



Civil Society Survey - a Qualitative Snapshot or Anthology of Voices

Introduction

The Healthy Food Healthy Planet Civil Society survey was conducted by the Hour is Late UK consultancy on behalf of HFHP between July and November 2021. The survey was sent to 228 CSOs in France, Germany, Spain, Netherlands & UK, plus pan-European networks and the EU policy offices of international NGOs. 104 responses were received. The survey, with questions from food system campaigners, provides a detailed window into the perspectives, priorities and visions of civil society organisations in this space. Whether focusing on public health or animal welfare, rural development or the climate, and often joining the dots in between, these organisations offer a plurality of visions, voices and understandings of the food landscapes, and how we might best to nourish it in more sustainable, equitable and nutritious ways.

This qualitative summary provides an edited selection of anonymised survey responses, in the interest of sharing across movements a snapshot of the diversity of voices in the food space. It is not an analysis paper - rather, it is a compilation of voices, assembled in the hope that better understanding our different perspectives strengthens the movement. This document will surely evolve as HFHP's work develops and more voices are helping to enrich and extend the conversation.

Below you will find a table of contents, with signposts for each relevant section. Feel free to jump to the topics that interest you.

Why focus on 'less and better': explanations and reasons	3
A Better, Holistic Food System	3
Care for Non-Human Beings	4
Ecological Crisis and Planetary Health	4
Supporting Rural Development, Territories and Farming Communities	6
A Health Crisis	6
Social Justice & Inequality	7

Tactical Considerations	7
Why Not - the limits of 'Less and Better'	8
'Less and better' reduces ecological-health-social justice problems to animal sourced foods	8
'Less and better' is a compromise on the life of non-human beings	8
Exclusion of Social Justice	9
Tactical or Framing Considerations	9
Pushback	9
Other Phrasings or Framings	9
A Broader Focus of Work or Other Stronger Priorities	10
Successes & Effective Campaigns/Strategies	10
Animal rights campaigns and exposes	10
Communications Campaigns & Art	11
Health Initiatives	11
Networks or Convergence Spaces	12
Plant-based food cultural transition	12
Key organisations (uplifted by other organisations)	13
Particular Campaigns & Movements	13
Legal Action	18
Food Markets	18
Research	18
Campaign Reflections and Learning from Failures	19
What makes successful campaigns?	19
On polarisation	19
Representation & Reach	19
Campaigns or framings that haven't delivered, have backfired or are unhelpful	20
Campaign Dead-Ends	23
Silos	23
On the topic of backlash or alienation	23
Farmers	25
Generalisations and Communication Learnings	25

Why focus on 'less and better': explanations and reasons

A Better, Holistic Food System

- 'A reduction in consumption would not only be the fastest way to reduce our GHG emissions from food but would result in important benefits for health... Balanced diets, featuring plant-based foods and small amounts of animal products sourced from sustainable systems, present a **major opportunity to reduce emissions while generating significant co-benefits for human health and nature.**'
- 'In response to the climate crisis, the health crisis and the biodiversity crisis, we see less and better meat as a way to help **tackle these issues in a holistic way.**'
- 'Less and better is centrally important for climate protection and beneficial for communication. When it comes to meat, climate, deforestation, public health (resistance to antibiotics) and local over-fertilization can be brought together with questions about the power of meat and retail groups. The social demand for more animal welfare in agriculture forms a good basis and often **creates openness** to bring environmental and world food aspects into the discussion.'
- 'So-called cheap meat as a **threat to people, planet and animals.**'
- 'A sustainable way of life implies **simultaneously the care of the environment and health.** The inadequate production and consequent consumption of meat is one of the best examples of malpractice.'
- 'Our organization focuses on "less meat" for **ethical, ecological and public health reasons.**
- 'Because it is a priority lever to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from the agricultural sector, and public policies in the direction of less and better meat are non-existent, while consumption trends are not evolving in the right direction or at least not fast enough.'
- 'We promote "less and better". However, we consider all animal proteins, not only meat. **Convergence between nutritional and environmental interests:** questioning of industrial livestock farming, promotion of extensive livestock farming linked to the soil, development of plant proteins, consumption of land by crops intended for livestock farming and competition for the use of land between human food and animal feed, change in land use in a context of decreasing yields due to changes in practices and the climate...'

- “Eating less meat has an enormously positive impact on the environment, animal welfare and health. And it is incredibly easy and tasty, making it **accessible**.’
- ‘We wish to see an end to factory farming and a shift to **humane and nature-friendly food systems**.’
- ‘Replacing meat and other animal products with better plant-based and, in the future, cell-based alternatives is a **multi-problem solution** for climate, food justice, animal welfare, and more.’
- “[As an organisation] we carry positions aimed at diversifying our food supply (quantity) while seeking to remunerate good livestock farming practices, particularly in terms of food sovereignty, impacts on the climate and animal welfare (quality).’
- ‘Because eating a limited amount of meat from pasture fed animals is **good for the planet and our diets**.’
- ‘Because as a society we need to shift away from meat-intensive diets and from intensively-produced meat.’

Care for Non-Human Beings

- ‘Because it encourages a shift towards an **ethical and harmonic food supply that doesn’t threaten all life on earth** through horrific living conditions for non-human animals and their slaughter, mass extinction of species, GHG emissions, resource depletion, traumatic working conditions, scarcity, hunger, inequality.’
- ‘Improving the living conditions of animals is only possible in the long term by reducing meat consumption.’
- ‘To abolish animal suffering and exploitation.’
- ‘Because we all love animals, not just dogs and cats. There are enough alternatives and no one needs more meat to survive. The carbon footprint of meat and the impact on health is catastrophic.’
- ‘Because it is where most animals suffer in all the areas of animal exploitation that exist.’
- ‘Because this is the condition to put an end to intensive breeding.’

