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# Towards a More Sustainable Food System? The Framing and Negotiation of Consumer Responsibility in Zurich's Policy and Print Media Discourse

GEO 511 Master's Thesis

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## Abstract

The transition of food systems towards more *Sustainability* has become an increasingly discussed topic within recent years. This is the case since hunger and food insecurity continue to be of high relevance in many parts of the world. In this context, the globally entangled character of contemporary food systems seems crucial to be considered. A consequence of these entanglements is that decisions made by actors in the Global North oftentimes impact social, environmental and economic conditions in countries of the Global South. Aiming to improve the current situation of food insecurity in the world, the question arises how countries such as Switzerland can contribute to reach this goal. In this respect, approaches targeting both food production and consumption are frequently discussed. Focusing on the latter, it can be observed that the responsibility to implement change is oftentimes handed from one actor to the other. Responsibility can be considered as negotiated on several levels within society, prominently in political debates as well as in public discourse. The aim of this thesis is to explore these negotiations with a geographical focus on Zurich more closely. By analysing policy strategies as well as print media documents, it explores the discursive framing and negotiation of responsibility among different actor groups, predominantly focusing on consumers. This is done using the post-structuralist research approach of *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Contextualising this analysis within the conceptual debate of *Food Regime Theory*, this thesis concludes that there is a profound state of contradiction and mutual mistrust inherent to the discourse, making the transition towards a more sustainable food system difficult.

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## **Abbreviations**

***AP22+:** Swiss Agricultural Policy After 2022*

***CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis*

***FAO:** Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

***FOAG:** Federal Office for Agriculture*

***FOPH:** Federal Office of Public Health*

***FSO:** Federal Statistical Office*

***FSVO:** Federal Food Safety and Veterinary Office*

***GDP:** Gross Domestic Product*

***GHG:** Greenhouse Gases*

***GMO:** Genetically Modified Crops*

***HLPE:** High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition*

***IAASTD:** International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development*

***IPCC:** Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*

***NZZ:** Neue Zürcher Zeitung*

***OECD:** Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*

***PSE:** Producer Support Estimate*

***SDG:** Sustainable Development Goals*

***UN:** United Nations*

***WHO:** World Health Organization*

***WTO:** World Trade Organization*



# 1 Introduction

*Consumers don't think how they feel.  
They don't say what they think and  
they don't do what they say.*

David Ogilvy

As indicated in this quote by the British advertising executive David Ogilvy, consumer behaviour needs to be understood as complex and oftentimes difficult to predict. Not only is this complexity due to consumers' unexpected actions, but it is continuously reinforced by their inconsistent or even contradictory decision-making practices. Recognising that individuals act within a constantly evolving network of social, economic and environmental dimensions, it seems crucial to acknowledge that the impact of consumer behaviour reaches far beyond their personal lives. A field in which such impactful nature of their behaviour is prominently discussed is the transition process towards more sustainable food systems. These systems can be defined as “gather[ing] all the elements (environment, people, inputs, processes, infrastructures, institutions, etc.) and activities that relate to the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of food, and the output of these activities including socio-economic and environmental outcomes” (HLPE, 2020, p. 11). In Switzerland, food consumption is estimated to cause one third of the country's overall negative environmental impact (Kamm et al., 2015, p. 7). Accordingly, favourable changes in eating practices are commonly understood as a central driving force of *Sustainability*. Yet, these changes are indeed difficult to implement. This is the case since eating habits, shared social conventions as well as traditions play an important role when it comes to food choices (El Bilali, 2020; Kamm et al., 2015). Aiming for a better understanding of consumers' positioning in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system, it is crucial to understand the representation of this actor group in contemporary discourse. Therefore, this thesis aims to conduct a *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* on the topic. Focusing on this particular debate in the regional context of Zurich, it will investigate the framing and negotiation of consumer responsibility more closely. In order to do so, a qualitative research approach will be applied. The thesis will be structured as follows: in a first step, the theoretical background of food system theory will be discussed. This aims to provide a conceptual foundation for the further debate explored throughout the thesis. In a second step, a *CDA* will be conducted. This will be done using a text corpus of policy strategies as well as print media articles with a regional focus on Zurich. Finally, the key findings of the discourse analysis will be discussed and contextualised within the theoretical debate. This will be done considering Friedmann's and McMichael's *Food Regime Theory*. Overall, taking post-structuralist thinking as a conceptual starting point, this thesis will argue that there is a high degree of contradiction, misconception and mistrust entangled within the discourse, making the transition process towards a more sustainable food system from a societal perspective difficult.

## 2 Food Systems – A Multidimensional Approach

Food systems are of utmost complexity due to their interrelated, entangled and at the same time diverse nature. They are a crucial component of local as well as global economies, show significant implications on both a social as well as a political scale and ultimately contribute to the existence of ecological challenges. Besides, the complexity of food systems is further reflected in the reciprocity of these aspects within the system. In other words, it can repeatedly be observed that food systems do not only influence the social, economic or environmental sector, but that developments within these sectors, in turn, also influence the functioning of food systems. Adding a further level of complexity to the notion, a multitude of economic and social actor groups need to be considered when discussing food systems. Thus, based on this diverse and at the same time fragmented picture, the transition process towards more sustainable food systems in the long term needs to be considered as challenging in nature. Consequently, an integrated and transdisciplinary approach is required in order to investigate the profound structures of such systems more closely (FAO, 2019; Teuber et al., 2021). This is to ensure positive effects and efficient strategies on all levels (Paccaud, 2012). The overarching aim of these efforts is therefore to encourage actors along the entire food chain to consider themselves as part of the problem as well as the solution in the transitioning process towards a more sustainable system. Contextualising the definition of food systems within this of *Sustainability*, food systems can be recognised as sustainable if they “deliver food security and nutrition for all in such a way that the economic, social and environmental bases to generate food security and nutrition for future generations are not compromised” (HLPE, 2020, p. 12). The main goal of food systems can be described as providing sufficient food for the global population. Contextualising this aspect within the 17 *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)* defined by the UN in 2015, it is *SDG 2* which addresses the development of food systems most explicitly (UN, 2024a). Such aims to (UN, 2024a)

“End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture”

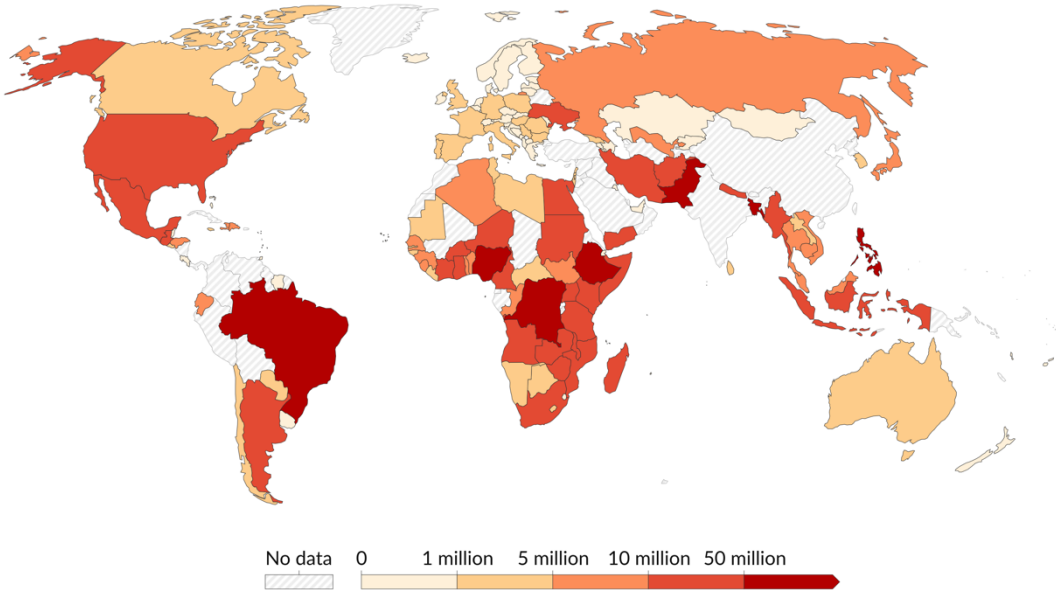
As indicated by this *SDG*, a core concept of the sustainable development on a global scale is thus seen in the encouragement of sustainable agricultural practices in order to end hunger and ultimately reach ‘Food Security’. The latter will be discussed more extensively in a separate chapter of this thesis (see chapter 3.5). Food security can be defined as a state where “all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (The World Bank, 2024a). As suggested by this definition, the concept takes a quantitative approach to food production. Yet, when taking a look at *figure 1*, it can be observed that the number of people who are moderately or severely food insecure is still at a considerably high rate, although this is very unevenly distributed among countries of the Global North and the Global South. The FAO et al. estimated that in 2022, between 691 million and 783 million people were food insecure (2023, p. 6). Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this situation has become even more precarious,

resulting in an estimated additional 122 million people being affected by hunger (FAO et al., 2023, p. 6). These high numbers are not only a threat to the respective population’s health, but they are also frequently the cause of emerging conflicts throughout the world.

**Number of people who are moderately or severely food insecure, 2021**



Food insecurity<sup>1</sup> is defined by the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES). Moderate food insecurity is associated with the inability to regularly eat healthy, nutritious diets. Severe food insecurity is related to insufficient quantity of food.



Data source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2023)  
 OurWorldInData.org/hunger-and-undernourishment | CC BY

Figure 1 Visual Representation of Number of People Who Are Moderately or Severely Food Insecure (Our World in Data, 2024b).

Apart from undernourishment, malnutrition represents a further problem related to insufficient ‘Food Security’. Depending on the country, there are different forms of malnutrition which are prevalent. The most popular phenomena include “overweight”, “obesity” and “micronutrient deficiencies” (HLPE, 2020, p. xvi). What is important to note is that these forms of malnutrition do not only occur separately but do in fact rather commonly occur in combination. These cases are then also considered as ‘Double Burden of Nutrition’ (WHO, 2017). Moreover, a differentiation between macro- and micro-nutrient deficiency can be made. Whereas the former refers to classical forms of hunger and thus to an insufficient consumption of calories in the form of protein, carbohydrates or fats, the latter is also considered as “hidden hunger” (Hodge, 2016, p. 41). This terminology refers to the fact that, although the caloric requirements are met, a lack of micronutrients such as vitamins and minerals is still prevalent and thus negatively impacts people’s health (Hodge, 2016, p. 41). It is estimated that 2 billion people suffer from nutrient deficiencies (HLPE, 2020). Focusing on the Global South, micronutrient deficiencies represent one of the most prevalent forms. According to Hodge, Vitamin A, iodine and iron represent the three micronutrients of which people are most frequently deficient (2016, p. 41). Shifting the

focus towards countries in the Global North, a tendency towards overweight and obesity can be identified. In these areas, as the WHO suggests, there is a trend towards “a homogenization of diets that are higher in saturated fats, salt and sugar, and lower in vitamins and minerals, than the traditional or local diets they often replace” recognisable (2017, p. 5). Accordingly, a correlation between high caloric intake and high income can be observed. What is crucial to bear in mind when discussing food systems in connection to *SDG 2* is that hunger and ‘Food security’ are mostly not due to insufficient production rates of the food system overall but rather a consequence of inadequate distribution. This is particularly concerning when human edible produce (e.g. soy, maize) are used for other purposes than nutrition (e.g. as livestock feed, biofuel, biogas) (HLPE, 2020, p. 31). Although it might be of ecological advantage to, for instance, replace fossil fuels, the use of edible products for alternative purposes can, on a social level, be considered as problematic with regard to the previously introduced rates of food insecurity on the globe. Indeed, this indicates a conflict of interest. Thus, the issue is not as easily solved as by the implementation of an increased production quantity but is in need for a more refined assessment.

Aiming to provide such an assessment, a latent aspect in need of consideration is the conflicting role of agriculture in the context of climate change: on the one hand, according to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 22% of global greenhouse gas emissions in 2019 originated from the category of ‘Agriculture, Forestry and other Land Use’ (2023, p. 5). Thus, the agricultural sector is considered as the second largest economic sector contributing to global climate change (HLPE, 2020, p. 23). Considering the concept of planetary boundaries as proposed by Rockström et al., it can be stated that “six boundaries are now transgressed and pressure is increasing on all boundary processes except ozone depletion” (The Stockholm Resilience Centre, 2023). This concept is constituted of “a set of nine planetary boundaries within which humanity can continue to develop and thrive for generations to come” as represented in *figure 2* (The Stockholm Resilience Centre, 2023). These boundaries can be understood as a display of sustainable progress. As Campbell et al. indicate, it is the agricultural sector which must be considered as a major contributor to the exceeding of several of these boundaries, arguing that “agricultural activities emit large amounts of important non-CO<sub>2</sub> greenhouse gases, while deforestation, to create more space for agriculture, releases significant amounts of CO<sub>2</sub>. The entire food chain and its related activities, from production of fertilizer to distribution of food commodities, also emit significant amounts of CO<sub>2</sub>.” (Campbell et al., 2017). They conclude that agriculture should therefore be understood as a crucial contributor to climate change (Campbell et al., 2017). Elaborating further on the emission rates of GHG throughout the food system, Poore and Nemecek add that there are four prevalent groups responsible for their causation (2018): (1) land use, (2) crop production, (3) livestock and fisheries and the (4) supply chain. The highest emission-rates can be attributed to the sector of livestock production and fisheries. This is due to a variety of different reasons, reaching from “enteric fermentation” in the digestion process of ruminants, “manure management”, “pasture management” to the “fuel use in fisheries” (Poore and Nemecek, 2018). On top of that, for instance, emissions in the feed production, packaging or transportation should be considered, too (Poore & Nemecek, 2018). What is interesting to

observe is that the percentage of “land use for livestock” is presented as double the percentage of the “land use for human food” (Poore and Nemecek, 2018).

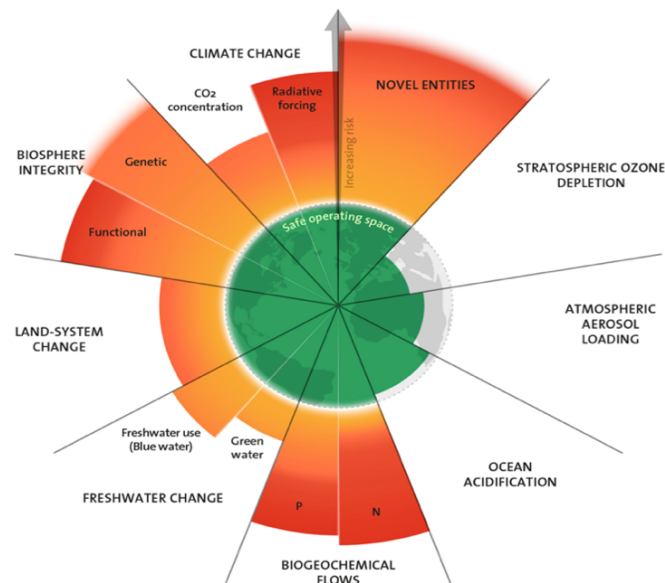


Figure 2 Visual Representation of Planetary Boundary Model (Azote for Stockholm Resilience Centre, based on analysis in Richardson et al., 2023)

On the other hand, agricultural production systems are however not only an important contributor to climate change, but also ‘climate-exposed’ and therefore, in turn, strongly affected by the consequences of such (IPCC, 2023, p. 6). Indeed, it is this positioning at the cutting-edge of emitter and affected which makes the agricultural sector of significant interest and importance to policy makers on a global, national and municipal scale. To provide a few examples, impacts on the agricultural sector include increased temperatures, inconsistent rainfall patterns, new forms of pests as well as an enhanced prevalence of extreme weather events (OECD, 2022, p. 1). Moreover, the agricultural sector is suffering from increasing degradation rates of natural resources, such as “biodiversity loss, water scarcity, deforestation, land degradation, soil fertility loss and pollution” (HLPE, 2019, p. 23). Along with these issues, the spreading of different diseases is also expected to further increase over the years. On the one hand, this concerns plant pests (e.g. weed pests, fall armyworm) which results in reduced revenues and thus a potential threat to food provision on a global scale (HLPE, 2020, p. 25). On the other hand, several infectious diseases of both humans and animals can be considered as food-borne and thus originating from the food production system (HLPE, 2020, p. 25). This can be particularly problematic when leading to an increased use of antibiotics as a consequence, as such inevitably cause unforeseeable resistance patterns (HLPE, 2020, p. 25). Agricultural production suffers under these circumstances, oftentimes resulting in lower production rates. Thus, these trends negatively impact the progress towards the previously discussed UN aim for more ‘Food Security’. Therefore, appropriate solutions need to be explored in order to avoid such decrease of food production rates.

A first way how contemporary production rates could be increased is enhancing land use for agricultural purposes. Focusing on data provided by the FAO, it can be observed that 45% of habitable land is currently used for agricultural purposes on a global scale (Ritchie and Roser, 2019). This corresponds to an area of 48 million km<sup>2</sup> (Ritchie and Roser, 2019). Thereof, 80% and thus 38 million km<sup>2</sup> are ascribed to livestock farming and consequently to the production of meat and dairy products as well as textiles (Ritchie and Roser, 2019). The remaining 20% can be divided into 4% non-food crops (e.g. biofuels) and 16% crops for food, for the latter of which a total of 8 million km<sup>2</sup> land is used (Ritchie and Roser, 2019). Contradictory though it may seem, these numbers indicate that the major amount of global land use in agriculture is connected to livestock farming. Yet, most of both the global calorie and protein supply originates from plant-based products (Ritchie & Roser, 2019). Consequently, it can be argued that a shift in the agricultural focus from livestock production to crop cultivation could contribute to higher production rates of the global food system overall. However, the problem with this approach is that, on a global scale, meat consumption rates follow an exactly opposite trend and are thus increasing. This can be explained by cultural norms, as meat consumption is traditionally associated with higher wealth of people. Taking a look at *figure 3*, the tendency can be observed that high-income countries also show higher meat consumption rates than low-income countries. Thus, along with the shift to increasing wealth of countries, meat consumption rates are also expected to increase.

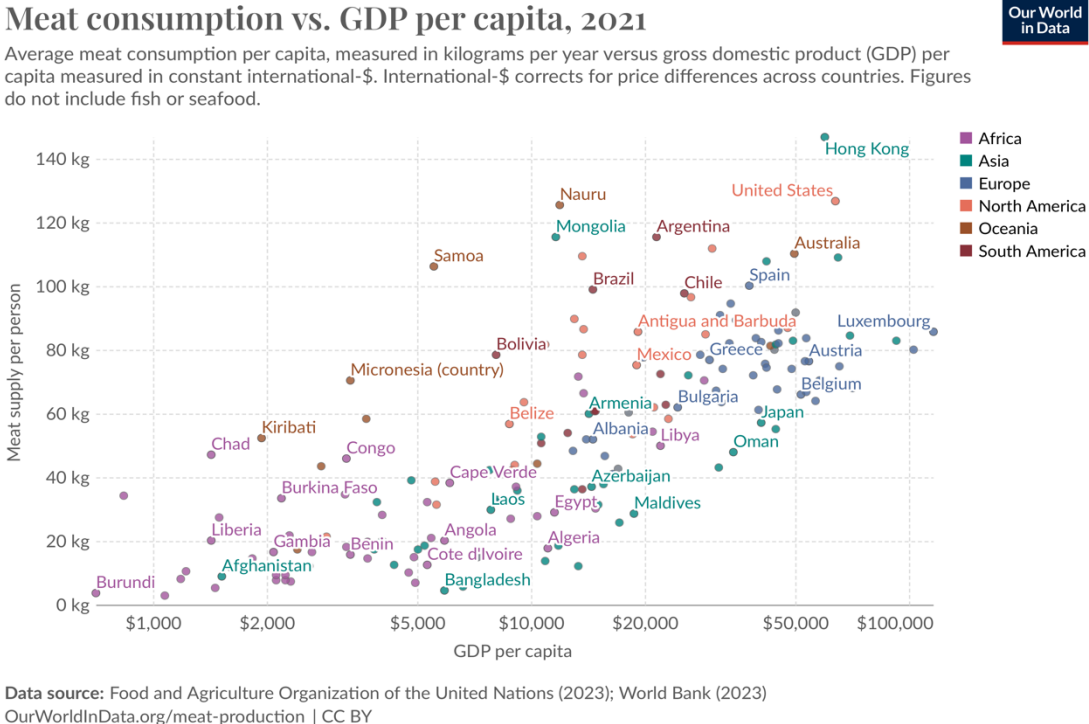


Figure 3 Visual Representation of Increase in Meat Consumption with Increase of GDP per Capita (Our World in Data, 2024a).

A second way how contemporary production rates could be increased is an acceleration in the production efficiency of agricultural systems through intensification. Traditionally, the main approaches to do so include the application of pesticides to protect plants or antibiotics to protect animals from respective pathogens. Yet, as has been indicated previously, these methods need to be discussed critically as their long-term impact is harmful to sustainable food systems. One way of approaching this problem is through technological innovation targeted at sustainable intensification (HLPE, 2020, p. 26). As the HLPE (High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition) committee indicates, “[s]ustainable intensification aims to produce more food using fewer resources on the same amount of land” (2020, p. 26). This form of intensification can be understood as closely connected to the model of ‘Climate Smart Agriculture’ (HLPE, 2020, p. 26). Historically, it was particularly in the context of the so-called ‘Green-Revolution’ when technological interventions enabled a significant increase of efficiency in the agricultural sector. Such is often closely connected to an increase in farm size. Moreover, this has encouraged the development of smart-farming techniques, e.g. precision farming using GIS data (HLPE, 2020, p. 26). What is more, genetically modified crops count towards the biggest innovation in the plant breeding sector. The most popular example in this regard is presumably the ‘Crispr/Cas’ approach of genome editing. Whereas such innovations are often received sceptically by the broader population, they have the potential to increase plants’ resilience through making them more resistant to diseases and extreme weather conditions (HLPE, 2020, p. 27). This, then, can result in a reduced requirement of pesticides. Yet, genome editing technologies are repeatedly criticised for their yet unknown, potentially negative impact on the development of plant species, biodiversity and thus the food system in its entirety (HLPE, 2020, p. 27). Thus, a lack of political and public acceptance currently opposes the implementation of such innovations on a larger scale. Similar discussions can be observed when focusing on product innovations in the sector of meat alternatives: there, it is for instance the cultivation of meat under laboratory conditions which is critically discussed. In addition to this, the cultural hesitance towards alternative products entering the food system can be observed at the example of insects which are advertised as potential alternative protein source. These examples indicate that innovative approaches are indeed of high relevance to the transition process of food systems towards more ‘Food Security’; however, they oftentimes encounter resistance when implemented on a larger scale.

Apart from such innovations with a focus on industrialised food systems, more environmentally focused approaches have also become increasingly discussed in the context of food production. The most common cultivation method in this regard is probably ‘Organic Farming’. This can be defined as “a holistic production management system which promotes and enhances agro-ecosystem health, including biodiversity, biological cycles, and soil biological activity” which “is accomplished by using, where possible, cultural, biological and mechanical methods, as opposed to using synthetic materials” (FAO and WHO, 2006, pp. 2–3). Organic farming can consequently be understood as an alternative approach to conventional farming techniques. However, as such often results in lower revenues, organic production methods are repeatedly criticised as endangering global ‘Food Security’ if practiced on a too

extensive scale. Moreover, taking the social aspect of food production further into account, another popular concept in this field is ‘Agroecology’. According to the FAO, “[a]groecology is an integrated approach that simultaneously applies ecological and social concepts and principles to the design and management of food and agricultural systems. It seeks to optimize the interactions between plants, animals, humans and the environment while taking into consideration the social aspects that need to be addressed for a sustainable and fair food system” (2019, p. 1). The FAO define 10 elements of agroecology: (1) diversity, (2) co-creation and sharing of knowledge, (3) synergies, (4) efficiency, (5) recycling, (6) resilience, (7) human and social values, (8) culture and food traditions, (9) responsible governance and (10) circular and solidarity economy (2019). All of these elements address farming on a non-industrial level and thus encourage developments of small farms.

Continuing the focus on farm sizes in the global food production system, it is crucial to notice that the majority of agricultural goods are, still today, produced by small holder farms (HLPE, 2020, p. 31). This is the case regardless of the trend towards increasing farm sizes in the industrial farming sector of the Global North (HLPE, 2020, p. 31). Globally, around 84% of farms are counted towards this size category (HLPE, 2020, p. 31). Thus, these should not be neglected in the process of finding global solutions. In the context of small holder farms, several further reaching aspects arise which should be discussed. As the HLPE committee indicates, “[s]mall-scale producers, especially women, face many barriers to adopting innovative and sustainable agriculture” such as “limited access to land, water, agricultural inputs, markets and price information, credit, improved technologies, extension services, weather information, risk management tools, social protection and low negotiation power in economic and political relations” (HLPE, 2020, p. 31). To provide a more concrete example, women are often refused land ownership, financial support and professional training due to cultural reasons, which undermines their independence as well as resilience and consequently threatens their ‘Food Security’ (HLPE, 2020, p. 35). Similar effect has the limitation of their access to improved seeding and harvesting technologies, resulting in both inefficiency and food losses.

Considering the aspect of food losses as an important challenge of contemporary food systems, it seems important to acknowledge that while production rates need to be increased in order to foster ‘Food Security’, food losses need to be decreased at the same time. Indeed, similar is true for food waste. Juxtaposing these terms to each other, the following differentiation can be observed: according to the HLPE committee, the term food loss “refers to a decrease, at all stages of the food chain prior to the consumer level, in mass, of food that was originally intended for human consumption, regardless of the cause” (HLPE, 2020, p. 38). Food waste describes “food appropriate for human consumption being discarded or left to spoil at the consumer level – regardless of the cause” (HLPE, 2020, p. 39). The total amount of wasted or lost food is estimated to an equivalent of 1/3 globally (HLPE, 2020, p. 7). Whereas the largest share of food loss occurs in the Global South, the majority of food waste is found in the Global North. The reduction of both these phenomena would contribute not only to more ‘Food Security’ and therefore sufficient or better nutrition, but it would also make food systems more resource-



efficient and thus sustainable overall. Consequently, the reduction of food losses and food waste is further part of the *SDGs* as defined by the UN, explicitly in *SDG 12* (responsible consumption and production) (UN, 2024b).

Finally, besides the previously discussed requirement of increasing production rates and decreasing food losses and waste, the unequal geographical distribution of food should also be considered. Aiming to compensate for this unequal distribution due to climate conditions, soil characteristics and thus growing conditions for crops, trade represents a central strategy to make the food more resilient. Historically, various reasons for trade have been introduced, one of them being comparative advantages. They can be defined as “an advantage a country has over another country because it can produce a particular type of product more efficiently” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2024). Trade can further be considered as encouraging an optimal allocation of production resources. Yet, notwithstanding the central role of trade in a globalised world, the value of exported goods did still not exceed 31% (of GDP) in 2022 (The World Bank, 2024b). There are several instances involved when it comes to the discussion on international trade regulations within food systems (Huber, 2022). A prominent actor is the World Trade Organization (WTO). Since the foundation of WTO as an organisation, it aims to ensure free trade by following their ‘Guiding Principles’ (WTO, 2024a). These include “the pursuit of open borders, the guarantee of most-favoured-nation principle and non-discriminatory treatment by and among members, and a commitment to transparency in the conduct of its activities” (WTO, 2024a). Whereas the principles of ‘Open Borders’ and ‘Transparency’ might be rather easy to comprehend in their significance, the principles of ‘Most-Favoured-Nation’ and non-discriminatory ‘National Treatment’ require further elaboration (WTO, 2024a, 2024b). According to the WTO, the ‘Most-Favoured-Nation’ states that “every time a country lowers a trade barrier or opens up a market, it has to do so for the same goods or services from all its trading partners — whether rich or poor, weak or strong” (WTO, 2024b). Moreover, the definition of ‘National Treatment’ indicates that “imported and locally-produced goods should be treated equally” on the local market (WTO, 2024b). Focusing on the field of food systems, one of the central achievements of the WTO was the ‘Agreement on Agriculture’ (WTO, 2024c). This majorly regulates the aspects of “market access” (“the use of trade restrictions, such as tariffs on imports”), “domestic support” (“the use of subsidies and other support programmes that directly stimulate production and distort trade”) and “export competition” (“the use of export subsidies and other government support programmes that subsidize exports”) (WTO, 2024c). Based on these principles, a fairer trading landscape should be implemented. Thus, dependencies among countries also represent a noteworthy element of discussions on trade within the food system. What such dependencies can look like can for instance be observed in the context of the Ukraine war which started in 2022 and has had, due to Ukraine’s significant position of wheat exports, challenging consequences on a global scale (Glauber and Laborde Debucquet, 2023). Alongside these developments, there is also a controversial discussion on the need for higher self-sufficiency rates that is repeatedly raised (Glauber and Laborde Debucquet, 2023). Again, the element of global trade implicates the strong interdependency of different issues within the food

system: for instance, in an ecological respect, it can be argued that the transportation of goods produces higher emissions and is therefore environmentally detrimental.

As this more refined assessment has indicated, all of the above-mentioned dimensions, and in fact even more, have to be taken into account when discussing food systems. Aiming to change them can therefore be considered as an utterly complex process. Coming back to the ultimate aim of ‘Food Security’, it seems crucial to investigate not only the system in which this goal should be achieved, but also what the concept of ‘Food Security’ includes. According to the World Bank, four underlying concepts to ‘Food Security’ can be identified: (1) “physical *availability* of food”, (2) “economic and physical *access* to food”, (3) “food *utilization*” and (4) “*stability* of the other three dimensions over time” (The World Bank, 2024b). In addition to these aspects, the HLPE indicates that there are two further dimensions underlying ‘Food Security’ and developments towards such (HLPE, 2020). The first dimension they discuss is *Sustainability*, referring to “the long-term ability of food systems to provide food security and nutrition today in such a way that does not compromise the environmental, economic, and social bases that generate food security and nutrition for future generations“ (HLPE, 2020, p. 9). Aiming to reach this goal of sustainable food systems, the HLPE commission introduced a ‘Sustainable Food System Framework’ (2020, p. 11). Of course, it seems crucial to add that food systems do not function as independent constructs but are rather positioned at the cutting edge among other systems (HLPE, 2020, p. 11). This is also reflected by the fact that various *SDGs* aside from *SDG 2* impact the developments of the food system or, in turn, are impacted by such (HLPE, 2020, p. 11). First and foremost, it can be argued that a crucial stepping stone of reaching *SDG 2* is reflected in *SDG 12*. Such aims to (UN, 2024b)

“Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns”

Acknowledging that food supply chains evolve between these two processes of production and consumption, it can be argued that a successful implementation of *SDG 2* is closely linked to the achievement of *SDG 12*. Yet, whereas the discussion on sustainable food systems in this chapter has so far provided insight into the different dimensions of global food systems and their entanglement within the process towards more ‘Food Security’, its main focus has been on the systemic sectors of food production and distribution. Considering *SDG 12*, it can be said that the element which has yet been largely excluded from the discussion at hand is sustainable consumption. This, in fact, represents the final element suggested to by the HLPE commission: *Agency*. They refer to Sen’s understanding of agency (or “agency-freedom”) as “what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important” when defining such as “individuals or groups having the capacity to act independently to make choices about what they eat, the foods they produce, how that food is produced, processed, and distributed, and to engage in policy processes that shape food systems.”(HLPE, 2020, pp. 7, 10; Sen, 1985, p. 203). The concept is thus closely connected to the role of the government as

well as to the empowerment of individuals to act independently and thus sustainably (HLPE, 2020, p. 8). By adding the dimension of human agency to the discussion, it becomes evident that it is not only the production and distribution system which has to shift towards more *Sustainability*, but that individual consumers have to take responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system too. However, when taking this argument one step further, the question arises how consumer responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system is negotiated in society. Using this question as a starting point, the following chapters aim to investigate sustainable consumption in the context of food systems in more detail. This will be approached from both a conceptual as well as analytical point of view.

