Food Movements, Resistance, and new digital repertoires in (post-)pandemic times

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Abstract

While the Covid-19 pandemic demonstrated the vulnerability of the global food system, new resilient repertoires of collective action also showed how to overcome the multiple dimensions of this crisis. Food movements played an important role in creating innovative alternatives for a more just food system. In Germany, the pandemic affected and continues to affect agri-food relations. This article argues that digital communication was an important tool to connect people for purposes beyond sharing food and supporting food-related needs. Social media became a virtual platform for social mobilisation and innovation around food alternatives during and in a (post-) pandemic world. Two relevant actors in the German food mobilisation were the protest campaign Wir haben es satt! and the food movement Slow Food Germany. The work presented here is based on digital ethnographies and an analysis of documents from the period 2020-2022. The analysis focuses on how these two movements dealt with the crisis scenario, in relation to three classic levels of protest and social movement research: (1) actor level; (2) action level; and (3) transformation level. The comparison shows that both movements developed innovative digital and hybrid repertoires of collective action, and fostered coalitions between actors fighting for a socio-ecological transformation of the food system.

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Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic – exacerbated in many places by the consequences of the climate emergency, the biodiversity crisis, and the Russian war in Ukraine – revealed the vulnerability of the current food system. Inequalities and injustices in global value chains, local food shortages and food insecurity became topical once again and part of global and German political debates (Birner et al., 2023; Open Society, 2020). These interconnected crises affected people, animals, nature and the environment in various dimensions and at different scales (Sanderson Bellamy et al., 2021). In particular, neo-colonial continuities of oppression, exploitation, and power inequalities related to food production and access to healthy and good food became visible in various scenarios in Germany – reflecting the consequences of modern neo-liberal capitalist and patriarchal social structures (Brückner et al., 2021).

Such moments of rupture are crucial starting points for social mobilisation and counter-action by activists and a mobilised civil society. In this sense, this article considers how social movements adapted and mobilised in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic. Before this crisis, there were already solutions and ideas to address food inequality and insecurity in different contexts; nevertheless, new solidarity and repertoires of collective action emerged, showing how the multiple dimensions of this crisis could be overcome (Sanderson Bellamy et al., 2021). In this paper, we argue that digital communication was a significant tool to connect and mobilise people politically in Germany, and not only to share food, help one another with food supplies, and exchange experiences and ideas about where to find healthy food and how to prepare it. Social media became a fundamental platform for agri-food relations, creating new connections and collaborations between food producers, retailers and consumers (Hidayah et al., 2021). Furthermore, digital communication and action fostered social mobilisation and innovation around food alternatives during the pandemic and in a (post-) pandemic world (Lewis, 2018; Rohlinger and Corrigall-Brown, 2018). This article examines the new repertoires developed by two relevant actors in the German food mobilisation: the protest campaign Wir haben es satt! (WHES) [We are fed up!] and the food movement Slow Food Germany (SFD). Both demonstrated innovative digital means and hybrid repertoires of collective action. They also built networks of solidarity with other actors to foster a coalition of food movements and initiatives fighting for a socio-ecological transformation of the German food system.

The paper draws on ethnographic work and documentary analysis (see more in Section 2.3). We present the results of our analysis according to three classical levels of protest and social movement research (Calderón and Castells, 2020; Castells, 2007, 2017; Milan, 2015; Rohlinger and Corrigall- Brown, 2018; Van Dyke and Amos, 2017): (1) actor level; (2) action level; and (3) transformation level. First, we present the actors of the movements, but remain at a descriptive level. Second, we examine the practices with a focus on the new digital repertoires of collective action (Selander and Jarvenpaa, 2016). Third, on the transformation level, we examine the demands and goals of the actors. The last two axes form the basis of the final comparison between SFD and WHES.

This article is divided into five sections. First, after this brief introduction, we discuss the key concepts of this work, such as food movements and the new repertoires of collective action. Second, we present the state of the art, situate it in the German context, and then introduce our studied cases and outline the methodology. Third, we discuss the findings on innovative repertoires of collective action from the first case study, SFD. Fourth, the protest campaign WHES is analysed to trace the impact of the Covid- 19 pandemic on their collective actions. Finally, a comparison of the two cases is made to identify and discuss similarities and differences between their innovative repertoires.

Food movements and the Covid-19 pandemic

The global food system and its agricultural economy are characterised by power dynamics and hierarchies, in which food plays a critical role in generating or perpetuating multiple dimensions of inequality (Friedmann,

1982, 1993; Motta, 2021b; Patel, 2007). Moreover, changes in the food system are closely linked to entangled global social and environmental crises, given the scale and speed of such changes and the inequalities they reinforce. The disruptions caused by these crises hit certain groups of people the hardest, leading to an increase in social, gender, generational and ethnic inequalities (Della Porta, 2021). Additionally, the Covid-19 pandemic was more than a public health emergency; it can be described as a triple crisis, with health, environmental and economic dimensions (Delanty, 2021). These instances of disruption provide critical opportunities for social mobilisation around food.

Social movements are advocating for a fundamental transformation of the food system at local, national, and international levels. The umbrella term "Food Movements" (Motta, 2021a) includes peasant movements, food sovereignty movements, alternative food networks (AFNs) and initiatives, rural feminist movements, food justice movements, and agroecological movements, and should be understood as an analytical concept. However, the food movement concept is not intended to cover all the aims and historical aspects of different food movements in their specific contexts. Rather, it seeks to bring together a wide range of actors who are actively engaged in transforming food systems. Social innovations and mobilisations around food offer a unique opportunity to witness and analyse social transformation, as they play an active role in changing the landscape of food politics and food systems (Alkon and Agyeman, 2011; Allen, 2010; Counihan and Siniscalchi, 2013; Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2008; Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; Motta, 2021a).

Food movements have mobilised around concepts such as food sovereignty, food democracy, and food justice, among others (Alkon and Agyeman, 2011; Guthman, 2011; La Via Campesina, n.d.; Slocum, 2007). Despite the different approaches and agendas within the heterogeneity of food movements, they share a rejection of the current neo-colonial and capitalist food system (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; Holt-Gimenez and Patel, 2012) and offer alternative practices to address the growing structural challenges at different scales, drawing on local and regional strategies and knowledge (Jarosz, 2014). These discourses and practices travel across transnational networks, but they are also specific to their contexts. Food-related discourses provide a means of understanding local struggles, their transformative potential, the scales at which they can operate, and their ability to transcend spatial and social boundaries (Motta, 2021a).

Food movements, like other social movements, use traditional repertoires of protest, such as demonstrating and occupying the streets; but they also employ non-traditional ones, such as using everyday practices and alternative economic models to shape their strategies (Fladvad, 2018; Gibson- Graham, 2008). Such practices often involve community-based and equitable food production, distribution, and allocation, and recognise the role of food as a unifying element between people and a relationship builder between humans, animals, and nature (Wichterich, 2002).