Ecological Crisis and Planetary Health

- ‘Because of the high meat consumption of the Spanish population, which translates into a negative impact on health.’

- ‘Because meat should be part of the healthy diet of people **in the right measure** and knowing its origin and conditions of production.’
- ‘Animal husbandry **must be halved by 2035** in order to achieve climate and species protection goals. Move as many people as possible and **create acceptance that meat is expensive** - either high subsequent costs or more expensive if better.’
- ‘Human health only with planetary health is a core tenet of [our organisation’s] self-image: what we consume and in what quantities must fit within planetary boundaries. **A planet-friendly diet is one that is largely plant-based.** This is essential for achieving environmental and sustainability goals, such as optimal use of agricultural land, climate protection, reducing the risk of zoonotic diseases developing and spreading, our health and the cost to the healthcare system, and the global hunger issue. Less - and if - better meat is one of the consequences of this approach.’
- ‘Our campaign is called: Less Meat, Better Meat. This is because we advocate a reduction in meat consumption (21kg per inhabitant per year in Spain compared to the current 51kg) and **simultaneously advocate a change in the patterns of production and consumption of that meat**, betting on extensive livestock, organic and linked to the territory. We firmly believe that a diet cannot be sustainable if it does not include this principle.’
- ‘Because of the important contribution of industrial livestock farming to the destruction of the planet.’
- ‘Climate mitigation; **releasing more land for nature.**’
- ‘There are more sustainable alternatives for accessing protein.’
- ‘The **single biggest way that the food service sector can influence climate change.**’
- ‘It is a significantly growing area of emphasis for us because of its potential to reduce the land, climate, water, and human impact of the meat industry.’
- ‘We focus on this from the perspective of the sustainability of different animal production systems and their interaction with biodiversity and ecosystem services.’
- ‘Essential parameter to integrate in our reflections for an effective relocalization of food in the spatial constraints of our finite world (quality food for all which preserves the environment requires much more UAA (cf. lower yields of AB = necessary decrease of the share of animal proteins) argument... surface for our organization which leans on the land problems.’
- ‘Animal products rather than "meat"; approach mainly oriented on the low efficiency and the **vulnerability of such a regime in a context of increasing constraints on agricultural production.**’

- 'Because meat consumption has the **highest impact on a number of planetary boundaries** and because from a health perspective we need to move towards a better protein balance.'
- 'We see the overconsumption of meat (as part of the industrial monocultured system) as a key challenge for food system sustainability, and the appropriate use of farm animals as part of the solution. It is **not meat per se, but the volume and production method.**'
- 'In all recent modelling scenarios, including our own transition to agroecological future model (TYFA), eating less and/or better meat is an important factor in sustainable diets.'
- 'Global meat & dairy reduction is vital if we are to stay within **planetary boundaries.**'
- 'Biodiversity and climate benefits of mixed rotational farming using agroecological techniques. Support of grass fed meat, to reduce demand for grain and soya. Need to reduce consumption of non-ruminant species (pigs and chickens) due to environmental damage and terrible animal welfare.'
- 'It is partial - livestock management is essential for good soil management and enhanced biodiversity and also milk and meat are critical in a good balanced diet.'

Supporting Rural Development, Territories and Farming Communities

- 'For micro-producers of pasture-raised meat and milk, direct marketing is particularly valuable and important, but without support structures, it is also disproportionately costly.'
- 'A lower consumption of meat, and of higher quality, is clearly a change of habit that must be supported in order to achieve a living rural environment that continues to support livestock farmers, that cares for the soil and natural resources, and that fights against climate change.'
- 'As farmers we like to produce vegetable proteins and keep fewer animals but in a more **animal-friendly way.**'

A Health Crisis

- 'We are mainly focusing on "less meat", as this can be scientifically argued very well for health reasons, both in terms of chronic diseases and in terms of the climate crisis as a health crisis.'
- 'Low meat and sausage consumption is an essential aspect of a health-promoting diet.'

- ‘Because we are an association of producers of meat from extensive livestock farming, the best from the point of view of human, animal and planetary health.’

Social Justice & Inequality

- ‘From a social justice perspective: to allow our members living in food insecurity to eat healthier while limiting costs. In a perspective of promoting sustainable agriculture and solidarity with the peasantry. With the objective of reducing GHG emissions.’

Tactical Considerations

- ‘Because small steps are more **accessible**’.
- ‘[Because it helps in] **avoiding a culture war** over meat eating.’
- ‘A move to better animal-source foods cannot come about without reduction’.
- ‘[Less and better is] a **lever** to improve animal husbandry conditions’
- ‘[Less and better is] a **pragmatic framing** that has allowed us to date to gather range of interests under one tent.’
- ‘Less and better is helpful as it covers both the **climate imperative** to reduce overall volumes, as well as the **nature imperative** to produce to higher environmental standards. We see a strong role for farmers in a sustainable food system, particularly through shifting to lower impact systems (producing less, whilst restoring biodiversity and storing carbon, e.g. through agroforestry approaches, as well as circular mixed farming approaches using manure to fertilize crops etc. The less and better framing **works well for the public** - although I think there is still a job to do to frame it better (less can sometimes be unhelpful as it implies losing something, giving up, negative connotations, and often people misunderstand initially and equate less to none.’
- ‘“Many Christians hold a theology that they feel is not compatible with veganism or vegetarianism. The **less/better approach is consistent with the kinds of theologies of creation care/stewardship** and hospitality that drives many Christians food choices.’
- ‘We believe it combines well the work we do on the production and consumption of animal products. It also allows explaining the issue in a more complex way and it does not simplify the problem to a need to reduce meat consumption.’
- ‘It recognises the benefits for biodiversity of animals and focuses on production systems that cause most harm.’
- ‘As a consumers organisation, we consider is the best option for public campaigns.’
- ‘Because eating less meat has an enormous impact.’