### **3 Conceptual Background**

Aiming for a profound understanding of consumers' positioning within the transition towards more sustainable food systems, this chapter aims to provide an overview on relevant concepts underlying the discussion. In order to do so, firstly, the concept of *Sustainability* will be introduced, before moving deeper into Friedmann's and McMichael's *Food Regime Theory*. Subsequently, different ways of re-thinking neoliberal economies and food systems will be outlined. Finally, the focus will be shifted onto post-structuralist perspectives on neoliberal economies.

#### **3.1 The Concept of *Sustainability***

*Sustainability* is an extensively discussed topic in contemporary discourses, both in a scientific and non-scientific context. Yet, there is no generally recognised definition existing. Approaching *Sustainability* on a conceptual level, Purvis et al. indicate that “‘sustainability’ remains an open concept with myriad interpretations and context-specific understanding” (2019, p. 681). Indeed, there is a considerable variety of conceptual interpretation identifiable in literature. One of the most popular approaches is a “triangular concept” which suggests the ‘Three Pillars of Sustainability’: economy, environment and society (Kemp and Martens, 2007, p. 6; Purvis et al., 2019, p. 681). Yet, Purvis et al. have compiled a literature-based list of terms which are used alternatively for the term ‘pillar’, reaching e.g. from ‘dimensions’ to ‘components’ or ‘stool legs’ (2019, p. 681). Considering the fact that neither the research concept of *Sustainability*, nor the terminology used to describe it are clearly defined, the question arises whether discussions on the topic can in fact be fruitful in nature. It is the contribution of Ramsey that argues that “[t]he lesson for sustainability is that we will not be able to define our way to clarity. Rather, we will have to rely on how we go about doing and performing sustainability” (2015, p. 1076). Kemp and Martens even see a benefit in the identified lack of clarity when it comes to defining *Sustainability* (2007). They argue that “open definitions help communities and groups of actors to identify sustainability programs and actions that befit their concerns” thus “encouraging locally adapted solution” (Kemp and Martens, 2007, p. 7). Therefore, the imprecise nature of the term *Sustainability* cannot only be perceived as disadvantage but has the potential to also encourage new approaches. The concept of

*Sustainability* provides a basis for discussions on sustainable development as a process. The ‘Brundtland Report’ published in 1987 defines ‘sustainable development’ as “meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”(UN, 2024c). Of course, this definition cannot be considered as universally accepted either. Nevertheless, using the previously outlined ‘Three Pillars of Sustainability’ as a starting point, scholars agree that integrated approaches are needed in order to reach more sustainable systems. Yet, this shift is mostly connected to actor networks of utmost complexity, making solution-finding as well as decision-making processes on a political level difficult. Indeed, such difficulty can be observed when focusing on sustainable food systems, too.

### **3.2 Friedmann’s and McMichael’s *Food Regime Theory***

Approaching food systems based on principles of critical political economy, Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael introduced the concept of *Food Regimes* in 1989. Whereas major attention had previously been on the stage of food production, Friedmann and McMichael took a more differentiated approach by additionally taking a look on consumption (Campbell and Dixon, 2009, p. 262). This widely recognised concept “situates the global ordering of international food production, circulation and consumption relations within specific institutionalized world-historical conjunctures” (McMichael, 2012, p. 682). It can thus be understood as providing a structured approach to the role of the agricultural production and consumption of food in the process of capital accumulation (McMichael, 2009, p. 140). This is done outlining the impact of the global food system from a geo-political and ecological perspective (McMichael, 2009, p. 139). The theory was developed over the years, leading to a shift from a peripheric positioning of food to the core of theoretical approaches targeting society or capitalism (Campbell and Dixon, 2009, p. 261) More precisely, McMichael specifies their approach as aiming at “problematising linear representations of agricultural modernisation, underlining the pivotal role of food in global political-economy, and conceptualising key historical contradictions” (2009, p. 140). The concept critically engages with the entanglement capital and power, focusing on agricultural trade flows and the global distribution of food (McMichael, 2009, p. 140). In order to do so, a distinction between three types of *International Food Regimes* is proposed:

The *First Food Regime* (1870-1914), considered as ‘imperial’, “combines colonial tropical imports to Europe with basic grains and livestock imports from settler colonies, provisioning emerging European industrial classes” (Bernstein, 2016, p. 615; Campbell and Dixon, 2009, p. 263; McMichael, 2009) Accordingly, the *First Food Regime* allowed European and particularly British countries to complement their domestic food production systems and imported agrarian goods from their ‘settler states’ such as Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, USA or Canada (Bernstein, 2016, p. 615; McMichael, 2009, p. 141). As Bernstein indicates, the regime was moreover characterised by “the culmination of European colonialism in Asia and Africa – colonies of ‘occupation’ – and the ‘rise of the nation-state system’ in which former colonies of ‘settlement’ were now independent” (2016, p. 615). The end of the *First Food Regime* is commonly located in the beginning of World War I in 1914 (Bernstein, 2016, p. 619). It was

followed by three decades of repeated crises such as the Great Depression and World War II, before entering the era of the subsequent *Food Regime*.

McMichael indicates that the *Second Food Regime* (1945-1973), also characterised as the ‘post-World War II/Fordist’, shifted its hegemonic focus from Britain to the United States (Bernstein, 2016; Campbell and Dixon, 2009, p. 236) It was defined by “re-routed flows of (surplus) food from the United States to its informal empire of postcolonial states on strategic perimeters of the Cold War” (McMichael, 2009, p. 141). As Friedmann indicates, a combination of the US foreign aid policy at that time and controlled imports played a crucial role in this re-structuring (1993, p. 34). Apart from the transition of formerly colonised states to a global system of independent nations, Bernstein indicates that the *Second Food Regime* affected countries in the Global North differently to those situated in the Global South (2016, p. 619). Using the allocation of food as a direct way of, on the one hand, avoiding price-lowering surpluses through domestic production as well as, on the other hand, executing power through the establishment of dependencies due to food imports, the *Second Food Regime* can be considered as both “encouraging selective Third World industrialisation” and “securing loyalty against communism and to imperial markets” (Bernstein, 2016, pp. 619–620; McMichael, 2009, p. 141). This ultimately led to a “new international division of labour” with regard to agricultural production within the global food system (McMichael, 2009, p. 141).

The existence of a *Third Food Regime* (since late 1980s) is an ongoing debate among scholars in the field. A crucial outcome of the historically informed structuring applied by the *Food Regime Theory* can be seen in its demonstration that food systems can fundamentally change in their structure (Campbell and Dixon, 2009, p. 264). Based on the establishment of the WTO, Friedmann and McMichael developed an incongruent understanding of what the *Third Food Regime* stands for (Campbell, 2009). Friedmann, on the one hand, argues for a still open *Corporate-Environmental Food Regime*, indicating that the impact of social movements has led to the emergence of green capitalism (Bernstein, 2016, p. 625). She identifies “distance” and “durability” as key factors in order to reach such a system, concluding that the required change of food systems should not be expected among reinvented global trade relations, but rather on a “local, regional, communal and ecologically-embedded level of food relationships” (Campbell, 2009, p. 310). McMichael, on the other hand, identifies the contemporary regime as a more consolidated *Corporate Food Regime* with a predominantly “neoliberal” focus (Bernstein, 2016, pp. 632, 635; McMichael, 2009, p. 142). Later, McMichael’s approach became also known as *Food from Nowhere Regime* (Campbell, 2009, pp. 310–311). He defines this regime as “a neoliberal project of agricultural liberalization via structural adjustment mechanisms and WTO rules encouraging universal agro-exporting and requiring states in the global South to open their economies to the Northern-dominated international food trade, dismantle farm sector protections and adopt intellectual property protections” (McMichael, 2012, p. 682). Consequently, he identifies a gap between “privileged consumers of fresh fruits and vegetables, and fish, and generating populations of displaced slum-dwellers as small farmers leave the land” (McMichael, 2009, p. 142). Due to this gap and the coexistence of various

economic, ecological as well as social challenges, the *Third Food Regime* is frequently perceived as in crisis.

After an economic focus on Great Britain as well as the United States and the respective collapses of these *Food Regimes*, the question was raised whether the inclusion of the agricultural system in the framework of multilateral trade relations such as encouraged by the WTO would be able to stabilise the new situation (Pritchard, 2009, p. 298). Yet, as Pritchard suggests, it was the unsuccessful outcome of the Doha Round that made it apparent that this would not be the case (2009, pp. 298–299). McMichael strongly argues for an approach of ‘thesis’ and ‘antithesis’; the former referring to “a world dominated and destroyed by corporate capitalist agribusinesses and trade” and the latter to “the peasant way” (Bernstein, 2016, p. 640). The “peasant way” commonly describes the actions of “small farmers”, “small-holders” or “family farmers”; however, as Bernstein indicates, there is no concrete definition of such existing (2016, p. 640). What both of the approaches by Friedmann and McMichael have in common is that they consider social movements as important elements, as for instance ‘La Via Campesina’ (Bernstein, 2016, p. 635).

Of course, the discussion of Friedmann’s and McMichael’s *Food Regime Theory* has not remained without criticism. First and foremost, criticism is uttered towards the fact that these regimes are only retrospectively defined (Bernstein, 2016, p. 643). Moreover, Dixon argues that the *Food Regime Theory* largely neglects the role of nutrition science (Dixon, 2009). She indicates that “the nutritionalisation of national and international food systems has continued as an unbroken socio-technical and knowledge revolution” (Dixon, 2009, p. 331). Bernstein, in turn, refers to Friedmann’s and McMichael’s *Food Regime Theory* arguing that a “lack of any demographic dimension in food regime analysis is striking” (2016, p. 637). He indicates that the original theory misses to address the aspect of increased quantitative food-requirements in the future (Bernstein, 2016, p. 637). Moreover, Bernstein outlines the danger of McMichael’s twofold approach of ‘Thesis’ and ‘Antithesis’, arguing that the debate has evolved towards the aim of “verification” of this opposition instead of an open “investigation” (2013, p. 638). Yet again, Burch and Lawrence argue for a *Third Food Regime* which is “characterized by flexible manufacturing and high levels of innovations, as supermarkets restructure the agri-food supply chain in order to satisfy highly segmented niche markets for a range of new agri-food commodities” (2005, p. 2).

### **3.3 Towards a Sustainable *Third Food Regime*?**

Focusing on the issue of *Sustainability*, Campbell uses the concept of *Food Regimes* to “interrogate whether there are any grounds for hope that we might one day achieve a more sustainable set of ecological relations that can operate in a stable form and at a global scale” (2009, p. 309). Taking Friedmann’s *Corporate-Environmental Food Regime* as a starting point, he raises the question whether a sustainable food system could potentially emerge within the context of the *Third Food Regime* (Campbell, 2009, p. 310). Campbell’s approach is based on Friedmann’s idea that the food system has to become more

sustainable in order to escape the persistently negative cycle of crisis alternating phases of temporary stability (2009, p. 310). He identifies a loss in social legitimacy of a regime as the original turning point because of which the *First* and *Second Food Regime* collapsed (Campbell, 2009, p. 312). Moving to the *Third Food Regime*, he refers to McMichael's *Food from Nowhere Regime*, which describes the "strong liberalization and commoditisation of corporate supply chains (harmonizing production standards, creating limits to the extent and power of national food regulation, and moving against regional identities to food [...] obscuring the social, geographical, economic and technical bases of its production regime" (Campbell, 2009, pp. 310–311). Campbell argues that the emergence of different counter movements which influence global trade fluxes in the *Third Food Regime* can be observed too (2009, pp. 311–312). Burch and Lawrence agree with this observation, indicating that "[c]onsumers are seen to be 'greening' – adopting attitudes and behaviours that, at one and the same time, question the health and environmental benefits of technology-intensive and 'factory' farming, and support the development of 'alternative' (especially organic) and other purportedly more sustainable food production systems" (2005, p. 12). Examples include people's resistance to genetically modified crops, an increased focus on regionality and seasonality or an interest in organic products (Campbell, 2009, p. 311). It is through these decisions that consumers gain considerable influence on the further development of the food system. Considering these movements, also an alternative regime is suggested: the *Food from Somewhere Regime*, "operating in complex opposition to the invisible relations at the heart of McMichael's 'Food from Nowhere' Regime" (Campbell, 2009, p. 311). This is the case when international labels make, for instance, the cultivation methods of products transparent on a global scale and thereby influence where and by whom they will be bought (Campbell, 2009, p. 311). Whereas the *Food from Nowhere Regime* is characterised by a focus on low prices, the *Food from Somewhere Regime* significantly evolves on the social and ecological standards previously identified, which are particularly popular among "affluent consumers in Western societies" (Campbell, 2009, p. 313). Yet, Campbell identifies a "binary relationship" in this context, concluding that "foods must not only be demonstrably from somewhere, they must also provide legitimate assurance that they are not food from nowhere: their *raison d'être* requires the existence of both" (2009, pp. 317–318).

### **3.4 Polanyi's *Double Movement Theory***

In his work *The Great Transformation*, Karl Polanyi indicates the existence of a so-called *Double Movement* (Ebner, 2017, p. 171). This two-folded approach to the formation of market societies can be described as follows: there is a first movement of 'laissez faire', which Block defines as "the efforts by a variety of groups to expand the scope and influence of self-regulating markets" (2008, p. 1). Starting in the 1980, this movement has become increasingly transferred to areas such as neoliberal markets (Block, 2008). According to Polanyi's argument, an expansion of market structures to the construct of social relations took place (Ebner, 2017). More specifically, he describes the commodification of labour, land and money to 'fictitious commodities', which has led to a destabilisation of economy (Ebner, 2017, p. 171). As a consequence of this destabilisation, various forms of countermovement have emerged. This

is what Polanyi identifies as the second part of the *Double Movement*. This so-called ‘protective counter-movement’ can be defined as “insulate[ing] the fabric of social life from the destructive impact of market pressures” (Block, 2008, p. 1). Contrary to conventional economic logics, Polanyi’s work was at a later stage further applied to the role of social and ecological aspects on a local scale as crucial components of a functioning food system. It is mostly referred to smaller initiatives which represent alternative forces to conventional market structures and can therefore, today, be considered as an alternative to neoliberalist economic thinking. It is commonly argued that contemporary market societies are constructed based on a combination of these two movements (Block, 2008, p. 1). When focusing on the market structures of the ‘laissez faire’ movement, the role of the state can be critically examined. Polanyi questions whether a self-regulating market can serve as a base of social order, arguing that it is the role of the state to maintain such order which leads to a high degree of governmental dependency (2008, p. 2). He further adds that “the exercise of state power fundamentally shapes the relative strength of different social actors”, referring to continuously negotiated relationship among actors and regulations on an international, national or local level (2008, p. 2). Thus, as Block indicates, Polanyi considered the idea of self-regulating market systems as ‘utopian’, arguing that it is only due to the state that these economies do not fall apart (2008, p. 6). Taking this argument to later discussions on food systems, the investigation of alternatives to the neoliberal understanding of economy has been a widely discussed topic throughout the years. As a response to this criticism of neoliberal markets, a re-thinking of neoliberal economies and food systems is regularly demanded. The formation of such movements is significantly based on social collaboration and the concept of solidarity (Block, 2008). Examples of such counter-movements include “Food Sovereignty”, “Slow Food”, “Community Supported Agriculture” and “small-scale organic producers”, which have increased in their popularity over the years (McMichael, 2009, p. 142).

### **3.5 Re-Thinking Neoliberal Economies and Food Systems**

In order to re-examine neoliberal economies and food systems, the concepts of ‘Food Security’ and ‘Food Sovereignty’ need to be defined. Discussing Campbell’s and Friedmann’s environmental focus, McMichael describes a “continuing tension between the food sovereignty movement claims that small-holders ‘feed the world and cool the planet’, and the development industry’s attachment to a ‘Food Security’ rhetoric for ‘feeding the world’ by incorporating Southern farmers into a refashioned agriculture organised by transnational ‘value chains’” (2009, p. 161).

Regarding Polanyi’s originally proposed *Double Movement Theory* as a crucial concept applicable to contemporary food system analysis, the question arises how these seemingly conflicting movements interact in order to maintain the provision of overarching ‘Food Security’ as defined in the previous chapter. Referring to the required agricultural growth in order to maintain such security, van Der Ploeg argues that “the political economy of agriculture fails to positively identify the factors located within the agricultural sector itself that induce, sustain and/or strengthen (and thus explain) the process



of agricultural growth” (2013, p. 4). His contribution is based on the assumption that the neoliberal agricultural system follows a trend of replacing small family farms with larger industrialised farms (van Der Ploeg, 2013, p. 4). One of the underlying arguments of this transition is the prevalent perception of the “backwardness of peasants” (van Der Ploeg, 2013, p. 2). Whereas the coexistence of these different farm sizes is commonly understood as increasing food production rates overall, van Der Ploeg indicates that this replacement process results in an ultimate decrease of production (2013, p. 4). He, therefore, argues for the need of a countermovement in this context.

As has been indicated previously, the identified crisis of the economic, ecological as well as social challenges connected to the *Third Food Regime* resulted in an emergence of ecological and societal resistance patterns (Tilzey, 2018). One of them is ‘Food Sovereignty’: whereas ‘Food Security’ mainly focuses on the sufficient quantity of nutrition for people without considering issues such as power asymmetry, ‘Food Sovereignty’ goes one step further by considering cultural, ecological and social aspects such as the origin of agricultural products (Gordillo and Méndez, 2013). It is a movement based on the broader concept of ‘Agroecology’, which has been introduced in the previous chapter. Acknowledging the importance of small-scale producers and social networks, agroecology thus represents a broader approach of countermovement to the *Neoliberal Food Regime*, aligning with the more refined concept of ‘Food Sovereignty’ (McMichael, 2012, p. 682). Such can be defined as “the right of people to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture system” and can thus be considered as a more integrative compared to industrialised food production (One Planet Network Sustainable Food Systems, 2020, p. 41). Indeed, the concepts of ‘Food Security’ and ‘Food Sovereignty’ can also be discussed critically. For instance, as Edelman argues, similarly to the term *Sustainability*, the concept of ‘Food Sovereignty’ is “over-defined” and thus imprecise in its meaning and use (2013, p. 9). He further adds that the concept commonly fails to state more precisely who the ‘sovereign’ party is (e.g. the nation, municipality or individuals) (Edelman, 2013, p. 1). Moreover, an inconsistent differentiation between the concept of ‘Food Security’ and ‘Food Sovereignty’ can be observed: whereas some definitions indicate that the two concepts are opposing each other, other definitions describe the two concepts as largely intersecting (Edelman, 2013, p. 11). Yet, it is predominantly the former perspective which is broadly discussed. Moreover, the coexistence of the two concepts is repeatedly criticised for its oppositional character, understanding food security as a predominantly technical concept with a quantitative focus opposed to the small-scale and non-industrial nature of ‘Food Sovereignty’ (Edelman, 2013; Gordillo and Méndez, 2013). Finally, the focus on ‘Food Sovereignty’ is often considered as conflicting with regard to agricultural policy as suggested by the WTO (McMichael, 2009, p. 142).

### **3.6 Post-Structuralist Approaches to Neoliberal Economies**

The concept of post-structuralism emerged after the 1960s and builds on the preceding movement of structuralism (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 571). According to Gibson-Graham, post-structuralism represents

a “theoretical approach to knowledge and society that embraces the ultimate undecidability of meaning, the constitutive power of discourse and the political effectivity of theory and research” (2003, p. 95). Essentially, its main argument is to contest the clear-cut boundaries as outlined by structuralist theory (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 571). In other words, post-structuralist thinking critically engages with socially accepted ideas, conventions and practices by questioning their nature as generally acknowledged facts and analysing power structures which are hidden at their core (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 97). Its origin is mostly attributed to Jacques Derrida’s publications in 1966; however, it has been further influenced by scholars such as Michel Foucault or Roland Barthes (Gregory et al., 2009, pp. 571–572). Post-structuralism has impacted various disciplines including philosophy, literary theory, social sciences as well as fields such as economic geography (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 571). A central aspect which is of post-structuralist interest is the concept of discourse. Indeed, as various disciplines have outlined, there is also a rather heterogeneous understanding of discourse as a construct. Consequently, as Rasiński found, “as early as at their beginnings there appeared some essential differences in understanding the phenomenon which challenges the thesis on the existence of a consistent reflection that could be referred to as the theory or analysis of discourse” (2011, p. 8). Two frequently discussed approaches in the field of post-structuralism are Jacques Derrida’s *Deconstruction* approach as well as Michel Foucault’s *Genealogy* and *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Using these approaches to re-think economy, and thus as well to re-think food systems, such can allow for new perspectives on persisting economic problems, one of them being its *Sustainability Transition*.

### 3.6.1 Derrida’s Approach to Post-Structuralism

Jacques Derrida’s approach towards post-structuralism essentially results in the “destabilization of meaning” through the removal of binary oppositions through *Deconstruction* (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 572). This refers to a specific, critical reading-strategy in which clear-cut boundaries of seemingly opposing concepts are questioned and blurred (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 98). Such boundaries are common in structuralist thinking, given that there, the presence of structure implies an idea of a homogenous system in society which is known as ‘Logocentrism’ (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 98; Rasiński, 2011, p. 11). To provide a concrete example in the context of economic thinking, Gibson-Graham use the term “factory” in order to illustrate logocentrism: according to them, “factory” describes everything that is “stable, bounded, and constituted via a negation” (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 97). This is to say that the common understanding of “factory” is defined by everything that is “not a factory”, resulting in a binary opposition: either, something is a factory, or it is not.

Shifting the focus from the term to the concepts associated with it, further-reaching consequences of these binaries can be observed: as a “factory” represents a “site of production”, everything which is not a factory (e.g. households) is excluded from this concept and can thus not a place of similarly productive activities (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 98). This, for example, commonly results in the fact that production taking place in households is usually considered as inferior to the ‘productive sites of factories’ (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 98). As Derrida argues in his theory, it is crucial to deconstruct

such traditional binaries and thus re-think economic structures which result in exclusion. A second example is the binary opposition of capitalism and non-capitalism from a western perspective, in which capitalism can be understood as “necessarily and naturally dominant form of economy” whereas non-capitalist activities are often considered as inferior in terms of productivity and economic output and thus comparatively powerless (Gibson-Graham, 2003, pp. 101–102). Contextualising this perspective within the previously outlined discussion on ‘Food Security’ and ‘Food Sovereignty’, it can be argued that such deeply rooted and unconscious binary oppositions can have a considerable impact on how food systems are approached, too. Re-thinking neoliberal economic structures thus means to understand economy as “a complex interdependency of different economic relations within the variously constituted household, volunteer, self-employed, family business, prison, and illegal” and thus to deconstruct common binary oppositions which are in place (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 102).

Post-structuralist thinking as a methodological approach can be used by practising a form of *Double Reading* (Rasiński, 2011, p. 11). Whereas the first reading serves the understanding of the “dominant interpretation of the text, its assumptions, concepts and arguments”, the second reading should allow for the analysis of its “excluded, repressed and inferior interpretation that forms an undercurrent in the text” (Rasiński, 2011, p. 11). Rasiński concludes that the “dominant interpretation” of the text is closely aligned with what is excluded from it, resulting in the fact that “the relation between the two interpretations becomes more important than the dominant interpretation” itself (Rasiński, 2011, p. 12). *Deconstruction*, overall, can thus be understood as questioning the commonly acknowledged truths in society, confronting the existence of structure and the construction of meaning through binary oppositions. The concept can be applied to challenge the functioning of the neoliberal economy, for instance with regard to food systems.

### **3.6.2 Foucault’s Approach to Post-Structuralism**

Michel Foucault’s approach towards post-structuralism can be encountered in the concept of *Genealogy* and *Critical Discourse Analysis*. The former can be defined as the process of “trace[ing] the historical evolution [...] of socially constructed categories and to ask in whose name and in what contexts certain objects became associated with certain categories” (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 572). In other words, Foucault criticises modern institutions for their oppression through power by comparing them to their predecessors in history. Popular objectives of his criticism are hospitals or prisons, which he contextualised within the frameworks of power exercised by scientific and political discourse (Gregory et al., 2009, p. 572). Power structures represent a central motive of Foucault’s work, who studied them extensively in the form of *CDA*. Differently to Derrida’s focus on the *Deconstruction* of meaning present in society, Foucault concentrates on the way meaning and knowledge become generally accepted as “truth” in the first place (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 99). His approach includes several post-structuralist aspects, such as “the relation of subject and discourse” or “the problem of the unity of structure/discourse” (Rasiński, 2011, p. 17). Discourses are used to analyse the “rule-governed practice that includes meanings set within a knowledge system as well as institutions and social practices that produce and maintain these

meanings” (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 99). Foucault’s argument mainly focuses on “the delimitation of the sphere of discourse and the social sphere as two distinct domains which influence one another retaining at the same time certain autonomy” (Rasiński, 2011, p. 17).

Gibson-Graham illustrate Foucault’s approach to discourses, again, using the example of the term “factory”: they argue that the specific productive form of work which is performed in factories and expressed in language is further part of a larger discourse, including “routinized bodily movements, rules of behaviour [and] institutional actors” (2003, p. 99). Such allocation of “metal, glass, bodies, energy, and produced materials” is attributed meaning for society. In the framing of an industrialised discourse, this is then, for instance, positively connotated (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 99). In a more ecologically driven discourse, the meaning of factory would then, in turn, be framed rather negatively. A further example of Foucault’s post-structuralist focus is the example of *development* and the manner in which countries are categorised into *underdeveloped*, *developing* and *developed* (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 103). This serves as an illustrative example of how power relations are represented in discourses (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 103).

Commonly unquestioned meanings are what Foucault critically engages with in his methodological approach of discourse analysis, aiming to re-examine concepts which are considered as a generally acknowledged truth (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 100). His particular focus lies on “the way knowledges exercise and produce power – through apparatuses of regulation (for example, institutions like schools, prisons, workhouses, and factories where techniques of bodily discipline and surveillance prevail) and through the development and application of technologies of self-management that help to organize the daily business of living (for example, budgets, diets, maps [...])” (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 100). His focus also lies on what is excluded from discourses or even denied, as well as on the role of individuals and their resistance against such exercised power (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 100). Overall, Foucault emphasises the importance of the “focus upon how different forms of power intersect with knowledge production and create certain valorised conceptions of the subject in any historical period” (Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 100). Taking this argument as a starting point, this thesis will use *Foucauldian CDA* as a post-structuralist methodology to analyse how the positioning of consumers in Swiss discourse is negotiated.

### **3.7 Research Objectives**

Taking Friedmann’s and McMichael’s *Food Regime Theory* as a conceptual starting point, the analysis at hand aims to contribute to the discussion on food systems and the emergence of a potential *Third Food Regime*. Understanding the process of re-thinking neoliberal economies in the context of food systems as a basis of critical engagement with contemporary market systems, the analysis will build on Friedmann’s idea that food systems have to become more sustainable in order to escape the persistent cycle of crises alternating with phases of temporary stability (Campbell, 2009, p. 310). The current state of insufficient food security on a global scale, together with multiple environmental, economic and

social challenges, can be understood as a direct expression of lacking stability in the food system in place and thus preventing the achievement of *SDG 2*. Building on *SDG 12* when focusing on the interaction between sustainable food production and consumption in order to reach this goal, the question arises how consumer responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system is negotiated in society. This question becomes particularly interesting when discussed on the conceptual background of Polanyi's and Foucault's critical assessment on the role of the state and its relation to individuals in society in terms of power structures. Using the post-structuralist concept of *Critical Discourse Analysis*, this thesis aims to investigate this issue by addressing the following research questions:

- (1) How is responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system politically allocated among actor group in Switzerland's national and Zurich's cantonal as well as municipal policy strategies?
- (2) How is the actor group of consumers discussed in Switzerland's national and Zurich's cantonal as well as municipal policy strategies and what are prevalent framings which are used in order to do so?
- (3) How is responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system publicly negotiated in Switzerland's and Zurich's print media discourse?
- (4) How is the actor group of consumers discussed in Switzerland's and Zurich's print media discourse and what are prevalent framings which are used in order to do so?

## **4 Methodology**

Focusing on the methodological approach taken in the thesis at hand, this chapter will be structured twofold: in a first step, the process of data acquisition will be outlined, before, in a second step, consideration will be given to the process of data analysis. Both of these sections will, in turn, consist of two sub-sections: the first sub-section will explain the approach taken with regard to the corpus-based content analysis of policy strategies, whereas the second will focus on print media articles. Moreover, the subsequent section will address the aspects of positionality and ethical considerations. This chapter will conclude on a critical note regarding methodological practices.

### **4.1 Discourse Analysis as a Post-Structuralist Research Concept**

'Discourse' is a concept that has become increasingly popular over the years. Whereas the term is used to refer to an "organized discussion" in everyday language, its use in scientific contexts is often not as clear-cut (Rasiński, 2011, p. 7). This is partially due to the fact that discourses are situated at the cutting-edge of linguistic research, on the one hand, and disciplines of social sciences such as geography, psychology, sociology, pedagogy, philosophy or anthropology, on the other hand (Rasiński, 2011, p. 7). As Jäger indicates, this has resulted in a range of different methodological approaches which are applied to analyse discourse (2015, p. 8). Consequently, it can be argued that there is not one single way how to

approach them, but rather an entire 'Toolbox' of methodologies (Jäger, 2015, p. 8). These are in constant adaptation and can therefore not be considered as fixed (Jäger, 2015, p. 8).

