

# Urban food governance in German cities: actors and steering instruments

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## Abstract

Although in Germany food is increasingly an emerging topic on the municipal policy and planning agenda, a structured investigation of activities and political processes is lacking. This paper aims to identify existing municipal strategies and plans related to food as well as the application of specific policy and planning instruments. We analyse relevant actors and policy fields at the local level and gain new insights into the origin of initiatives for policy action. We studied the situation in ten large German cities and employed different data gathering methods like reviewing municipal documents and conducting guided interviews with experts and decision makers in city administrations. Our findings show that integrated urban food policies and their implementation in form of urban food plans or strategies are still in their beginnings. Municipality administrations and other regional actors follow sectorial approaches and use a wide array of steering instruments, i.e. informational instruments and public procurement policies. The potential of the food topic affecting multiple sectors is still underexploited due to the absence of comprehensive horizontal urban governance. Food-related policy and planning action is driven by individuals in administration and civil society initiatives, but often lacks financial and staffing resources as well as continuity. More integrated urban food policies are needed to overcome sectorial thinking and acknowledge the cross-cutting nature of food policy.

**Keywords:** Food policy, food planning, policy instruments, city regions, governance

## 1. Introduction

Cities bring food policy back on the municipal agenda. For decades the topic has been seen as a steering subject of higher governance levels and national and supranational institutions like WTO (World Trade Organization) or CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) (Barling, Lang, & Caraher, 2002; Sonnino, 2009). New drivers, challenges and engagement however address the municipal level, which seem to be adequate level for steering food topics aside from federal, national and supranational sectorial policies (e.g., agriculture, health, environment) and achieving goals like food security or re-linking urban and rural spaces. Here national and global policies have partially failed (Barling, Lang, & Caraher, 2002; Sonnino, 2009).

Problems of the modern globalized food system are becoming visible or are being caused on the local scale and regard e.g., food security and safety, malnutrition, food waste and long transportation distances (Koç, 1999; Wiskerke, 2009, (Morgan, Murdoch, & Marsden, 2006) Stierand, 2012). Increasingly urban consumers scrutinise the conventional globalized food system and formulate new urban food needs regarding confidence, sustainability, health and fairness, which go beyond sufficient food supply (Stierand, 2012). Urban communities and civil society organisations take on a more active role in the urban food system and initiate in many cases approaches for urban food policies, with municipalities creating governance structures for the implementation of these policies (Cohen & Ilieva, 2015; Stierand, 2014).

The topic 'food' constitutes an unexploited potential for sustainable urban development by touching on issues such as transport, health and economic development (Sonnino, 2009; Stierand, 2014). Many cities and towns all over the world have started to govern food topics more actively and develop urban food strategies or plans, for example by establishing Food Policy Councils, either applying top down or bottom-up processes. They define objectives and measures and apply instruments which address specific challenges and fit to the local context (Dubbeling, 2013; Moragues, Morgan, & Moschitz, 2013; Morgan, 2009; Pothukuchi, 2009). In contrast to food strategies on other levels of government which focus on single issues (like agriculture, food safety etc.), "a municipal food strategy is an official plan or road map that helps city governments integrate a full spectrum of urban food topics within a single policy framework that includes food production [...], food processing, food distribution, food access and food waste management" (Mansfield & Mendes, 2013:38). Therefore "municipal food strategies tend to be unique because of their location within local governments, and the attempt to treat food system issues holistically" (Mansfield & Mendes, 2013:38).

According to Koc & Dahlberg three major options for introducing food into urban planning exist: First, creating a city department for food; second, creating food policy councils; and third, integrating food into city planning (1999).

Food policy councils and food strategies seem to be the most popular approaches for governing food issues at the local level (Derkzen & Morgan, 2012; Scherb, Palmer, Frattaroli, & Pollack, 2012). Dating back to the 1980s cross-sectorial Food Policy Councils as governmental or non-governmental organisations developed first in the United States and Canada (Morgan, 2009; Schiff, 2008). Areas of interventions addressed structural failures in the food system like food insecurity and malnutrition in urban areas, and were mainly related with access to food (food for school children and low-income people, people living in food deserts), urban agriculture and public procurement (Morgan, 2009; Scherb, Palmer, Frattaroli, & Pollack, 2012). Subsequently more and more cities worldwide followed the examples of San Francisco (1997), New York (2007) or Toronto (1991) and established food policy councils and formulated food strategies. In Europe the cases of London (2004) and Amsterdam (2006) are most prominent, but also "smaller" cities like Bristol (2011) or Malmo (2010) are pioneers in the field of urban food policy and planning (Morgan, 2009).