The concept of "Food Inequalities" shaped by Renata Motta (2021a) shows how multiple structural forces (economic, political, environmental, cultural, epistemological, etc.) are always interconnected with plural and intersectional inequalities (gender, race, class, etc.) and need to be analysed from a multi-scalar and relational perspective. Examining the complex interplay of structural, intersectional, and spatial inequalities addressed by food movements guides us in identifying approaches and windows of opportunity for social-ecological transformations of the food system. Therefore, when analysing two movements during the Covid-19 crisis in Germany, it is essential to be aware of the history and discourses specific to their context (see more in Section 2.2).

New repertoires of collective action: insights from food movements

Today, social mobilisation is strongly influenced by digitalisation and has thus shifted discussions to areas and people that would otherwise be difficult to reach with more traditional protest actions (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2013). This hybrid nature of digital protest actions and communication brings out a new multidimensionality of the public sphere (Calderón and Castells, 2020). It reflects the relational nature and embedded power hierarchies; the public sphere is not a neutral place, but a network of constantly changing power relations,

with many different temporalities and spheres of negotiation (Fuchs, 2022). Building on Tilly's (1977) concept of the collective action repertoire as a distinct mix of tactics and strategies developed and used collectively by protest groups to enforce demands on individuals or groups, Van Laer and Van Aelst (2013) analysed how the internet has influenced the development of this collective action repertoire within social movements seeking social and political
change.

> *On the one hand, the Internet facilitates and supports (traditional) offline collective action in terms of organisation, mobilisation and transnationalization and, on the other hand, it creates new modes of collective action. The Internet has indeed not only supported traditional offline social movement actions such as the classical street demonstrations and made them more transnational, but is also used to set up new forms of online protest activities to create online modes of existing offline protest actions. By doing so the Internet has expanded and complemented today's social movement 'repertoires of collective action' [Tilly 1984; McAdam et al. 2001] (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2013: 231).*

Digital repertoires of collective action refer to the strategies and tactics that social movements use in the digital realm to advance their goals and mobilise support (Chadwick, 2007). Common elements of digital repertoires of collective action include social media campaigns, online petitions, hacktivism, email bombs, virtual sit-ins and protest websites, etc. (Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2013). These digital repertoires have become an integral part of contemporary social movements, allowing for rapid communication, the mobilisation of global support, and the amplification of messages – making it easier for movements to influence public opinion and effect change. However, they also present their own set of challenges and ethical considerations, such as the spread of misinformation and the potential for surveillance and repression by authorities, as well as the issue of unequal access, known as the digital divide (Norris, 2001).

In order to look at the changes in the repertoires of collective action due to the pandemic, it is necessary to compare the main tactics and strategies of the two food movements before, during and after the crisis. In this paper, digital or hybrid repertoires were specifically identified and analysed as the main formats of collective action, due to contact restrictions and bans on street mobilisation. To be able to localize these concepts and debates, we focus now on the two case studies discussed in this paper.

Food movements in Germany and the Covid-19 pandemic

Slow Food was one of the first food movements in Europe, a new social movement in the sense of Castells (2010). The movement seeks to transform the agro-industrial food system because it is unsustainable, socially unjust, and produces nutritionally unsafe food. It calls for a relocalization of the food system (Allen, 2010; Goodman et al., 2012). Slow Food began in northern Italy as a way of reaffirming local food culture and resisting the homogenisation promoted by changes in the food system. The group of founders wanted to bring the pleasure of eating good food and drinking good wine, as part of the local culture, into political engagement within the Communist and Socialist parties. Slow Food has many facets, which makes it difficult to define. It is a social movement but it also acts as an NGO, a foundation, and even an event organizer and business owner (Siniscalchi, 2013). In this paper we consider it as a social movement, something that can encompass all these other aspects, since it is an organisation that seeks social change through mobilisation (Touraine, 1985). Slow Food Germany (SFD) was founded in 1992. It is the first and one of the strongest national associations in the movement outside of Italy, with around 11,000 members who work in local chapters called convivium. It began as a place where people who liked good food, mainly from Italy, could meet and eat together. Despite its hedonistic aspect, in the last decade the SFD has taken a more political direction, engaging in debates on social issues surrounding agri-food relations and forging various alliances.

The second case study is the collective protest action Wir haben es satt! (WHES). Organised in January every year since 2011, in Berlin, it brings together food movements (including Slow Food Germany) in the coalition Meine Landwirtschaft [My agriculture]. Since its inception, more than 55 supporting food movements have joined the coalition, which is responsible for gathering and preparing a campaign and a large protest march. The diversity of its activists – farmers, environmental movements, animal welfare organisations, global justice

movements, international development NGOs, etc. – constitutes a broad alliance demanding an agrarian and food turnaround, that is, an agrarian, ecological and socially more just, animal- and environmentally-friendly agrarian and food system in Germany and worldwide (Meinecke et al., 2021). The coalition is an important critic of the hegemonic German food system, which petitions the federal government to change its socially unjust and unsustainable food policies. It chooses a different slogan every year to address specific problems in the German system, such as the monopolisation of supermarkets, the regulation of GMOs, the decline of small-scale farming, the violent conditions of animal husbandry, and so on. On the one hand, the heterogeneity of the actors in the coalition can be seen as its greatest potential, as it brings together different perspectives and agendas. As a result, actors join forces and, as a "socio-ecological coalition" (Motta, 2022), have a stronger political voice and influence on food policy. On the other hand, alliance building is also structured by differences and power struggles.

Placing these two movements in the context of the pandemic and related crises in Germany, it becomes clear that the discourses around food in German society have changed, as we will show and discuss throughout this paper. Suddenly, certain foods became temporarily unavailable, food prices began to rise, and some people did not have access to good or sufficient food. As the first waves of Covid-19 hit Germany, food insecurity suddenly became part of the public concerns of the German population, rather than being associated with distant problems in the so-called 'Global South' and 'development programme'. According to the Federal Statistical Office (2022), consumer food price inflation was over 20% in 2022. This has exacerbated the food situation of people who already live in poverty and/or are threatened by poverty and "first world hunger" (Riches and Silvasti, 2014). While food security was previously invisible in many places, it has now become clear that it also exists in Germany; in 2021, an estimated 12.5 million people in Germany were at least temporarily affected (Bundestag, 2022). According to the FAO, 1.1 per cent of German households are severely food insecure, i.e. are exposed to a "high probability of reduced food intake and therefore can lead to more severe forms of undernutrition, including hunger" (FAO, 2021). In recent political debates and discourses, many actors from the political sphere and civil society have spoken of food poverty – Ernährungsarmut in German – when referring to the interrelations between socio-economic and class struggles and the access to good and healthy food in the German context (Biesalski, 2021; Birner et al., 2023; Pfeiffer, 2014; Von Normann, 2011). Unlike most concepts of food insecurity, this one distinguishes between "material and social food poverty" (Feichtinger, 1996), specifically targeting inequalities and deprivation at the societal level.