The original idea of *Critical Discourse Theory* is usually referenced in Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistic concept of the 'sign' (Rasiński, 2011, p. 8). In his work, de Saussure argues for the arbitrariness of linguistic expression through emphasising the interaction between 'Signifier' and 'Signified' (Rasiński, 2011, p. 9). According to this argument, a word can be deconstructed to its 'Acoustic Image' (for instance the word 'Tree' /tri:/) and the 'Idea' which it refers to ('a tall plant with branches and a stem'). De Saussure thus argues that the form of the 'Acoustic Image' (Signifier) is arbitrary and not logically related to the 'Idea' (Signified) it refers to (Rasiński, 2011, p. 9). Therefore, "language 'articulates' reality in some way, however this process also remains totally arbitrary" (Rasiński, 2011, p. 9). De Saussure further differentiates between the "social character of language" (langue) and our individual understanding of it (parole) (Rasiński, 2011, p. 9). This linguistic differentiation can be considered as a fundamental way of deconstructing reality through the questioning of language as a vehicle of meaning. Despite using this idea in different contexts, further post-structuralist ideas can be seen as building on this concept. Scholars such as Derrida and Foucault share a limited interest in the linguistic nature of discourse (Jäger, 2015, p. 8). Rather, from a social sciences perspective, the aim of *CDA* is to investigate the role of knowledge which is generally treated as being true or even objective in society (Jäger, 2015, p. 12). The underlying hypothesis is that public discourse serves as a means of constructing reality. *CDA* not only focuses on what is explicitly articulated, but it also considers what is not said and thus excluded from discourse (Jäger, 2015, p. 12). In this context, discourses cannot be understood as simply mirroring 'Reality' but should rather be acknowledged in their own 'Existence' and 'Materiality' (Jäger, 2015, p. 33). This form of analysis aims to extract different discourse strands which are prevalent. However, it is interested not only in their individual nature but also in the way they intersect, overlap and influence each other (Jäger, 2015, p. 81).

A core element of *CDA* is the negotiation of power structures through and within discourse. Jäger puts forward the idea that discourses represent 'Vehicles of Knowledge' which exercise power, thus "providing structure to power and domination" in societies (Jäger, 2015, p. 38). Aiming to investigate the presence of such power structures in the contemporary discourse on food systems in Switzerland and Zurich, the first part of the discourse analysis of this thesis concentrates on policy documents. Acknowledging that hidden power structures are deeply entrenched within discourse and thus not only recognisable in policy strategies, the decision for an analysis of this document type has been based on several aspects: firstly, policy strategies can be considered as a rather rare text form which serve the purpose of explicitly addressing the governmental perspective on power structures. Such can, for instance, be observed when analysing who is assigned to the documents' target group. Moreover, it is in the nature of these documents to attribute responsibility to different actor groups. On the one hand, this can be explicitly addressed within the documents, for instance in the context of suggested actions to implement change. On the other hand, responsibility allocation can also be implicitly expressed through

formulations and framings used. Finally, these policy strategies are developed with the intent to serve as guidelines for future actions in the respective field. Therefore, they can be considered as of crucial influence to the development of prospective discourses.

Expanding the argument on discursive power structures, Foucault further argues that it is not enough to focus on governmental power only (Jäger, 2015, p. 45). Rather, he emphasises the need to also move beyond such state-centred perspective basing himself on two arguments: firstly, he suggests that the state is not in possession of power over the entire system on its own (Jäger, 2015, p. 45). Secondly, Foucault puts forward the idea that the governmental exercise of power is in itself only possible if there are pre-existing power structures which are consequently not in its own power (Jäger, 2015, p. 45). Accordingly, it can be argued that an exclusive focus on governmental authorities is not enough in order to analyse a societal discourse. Considering this argument, the present thesis focuses not only on governmental documents in the form of policy strategies but, in a second step, also on print media discourse. An analysis of the media discourse allows for an expansion of analytical focus beyond the state and further enables a deeper investigation of the role of society as a place of discursive negotiation. Indeed, the discourse provided by newspapers can be understood as being situated in a sensitive position in this regard: on the one hand, media products can be understood as reflecting prominent societal topics; however, on the other hand, they also influence individuals in their opinion. The role of the individual within discursive constructions is complicated: on their own, individuals do not have the power to influence the evolvement of discourses surrounding them. (Jäger, 2015, p. 37). Yet, it is the contribution of each individual which finally forms what is then considered as discourse (Jäger, 2015, p. 37). In other words, each individual in a society contributes to something which nobody has intentionally aimed for, but of which everyone is a part (Jäger, 2015, p. 37). Discourse is thus a continuous negotiation of societal expression in the form of language. Rasiński indicates in this context that language does not only reflect the world but actively forms the social construction of such (2011, p. 8). Jäger further emphasises that each individual is continuously entangled and engaged within the discourse which it was born to and therefore also acts within its construct (2015, p. 37). Discourse can consequently be attributed a central role in the development of societal norms and the acceptance of notions as *true* (Jäger, 2015, p. 37). What is important to bear in mind is that the significance or meaning of the expressions are subject to individual interpretation, impacted by its pre-existing knowledge, experiences and background (Jäger and Zimmermann, 2010, pp. 19–20). Considering the focus of the thesis at hand, it thus appears important to also investigate the framing of consumers within the discourse.

## **4.2 Data Acquisition**

Aiming to conduct a *Critical Discourse Analysis*, the methodological approach chosen in this thesis builds on the analytical concept put forward by Michel Foucault. Whereas his work is generally considered as the origin of *CDA*, it is important to acknowledge that he never provided a distinct “methodology” how to proceed in order to do such an analysis (Jäger, 2015, p. 8). Rather, as Jäger suggests, the

tools which are used for this sort of analysis have undergone various interpretations and are being constantly adapted (2015, pp. 8, 16). Habermas, for instance, understood discourse as a rational form of public debate which is neutral to power relations (Jäger, 2015, p. 25). While there is thus a multitude of approaches towards conducting a *CDA*, this thesis uses the methodological tools suggested by Jäger (2015). He provides ten analytical steps of *CDA* which are closely connected to Foucault's work and will thus be used as a guideline. According to Jäger the difficulty of this method lies in the fact that discourses can never be analysed in their entirety; yet, an analysis is always limited to a certain number of texts which are collected in the form of a corpus (2015). Based on the formulated research questions, the conducted discourse analysis geographically refers to Switzerland with a particular focus on Zurich. While Switzerland has four official languages in which discourses could potentially be analysed (or even compared), the project at hand only considers German document. This decision has been made due to reasons of feasibility, research focus and linguistic competences of the author. In terms of temporality, the analysis includes texts which were published between 2013 and 2023. What is crucial to note with regard to the provided time frame is that the analytical approach taken is of synchronic nature. Thus, the analysis does not aim for any comparison between publications of different years.

The selection of the analysed material can be justified by the different dimensions they address: as has been explained previously, policy documents provide an insight into the formal and official understanding of consumers by governmental authorities, whereas media articles allow for a better understanding of the discourse on a more informal level. The consideration of different administrative levels regarding policy documents is of interest given that Switzerland's political system is fundamentally based on the coexistence of these instances. As different governmental elements, these levels embody complementing and partially overlapping roles in terms of governance, which are considered throughout this *CDA*. The examination of media articles further allows for an analysis of a relatively broad range of publications, again considering all of these levels through selecting a variety of political ideologies connected to them. All things considered, while aiming to provide an overview on the discursive representation of consumers, the research design at hand comprises both a corpus-based content analysis of policy strategies as well as of print media articles. Whereas both of these steps need to be considered as of central relevance to the findings of this thesis, it should be noted that the analysis of media articles represents the core element. This is reflected both in the number of texts analysed as well as in the extent of analysis, as will be indicated in the following.

#### **4.2.1 Corpus-Data Acquisition for Policy Strategies**

Based on the pre-defined geographical focus area, the data acquisition process in the context of policy documents was focused on relevant publications in Switzerland. More precisely, existing strategies addressing the role of consumers in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system on a national, but also on a cantonal and municipal level for Zurich were defined as target documents. In cases where the documents were published in several national languages of Switzerland, only the German document was considered. Moreover, only policy documents which are of contemporary relevance



were analysed. Such were identified using a web-based approach. For each administrative level, at least one policy strategy matching the pre-defined criteria could be identified (see *table 1*). For the publication on a cantonal level, which is rather short and concise in nature, one additional document (containing further elaborations on the original publication) was considered relevant for the analysis. Overall, this resulted in the following text-corpus of policy strategies:

*Table 1 Overview Policy Strategies Text Corpus*

<b>Text-Corpus I – Policy Strategies</b>		
Document Title	Administrative Level	Publication
Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024	National (CH)	2017
Strategie nachhaltige Entwicklung 2030	National (CH)	2021
Leitbild nachhaltige Ernährung Kanton Zürich	Cantonal (ZH)	2022
Massnahmen zur Umsetzung (Leitbild nachhaltige Ernährung Kanton Zürich)	Cantonal (ZH)	2022
Strategie nachhaltige Ernährung Stadt Zürich	Communal (ZH)	2019

#### **4.2.2 Corpus-Data Acquisition for Print Media Articles**

Shifting the focus to the data acquisition process in the context of print media documents, it is crucial to note that Switzerland offers a diverse print media landscape, both in a linguistic as well as political regard. According to data published by the Federal Statistical Office, the number of most popularly published newspapers (incl. Sunday press) includes 26 newspapers (13 in German, 8 in French and 5 in Italian) (2023a). These print media types can be further differentiated based on their political orientation. Indeed, these backgrounds can have a strong influence both on a content as well as a linguistic level. Moreover, there is a limited number of Swiss publishing houses where these newspapers originate from (FSO, 2023a). This is particularly noteworthy in comparison to the considerable diversity of newspapers in Switzerland. What is more, beside naturally varying numbers of copies and readers, the publishing-frequency of the individual newspapers also varies, mostly between daily and weekly. Finally, a number of these newspapers are freely available, while others require a paid subscription.

In a first step, the selection of relevant newspapers for the print media corpus was approached considering their geographical focus area. Aligning with the research questions of this thesis, such area was defined as the German speaking part of Switzerland. If possible, a further refinement of journalistic focus on Zurich was made. Yet, the analysis does not aim to examine regional newspapers with small numbers of readers but is rather targeted at bigger newspapers due to their higher range of influence. Subsequently, this selection was further refined on both quantitative and qualitative criteria. Firstly, on a quantitative level, consideration was given to the number of copies and readers. Based on the understanding that a high numbers of copies and thus readers is indicative of a newspaper’s high influence on the population, this resulted in a first selection of newspapers. Secondly, on a qualitative level, the range of newspapers was further narrowed based on the aim to ensure an adequate range of diversity in terms of political orientation and publishers. Finally, also a diversity with regard to the frequency of

publication was intended. Considering all these criteria, the following documents (*table 2*) were selected for the print media corpus:

*Table 2 Overview Selected Print Media Products for Text Corpus*

Selected Print Media Documents						
Title	Political Orientation	Publisher	Number of Copies	Readers	Frequency	Free
Die Wochenzeitung	Left	Genossenschaft Infolink	~19'711	91'000	weekly	
Blick	Left-Liberal	Ringier AG	91'000	381'000	daily	
Tagesanzeiger*	Left-Liberal	Tamedia AG	114'000	340'000	daily	
20 Minuten	Centre	Tamedia AG	311'000	1'016'000	daily	x
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	Right-Liberal	NZZ-Gruppe	88'000	206'000	daily	
Die Weltwoche	Right	Weltwoche Verlags AG	~38'328	144'000	weekly	

*\*Tagesanzeiger was not part of the first selection and analysis process but was added later in order to provide more data with a specific regional focus on Zurich.*

Based on this selection, data was obtained using the platform *SwissDox*. This platform functions as a query-based research tool and allows for the search of Swiss media articles on selected criteria. After an initial stage of familiarisation with this tool, individual queries for the previously defined newspapers were built. This was approached using one newspaper (*Die Wochenzeitung*) as an example to conduct a pre-analysis. Such analysis aimed to test different queries, keywords and filtering functions, e.g. for their case sensitivity. In order to gain a detailed understanding of the precision of these different options, their results were always compared to the manually filtered dataset. Based on the results of this pre-analysis, the following filtering process was finally selected:

Firstly, a time range of ten years was defined (01.08.2013 – 01.08.2023). The choice of this time frame was based on the pre-analysis, which indicated that a range of ten years provided a sufficient number of articles for all of the selected newspapers (including weekly publications) that would, however, be manageable in the scope of this analysis. Moreover, several important events in the *Sustainability* debate such as the definition of *SDGs* in 2015 or the various impactful votes on the topic of agricultural politics (e.g. 'Trinkwasserinitiative', 'Pestizidinitiative', 'Massentierhaltungsinitiative') lie within this time range. Secondly, the exact keywords of the query were defined. Based on the characteristics identified throughout the pre-analysis, the list of keywords was defined as follows:

*Konsument, Konsumentin, Konsumenten, Konsumentinnen, Konsumierender and Konsumierende*

An alternative set of keywords which was tested throughout the pre-analysis was Konsum\* and konsum\*; however, the outlined option of six individual keywords was shown to yield the most accurate results. The output of the final queries could be downloaded as individual excel-files. Thirdly, these results were further refined using a number of pre-defined keywords. This refining-process was done in two stages: in a first step, a list of words was defined which should be *included* in the texts. Again, the results of the pre-analysis could be used in order to make this process-step more efficient. In order to find the relevant keywords, the files were analysed using the ‘Word-Cloud’-function of the software MaxQDA. This selection was then complemented by a number of additional terms. The key terms identified in this step are the following:

*Agrar, agrar, Bauer, Bauern, Bäuerin, Bäuerinnen, bauern, Boden, Bodens, Böden, Essen, isst, essen, esst, Esst, Ernährung, ernähren, Ernährungs, Einkauf, einkaufen, Einkaufs, Einkaufen, Einkäufe, gegessen, Laden, Läden, Lebensmittel, Lebensmitteln, Landwirtschaft, Landwirtschafts, landwirtschaftlich, Nahrung, Nahrungs and Umwelt*

Using an *R*-script, the dataset retrieved by *SwissDox* was subsequently filtered in order to find texts containing these terms. As the pre-analysis had indicated, *R*-queries are case-sensitive, meaning that words beginning with a capital letter had to be defined separately to those without a capital letter. The identified texts remained part of the corpus, whereas the rest was excluded. In a second step, the same procedure was repeated in order to find indicative terms for texts that did *not* meet the research interest but were still contained in the text corpus after the first filtering process. The key-terms filtered for in this step were the following:

*Kokain, Strom, Cannabis, Energie, Musik, Droge and Alkohol*

Again, an *R*-script was used in order to search the dataset. However, in this step, all the texts containing these words were *excluded* of the corpus. In a last step, double occurrences were removed from the dataset. This procedure was repeated for all datasets. Due to a perceived lack of specific regional data on Zurich which was identified throughout the data analysis process, *Tagesanzeiger* was additionally added to the corpus at a later stage. This decision was made based on both the newspaper’s regionality as well as its high weekly numbers of sold copies and readers. Aiming to collect data with a narrower focus than defined for the five originally selected newspapers, the dataset of *Tagesanzeiger* was firstly filtered using the same approach as previously outlined. Yet, an additional step was added to this process, filtering the documents for the following terms:

*Zürich, Züricherin and zürcher*

This selection process was done in excel due to the small number of keywords. The advantage of this approach is that excel provides a non-case sensitive search function, meaning that the keyword *zürcher* did not need to be entered twice (as an adjective and as the masculine form for a citizen of Zurich). Finally, a manual assessment of the received texts to filter for the relevance of the retrieved dataset was made. Again, the number of texts was reduced in this step. The final number of texts which were used for the subsequent data analysis are displayed in *table 3*. The finalised excel tables were converted into word files and loaded into MaxQDA for further analysis.

*Table 3 Overview Print Media Text Corpus*

<b>Text-Corpus II – Print Media Documents</b>	
Title	Number of Texts
Die Wochenzeitung	45
Blick	345
Tagesanzeiger*	219
20 Minuten	311
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	363
Die Weltwoche	134
<b>Total</b>	<b>1'417</b>

### **4.3 Data Analysis**

Similar to the approach used for the acquisition of data, its analysis was also done for policy strategies and media texts. As has been indicated previously, this analysis was approached using the concept of discourse analysis. The methodological process of *CDA* aims to, firstly, disentangle individual discourse strands, before, secondly, re-allocating them within different categories (Jäger, 2015, p. 89). Whereas language itself is not of central relevance to Foucault’s analytical approach, he aims to identify ‘discursive atoms’ which add as individual components to the overarching ‘discursive chain’ (Jäger, 2015, p. 50, translation). Moreover, he outlines the presence of different discursive levels which should be analysed on the existence of a mutual influence (Jäger, 2015, p. 86). Focusing on the specific interaction of media and political discourse as done in this thesis, Jäger raises the question “whether and how the ‘political’ discourse strand interlocks with the ‘medial’ and the ‘everyday’ strand, how and whether the medial ‘influences’ the everyday, ‘eats into’ it, so to speak, differs from it, [...], and what effects this can have” (2015, pp. 86–87). Finally, it is crucial to acknowledge that not only the aspects which are represented in the discourse should be considered, but that particular attention should also be given to what is not said.

#### **4.3.1 Corpus-Based Content Analysis of Policy Strategies**

In a first section, an analysis of policy strategies was made. Focusing on the first and second research question, the previously described selection of policy documents was analysed. This was done using an in-depth approach, since the detailed elements of each strategy were considered as relevant to the analysis at hand. In a first step, the documents were analysed on their structural appearance and composition. This included an overall description of chapters, their arrangement as well as visual elements. Then, in

a second step, consideration was given to the content of the documents. In order to do so, the target groups of the respective strategies were identified beforehand. The decision to do this as a separate step was taken since an understanding of the target group is the crucial foundation for the subsequent analysis. In the following, elements such as the suggested fields of action as well as the aim and focus area of each strategy were explored. Using a number of text passages, the analysis proceeded by illustrating interesting statements and issues raised in the strategies. This included a focus on both the content and the precise formulations. Although acknowledging the fact that *CDA* is not focusing on the detailed linguistic nature of discourse, formulations can still be considered as of relevance to such analytical approach. This is the case because formulations can serve as a direct or indirect vehicle of (unequal) power relations. Based on this observation, the decision was made to include formulations into the analysis too. Aiming to do so as accurately as possible, it was further decided to work with direct quotes in their original language. Therefore, whereas the overall analysis is provided in English, the quoted text passages are in German.

### **4.3.2 Corpus-Based Content Analysis of Print Media Articles**

In a second section, an analysis of print media articles was conducted. Aligning with the formulated research questions, the first part of the print media analysis explored how consumer responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system is discussed. After this, the second part of the analysis investigated the representation of consumers as well as prevalent framing strategies which are used in order to do so. This was done using a less detailed approach than in the policy documents as reoccurring patterns and framings of the media articles were considered to be the main focus of this section. Thus, differently to the policy strategies, the analysis did for instance not include a structural assessment of the media documents, but mainly focused on the content of the articles. In order to do so, the datasets for each of the selected newspapers was analysed using the software MaxQDA and a coding system of ‘deductive’ and ‘inductive’ codes (see Appendix). A set of deductive codes was defined previously to the data-analysis. These deductive codes were used as a starting point. Throughout the analysis, deductive codes were continuously added. In addition to this, important text passages were highlighted in order to make them more easily accessible for further analysis. In a final step, these codes were re-organised in order to allow for a better orientation considering the research questions. Particularly with regard to the investigation of consumer framing, a set of typologies was created. These typologies, next to the information provided by the other codes, were then used for further interpretation and contextualisation throughout the discussion.

## **4.4 Positionality**

Based on the selected qualitative research approach, it is crucial to consider the issue of personal positionality as well as potential unconscious biases. For instance, my educational background as well as my personal interest in nutrition and environmental challenges has shaped my own attitude towards different farming and consumption practices. Moreover, regarding the methodological approach, my

(thus limited) background in linguistics might influence the way I approach discourses. In other words, I bring personal opinions and interests into the research which influence both the way I planned my work as well as partially my approach towards opinions and positions outlined to me. Thus, despite very intentionally aiming to approach the topic as neutrally as possible, personal perspectives and ideas always need to be considered and critically reflected upon (Helfferich, 2004). Finally, it seems important to bear in mind that the topic focused upon analyses an issue which is predominantly concerned with a western focus on food systems, for instance by taking the presence of 'Food Security' as generally granted.

## **4.5 A Critical Note on Methodological Practices and the Research Focus**

Acknowledging that methodological approaches should always be discussed critically, this section aims to do so by reflecting upon a number of difficulties encountered during the research process. While, of course, there are various further aspects which could be added to this selection, this section will outline the most relevant aspects.

### **4.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as a Qualitative Research Approach**

*Critical Discourse Analysis* is a concept mostly applied in social- and cultural studies with a close connection to but not a main focus on linguistics (Jäger and Zimmermann, 2010, p. 6). Notwithstanding the fact that this approach of qualitative research is oftentimes claimed to be of descriptive nature, it can be considered as problematic exactly because of this apparent neutrality. Jäger argues that any interpretations of discourses are biased, since personal experiences strongly impact our worldview and therefore inevitably result in a form of personal interpretation of reality (2015, p. 10). This is the case since, also in the research project at hand, the analysis takes place from within. Descriptive forms of research can thus be criticised for their apparent objectivity, reinforcing the acceptance of a state as *given* by describing it in an objective manner (Jäger, 2015, p. 10). This form of research can thus be considered as supporting their validity of existence (Jäger, 2015, p. 10). Taking this argument even further, science can therefore always be considered as political since reality is inevitably interpreted by individual perceptions and should be understood as continuously challenged by alternative interpretations (Jäger and Zimmermann, 2010, p. 7). Emphasising the limitedness of scientific objectivity, they do not argue for an ultimate state of ambiguity either; however, according to Jäger and Zimmermann, it is crucial to consider that the state of encompassing truth cannot be reached after all (2010, p. 7). While descriptive research approaches such as *CDA* have their legitimate place, they need to be considered carefully.

### **4.5.2 Consumers as a Research Focus**

What is important to critically engage with when talking about *consumers* is the generalising and homogenising nature of this term. As is frequently done when discussing complex systems, the identification of actor categories is of both a helpfully facilitating and over-simplifying nature at the same time. Thus, on the one hand, consideration should be given to the fact that the group of consumers can and should not be understood as homogenous within itself. Acknowledging a plurality within the regarded

actor group is important in order to also give a voice to marginalised groups when discussing the role of consumption practices. To provide an example, the presence of different cultural, financial and ideological perspectives continuously reinforces the debate on how much responsibility should be assigned to consumer behaviour and how much to external factors provided by economic or political institutions. Accordingly, the actor group of consumers indeed needs to be understood as heterogeneous, also with regard to class or gender. On the other hand, such a categorisation oftentimes goes along with a process of both inclusion and exclusion. It is thus crucial to bear in mind that clear cut boundaries between actor group categories do not exist. Particularly when focusing on problems which need to be solved, it appears easy to blame one actor group as generally responsible. However, the question arises what the effect of such generalised blame is. It can be argued that the accusation of a bigger group such as all consumers targets a large group of people; however, it also comes with the danger that collective accusation causes individuals not to identify themselves as part of this wider group and consequently neither do so with the problem. In this regard, the generalising nature of an actor group such as consumers can be understood as counter-effective, actually reaching fewer people in their feeling of responsibility than originally expected. For this reason, the thesis at hand aimed to provide a more refined understanding of consumers in Switzerland, analysing different framings which are present in the media discourse.

### **4.5.3 Compilation and Limits of Text-Corpora**

A further crucial aspect to acknowledge is that the selection of materials for a *CDA* naturally remains incomplete and is therefore never representative of the discourse as a whole. As Jäger indicates, the selection of analysed texts should therefore be considered as an open concept (2015). Accordingly, a discourse analysis is neither all-encompassing, nor representative of the entire discourse. Besides this incompleteness, it is further important to critically engage with the procedure that was used to compile the corpus of this thesis. In the research design, particular consideration was given to the fact that the texts should be selected as uniformly and objectively as possible. Therefore, a query-based approach was chosen, in which the same key terms were entered for every newspaper. Nevertheless, the collection of texts which resulted from these queries was not yet refined enough. Therefore, a manual selection had to follow, in which all of the texts were assessed for their relevance. Indeed, this step has to be critically discussed, as the author's assessment was inevitably subjective in nature and less uniform than in the previously used queries. Although a human assessment might indeed be less concise than with a machine-based approach, such has the strength of not only assessing words, but also their meaning. The importance of this can be illustrated at the following example: as has been indicated previously, the analysis of *Die Wochenzeitung*, *Blick*, *20 Minuten*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and *Die Weltwoche*, seemed to provide little data specific to the geographical focus on Zurich. Therefore, a sixth newspaper was included into the analysis. This was done using the further key term *Zürich* and *Zürcherin* and *zürcher* in the queries. Yet, an unexpected problem which was only detected during the manual assessment of the retrieved dataset was that *Zürcher* is not only used as a placename, but also a surname in Switzerland. As one reporter publishing at *Tagesanzeiger* coincidentally had this surname, the query included all of his

articles into the resulting data-frame. Had it not been for the manual assessment, this issue would probably not have been as quickly identified as in this case. As this example nicely illustrates, a combination of human- and machine-based assessment was thus found to be most useful for the purpose of this thesis. Nevertheless, the results found throughout this analysis of course need to be discussed critically. Moreover, the manual selection allowed for a less restricted procedure for the two weekly newspapers due to the fewer articles available. There, for instance, articles on topics of international trade agreements or shopping behaviour in the non-food sector (e.g. ‘Black Friday’) were also included into the corpus. As food systems are not limited to a fixed container, it seemed useful to also include some of these further reaching aspects into the corpus, notwithstanding the fact that they did not exactly address the research questions. Of course, it would have been interesting to focus on these aspects also in the daily newspapers. Yet, a narrower manual selection was applied for them in favour of the feasibility of the later data-analysis process.

#### **4.5.4 Food Systems as a Popular Research Topic**

Continuing with a critical reflection on the research focus of this thesis, it seems important to mention that food systems have become of considerable scientific interest in recent years. Consequently, a high amount of academic as well as public work in this field has been completed. A positive and, at the same time, negative effect of this current popularity is the considerably high number of publications available on *Sustainability* and food systems. This is the case for both the literature review as well as for print media texts. As the topic of sustainable food systems can be located at the cutting-edge of different conceptual debates such as e.g. agri-food studies, *Sustainability* studies and behavioural studies, this raises the question how to give each of these disciplines the consideration and representation they deserve. Moreover, notwithstanding the fact that a multitude of literature can allow for an informative and diverse literary analysis, it is also difficult to navigate. Indeed, the handling of such high amount of available data was perceived as challenging at times, particularly in the beginning at the planning stage of the thesis.

#### **4.5.5 Data Availability: Scope of Research Focus**

In order to address this problem, a first aspect considered was the narrowness of the research focus. A lot of thought was given to the question whether and how the research focus of this thesis could or should be narrowed down, for instance by only focusing on the field of ‘information’ or ‘education’ as identified by Stadt Zürich (2019), Landert et al. (2021) and Brombach and Duensing (2021). Yet, discussions on this difficulty led to the conclusion that the analysis of the media discourse would presumably benefit from a rather broad focus. On the one hand, this is the case since such provides enough space to identify interesting and prevalent strands throughout a largely entangled discursive system. On the other hand, it can be argued that a narrower research focus would have posed the problem of consolidating pre-existing assumptions. Firstly, this is due to the researcher’s positionality, which inevitably impacts their academic work through such assumptions. Secondly, even when the focus of a *CDA* is narrowed based



on previous academic findings, this process automatically results in a prioritising of certain discourse elements over others. Building on Jäger's criticism of insufficient objectiveness in qualitative research, it can be argued that such comes with the danger of then implicitly re-confirming these pre-existing assumptions (2015). However, the aim of this research project was not to enter this cycle of consolidation, but rather to challenge them through critical engagement. Therefore, it was decided not to narrow the research focus of this thesis down any further.

#### **4.5.6 Data Availability: Time Range of Media Articles**

A second aspect to consider when discussing the issue of data availability is the time range selected for the media analysis, especially since there was a high degree of uncertainty connected to the data availability in the beginning of the research project: there was not only a general uncertainty of how many articles would be relevant to the research focus at hand, but also a quantitative discrepancy of data depending on the newspapers' publication frequency (weekly or daily) which had to be considered. As a consequence, it was perceived as challenging to define the time period of the analysed materials as a sufficient amount of data should be available also for the weekly newspapers. Although a lot of thought was given to these aspects when planning the research project, the issue of data availability seemed difficult to address in advance. Based on the results of the pre-analysis, a time period of ten years was finally defined (2013-2023). The main argument for choosing this exact time range was that enough articles would be available for the monthly newspapers in order to justify their inclusion into the analysis. As they are positioned at both extremes of the political spectrum, their inclusion seemed of importance. Because of the high quantity of articles considered, the individual in-depth analyses had to be limited in terms of detail throughout the media analysis, which should of course be discussed critically. Yet, as the research questions indicate, the aim of the analysis was not to provide an in-depth assessment of individual media articles, but rather to identify reoccurring patterns throughout the media discourse. In retrospect, it can be argued that the overall number of media articles coded throughout this research project resulted in a rather extensive text corpus. Indeed, this allowed for an encompassing analysis of both framing and responsibility allocation. However, such was also rather challenging to handle at times. As the quantity of articles prevented an analysis of the article in further depth, this can be considered as major drawback of the research approach taken. Yet, aiming to address the research questions of the thesis at hand, a mixed approach between quantity and quality of research articles appeared to be the most reasonable option.

## **5 Food Systems in a Swiss Context and Beyond**

In order to provide sufficient context to the following *CDAs*, this chapter will give a brief overview on the contemporary situation in Switzerland and Zurich. Contextualising the local situation within the global food system as has been outlined in chapter 2, this chapter will examine the situation and current developments on a national and regional level.