In the German context, urban food governance activities started late and have a limited visibility in the international community of scientists and practitioners, despite the urban gardening phenomenon. Due to the novelty of the topic and the limited information and scientific knowledge base regarding local food systems in Germany as well as municipal food policy and planning activities, we decided for an explorative research approach of national case study. In this paper we present experiences from ten large German cities (>500,000 inhabitants) and address the following research questions: (i) Which role does food policy and planning play in German cities? (ii) Who are relevant actors within the local food planning and policy activities? (iii) How do they shape the food system, more specifically, which instruments and measures do they apply and which resources do they have at their disposal?

## **2. Material and Methods**

Our exploratory approach consisted of three main elements: (i) analysis of websites and planning and policy documents, (ii) interviews with city officials in ten selected cities, and (iii) analysis of best practise examples.

Based on a screening of websites and planning and policy documents (preliminary research) among the fourteen largest cities in Germany (> 500,000 inhabitants), we identified ten cities applying "a basic approach" of urban food policy (Table 1). These ten cities were selected for the in-depth case study for which we conducted interviews with one expert per city in the city administrations (total number of interviews: n=10). We identified as experts, persons which have relevant knowledge about the food topic and/or are involved in relevant governance processes and/or were seen as representative for the organisation (Lamnek, 2010). With these persons (five male, five female), we conducted semi-structured telephone interviews between December 2013 and February 2014. The interviews took about 30-110 minutes, were recorded and

transcribed. The interview guideline with the working definition (see below) of a local food strategy was sent to the interview partners in advance, containing 25 questions regarding the following three major aspects: (i) Initiation of municipal food strategies and projects; (ii) actors and resources, and (iii) implementation of a food strategy (instruments and measures).

Based on the works of Morgan (2009), DVRPC (2010), Mansfield & Mendes (2013), Raja, Born, & Russell (2008) and Stierand (2014), we developed a working definition of “local food strategy”, which integrates food issues topics (of or) into other urban policies like agriculture, nutrition, health, education, economy, social or climate protection at local level. The strategy defines objectives, commitments, promotional programs and policies as well as related measures and tools on municipality level. Examples for concrete measures are the promotion of urban gardening and of distribution channels for direct marketing like farmers markets or market halls, as well as changes in public procurement policies in order to prefer regional or organic food provision or land zoning for agricultural land preservation.

Interview transcripts were analysed with the MAX QDA software package (version 12 of VERBI Software GmbH) according to the principles of qualitative content analysis as described by (Kuckartz, 2014).

For the analysis of best practise examples we used the interviews and municipal documents.

Table 1. Preliminary Research: Overview of the ten studied cities and affiliations of identified experts

	City	Population (in 1,000)*	Integrated local food strategy or planning	Single food related policy activities	Affiliation of the identified experts
1	Berlin	3,422	no	yes	Dept. for Environment and Nature
2	Munich	1,408	partly	yes	Dept. for Health and Environment
3	Hanover City Region	1,120	no	yes	Dept. for Environment and Green Space Planning
4	Cologne	1,034	no	yes	Local Agenda 21 office and Agency for Environmental and Consumer Protection
5	Frankfurt (Main)	701	no	yes	Dept. for Environment and Health
6	Stuttgart	604	no	yes	Dept. of Health
7	Düsseldorf	599	no	yes	Local Agenda 21 office at the Environmental Agency
8	Bremen	549	no	yes	Networking Agency for School Catering
9	Leipzig	532	no	yes	Dept. for Environment, Public Order and Sport
10	Nuremberg**	499	partly	yes	Dept. for Environment and Health

Source: own investigations (screening of official websites, inquiries at municipality administrations).

\*German Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt), reference date 31-12-2013.

\*\*we included Nuremberg, which has less than 500,000 inhabitants, but possesses a well communicated approach in the field of organic food.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Initiation of Municipal Food Strategies and Projects

According to the in-depth interviews, in the majority of eight cases a comprehensive food strategy as defined in the interview guideline was reported. Only the cities of Munich and Nuremberg show at least initial approaches to more comprehensive strategic food planning and policy. In section 3.4, these cases are further elaborated (Table 1). However, despite of the frequent absence of overarching strategies, all cities

have on-going, but rather individual and non-integrated food related policy activities and projects related with food and agriculture.

In principle those activities and project are driven by either internal, local initiatives or external drivers and support systems. Internally, a wide array of actors and decision-makers from administration, local legislation (e.g., city council), civil society (e.g., transition town movement) or local businesses (e.g., organic food producers) can be found as being initiators and driving forces behind the food policy and planning activities. Especially Local Agenda 21 processes and the related action programmes at local level plays a relevant role for the initiation of food projects in the studied cities. For example the farmer markets in Cologne and Dusseldorf were established with the involvement of the Agenda offices and other local actors.