SFD's collective actions can be grouped around three axes: education of children and young people, including awareness-raising campaigns; biodiversity, with projects to promote the commercial value of local food products threatened by homogenisation; and advocacy, influencing public policies at local, national and European level. Environmental issues, the consumption of locally produced food and animal welfare are common topics of discussion. Slow Food is a consumer movement that brings together different components of the food system, from producers to consumers, through chefs and other economic actors in the food sector, academics and policy makers (Kalix Garcia, 2023). Although there are different lines of collective action in SFD, with some groups being more gourmet and others more political, they have one thing in common: their activities are based on meeting around food – either in fancy restaurants or at DIY (do it yourself) picnics (Kalix Garcia, 2023). Before the pandemic, their digital repertoire of collective action was still limited, mainly to online campaigns at the European level.

The WHES protest, on the other hand, emerged as a counter-mobilisation (Fraser, 2017; Motta, 2022) against the annual agricultural fair Green Week in the German capital. WHES takes place on the weekend before the fair and is the main collective action of the Meine Landwirtschaft coalition. As mentioned above, this is a broad coalition that includes peasants, environmentalists, animal welfare groups, global justice activists, and international development NGOs. They campaign for a more equitable, ecologically sound, socially just, animal-friendly, and environmentally sustainable agricultural and food system. Over the years, the demonstration has mobilised between 10,000 and 50,000 people from across Germany. Before the pandemic, in January 2020, 27,000 people occupied the streets of Berlin. The traditional repertoire of collective action of the

Meine Landwirtschaft coalition includes personal interaction, such as workshops, street marches and political actions with visual statements at political landmarks. Before the pandemic, it already had a digital repertoire of collective action, but like the SFD, was limited to smaller online campaigns and photo actions.

Methodological approach

The analysis of what we call digital or hybrid repertoires of collective action of food movements in Germany is based on digital ethnography (Hine, 2000; Pink et al., 2016; Postill and Pink, 2012), followed by qualitative content analysis (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2022; Mayring, 2022). Digital ethnography is a research method used to study and understand the behaviours, practices, and cultures of online communities and digital spaces (Hine, 2000; Pink et al., 2016). By adapting traditional ethnographic research techniques, such as participant observation, data collection, field notes and interviews, we conducted our digital ethnographies with the movements and their respective actors.

Ethical considerations and our reflexivity as researchers play an important role in the work presented here, especially when dealing with personal information, consent, and privacy concerns.[1] Our digital ethnographies followed SFD and WHES over a period of almost two years (2020-2022) with varying degrees of intensity, focusing mainly on key moments of protest action for this first phase of fieldwork and data collection. In total, we collected material from 7 different online campaigns, 5 hybrid protest actions and 2 hybrid collective experiences. In addition, Lea Zentgraf participated in the two major hybrid protests in 2021 and 2022, accompanying activists online and on the streets, and Thalita Kalix participated in the hybrid collective experiences. In a second phase, the resulting data was analysed with deductive categories following the methodology of Mayring (2022), and systematised along different axes of food inequalities (Motta, 2021a). Conducting a comparative ethnography between social movements of different scales, and doing so during the pandemic, posed a number of challenges. It meant that, as researchers, we had to apply more tools to deal with the complexities of each reality and make them comparable (Castañeda Salgado, 2010; de Suremain, 2019). On the other hand, the data generated by such contextual diversity is particularly rich and allows for a more meaningful comparative analysis. It is crucial to always keep in mind that these are localised cases and spatialities, that the aim is not to generalise, but to understand exactly their particularities and to analyse how they can communicate, coexist or even complement each other. As Conway argues:

> *The recognition and valorization of social struggles at various scales and arising from distinct places enacts an expanding politics of diversity and recognition that acknowledges the multiplicity of alternative visions, values and world views, and the presence of existing "other worlds." Such a spatial praxis instantiates relations among social movements at different scales that are more horizontal and less hierarchical and are characterised by greater reciprocity, dialogue, mutual respect, and recognition. It invokes an alternative socio-spatial imaginary of both the global and the movement as rooted in places/locales that are dispersed, diverse, and increasingly densely networked in a huge variety of ways, rather than as single and unitary (Conway, 2008: 223).*

By comparing the two cases, this paper shows how two different social movements adapted and mobilised in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic, helping to identify which repertoires of collective action can be drivers of social change in the face of crisis. Although SFD and Meine Landwirtschaft communicate, coexist and complement each other, they are very different in terms of history, organisational structures, political agendas and protest repertoires. We argue that by comparing a more established and traditional food movement (SFD) and a more heterogeneous socio-ecological coalition (WHES), it is possible to identify adaptations at different scales. As we have clarified and discussed the theoretical framework, the context of the cases studied

[1] In this sense, we also want to reflect briefly on our own positionality and potential biases: Thalita Kalix's doctoral research brought her into contact with activists and leaders in *SFD* before the pandemic and the shift of many collective actions to new digital and hybrid formats. As such, her interactions in the digital realm were shaped and facilitated by her previous experiences and collaborations with the movement. The data presented here on *WHES* is part of a larger research project within the Junior Research Group *Food for Justice: Power, Politics and Food Inequalities* (Motta, 2021a). Some findings have already been published so far, including on the coalition politics (Motta, 2022) and data from a protest survey (Meinecke et al., 2021). Lea Zentgraf joined this collaborative research in 2021 to organise the data collection and analysis of digital repertoires. Her research builds on the contacts and previous studies of the research group, which also facilitated her access to the field.

here and the methodological approaches used, we move on to analysing the two movements: Slow Food Germany and Wir Haben es Satt!

Slow Food Germany

As noted above, while the different forms of collective engagement within SFD may vary, with some groups leaning towards gourmet experiences and others more towards political engagement, they have one thing in common: their activities revolve around gatherings focused on food, whether in upscale restaurants or at informal picnics. When the Covid-19 pandemic swept through Germany in March 2020, the transition to online activities was a major challenge for SFD.
Everything goes online

Slow Food Youth Germany (SFY), the only chapter whose members are spread across the country rather than localised, brings together around 200 activists aged between 18 and 35 and has been quicker to adapt its repertoire to digital formats. Previously, the young activists, living in different parts of the country, met twice a year for a weekend and were in touch by phone or video for specific projects. When the pandemic hit, they not only changed the communication platform, setting up a Telegram group and monthly Zoom meetings, but were also able to mobilise and create new ways of sustaining their activism. In fact, the group met more often than usual during the first months of the pandemic. The digital sphere became fundamental not only to mobilise but also to strengthen internal communication. In many social movements, these channels were seen to play a crucial role in facilitating rapid response and networking in the context of a dynamic pandemic situation, particularly through features such as chat groups (Kavada, 2022; Mayer et al., 2021). In Zoom meetings, SFY members shared their experiences and struggles in their work, their lives, and their cities, creating new networks of solidarity across scales. The meetings were structured and planned by an organising team that changed each time and always had an agenda, with strategies that the group had already used before.

There were several collective actions and campaigns forged by SFY in 2020. The first was #SlowFoodSolidarity #StayHomeStaySlow, which aimed to encourage people to stay at home whenever possible and to support those who could not do so. Within the group there were some workers, such as bakers and farmers, who had to continue working, and others, also in the food sector, who lost their jobs. However, many members were able to work from home. Solidarity would mean looking for ways to help producers and food workers get through this crisis, as well as solidarity with everyone who stayed at home to help control the virus.