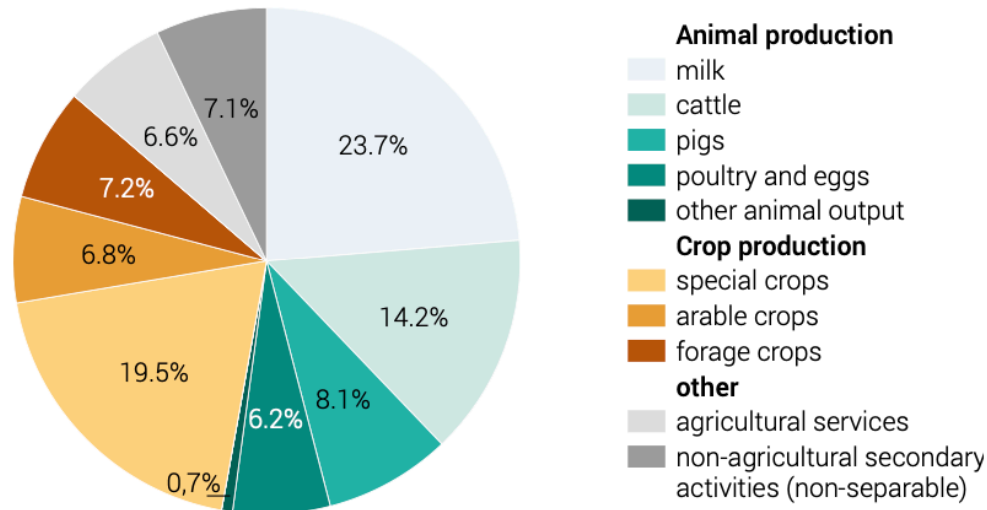
## 5.1 A National Focus on Switzerland

As agriculture has a profound significance in terms of cultural value in Switzerland, it is important to have a broad understanding of the development of the agricultural sector over time. An important historical event in this context was the so-called ‘Anbauschlacht’ during World War II (Tanner, 2021). Back then, the increase of Switzerland’s self-sufficiency rate was a major priority for national politics due to the war situation (Tanner, 2021). Based on the suggestion by Friedrich Traugott Wahlen, who was one of the people responsible for Switzerland’s ‘Food Security’ at the time, the land used for agricultural production was expanded from 183’000 ha to 352’000 ha until 1945 (Tanner, 2021). However, the country’s self-sufficiency rate only increased marginally from 52% to 59% due to these interventions, which are also known as ‘Plan Wahlen’ (Tanner, 2021). Notwithstanding the fact that the effectiveness of this plan is often overestimated retrospectively, it was a remarkable event in Switzerland’s agricultural history. Yet, it was during the so-called ‘Green Revolution’ when the efficiency of production systems was substantially increased due to technological innovations, fertilisers and pesticides (Huber, 2022, p. 116). As a consequence, a re-allocation of workforce took place and contributed to the structural change within Switzerland’s economy (Huber, 2022, p. 116). The number of farms decreased from 230’000 to 100’000 between 1940 and 1970 (Huber, 2022, p. 117). Throughout the following years, productivity-levels increased, which resulted in both situational overproduction (e.g. ‘Butterberge’) and environmental damage (Huber, 2022, p. 117). Moreover, international trade-agreements became the longer the more impactful on Switzerland’s agricultural strategy on a policy level (Huber, 2022). For instance, the foundation of the *WTO* as an outcome of the *Uruguay Round* had a long-lasting influence on the country’s national and international role (Huber, 2022).

With regard to the characteristics and expected outcomes of Switzerland’s agricultural sector today, it is interesting to consider a few numbers: according to the Federal Statistical Office (FSO), agricultural land use today corresponds to 14’525 km<sup>2</sup> to 36% of the overall land use in Switzerland (2023b). A share of roughly 30% from this land is used for alpine farming and another 30% takes the form of natural meadows or home pastures (FSO, 2023b). Moreover, 27% are arable land, while the remaining 3% correspond to orchards, vineyards and horticulture (FSO, 2023b). In 2022, this land was cultivated by a total of 48’344 farms, with a slowly increasing number of organic producers (FSO, 2023c). Contrary to the global tendency towards decreasing the area per farm, these numbers have almost doubled for Switzerland to an average of 21.6 ha since 1975 (FSO, 2023c). Yet, regardless this increase, Swiss farms remain small in comparison to other countries. As for production rates, *figure 4* illustrates that there was an estimated total financial output of CHF 11.1 billion from the agricultural sector in 2021. With 52.9%, more than half of this revenue originates from livestock farming (e.g. milk, cattle, pigs, poultry and eggs) (FSO, 2023c). 34.2% of the total agricultural output refers to crop production, whereas the remaining 13.7% correspond to agricultural services and non-agricultural secondary activities (FSO, 2023c).

## Total output of agriculture, 2021

Total: CHF 11.1 billion, 2021 provisional



Source: FSO – Economic accounts for agriculture

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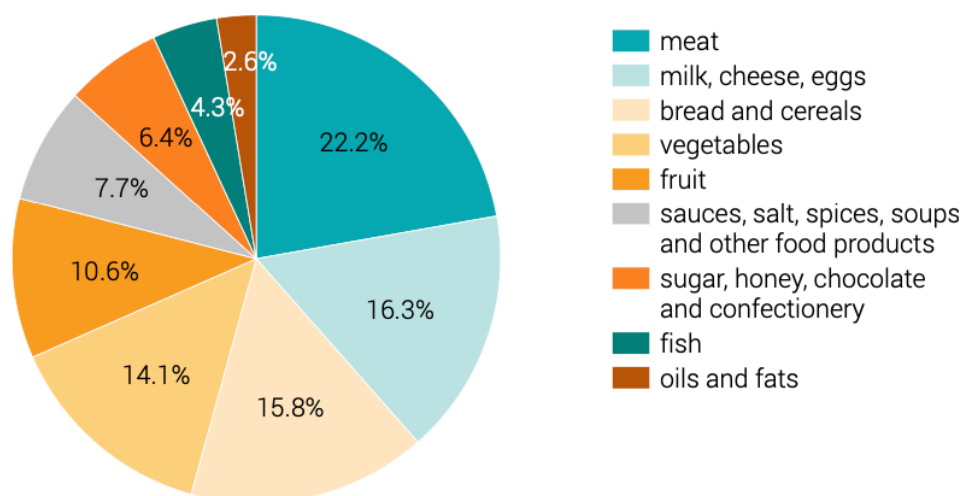
Figure 4 Visual Representation of Total Output of Agriculture in Switzerland (FSO, 2023c).

Switzerland has a gross self-sufficiency rate of 52% and is consequently largely dependent on imports (FSO, 2023c). Yet, beside food-production, the agricultural sector has further-reaching functions, which are referred to by in the term ‘multifunctionality’ (Huber, 2022). According to the IAASTD, “multifunctionality recognizes the inescapable inter-connectedness of agriculture’s different roles and functions, i.e., agriculture is a multi-output activity producing not only commodities, but also non-commodity outputs such as environmental services, landscape amenities and cultural heritages” (IAASTD, 2012). In Switzerland, the aspect of multifunctionality is particularly discussed regarding mountainous regions (e.g. meadows) which are an additional outcome of agricultural practices in these regions. As there is a common interest in their cultivation for the Swiss population, respective efforts are rewarded as part of the national direct payment catalogue. Thus, on the one hand, financial incentives are provided to compensate for public goods which result from the multifunctional nature of the sector through jointness (Huber, 2022, p. 80). On the other hand, Switzerland makes direct payments to subsidise agricultural production (Huber, 2022, p. 80). In general, it can be observed that the Swiss agricultural sector is highly subsidised by the government. This is reflected in a ‘Producer Support Estimate’ (PSE) of 54% (Dümmler and Anthamatten, 2020). The ‘PSE’ describes “[t]he annual monetary value of gross transfers from consumers and taxpayers to agricultural producers, measured at the farm gate level, arising from policy measures that support agriculture, regardless of their nature, objectives or impacts on farm production or income” (OECD, 2018). Thus, a PSE of 54% indicates that a large amount of money allocated

to the agricultural sector comes from governmental support. Indeed, this high number of direct payments is repeatedly discussed and criticised. Yet, distinct criteria need to be met by the producers in order to qualify for such payments (Huber, 2022, p. 144). These payments are all listed as part of *Art. 104* of the *Federal Constitution*, which is where Switzerland's agricultural sector is defined. Furthermore, the government uses protectionist measures to support Switzerland's agriculture, for instance when it comes to food imports. In addition to financial contributions, a central element of Switzerland's agricultural politics is a variety of governmental regulations and respective laws. Beside the legally documented aspects in *Article 104*, there is an ongoing negotiation of additional political interventions and regulations observable. Due to Switzerland's democratic form of government, these are directly reflected in petitions or referenda. Prominent examples from recent years include the 'Trinkwasserinitiative', 'Pestizidinitiative' or 'Massentierhaltungsinitiative'.

Moreover, the overall direction of the 'Federal Agricultural Policy (AP)' is regularly revised over the years. The most recent proposition, 'AP 22+', for instance, has a stronger focus on environmental *Sustainability*. Yet, debates on the outline of the new 'Federal Agricultural Policy AP22+' can be considered as an illustrative example of how a catalogue of comparatively ambitious environmental protection standards was discussed but then finally rejected on a national level (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2022). In fact, a final decision on the future orientation of 'AP 22+' is still on hold. This will define the future direction of Switzerland's agricultural policy. The outcome of currently ongoing debates will impact not only national but also cantonal and municipal instances (FOAG, 2021; Landert et al., 2021; Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022; Stadt Zürich, 2022). Complementing the role of political regulations through the direct involvement of consumers and society in the process, food systems were recently subject of debate at the 'Bürger:innenrat für Ernährungspolitik' (Bürger:innenrat für Ernährungspolitik, 2023). In the context of this newly emerged project, citizens from all over Switzerland were brought together in order to discuss and exchange their perspectives and suggestions on its future development. Finally, it seems important to look at food consumption in terms of expenditures. An overview on household consumption expenditures for food in 2020 is presented in *figure 5*. Switzerland's population used to spend 38.5% of these expenses on animal products, 15.8% on bread and cereals, as well as nearly 24.7% on fruit and vegetables (FSO, 2023c). These numbers indicate that animal products are still of high relevance to the consumption patterns of the Swiss population. The distribution of further product groups can be observed in *figure 5*.

## Household consumption expenditure for food, 2020



average number of persons per household: 2.1

Source. FSO – Household Budget Survey

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Figure 5 Visual Representation of Household Consumption Expenditure for Food in Switzerland (FSO, 2023c)

### 5.2 A Cantonal and Municipal Focus on Zurich

Narrowing the focus further down, the cantonal and municipal approach to food systems in the context of Zurich also needs to be discussed. In the context of this thesis, the geographical focus on the city of Zurich has been chosen since cities are often understood as representative instances of global problems on a local scale (FOAG, 2021; Teuber et al., 2021). Thus, a more profound evaluation of the local impact of food systems can be considered as a relevant starting point when working towards finding solutions for global problems (FOAG, 2021). Based on this idea, the ‘Milan Urban Food Policy Pact’ was introduced in 2015 (Stadt Zürich, 2019). This declaration has been signed by over 184 cities around the world, one of which is Zurich (Stadt Zürich, 2019). They committed to 37 policies addressing the transition towards a more sustainable food system (Stadt Zürich, 2019). In Zurich, this transition is further addressed in the ‘2000-Watt-Gesellschaft’ (Stadt Zürich, 2019).

Taking a look at the Canton of Zurich, the most recent ‘Agricultural Report 2018’ suggests that 41% (73’000 ha) of the cantonal area is cultivated by 2’800 farms and thus used for agricultural purposes (Kanton Zürich, 2019, p. 2). Direct payments were lowered in the canton during the transition from AP 2011 to AP 2014/17 (Kanton Zürich, 2019, p. 7). However, as the number of farms decreased by 12% between 2013 and 2018 as well, this resulted in overall increasing direct payments per farm (Kanton Zürich, 2019, p. 7). Such corresponded to CHF 54’000 in 2018 (Kanton Zürich, 2019, p. 7). Moreover, the relevant data shows that the number of organically producing farms has increased in the regarded

time period, reaching 14% of the overall production in the canton of Zurich (Kanton Zürich, 2019, p. 1).

Focusing on the City of Zurich, the ‘Agricultural Report 2020’ presents a self-sufficiency rate of 2-4% (Stadt Zürich, 2020, p. 16). This is a comparatively low rate; however, the report explicitly states that an increase of self-sufficiency is not part of the future targets. Rather, the city of Zurich aims to improve the accessibility of agricultural practices and food production to the urban population (Stadt Zürich, 2020, p. 16). Nevertheless, as proposed by Landert et al., a frequently raised argument with a regional focus is that food systems would need to become “relocalised”, emphasising that “the promotion of a diverse, local and sustainable agricultural production is an increasingly demanded approach to address the ecological and socio-economic problems of the current food system” (2021, p. 7, translation). Based on this perspective, the project ‘Was isst Zürich?’ was initiated; investigating contemporary trade relations and fields of future action in order to encourage a “sustainable, resilient and regional food provision in the city of Zurich” (Landert et al., 2021, p. 7). Moreover, the ‘Ernährungsforum Zürich’ was founded in 2018, aiming to connect representatives along the entire local food chain (Leuthold, 2019). It recognises members from media, scientific and educational institutions as well as consultant companies and private individuals (Leuthold, 2019, p. 16).

Considering recent scientific publications on the topic of *Sustainability Transitions* of food systems in Zurich, various suggestions are provided in order to implement change. According to the suggestions by Landert et al. (2021) and Stadt Zürich (2019), two main fields of action can be identified: firstly, producer-targeting suggestions (e.g. processing, distribution, procurement, food losses, waste disposal) and, secondly, consumer-targeting suggestions (e.g. information, education, marketing). Suggestions by Brombach and Duensing (2021) further emphasise the specific need for action in the fields of nutritional education, communal caterings in schools as well as the provision of information in the retail sector. The repeated mentioning of given consumer-targeting aspects can be understood as indicative of their relevance for the transition process towards a more sustainable food system. This is the case since consumer demand and eating-behaviours contribute to what enters the system at the production stage in the first place. However, the role of consumers in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system is continuously negotiated throughout contemporary discourses. Aiming for a better understanding of the representation of the actor group of consumers in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system in the city of Zurich and beyond, such will be further analysed in the following.

## **6 Prevalent Topics in Switzerland’s Sustainable Food System Discourse**

The discourse analysis conducted in this thesis is situated within the previously outlined context of Switzerland and Zurich. This chapter will present the most prominent discourse-strands which were encountered throughout the analysis procedure.

## 6.1 Sustainability

A first discourse strand which can be identified focuses on *Sustainability*. This topic is portrayed as of considerable interest to the Swiss population, particularly in an urban, well-educated and affluent environment (NZZ, 07.08.2018; Tagesanzeiger, 09.09.2015, 09.05.2016). Apart from a widely acknowledged support of regional production as a form of fostering *Sustainability*, the practical implementation of *Sustainability* standards on a more profound scale is critically discussed (Die Weltwoche, 23.06.2022). A central criticism voiced is the juxtaposition of the concept's "omnipresence" and its arguable "meaninglessness" (NZZ, 09.01.2023). Thinking back to what has been discussed in the conceptual debate in chapter 3, the "three-pillar-framework" – social, environmental and economic *Sustainability* – can be identified in the media discourse too (Die Weltwoche, 23.06.2022). Beside this threefold understanding, the analysed media articles further mirror the fragmented picture of coexisting definitions which has also been problematised previously. On the one hand, the lack of clarity of the term is described as "the charm of the concept", arguably allowing for its broader application (NZZ, 19.01.2015, translation). On the other hand, however, the coexistence of multiple definitions is perceived as making the concept ultimately empty. This emptiness, then, results in the perception that little effort is needed to put *Sustainability* into practice, provoking a self-satisfied and passive attitude of individuals. In this case, the term's use becomes rather "decorative" in its meaning. Such decorative use is oftentimes found in the form of sales arguments or "greenwashing" (NZZ, 09.01.2023; Tagesanzeiger, 03.07.2023). Closely connected to this, the concern is raised that society's capability for rational actions tends to be idealised in itself, making the implementation of the concept additionally difficult (NZZ, 20.11.2019). Finally, the absence of one common definition is made responsible for a problematic and confusing multitude of standards and labels (NZZ, 09.01.2023). As this comparison of different articles indicates, a high degree of complexity and inconsistency is presented both explicitly and implicitly throughout the media.

## 6.2 Meat Consumption and Production

A further discourse strand which is widely discussed throughout the analysed media articles focuses on meat consumption as well as meat production. Various articles elaborate on the negative impact of meat consumption on human health (e.g. due to antibiotic contamination in livestock farming), animal welfare (e.g. animal rights) and the environment (e.g. environmental footprint). With regard to *Sustainability*, a reduced meat-consumption is generally acknowledged to have a positive impact on the environment and climate (Die Wochenzeitung, 13.05.2021). This is predominantly due to the high emission-intensity and low resource-efficiency of livestock farming. Whether the meat intake of the Swiss population is increasing, decreasing or stable is portrayed rather differently by the media articles analysed (Blick, 23.02.2023; NZZ, 03.12.2018; 20 Minuten, 14.04.2016). A central characteristic of meat is its cultural significance. Switzerland is repeatedly portrayed as a country of 'peasantry', framing Cervelat as the population's 'sanctuary' (Blick, 23.06.2016, 28.07.2016). Moreover, meat prices in the context of production surpluses are frequently mentioned. A respective example is the impact of bad weather in

summer on the sold amount of barbecue meat (Blick, 02.10.2014, 17.08.2015). In this context, retailers and public caterers are expected to help and compensate such surpluses, for instance by selling these products ‘on offer’.

In terms of prices, divergent perspectives are provided in the media discourse: on the one hand, meat-prices are considered as to be too high, whereas, on the other hand, the opposite opinion is also voiced. The latter is significantly based on the argument that the value of meat as a product needs to be increased (Blick, 02.08.2019). The media also reports on several scandals in the meat industry (e.g. Carna Grischa), which often lead to situational indignation, yet mostly remain without consequences in the long term (NZZ, 07.01.2015; 05.08.2020). Thus, notwithstanding the frequently addressed urge for a reduced meat consumption, the majority of consumers still continue to eat meat (20 Minuten, 24.01.2019). This contradictory nature of consumer behaviour can be considered as a reoccurring motive, particularly since the interest in animal welfare represents another strong element featuring the discourse strand (Die Wochenzeitung, 18.08.2022). Overall, nutrition is framed as political in nature (NZZ, 18.07.2014). A particular polarisation is recognisable on plant-based diets: these are either considered as a positive trend or investigated sceptically (Die Weltwoche, 08.10.2015b). The discourse further identifies a number of misconceptions, one of them being that ‘vegan equals healthy’ (Blick, 28.02.2020). Regardless the existence of various viewpoints, plant-based diets are described as the longer the more popular (Blick, 14.01.2022). Yet, it is still a very small percentage of the population which follows such diets (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.02.2020). In Switzerland, a trend towards lower meat consumption in public institutions and gastronomy is presented by the media (Blick, 27.04.2018; Die Weltwoche, 01.06.2023). The transition towards a more plant-based diet is oftentimes facilitated through meat substitutes and alternatives. As the presence of these numerous aspects indicate, meat consumption and production play a central role in the analysed print media articles.

### **6.3 Meat Substitutes and Alternatives**

Maintaining the focus on meat, another discourse strand concentrates on substitutes and alternatives. As a reduced consumption of meat is widely acknowledged as being crucial for the transition towards a more sustainable food system, the food industry has shown great interest in the production of innovative meat replacement products. There are various forms of substitutes, differing with respect to their individual target group. This is the case since contradictory opinions exist whether a meat substitute should be as similar as possible to real meat or if it should only be of comparable nature and usage in particular dishes (NZZ, 05.04.2019). The answer to this mainly depends on the reasoning behind an individual’s decision to reduce their consumption. Whereas the market-segment of meat substitutes followed an increasing trend over the regarded time span, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic (NZZ, 15.01.2021, 18.05.2021), a slightly decreasing trend has recently been observed (Blick, 23.12.2022). Nevertheless, retailers continue to enlarge and diversify their product ranges, especially at occasions such as ‘veganuary’ (Blick 23.12.2022; NZZ, 17.11.2022). An aspect which is repeatedly criticised in



the context of meat substitutes is if their name should be allowed to resemble or equal that of the meat product it aims to replace (e.g. ‘planted chicken’) (Blick, 23.02.2023; NZZ, 12.12.2022; Tagesanzeiger, 08.12.2022; 20 Minuten, 27.08.2018). The discourse strand evolves along two main perspectives on this issue: whereas one side argues that such names are misleading, the other side indicates that the similarity in name facilitates the products’ use in traditional recipes. Moreover, meat substitute products are regularly criticised as being too expensive (20 Minuten, 15.08.2022) and artificial (Blick, 01.09.2022). Next to plant-based meat replacements, a further innovation in the field of meat substitutes is ‘cultivated meat’ (Blick, 19.05.2017; NZZ, 10.02.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 05.07.2019; 20 Minuten, 01.10.2019). This term refers to a cell-based meat product which is produced under laboratory conditions. In this context, the discourse strand at hand draws attention to the question whether cultivated meat is suitable for vegetarians or not (NZZ, 14.06.2022). Cultivated meat has not yet been legally permitted in many countries aside from the US and Singapore (NZZ, 23.06.2023). In addition to this, cultural hesitance as well as high prices have so far prohibited the success of this form of meat replacement.

#### **6.4 Entomophagy**

Closely related to the investigation of alternative meat products is practice of eating insects, also called ‘entomophagy’. In Switzerland, the governmental permission for the consumption of certain insect species was given in 2017, positioning the country in a ‘pioneer role’ in comparison to other European nations (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.04.2017; NZZ, 17.12.2016). The permission was given for the species of mealworms, crickets and grasshoppers (20 Minuten, 26.04.2017). One central argument in favour of entomophagy is the predicted lack of animal-protein in the future due to global population growth (Blick, 14.09.2015; NZZ, 28.04.2017, 06.06.2017). Indeed, insects consist of up to 70% protein and are thus considered to be a potentially valuable component of future nutrition on a larger scale (Blick, 19.05.2017; 20 Minuten, 28.09.2018). Accordingly, entomophagy is discussed as potential key component of future food systems. Beside the protein-richness of insects, further advantages are outlined in the analysed articles: resource-efficient breeding, little space requirements, little emission-rates during production, low water use, economic efficiency of a large-scale production, nutritional value as well as taste (Blick, 19.05.2017; Die Wochenzeitung, 20.04.2017; NZZ, 14.07.2015). Regardless of these numerous advantages, many of the articles identify a lack of cultural acceptance and disgust as main challenges of the market success of insects (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.10.2018; NZZ, 14.07.2015, 28.04.2017, 24.09.2022); whereas entomophagy is a common practice in certain parts of the world, currently predominantly in the Global South, such is frequently received sceptically in countries of the Global North (Blick, 19.05.2017; NZZ, 28.04.2017). One article indicates that the population living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland seems to be more open to eating insects than the population in the German-speaking part (NZZ, 14.07.2015). Overall, several articles indicate that the degree of processing represents a central element regarding the issue of acceptance: if insects are no longer recognisable as such e.g. through processing, they are more likely to be accepted (Tagesanzeiger, 23.07.2016; NZZ, 14.07.2015, 17.12.2016, 28.04.2017). Moreover, apart from the factor of time which is usually required

to increase people's acceptance for new products, multiple articles provide the argument that consumers buy insect-products more frequently if these are labelled as luxury products and thus sold more expensively (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.04.2017, 11.10.2018; 20 Minuten, 28.09.2018,). Focusing on Switzerland, it is indicated that Coop introduced these products earlier than Migros (NZZ, 12.05.2017); however, both supermarkets were confronted with limited consumer interest in insect-products (Blick, 15.06.2019; NZZ, 24.09.2022a; Tagesanzeiger, 05.11.2014; 20 Minuten, 22.05.2015). Further repeatedly raised questions are whether they have a place in vegetarian or vegan diets (NZZ, 10.07.2017), if such can thus be considered as potential meat-alternative (NZZ, 21.04.2017), if the breeding of insects is indeed more sustainable (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.04.2017) as well as if current breeding conditions can be considered as animal-friendly (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.04.2017). Finally, the argument is made that there a paradox between the protection of biodiversity and the use of insects as a protein source can be identified (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.10.2018).

## **6.5 Food Waste**

A further discourse strand which discusses global 'Food Security' is the reduction of food waste. A central issue raised in this discussion is the standardisation of shapes, colours and sizes of vegetables and fruit (Die Wochenzeitung, 12.07.2018; 20 Minuten, 23.10.2015). In some articles, this standardisation is even portrayed as the main reason for food waste (20 Minuten, 30.04.2019). It is repeatedly indicated that a share of one third of food products are lost overall (NZZ, 27.05.2016, 28.10.2013). This includes post-harvest losses, which are more frequent in countries of the Global South, as well as food waste, which is particularly significant in countries of the Global North (NZZ, 11.03.2017). The latter is partially used as animal feed or for biogas production (NZZ, 09.08.2019). Food waste is further addressed as a politically acknowledged issue (Die Wochenzeitung, 12.07.2018; NZZ, 06.10.2020). However, regulatory interventions initiated by the government are mostly received critically (NZZ, 20.12.2014a). Next to fruit and vegetables, especially bread and baked goods are considered as highly affected by food waste, leading to the fact that nearly 55% of cultivated grains in Switzerland are never eaten (NZZ, 14.04.2021). There are several initiatives with a focus on food saving mentioned in order to combat this situation (Die Wochenzeitung, 12.07.2018; NZZ, 13.02.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 26.09.2022; 20 Minuten, 18.02.2019). However, beside their positive impact, some of these projects are criticised to negatively influence the market of organic goods due to price competition.

An approach which is mentioned when considering meat is a movement called 'nose-to-tail'. This concept promotes the consumption of all edible meat-products beyond the most common pieces (20 Minuten, 14.03.2017). Food waste is mostly framed as caused by multiple actors along the food chain (e.g. producers, retailers, consumers, etc.). Yet, the responsibility to take action in order to improve the current situation is apparently handed from one actor to the other, or, as pointedly formulated in one article: "Lebensmittelverschwendung: Das ist ein Problem der anderen" (NZZ, 17.06.2014). Retailers are often portrayed as the actors to blame due to the provision of 'on offer' products in too large

quantities (Blick, 25.06.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 22.12.2017; 20 Minuten, 12.02.2020); however, consumers are also frequently discussed as the main-responsible group for this issue (Blick, 19.12.2017; Die Wochenzeitung, 18.07.2019; 20 Minuten, 16.10.2014). This is mostly attributed to their lacking appreciation of food and particularly visually imperfect products (20 Minuten, 01.11.2021). In fact, the discourse strand indicates that this lack of appreciation is even further increased in cases of low product-prices (Blick, 25.06.2020; Die Wochenzeitung, 18.08.2022). Therefore, a potential way of decreasing food waste is seen in the increase of food prices (Die Wochenzeitung, 13.05.2021). Finally, lacking knowledge on how to store products at home is identified as a further circumstance encouraging the waste of food (20 Minuten, 12.02.2020, 01.11.2021). Closely related to this, the ‘best-before date’ is a further issue which is raised in the discourse on food waste (Tagesanzeiger, 09.05.2019; 20 Minuten, 14.05.2021). In this context, the argument is provided that the presence of this date would encourage food waste. This is the case since consumers are considered as no longer aware that products can mostly still be used beyond it (Blick, 08.09.2018b). A final point is the impact of appropriate packaging in order to prevent and avoid food waste (Die Wochenzeitung, 07.04.2022). It is majorly argued for the need of a more refined understanding of which products profit from e.g. plastic packaging in order to prevent food waste (NZZ, 26.07.2023; 20 Minuten, 05.05.2022).

## **6.6 Packaging and Plastic**

Partially connected to the discussion on preventing food waste, product packaging is a further discourse strand that can be identified. Discussions on the topic often criticise misleading packaging sizes (Blick, 13.07.2019, 24.12.2022) or negative influences of their design (NZZ, 14.08.2014a). Whereas plastic can indeed be considered as harmful for the environment (e.g. microplastics in water, sediments and soil), this discourse strand suggests the need for a more refined understanding on the topic (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.08.2022a; 20 Minuten, 22.11.2019). This becomes evident when focusing on the example of the packaging of organically produced cucumbers in plastic, a practice which is repeatedly thought to be contradictory and is, thus, approached with criticism (NZZ, 18.07.2019; 20 Minuten, 05.05.2022). Yet, when focusing on food waste, the plastic packaging of fruit and vegetables is considered to prolong shelf-life. One article presents concrete data on this issue, arguing that the shelf-life of cucumbers can be multiplied by five due to plastic packaging (NZZ, 26.07.2023). Nevertheless, consumers are portrayed as continuously critical about such plastic packaging. The critical attitude of the Swiss population towards unnecessary packaging is further emphasised by the mentioning of temporarily increasing trend towards ‘package-free stores’ which forms another part of this discourse strand (Tagesanzeiger, 22.12.2017; 20 Minuten, 14.02.2023). The consumer rejection of plastic packaging is oftentimes referred to the fact that such represents one of the apparently easily visible components which illustrate the environmental effect of a product. Besides, a further issue which is mentioned in numerous articles was the implementation of a minimal environmental tax of 5 Rp. on plastic bags in 2016 (Blick, 11.06.2014; Die Weltwoche, 11.07.2019; NZZ, 08.11.2016; 20 Minuten, 23.09.2016). This has led to a reduction of up to 86% of bags, which corresponds to a total of 56 million instead of 418 million. This

is the case notwithstanding the argument that it remains rather unclear if the targeted plastic bags are even that environmentally detrimental (Blick, 11.05.2018, 06.06.2019; NZZ, 16.08.2014). Whether this drastic reduction is due to the tax or to a more environmentally cautious ideology remains subject of debate, too. Finally, the connection between packaging and environmental impact is further elaborated upon at the example of coffee capsules (Blick, 06.01.2018; NZZ, 26.05.2023) and a trend towards more reusable take-away dishes (NZZ, 24.02.2015; Tagesanzeiger, 15.02.2018).

## **6.7 Generational Discrepancies**

Generational discrepancies form a further discourse strand which is frequently occurring in the analysed material. This is the case since *Sustainability Transitions* are mostly characterised as processes on a longer time scale (Die Weltwoche, 05.03.2015). A general tendency towards lower consumption rates of animal products such as meat can be observed (Blick, 27.04.2018) and is presented as being particularly prominent among younger generations (NZZ, 07.10.2021b). It is frequently argued that young people have a higher focus on their nutrition, for reasons of both planetary (Tagesanzeiger, 30.06.2017; 20 Minuten, 04.02.2020) and their individual health (Blick, 16.05.2018; Tagesanzeiger, 08.01.2015). Contradictory though it may seem, the identified interest in nutrition can be juxtaposed with the observation that younger generation cook less than their predecessors and are thus more reliant on convenience food (Blick, 28.02.2020). In this context, they are repeatedly framed as ‘spoiled’ (Blick, 28.11.2019b; Tagesanzeiger, 10.11.2017). Moreover, a higher openness towards innovation is ascribed to the younger generation: on the one hand, this refers to cultural aspects such as the previously discussed entomophagy (20 Minuten, 22.05.2015). On the other hand, they are also characterised as more open towards technological innovations than others (Blick, 19.05.2017; NZZ, 06.04.2021, 09.03.2022). Innovations such as ‘GMO’, ‘cultivated meat’, ‘indoor farming’, ‘cell-based protein’, ‘3-D-printed food’ or ‘novel food ingredients’ are thus presented as powerful potential solutions for problems in the current food system (NZZ, 20.10.2021a). This technological openness is further observable in retail stores, where new solutions such as self-checkout counters are particularly appreciated by younger customers (20 Minuten, 08.01.2020). Similar is reflected in their high engagement in online shopping (Blick, 04.01.2017; NZZ, 05.01.2017b). It is argued that the full potential of online markets will only be reached after the main-customer group has transitioned from current ‘silver agers’ (aged 50 plus) towards the generation of ‘digital natives’. Regarding this generational gap, the question of responsibility of contemporary society towards future generations is raised as well (NZZ, 19.01.2015). This is frequently discussed in the context of the ‘Fridays for Future’-movement, where the younger generations raise awareness for the severeness of climate change (Blick, 16.03.2019; Die Weltwoche, 14.01.2021; Die Wochenzeitung, 24.06.2021; Tagesanzeiger, 29.02.2019).