Due to the limited room for manoeuvre of the municipalities, often policy actions, activities and projects rely on external triggers and funding sources, such as national and international programmes and promotional institutions (e.g., WHO Healthy Cities, School Fruit Scheme of the European Commission, Federal Organic Farming Programme). Also the cooperation with universities and research centres on the implementation of innovative and pilot projects, e.g., in the field of urban agriculture, was also mentioned as another external driver of food-related activities.

Besides these programs many of the studied cities are part of city alliances and networks working on special topics like climate, energy, health or organic food. Some cities gained momentum for common action from aiming at common targets, such as in candidature for nominations (e.g., “Fairtrade town”) or in competitions (“European Green Capital Award”). Further, the interviews have revealed that municipal actors are quite well-informed about food related activities in other cities. Particularly, Munich, Nuremberg, Hanover and Berlin, but also other smaller cities have been named as being best practice examples in the field of urban food governance.

### 3.2 Actors and Resources

Aiming at identifying relevant actors in local food planning and policy activities, we found in total, 164 actors named in the interviews. To distinguish between their roles, we categorized these identified actors into three groups, including (1) general actors for example identified as relevant for the urban food system, (2) project partners, that are involved in realized projects and (3) strategic partners that joined decision making processes, strategic planning in form of working groups, round tables etc. (Table 2).

Table 2. Actors and their roles in the food system and projects

Ranking of relevant actors	General actors in the local urban food system	Actors as project partners	Actors as strategic partners	Sum in actor groups
1	Administration (27)	Economy (23)	Civil Society (10)	Administration (49)
2	Civil Society (20)	Administration (18)	Economy (8)	Economy (47)
3	Economy (16)	Civil Society (10)	Administration (4)	Civil Society (40)
4	Other (15)	Other (7)	Other (2)	Other (24)
5	Policy (1)	Policy (2)	Policy (1)	Policy (4)

Source: own compilation based on interviews (frequency of references in the interviews, incl. double mentions).

General actors identified by the interviewed persons as “relevant” players in the local urban food system are based in administration, civil society (e.g., foundations and association in environmental and nature protection) and economy (mainly food producers and distributors). Public caterers (i.e., schools, hospitals, and enterprises), one-world-initiatives, consumer advice centres, churches and academia we subsumed under the category “Other”. Economic actors represent the most important partners in implemented projects, followed by administration and civil society. Civil society plays an important role in the planning and

institutionalization of cooperation structures such as thematic working groups and round tables. Hence, the interviewed persons seem to be quite aware of other actors in the food system and cooperate mainly with economy and civil society in concrete projects respectively strategic working groups at local level (Tab. 2).

The interviewed persons, who are involved in most of the identified urban food projects and processes are mainly located in the departments for environment and health or are linked with Local Agenda 21 offices (Figure 1).

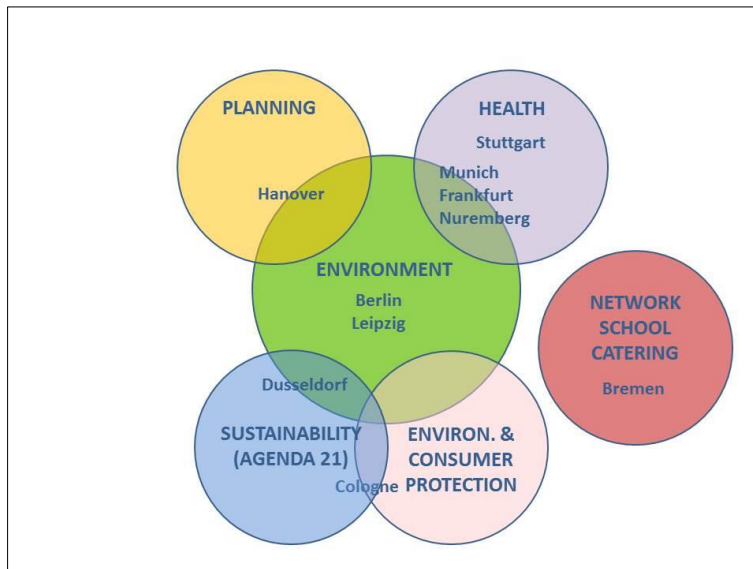


Figure 1 Sectorial responsibility of the identified food projects.  
Source: own illustration inspired by Hatfield (2012:16)

Furthermore, a large range of other departments is actually involved in the implementation of different food projects as well as steering processes or will be in the future. The interviewees named up to six other departments dealing with food issues on municipal level (Figure 2). A high number of involved departments can be found, if cities either conduct a lot of different projects (e.g. Dusseldorf) or follow an more integrated approach like Nuremberg (chapter 3.4).