Why Not - the limits of 'Less and Better'

'Less and better' reduces ecological-health-social justice problems to animal sourced foods

- 'There's a lot of **nuance** in this debate and it needs to be more sophisticated than simply 'less and better'
- 'Meat is crucial. But we also work on the other components of [a healthy] diet.'
- 'Our work is broader than just livestock. There are very **serious environmental problems in all sectors of farming**, some like olive oil or fruit production which would not be affected at all by reduced meat consumption.'

'Less and better' is a compromise on the life of non-human beings

- 'We don't compromise with life. The same way we don't believe in 'a reasonable amount of wars, we also don't believe in not eating non-human animals only once a week.'
- 'In countries like Germany it is not necessary for a healthy diet to let animals suffer and die in the production of food. That's why we promote the **plant-based diet as the best ethical solution available** today...We take a critical view of the use of the word "better" in this context. Improvements in animal husbandry can only be a step away from much suffering. In our understanding, there is no such thing as "good" meat.'
- 'Our focus is on a completely **meat-free diet**.'
- 'We stand up for the appreciation of the life of every single animal. Even for less meat, a sentient being dies. Meat always means death. Of course we advocate less meat consumption or even less animal suffering, yet the main focus of our work is to promote a **plant-based lifestyle**.'
- 'We are working for a fairer food system, which is sustainable in not just environmental, nutritional and social senses, but in ethical terms too. Thus, animals are sentient and sapient beings, who seek life & fear pain and death. Animals are not food.'

Exclusion of Social Justice

- 'We do not always use the frame "better meat" in our public work as it has negative social justice connotations.'

Tactical or Framing Considerations

- 'The better will drive positive change in livestock farming, less does not.'
- 'We are a membership organisation of mainly livestock farmers wishing to see change. Focussing on better is positive, focusing on less is not so if anything it should be better and less but **the less will fall into place if the emphasis is on seeking out the better.**'

Pushback

- 'It is not easy because there are many factors at stake and **inequality is very present** in our country.'
- 'We do not insist more on it because there is a **strong resistance from many families** in our schools.'
- 'A very important part of our work takes place in the city of Madrid where there is no livestock production and our municipal government is reluctant [towards] messages aimed at reducing meat consumption so we have to find strategies that allow us to reflect this approach in policies without compromising technical feasibility.'
- 'We would need quite a lot of resources for making good communication campaigns to encourage organizations who [have no] focus on it to convince them to do it'.

Other Phrasings or Framings

- 'Sustainable and fair production of high quality meat **in small structures and in smaller quantities**'.
- 'We focus primarily on "**less or no meat**". "Better" is rather difficult to argue from an individual health point of view, moreover we consider the message "less/no" more important than "better" also for sustainability reasons.'
- 'We try to talk about '**more vegetables**' and '**better meat**' as a way to frame this because it seems to be received more favourably than 'less meat''

- ‘Reducing meat consumption (or increasing the share of plant-based food, depending on the situation, and we prefer the latter formulation) is one of the best ways to make the food transition we want to see. A large third of French people are "**flexitarians**", and it is this public and the other omnivores whose dietary behavior must be influenced by modifying the offer and its presentation, rather than, for example, convincing people to become vegetarians or vegans.’

A Broader Focus of Work or Other Stronger Priorities

- ‘Meat is not the sole focus of our work, but the entire regional food system including all production sectors.’
- ‘We also work on a wide variety of topics, which is why we don't commit ourselves very strongly to the topic at hand.’
- ‘“We are a broad coalition of actors from different sectors and need to work on a set of topics to [make our network feel included].. "Less and better meat" is not a core issue for all our partners.’
- ‘This objective is less of a priority for us than the reduction of inequalities linked to the accessibility of sustainable food. We militate for the right to food and meat is sometimes an important cultural and social dimension for the people we want to reach.’
- ‘We are working [primarily] on the impacts of livestock and soybean cultivation in Brazil. This is our priority objective. In addition, we carry the message of the reduction of raw materials linked to deforestation, and therefore of meat.’

Successes & Effective Campaigns/Strategies

Animal rights campaigns and exposes

- ‘Animal rights activists exposing slaughterhouse scandals.’
- ‘“The one constituency that has had a massive impact are the animal welfare organisations, notably in France. Often small outfits have exposed abuse and skilfully used social media to shame politicians into action. They have been achieving both tangible results like new legislation (eg on slaughterhouses, cages etc) and a general societal backlash against the livestock industry (eg growth of veganism).’