## **6.8 Regionality and Direct Marketing**

‘Fridays for Future’ is, however, not the only movement underlining the need for an overall system change. In fact, the re-thinking of neoliberal economic systems is a practice which is also addressed in

the contemporary media discourse, thus representing a further discourse strand. One issue which is repeatedly raised in this context is the necessity of collaboration in order to implement change. A first approach encouraging collaboration is the encouragement of closer relationships between producers and consumers. One idea how this could be reached is direct marketing. Several articles indicate that consumers show an increased interest in regional products (Blick, 22.03.2017; Die Weltwoche, 23.06.2022; Tagesanzeiger, 06.02.2019) and are also willing to pay higher prices for them (20 Minuten, 22.03.2017). In addition, it is further argued that this willingness to pay further increased during the Covid-19 pandemic (NZZ, 04.04.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 30.12.2020; 20 Minuten, 27.08.2020). However, similarly to the previously outlined example of plastic-packaging, the impact of long transport distances is also shown to be oftentimes overestimated by consumers. This is the case since the mean of transport (e.g. airplane) and the production environment have a substantially greater impact on the environmental footprint of a product than the distance itself (Die Weltwoche, 26.06.2021). To provide an example: the amount of energy which would be required to produce tropical fruit in Switzerland often exceeds the emissions caused by the distance of transport when such are imported (Die Weltwoche, 23.06.2022). Also, for less exotic products such as tomatoes, it is indicated that CO<sub>2</sub>-emissions are lower off-season when imported from Italy or Spain than when domestically grown (Blick, 16.07.2019; NZZ, 01.10.2021a). This is due to the energy required for the heating of greenhouses in these months. Indeed, it can be argued that by repeatedly mentioning regionality as important factor for improved ecological *Sustainability*, the media consolidates this misconception. One article even argues that, given the small size of Switzerland, everything grown in the neighbouring-countries should also be considered as *regional* (NZZ, 02.10.2021). Regionality is also frequently used in the context of advertisements (Blick, 25.10.2014). This is discussed critically due to advertisement's tendency to romanticise agriculture (Blick, 22.03.2017). What is important to note is that not only consumers, but also producers profit from direct marketing, both in an economic and environmental regard (Blick, 17.11.2020). For instance, one article provides the example of a harvest of savoy cabbage which has grown too heavy and is thus rejected due to standardised norms at the supermarkets (Blick, 23.11.2022). In this case, direct marketing allowed to still sell the savoy cabbage and thus to avoid a large quantity of waste. In addition, online tools such as the online marketing platform 'Farmy.ch' play an increasing role in the field of direct marketing (NZZ, 21.06.2021; 20 Minuten, 02.06.2016). A further innovative initiative presented in the respective media articles is a vending machine called 'Alpomat' placed in urban areas which is filled with products from the alpine regions (NZZ, 27.10.2018). Finally, there is also a political focus on the issue of regionality, aiming to encourage Switzerland's domestic food production. However, this is partially considered as a form of negative protectionism (NZZ, 02.10.2021).

## **6.9 Swiss Agricultural Policy**

Governmental actions feature very prominently in the media discourse, in fact, representing one of the most dominant discourse strands. The implementation of regulations is, in general, a highly debated topic throughout the analysed media texts (NZZ, 06.10.2020). Particularly direct payments and other

monetary incentives are a major subject of discussion, along with the investment of tax-money. The highly subsidised agricultural sector in Switzerland is thus frequently criticised. The central argument in this debate is that the sum of direct payments, subsidies and incentive taxes which is currently paid by the state is too high or unfairly distributed throughout the system (NZZ, 16.10.2015). A common framing used in this context suggests that farmers are given too much money by the state and are, thus, lazy. Moreover, the role of the taxpayer as provider of the money is also frequently mentioned in the discourse at hand. An issue which is discussed as a paradox when focusing on the distribution of financial support is that the current political system predominantly incentivises livestock farming and thus the consumption of animal products by the Swiss population (Die Weltwoche, 16.02.2023). In fact, up to 80% of direct payments and subsidies are targeted at livestock (NZZ, 06.12.2022). On the one hand, this is reflected in food prices. For instance, the example of cow- and plant-based milk prices is discussed in the media: although the production of one litre cow milk can be considered as more resource intense, the price of one litre oat milk on the current market is significantly higher since such is not supported by governmental payments (Die Weltwoche, 23.06.2022). On the other hand, further money is invested in the compensation of negative externalities caused by the agricultural sector (NZZ, 06.12.2022). Of course, such are also partially caused by plant cultivation (e.g. through pesticides); however, data shows that the majority of financial compensation is, again, directed towards livestock farming. Considering the overall aim of a transition towards more sustainable food systems, it can be argued that the exact opposite action would be required. Finally, notwithstanding the fact that farmers are mostly the profitters of subsidies and direct payments, it is mentioned that farmers do not feel valued by society due to their role in this payment-construct (NZZ, 06.09.2018).

The wish for transformation regarding the current agricultural system has been expressed by the parliamentarian rejection of the ‘AP22+’-draft in 2021 (NZZ, 24.06.2022). This was the case since, beside the fundamental role of multifunctionality, a more systemic and long-term approach was demanded. This sort of long-term thinking is required due to slow developments such as climate change, but also to increase resilience against sudden shortages such as recently experienced in the context of the Ukraine-war. Besides ‘AP22+’, a remarkable number of political initiatives targeting the agricultural sector were submitted and voted upon in recent years (NZZ, 06.10.2020). The discussion of these initiatives represents a major part of the discourse strand on Swiss agricultural policy. It is indicated that these initiatives additionally serve as ‘early-warning-systems’ for multinational companies according to which they can adjust their market focus and strategies (NZZ, 14.04.2021). Yet, it is argued that the complexity of agriculture is reflected neither in the public nor in the political debate. The use of romanticised narratives such as in the advertising industry is thus considered as misleading and preventing citizens and politicians from understanding what the circumstances in the agricultural sector really are (NZZ, 06.11.2015). Moreover, a frequently discussed interest group is the ‘Bauernverband’, which is often criticised along with the ‘Bauernlobby’ for having too much influence within Switzerland’s political construct. Discussions like the one regarding the amount of domestic production needed, for

example, are closely connected to the question of ‘Food Sovereignty’ and transnational trade relations. In many of these initiatives, both internal and external trade relations are of fundamental importance. Thus, issues such as free-trade agreements, protectionism or import-taxes are repeatedly mentioned throughout the discourse. In this context, the political positioning of newspapers is oftentimes clearly visible in the argumentation. An additional aspect which is put into discussion is the request of a higher self-sufficiency rate. Such is often closely connected to the concept of ‘Swissness’. However, domestic production is not directly correlated with a secured food system (NZZ, 10.08.2022). In fact, contradictory though it may seem, it is indicated that an increased self-sufficiency rate could result in an even greater dependency of imports.

## **6.10 Product Declarations and Labels**

Beside the indications of products’ regional origin, an increasing emphasis on product declarations, certifications and labels can be identified. This represents a further prevalent discourse strand. Referring to the previously discussed topic of regionality, one prominently discussed aspect is the declaration of ‘Swissness’ (Die Weltwoche, 08.08.2013; Die Wochenzeitung, 17.07.2014b; Tagesanzeiger, 05.07.2016). Various articles emphasise consumers’ interest in local production, e.g. regarding eggs (Blick, 30.05.2017, 10.08.2017; Tagesanzeiger, 20.04.2019). This interest in regionality is mostly reflected by a readiness to pay higher prices. Yet, product declarations have become an important means of transparency, way beyond product-origins since they do not only provide information about where a product originates from, but inform the consumer also about nutritional value, allergens or working conditions under which it was produced (Tagesanzeiger, 29.04.2022; 20 Minuten, 27.07.2022). In the media, traceability of food products as well as their environmental footprint are presented as of increasing importance to the population (Tagesanzeiger, 14.03.2018b). Yet, the concern of insufficient control-mechanisms of these standards is raised (Blick, 05.11.2019). Media articles present a sceptical attitude of consumers, questioning if these labels are truly effective and useful (NZZ, 12.02.2019). A further criticism which is raised in the context of labels is that there is a confusing multitude of them existing. The discourse describes this repeatedly as ‘Labelling-Jungle’ or ‘Labelling-Salad’ (Blick, 04.08.2018; NZZ, 14.08.2017a; Tagesanzeiger, 28.04.2021; 20 Minuten, 14.08.2019). Whereas these labels generally serve the purpose of transparency and thus as a source of information for consumers, the high degree of diversity and complexity in Switzerland’s labelling landscape is oftentimes considered to be problematic and ineffective. One form of declaration which is prominently discussed in the discourse strand is the so-called ‘Nutri-Score’. This score is based on a traffic-light approach: whereas the colour dark green with the letter ‘A’ on one end of the spectrum marks a favourable and thus ‘healthy’ composition of nutrients, the other end of the scale is represented by an ‘E’ in red (20 Minuten, 24.05.2023). The main idea behind this score is to facilitate consumer decisions and to encourage healthier options. However, the ‘Nutri-Score’ is widely criticised for being overly simplistic and is regularly described as being misleading (Die Weltwoche, 24.10.2019; Tagesanzeiger, 08.04.2021). In the analysed media articles, numerous examples of such misleading tendencies are provided, reaching from soft-drinks, fruit-juices

and fries to dairy products (NZZ, 12.10.2021; 20 Minuten, 24.05.2023). Moreover, the ‘Nutri-Score’ serves as a means of international standardisation and is used by seven countries (NZZ, 21.12.2022). Similar attempts have been made to introduce a so-called ‘eco-score’ which assesses the ecological footprint of a food-product (NZZ, 15.06.2023). Yet, here too, the question of the label’s effectiveness in fostering transparency can be raised. Overall, product declarations and labelling are thus critically discussed in discourse, mostly underlining a lack of transparency, trustworthiness and, thus, insufficient effectiveness.

## **6.11 Organic Farming**

Another important component of labelling-criteria is the manner of production. One discourse strand which can be regularly encountered refers to organic production. Organic farming is frequently considered to be a key element in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system in Switzerland. This is the case since it is more environmentally friendly, i.e. due to the reduced use of pesticides or synthetic fertilizers (Blick, 04.10.2017). As agricultural yields of conventional farming commonly exceed those of organically cultivated crops, questions on the latter’s contribution to feeding an increasingly growing population in the world and thus the achievement of *SDG 2* are raised (Blick, 11.05.2022; Die Weltwoche, 11.08.2022; NZZ, 27.05.2016). Indeed, there are different viewpoints on this issue: on the one hand, there are people convinced that ‘Food Security’ is achievable with an increased focus on organic farming. On the other hand, however, other articles argue the exact opposite. Ultimately, there are also voices that claim that organic farming has not any advantage compared to conventional cultivation techniques and that it only comes with higher prices (Blick, 19.12.2017; NZZ, 15.09.2020; 20 Minuten, 26.07.2017). Focusing on prices, the media articles outline the consumers’ readiness to pay more for organic standards (Blick, 16.10.2014; 20 Minuten, 20.01.2020). The interest in alternative production methods remains high and even increased, similarly to attentiveness with regard to regionality, during the Covid-19 pandemic (NZZ, 09.07.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 10.06.2020). This interest is also reflected in Switzerland’s political agenda. Many recent political initiatives in the field of agriculture (e.g. ‘Trinkwasserinitiative’) demanded more organic farming in Switzerland. Yet, critical voices indicate that higher production rates could be destructive in terms of prices collapsing due to overproduction (Blick, 23.04.2021; Die Wochenzeitung, 18.08.2022; NZZ, 12.11.2019; Tagesanzeiger, 28.04.2021; 20 Minuten, 09.04.2021). Finally, criticism is further targeted at the seemingly contradictory nature of organic farming and food waste reduction (NZZ, 08.01.2015). This is the case since ingredients and additives which can contribute to a prolonged shelf-life of products are more strictly regulated.

## **6.12 Pesticides and GMO**

The discussion on organic farming often goes hand in hand with the discourse strand on pesticides. Indeed, pesticides are another prevalent topic in Switzerland’s media discourse. The reduction of pesticides is often considered as a fundamental part of a more sustainable food system, from both a scientific and a societal perspective (20 Minuten, 23.04.2021). The respective discourse strand presents several



benefits of this measure, for example the protection of biodiversity (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.10.2018) or the protection of groundwater (Blick, 17.08.2019; Tagesanzeiger, 04.09.2019). Switzerland shows rather high rates of pesticide-use in comparison to neighbouring countries (Die Weltwoche, 11.08.2022). One of the most controversially discussed substances in the analysed media articles is Glyphosate (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.10.2018; NZZ, 24.03.2017; Tagesanzeiger, 11.05.2018). This herbicide serves as an illustrative example of the controversial discussion on pesticides in the analysed media articles. On the one hand, Glyphosate is portrayed as a risk to public health (NZZ, 18.02.2020a), whereas, on the other hand, this accusation is considered as a misinterpretation of data (Die Weltwoche, 17.12.2020). When talking about pesticides, genetically modified organisms are frequently raised as a potential solution to their negative impact. This is the case since GMOs can make plants more resistant and thus have the potential to contribute significantly to the reduction of pesticides in agriculture (Die Weltwoche, 10.02.2022; NZZ, 08.08.2022). Yet, this technique does not remain without criticism (Die Wochenzeitung, 24.02.2022; 20 Minuten, 12.11.2014b). One of the main issues with this genome editing is a lack cultural acceptance, which is frequently attributed to a lack of transparency (Blick, 20.12.2017, NZZ, 19.12.2014) and traceability (Die Wochenzeitung, 24.02.2022). Due to this cultural rejection of GMO products, the cultivation method is repeatedly discussed in the articles (Tagesanzeiger, 01.03.2016; 20 Minuten, 02.09.2019). On a governmental level, these discussions mostly evolve around the 'Gentechnormatorium' (Die Weltwoche, 23.09.2021; NZZ, 03.02.2022). In Switzerland, cultivation of genetically modified crops is only done for scientific purposes so far. However, what is rarely mentioned in the media discussion is that this moratorium only addresses the cultivation of GMO crops in Switzerland and does not affect imported plants when it comes to animal feed (Die Weltwoche, 15.07.2021a). Thus, GMOs would in fact be legally allowed in the context of livestock-farming; however, farmers reject their use voluntarily (20 Minuten, 17.01.2017).

### **6.13 Food Prices**

Food prices and the financial focus of consumption behaviour represent a prominent discourse strand, too. Generally speaking, most articles agree that food prices have a strong influence on consumers' decision-making in the food sector (20 Minuten, 21.06.2023). A first issue which is frequently debated in this context is the perceived expensiveness of organic produce (NZZ, 28.01.2023). Whereas retailers are accused of yielding greater profits from organic than from conventional products, these decidedly deny this claim. A positive aspect of higher prices is partially seen in a more careful and respectful use of food products by consumers (NZZ, 27.05.2016). Furthermore, regardless the higher prices, individuals still decide to buy organic food which indicates a certain readiness to pay for healthy and environmentally friendly products. Yet, a side effect of these high prices is the connotation of sustainable lifestyle-choices as expensive. A second issue with regard to food prices is the impact of seasonality: counterintuitively though it may seem, product prices are usually higher when fruit or vegetables are in season in Switzerland than throughout the rest of the year (NZZ, 21.07.2022). This is the case since, during these time-periods of domestic seasonality, imported goods are more expensive due to protectionist

measures for imported products. The newspaper *Blick* repeatedly refers to the so-called ‘Cervelat-Barometer’ as a measure to assess food prices. Originally, such was introduced by the BLW (*Blick*, 05.04.2014). Using the price of a traditional Swiss sausage as a point of reference, the ‘Cervelat-Barometer’ regularly communicates the development of food prices. A common strategy of retailers to engage with the issue of food prices is the implementation of own brands (NZZ, 29.03.2017, 07.01.2020). Such are usually less expensive than conventional brands. Migros, for instance, was considered to make 90% of its revenue with company-owned products and labels in 2020. Coop, in turn, had a share of 56% covered by own brands (NZZ, 07.01.2020b). This includes a broad range, reaching from low-price to more expensive products.

### **6.14 Cross-Border-Shopping**

A very common strategy of the Swiss population to avoid expensive food prices is the cross-border-shopping. This practice is particularly popular among people living in border areas. Accordingly, cross-border-shopping represents a final discourse strand in this chapter. According to the media articles analysed, the attraction of cross-border-shopping generally increased throughout the regarded time period. In fact, such is framed as a common habit of the population living in respective parts of the country (NZZ, 10.01.2018; 20 Minuten, 17.06.2021). The habit of physically leaving the country for shopping-reasons, however, was abruptly stopped due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the therefore closed borders. This interruption was intensely discussed in the media and further increased the previously outlined focus on regionality. Yet, cross-border-shopping was soon re-established after the border-closing measures were lifted after the pandemic (NZZ, 20.05.2021). Most articles describe lower food prices as an important driving-force for shopping abroad, attracting people throughout the entire income-spectrum (*Blick*, 23.12.2015; *Die Weltwoche*, 05.04.2018; NZZ, 15.08.2022; *Tagesanzeiger*, 19.03.2018; 20 Minuten, 25.10.2016). In this context, an ideological debate can be observed: media articles repeatedly raise the question whether it is right to spend the money that was earned in Switzerland on a regular basis on food products in a different country (*Die Wochenzeitung*, 18.09.2014; 20 Minuten, 31.07.2014). Apart from food prices, alternative product-ranges are another incentive for people to shop abroad (*Blick*, 06.05.2019). Cross-border-shopping is generally framed as negative for Switzerland’s economy and thus as a concern. There is even a certain degree of anger expressed when investigating the discourse strand more closely: on the one hand, Swiss citizens are criticised from fellow citizens, particularly if they are conservative voters (*Die Weltwoche*, 20.05.2020). Their behaviour is often argued to be contradictory since a conservative political orientation is generally aligned with the support of protectionist measures and thus rather against food imports. On the other hand, citizens living in the neighbouring countries and thus the destinations where cross-border-shopping takes place are also given a voice in the media articles. Mostly, the local population outlines the problems which come along with the shopping practices of Swiss residents (*Blick*, 31.07.2019b). Finally, also an increasing tendency towards online shopping is the longer the more discussed within an international context (*Blick*, 23.06.2017; 20 Minuten, 08.01.2020). This represents a final element of the discourse strand on cross-border-shopping.

## 7 Policy Strategy Analysis

Aiming for a better understanding of the actor group framing and responsibility allocation within policy documents, a *Critical Discourse Analysis* represents the core element of this thesis. As has been indicated previously, this research approach was initially introduced by the French philosopher Michel Foucault; however, it has been further developed over time. The discourse will, in this first step, be explored in regulatory documents on a national, cantonal and municipal level in the German-speaking part of Switzerland with a particular focus on Zurich. The aim of this analysis is to explore the following research questions:

- (1) *How is responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system politically allocated among actor groups in Switzerland's national and Zurich's cantonal as well as municipal policy strategies?*
- (2) *How is the actor group of consumers discussed in Switzerland's national and Zurich's cantonal as well as municipal policy strategies and what are prevalent framings which are used in order to do so?*

### 7.1 Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024

On a national level, there are two main strategies which can be considered as relevant to the focus of the thesis at hand: firstly, the 'Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024' and, secondly, the 'Strategie Nachhaltige Entwicklung 2030'. As these titles already indicate, the former strategy mainly focuses on the field of nutrition, whereas the latter addresses the issue of *Sustainability* transitions in more general terms. Due to their respective relevance to the *Sustainability Transition* of food systems, both strategies are considered in the analysis. Starting with a structural analysis of the 'Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024', this can be described as a visually appealing document of relatively short length (16 pages). It consists of eight chapters with the following titles: (1) Einleitung; (2) Internationale Ernährungspolitik; (3) Gesundheitspolitik in der Schweiz; (4) Aktuelle Ernährungssituation; (5) Herausforderungen; (6) Vision; (7) Handlungsfelder; and (7) Weiteres Vorgehen: Der Aktionsplan. All of these chapters are structured in a similar way, displaying a number of short paragraphs on each page. Moreover, there is a preface signed by Alain Berset, former member of the Federal Council. Shifting the analytical focus from the structure of the document towards its content, a first observation that can be made is that the strategy defines a concrete target group ((FSVO, 2017, p. 7):

“Die Ernährungsstrategie richtet sich an alle Personen aus Wirtschaft und Politik, an Vertreterinnen und Vertreter des Ernährungs- und Gesundheitsbereichs sowie an Organisationen, welche einen Beitrag zur Förderung einer gesunden Ernährung leisten. Dazu zählen u. a. Parlamentarierinnen und Parlamentarier, die kantonalen Behörden, die Konsumentenschutzorganisationen, die Lebensmittelindustrie, die Gastronomie und Vertreterinnen und Vertreter aus medizinischen und ernährungswissenschaftlichen Fachgesellschaften, der Prävention und Gesundheitsförderung sowie Forschungsinstitutionen.”

What is interesting with regard to this definition is that various organisations and representatives are listed, reaching from economy to politics, institutions for consumer protection, gastronomy, health experts and scientific institutions. Yet, the actor group of consumers is missing. Whereas it can indeed be argued that political strategies do not need to include the population in their target group, its missing nature seems noteworthy in this case since the strategy is essentially targeted at changing the behaviour of consumers in the long term. Investigating the respectively defined fields of action in the strategy more closely, it can be argued that their formulation is rather vague. This can partially be explained due to the short extent of the document. There are four major categories provided: (1) Information und Bildung; (2) Rahmenbedingungen; (3) Koordination und Kooperation; and (4) Monitoring und Forschung (FSVO, 2017, pp. 12–13). For each of these fields, a brief explanation, a number of focus aspects as well as some examples from practical experience are provided. In addition, a reference towards a more detailed elaboration on the implementation of these goals in form of an ‘Aktionsplan’ is provided. All of these aspects aim to contribute to one overarching ‘vision’, which is formulated as follows (FSVO, 2017, p. 10):

“Alle Menschen in der Schweiz können sich für eine ausgewogene und abwechslungsreiche Ernährung entscheiden. Sie haben dazu die Kompetenzen und verfügen über die entsprechenden Rahmenbedingungen, um in eigener Verantwortung einen gesundheitsförderlichen Lebensstil zu pflegen, unabhängig von ihrer Herkunft, ihrem sozio-ökonomischen Status und ihrem Alter.”

Again, it can be observed that the actor group of consumers plays a crucial role in this vision, making its absence in the formulated target group worth considering. Moreover, the vision can be understood as sensitive to age, cultural and socio-economic diversity within the population. Shifting the focus from inclusiveness to other topics addressed in the ‘Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024’, it can further be observed that the strategy has its main emphasis on the health aspect of nutrition. This is because the document was developed as a complement to the national ‘Strategie zu Prävention nichtübertragbarer Krankheiten 2017-2024 (NCD-Strategie)’. Whereas ‘Food Security’ and the availability of a diversified product range are described as a given state in Switzerland, it is particularly the nature of food choices which is framed problematic or even as “threatening” to the populations’ wellbeing (FSVO, 2017, p. 6, translation). Moreover, it is indicated that unhealthy nutrition is responsible for increasing costs in the national health sector (FSVO, 2017, p. 5). The strategy therefore aims to construct an environment where “it is easier for us to decide for a healthy lifestyle, regardless of age, origin or income” (FSVO, 2017, p. 4, translation). In addition to this, it is repeatedly mentioned that nutrition and food-consumption should remain joyful and not become highly restricted. This central idea is, for instance, addressed in the following statement (FSVO, 2017, p. 8):

“Alle Lebensmittel haben ihren Platz in unserer Ernährung und die Pyramide lässt auch Raum für unsere persönlichen Präferenzen. [...] Alles ist eine Frage der Menge.”

The emphasis on an unrestrictive approach of the regulations presented in the ‘Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024’ is further applied to its implementation. This is indicated by suggesting that measures should be implemented based on a “voluntary collaboration with economic actors” (FSVO, 2017, p. 7, translation). Taking this argument of voluntariness into account, the question on the strategy’s allocation of responsibility for respective change arises. On the one hand, the groups perceived as responsible can be considered as listed as part of the target group. Yet, on the other hand, the following statement indicates that further differentiations within these groups are made, particularly with regard to individual political departments (FSVO, 2017, p. 11):

“Dabei liegt die Verantwortung nicht allein bei der Gesundheitspolitik. Andere Politikbereiche wie Landwirtschaft, Wirtschaft und Bildung können durch geeignete Massnahmen das Ernährungsverhalten der Bevölkerung ebenfalls beeinflussen”

What is important to note in this context is that it is not the Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH) which is the author of this strategy, but the Federal Food Safety and Veterinary Office (FSVO). Of course, the latter is also centrally involved in health politics; yet it is particularly the FOPH which is responsible for such. Thus, the provided statement cannot be interpreted as a rejection of responsibility by the FOPH, but rather as an encouragement of collaboration. Nevertheless, it is a clear statement that multiple actors are expected to take their responsibility. Shifting the focus on how the actor group of consumers is presented in this strategy, several observations can be made. Firstly, in terms of language use, it is interesting that numerous formulations use the pronoun ‘we’ (e.g. “Wir verzehren zu viele tierische Fette”) (FSVO, 2017, p. 9). As individuals are naturally consumers themselves, the use of this pronoun can be understood as referring to the actor group of consumers. This seems remarkable since these are, in fact, not part of the previously discussed target group, making the reference of consumers as ‘we’ questionable. Secondly, it is explicitly stated that consumers ultimately take the responsibility for their decisions. This can be observed in the following excerpt (FSVO, 2017, p. 7):

“Andererseits sollen sie die Ernährungskompetenzen der Bevölkerung stärken. Jeder und jede kann damit in eigener Verantwortung eine bewusste Wahl der Lebensmittel treffen.”

The strategy can thus be considered as aiming to provide an environment in which consumers are encouraged to take ‘good’ decisions. This positions the actor group in a state of semi-autonomy: on the one hand, it is their decision what to consume; on the other hand, they are considered as influenceable by governmental interventions through changes in their surrounding environment. Indeed, this governmental aim to influence people’s decisions needs to be discussed critically. The attitude can be interpreted as framing consumers as incapable of taking reasonable decisions on their own, which creates an implied power imbalance that can be considered as problematic. Finally, the strategy indicates that there is a considerable gap between knowledge and action with regard to food choices (FSVO, 2017, p. 10).

In other words, this means that many people continue to consume unhealthy amounts of salt, sugar and fat, although they know about their negative impacts on their health.

## 7.2 Strategie Nachhaltige Entwicklung 2030

The second relevant policy strategy on a national level is the ‘Strategie Nachhaltige Entwicklung 2030’. Such can be described as a longer and less illustrated document compared to the previously discussed strategy. It consists of eight chapters: (1) Einleitung; (2) Agenda 2030 für nachhaltige Entwicklung; (3) Leitbild für die Bundespolitik; (4) Schwerpunktthemen; (5) Treiber für nachhaltige Entwicklung; (6) Der Bund als Vorbild; (7) Zusammenarbeit und Partnerschaften zur Umsetzung der Strategie; and (8) Politikzyklus, Monitoring und Berichterstattung. Most of these chapters further entail a number of sub-chapters. Overall, the topics are addressed in a similarly concise but more extensive manner than in the ‘Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024’. The strategy further addresses aspects such as governmental collaboration and monitoring. Moreover, there is an explicitly defined target group presented. Yet, this is formulated for the entire strategy and does thus not only refer to the food sector (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 6):

“Die SNE 2030 gilt primär für die Bundespolitik und fokussiert insbesondere auf Bereiche, die in den Kompetenzbereich des Bundes fallen. Die Erreichung der Ziele für nachhaltige Entwicklung der Agenda 2030 ist aber eine gesamtgesellschaftliche Aufgabe, deren erfolgreiche Umsetzung die Mitwirkung aller Akteurinnen und Akteure im Rahmen ihrer Zuständigkeiten erfordert. Der Bundesrat lädt deshalb die Kantone und die Gemeinden, die Zivilgesellschaft, die Wirtschaft und die Wissenschaft sowie die Bevölkerung dazu ein, die Ziele dieser Strategie mitzutragen und durch ihre Beiträge gemeinsam mit dem Bund zur Erreichung der globalen Ziele für nachhaltige Entwicklung beizutragen.”

What is interesting about this definition is that, in the first sentence, it is explicitly stated that primarily the federal government and the responsible federal offices are targeted by the strategy. Yet, in the second sentence, the sustainable transition is then described as an assignment “of society as a whole”, which can only be achieved if “all actor groups contribute their share within their respective fields of responsibility” (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 6, translation). Therefore, all of the other actor groups are “invited” to support the achievement of the goals collected in this strategy (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 6, translation). The list of actor groups includes other administrative levels such as the canton or municipalities, as well as civil society, economy, science and the population. Focusing on the featuring of consumers in this list, it can be argued that such are even addressed twice: firstly, as civil society and, secondly, as population. Beside the included actors, it is further argued that the addressed fields within the strategy align with the “range of competence” of the federal government, which both frames the government as clearly responsible for certain areas and at the same time serves as a form of boundary, making their responsibility separable from others’. Finally, the last sentence indicates that Switzerland’s actions are seen as part of the greater transition towards more *Sustainability* on a global level.

Due to the available space in a longer publication such as the ‘SNE 2030’, the formulated goals of the strategy are quite detailed compared to other strategies. In these, mainly three focus areas are outlined: (4.1) Nachhaltiger Konsum und nachhaltige Produktion; (4.2) Klima, Energie und Biodiversität; and (4.3) Chancengleichheit und sozialer Zusammenhalt. For each of these areas, again, sub-categories are provided. Such, in turn, define specific goals within the focus areas. For the context of this thesis, particularly chapter (4.1) Nachhaltiger Konsum und nachhaltige Produktion is of interest, including its sub-chapters: (4.1.1) Nachhaltige Konsummuster fördern und ermöglichen; (4.1.2) Wohlstand und Wohlergehen unter Schonung der natürlichen Ressourcen sichern; (4.1.3) Die Transformation hin zu nachhaltigen Ernährungssystemen im In- und Ausland vorantreiben and (4.1.4) Unternehmensverantwortung im In- und Ausland stärken. Each of these aspects is, firstly, explained in more detail within the strategy. Secondly, a number of specific *SDGs* is listed that address the discussed issue. Aligning with the analysis provided in chapter 2 of this thesis, most of them refer to *SDG 2* and *SDG 12*. Thirdly, the discussed aspects are contextualised within the national and international strategic direction, implicating the fields of action. Again, also in this strategy paper, a reference towards a more detailed elaboration of the implementation of these goals in form of a ‘Aktionsplan’ is provided. For the continuation of the analysis, the focus will lie on chapter (4.1.1) and (4.1.3).