The first traditional collective action they had to adapt from offline to online was the World Disco Soup Day, as early as April 2020. The event has taken place every year since 2017 on an international level, with each location promoting its Disco Soup (Schnippeldisko) at the same time. The format was created in Berlin in 2011 as part of the first WHES protest campaign and was taken up internationally by SFY. This is a big party to raise awareness about food waste. It combines the collective preparation of a meal with food that would otherwise go to waste, with music, performances and talks about food waste and other problems in the current food system. In 2020, the challenge was to take it into the digital realm. The German edition took place on Zoom, with different 'rooms' for the dozens of participants to interact while cooking at home. There was also a live broadcast on YouTube of the Zoom collective room, with music and some talks by Slow Food activists and partner movements and organisations, such as representatives from Fridays for the Future.

Figure 1. *German participation on the World Disco Soup Day. "Live from your own four walls", started with activists hitting their pots and pans in an "Alarm for the food change".*

Source: @SlowFoodDeutschland YouTube reproduction

The format was repeated in 2021 and 2022, still under the pandemic restrictions, with some changes. With more time to prepare for it, and the experience of 2020, discussion groups and workshops were planned to make the event more engaging. However, in 2023, with the end of the pandemic's restrictions, the event reverted to an in-person format.

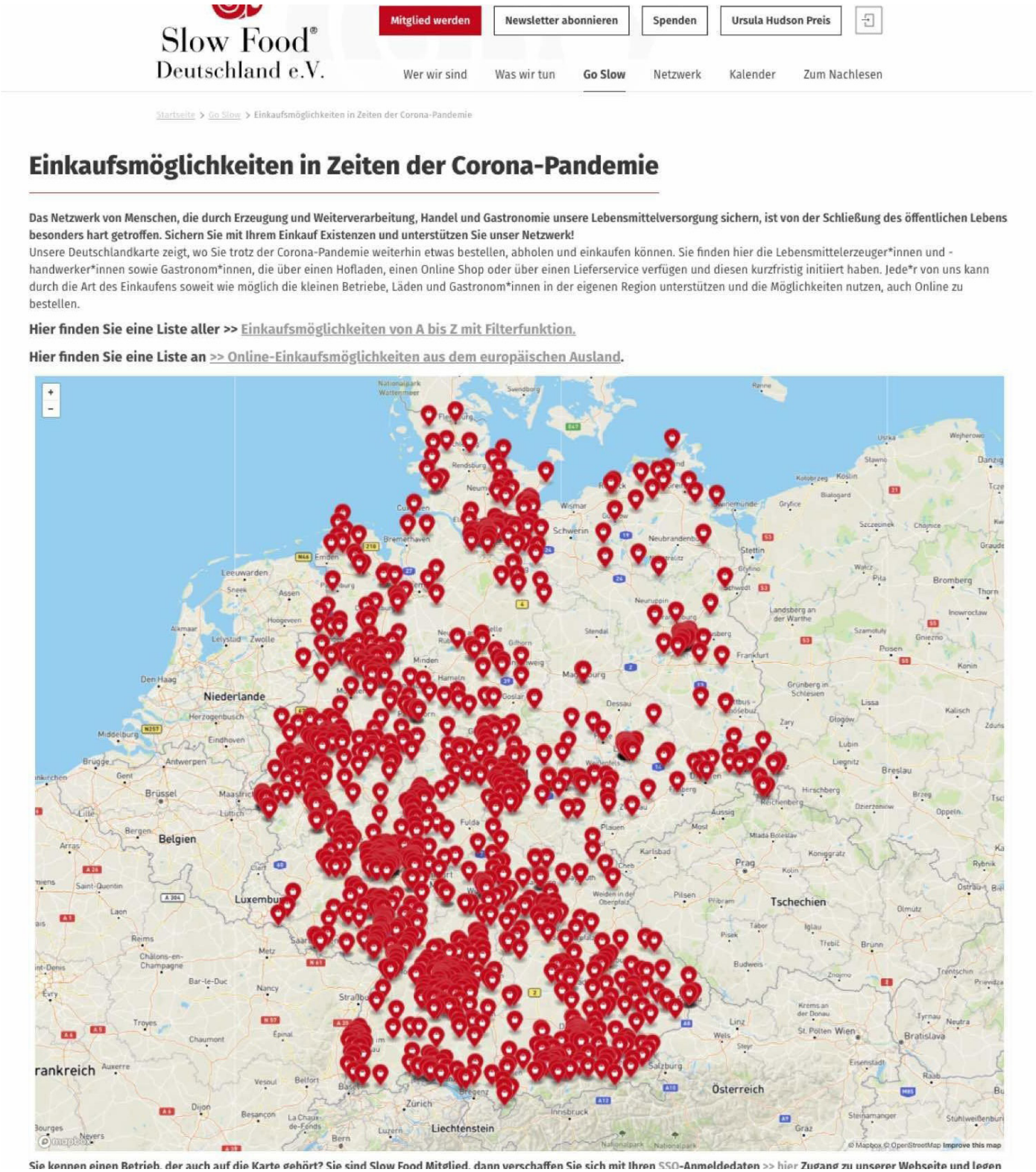
New formats, same scope: SFD Map and Taste@Home

As well as adapting existing events to take place online, new collective actions were created within the SFD during the pandemic. One of the first was a map on the SFD website where people could find and contact food producers involved in the movement across the country. The project started a few weeks after the start of the pandemic, as it took some time to create and select participants. Only companies associated with the movement were eligible to appear on the map, which was hosted on the SFD website. This was done to attract curious people to the food movement and to raise general interest in its agenda. Eventually, the map became a permanent feature of the SFD website, serving as a tool to facilitate interactions between producers and consumers.

New to the movement's repertoire of collective action was the organisation of online tastings. This format not only allowed consumers to have 'live' contact with producers, but also widened the range of people who were familiar with the movement. At local level, SFY Berlin launched a project called Taste@Home, where a selection of products such as bread, cheese, antipasti, and so on from the Berlin and Brandenburg area were assembled into a tasting box. This was then distributed by bicycle couriers on a specific date. On the same day, they organised a tasting dinner via Zoom. The decision on who would take part in the project was based on the producers' need for support because, as a member explained, "corona is super harmful to the retail sector and restaurants":

> *[...] it was great. And then what was thrilling, it widened up the possibilities of how to organise events because the winegrower also participated [...]in the south of Germany that evening and spoke about how she cultivates wine. And it is totally an opportunity. And also, Anna from Stolzen Kuh was there because we had salami or cheese. [...]. And she wouldn't have come for an evening tasting in Berlin. But sitting two hours in front of a computer, closing it and feeding again animals: brilliant. YES. That was something where I thought 'Okay, some things are easier online'. And yes, for some people, it was a new opportunity (H., 2020, in interview to Kalix Garcia, 2023).*

Figure 2. *SFD Map of producers and restaurants*



Source: SFD website reproduction

The same format, but on a larger, national scale, was launched by SFD. The first was a wine tasting, as the movement's wine commission was researching and learning more about sustainable ways to produce the traditional drink. They sent out a box with six bottles of wine and instructions on what to serve with them.