All in all, we identified ten different departments in the cities, illustrating the wide range of food system actors even in the field of administration. Here the departments for health, environment, social affairs (incl. schools) are the most relevant actor groups in administration (Figure 2). Departments dealing with use of the urban space (city, green area and landscape planning, market office, real estate authority) were mentioned in fewer cities. This might indicate that the urban food topic is mainly perceived as an issue of health or environment and less of spatial planning.

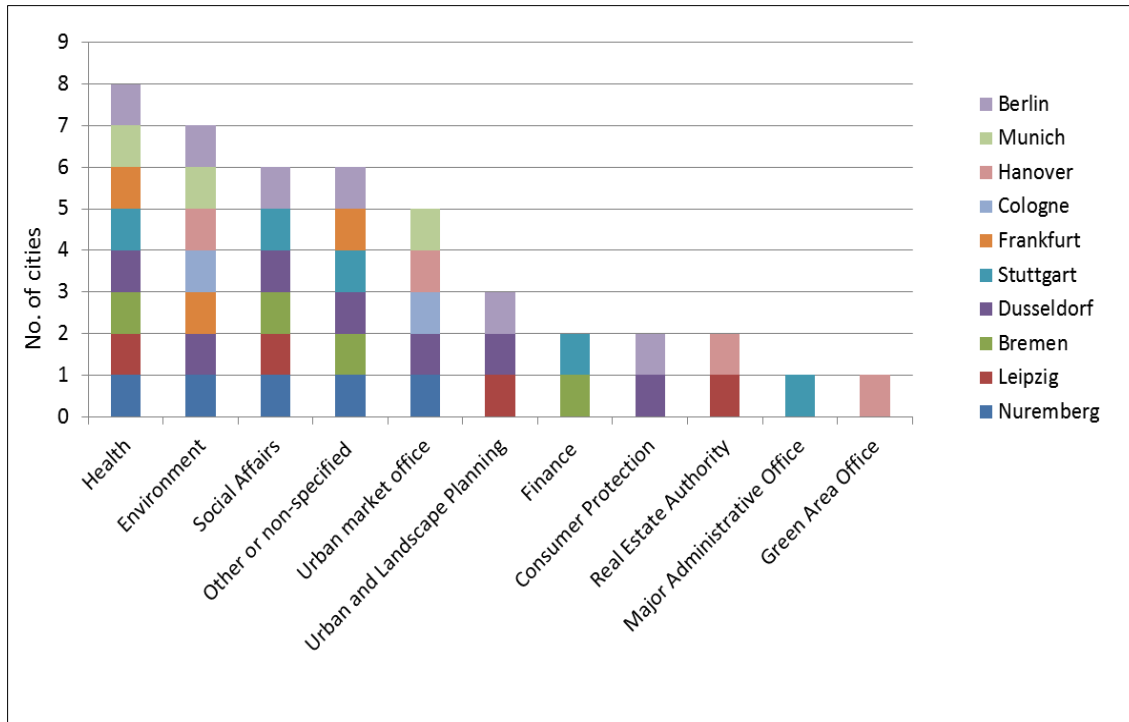


Figure 2 Range of city departments in urban food projects  
Source: Own compilation based on interviews.

Internal and external resources are used by actors in administration for shaping food issues at local level. External resources include European (three cases) and Federal funds (six cases). Otherwise, large environmental foundations (e.g. Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt), private sponsoring or penalty fees are providing financial support for project implementation.

The interviewees had often problems to estimate which financial and staffing resource the cities invest for food topics. Resources coming from public funding at local level are quite limited and the city administrations have mainly staffing resources at their disposal. In most of the cases people in existing positions deal with food topics, where they cover major or minor part of their daily work. Only three cities created additional positions. Basically one to five persons deal per city with food or agriculture in full time or part time. Two quotations from an interview summarize the situation in the following way: *“There are no specialist units or additional human resources, which are dealing with a sustainable food strategy in particular”* (verbatim translation of citation interview 8). *“My work was basically what the city invested in this issue”* (verbatim translation of citation in interview 5).

Three cities mentioned that they do not have (additional) financial resources for food topics. Financial resources from the city are sometimes available for the implementation of existing concepts or programs (climate protection, Local Agenda 21 etc.). Here actors have a budget e.g. to finance events, material for public relation, coordinate work or external advisory (Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, Munich, Bremen). Measures were also paid from the current budget of different departments or funds that cities have at their disposal. Other sources were used by chance within large singular projects like the EXPO 2000 in Hanover, where a lot of additional money came into: *“This is special project, which would have never been taken place, if it was not EXPO, where a lot of additional funding came in from different participants”* (verbatim translation of citation in interview 5).

As their contribution to the steering of food topics interviewees named also the participation or coordination of boards and cooperation with different local actors that initiated projects without funding from the city.