Starting with a focus on chapter (4.1.1) Nachhaltige Konsummuster fördern und ermöglichen, it can be observed that the ‘SNE’ situates Switzerland’s food sector within a complex global system. It indicates that imports play a crucial role to the country’s economy. Aiming for a more sustainable system thus also means to acknowledge the importance of true-cost accounting, traceability and international standards. The role of consumers in this process is explicitly addressed in the following text passage (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 14):

“Konsumentinnen und Konsumenten in der Schweiz – sowohl private als auch öffentliche – können durch ihr Konsumverhalten Einfluss auf eine nachhaltige Ausgestaltung der Produkt- und Dienstleistungssortimente nehmen und somit den Ressourcenverbrauch und die Arbeitsbedingungen im In- und Ausland beeinflussen.”

What is interesting in this statement is that a differentiation between ‘private’ and ‘public’ consumers is made. Within the aspects addressed in chapter 4.1.1, the strategy identifies three fields of action on a national level (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 15):

- (a) “Das Angebot an nachhaltigen Gütern und Dienstleistungen stärken
- (b) Das Wissen der Konsumentinnen und Konsumenten verbessern
- (c) Negative Effekte von Subventionen oder Steuererleichterungen für fossile Energieträger durch deren Reduktion oder Neuausrichtung vermeiden”

The first field of action thus reflects the need for an increased range of sustainable goods and services, whereas the second focuses specifically on information and education. The third field of action is targeted at subsidies and tax incentives of fossil fuels and is thus not directly relevant to the research focus

of this analysis. Aligning with this last point, it seems important to bear in mind that these fields of action do not only refer to food systems but addresses all fields of consumption.

This is different for the second focus of this analysis, chapter (4.1.3) Die Transformation hin zu nachhaltigen Ernährungssystemen im In- und Ausland vorantreiben. Indeed, this represents the only goal that directly addresses food systems in the strategy. Instead of explicitly mentioning the role of consumers as observed in chapter 4.1.1, this chapter predominantly emphasises the encompassing nature of the system, as can be observed in the following statement (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 19):

“Die notwendige Transformation hin zu nachhaltigen Ernährungssystemen birgt Herausforderungen entlang der gesamten Wertschöpfungskette im In- und Ausland – von der Produktion über die Verarbeitung, den Transport und die Vermarktung bis zum Konsum und zur Entsorgung der Lebensmittel. Bei globalen Krisen haben sich kurze und diversifizierte Kreisläufe als vorteilhaft erwiesen. Darüber hinaus stellt die Ernährung einen wichtigen Gesundheitsfaktor dar, was weitere Herausforderungen, aber auch Synergiepotenziale mit sich bringt.”

This statement indicates that all of the involved actors along the food chain are considered as impactful to the transition process of food systems. In addition to this, the authors consider international consequences of Switzerland’s actions, mentioning both negative social and environmental externalities. In this context, particularly the detrimental effect of food waste is emphasised. Again, within chapter 4.1.3., the strategy identifies four fields of action on a national level (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 20):

- (a) “Eine gesunde, ausgewogene und nachhaltige Ernährung fördern
- (b) Die Lebensmittelabfälle reduzieren
- (c) Die Nachhaltigkeit entlang der Lebensmittelwertschöpfungskette steigern
- (d) Die Resilienz des Ernährungssystems stärken”

The first point refers to different ways of encouraging more sustainable consumer behaviour, whereas the second directly targets food waste. The third field addresses *Sustainability* along the entire value chain, specifying the importance of internalising external costs as well as transparency. Particular focus is given to environmental and social conditions as well as to animal welfare. The fourth field of action addresses resilience, for instance, through responsible investments, socio-economic empowerment of the agricultural sector and the protection of biodiversity. This final point includes measures with both an industrialised and an agroecological focus. Taking a look at the formulations used in the strategy, it can be noted that many sentences explicitly frame the government as responsible for the suggested actions. In order to illustrate this observation, the following excerpt can be considered (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 20, emphasis added):

“Der Bund erarbeitet und fördert Massnahmen zur Reduktion der vermeidbaren Lebensmittelverluste über alle Wertschöpfungsstufen bis hin zum Konsum. [...] Der Bund definiert gemeinsam mit den Branchen spezifische Reduktionsziele.”



The repeated and explicit reference to “*Der Bund*” reflects the strategy’s purpose to outline the responsibilities of the federal offices when talking about required actions. Accordingly, the main actor identified in the target group of the strategy is the same actor that is addressed in the fields of action. However, notwithstanding this overall state-centred focus, the document later argues that other actor groups also need to take responsibility in this transition process. Indeed, a separate chapter is designated to address this issue (chapter 5 in the strategy). There, the four sectors of (1) Zivilgesellschaft; (2) Wirtschaft; (3) Finanzmarkt; as well as (4) Bildung, Forschung und Innovation are described in individual sub-chapters. Based on the research focus of this thesis, it is particularly the framing of civil society in chapter 5.1 which seems of interest. Investigating this chapter more closely, it can be observed that consumer behaviour is described as influential to the *Sustainability Transition*, particularly in the fields of mobility, retail and living (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 46). In this context, consumers are framed as powerful. In the strategy at hand, an explicit distinction between their influence as individuals and as a collective force is made. Moreover, they are not described as passive recipients of implemented regulations, but as active contributors to change. This can be observed in the following statement (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 46):

“Sie tragen durch ihre Erfahrung und ihr praktisches Wissen zur Mobilisierung, Verbreitung von Informationen und zur Meinungsbildung bei und können im Beruf und im Privatleben ein Verhalten fördern, das zur Transformation für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung beiträgt. Beispielsweise können berufliche Fachverbände wichtige Impulse für eine nachhaltige Produktion geben, und Interessengruppen können die Sensibilisierung für nachhaltigen Konsum stärken. Weiter können Vereine oder Quartierorganisationen zum gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen und sportlichen Engagement und zur Freiwilligenarbeit motivieren und damit den sozialen Zusammenhalt stärken. Insbesondere auch Jugendverbände wirken als treibende Kraft für nachhaltige Entwicklung.”

This active framing is an interesting contrast to the more passive framing encountered in the ‘Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie’. The strategy at hand further states explicitly that the government sees the role of itself and of cantonal as well as communal instances in the provision of fruitful underlying conditions for consumers’ active engagement. In this respect, the strategy paper repeatedly argues for an integrated approach (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, p. 46):

“Die Zusammenarbeit des Bundes mit der Zivilgesellschaft ist für die Umsetzung der SNE 2030 zentral [...]. Alle Akteurinnen und Akteure, insbesondere Bund, Kantone, Gemeinden und die Wirtschaft, sind aufgefordert, ihr Engagement zugunsten von guten Rahmenbedingungen für das Engagement der Zivilgesellschaft zu stärken.”

What is interesting when considering the last sentence is that, next to three levels of government that are listed, only the economic sector is added. This is further noticeable in sub-chapter (5.2) where the role of the economy is more profoundly discussed. There, it is stated that the economic sector is expected

to act particularly responsibly within the transitioning process (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, pp. 47–48):

“Der Bund erwartet von in der Schweiz ansässigen oder tätigen Unternehmen, dass sie ihre Verantwortung gemäss den international anerkannten CSR-Standards und -Leitlinien bei ihrer gesamten Tätigkeit im In- und Ausland wahrnehmen.”

What is remarkable in this statement is that the government expresses a clear expectation from the economic sector and thus from producers and retailers. The emphasis on this group can be considered as particularly strong in this strategy. However, regardless this economic focus, the government is still positioned at the core of the strategy. This is clearly expressed in chapter 6, where the government is presented as role-model (e.g. regarding public procurement, as owner of independent entities, investor, employer and resource consumer) (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021, pp. 51–53). Yet again, in chapter 7, the aspects of collaboration and synergies within the entangled model of food systems is further addressed. This reaches from different governmental departments to administrative levels, civil society, economy and science. Overall, it can therefore be argued that the strategy considers both governmental leadership as well as collaboration throughout the system as central processes to the transition towards more *Sustainability* in Switzerland.

### **7.3 Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung Kanton Zürich**

The cantonal strategy ‘Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung Kanton Zürich’ is presented in a very brief document of two pages length. Due to this short extent, an accompanying document was also considered for the analysis at hand. Such is called ‘Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung und Massnahmen zur Umsetzung (Festsetzung)’ and elaborates on the content of the original strategy in more detail. It is declared as ‘Auszug aus dem Protokoll des Regierungsrates des Kantons Zürich (Sitzung vom 5. Oktober 2022)’ and is thus less carefully arranged than the final, short publication. The latter is of visually appealing nature and contains images and graphics illustrating food waste, unhealthy nutrition and the environmental impact of the food system. In terms of content, the strategy opens with an introductory paragraph, before focusing more closely on the following three sections: (1) Ziele; (2) Leitsätze; and (3) Handlungsbereiche des Kantons. The policy strategy is presented as an important step towards *Sustainability*, emphasising that Zurich is the canton with most inhabitants in Switzerland. Moreover, the strategy indicates that there is a significant share of agriculture and food industry situated on cantonal ground. In terms of target group, neither of the analysed cantonal documents Kanton Zürich (2022) and Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich (2022) provided an explicit definition of whom the ‘Leitbild’ aims to address. The only, broadly related indication is a rather vague list of actors which were included in the design process of the strategy. This can be observed in the following text passage (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 3):

“Die Grundlage für das vorliegende Leitbild wurde in einem ausführlichen und moderierten Prozess mit Vertreterinnen und Vertretern der kantonalen Stellen mit Bezug zu Ernährungsthemen ausgearbeitet.”

Based on this statement, it can be assumed that the strategy was not designed in collaboration with other actor groups beside cantonal representatives. However, who exactly these representatives are remains mostly unclear. Similar vagueness goes for the missing definition of who is recognised as target group of the document. What is worth mentioning is that, as has already been encountered in the ‘Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024’, the texts are partially formulated using the pronoun “we” or “our” (e.g. “Eine Veränderung *unserer* Ernährungsgewohnheiten trägt damit massgeblich zur Ressourcenschonung und zum Klimaschutz bei (...)” (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 1, emphasis added). It remains undefined who exactly this pronoun refers to. In certain instances, a clear reference is made between the “we” and “society” (e.g. “Eine ausgewogenen Ernährung kann in *unserer Gesellschaft* weit verbreiteten, gesundheitlichen Problemen und deren Kosten vorbeugen”) (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 1, emphasis added). However, whether society is used synonymously to consumers or if such refers to the entire system remains unclear. Similar can be observed in the accompanying ‘Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung und Massnahmen zur Umsetzung (Festsetzung)’.

Moreover, the strategy provides a set of guidelines which describe a sustainable food system. The first guideline argues for nutritional balance, diversity, enjoyment and health. Next to these listed aspects, cultural identity is also explicitly mentioned in this statement. In the second guideline, the environmental impact of food systems is addressed. It is indicated that the entire system should contribute to the protection of the environment and climate. What is noteworthy in this context is that a required increase of plant proteins is mentioned. This can be understood as an explicit statement for the need to reduce meat consumption. In the same context, it is further indicated that meat products should be produced according to high standards in terms of animal welfare. The third guideline emphasises the importance of innovation and technology, as well as of the collaboration along the food value chain (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 2). Again, this statement does not explicitly specify what type of innovations and technology are meant. This would, however, be important regarding ethical discussions on issues such as GMO or cultivated meat. The fourth guideline focuses on the issue of food waste and its required avoidance. However, the term “vermieden” must be discussed critically in this context, as an entire avoidance of food waste would contradict the first sentence of ensuring food safety, high quality and health. Finally, the fifth guideline addresses education. It stresses that educational programs provide information on sustainable nutrition and its value. What is interesting in this statement, is that the aspect of nutritional health is not mentioned as an educational goal here.

Shifting the focus to the fields of action within the competences of the canton, there are another six statements provided. They focus mainly on public catering, agricultural producers, education in schools and professional contexts, research and innovation, collaboration among actors and regionality,

as well information campaigns (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 2). All of these fields of action concentrate on competences of the canton, which is also reflected in their way of formulation through the repeated, explicit mentioning of cantonal instances (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 2, emphasis added):

*“Der Kanton setzt ein nachhaltiges Ernährungssystem in den eigenen Verpflegungs- und Landwirtschaftsbetrieben um.”*

The clear identification of “Der Kanton” as responsible to take action in the text passage can be compared to what has been observed in the ‘SNE 2030’. In this previous analysis, a similar pattern using “Der Bund” has been identified. These formulations can serve as an interesting entering point into the discussion on the allocation of responsibility within the document. As the formulation in the cantonal document suggest, the strategy directly addresses the responsibility assigned to the canton. This is reflected in its main goal (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 2):

*“Der Kanton Zürich trägt zu einem nachhaltigen Ernährungssystem bei. Dieses umfasst die ganze Wertschöpfungskette von der Produktion bis zum Konsum.”*

Again, it can be argued that this goal is rather vague in nature. Looking at the provided information in the additional document, it is further indicated that the ‘Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung Kanton Zürich’ aims to establish a common understanding on the topic. Regardless of the vague phrasing of the document’s goal, it is indeed clearly stated who is required to take action. In this context, various intersecting points between the canton and food systems are presented, reaching from community catering and educational institutions (e.g. Strickhof) to the controlling function of the ‘Cantonal Laboratory for Food Safety’ (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 1). Moreover, political interrelations between the canton and the state are addressed, indicating that it is the responsibility of canton as an institution to implement national agricultural politics (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 1). However, whereas these cantonal relationships and thus responsibilities are clearly outlined, the more extensive version of the document further states that also other actor groups are seen as needing to take action. On the one hand, this is the economic sector, which is clearly addressed in the context of reducing food waste (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 2). On the other hand, the federal government is also seen as required to take responsibility. Such is mainly based on the argument that it is only due to legal frameworks that cantonal approaches can be effective. Referring to the concrete measures the accompanying document contains in order to achieve the set goals, it explicitly states that the cantonal strategy understands itself as a “Ergänzung zu den bereits heute umgesetzten Massnahmen und zum Aktionsplan des Bundes” (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 6). What is interesting with regard to these measures is that two focus-areas are defined: (1) Klima; and (2) Food Waste (vermeidbare Lebensmittelverluste) (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 4)

Focusing on the representation of consumers, it can generally be argued that such are not directly addressed as target audience or responsible main actors within the strategy text. Indeed, as has been indicated previously, there are occurrences of the pronoun “we” which can be interpreted as referring to consumers, too. There is one instance in which individuals are addressed throughout the strategy which is, indeed, note-worthy since it puts emphasis on the issue of accessibility. The strategy acknowledges that not all individuals have access to “healthy, sustainable food products [...] be it for instance for financial reasons or lacking knowledge” (Kanton Zürich, 2022, p. 1, translation). Moreover, when considering the provided measures of action included in the accompanying document, it can be observed that many of them ultimately target consumers and their behaviour. The document lists the following areas: (1) Kantonale Verpflegungsbetriebe; (2) Bildungsangebote; (3) Zielgruppenspezifische Sensibilisierung und Information; and (4) Impulse setzen (Regierungsrat des Kantons Zürich, 2022, p. 5). Whereas the last point refers to the production sector, the first three directly address efforts to change consumer behaviour. It can therefore be argued that this strategy, again, aims to influence consumers through providing an adapted environment. In essence, this makes their role rather passive. Revisiting what has been indicated previously, the attitude of seeing consumers as incapable of taking the “right” decisions can be discussed critically.

#### **7.4 Strategie Nachhaltige Ernährung Stadt Zürich**

The extent of the municipal strategy of the city of Zurich is again of longer nature (60 pages). Notwithstanding the fact that there are few photographs and visuals contained, its main emphasis is on text. The ‘Strategie Nachhaltige Ernährung Stadt Zürich’ consists of five overarching chapters with several sub-chapters each. The overarching chapters are titled: (1) Zusammenfassung; (2) Ausgangslage; (3) Ziele der Stadt Zürich; (4) Handlungsfelder; and (5) Herleitung der quantitativen Ziele für städtische Verpflegungsbetriebe und deren Umsetzung next to a preface and an appendix. The strategy outlines a distinct target group which is formulated as follows (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 11):

“Das Strategiepapier richtet sich in besonderem Masse an sämtliche stadtinternen und -externen Entscheidungsträgerinnen und -träger aller Stufen, die in irgendeiner Art und Weise mit der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion, der Herstellung, der Verteilung, der Angebotsplanung, der Beschaffung, der Zubereitung, dem Konsum und der Verwertung von Lebensmitteln in der und für die Stadt Zürich zu tun haben.”

Similar to the ‘Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024’, this statement lists various organisations and representatives. Notwithstanding the fact that the strategy is, again, targeted at political decision-makers, the stage of consumption is here indeed explicitly listed. This has, so far, only been seen in the ‘SNE 2030’. Moreover, the municipal strategy formulates three target areas which it aims to address. These are the following aspects (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 17):

- (1) “Vorbildrolle in städtischen Verpflegungsbetrieben einnehmen
- (2) Nachhaltige Beschaffung in der gesamten Wertschöpfungskette

### (3) Information, Projekte und Angebote für alle EinwohnerInnen”

Indeed, the third of these areas directly addresses the citizens of Zurich. As has been previously observed, the strategy can thus be considered as acknowledging consumers as an actor group which needs to be actively included into the strategic planning on a policy level. Shifting the focus on the presented fields of action, a relatively broad range is provided: (4.1) Information und Bildung; (4.2) Regionale Produktion und Verteilung; (4.3) Beschaffung und Verpflegung; (4.4) Lebensmittelverluste und Entsorgung; and Kooperation und Monitoring. For each of these fields, several sub-fields are listed. In order to provide some context to these sub-fields, the document contains information on the contemporary situation, a set of goals as well as concrete steps towards their implementation. The overarching goal of the strategy is the following (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 10):

“Die vorliegende Strategie soll Rolle und Handlungsspielraum der Stadtverwaltung klären und Anknüpfungspunkte mit Akteurinnen und Akteuren aus Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft aufzeigen – immer mit dem Ziel einer schmackhaften, gesunden, sicheren und ressourcenschonenden Ernährung. Diese Ernährung ist wirtschaftlich tragbar, für alle zugänglich und genießt eine hohe Akzeptanz in breiten Teilen der Bevölkerung”

Not only does this goal acknowledge the diversity among of included in the system, but it also emphasises that appropriate solutions need to be both economically profitable as well as culturally accepted. Moreover, there is an emphasis on the direct connection to, among other actor groups, consumers in the formulated goal. Regarding the content, the strategy amplifies four dimensions of the food system: (1) Umwelt; (2) Gesundheit; (3) Wirtschaftlichkeit; and (4) Soziale Gerechtigkeit (Stadt Zürich 2019: 12). The strategy underlines the importance of socio-economic inclusion and justice; however, it further adds that special forms of nutrition (e.g. due to allergies or religion) are not addressed in this strategy, which can be understood as major difference to the ‘Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung Kanton Zürich’. Considering the research focus on consumers, again, particularly one field is of relevance to further investigations: (1) Information und Bildung. Such is described as follows (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 18, emphasis added):

“Nur informierte Konsumentinnen und Konsumenten können Entscheidungsmöglichkeiten gezielt wahrnehmen. *Die Stadt* stärkt die (Weiter-)Bildung im Bereich Ernährung und Nachhaltigkeit in allen Bevölkerungsschichten. Sie informiert und motiviert die städtische Bevölkerung, ihre Mitarbeitenden und ihre Verpflegungsbetriebe zu einer genussvollen, nachhaltigen Ernährung.”

Next to the responsibility attributed to “*Die Stadt*”, it is interesting that consumers are explicitly addressed as an actor group for whom the goals on ‘Information und Bildung’ are formulated (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 18, emphasis added):

*“Die Bürgerinnen und Bürger wissen, mit welchen Verhaltensweisen sie selber zu einem nachhaltigen Ernährungssystem beitragen können. Dies betrifft sowohl Auswirkungen der Produktwahl der Konsumentinnen und Konsumenten als auch das Verständnis für die Wertschöpfungskette der einzelnen Produkte. Attraktive Angebote motivieren die Bevölkerung, die städtischen Mitarbeitenden und die Verpflegungsbetriebe zum Dialog und zur genussvollen Umsetzung. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, die Produktion und Verarbeitung zu erleben und sich daran zu beteiligen (konkrete Aktivitäten sind im Handlungsfeld 2 beschrieben). Eine transparente Information bei Lebensmitteln (z.B. städtisches Signet, Herkunftsnachweis, Ampelsystem) bietet eine Orientierungshilfe für die nachhaltige Gestaltung der persönlichen Ernährung. Da die Stadt und ihre PartnerInnen koordiniert und umfassend informieren, besteht ein guter Überblick über Aktivitäten und Fortschritte des nachhaltigen Ernährungssystems der Stadt Zürich.”*

In this statement, various aspects are of interest. Firstly, the formulation of the goals is not focused on what the city aims to do, but rather amplifies what competences citizens (“Die Bürgerinnen und Bürger”) should acquire as a consequence of such. Furthermore, comparatively concrete fields are addressed, for example communal catering facilities, participatory projects or labelling-approaches. These goals are even further specified for the different sub-fields of school education; professional education; and further education. In terms of responsibility-allocation, the strategy document mentions several times that cities embody an important role in the transition process towards more sustainable food systems (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 10). Yet, it is further argued that they also expect other actor groups to take action. The strategy emphasises that regulations are on purpose scarcely used. This aims to allow other actors to take their own responsibility in their field (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 14). This can be observed in the following statement (Stadt Zürich, 2019, p. 14):

*“Die Stadt Zürich kann und will diese nachhaltige Entwicklung nicht alleine bewirken. Die Zusammenarbeit mit lokalen Organisationen sowie Akteurinnen und Akteuren aus Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft bei der Planung und Umsetzung ist zu stärken. Dabei sind bestehende Initiativen und das vorhandene Wissen in der Gastronomie, bei Unternehmen und bei Verbänden zu berücksichtigen.”*

The document not only asks other members to take responsibility, but it also includes an entire chapter on potential synergies and conflicts of interest as part of the appendix. It can therefore be argued that, on a municipal level, the actor group of consumers is acknowledged as of central and active relevance to the transition process. This is different to many of the previously analysed strategies, which did often not concretely address consumers in their documents. On the one hand, this could be explained based on the political structure of Switzerland and the tendency that smaller administrative units (e.g. the city) are responsible to formulate more concrete implementation strategies. However, on the other hand, it can be observed that also the other strategies address consumers at least in an implicit way, e.g. by using the pronoun “we” as a generic reference to “everybody” and thus every individual. Ultimately, as all of the discussed strategies aim to influence consumer behaviour to a certain degree, it cannot be argued

that it is only the task of the lowest administrative level to include individual citizens in their policy structures.

## **7.5 Key Findings**

This first section of the analysis has focused on policy strategies. In terms of target group, it has been found that consumers are only partially mentioned as part of the target group. In the selected texts, this was true for half of the strategies. However, the other half of the strategies which did not include them still used the pronoun ‘we’. This can be interpreted as implicit reference to the involvement of society and thus consumers. It can therefore be argued that consumer responsibility plays a role in all of the strategies; however, the framing of consumers is in some documents more active than in others. All of the strategies share the perspective that it is the government’s role to provide a suitable environment to encourage more sustainable consumer behaviour. However, as has been outlined throughout the analysis, the aim to influence consumers to take “the right” decision can be discussed critically. This is the case since such does not ascribe full agency to individuals, positioning them in a state of semi-autonomy where they are an important part of the *Sustainability Transition* but not considered as capable of taking right decisions. In terms of responsibility-allocation, most strategies clearly indicate that they are designed to identify governmental fields of action. This is oftentimes reflected in the formulation of goals. All of the analysed strategies acknowledge socio-economic challenges connected to the food consumption in Switzerland, which indeed aligns with the UN concept of ‘leaving no one behind’. However, how these challenges are concretely approached is not always explicitly addressed.

## **8 Print Media Analysis**

The second step of the *Critical Discourse Analysis* will investigate print media articles. As has been indicated previously, the corpus consists of articles that were published in Die Wochenzeitung, Die Weltwoche, 20 Minuten, Tagesanzeiger, Blick and Neue Zürcher Zeitung between August 2013 and August 2023 respectively. In this chapter, firstly, the negotiation of responsibility will be analysed throughout the print media discourse. Then, secondly, the framing of consumers will be discussed. In order to do so, a number of typologies will be developed.

### **8.1 Negotiation of Responsibility in Switzerland’s Print Media Discourse**

The negotiation of responsibility within the print media discourse will be investigated with regard to four identified actor groups: (1) consumers and taxpayers; (2) retailers; (3) producers; and (4) government and politics. Among these four groups, a complex and intertwined network of responsibility can be identified, which will be outlined in this chapter. The overall problematic investigated in this analytical step is illustratively presented in the following text passage (NZZ, 26.09.2022a):

“Geht es um Nahrungsmittel, dann geht es um deren Herstellung und Handel, es geht um die Ernährung und natürlich auch ums Klima. Es geht aber auch um die Frage, wie weit der Staat dreinreden soll in den Einkaufskorb, hin zum Teller und bis hinein



in den Cholesterinspiegel. Wer entscheidet, wie viel Fleisch man essen darf: Meret Schneider, Daniel Jositsch, das Bundesamt für Umwelt, Hildegard von Bingen – oder vielleicht doch jeder selbst?”

Notwithstanding the fact that an ironic tone can be discerned in this passage, it also outlines the complexity of the discussion on nutrition, food systems, *Sustainability*, responsibility and agency. Aiming for a more profound understanding of this notion, the following research question will be addressed:

(3) *How is responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system publicly negotiated in Switzerland’s and Zurich’s print media discourse?*

What is important to note is that many of the analysed media articles assign responsibility for sustainable change not only to one, but to multiple actors. However, the perspectives on this topic differ, as will be presented in the following.

### **7.5.1 Consumers and Taxpayers**

A popular discourse strand that has been identified in the analysis is that the responsibility for the *Sustainability* transition of food systems should be attributed to individuals. Commonly, a distinction between two roles is recognisable in this debate: (1) individuals as consumers; and (2) individuals as political actors and taxpayers. This twofold characterisation is further reflected in the discussion on responsibility. A first perspective provided in this discussion is that individuals should act more responsibly and adjust their behaviour accordingly. Considering the identified discourse strand, this perspective is shared by the majority of actor groups. An illustrative example of this can be observed in the following statement (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.02.2020):

“Heute nimmt sich der Konsument völlig raus. Heute hat er null Verantwortung. Immer sind nur die Landwirtschaft und die Politik schuld. Klar ist es schwierig, und die Werbung ist irreführend, aber jeder hat die Möglichkeit, sich zu informieren.”

This statement was made during a debate among three members of the *National Council*. It puts forward the idea that consumers reject their own responsibility by assigning it to producers or policymakers instead. The politician speaking criticises this attitude, emphasising the importance that consumers are adequately informed. In the media discourse, consumers are further subject to criticism for purchasing insufficient quantities of organic products (NZZ, 23.10.2020), causing food waste (Blick, 28.05.2022; NZZ, 12.04.2014), lacking mindfulness regarding the consumption of sugar (NZZ, 06.09.2017b) or an insufficient interest in animal welfare (NZZ, 21.05.2021a). Yet, one of the most prevalent arguments raised is that consumers are responsible for the product range which is maintained by retailers (NZZ, 08.07.2023). This attributes the entire responsibility to the group of consumers since it is them who arguably dictate what enters the food system in the first place (Die Wochenzeitung, 15.12.2022; NZZ, 23.10.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 27.06.2019; 20 Minuten, 11.09.2015). Following this line of argumentation one step further, consumers are accused of purchasing only perfectly looking fruit and vegetables (20

Minuten, 30.04.2019). Their behaviour is frequently perceived as an expression of a lack of appreciation or excessive expectations towards food and its production (Tagesanzeiger, 09.05.2019; 20 Minuten, 30.04.2019). Consumers are further framed as too lazy to act responsibly (Die Weltwoche, 16.01.2014a). Apart from this framing, however, the discourse strand at hand further provides evidence that consumers take their responsibility seriously, mostly presented from their own perspective and thus in the form of reader's comments. Indeed, individuals express a high degree of self-awareness, as the following examples show:

“Der Konsument hat es selber in der Hand, ob Regenwälder abgeholzt werden und der Klimawandel damit vorangetrieben wird.” (Blick, 25.02.2021, reader's comment)

“Wir Konsumenten in der Schweiz und der EU sind schuld daran. Wozu brauchen wir Palmöl, Fleisch, Soja und Bananen aus Südamerika? Nur wir können das ändern, heute schon, im Supermarkt.” (Blick, 26.08.2019, reader's comment)

“Obwohl wir als Konsumenten nicht die Hauptverantwortung dafür tragen, sollten wir unseren Teil übernehmen. Sprich: Ich verzichte halt auf den Einkauf von Früchten und Gemüse aus dieser Gegend und orientiere mich mehr regional.” (Tagesanzeiger, 06.02.2019, reader's comment)

What is interesting when focusing on the last statement is that the speaker initially states that she does not agree with the previously introduced argument that consumers are the main actors responsible for change. Nevertheless, referring to off-season Strawberry imports from abroad, she makes it clear that individual contributions play a significant role in the process. Moving away from these three explicit statements, consumers' self-awareness is also more implicitly expressed. For instance, several community-based initiatives are portrayed by the media (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.08.2022b). In addition to this, the 'Fridays-for-Future' movement is a further example illustrating that consumers are ready to take action in order to achieve more sustainable systems (Blick, 27.05.2015b). Similar goes for changes towards more plant-based diets which are repeatedly discussed in the discourse strand on consumer responsibility (Tagesanzeiger, 03.10.2015). Yet, notwithstanding the fact that consumers acknowledge their own responsibility, the analysis further indicates that they also expect other groups to take action. A concrete example of this claim can be observed in the following reader's comment (Blick, 08.05.2021):

“Mich ärgert, dass die Verantwortung allein beim Konsumenten liegen soll. Der Landwirt hat Vorgaben, wie gross und in welcher Form das Gemüse sein muss, damit er es dem Grossverteiler verkaufen kann. Wir Konsumenten kaufen, was es dann im Laden gibt. Gäbe es nur krumme Rüebli oder kleine Äpfel, kaufen wir auch diese.”