Figure 3. *Tasting boxes from SFY Berlin, SF Akademie and SFD chocolates and Ark products.*

Source: @slowfoodyouth_berlin Instagram reproduction (left) and own work (others)

The tasting was broadcast on Zoom with a sommelier and some of the producers. Later, on the occasion of Terra Madre, Slow Food's major international event held every two years in Italy, which would be transformed into an online version in 2020, SFD organised more tastings in this format.

The big difference between the SFY Berlin project and the national ones was the scale and the publicity. While the youth group focused its publicity on social media (mainly Instagram and Telegram), the SFD marketed its tastings through newsletters and its website. The first strategy easily reached people outside the movement, while the second was a way of reaching potential new members, as these tasting boxes were usually for more than two people. In addition, the SFY tasting was cheaper than the others: it cost 35 euros, while most of the SFD tastings cost between 45 and 70 euros. These tastings, although innovative in their digital format, have been part of Slow Food's activities for several years. One of the main aims of the movement has always been to connect small producers with consumers, and in this way to influence the production, distribution, preparation, and consumption of food.

Online Campaigns: #WithdrawtheCAP, #GoEAThical

SFY had invested in online campaigns as a collective action even prior to the pandemic. Many of these mobilisations form part of the Slow Food Europe office's strategy, which is used for lobbying the European Parliament. The office has been instrumental in influencing key agricultural and food agendas in alliance with various other social movements and NGOs. One of these campaigns was #WithdrawtheCAP, launched by several NGOs and movements linked to the agri-food world. The aim was to put pressure on the European Parliament not to adopt the then proposed reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) because of its incompatibility with the movement's principles on the environment, animal welfare, and the interests of small farmers.

SFD also ran workshops with young activists as part of #GoEAThical – Our Food, Our Future – an EU campaign that aims to raise awareness among consumers, especially young people, about the food system and its injustices. They showed how products consumed in Germany are made in other parts of the world, often with harmful effects on the environment and poor working conditions for the people who grow them. The issue of exploitation of migrant workers has been discussed by the SFY – which even produced a podcast

– but the focus has mainly been on Italy and Spain. Yet the pandemic highlighted that this type of exploitation is also taking place in Germany's fields. The issue was the subject of an article in Slow Food Magazine (03/2020). In June 2021 an online cooking course focused on the arrival of seasonal workers from Eastern European countries to work in precarious conditions and without adequate safety measures during the pandemic. The harvesting of asparagus and strawberries in Germany depends heavily on seasonal workers.

Figure 4. *An online cooking class debated the working conditions of seasonal migrants*

Source: SFD website reproduction

Analysing the changes in the SFD's repertoire of collective action during the Covid-19 pandemic, we can see that there have been several changes: first, more online communication, e.g. the SFY group on Telegram; second, the migration of in-person events to online, such as the Disco Soup; third, completely new formats, such as the producers' map or online tastings; and fourth, a continuity of actions that already existed, but with agendas made more explicit by the pandemic. However, not all of them lasted, e.g. the Disco Soups went back to the offline format in 2023. The producers' map and the online tastings are still collective actions used by the movement in its quest to connect consumers and producers.

Wir haben es satt!

When the Covid-19 pandemic hit Germany in March 2020, the WHES protest march had just taken place in Berlin. The challenge for the coalition seemed distant, as they had almost a year to adapt the next WHES street protest to the new conditions. Over the next three years, the pandemic had a significant impact on the conventional methods of collective action used by the Meine Landwirtschaft coalition, as many of its activities depended on in-person interactions, including workshops, public demonstrations and politically charged events with visual statements in key political locations.

Exploring hybrid repertoires: #Fußabdruck, #Schnitzeljagd

As a result of the ongoing pandemic, preparations for the big WHES campaign in January 2021 had to go digital. All the discussions and the usual preparations for the march took place online. Instead of the usual big street march, the campaign was organised into several hybrid political actions: a tractor march in and around Berlin and a collaborative photo action in front of the chancellor's office. The latter was the result of the coalition's first big digital collective action.

In December 2020, it was still unclear whether people would be able to come together on the streets in January 2021, due to severe lockdown restrictions and social distancing. In response, Meine Landwirtschaft launched a digital campaign called Footprint under the hashtag #AgrarwendeLostreten – which can be translated into English as "Let's kick-off agrarian change" (Figure 5). The coalition had previously used social media (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and Flickr), so the infrastructure for the dissemination was already in place.

Figure 5. *Post on Instagram with Call for Participation in the Action Footprint in December 2020. The Slogan says: "Let's kick- off agrarian change! Food is political!".*

Source: @wir_haben_es_satt Instagram reproduction

The idea of the campaign was simple but highly effective. All activists and allies of the coalition could send in their home-made footprints accompanied by demands for agrarian change until the day of the photo action on site. Some explanatory videos were posted on Instagram for a few weeks to reach and motivate people. On 16 January, tens of thousands of footprints (Figure 6) sent in by activists from all over Germany (and beyond) were hung in front of the German parliament as a visual message and representation of the demands for a more sustainable, fair, and ecological food policy.

Figure 6. *Two pictures from the visual statement and protest action (a) colourful footprints with vegetables and a 'bio' sign; (b) the mass of the footprints and some activists with a banner make a visual statement for agrarian change*

Source: Flickr Meine Landwirtschaft.

In the course of 2021, Meine Landwirtschaft organised a series of small-scale local protests with a reduced number of participants. The main demands were to oppose factory farming and pesticides, to promote small-scale and family farming, and to demand more political action from the then Federal Minister Julia Klöckner. In September, the successful collective action #Schnitzeljagd took place, which could be translated as #ScavengerHunt or more literally, 'hunt the steak'. Organised in a hybrid format, it combined different challenges over three days and was based on a toolkit that activists received at home beforehand. In an explanatory video, Saskia Richartz (former spokesperson of WHES) mobilized the activists:

> *We need to talk, because the way we produce our food and feed ourselves has massive negative impacts. For the climate, for biodiversity, and, also, for many people who produce our food. But there are alternatives to the false solutions of agribusiness. Alternatives to the seed monopolies, genetic engineering, and pesticides. Become part of the solution with us. We create small urban biotopes for biodiversity, save food and stand in the way of agribusiness. With the #Schnitzeljagd, we are on track with the food revolution.*[2]

All challenges were accompanied by a hashtag and a video with instructions on what to do, where and when (Figure 7). For each challenge, activists would explore their cities and make a small impact by planting seed bombs to increase biodiversity in parks or other green spaces, saving food from supermarkets and sharing it in their neighbourhood, raising awareness, and boycotting food produced under unsustainable and unfair conditions. They could post their results on social media using the relevant hashtags and share their experiences with others in the coalition and beyond.