- ‘Animal rights groups’ video footage from inside factory farms spread the message far and wide of the misery of animals...opening citizen’s hearts and minds to learn more and make more conscientious shopping choices.’
- ‘So far, the most successful ones have been those that have linked the problem to animal welfare, for example: battery hens, Foie-Gras. It remains to integrate this linkage with the environmental and social ones.’
- ‘Introduction of binding labels and seals, e.g. animal welfare labels.’
- ‘Exposures of SOKO Tierschutz, as the dissemination through the media has put pressure on the policy. It also makes it harder for people to tune out where animal products come from.’
- ‘Animal welfare organisations have been very successful with their arguments, moving more people to vegetarian or vegan diets (there are also more labels on supermarket shelves of meat produced by better animal welfare conditions).’
- ‘In terms of animal welfare, a few excesses have been filtered out, such as cutting the beaks of laying hens, but little else has improved. Wakker Dier (Alert Animal) has had success with the pullet chicken, but we still produce millions of pullets.’
- ‘Securing commitments from companies to adhere to raise their welfare standards’

Specifically: cross-sector work to push for improvements in baseline welfare standards (cage-free eggs)

- ‘The [ECI End the Cage age](#) was very successful...the topic was well known in the public and ethical/emotional, plus it was a very concrete demand that was made clear and understandable for people.
- CIWF campaign to ban cages for farm animals
- RSPCA assured certification

Communications Campaigns & Art

- ‘Providing public with insights into modern food industry practices i.e. through documentaries’
- ‘Kiss the Ground - Netflix Documentary’

Health Initiatives

- ‘Campaigns combating obesity and childhood health’
- ‘Campaign for a Soft Drinks Industry Levy’

- “The sugar tax and salt reduction. Successful because industry was forced to change by government following **united campaigns that included concerns about human health**...this could provide a model for action on meat reduction. In terms of a shift to the better method of production labelling on eggs changed the market in many countries supporting a move to noncaged.’

Networks or Convergence Spaces

- [Citizen Network for Monitoring Water Pollution by Nitrates](#) (Spain)
- ‘[UK has benefited from] the [Eating Better Alliance](#) and coordination across civil society. ‘Eating Better has been a game changer in bringing organisations together on this agenda and raise the profile of sustainable diets work in the UK. EB has played a key role in thought leadership e.g. bringing organisations together to produce the roadmap to 50% meat/dairy reduction by 2030, championing the less and better message, and addressing difficult issues e.g. around pasture based meat. Key to these successes have been the support of Esme Fairburn, and the breadth of supporting organisations as well as the depth of engagement by key organisations.’
- [‘Oxford Real Farming Conference](#) (UK) - hugely important in building movement, nurturing policy to practice and penetrating into mainstream farming culture as well.’
- [Food Ethics Council](#) (UK)
- Sustainable Food places network - ‘It works from a grassroots to a national level and facilitates collaboration between multi stakeholders such as local authorities, NHS, education sector and business.’
- [Edible Cities Network](#) (interaction of civil society and administration)
- [Cittaslow](#) (image gain for participating cities)
- [Save Bees and Farmers](#) (EU wide action).

Plant-based food cultural transition

- ‘Go vegan campaigns & milk alternative campaigns’
- ‘Vegan movement transmitted to young people through social networks and influencers. I’m not sure, but surely the actions that are guiding the mainstream to reduce meat consumption are linked to **athletes and influencers**.’
- ‘Mainstream adoption of ‘plant based’ options for consumers’
- Veguary, meat-free Monday, Veg Cities and Peas Please (UK). I think these have been successful for a number of reasons, they have **simple, clear, and easy to understand**

messages, they feel easy to achieve, and have the backing of many people (except Veganuary perhaps).’

- Veganuary (cited by 4+ groups): growing steadily year-on-year since 2014. Biggest campaign encouraging people to reduce meat consumption and shift diets away from animal-derived products. Good communication on social media, real movement has been created by repeating the action every year
- Week Without Meat (NL)
- ‘In terms of measured behaviour change, the biggest single shift in recent years may be the revealed preferences during the COVID19 pandemic, when people were both empowered and pressured into dietary change towards less meat and dairy, and more plant-based foods. This was facilitated by all the work done by The Vegan Society, other organisations, and plant-based food manufacturers, in the past 70+ years. The plant-based food people needed, was available through supermarkets and independent retailers due to our foundational efforts’ (UK)

Key organisations (uplifted by other organisations)

- ‘The work of WWF on sustainable healthy diets was ahead of its time.’ [‘WWF Spain’s Livewell project](#) - The success is due to its pioneering character, for the first time it was alerted of the impact of diets on the health of people and planet. And the visibility of the opportunity to align recommendations from experts in nutrition and consumption with climate and environmental objectives. ‘
- ShareAction's [Healthy Markets initiative](#)
- Impact on Urban Health's work with Frameworks Institute
- [Food for Life programme](#)

Particular Campaigns & Movements

- ‘The politicization of a young generation through the actions of FFF (Fridays for Future) form a very important basis.’
- ‘Campaigns on private sector (and to a lesser extent government policy) on palm oil have contributed to 90% decline in deforestation - we need to scale this kind of strategy for changing protein. We've seen initial success with campaigns in Europe on big supermarkets like Carrefour, Casino, Tesco, and Ahold Delhaize, but more [is] needed. Cocoa industry transformation also needs to be scaled. The successful campaigns have

had sustained, targeted pressure with resources commensurate to the challenge - that simply haven't been available for work on protein.'