### 3.3 Implementation of urban food projects: Instruments and measures

All studied cities use a wide array of instruments for steering food topics at local level. Dominating are instruments aiming at the information and education of different target groups like children, adult consumers or canteens (Figure 3).

#### *Informational instruments*

Responsible persons apply different measures like events (e.g., meat-free days), offer information in form of press reports, websites, films or printed materials, organise exhibitions, public lectures or workshops. In some cases professional public relation offices work in this field. In the group of informational instruments we also summarized measures like advisory services, professional qualification in the field of housekeeping and school gardens. Administrative actors stated that they perform a lot of informal networking and information transfer. Beside this they establish more institutionalized fora for information and knowledge transfer like boards, round tables and working groups.

#### *Economic instruments*

Apart from these soft informational instruments city administrations strongly influence the urban food system by using their market power and formulate requirements for the purchasing in public canteens (schools, administrations, hospitals) or lease city owned land exclusively to organic farmers. In cooperation with private sector actors (enterprises, farming or marketing associations) they support regional marketing and also establish farmers markets and market halls within the city. In some cases cities fund projects and initiatives from their budget.

#### *Regulative instruments*

Regulative and planning instruments were used rarely. They consider the preservation of agricultural land and water catchment areas or the compliance with certain requirements (e.g., organic farming) on land which is rented by the cities. We identified two cities that have an informal planning for the agricultural land in their city region. This kind of planning aims at the preservation and greening of agriculture (Hanover) respectively the preservation of agricultural land and economic development in the case of Leipzig. Here the cities conduct monitoring of the agricultural area as well as of the number of farms and take influence on land use through the formulation of requirements like environmental friendly farming methods. The agricultural program of Hanover goes beyond existing landscape or rural development planning and measures, strengthening the urban-rural-linkages through shaping free space for recreation, providing fresh food for the urban citizens and creating income possibilities e.g. through the promotion of regional value chains etc.

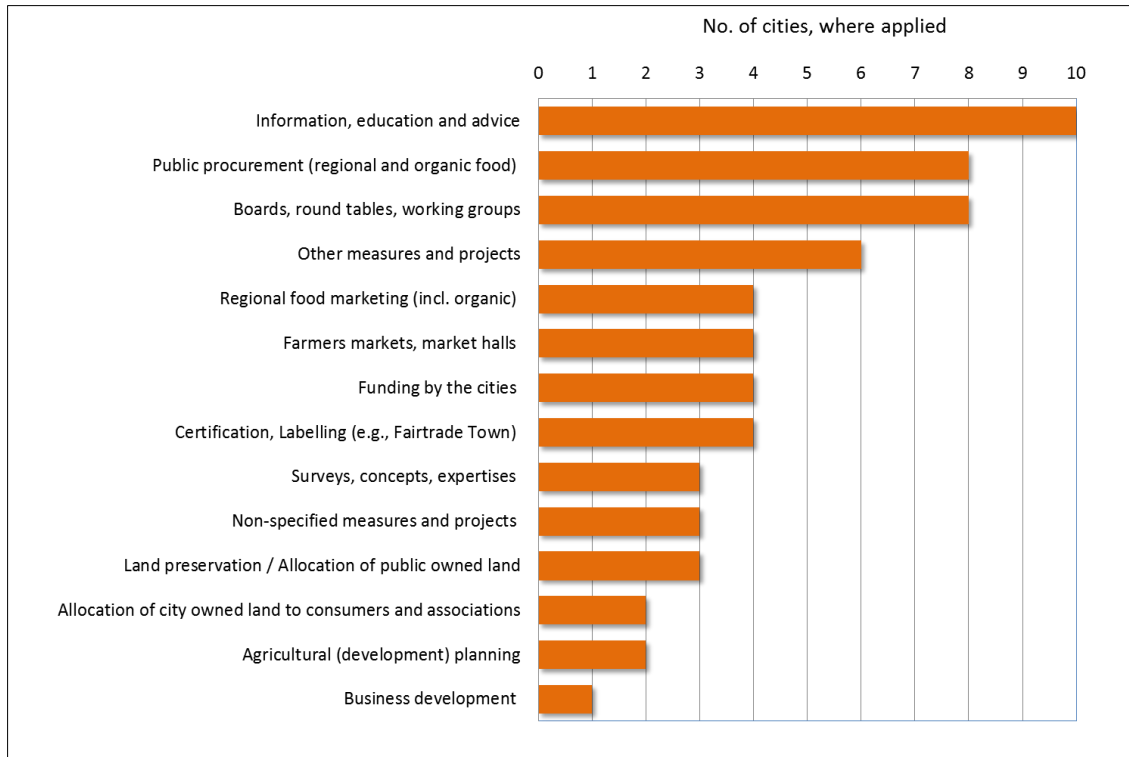


Figure 3. Application of instruments and measures in the studied cities.