Figure 7. *Pictures to illustrate the five challenges of #Schnitzeljagd: (a) #SeedbombChallenge; (b) #BilligfleischNein-Danke; (c) #RettetDenRest; (d) #Foodies 4people; and (e) #Foodies4futures.*

Source: @wir_haben_es_satt Instagram reproduction.

The broader agenda of the collective action focused on the negative impacts of pesticides, monoculture agriculture and intensive livestock farming on biodiversity, climate, and the future of the planet. This echoed

[2] Link to video: https://www.facebook.com/WirHabenEsSatt/videos/aktion-schnitzeljagd/640569970171271/

the main themes of other (digital) protests throughout the year and the January hybrid mobilisation under the slogan "Vote out the Agribusiness! For more peasant and ecological agriculture and animal husbandry, for climate justice and global solidarity!" These issues also featured in many of the video and text interviews posted on the WHES website, an interesting way of giving visibility and voice to the different actors in the coalition. However, despite the new digital repertoires that facilitated communication and mobilisation, the campaigning and protest culture of the Meine Landwirtschaft coalition remained primarily focused on the ultimate impact in the streets, farms, urban gardens and communities in 2021. The collective actions were still more organised as internet- supported and not entirely internet-based (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2013) in 2021. This changed in 2022, when Meine Landwirtschaft fully embraced the digital repertoire of collective actions.

Embracing digital repertoires: #Staffellauch, #Ernährungswende

In 2022, Mein Landwirtschaft activists used digital repertoires, so that the big WHES protest campaign in January was prepared as a more complex and interconnected collective action. The protest repertoire was threefold. First, a digital video campaign under the slogan #Staffellauch [Leek relay run], with short, self-made videos of the protesters passing along a leek – as if it were a relay baton – from farms to kitchens to canteens, while voicing their demands for a transition in agriculture and food.[3]

Second, in a visual action in front of the German parliament (Figure 9), activists spelled out in huge letters formed out of hay bales, the central demand of the digital campaign: Agrarwende Jetzt! [Agrarian Change Now]. The third action was a tractor demonstration in Berlin, which ended at the Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture with speeches and a dialogue with the newly elected Federal Minister Cem Özdemir.[4] At this third event, the leek digitally transmitted in the videos was handed over to the minister and his state secretaries as a real baton with a QR code to the videos. The digital campaign was thus materialised and delivered as a concrete political demand (Figure 8).

Figure 8. *Two pictures from the Protest Action #Staffellauch; (a) Instagram Post with a Call for Participation: "Due to the Pandemic, the March is postponed. Instead there will be the Videoaction #Staffellauch"; (b) Picture of the Federal Minister of Agriculture and Nutrition Cem Özdemir with the symbolic leek stick*

Source: @wir_haben_es_satt Instagram reproduction

The impact of the digital protest was immense; over 1,500 videos were submitted and edited into a video of over four hours.[5] The messages from the activists were varied, many involving their working and living environments in creative ways. In the end, there were carrots, bees, cows, chickens, people – all united by

[3] We would like to thank Marie Hanau (former research assistant at Food for Justice) for her help in the organization of the digital campaign's material.

[4] The current German Government – a coalition of the Social-Democrat-Party (SPD), Liberal Party (FDP) and Green Party (Bündnis 90 Die Grünen) – created a momentum of political change in the beginning of 2022. Regarding German food politics, it was the first time that a Green Minister became head of the Federal Ministry for Agriculture and Nutrition.

[5] Link to the videos: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3TTL6_FuScI

agri-food relations – calling for change in food and agricultural policy. The overall message was clear: there are many different dimensions to consider if we really want a structural transformation of the food system. Some pointed to socio-economic and material aspects, such as access to land, lack of subsidies for organic and small-scale agriculture. Others spoke of social, interspecies, and intergenerational justice, calling for better regulation of pesticides, monocultures, and fertilisers to protect not only humans but also more-than-humans (insects, animals, soil, water). Some other aspects such as gender equality, queerness, and solidarity with other marginalised groups (e.g. seasonal migrant workers) were also present but less topical. Another common theme was that food is highly political and that it is the responsibility of government to promote the much-needed socio-ecological transformation.

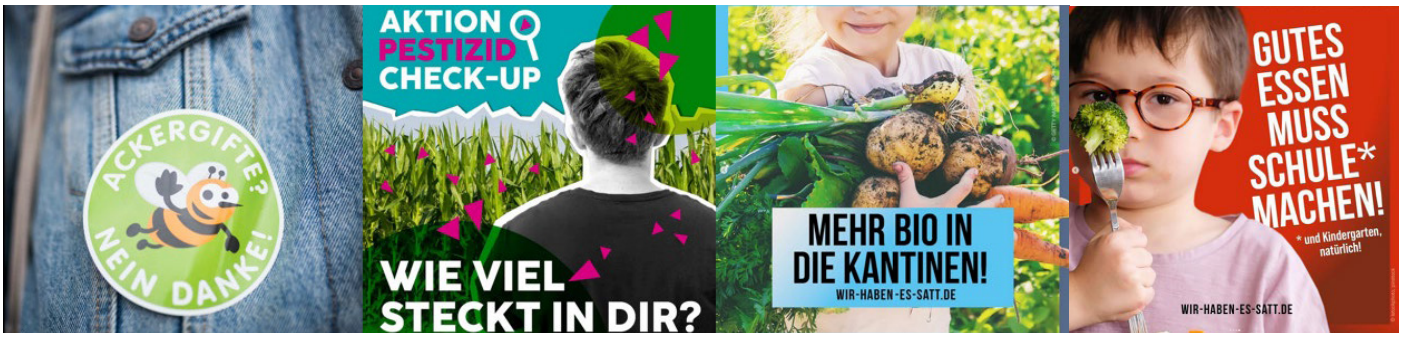
Figure 9. *Visual protest action in front of the German Parliament with a materialisation of the Campaign Slogan 2022: "Agrarian Change Now!"*

Source: Flickr Meine Landwirtschaft

The protest was widely covered by the media, and its political impact within the ministry itself was far greater than in previous years. The coalition was surprised by the widespread involvement from all sides and the open and interested political response from politicians and the public. The digital repertoires facilitated the participation of activists from all over Germany and beyond, broadening the political demands and reaching more citizens. As a result, the coalition gained greater visibility and increased its influence on the public debate on food politics. The digital archives enabled the visibility and inclusion of often marginalised activist groups in street protests, such as farmers and food preparation/craft workers in predominantly rural areas across Germany, who were spared the long journey to Berlin. In addition, the video messages established connections across different scales, both urban and rural, as well as regional/local and national/transnational. Actors from these different spheres engaged in a conversation by passing the leak baton.

Other digital/hybrid actions in 2022 were the Pesticide Check-up where people could send in their hair to be tested for pesticide residues –, more interviews with coalition activists posted on the Website, and the #Ernährungswende [Nutrition Turnaround] digital campaign. This campaign was focused on raising awareness of the potential of community food in schools, nurseries, and canteens.