- 'Campaigns for more organic and vegetarian menus in public catering (France). Successful because [of a] large coalition of mobilized civil society actors - numerous recent scientific and media publications in favor of the benefits of organic products and the reduction of meat consumption - association of more organic products with more local products by a part of the population and the political class'
- '[Sustainable Fish Cities](#) has been very successful in getting businesses to adopt sustainable fish buying policies. Its success stems from...encouraging competition between places and creating a feeling of **places pulling together to achieve change.**'
- Also highly successful was the Danish decision to encourage a shift to organic via public procurement decisions."
- 'Defeating the proposed 'EU veggie burger ban', a proposal by the Agricultural Committee in the European Parliament to ban terms like 'veggie burger' or 'plant-based steak' across the EU. The ban, proposed as an amendment to the Common Agricultural Policy, was ultimately rejected by the European Parliament in a vote in October 2021, following a sustained lobbying campaign by GFI Europe and several other actors. A key success factor was assembling a broad coalition of NGOs and businesses that coordinated its lobbying and communications activities around one single-minded goal and ask. Another factor was relying on established, trusted relationships with key legislators and a detailed understanding of parliamentary processes.'
- 'Strengthening the area of communal catering, e.g. development of standards Introduction of the Nutriscore (should become binding) IN FORM campaign, e.g. Too good for the garbage can National reduction and innovation strategy for sugar, fats and salt (should become legally binding)'
- 'In Europe, we have a genetic engineering law that is unique in the world, after many organizations had campaigned for it. This is an important success that is currently under threat.'
- Love Food Hate Waste
- Blue Planet/movement to challenge plastics use
- 'Uptake and recognition of organic brand to become fairly mainstream from fringe. Success was about mainstream marketing, partnering mainstream businesses and taking a commercial approach; not being constrained by values that are fringe, focus was on selling organic food and developing viable business models regardless of the ethics of the companies involved.'
- 'France: Petition neonicotinoids 2016 which led to their ban in the biodiversity law enabled by an innovative approach at that time (video, targeting bee, etc.)'

- 'France: petition glyphosate in 2018 which accumulated nearly 600,000 signatures. The success is mainly due to collective action'
- "'We are fed up'(union of city dwellers and farmers)' (France)
- 'France - Creation of two platforms of civil society organizations: platform for an agricultural and food transition and platform for another CAP. The first platform managed to obtain some progress in the framework of the 2018 Food Law because of its collective coordination, which allowed it to influence the balance of power -reporting and advocacy on the mirror measures. Due to the robustness of the feasibility study and the disruptive partnership with an interprofession, the proposal is a top priority of the French government for the presidency of the European Union.'
- 'In Germany, after protests (since 2011) by Wir haben es satt (We are fed up) and decentralized citizens' initiative protests, the building law for particularly large stables was changed in 2014. Subsidies for factory farms were first halved in most German states, then tied to greater animal welfare. This helped to stop the growth of meat production in DE and turn the trend towards stagnant, then declining meat production/consumption. In 2014, we won an antibiotic database: antibiotic use in food animals has been roughly halved since then. Referendums in the states for insect protection have led regional governments to make improvements.'
- 'Kanteen Zukunft (in Berlin) KEEKS project on sustainable cuisine in schools (ProVeg) Work with hospital caterers on sustainable nutrition (PAN and ProVeg) These campaigns change nutritional environments in a very concrete way, so that more sustainable nutrition takes place directly and also serves as an example (for home/other living environments) for consumers. Consumers can be specifically informed and picked up in their respective environment. Communication takes place directly and optimally at eye level. If applicable, "Veganuary": low-threshold offer to try out a sustainable diet, paired with the "New Year's energy".'
- 'Solidarity farming Unpacked stores Food councils Food sharing.'
- 'The climate and antibiotics (also health in general) arguments have moved more people to reduce meat consumption.'
- 'Too good for the garbage can (easy message to get across), learning on the farm (committed farmers who recognize the educational opportunity'
- 'Territorial Food Projects (PAT), the Zero Waste Zero Waste Territories (TZDZG) and the development of the Networks to Avoid Food Waste (REGAL)'
- 'Parcel Vrac Accessible'
- 'Tablons sur nos paysans (Let's rely on our farmers) carried by Pour une Autre PAC = strong coalition combining digital communication, physical event and advocacy InterActors meeting on peasant installation carried by SOL within a coalition of 15 very

diverse organizations (OP, environment, research, training) on the issues of training and installation of agroecology Regionally, Maison des Semences Paysannes maralpines (Farmers' seed house) co-carried by SOL with a diversity of actors from the farm to the fork: consumers, distributors, farmers, chefs and researchers'

- 'All the campaigns on pesticides and their presence in our food, in children's hair... (cf. the numerous investigations by Générations futures, the 2016 or 2017 cash investigation on the subject, etc.): this has undoubtedly contributed strongly to the rise in organic purchases. Key success factor: the link with health.'
- 'France campaign on vegan menus in canteens worked very well at the national and local level (a lot of Greenpeace and AVF in 2018, with L214 too, and with a bigger coalition in 2021). Success factors: strong veg coalitions, diversity of tactics and their complementarity (big national but also local advocacy work, with empowerment of our local groups who have done their own advocacy over several years), development of innovative and very visual tools, like [maps](#), perseverance (in 2018 we moved the lines and got an experimentation for 1 vegetarian menu per week, in 2021 the government itself fought to perpetuate this experimentation that it had fought in 2018), the rigor of studies. After 4 years of campaigning we had an answer to almost everything and we deeply influenced the nature of the debates in the hemicycle: in 2021 no weak or almost no argument came out of the mouths of the deputies, because we had been hammering counter-arguments for several years and that the nonsense is now immediately spotted) Other factors of success: subject easily understandable and appreciated by our audiences (food / food of our children / canteens / link with health), denunciation of the meat lobbies (see <https://bit.ly/3BIOsKI> - which allowed us to convince the Ministry of Health not only to create a new working group to rewrite the regulations governing nutrition in the canteens, but to integrate associations such as Greenpeace)'
- 'Jardins de cocagne / écopôles alimentaires network. Factors of success: put forward the economic aspect / employment rather than the environmental part. 5. Scientific work carried out by Solagro and IDDRI on prospective scenarios (Afterres 2050 and TYFA): it is a deep work, but they really allow us to base our discourse and our campaigns with solid elements that prove that "Yes, it is possible, we can feed the French / Europeans without pesticides and synthetic fertilizers - if and only if we reduce our consumption of meat and dairy products".'
- 'Campaign for a vegetarian option in collective catering. Initiative for the end of cages in Europe.'
- 'A food democracy movement at the local level (food councils) has been emerging since 2015 and has spread widely in a short time and although it is not an "easy solution". It