Source: Own compilation based on interviews.

In order to identify good examples, we evaluated the identified instruments and measures more systematically by applying the differentiation into problem-oriented and opportunity-oriented project, introduced by Stierand (2012:12). On the one side, problem-oriented projects address one specific problem in connection with the urban food system and accordingly focus on a single target. On the other side, opportunity-oriented projects take the complexity and interconnectedness of issues related to the food system into consideration. Therefore they use a more strategic approach for the solution and consider the food system as potential for urban development.

The projects and related measures can exist on different spatial scales ranging from a plot to the city region. They can touch specific policy fields like health or climate protection or integrate different fields into more systemic, holistic approach (Figure 4). If we structure the projects and measures according to this scheme, it becomes obvious that most of the approaches applied by cities are rather problem-oriented than opportunity-oriented. They can be located on different scales, but have rarely a cross-sectorial approach. The organic food projects of Munich and Nuremberg (BioCity and BioMetropolis) constitute an exception of this pattern. We localize boards and working groups between problem- and opportunity-oriented approaches, because of their role as intermediaries or procedural instruments for a transformation towards more opportunity-oriented approaches.



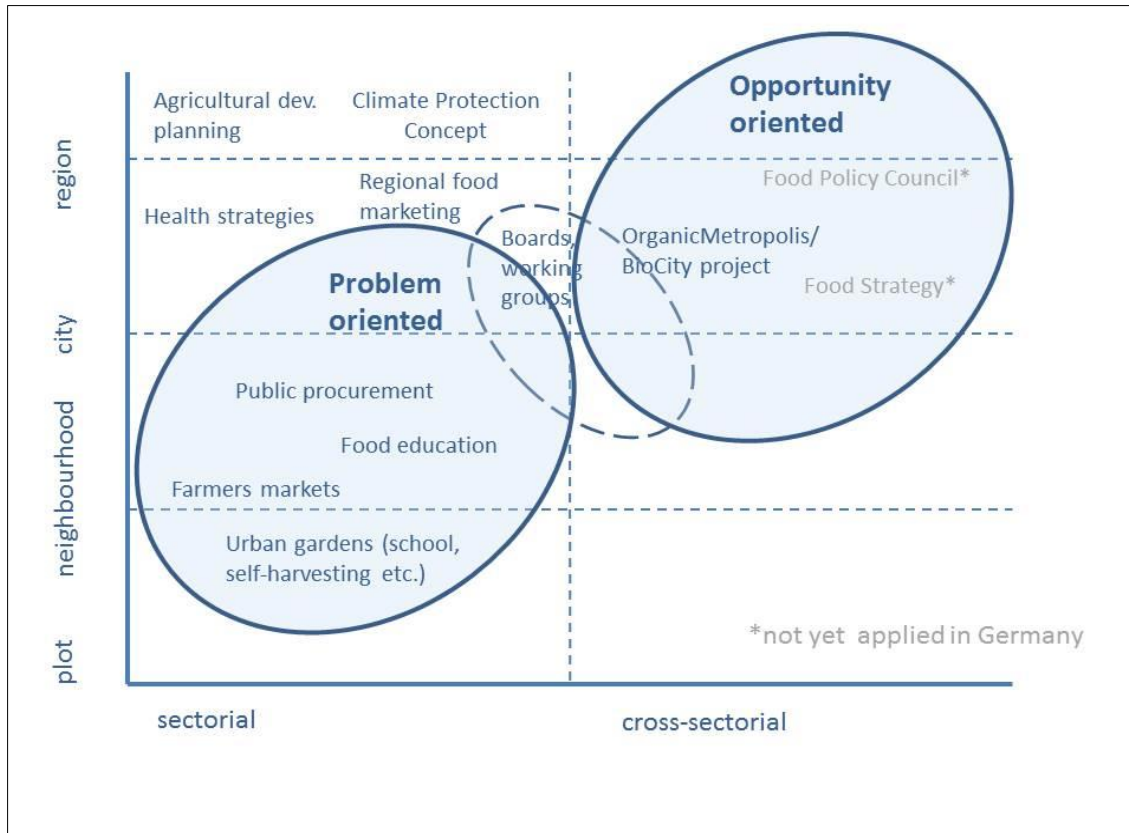


Figure 4: Orientation of approaches and projects applied by the studied cities  
 Source: Own compilation based on interviews and Stierand, (2012:12).

### 3.4 Urban Food Policy Best Practice: The Cases of Munich and Nuremberg

Among the observed case study cities, Munich and Nuremberg represent best-practice examples, as they are the only two cities that promote organic food with a broader urban policy approach. These approaches (BioCity Munich and Organic Metropolis Nuremberg) are well communicated and documented through city resolutions and reporting systems. The cities facilitate the implementation through self-commitments, adequate structures and resources.