Figure 10. *Different images from the protest actions in 2022; (a) Sticker with a bee saying "Pesticides? No thank you!" [Reference to a famous Anti-Atom-Movement Slogan]; (b) Call for Participation for the Pesticide Check-up "How much is inside you?"; (c) Slogan of the awareness campaign #Ernährungswende "More organic food in the canteens" (d) another slogan "Good food must go to school" as a reference to school canteens as possible game changers for more organic farming*



Source: @wir_haben_es_satt Instagram reproduction

In 2022, a diversification of the issues and demands of Meine Landwirtschaft could be observed. Furthermore, the more frequent and dynamic use of digital and hybrid repertoires of collective action clearly had a positive impact on the public visibility and political power of the food movement coalition. Activists embraced digital repertoires as part of their protest actions and created structures and digital narratives that would continue into the future, even after the end of social distancing and bans on assembly. However, there are certain functions of physical street protest that cannot be replaced by digital forms of protest. "Showing oneself, standing, breathing, moving, standing still, talking, and remaining silent are all aspects of a sudden assembly, an unanticipated form of political performativity that brings liveable life to the forefront of politics" (Butler, 2015: 18).

Commonalities and differences

In Germany, various social movements and initiatives are creating a heterogeneous protest landscape around the transformation of the food system – with different repertoires of collective action that provide disruption, show alternatives and/or resistance. Slow Food Germany and the coalition behind the Wir haben es satt! protest campaign have much in common, but there are also differences and ambivalences. To reflect on how these two actors have responded to the Covid-19 pandemic, we have organised the comparison around two different axes: the food movements' repertoires of collective action, and the food inequalities that are addressed in their demands for transformation. As explained in the introduction, the actor level is not analysed in depth; we present who the actors of the movements are, but remain at a descriptive level.

Different levels, similar actors

There are similarities between Slow Food Germany and the Meine Landwirtschaft coalition when we look at the profile of their activists. Both movements are predominantly white, middle class, and do not represent the general public, but rather mobilized, politicized citizens. Each movement has its peculiarities in terms of the diversity of its membership, which is directly related to its transformation agendas (see below).

The political subject of the Meine Landwirtschaft coalition is 'a complex, nascent, changing subject formed by the relationships between different parties entering into a political-ecological coalition mediated by nutrition' (Motta, 2022: 77). The political subject itself is in constant flux and therefore performative (Butler, 1999). However, according to a protest survey conducted in 2020, a significant proportion of the activists identified as female, politically centre-left, and from older generations. Most were politically active, had an academic background, and a medium to high income. They were also predominantly consumers, with only a small proportion of producers and food sector workers (Meinecke et al., 2021).

The Slow Food philosophy, on the other hand, is about fighting for good, clean, and fair food for all, which can engage a diversity of groups, actions, and agendas. Like many food movements, SFD is still a space of privilege, middle- or upper-middle class, white and highly educated (Goodman et al., 2012; Guthman, 2011; Kalix Garcia, 2023; Slocum, 2007). It is mostly formed by activists from an urban environment. It is a consumer-led movement, but increasingly incorporates possibilities for bridges and connections with producers and workers in the food sector. WHES, on the other hand, has embodied the alliance of these urban and rural actors since its inception.

In this work, it becomes clear that both movements still have many ambiguities regarding the critique of racial blindness in AFNs (Guthman, 2011; Motta, 2021b; Slocum, 2007). A growing awareness and initial attempts to change these structural inequalities within the movements can be seen through the inclusion of new actors, such as migrant workers, in their agendas. However, class issues are addressed more by WHES than SFD, due to the issue of material and social food poverty and the alliance with actors from socio-economically vulnerable groups.

Repertoires of collective action before, during and after the pandemic

Looking at the types of collective action undertaken by the food movements analysed in this article, we can see some differences, with innovations and continuities between the actions undertaken before and after the pandemic. Once again, it is important to understand the different scales of action of the two movements: as SFD is a movement with around 11,000 members, its actions mobilise smaller groups; on the other hand, the Meine Landwirtschaft coalition brings together dozens of movements and is able to mobilise thousands of activists across the food movement spectrum. WHES puts visibility and disruption in the streets at the centre of its actions; before the pandemic they occupied the public space with different collective actions. SFD promotes different types of actions, focusing on education and advocacy, but always around food.

Table 1. *Repertoires of collective action before, during and after the pandemic.*

Repertoires of collective action before, during and after the pandemic		
	Slow Food Germany	Wir haben es satt!
Before	• Communication through calls, internal platform, and e- mails • Meetings around food (at restaurants or picnics) • Educational actions – Disco Soups, Debates, Tastings, Cooking classes, etc. • Fairs • Online campaigns	• Protest march in the streets with thousands of people and tractors • Smaller protests in front of agri-food factories and against specific players in the food industry • Online awareness campaigns around specific topics • Social media as a communication channel
During	• Online communication through instant message apps and meetings • Online campaigns, #StayHomeStaySlow, #SlowFoodSolidarity, #WithdrawtheCAP, #GoEAThical • Events adapted from offline to online, e.g., World Disco Soup Day • SFD Map of producers • Online Tastings	• Tractor demonstration in front of the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition • Hybrid protest #Staffellauch • Photoaction - #Fußabdruck, Agrarwende Jetzt! • Hybrid actions about diverse topics such as pesticides, meat consumption, food waste and hands-on activities - Pestizid- Check-Up, #Schnitzeljagd • Broad online campaigns #Ernährungswende

Repertoires of collective action before, during and after the pandemic		
	Slow Food Germany	Wir haben es satt!
After	• Online communication • Meetings around food (at restaurants or picnics) • SFD Map of producers • Online Tastings • Disco Soups in person • Hybrid events: Debates, Workshops, Cooking classes, etc. • Online campaigns	• Protest march in the streets with thousands of people, tractors and hybrid protest action #Möhrenauflauf • 6-point plan with concrete political demands signed by 100+ organisations • Protest actions in other cities; Münster, Königs Wusterhausen • Action camp and big protest in front meat producer Wiesenhof • Digital and hybrid campaigns and petitions • 4-day programme to exchange experiences between activists and farmers: "Hof mit Zukunft" [Farm with Future]

Source: *Own work*

Table 1 summarises the collective action repertoires of these two movements before, during and after the Covid-19 pandemic. It allows us to see the transformations generated within WHES and SFD in the face of multiple crises. We see that, according to their profiles and agendas, the two cases studied here show similarities in the ways they adapted and innovated in the face of the new context, while maintaining their objectives of transforming food systems. Although the focus here is on the repertoire of actions, it is also possible to note the broadening of the movements' agendas (see the next section).

Comparing the two cases studied here, the (post-)pandemic period brought new digital repertoires to these food movements. Rather than just an adaptation from offline to online – although this also occurred –, it was a transition from internet-supported to internet-based collective action. While the challenge for SFD was to continue its actions and mobilisations without the pleasure of preparing and consuming food on site, for WHES it was not being able to occupy the streets. In both movements, digital campaigns were the way out. Social media became not only a space for communication, but also a space for protest, a fundamental platform for agri-food relations.