What is noteworthy is that this statement provides an opposite perspective to the previous argumentation that consumers are responsible for the product-range of retailers. In fact, the argument is made that consumers buy what is sold in supermarkets in the first place, passing the responsibility on to retailers

and producers. This example nicely illustrates how perspectives on the allocation of responsibility diverge. Moreover, consumer behaviour is partially framed as a mean to compensate for a lack of governmental regulations (Die Wochenzeitung, 30.08.2018). Beside the criticism of lacking action, the government is predominantly expected to facilitate or even enforce more responsible decision-making processes. This can be observed in the following excerpts:

“Manchmal braucht einen Anstoss von aussen, um eine Verhaltensänderung durchzuziehen. Weil man oft weiss, was richtig ist, aber zu träge ist, um konsequent zu bleiben.” (Die Wochenzeitung, 29.09.2022)

“Manchmal muss der Mensch mit ambitionösen Zielen dazu gezwungen werden, sonst wird er sich nicht weiterentwickeln. Auch wenn eine Veränderung in seinem Interesse ist, kann ein Rechtsrahmen nötig sein, damit er weiter vorankommt.” (Die Weltwoche, 15.09.2016)

Both of these arguments are not readers' comments. Yet, as human-beings are inevitably consumers, the statements still need to be understood as a formulated wish for governmental regulations from 'within'. Of course, this perspective is not shared by all consumers. A further line of argumentation in the context of governmental regulations indicates that consumers should not be treated as though they were immature and thus not be denied their freedom of choice (Blick, 09.08.2017; NZZ, 01.12.2022). Taking this argumentation one step further, the opinion is expressed that, in fact, fewer regulations should be implemented in order to empower the agency of consumers (20 Minuten, 04.12.2013, 28.08.2019). Yet again, this perspective is challenged by statements which indicate that consumers do not want to take responsibility by themselves (Blick, 11.07.2023, reader's comment):

“Die Schweizer Bürger müssen für die Umwelt immer alles tun: Elektro statt Benzin, Heizung, Strom, immer mehr bezahlen und so weiter, und so weiter. Die Grossfirmen und der Bund müssen dies jedoch nicht. Dabei müsste es eigentlich genau umgekehrt sein, und da müsste man mal anfangen, bevor immer wieder der einfache Schweizer Bürger drankommt.”

The wish for more governmental support and actions in the transition process towards more *Sustainability* is further reflected in the political agenda where several initiatives for more restrictive environmental regulations are discussed. This is interesting as these initiatives can be considered as reflecting major concerns of the population in Switzerland's democratic system. A high number of initiatives with an environmental focus thus implies that the population perceives it as important to find solutions to these issues. Moreover, these initiatives can be understood as expressing the wish for more governmental regulations by the population. This political involvement of individuals represents a last major element of the discourse strand on consumer responsibility. It is repeatedly emphasised by the media articles that individuals act contradictory in their roles as *consumers* and *voters*. In this context, the criticism is raised that individuals are not ready to change their behaviour as *consumers* and thus themselves; however, they want these issues to change in their role as *voters*. As a response to this mismatch, other

actors indicate that individuals who do not act responsibly regarding their shopping behaviour should neither be allowed to demand responsibility in their role as political actors. This is reflected in the following statement which was made by an organic farmer in a discussion on the ‘Trinkwasserinitiative’ (Blick, 23.04.2021):

“Wer Ja stimmen wolle, solle besser auf den eigenen Konsum achten, appelliert Höneisen. «Bio-Käufer verschmutzen das Trinkwasser nämlich schon jetzt nicht!» Da müsse der Wandel anfangen – denn würden die Regale leergekauft, würde sich der Markt auch automatisch regulieren und «Bio-Bauern wie Pilze aus dem Boden schiessen.»

This framing can be considered as particularly strong due to the democratic system present in Switzerland. Yet, what makes consumers ultimately powerful in a political context is that they similarly represent taxpayers of the country and thus are the financiers of the governmental system after all.

### **8.1.1 Retailers**

A further discursive argument discussed in the analysed media articles is the responsibility of retailers. Again, this is in terms of negotiation, which is reflected in the fact that multiple perspectives on retailer responsibility exist. The retail sector is commonly located at the cutting-edge between consumers and producers (20 Minuten, 12.12.2018). Retailers are framed as influencing what enters the system from a production side and what is bought by individuals on the consumption side (NZZ, 01.10.2019). Regarding the impact of governmental regulations on retailers, the discourse strand offers a range of examples, including both positive and negative instances (NZZ, 29.01.2019). Mainly in the context of their own brands, retailers additionally interfere with the production sector as well (NZZ, 07.01.2020). A key element in the discourse surrounding the responsibility of retailers is the perception that they are not doing enough. A major aspect contributing to this framing is that retailers are mainly interested in high profit-margins (Blick, 23.04.2021; Tagesanzeiger, 24.08.2022). Retailers are accused of dominating price structures with the objective of maximising their revenues. This results in high prices which do not reflect the actual production costs and have a negative impact on consumers and producers respectively. Retailers continuously express their opposition to this accusation. A case in which retailers’ price policy is discussed with a particularly critical attitude are labelled products. Of course, retailers repeatedly emphasise that it is not their high product margins which enhance product prices, but that the reason for increasing prices reflect the more expensive production process connected to labels (NZZ, 29.11.2022). As these contradictory lines of argumentation suggest, the discussion on food prices remains largely unresolved. This serves as a foundation for the repeatedly formulated wish for more transparency in the system (Blick, 13.12.2021; NZZ, 29.11.2022). Shifting the focus back on the issue of labelling, retailers are commonly framed as central contributors to the ‘labelling-jungle’. This is referred to their rejection of transparency for reasons of profit as well as to the use of labels as a form of marketing strategy

(Tagesanzeiger, 04.07.2018; 20 Minuten, 14.09.2016). Consumers are confused by this ‘labelling-jungle’, which is illustrated in the following text passage (NZZ, 14.08.2017a):

“Der Konsument kann von aussen nicht mehr unterscheiden zwischen einem wirklichen Qualitätslabel und einer Pseudo-Auszeichnung, die einen reinen Marketingzweck erfüllt» Die Konsumentenschützerin fordert aus diesem Grund: «Detailhändler, koordiniert euch!» Doch die Konzerne stellten sich dagegen, weil sie um ihre Marketinginstrumente fürchteten, vermutet Stalder. «Wir befinden uns deswegen in einer Pattsituation: Wenn die Detailhändler sich nicht bewegen, haben die Konsumenten weiterhin den Label-Salat», sagt Stalder.”

Not only does this passage indicate that the retail sector should coordinate their labelling strategies, but it also addresses that labels are used as marketing instruments (NZZ, 14.08.2017a). This statement is given by the head of the *Swiss Association for Customer Protection*, which aims to defend consumer interests in the market. Of course, producers are also involved in the procedure of labelling; however, the retail sector has a considerable influence on what labels are presented to the consumer. To provide an example, the usefulness of the previously introduced ‘Nutri-Score’ is a central topic debated in the ongoing discussion. In this example, too, Swiss retailers are challenged to create a uniform system. Moreover, because of their influence in various terms, retailers are framed as limiting consumers’ freedom of choice through tempting them to buy products out of season as well as of low production standard (Die Weltwoche, 14.11.2013; Tagesanzeiger, 29.01.202). In one of the reader’s comments on the topic of standardised vegetables and a food-saving campaign, this is expressed as follows (Blick, 23.11.2022, reader’s comment):

“Es ist also nicht der Konsument, der keine grossen Wirze, krummen Rüepli oder ovalen Kartoffeln kaufen will – es sind die Grossverteiler, die behaupten, wir würden nur perfekte wollen.”

However, these accusations are repeatedly denied by retailers. According to them, it is the responsibility of consumers to buy products grown outside the standardised norm (Tagesanzeiger, 09.05.2019; 20 Minuten, 22.02.2022). Similar argument can be observed in the context of seasonality. On the one hand, retailers argue that consumers are responsible for their food choices and thus, as has been indicated previously, that they are responsible for the product range provided in the supermarket-shelves. One example of this is the selling of products off-season. This is addressed in the following statement which was given by a representative of Migros (20 Minuten, 22.02.2022):

“Den Entscheid, ob unsere Kundinnen und Kunden die Spargeln aus Peru kaufen möchten, überlassen wir ihnen», erklärt eine Sprecherin. Detailhändler würden die Verantwortung damit zu stark auf die Konsumenten schieben, heisst es bei Greenpeace. «Sie haben in der Schweiz grosse Marktmacht und steuern mit ihrem Angebot und der Werbung auch die Nachfrage», sagt Alexandra Gavilano, Projektleiterin Ernährungssystem und Landwirtschaft.”

In order to act responsibly, it is thus expected that supermarkets, for instance, position labelled products in the most advantageous manner (NZZ, 14.08.2017a). Next to consumers, on the other hand, retailers also attribute responsibility to the government. This is particularly emphasised in the context of cross-border-shopping and import prices (Blick, 23.07.2014a):

“Die Migros will vom Bundesrat mehr Engagement sehen. «Der Einkaufstourismus hat Bundesrat Schneider-Ammann bisher offensichtlich nicht interessiert.» [...]. Der Angriff auf den Bundesrat ist für die Migros eine Rückkehr zu den Wurzeln. Migros-Gründer Gottlieb Duttweiler († 74) legte sich 1948 mit Bundesbern an, indem er Steine auf das Bundeshaus warf.”

This excerpt illustrates that there are clear expectations regarding the way the government should act and cooperate with Migros. A final perspective on retailers is that they already demonstrate responsible behaviour. For instance, several articles frame them as positively contributing to the promotion of organic and other certified products (NZZ, 04.01.2020; 20 Minuten, 18.12.2017). Further articles describe retailers' efforts to implement more transparency and describe their outrage on scandals in livestock-production (Die Weltwoche, 20.10.2022; NZZ, 04.01.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 01.09.2014). Moreover, their positive contribution is outlined regarding the prevention of food waste by selling e.g. pork meat on discount in times of domestic overproduction (Blick, 02.10.2014).

### **8.1.2 Producers**

A further actor group which has been investigated in the discourse analysis at hand is the one of producers. This group can be subdivided into (1) industry; and (2) farmers. Similar to the previously outlined actor groups, producers are also framed as needing to take more responsibility in the system. Due to their size, the impact of producing companies is often considered to be particularly high (Blick, 25.02.2015). A prominent example which reflects this notion is the issue of food waste (Blick, 28.10.2019; NZZ, 13.02.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 20.09.2018). On the one hand, the prevention of food waste is seen as an integral part of production systems and is therefore portrayed as an important responsibility of the industry. On the other hand, further responsibility of producers in the reduction of food waste is seen in the selection of appropriate product packaging and printed 'best-before'-dates (NZZ, 20.12.2014a). A further key aspect that emerges from the discussion on the responsibility of the industry is the request for more innovation (Blick, 10.10.2020) and more efforts in animal protection (Tagesanzeiger, 03.10.2015, 03.06.2020). Furthermore, the issue of health is also addressed in the example of requested reductions in sugar and salt content (Blick, 05.07.2019; 20 Minuten, 10.09.2015). Similarly to the previously analysed actor groups, producers are also portrayed as critically engaging with their own actions, acknowledging that these have to become more environmentally friendly (Tagesanzeiger, 10.05.2021). In addition to this, there is also a positive portrayal of the industry in the media discourse, framing them as acting responsibly (Die Weltwoche, 21.09.2017). An example of this is the

partial rejection of advertisements targeted at children, as can be observed in the following statement (Die Weltwoche, 20.10.2020):

“Das Konsumverhalten, gerade von Kindern, wird stark von den Marketingmassnahmen beeinflusst. Coca-Cola Schweiz vertritt hier eine verantwortungsvolle Linie und richtet schon seit vielen Jahren keine Werbung mehr direkt an Kinder unter dreizehn Jahren. [...] Coca-Cola stellt sich dabei auf den Standpunkt, dass es an den Eltern liegt, eigenverantwortlich zu entscheiden, welche Getränke ihre Kinder trinken dürfen.”

Besides, the media discourse addresses the self-organisation of the industry (Blick, 23.11.2022; Tagesanzeiger, 10.06.2020) as well as the voluntary effort to reduce sugar (Die Weltwoche, 20.10.2022) as positive developments put forward by the industry. However, notwithstanding such responsible behaviour, a further line of argumentation indicates that there is a significant amount of distrust evident in the discourse surrounding the industry. This is closely connected to a lack of transparency, as can be observed in the following text passage which expresses the opinion of a journalist (NZZ, 23.02.2018c):

“Damit Vertrauen entstehen kann, sind jedoch auch die Produzenten und Händler gefordert, die heute häufig mit einer reinen Abwehrhaltung reagieren. An ihnen liegt es aufzuzeigen, unter welchen Bedingungen Nahrungsmittel erzeugt wurden und welche Auswirkungen die Produktion auf die Umwelt hat. Auch müssen Deklarationen zur Anwendung kommen, die den Konsumenten in möglichst einfacher Form aufzeigen, welche Inhaltsstoffe Lebensmittel enthalten. Die Schaffung von möglichst grosser Transparenz und eine schnelle Reaktion auf veränderte Lebens- und Essgewohnheiten sind die beste Grundlage für aufgeklärte Kunden, die sich bei ihren Entscheiden nicht nur auf den Bauch verlassen wollen.”

Indeed, trust and transparency are not only issues which are raised in the context of the industry, but also when focusing on the second producer sub-group: farmers. Continuing the analysis with this group as a focus, the discourse strand indicates that consumers have, to some degree, started to mistrust the idyllic picture of agricultural practices in Switzerland. An example which addresses this issue explicitly is the following text statement which was given by a farmer-representative (NZZ, 04.01.2020):

“Um das Vertrauen zurückzugewinnen, müssen wir in Zukunft besser erklären, was wir machen, wie wir es machen und warum wir es so machen.»”

This can be considered as an indication that farmers are perceived to bear insufficient responsibility in comparison to other actor groups. This is further emphasised by the dominant narrative that farmers are benefiting excessively from direct payments and governmental subsidies (Blick, 10.10.2020). Apart from criticism, this discourse strand further provides evidence that farmers take an effort to produce sustainably, for instance through shifting to organic production systems (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.02.2020; NZZ, 29.09.2014; Tagesanzeiger, 03.10.2015, 13.06.2023). Further responsibilities assigned to farmers are the protection of biodiversity and animal welfare, as well as the provision of ‘Food

Security’ overall (Blick, 11.05.2022; NZZ, 12.11.2019). Of course, farmers expect action from other actors too (NZZ, 04.01.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 24.08.2022). In this context, they are portrayed as expressing discontent over their limited recognition in society. For instance, it is not uncommon for farmers to be held responsible for problems related to the food system that they did not cause (NZZ, 19.12.2017). In the process of assigning responsibility to others, farmers frequently argue that consumer behaviour has to change first, since they would only produce what consumers buy (NZZ, 04.01.2020; Tagesanzeiger, 13.01.2020). In addition to this, farmers expect the government to take action through providing more political support to all actors involved (Die Weltwoche, 26.02.2015b).

### **8.1.3 Government and Politics**

A final aspect discussed in the analysed media articles is the responsibility of the government. Regarding this group, presumably more than with any other, a clear dichotomy of representations can be identified: either, more regulations are requested, or the government is accused of regulating too much. Indeed, both of these aspects are repeatedly reoccurring motives of the discourse strand under analysis. The argument that more regulations are needed in order to allow for a transition towards a more sustainable food system is illustrated at various examples, reaching from public procurement (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.02.2020) to regulations to limit the market-power of multi-national companies (Die Wochenzeitung, 22.09.2016), control social as well as ecological standards (Blick, 18.10.2018; NZZ, 05.08.2022) and ban advertisements for unhealthy products (20 Minuten, 06.09.2017b). Regularly, the argument is stated that public pressure is required in order to implement changes through the political agenda (Die Wochenzeitung, 20.02.2020). This is the case since, as the analysis of the discourse strand indicates, there is a strong lobby which rates economic success higher than sustainable production in Swiss politics (Blick, 24.07.2014). Regarding the retail sector, it is argued that the political framework should enable a fruitful environment for domestic companies to produce (Die Weltwoche, 16.10.2015, 15.09.2016). Overall, the tendency can be observed that governmental interventions are favoured when it comes to problems on a large scale such as animal welfare. This is expressed in the following statement by a journalist (NZZ, 15.08.2020):

“Der bevormundende Staat ist zu Recht unbeliebt; gerade bei der Fleischproduktion herrscht aber eine so vertrackte Lage, dass er im Dienste der Gesundheit und des Tierwohls mit schärferen Vorschriften und deren konsequenter Durchsetzung eingreifen sollte.”

Further examples include labelling such as, again, the uniform implementation of the ‘Nutri-Score’ (Blick, 23.04.2019) or health threats such as in the context of potential salt or sugar-reductions which are partially done using voluntary agreements with the industry (NZZ, 06.09.2017b, 28.08.2019). Moreover, particularly innovative technologies are expected to be subject of assessment by governmental bodies. An example of the latter is GMO (Die Wochenzeitung, 24.02.2022):



“Gemäss der abgeschwächten Version, die nächste Woche in den Nationalrat kommt, soll der Bundesrat bis 2024 «eine risikobasierte Zulassungsregelung für die neuen Züchtungstechnologien» ausarbeiten, sofern sie gegenüber herkömmlichen Methoden «einen nachgewiesenen Mehrwert für Landwirtschaft, die Umwelt oder die Konsumentinnen und Konsumenten haben». Der Bauernverband und sogar Migros und Coop, die bislang immer die Wahlfreiheit der Konsument:innen gegen gentechnisch veränderte Lebensmittel ins Feld führten, unterstützen dies.”

Further areas mentioned are the implementation of environmental taxes and more effective interventions (Blick, 17.07.2018; Die Weltwoche, 11.07.2019; NZZ, 14.10.2015). Generally speaking, the state is framed as needing to protect the population (Blick, 27.06.2019; Tagesanzeiger, 27.06.2019) and compensate for the lacking action of other actors (20 Minuten, 22.02.2022). In all of these cases, the government is attributed the role of the coordinator whose interventions, partially through regulations, are indeed appreciated. However, the state also assigns responsibility to others. For instance, food producers are asked to take responsibility by adhering to the established labelling standards (Blick, 05.11.2019). What is more, responsibility is attributed to individuals, both as consumers as well as voters (NZZ, 20.02.2018a). Yet, in a manner analogous to other actor groups, the government is also depicted as taking responsibility (Blick, 17.07.2018; NZZ, 13.02.2014; Tagesanzeiger, 10.05.2021). This includes the implementation of effective regulations (Die Wochenzeitung, 21.02.2019; Tagesanzeiger, 18.01.2020) and the careful assessment of new technologies and alternative production approaches (Die Wochenzeitung, 24.02.2022; NZZ, 17.06.2014; Tagesanzeiger, 25.02.2022). Furthermore, the state is depicted as making an effort for transparency and upholding consumers' freedom of choice (Tagesanzeiger, 19.11.2015, 18.05.2016). In addition to this framing, a final line of reasoning argues the government intervenes too much. An important argument in this debate is that governmental influence aims to change consumer behaviour through direct interventions (Blick, 11.11.2014; Die Weltwoche, 01.06.2023; Die Wochenzeitung, 25.08.2022; NZZ, 02.10.2021; 20 Minuten, 14.09.2022). An illustrative example of this concern is reflected in the following excerpt (20 Minuten, 05.08.2015):

“Sebastian Frehner (SVP) kritisiert die Bestrebungen: «Ich sehe nicht ein, warum der Bürger auch hier noch bevormundet werden soll.» Jeder Konsument könne selber lesen, wie viel Zucker ein Produkt enthalte. «Wenn das so weitergeht, gibt es bald für alle Produkte eine maximale Kaloriengrenze.» Die Ärztin Yvonne Gilli (Grüne) findet das Vorhaben dagegen sinnvoll. Eine zu kalorienreiche und zuckerhaltige Ernährung begünstige Krankheiten wie Diabetes oder Krebs. Das Argument der Bevormundung lässt Gilli nicht gelten: «Ich kann immer noch mehr Zucker ins Joghurt tun, wenn es mir zu wenig süss ist.»”

The outlined discrepancies in attitudes towards governmental interventions in the context of health provide evidence for the claim that regulations are not always positively received. When focusing on the analysed media articles, it can be observed that this argument is prominently raised from a consumer perspective (Blick, 26.06.2020, Die Wochenzeitung, 18.08.2022; NZZ, 10.09.2018). Furthermore, the

government is also accused of wasting tax money (Die Weltwoche, 08.10.2015b), for instance in the form of inefficient direct payments (Blick, 24.10.2020, reader's comment):

“Das Problem ist nicht der Bauer, sondern der Bund. Solange der weitere Hochstamm-bäume subventioniert, ist es attraktiv, solche zu pflanzen. Und wenn sich die Direktzahlungen mehr rentieren als die Ernte, ist das System falsch. Auch ich würde da über die fehlende Nachfrage hinwegsehen.”

This example refers to a case where the provision of governmental subsidies has the effect of encouraging the cultivation of produce that is, in fact, not requested by consumers on the market. Yet, regulations are in other cases framed as also restricting the retail sector (Die Weltwoche, 28.11.2013; NZZ, 31.03.2015, 14.09.2016) and agricultural production (Die Weltwoche, 21.05.2015, 28.05.2015). Continuing with this focus on restriction, the analysed discourse strand indicates that the government removes the pleasure of eating through due to overregulation. In other words: “Was Spass macht, wird verboten” (Die Weltwoche, 08.10.2015b; 20 Minuten, 19.08.2019). This is further indicated in the following statement which was published in the context of a journalistic guest contribution (Die Weltwoche, 08.10.2015b):

“Relativ hoch in der Hitliste der Miesepeter steht der Staat mit seinem Bundesamt für Gesundheit (BAG), das im harmlosesten Fall Zimtguetsli zu potenziellem Gift erklärt. Neuerdings will der Staat mit neuen Vorschriften aus uns Bürgern fitte und zuckerbefreite Bürger machen – als ob dies seine Rolle wäre! Da der Staat fast alles verbietet, was uns Spass macht, und dies diesmal beim Zucker nicht möglich ist, wird er mit aller Voraussicht Steuern auf dem Zucker einführen.”

Continuing with such critical perspective on governmental interventions, it is further interesting to consider how the positions of different political parties are used to voice and support given argumentations. A few examples can be observed in the following:

“Die Linke, man weiss es, sieht in der Regel das Heil in Staat und Regulierung. Aus ihrer Sicht kann es im Zweifelsfall nur der Staat richten, während Kapitalismus, Kommerz und Profit schlecht angesehen sind.” (NZZ, 06.04.2019)

“Die Schweiz wird von einer angeblich bürgerlichen, tatsächlich aber linken Regierung geführt. Eine Bilanz der Legislatur aus freiheitlich-liberaler Sicht macht leider keine Freude. Der Bundesrat baut den Staat aus, treibt die Kosten in die Höhe, schraubt Freiheit und Eigenverantwortung zurück.” (Die Weltwoche, 13.11.2014).

“Die Rechten glauben an Selbstverantwortung, persönliche Freiheit und möchten vom Staat möglichst wenig eingeschränkt und behelligt werden.” (Die Wochenzeitung, 13.11.2014)

“Die grüne Verbotspartei meint, der Staat habe die Bürger zu bevormunden. Diese seien nicht in der Lage, eigenverantwortlich zu handeln.” (Blick, 28.08.2019)

A final element of the discussion on governmental regulations is the implementation of labels. Whereas some actors argue for labelling on a voluntary basis (Die Weltwoche, 24.10.2019), others see it as the task of the state to force their implementation (Die Weltwoche, 28.11.2013; NZZ, 12.02.2019). Indeed, this issue serves as one of multiple examples that illustrate the overall observed tendency of divergent perspectives on governmental interventions in the context of food systems.

## **8.2 Discursive Framing of Consumers in Switzerland's Print Media Discourse**

An additional stage of the print media analysis is the investigation of consumer framing, in which 10 reoccurring typologies have been identified. It is important to recognise that these typologies are simplifications that do not fully reflect the high degree of diversity and nuance involved in the discourse. However, this categorisation should be understood as an attempt to reassemble the previously deconstructed and intertwined discourse strands in order to allow for a more refined understanding of consumer framing. It aims to investigate the following research question more closely:

(4) *How is the actor group of consumers discussed in Switzerland's and Zurich's print media discourse and what are prevalent framings which are used in order to do so?*

### **8.2.1 Typology 1 – The Critical**

The framing of consumers as active and critical actors is a prevalent discourse strand within the contemporary debate on sustainable food systems in the Swiss media. This is expressed both in an explicit and implicit manner. A crucial aspect which contributes to the portrayal of consumers as critical is the journalistic mode of argumentation. Therefore, the provided statements will be subjected to a detailed analysis with regard to their formulations. The framing of consumers as critical can further be encountered in direct readers' comments. Besides, a number of individuals who have developed their own projects to provide alternatives to the prevailing agricultural system are presented. These alternatives oftentimes attempt to compensate for a perceived *laissez faire* attitude of the government which is disapproved of (Die Wochenzeitung, 17.07.2014b). This disapproval is further reflected in consumers' political involvement. All of these aspects regularly reoccur and contribute to the framing of consumers as critical. Focusing on the transition towards more *Sustainability*, such is fundamentally based on the questioning behaviour of consumers. This can be observed in the following statement (NZZ, 09.01.2023):

“Für uns Käuferinnen und Käufer gilt: Wer echte Nachhaltigkeit will, muss kritisch hinterfragen, was sich tatsächlich hinter den vollmundigen Versprechen in der Werbung, auf den Produktpackungen und den Labels verbirgt. Einzufordern, dass «nachhaltig» tatsächlich nachhaltig heisst, ist keine unnötige Wortklauberei, sondern die schwierige, aber notwendige Pflicht all jener, denen an der Zukunft gelegen ist.”

Emphasising the importance of critical consumer engagement for the transition process towards more *Sustainability*, this statement provides a foundation for the respective discussion. For example, the

author lists advertisements, product declarations and labels as areas in which such transitions should occur. Moreover, the emptiness of the term *Sustainability* is criticised by indicating that not everything that is called ‘sustainable’ in fact meets the corresponding criteria. Focusing on the mode of argumentation, it is, firstly, interesting that the statement is mediated from ‘within’. In raising the concern that more critical consumer engagement is required, the speaker demonstrates such engagement himself. Secondly, the urge for change is accentuated by a rather emotional line of reasoning at the end of the excerpt. Using this statement as an entry point to the further analysis, it can be noted that both of these characteristics are reoccurring in other text passages. An aspect which is repeatedly mentioned is consumers’ mistrust and thus their wish for more transparency. Consumers are characterised by an attitude of suspicion. A first example of this can be observed in the following excerpt (NZZ, 21.08.2018b):

“Heutigen Konsumenten ist es wichtig, zu wissen, woher ein Produkt stammt und wie es verarbeitet wurde, bevor es im Regal liegt und zum Kauf lockt. «Der Mensch ist, was er isst», lautet das zeitgeistige Credo. Bei Nahrungsmitteln sind Informationen zur Herstellung schon lange zum Trend geworden. Mit ihnen lässt sich das Vertrauen der Verbraucher gewinnen.”

According to the argument put forward in this statement, consumers’ wish for transparency has increased in importance throughout the years. What is interesting to observe is that their questioning attitude is portrayed as a useful *trend* in order to *build trust* to them. Transparency and trust can thus be understood as closely interlinked aspects. An actor group which is frequently discussed in this context is the one of multinational food companies. A particularly interesting example in this context is Nestlé. Consumers’ scepticism towards the company dates back to the 1970s where such was severely criticised for its activities in the Global South (NZZ, 28.04.2021). On the one hand, several of the articles analysed give a voice to Nestlé-representatives by publishing interviews on their visions and values as a company. Yet, on the other hand, there are also articles which present the company in a rather dubious light, for instance in the context of the Ukraine war (20 Minuten, 24.03.2022). Therefore, it can be argued that Swiss newspapers both implicitly as well as explicitly reflect and reproduce the sceptical attitude of consumers towards the food production system. A further example of this is their mistrust towards retailers, as can be observed in the following statement (Blick, 26.01.2015):

“Kein Konsument lässt sich gerne über den Ladentisch ziehen. Luftige Verpackungen mit nur wenig Inhalt? Ein paar Gramm weniger zum gleichen Preis? Oder einfach ein neuer, modischer Name für ein Produkt, das eigentlich keiner mehr will? Keine Frage: Das ist nicht einfach nur geschummelt. Das ist Betrug am Kunden. Und so etwas gehört bestraft.”

This statement was published in the section ‘Das meint Blick’ and represents thus a more individualised form of journalism. It expresses in clear and demanding terms that consumers feel betrayed by retailers and that such actions are considered as intolerable. A further aspect of lacking retailer-transparency

which is discussed in similarly critical terms is the use of customer data. Such is often collected through benefit programs of supermarkets (e.g. Cumulus, Supercard) (Blick, 28.06.2016; NZZ, 26.09.2013). Moreover, an example of consumer mistrust is targeted at product declarations. This can be observed in the following text passage (Blick, 27.06.2019, reader's comment):

“Dieser Lebensmittelampel traue ich nicht. Ich mag lieber Fett und Zucker und weiss, dass es Fett und Zucker ist anstatt künstlicher Zusätze. Schon heute versteht man beim Lesen der Zutatenliste nur noch Bahnhof. Es ist an den Behörden und nicht an uns Konsumenten, uns vor schädlichen Stoffen in der Nahrung zu schützen.”

This statement represents a reader's comment which is yet another form of illustrating consumers' critical attitude in the media. These comments can be understood as particularly powerful since they provide individual voices to an oftentimes silent and homogenised population, as they are formulated from a first-person perspective. The criticism in this comment is directed at the 'Nutri-Score' as a distinct labelling type. Not only does the author raise criticism on the complexity and lacking transparency of product-labels, but also the role of consumers and of the state in the context of product certifications and labelling are critically questioned. Further aspects which are regularly criticised due to their unclear declaration are GMOs (Tagesanzeiger, 24.12.2016) and antibiotics (Blick, 27.08.2018). Overall, as the examples of mistrust in food production, retailers and product declarations indicate, consumers are regularly portrayed as requesting more transparency. Investigating the framing of consumers as critical actors and thus their wish for more transparency more closely, consumers are portrayed as particularly critical regarding livestock farming and meat production. A first example of the critical perspective on meat production is that consumers are frequently portrayed as willing to pay more for better meat quality. This can be observed in the following reader's comment (Blick, 14.12.2021):

“Ich esse gerne Fleisch – aber lieber die Hälfte zum doppelten Preis. Dann sind die Tiere glücklich(er). Tierwohl steht ganz klar über dem Geld.”

This statement draws a clear connection between concerns on animal welfare and the readiness to pay. The importance of not losing consumers' trust, in turn, is shown as known to producers as well (20 Minuten, 12.04.2017):

“«Wenn der Konsument bereit ist, mehr für Schweizer Fleisch zu bezahlen, muss er sich auch darauf verlassen können, dass die Deklaration stimmt – Vertrauen ist unser Kapital», sagt Proviande-Direktor Heinrich Bucher.”

A further element of consumers' characterisation as critical is their scepticism towards innovations. In fact, this can be observed in the context of meat, too. Focusing on the discussion of cultivated meat, consumers' scepticism is not limited to an ethical line of reasoning, but further reflects cultural concerns. Indeed, the overall reaction of consumers towards new products such as cultivated meat is presented as

unpredictable. This is particularly the case if cultural standards are in terms of re-definition, such as the origin of meat products in this case. One example of consumers' critical opinion addressing cultivated meat is, again, provided in the form of a reader's comment (Blick, 25.01.2020):

“Das soll essen, wer will, ich sicher nicht. Ich esse genüsslich mein Steak weiter.”

Generally speaking, as the consumers' examples of readiness-to-pay and their scepticism towards cultivated meat illustrate, consumers are repeatedly characterised as questioning the nature of the food system in place. Similar can be observed in discussion on the consumption of insects, too. Thus, their framing in the Swiss print media discourse can be characterised as the one of critical actors.