has been able to initiate concrete projects but, above all, to create awareness in many communities about sustainable food as a new policy field to be developed.

- 'Introduction of farming methods in food retailing, GMO-free campaigns, various animal husbandry issues, bee protection.' Food Councils (transparency, diversity of actors, opportunity to participate and influence)'
- 'In 2003, the promotion of the Amap system (Associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne), which allows for citizen contracts between producers and consumers, initiated by a citizen's movement, has created a link between the interests of citizen-consumers and farmers.'
- 'In 2015, the first condemnation of Monsanto for the poisoning of a French farmer (Paul François), as well as the scientific reports rendered by the Cancer Research Center establishing the carcinogenic character of glyphosate and the citizen petitions calling for a ban on pesticides have allowed a questioning of our agricultural and food model and its dependencies on chemical inputs.'
- 'In 2018, after years of struggle, the abandonment of the airport project at Notre Dame des Landes (which would have contributed to concreting 1,600 hectares of farmland), was made possible by a broad coalition of actors mixing agricultural unions and local residents and supported by personalities and public opinion. This action made it possible to concretize the link between agricultural land, soil artificialisation and local food.'
- 'The political influence for the Egalim law and the very recent Climate law have led to large-scale advances for the vegetalization of food in collective catering. The collaborations with the different sectors of collective catering and the changes in practice of some collective restaurants or networks are paving the way for national changes (through practice or legislation). L214's investigations in livestock farms and slaughterhouses have benefited from national coverage and have had massive and lasting consequences on the perception of meat by our fellow citizens, allowing the current questioning of the all-meat approach. This window of general astonishment seems to have partly closed.'
- 'The promotion of the social food security project has been a success, made possible in particular by the reflection on the world after and the limits shown by the classic food aid during the confinement. The preparation of a project for the exit of food aid and the right to food, with a panel of multiple and diversified actors, was at the origin of the depth of the discourse carried.'
- Wakker Dier
- True Cost of Food
- Bio Tasty for you

- 'Incubator for the promotion of alternatives - overturning the EU's burger and dairy ban (labeling ban)'
- '(Spain) Food Justice has campaigned quite well against industrial livestock production models, as well as others related to sugar. The Ministry of Consumer Affairs has now launched another #LessMeat,MoreLife campaign and is very involved in reducing food waste. From other organizations there have also been very good initiatives in various sectors, especially at the level of primary schools and universities. I think that the success of these campaigns was due to the coordination and cooperation between actors.'
- 'The WWF campaigns on meat consumption, and Ecologists in Action and Friends of the Earth Especially significant was when the Minister of Consumption brought this debate to the public, which generated a great stir and the difference between the origin of the meat, the amount etc. was addressed again.'
- 'The campaigns in RRSS and in the media have had a great impact. The political positions derived from climate change have been decisive.'

Legal Action

- 'Urgenda and nitrogen lawsuit'

Food Markets

- 'Farmers' initiatives for direct sales'

Research

- 'Research like that of the University of Oxford and publications on the huge impact of a plant-based diet on sustainability.'
- 'Medical newsletters'

Campaign Reflections and Learning from Failures

What makes successful campaigns?

- 'Those based on empowering citizens by deepening the eco-gastronomic culture by transmitting or publicizing its benefits for enjoyment, people's health, the environment and biodiversity and establishing links with popular culture, tradition and the richness of Mediterranean gastronomy.'
- 'Reaching the consumer is a key aspect that must be worked on to get the desired message across (better meat, land management, etc.). But even more important is to be able to generate economically competitive products, and one way to achieve this is to increase production and generate networks of producers to reduce costs. This would lead to a greater production of quality meat... and an increase in sustainable forest management with herds.'
- 'Toxify industrial livestock farming (show what a macro-farm is and be a direct witness of its impacts)'
- 'It seems to me that campaigns aiming at transforming individual practices (vegan challenge) have a lower cost/benefit, especially in the absence of an adapted food offer.'

On polarisation

- 'The problem is the polarization of positions and food is praised or demonized when what causes the impacts is the way it is produced and this is hidden behind the most secondary debates. And simplistic and "black and white" positions and confrontation arise: everything good must be "vegan" and the rest is negative. Veganism is a healthy and respectable diet, but there are others that are also healthy and for them it should be consumed locally. These arguments are lost among the opposing positions.'
- 'Promotion of sustainable school canteens. Healthy diets (less meat, less sugar).'