While the dynamics of communication within some SFD groups changed, for others the pandemic meant that they could not meet at all, as not everyone had access or the energy to participate in online events. There were consequently some losses of members due to the digital divide. On the other hand, the digital events made it possible to widen participation, as location was no longer a limitation. The same could be observed within the WHES. The hybrid repertoires were a major innovation in terms of participation across scales (urban-rural and local-national) and other axes of inequality (class, gender, nationality). The new digital collective actions allowed people to actively participate in the movements from their own homes. However, there were also challenges, such as the exclusion of some established activist groups that did not (want to) use digital communication.

It is also noteworthy how the movements adapted their actions in the first (post-)pandemic year 2023. Some of the new formats proved so successful that they are still part of the repertoire of collective action, even after the authorisation of large offline events. This is the case with the SFD map and hybrid tastings, as well as the online mobilisation of WHES, which included the #Möhrenauflauf digital campaign alongside the 2023 street protest.

Demanding transformation by addressing food inequalities

SFD and WHES address different dimensions of inequality in their collective actions, but the common resistance of diverse political subjects to these food inequalities (Motta, 2021) in diverse contexts and at different scales creates a common ground. Many of the demands made by food activists have not been new, such as animal welfare in industrial meat production, but the focus shifted during the pandemic when the exploitation of workers and inhumane conditions also came to light. We will focus now on four different axes of inequality that need to be overcome for a socio-ecological transformation: socio-economic, decolonial, more-than-human, and ecological.

In terms of socio-economic inequalities, the pandemic brought the issue of food poverty to the fore in German society. Demands on food banks increased drastically, highlighting the need for concrete action against material and social food poverty and the lack of rapid response and action by the state. As a result, food movements argued for the urgency of new food policies, for instance to expand social welfare programmes, improve access to affordable and healthy food, and support resilient food systems. Food activists highlighted the fragility of national and local food systems and focused their collective actions on supporting the most vulnerable and affected communities. The WHES #Ernährungswende campaign put these issues at the centre of demands, calling on the state to increase community and school catering in Germany as an effective way to tackle food poverty and provide access to good and healthy food in socio-economically vulnerable communities. On another front, the pandemic hit the German restaurant scene hard. Some digital actions aimed to help restaurants with delivery or take-away options or to expand their markets, such as the Taste@ Home project or the SFD map. Others tried to take up food saving actions to share food from restaurants, bakeries, and home-cooked meals, etc. with those in need, e.g., the #RettetDenRest [Save the rest] challenge organised by WHES.

In terms of the decolonial dimension, the pandemic initiated a process of reflexive critical whiteness and critique of the lack of social security, visibility, and recognition of seasonal migrant workers in the agricultural and food sector in Germany. Due to the Covid-19 lockdown restrictions, many German farms faced a shortage of seasonal migrant field workers. When the state relaxed the entry regulations, controversy erupted over the neo-colonial exploitative conditions that the workers endured (Open Society, 2020). These migrant workers were exposed to living and working conditions that did not meet with pandemic precautions and were therefore treated as second-class citizens or even non-citizens (Baines and Sharma, 2002). In countries of the 'Global North', such as Germany, where inequalities on farms and in factories are not widely known to the general public, it became a major media topic (Küppers, 2021). This new visibility for a previously very subaltern and marginalised group of political subjects also happened through digital actions by food movements. Solidarity discourses with exploited workers from the global peripheries have been part of the WHES agenda since the beginning. There was a clear shift in the narratives and agendas of SFD and WHES during the pandemic due to the new debates on precarious working conditions in the food sectors in Germany. In the digital campaign #Staffellauch and an article in the SFD Magazine, the perspectives and struggles of migrant workers in Germany became part of their agenda. Since then, the debate about neo-colonial structures in the food system in Germany has intensified.

In terms of the more-than-human dimension, the issue of animal welfare and interspecies justice has been a long-standing theme of Meine Landwirtschaft and SFD. Both fight against the meat industry and for small-scale animal production. Within WHES this debate is fraught with tension, as some of the food movements are organised around vegan and/or vegetarian consumption, while small-scale producers from peasant movements defend animals as part of their sustainable, local food systems. Both find a common ground in protest actions against mass meat production, such as the scavenger's hunt challenge #BilligfleischNeinDanke [#CheapMeatNoThanks]. The same debate takes place within SFD, which also focuses on animal welfare and reducing meat consumption, but is more focused on the awareness and political consumption of its members.

Finally, the ecological dimension is a fundamental part of the agenda in both WHES and SFD. The CAP reform has been a focus of mobilisation within both organisations for many years, often connected to protest actions against new EU regulations or economic treaties such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). The prioritisation of subsidies for industrial and pesticide-intensive agricultural models, rather than supporting small-scale, agro-ecological producers, is a recurring focus of collective action for change in European and German food policy in both movements. During the pandemic, WHES continued to organise campaigns to reduce the use of pesticides, such as the #Pestizid-Check-Up, or to ban the production of pesticides banned in Europe for sale in the Global South. The loss of biodiversity caused by this agri-food corporate model is also being addressed with the WHES action #SeedBalls or the #SavetheBees campaign, in which SFD participates.

Conclusion

Food is becoming increasingly politicised in German society. The Covid-19 pandemic has reinforced this trend. This politicisation is leading to debates about different visions for the future of food and agricultural policies and practices in Germany, as they are deeply connected to the pressing societal issues of sustainability, climate crisis and biodiversity. Food movements in Germany have played a fundamental role in mobilising against food inequalities in a (post-)pandemic world.

In this article we have shown that Slow Food Germany and Wir haben es satt! have been able to adapt to the new conditions of the triple crisis and have created innovative new hybrid and digital repertoires of collective action. These hybrid repertoires should be highlighted as being very successful, as they were integrated into the two movements' traditional repertoires of collective action, to which they partially returned in 2022 as the pandemic restrictions slowly eased. Certain digital repertoires are still in use today. In particular, the easier accessibility of digital protest campaigns and the connectivity between activists, independently of scalar and temporal boundaries, seem to be effective repertoires for political action and coalition building in the here and now and in the future.

There has also been a shift in the agendas and demands for transformation of these two food movements. Overall, it can be said that food poverty and the neo-colonial exploitation of workers in the food sector have become relevant issues for SFD and WHES in the (post-)pandemic world. The digital and hybrid repertoires have enabled the food movements to create new agri-food relations and open up new possibilities for social mobilisation and solidarity with marginalised groups and issues. These new agendas are an important step in broadening the visions of socio-ecological transformation in Germany by incorporating critical perspectives on neo-colonial continuities, white privilege, and global power hierarchies.

The cases of SFD and WHES show how food movements have adapted to the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic, resisting losses while creating new repertoires of collective action. Although the paper looks at two specific and related cases, it provides a perspective on how this has happened at different scales of collective action. Comparisons with similar movements in different contexts would be an important next step to expand on and confirm understandings of the new digital repertoires that have emerged in recent years among food movements or other social movements in response to multiple crises.

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