In Munich the process for the BioCity project (“Biostadt München”) has been developed based on Local Agenda 21 processes and two city resolutions in the years 2006 and 2008. The resolutions define goals, and implementation incl. financing. Under the motto “ecological – regional – fair” the project aims at increasing the share of organic food from the region and fair traded food from the international market. Within the BioCity project there are three lead projects, which focus on different target groups: bio for children, bio in catering business and bio in city administration. Measures like public relations and consumer information aiming to increase the awareness for organic diet. In a recent resolution (2013) the city council decided to increase the share of regional organic products in city institutions and events up to 20%. A report for the city council about activities and achievements is planned for 2015, but has not been published yet (RGUM, 2006, 2008, 2013)

The Department of Health and Environment, Munich (RGUM) is responsible for the implementation and steering of activities. Therefore one major position was created additionally, so that two persons are responsible for the project. They have a fixed budget for equipment and activities for their disposal. The funding is carried out through redirection of funds and public-private-partnerships (RGUM, 2008)

In Nuremberg the steering of food topics started already in the year 2003 with the resolution to increasing the share of organic and regional products in public administration up to 10% within five years. In the last resolution of 2014 it was decided to proceed with the project Organic Metropolis Nuremberg (“BioMetropole Nürnberg”) until 2020 and achieve a share of 25% in city facilities and 20% organic agriculture in the region (Stadtrat Nürnberg, 2003, 2014)

In comparison to Munich, which focuses mainly on changes in food consumption, the approach of the city of Nuremberg is much broader and targets the whole food chain from agricultural production, over processing to consumption. For this aim the city formulated five action fields (Nürnberg, 2012), which include (i) Children and youth in schools and kindergartens; (ii) Events and markets; (iii) Canteen kitchens and bulk consumers; (iv) Consumer information and public relations; and (v) Promotion of organic enterprises and conversion to organic agriculture.

In the resolutions of 2003 and 2008 the municipality established a specific working group in the administration and assigned them with the responsibility to implement projects and reporting duties. Organic Metropolis Nuremberg and its forerunner projects are organized as horizontal projects with the involvement of various city departments. The project coordination is localized in the Department for Health and Environment, which have two full-time persons for the networking activities and internal and external communication. Only since 2008 the city committed itself to provide a fix budget and adequate personal resources. Additionally the responsible administrative actors acquire successful financial resources from sponsors and public funding programs (Nürnberg, 2008; Stadtrat Nürnberg, 2003).

The working group initiated a large regional network in order organise the activities and information flows more efficiently. As far as in the region a lot of organic food enterprises are located the cooperation and cross-linking with Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the guild of organic agri-food business (i. e. Bio Innung) and the Nuremberg Fair, which organise the BIOFACH – “the world’s leading trade fair for organic food” (Nürnberg Messe GmbH) are of strategic importance (Nürnberg, 2014). Together with Munich the city of Nuremberg promoted the German BioCity Network, which constituted in the year 2012 at the BIOFACH fair and cooperate with the European network “Città del Bio” (Nürnberg, 2014).

#### **4. Discussion**

Our findings show that in Germany integrated urban food policies and their communication and implementation in form of urban food plans or strategies are still in their beginnings. Actors in the administrative and planning departments are not aware about the concept of strategic urban planning and its potentials for urban development. But they are quite aware of other relevant actors in the food system and cooperate mainly with economy and civil society in concrete projects or strategic groups at local level. This constitutes a good basis for the future development of an urban food strategy.

Food-related policy and planning action is often driven by individuals in administration and civil society initiatives, but often lacking financial and staffing resources as well as continuity. The cities use for the implementation of their food policies mainly internal human resources and external funding, e.g., from funding programs on national and EU-level. The administrative actors are quite creative in acquiring external sources also from the private sector and foundations. However due the high dependency from existing funding schemes and periods we evaluate the urban governance capacity as rather limited. Moreover, due the difficult financial situation of many municipalities in Germany (e.g., Berlin, Bremen) it will be quite unlikely that there will be additional resources for designing and implementing an urban food strategy. In this case the establishment of Food Policy Councils by civil society in a first step could be an option.