Representation & Reach

- 'Being exclusive and unaccessible e.g. environmental movements are often criticised as white, middle class agenda'

Campaigns or framings that haven't delivered, have backfired or are unhelpful

- 'There have been many campaigns that don't have scale and really only speak to a niche audience in a particular sector (e.g. speaking to environmental or animal welfare audience)'
- 'One of the least successful campaigns in terms of measured behaviour change towards more sustainable diets has been the most basic, 'Five-a-Day', despite the aim becoming widely known. Most people in the UK are still not achieving this intake of fruit & veg, especially impoverished people.'
- 'Failure of the demands for the implementation of a levy on nitrogen fertilizers, due to strong opposition from the agricultural sector and the Ministry of Agriculture - failure of the campaigns for the reform of the CAP and the NSP, despite some small advances, due to conflicting interests of the conventional agricultural unions and the position of the Ministry of Agriculture.' (EU level)
- '5 a day campaign is not making enough difference'
- 'Most NGOs focus on promoting feel good stories has been massively backfiring. The farm lobby has been able to ride the wave of "buy local", "sustainability" and pro-farmers sentiment to block any meaningful change and remain in complete control of the politics. For example "food miles" have become a get out of jail ticket with public opinion for even the most environmentally and socially destructive industries. Similarly, the "small farmers" and "food sovereignty" narratives have been co-opted by the farm unions to justify protectionism, public support and resist environmental legislation.'
- 'Campaigns to avoid the use of cages have led to an intensification of supposedly alternative cage-free systems. The hen's life has not improved much compared to when it was in the cage, the large intensive producer cleans its image and, due to the low price, we have emptied of content and annulled the authentic alternative that sees its appropriate values in an intensive product against which it cannot compete.'
- 'We cannot specify, but the blaming and dirigiste ones, those that promote unproductive debates such as that of the supposed "freedom of choice", those that encourage as alternatives unsustainable food behaviors (packaging, kilometer food, neo-foods, etc.)'
- 'My answer is the one above and I complement it now with what I see as a growing trend, which is to say that in some cases it is better to replace red meat with white meat

(chicken or rabbit). This will depend on which red meat and which chicken we are talking about. Red meat, of agroecological and local production will always be superior to intensive chicken meat grown in 20 days with soy fat and medicines. These arguments are lost and people obey the slogans for lack of this information. It is necessary to teach people to think and not to obey blindly.'

- 'Banana campaign of Oxfam, a market participant moved, was not enough , one must remain on it, next take along, so it fizzled out, because nobody followed suit.'
(Germany)¹
- 'Veggie Day in the canteen (by the Greens): bans are problematic.' (Germany)
- 'The Greens in Baden-Württemberg, in coalition with the CDU, have also removed any reduction in animal husbandry from the treaty. Without less animal products, there is no sustainable nutrition, because the focus on ecological animal husbandry is wrongly placed by many organizations. It must be accompanied by a significant reduction in animal numbers. Otherwise, the negative effects caused by the animals themselves (methane, etc.) would remain, as well as the land demand would increase significantly and thus even more of the little nature in Germany would be destroyed. This has little to do with sustainability.' (Germany)
- 'Some organizations have developed business models from certifications that have shifted the frame. This should not be done by NGOs, certification can be done by private sector alone. RSPO and others do not prevent the expansion of plantations, but form mainly green fig leaves and thus communicate false solutions. Overall, we need more independence from corporate grants and government funding projects, which are often designed "too well-behaved".'
- 'In Germany, the Veggie Day initiative appeared as prohibition politics, instead of, as in its country of origin Belgium, positive aspects such as benefit, variety, curiosity on new prescriptions into the foreground to move. While a Veggie Day is nice and easy to wrap up in a slogan, the more effective approach (now proven by studies) is less bold: more and better plant-based offerings, more favorable placement within the cafeteria, and similar forms of nudging significantly increase the proportion of vegetarian meals consumed, while Veggie Days tend to persuade the "hardliners" to leave.'
- 'Already a little longer ago, but still in the memory of many: the "Veggie Day" of the Greens. May have been done too early, too easy to frame as a "ban", addressed to the general public, therefore no direct communication and corresponding voting possible, but big risk of backlash; no good framing, no good argumentative support (benefits for individuals!) It is noticeable that overall there was no good/successful campaign to the

¹ The majority of findings or organisational names in this compilation are anonymised. In this case, the organisational name is added as an exception for the purposes of clarity.

general public, which manages to pick up the people; here mMn so far mainly the resources are missing; Several campaigns to change political guidelines ("We are fed up" etc.; but also campaigns of foodwatch to ban advertising of junk food to children etc.) remained mMn unfortunately unsuccessful despite media attention; here mMn the actual pressure on politics is missing, which could be generated e.g. (with the appropriate resources) from the health sector.' (Germany)

- 'The worst actions are those that aimed at attacking butcheries (subject animal welfare more than food sustainability, but it is notable as it hurt our whole campaigns on "less and better meat"). Because they were violent and targeted the wrong links in the chain. It generated a lot of misunderstandings and tensions.
- 'I have the impression that all the work of the Confédération paysanne, although absolutely essential, is unfortunately hampered by organizational and structural problems. They often lack clarity, they are slow to react when an NGO asks them to (it was catastrophic on the Climate Law), they want to get involved on less and better but they don't dare to do it because they have very diverse members... So they lack a lot of reactivity and I think they are not very credible today, unlike the FNSEA which is extremely well structured and efficient - to my great regret.
- 'The Greenpeace factory farm mapping work was a resounding failure (see <https://bit.ly/3f2ysax>). The team relied on data from the ministry, asking them for the most up-to-date version, but it turned out to be wrong... This generated a big backlash from farmers. But this is more about production than feeding. Our Greenpeace campaign on pesticide reduction by putting pressure on large retailers had many beneficial effects, but did not have the desired effect on pesticide reduction. It would have required a more increased campaign (I had only 5% of my time on it these last years), a strong legal/legislative component (otherwise supermarkets do what they want anyway) and it would have been necessary to be clearer from the beginning in our demands. Anyway, I think that it is very complicated to force companies if it is not on easily verifiable measures in supermarkets like the presence of category 3 eggs for example (the doses of pesticides used by the farmers supplying the supermarket are obviously unverifiable...).' (France)²

² The majority of findings or organisational names in this compilation are anonymised. In this case, the organisational name is added as an exception for the purposes of clarity.

