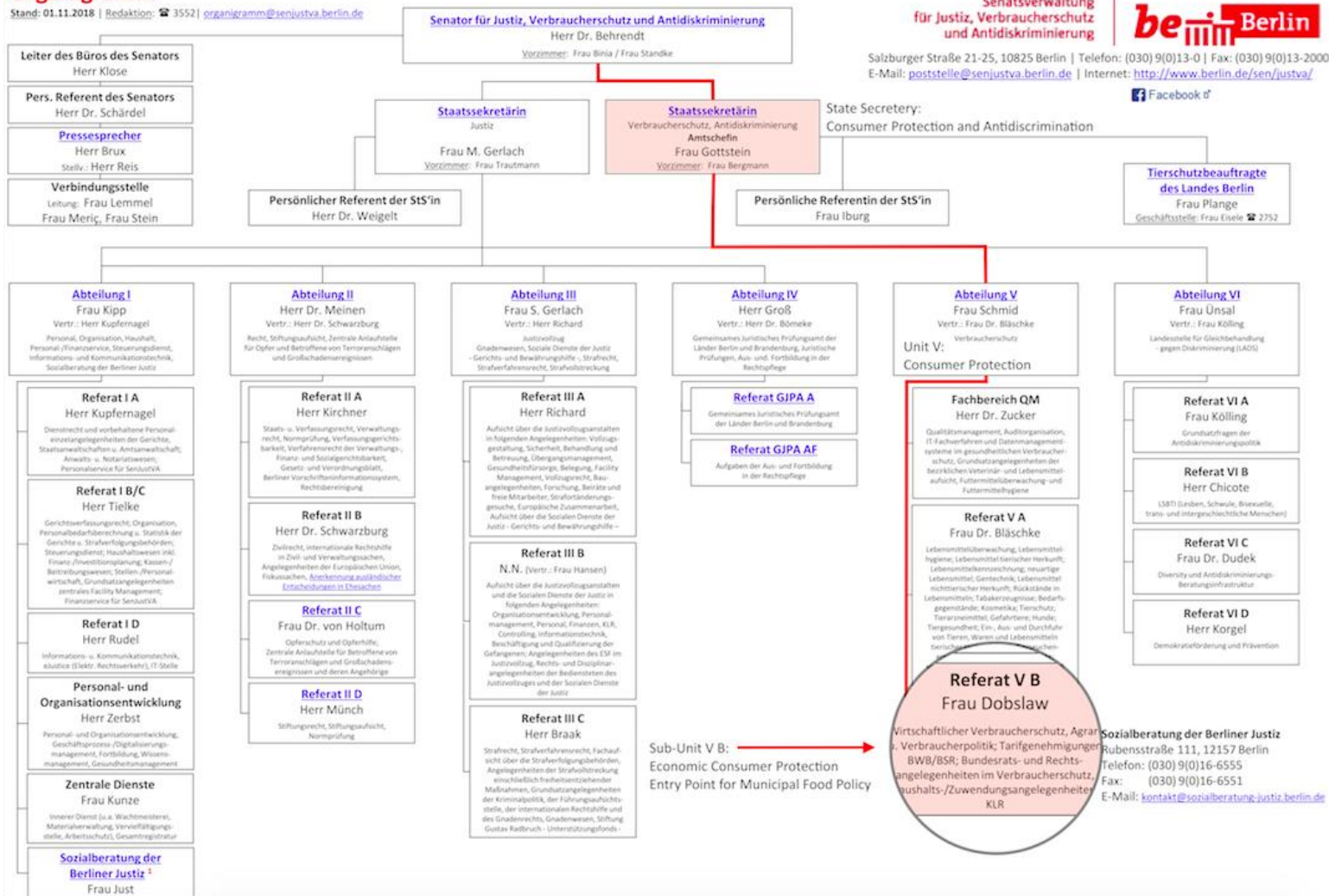


FIGURE 8: ORGANIGRAM OF THE SENATE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, CONSUMER PROTECTION AND ANTIDISCRIMINATION. THE RED LINE INDICATES THE INVOLVED LEVELS AND THE ENTRY POINT OF FOOD POLICY IN BERLIN (SENATOR FOR JUSTICE CONSUMER PROTECTION AND ANTIDISCRIMINATION; STATE SECRETARY CONSUMER PROTECTION AND ANTIDISCRIMINATION; UNIT V CONSUMER PROTECTION AND SUB-UNIT V B ECONOMIC CONSUMER PROTECTION) (SOURCE: SENJUSTVA WEBSITE; EDITED)

ANNEX

ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Instruction Interviewer

Hello, my name is Dinah. Thank you for your time. As I already mentioned, I am a Master student from Wageningen. I am researching urban food governance and would like to hear your opinion on the urban food governance arrangement in Berlin and especially on the collaborative arrangements between the Ernährungsrat Berlin and the Senate of Berlin. I will ask you several questions and I am interested in your honest opinion. Your answers will be used to inform the results of this thesis. They will not be passed on to any third parties.

Introduction Questions

To start with, may I record this interview?

Can you confirm your name, job title and position please:

Can you describe how it is you are involved with food governance in Berlin: (depending on activity: how did you get involved with the organization/food policy?

Topics:

Urban food governance

- History and current development
- Personal experience
- Actors/stakeholders

Collaboration in urban food governance

- Which actors do you collaborate with on food policy topics?
- To what extent do you think it is desirable to collaborate with the ERB/Senate?
- What kind of collaboration do you see as ideal?
- Where do you see strengths and challenges of collaboration in urban food governance? Do you have a good or bad example?
- How is knowledge shared between stakeholders?
- How is the collaboration managed?
- Is there trust between stakeholders?
- Is there a conflict between stakeholders?

Institutionalization of food policy:

- could work in Berlin? desirable in Berlin?
- collaboration and institutionalization
- Do you think the current governance arrangement will contribute to institutionalization?

Additional:

- How would you describe the organizational form of the ERB?
- Is there any local government personnel engaged with the ERB? If so, what kind of staff and how?

Ending

What are your biggest hopes for the future of urban food governance in Berlin?

Is there anything else you would like to add, something that has not been covered or you would like to give more information about?

Would you recommend speaking with anyone else involved in urban food governance? Would you have a contact detail for me?

Would you like to receive a copy of my thesis via email? If yes, please give email address: Many thanks for your time and insight. Please be aware that all personal detail will remain anonymous and will not be shared with any third parties.

ANNEX 2: LIST OF CODES

- Brandenburg
- CHALLENGE
- COLLAB. GOVERNANCE
 - collab. process / commitment to process
 - collab. process / face-to-dialogue
 - collab. process / shared understanding
 - collab. process / trust building
- DEVELOPMENT
- ERNÄHRUNGSRAT
 - Ernährungsrat / financing
 - Ernährungsrat / network
 - Ernährungsrat / role
 - Ernährungsrat / vision
 - Ernährungsrat / structure
- INSTITUTIONALISATION
 - Institutionalization / Berlin Food Strategy
 - Institutionalization/ House of Food
- INTEGRATED FOOD POLICY
- INTER- and CROSS-DEPARTMENTAL COLLABORATION
- LOCAL CONTEXT
 - local context / civil society
 - local context / political context
 - local context / political context/ green party
- RELATIONSHIP
- Senate structure
- STAKEHOLDER / civil society
- STAKEHOLDER / senate
- Starting Conditions
- STRENGTH