Up to now, municipality administrations and other regional actors are engaged in the food topic with strong sector approach (like environmental, climate and farmland protection, economic development, social affairs and health) and use a wide array of steering instruments, where informational instruments and public procurement policies were dominating. Changing public procurement strategies by re-localizing, greening

and moralizing the purchasing of food is a powerful (market) instrument of city governments and semi-public actors for enhancing the sustainability of the food system (Sonnino, 2009; Wiskerke, 2009). Here we see also for German cities and towns a still unexploited potential (Arens-Azevedo, 2012; Morgan, 2006)

In our research we identified municipal approaches that are rather problem- than opportunity-oriented. Holistic approaches are mainly absent, with the exception of the organic food projects of the cities of Munich and Nuremberg. We find these good examples for urban food policies and furthermore cases for food sensitive planning (Donovan, Larsen, & McWhinnie, 2011) with the sectorial approach of municipal agricultural planning in Hannover and Leipzig. But we could not identify examples for an integrated urban or regional food (system) planning (APA, 2007; Raja, Born, & Russell, 2008). The status quo in Germany seems comparable with the situation in the United States around 15 years ago as described by Pothukuchi & Kaufman (2000).

Food system planning and other complex issues like sustainability (e.g., Local Agenda 21) or climate protection are quite new fields for policy and planning on the municipal level. They have in common the need for cross-sectorial thinking, a limited body of regulatory instruments and resources for policy implementation on this level (Mendes, 2008).

The mainstreaming of the food topic, e.g. through international initiatives, the participation in thematic city networks, EU policy schemes (e.g. school fruit scheme) or the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (2015) can serve as driver for an enhanced commitment and awareness-raising at local level. Especially thematic city networks can be adequate working platforms for knowledge exchange and fostering innovation in this field. More integrated urban food policies are needed to overcome sectorial thinking and acknowledge the cross-cutting nature of food policy.

Driven by the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact ("Milan Urban Food Policy Pact") two of the studied cities (Berlin, Cologne) have recently created Food Policy Councils. While in Cologne the city administration is involved, we can observe in Berlin the parallel development of a municipal initiative (top down) and a network of citizens (bottom up) including actors from policy, civil society, NGOs, farmers, gardeners, academia etc. This shows again that cities development governance structures and instruments which reflect their local needs and capacities.

## 5. Conclusions

If policy and planning in cities and towns came to the decision that food is an important urban topic and should be steered, place based strategies and approaches are required. Also resource allocation models are needed, starting with informal knowledge exchange. In addition, institutionalised steps like the development of networks, sharing experiences on different funding options or on personnel resource sharing make sense. Also professional innovation brokerage for food policy, and forms aiming at establishing new financing models within established and novel institutions could become promising models. A more targeted selection of policies and implementation of instrument mix should be applied: Already a smarter integration of existing policies and instruments might be valuable to reaching urban food policy objectives to a higher degree of effectiveness (reaching objectives) or efficiency (reducing cost). Promising novel combinations might lie in combined information support measures, connected to novel civil society based financing mechanisms (e.g. crowd funding) and to incentives for cooperation between farmers and consumer groups (rural development payments, European Innovation Partnerships).

The study presents a snapshot of the situation in German city administration and is based on single actor perspectives from city administration so far. In the on-going research we want to deepen the questions of legitimation, barriers and achievements. Future research about food policy and planning in Germany could touch topics like food governance in smaller cities and city regions, the role of actors outside administration, study the governance processes in the establishment of Food Policy Councils in German cities and towns or check the feasibility of existing regulatory and planning instruments for urban food planning.

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### **Interviews:**

Berlin: Staff member at the Department for Environment and Nature [Umwelt- und Naturschutzamt, Berlin-Lichtenberg], 07-02-2014, 1h18.

Munich: Staff member in the BioCity project at the Department for Health and Environment [Referat Gesundheit und Umwelt, (RGUM)], 10-01-2014, 1h20.

Hanover: Staff member at the Department for Environment and Green Space Planning [Fachbereich Umwelt und Stadtgrün], 19-12-2013, 1h25.

Cologne: Staff member at the Agency for Environmental and Consumer Protection and member in the Local Agenda office [Amt für Umwelt- und Verbraucherschutz und Lokale Agenda ("KölnAgenda" ], 18-12-2013, 56 min.

Frankfurt (Main): Staff member at the Department for Environment and Health [Dezernat Umwelt und Gesundheit], 16-12-2013, 1h48.

Stuttgart: Staff member at the Health Department [Gesundheitsamt], 19-12-2013, 39 min.

Düsseldorf: Staff member and coordinator of the Local Agenda Office at the Department for Environment [Agenda Koordination im Umweltamt], 19-12-2013, 59 min.

Bremen: Staff member at the Networking Agency for School Catering [Vernetzungsstelle Schulverpflegung im Land Bremen], 14-01-2014, 45 min.

Leipzig: Staff member at the Department for Environment, Public Order and Sport [Dezernat Umwelt, Ordnung, Sport], 20-12-2013, 27 min.

Nuremberg: Project manager of Organic Metropolis Nuremberg at the Department for Environment and Health [Referat für Umwelt und Gesundheit, BioMetropole Nürnberg], 18-12-2013, 42 min.