Campaign Dead-Ends

- ‘The **work with public procurement is very bureaucratic and time-consuming** in Spain and food competences are divided between the City Councils and the Autonomous Communities (they have more) which makes the work very difficult. To influence the "public" food would have to look for another way.’ (Spain)

Silos

- ‘When areas are addressed in silo, for example just focusing on carbon emissions without looking at the broader picture in terms of sustainability e.g. effects on health, biodiversity etc.’
- ‘“Environmental groups could and should be more united around the food system. Initiatives like banning beef on university menus have often backfired, as did the soil associations call for a mandatory meat free day in schools/public sector - when something like this is seen to be imposed, people react strongly against it. NFU have also mobilised to frighten organisations, eg Blue Peter.’ (UK context)
- ‘I believe that the campaigns have to be directed to the individual and the concept of one health, good food, good agriculture, good environment are a key element.’

On the topic of backlash or alienation

- ‘Overall, the campaigns on livestock farming have chosen to have a too dichotomous discourse. The ideal is to show the added value of small producers/breeders and their good practices in terms of animal welfare and environmental protection = to show their knowledge and expertise and often this is not valued enough.’
- ‘It is very difficult to communicate any aspect of sustainability in the production and consumption of animal products. See the recent campaign of the Minister of Consumer Affairs, Alberto Garzón. It is necessary to **particularize the messages** (distinguish types of production) and **address the weight of wealthy animal sectors** in the economy.’ (Context, Spain)
- ‘On the subject of meat, it is necessary to differentiate between intensive and extensive production. It is NOT possible to generalize in the discourse, nor is it the same for industrialized and developing countries.’ (Spain)

- 'Veganuary - alienated and demonised farmers hugely'
- "There is still **too much disconnect between the conservation environment groups** not seeing food as being the fundamental focus of all our work if we are to meet biodiversity goals.'
- 'The fundamentalist vegan message is pushing the corporate controlled lab meat narrative rather than the eat less but better.'
- 'Any that have deliberately set out to polarise or oversimplify it as 'meat bad, vegan good'
- 'I think the Eat Lancet report has created a backlash that was not anticipated but much deserved. Telling least resourced households to eat 5 a day or to eat less junk food. It hasn't worked very well because it didn't understand the many issues behind dietary habit. Information is not enough.'
- 'Removing beef from University campuses backfired somewhat, I think it was too blunt a message. However, if the aim of the campaign was to get the issue in the news and cause trouble, it was really successful'
- 'The call for less meat arouses farmers and creates enemies. by talking about better meat, it is possible to have a dialogue with more farmers. Ultimately they need to make changes so we need to bring them on board'
- 'Waiver demands usually work poorly'
- 'Many campaigns have led to **polarization among farmers.**'
- 'The call for less meat arouses farmers and creates enemies. by talking about better meat, it is possible to have a dialogue with more farmers. Ultimately they need to make changes so we need to bring them on board'
- 'Attacks of the farmers directly have been counterproductive since the farmers defend themselves in the status quo'
- 'Probably, but I would caution that backlash can be a sign of success. Lots of company backlash against EU consumer and policy action on palm oil, but only because it was driving change. Similarly, pressure from Europe has had SOME impact on Brazil (not enough) but also has led to them lashing out - a sign it's working.'
- "Meat free day" campaigns did not work well. Huge public backlash against the Green party saying they want to forbid people to eat meat.' (UK Context)
- 'Suggestions of a meat tax have caused considerable controversy and backlash in the UK to the point that the idea was discounted by the National Food Strategy authors.'

Farmers

- 'It seems that campaigns that are not co-sponsored with agricultural actors are not well received by the latter and do not have a positive effect on the farmers' side.'
- 'The call for less meat arouses farmers and creates enemies. by talking about better meat, it is possible to have a dialogue with more farmers. Ultimately they need to make changes so we need to bring them on board'
- 'Waiver demands usually work poorly'
- 'Many campaigns have led to polarization among farmers.'
- 'The call for less meat arouses farmers and creates enemies. by talking about better meat, it is possible to have a dialogue with more farmers. Ultimately they need to make changes so we need to bring them on board'
- 'Attacks of the farmers directly have been counterproductive since the farmers defend themselves in the status quo'

Generalisations and Communication Learnings

- 'The angle of approach can sometimes make communication difficult (guilt-tripping, messages that are too close to positions that are not yet widely accepted (veganism, for example)) or the lack of scientific rigor in the data presented, which offers easy arguments to opponents of the campaigns.'
- 'It is very important not to lose sight of the concept of "BEST MEAT", we cannot fall into the generality that we must reduce meat consumption because it is bad, because that means leaving behind many people who live from sustainable livestock farming, with its ecosystem services, and fall into more "simplistic" approaches such as plant production is the only good, when it also depends on how and where it has been produced.'
- 'I don't know, I think all the campaigns have worked. The problem is that it has been generalized without distinguishing between sustainable meat production (extensive) and meat from factory farms. (which are harmful).'