### **8.2.2 Typology 2 – The Powerful**

A further discourse strand frames consumers in the analysed media discourse as powerful. They are presented as influencing the development of food systems through their decisions and actions. On the one hand, this framing positions the actor group of consumers in an active and knowledgeable role; however, on the other hand, this is oftentimes further connected to the expectation that it is them who should be attributed the largest share of responsibility. The following text passage illustrates this aspect (Blick, 19.05.2017):

“Wir müssen weniger konsumieren, dafür nachhaltiger. Nicht nur beim Fleisch. Die Macht liegt beim Konsumenten» Die Frage ist, ob genug Leute diese Macht wahrnehmen. Oder ob die Politik stark genug ist, sie zu ihrem Glück zu zwingen. [...] «Ich schätze die Chancen, dass wir Konsumenten oder die Politik die Krise lösen, auf 50 Prozent».”

Not only does this statement clearly indicate that consumer decisions are considered as powerful, but it also outlines that this power is indeed acknowledged by consumers themselves. By emphasising consumer's self-perception as both powerful and responsible for change, it can further be observed that the excerpt only questions whether people understand their power; however, not whether this allocation of power is justified in the first place. The statement raises the question if enough consumers understand their powerful role, as well as if policy is potentially strong enough to change consumers' decisions. Yet again, this latter formulation can be read as not questioning the assumption that consumers have the ultimate power, but only if such power can be influenced by policymakers. Accordingly, the negotiation of responsibility is oftentimes carefully balanced with the call for other actors to take responsibility too. Taking this discussion on consumer's powerful characterisation one step further, it can be seen that they do not only consider themselves as powerful, but that other actors involved in the system share this perspective. Such external perception of consumers as powerful can be observed in the following text-passage (NZZ, 23.10.2020):

“«Der Konsument entscheidet letztlich, welche Produkte er kaufen und konsumieren will», sagte ein Bauernvertreter im Parlament, als es um die Pestizidfrage ging. «Es ist eine Frage des Marktes. Die Konsumenten sind gefragt», antwortete der ehemalige Direktor des Schweizer Bauernverbands auf die Frage, ob ein Bioland Schweiz möglich sei. Der Präsident des Bauernverbands rief kürzlich in einem Interview aus: «Wenn es fünfzig Prozent Bio braucht, müssen wir fünfzig Prozent Bio produzieren.» Aber wenn die Bauern nur weniger verkaufen könnten, sei eben weniger richtig. «Wir müssen marktgerecht produzieren!»»

This excerpt entails statements of several members of the Swiss farmers association. The framing of consumers as powerful can be understood as rather negative in this example, suggesting that they are expected to take more responsibility. This is the case since, according to this line of argumentation, individuals decide what is sold by supermarkets; or, formulated differently, that supermarkets design their product range according to the wishes of their clients. “Die Konsumenten üben über den Einkaufskorb Macht aus” is a statement that indeed reflects several articles’ conclusion on the topic (20 Minuten, 27.07.2022). Next to retailers, also producers are affected by the power of consumer decisions at the point of sales (Die Wochenzeitung, 12.07.2018). The framing of the population as powerful can further be observed when it comes to innovations and the cultural acceptance of such. An example for this can be encountered in the following excerpt, originating from an interview with the head of the ‘Swiss Farmers’ Union’ on the topic of GMO (NZZ, 03.02.2022):

“Ich glaube: Die neuen Züchtungsverfahren können Chancen bieten. Aber sie beinhalten auch Risiken. Das grösste Risiko für mich ist immer, dass die Konsumenten etwas nicht akzeptieren. Das wäre der Super-GAU für die Landwirtschaft.”

Accordingly, due to their power exercised through rejection, consumers are perceived as a potential threat to innovations. However, the discussion of this argument requires a nuanced approach since other media articles indicate that consumer apparent rejection in this field is oftentimes used as an excuse by the industry (Die Weltwoche, 08.10.2015b). A final aspect which can be observed in the context of this discourse strand is the juxtaposition of powerful consumers and policy. What is interesting is that consumer decisions are often portrayed as an alternative form of political and democratic engagement. This is based on the argument that individuals do not need to wait for politics to change the system but can do it themselves. To provide an example, this can be observed in the following statement (NZZ, 21.05.2021a):

“Auch der Schweizer Bauernverband lehnt die Tierwohl-Pläne des Bundesrats ab. Das Tierschutzgesetz sei im Vergleich zum Ausland schon «sehr streng», teilt er mit. Bereits heute hätten die Konsumenten die Wahl: «Sie können zusätzliches Tierwohl mit dem Kauf entsprechender Lebensmittel aktiv fördern.»”

This statement argues for a certain redundancy of political changes if consumers exercise their power intentionally in daily life. Yet, his power of consumer rejection is not limited to future changes, but also

effects the current product range as the following example on the topic of sugar-reduction suggests (Die Weltwoche, 24.10.2019):

“Doch die zuckerreduzierten Jogurts, so bestätigt es der Vertreter eines Detailhändlers, «laufen einfach nicht». Der Konsument rebellierte gegen seine Bevormundung, indem er auf Erzeugnisse ausweicht, die nicht dem Regime der Mailänder Erklärung unterstehen.”

As the presence of these aspects within the analysed media articles indicates, a further framing of consumers can be identified as powerful.

### **8.2.3 Typology 3 – The Self-Determined**

A further typology that has been identified throughout the analysis frames consumers as self-determined, informed and knowledgeable. This framing suggests, similarly to previously defined typologies, that consumers play an active and participatory role within the system. A first representative excerpt of this framing is the following (Blick, 01.09.2022, reader's comment):

“Von uns «kleinen» Konsumenten wird zu Recht verlangt, dass wir die grossen Zusammenhänge erkennen sollen. Verstehen heisst dann auch, fähig werden, die eigene Rolle in den grossen Zusammenhängen zu prüfen und das «Kaufverhalten» gegebenenfalls zu ändern. Wir tragen dazu bei, dass sich etwas verändern kann.”

On the one hand, a high degree of self-awareness is verbally expressed in this statement, indicating that consumers act as self-determined individuals that understand and independently interact with their surrounding environment (Blick, 01.09.2022). On the other hand, it can be argued that this framing is also implicitly reflected in this reader's comment, since such is formulated by a consumer who engages with his own responsibility and role in the bigger context. Similarly to what has been observed in previous framings, consumers are portrayed as perceiving themselves as self-determined; however, external instances are presented as doing so too. Such can be seen in the following statements:

“«Unsere Idee entspricht der heutigen Einstellung bewusster Konsumenten» Diese wollen wissen, woher ein Produkt stammt. Und wie es hergestellt worden ist. «Vor allem wollen kritische Käufer weder Gemüse, Obst noch Fleisch oder Fisch, das zuerst um die halbe Welt transportiert worden ist», so Gaus.” (Blick, 15.04.2014a)

“«Wir sind überzeugt, dass der Konsument mündig ist und selber entscheiden kann, was er in welchen Mengen konsumieren will», sagt Wellauer.” (NZZ, 11.08.2015)

“«Der Konsument ist mündig und soll entscheiden, was er einkauft», sagt Sprecher Marcel Portmann.” (20 Minuten, 12.07.2016).

Following this understanding of consumers as mature and capable of own informed decisions, one of the central arguments discussed in the respective discourse strand is that consumers should be given the



ultimate freedom of choice (20 Minuten, 14.09.2022). This is expressed in the following text passage (20 Minuten, 28.02.2019):

“Wie war das gleich noch mal? Der Kunde ist König. Also lasst die Produkte im Sortiment, und der mündige Kunde soll entscheiden, ob er kaufen will oder nicht.”

However, this freedom is seen as endangered by the industry, retailers and governmental regulations alike. Considering the narrative used in the media articles with regard to the latter, the argument is raised that consumers will simply no longer buy a certain product (e.g. in the context of imports) if they are not satisfied with its quality (Die Weltwoche, 13.05.2015). This attitude towards overregulation is reflected in the following text passage (Blick, 07.05.2015a):

“Der Konsument ist ein vernunftbegabtes Wesen. Wird er an einem Ort abgezockt, kauft er an einem anderen ein. Etwa im Ausland.”

By framing consumers as rational and self-determined, this statement indicates that consumers will unavoidably adapt if the market does not reflect given demand. Indeed, cross-border-shopping can be understood as a concrete expression of this phenomenon (Tagesanzeiger, 15.06.2017). Such self-determined behaviour is reflected in further instances of the discourse strand, for example with regard to the ‘Fridays for Future’ movement. There, the younger generation protests in an informed and self-determined manner against lacking climate actions (Die Wochenzeitung, 31.01.2019). Moreover, the decision to change individual diets towards e.g. vegetarianism or veganism can be considered as a further example of self-determined consumer engagement (NZZ, 21.11.2017). In this context, online resources are commonly understood as a key element to individualised knowledge acquisitions, enabling consumers to inform themselves already before entering a store. This concept is called ‘cross-channel’-approach (NZZ, 15.03.2014). Due to the internet as an informational source, institutions such as ‘Konsumentenschutz’ are partially framed as becoming redundant, which is elaborate upon in the following text passage (NZZ, 23.09.2015):

“Verbraucher sind keine wehrlosen Wesen, die der Willkür der Unternehmen ausgesetzt sind, sie sind auch keine passiven Informationsempfänger, sondern – vor allem dank dem Internet – aktive Informations-Beschaffer.”

A further source of information enabling independent consumer behaviour is represented in product-declarations (NZZ, 06.09.2017a):

“Vor allem aber ist es die Entscheidung des mündigen Konsumenten, was er isst. Er hat dank den Verpackungshinweisen die Wahl, ob er aufgezuckerte Nahrungsmittel zu sich nehmen will oder nicht.”

As has been outlined previously, limited transparency of labels needs to be understood as a persisting challenge regarding product-declarations. Indeed, this can be understood as an undermining factor to consumers' self-determined attitude. Shifting the focus on the perception of other actors on consumers, the discourse strand indicates that this knowledgeable attitude is not only passively acknowledged, but it is even actively expected. In other words, the assumption is made that consumers know exactly what is *right* and are thus expected to act accordingly. This attitude can be observed in the following statements:

“Wie Hofer erklärt, gehen die Retailer von der Annahme eines mündigen Konsumenten aus, der informiert werden will und danach selber entscheidet, was er kauft.” (NZZ, 12.02.2019)

“Alle Studien, die sich mit den Umweltwirkungen der Landwirtschaft beschäftigen, zeigen, dass eine Reduktion des Fleischkonsums absolut notwendig ist und dass wir Food-Waste drastisch reduzieren müssen. Ich denke, im Grossen und Ganzen wissen das die Menschen auch.” (NZZ, 08.08.2022)

This attitude of seeing consumers as “knowledgeable”, “willing to be informed” and “actually knowing, what needs to be done” can be considered as powerful statements (NZZ, 12.02.2019, 08.08.2022). Nevertheless, this carries the risk of leading to the wrong assumption that individuals who appear to be in possession of the required knowledge are, in fact, fully aware of what would need to be done, even if this is not the case. Considering all of the discussed examples, it can be argued that consumers are indeed framed as self-determined, well-informed and knowledgeable within the regarded media articles.

#### **8.2.4 Typology 4 – The Responsible**

The framing of consumers as ‘responsible’ can be identified as a further typology. Such mainly refers to the actor group’s consciousness of environmental and social inequalities which influence their behaviour and decision making. Consumers are presented as critically engaging with the negative impact of their behaviour and as improving such accordingly. Indeed, *Sustainability* represents a crucial concern to value-driven consumers. An illustrative example of this framing can be encountered in the following excerpt (Blick, 27.04.2018):

“Bei den Konsumenten wächst das Bewusstsein dafür, welchen Einfluss wir mit unserem Verhalten haben. Die Fleischproduktion ist sehr ressourcenintensiv, setzt grosse Mengen Treibhausgase frei und stellt das Tierwohl oft hinter die Profitmaximierung. Viele Konsumenten wollen aus diesen Gründen ihren Fleischkonsum reduzieren oder verzichten ganz darauf.”

As indicated at the example of meat consumption in this statement, individuals are portrayed as the longer the more intentional in their actions within the context of food consumption. They are presented as active contributors to the system and aware of their influence and responsibility. Indeed, meat consumption is a frequently discussed aspect, mostly initiating in the perception of human exploitation. As

the following text passage indicates, transparency represents an important element of this discussion, which is, once more, closely related to labelling (Tagesanzeiger, 11.01.2020):

“Gemäss einer aktuellen repräsentativen STS-Umfrage wünschen sich die Schweizer Konsumenten grossmehrheitlich, dass die Informationen zur Tierschutzqualität direkt auf den Produkten erkenntlich sind. 85 Prozent der Befragten ist es bei Kaufentscheiden zu tierischen Produkten äusserst wichtig bis eher wichtig, zu wissen, dass dem Tierschutz bei der Produktion Rechnung getragen wurde.”

As indicated by this statement, most consumers state that they care for animal welfare. A strategy employed by them in order to ensure that their ecological values are met is to increase proximity of value chains such as through direct marketing (Die Weltwoche, 23.06.2022). In this respect, increased transparency through regionality represents a central instrument for enabling responsible consumer behaviour. The importance of these values is further reflected in consumers' readiness to pay higher prices for quality and responsible production (20 Minuten, 04.02.2020). In addition to ecological values, consumers are further framed as increasingly interested in healthy products (Die Weltwoche, 08.20.2015). This can be interpreted as responsible attitude towards their own body. According to several of the analysed media articles, the attention to nutrition can even go as far as to become a form of 'Religion' (Tagesanzeiger, 18.07.2016) or an alternative way of 'Identity-Construction' (20 Minuten 20.08.2014). However, the discourse strand also offers a critical perspective on the increasing importance of food within the population. Moreover, the media discourse puts considerable emphasis on the importance of tradition, which can indeed be understood as an additional form of social or cultural value. In this context, the so-called 'Duttweiler-Narrative' can be identified. This refers to a continuously reproduced tendency of glorification of the founding-father of the Swiss retailer Migros (20 Minuten, 08.11.2021). Duttweiler is repeatedly mentioned in the respective discourse strand, embodying the values of solidarity, community-thinking and referring to Migros foundation as a cooperative. One example in which Duttweiler's persona is particularly emphasised is the vote whether Migros should start to sell alcohol. "Alkohol brachte zur Zeit Duttweilers in viele Familien viel Leid. Deshalb wollte er keinen Alkohol und Tabak verkaufen" is the basic line of argumentation in this context (Tagesanzeiger, 12.07.2018). By some people, the discussion on a change in this policy is unacceptable, as is expressed in the following statements by two Migros-customers (20 Minuten, 08.11.2021):

“Ein anderer befürchtet, die Migros werde «austauschbar»: «Schade um Duttis Erbe», fügte er mit Hinweis auf Migros-Gründer Duttweiler an. Überhaupt werteten viele den Entscheid als Verrat an dessen Grundsätzen: «Duttweiler hat sich gerade im Grab umgedreht! Musste dieser rein wirtschaftliche Entscheid wirklich sein?», twittert ein User.”

Indicating that the selling of alcohol clearly contradicts the original ideology of Migros, this statement further criticised the primarily economic decision-making of retailers. In the actual vote on the topic,

the value-driven intentions of the customers in Zurich have ultimately been reflected in their rejection of Migros' licence to sell alcohol. Accordingly, a further element of the discourse strand at hand is that consumers do not only critically reflect on their individual consumption practices but consider it as their role to make other actors aware of their responsibility, too. As has been discussed previously, multinational companies (e.g. Nestlé) represent a prominent example of this. Given consumers' focus on responsible actions in the context of food systems, this can be considered as a further typology identifiable in the media discourse.

### **8.2.5 Typology 5 – The Egocentric**

The framing of consumers as egocentric is a further reoccurring element and thus typology in the discourse at hand. Such portrays them in an active, yet rather negative role within the transition process towards a more sustainable food system. A first example of this framing can be observed in the following (Die Wochenzeitung, 30.01.2020):

“Konsumentinnen und Konsumenten interessieren sich vor allem für Aspekte, die sie direkt betreffen, zum Beispiel die Fleischqualität oder Pestizidrückstände. [...] Die Arbeitsbedingungen der Bäuerinnen und Bauern sind hin und wieder Thema in den Medien, zum Beispiel Suizide oder die schlechte soziale Absicherung der Bäuerinnen. Aber viele Leute haben ein idyllisches Bild von bäuerlicher Landwirtschaft.”

As argued in the first sentence of this text passage, consumers are understood as predominantly interested in issues which concern themselves. This egocentric perspective is further described as resulting in ignorance, for instance towards the production or working conditions. The persistence of an idyllic peasantry image is described as seemingly outweighing negative aspects of agricultural production such as high suicide rates among farmers, inadequate social security of female farmers or precarious working-conditions of seasonal workers (Die Wochenzeitung, 30.01.2020). Aside from this selective interest and focus on the agricultural system, consumers are further portrayed as egocentric by emphasising their missing appreciation of agricultural production processes. This can be observed in the following statement (Die Wochenzeitung, 12.07.2018):

“Mit den vergleichsweise tiefen Preisen gehe leider auch ein Verlust an Wertschätzung für die Lebensmittel einher, sagt Bergöö. Das Problem: Die Folgekosten für die Umwelt und die Gesellschaft – wie etwa ausbeuterische Arbeitsbedingungen, ökologisch entwertete Böden oder übermässiger Wasserverbrauch – sind nicht eingepreist.”

Referring to the argument of negative externalities, this text passage argues that such are not adequately reflected in food prices which is further connected to a decrease of appreciation of these products. It is the concept of so-called ‘True-Cost-Accounting’ in which negative externalities would be calculated and included into food prices. Yet, as such is not broadly implemented so far, it can be argued that the

negative effect of too low prices is even increased due to their negative influence on food appreciation. Next to this argument of insufficient appreciation, another common aspect of egocentric consumer framing is that they are not willing to do without certain goods. An explicitly formulated example of this can be encountered in the following (NZZ, 17.08.2019):

“Die Forderung nach einem bescheideneren und bewussteren Lebensstil hat in unserer konsumorientierten Gesellschaft allerdings einen schweren Stand. Denn der Konsumverzicht kratzt an unserem Selbstverständnis [...]”

In this statement, consumerism is characterised as having a central presence within our society that is indeed difficult to confront on various levels. However, again, it is interesting to observe that such attitude is not only described by other actors, but is also put forward by individuals themselves (Blick, 11.07.2023, reader’s comment):

“Jammern auf hohem Niveau. Wir, die Konsumenten, wollen ja auf nichts verzichten. Also, tragen wir auch die Verantwortung dafür.”

Again, the effect of a statement mediated from within can be considered as powerful. Consumers are not only portrayed as self-aware, but also as self-critical. A final indication of the consumer framing as egocentric is that they act unscrupulously. This is mentioned at several stages in the regarded media articles, for example in the following (Die Weltwoche, 26.06.2014):

“Die Verkäufer seien skrupellos und die Kunden hilflos. Realität ist längst das Gegenteil. Unverschämte Konsumenten lesen online angeforderte Bücher und feiern in probeweise bestellten Cocktailkleidern Party. Danach wird alles zurückgeschickt, kostenlos.”

Shifting the focus back to the food sector, the following statement provides an example of how such unscrupulous acting is experienced in the context of agricultural products (20 Minuten, 11.07.2018):

“In den Obst- und Gemüseabteilungen in Supermärkten ändert sich vieles. So verschwinden zusehends die Plastikverpackungen. Was sich nicht ändert, sind die Konsumenten. Beim Obst- oder Gemüsekauf tatschen, quetschen und riechen viele, was das Zeug hält – zum Ärger anderer Kunden.”

In this statement, the motivation to find the best product exceeds individuals’ interest in the consequences of their actions on others, which can indeed be understood egocentric. Closely connected to this attitude, a final component of the investigated framing is that consumers often do not show any interest in changing their behaviour (Tagesanzeiger, 17.05.2015). Indeed, this can be considered as contributing to the framing of consumers as egocentric.

### 8.2.6 Typology 6 – The Bargain Hunter

A further typology which can be considered as reoccurring in the discourse at hand is the one of consumers as ‘Bargain Hunters’. Generally speaking food prices represent the core of many discussions in the context of the food system. As this framing is quite common, also beyond the discussed topic, one article provides a concrete definition of such. This can be seen in the following (20 Minuten, 23.02.2018):

“Der klassische Schnäppchenjäger will seinen finanziellen Nutzen stets optimieren. Er glaubt, dass er, je mehr er von einem reduzierten Produkt einkauft, desto mehr davon profitiert», sagt Christian Fichter. [...] «Überlegen Sie sich, was das Ziel Ihres wirtschaftlichen Handelns ist: Lohnt es sich, immer den letzten Franken auszuquetschen? Am Sterbebett bereut es kaum einer, zu wenige Schnäppchen gemacht zu haben [...]»”

Taking this, indeed not entirely serious, definition as a starting point, it should be noted that a monetary focus of consumers comes both with advantages and disadvantages. The described category of ‘bargain hunters’ is framed as ‘not wanting to spend more money’, which is the reason why they make an effort to find the cheapest option at all time. This line of argumentation is further elaborated upon in the regarded discourse, for instance in the following statement (20 Minuten, 05.11.2015):

“Schweizer wollen Fleisch von glücklichen Tieren – sagen sie. Laut Experten zählt am Ende aber doch meist der Preis [...]: «Das Tierwohl zählt nur dann als Verkaufsargument, wenn es gleichzeitig günstig ist.»”

This example indicates that actions based on social and environmental values can be hindered due to the high consumer focus on prices. Consequently, economic values become stronger than ideological or cultural values in this case. Moreover, articles repeatedly mention and critically discuss the rise of a so-called “Geiz ist geil”-mentality (Blick, 13.01.2014b). This is illustrated at the example of ‘Black Friday’ (20 Minuten, 29.11.2019) or ‘cross-border-shopping’ (Tagesanzeiger, 17.01.2015). A discussion on the latter can be observed in the following text passage (Blick, 22.07.2014):

“Doch vielen Konsumenten reicht das noch nicht. Sie schauen weiterhin genau auf den Preis. Gibts ein identisches Produkt in den Nachbarländern günstiger, kaufen sie es dort. Die Schnäppchenjagd ennet der Grenze ist beliebter denn je. Das belegen neueste Zahlen, die BLICK vorliegen.”

Whereas this excerpt indicates that cross-border-shopping is particularly popular for financial reasons, the market-entrance of international discounters such as Aldi or Lidl is seen as an additional element of interest to the low-price strategy of ‘bargain hunters’. Juxtaposing discounters with the leading Swiss supermarkets Migros and Coop, media articles oftentimes emphasise the latter’s tradition as

cooperatives. What is interesting in this discussion is that, notwithstanding the price focus, some sort of ideological argument is raised, hinting towards the solidary nature of Coop and Migros. This is closely connected to the previously introduced ‘Duttweiler-narrative’. Thus, a certain dichotomy with regard to the price argument can be observed, developing amongst monetary and ideological motives. Finally, the argument for a very selective price-sensitivity of consumers is raised. One example of this is the implementation of a 5-Rp.-tax on plastic bags that is described in the following passage (NZZ, 01.11.2016):

“Die grosse Wirkung von kleinen Gebühren mag erstaunen. Die Forschung zeigt aber, dass ein Preissprung von zum Beispiel 0 auf 5 Rp. weit grösseren Einfluss auf die Konsumenten hat als ein Sprung von 5 Rp. auf 10 Rp. Ersteres ist vor allem ein Sprung von «gratis» zu «kostenpflichtig». «Gratis» ist psychologisch kein Preis wie jeder andere, sondern eine Sonderkategorie, die beim Kunden sehr positiv besetzt ist.”

Taking these examples into consideration, the argument can be made that consumers are framed as bargain hunters.

### **8.2.7 Typology 7 – The Victim**

The framing of consumers as victims is a further discourse-strand identified as a distinct typology. Contrary to the previous framings, the portrayal of consumers is in this context rather passive and negative. Consumers are intentionally victimised and treated (or perceived as treated) as inferior in comparison to other actor groups. On the one hand, the role of the victim can be seen as attributed by the circumstance that consumers are being patronised. This motive is indeed reoccurring throughout the discourse, particularly when discussing the relationship of consumers and the state. An example of such patronisation is the sugar-tax: whereas, on the one side, the argument is raised that consumers should be given free choice in their decisions whether to consume sugary food or not, the opposite side indicates that a regulatory intervention would be favourable in order to prevent common illnesses such as diabetes or cancer (20 Minuten, 05.08.2015). On the other hand, consumers are also presented as in need of protection because of their characterisation as victims. Again, this is mostly referred to the relationship of consumers and the state; however, regulations are in this case often explicitly wished for. An example of this is that the state wants to protect consumers by the implementation of bans for price inaccuracies (Die Weltwoche, 18.06.2015). The juxtaposition of these two framings indicates that the victimisation of consumers is a complex and meanwhile central issue of the contemporary media discourse. Taking the discussion one step further, it can be observed that consumers are frequently presented as main financiers of the governmental apparatus and thus indirect contributors to the implementation of regulations. This can be observed in the following statement (Die Weltwoche, 17.05.2018):

“Die grösste Einnahmequelle des Bundes war 2017 mit 22 Milliarden Franken die Mehrwertsteuer, eine indirekte Steuer, die letztlich von den Konsumenten getragen wird und eine erstklassige Einrichtung ist, wenn man Geld eintreiben will, ohne dass die Leute es gross merken.”

As indicated in the last sentence, the aim of the government is located in the accumulation of tax money without people noticing it. This is perceived as a form of deceiving the population. Similar accusation is frequently occurring regarding the retail sector, mostly arguing that it is their goal of maximal profit which is responsible for high prices (Die Weltwoche, 28.05.2015). This argument is explicitly formulated in the following text passage (Blick, 13.10.2021):

“«Hier wird mit dem Vertrauen der Konsumenten gespielt», sagt Konsumentenschützerin Josianne Walpen (56). «Bewusst gaukeln die Detailhändler mit Marketingkniffen und Verpackungstricks der Kundschaft Qualitätsunterschiede vor, die es aber gar nicht gibt.»”

These intentional strategies of misleading consumers are presented in various other articles and examples as well (e.g. the shrinkage of bottle-sizes while maintaining the same price) (Blick, 13.07.2019). Whereas in this scenario, the misleading trick of the retailers can be considered as rather obvious and thus potentially recognisable to consumers, other examples such as wrongly calibrated scales represent more implicit occurrences of perceived victimisation (20 Minuten, 19.11.2019):

“Zwei Waagen in einer Berner Coop-Verkaufsstelle zeigten unterschiedliche Gewichte an. Das hat auch die Preise erhöht. In der Coop-Filiale im Bahnhof Bern stellte Manuel D.\* (26) vor einigen Monaten fest, dass die beiden Früchte- und Gemüsewaagen ein unterschiedliches Gewicht anzeigen. Trotz mehrfacher Hinweise habe sich über Monate nichts geändert.”

Finally, an example in which deceiving actions of retailers are even perceived as encouraged is the removal of the ‘best-before-date’ as decided by the government. Indeed, this can be observed in the following excerpt (Blick, 24.02.2015):

“Nun wird die Abschaffung des «Zu verkaufen bis»-Datums als Heldentat angepriesen. In Tat und Wahrheit können die Grossverteiler jetzt wursteln wie sie wollen. Der Kunde ist wieder einmal der Dumme, da er Lebensmittel kaufen muss, die bereits am nächsten Tag das Ablaufdatum erreicht haben. Das ist Gewinnoptimierung der Grossverteiler, nichts anderes.”

The accumulation of these examples suggests that the retail sector is perceived as untrustworthy. As a consequence, consumers are understood as deceived. However, when focusing on the buying-process, it is not only the price which is regularly considered as inadequate, but also product declarations and labels. To provide an example, one media article reports on the findings of Zurich’s ‘Cantonal Laboratory for Food Safety’ which identified incorrect nutritive information provided on products (NZZ, 19.04.2023):

“Den Tofu oder die Kalbsbratwurst in die Hand nehmen, einen Blick, auf die Rückseite der Verpackung werfen und die Nährwerte studieren. Für viele ist das beim Einkaufen Usus. Die Zahlen wirken verlässlich. Was draufsteht, muss auch drin sein, könnte man meinen. Aber dem ist nicht so. [...] Bei 36 Produkten weichen



die Nährwerte zu stark von den Angaben ab und müssen daher beanstandet werden. Das ist mehr als jede sechste Probe.”

This text passage concludes that the numerical data on the product packages is frequently misleading and can thus not be seen as trustworthy. Thus, the conclusion to be drawn is that product packaging cannot be considered as reliable. Similar is outlined in the context of labels, as is indicated in the following two statements:

“Die Stiftung für Konsumentenschutz (SKS) bezeichnet das neue Label als «überflüssig». Es verspreche den Konsumenten einen Mehrwert, den es gar nicht gebe.” (20 Minuten, 14.08.2019)

“Die Biosuisse-Richtlinien seien mittlerweile von Ausnahmen nur so gespickt, kritisiert Hänni. [...] «Und der Kundin wird eine heile Welt vorgegaukelt!»“ (Blick, 23.04.2021)

Whereas the first statement argues that certain labels are redundant and consumers thus deceived due to their meaninglessness, the second statement indicates that the label ‘Biosuisse’ is specifically misleading due to its provision of inadequately controlled standards. This accusation of insufficient control is particularly striking when it comes to animal welfare. An example is presented in the following (20 Minuten, 09.12.2015):

“«Ich habe Kenntnisse von haufenweise Vorfällen von Tierquälerei, Missachtung der Tierschutzgesetze und Subventionsbetrug», sagt Zellweger. Diese Fälle würden jedoch unter den Teppich gekehrt und verschwiegen. Mit solch einer Geheimhaltung würden die Konsumenten betrogen.”

Again, this statement explicitly argues that consumers are deceived by the current system. Indeed, continuing with a focus on the sector of meat production, so-called proof of this circumstance can be seen as provided by numerous media articles on the deception of consumers by butchers. Taking one step back, deception of consumers is further presented as practiced by producers and farmers. As has been indicated previously, such are, on the one hand, accused of not producing under the standards which their products are labelled with in the end (e.g. biosuisse). This is mostly due to the inappropriate implementation of required measures such as BTS (‘besonders tierfreundliche Stallhaltung’) (20 Minuten, 02.02.2018). On the other hand, producers and particularly farmers are also presented as receiving too high amounts of direct payments by the government which is, in essence, yet again paid by the population. Consumers are consequently framed as deceived by paying for agricultural products twice: a first time as taxpayers and a second time as customers in the supermarket. As the government is the ultimate redistributor of financial resources in the form of tax revenues, it can be argued that direct payments to agricultural producers are a form of deception of consumers supported by both the state and the farmers. Such seemingly co-designed deception can result in the impression of a situation in which everyone

works against the group of consumers, which can, in turn, result in a rather dangerous power dynamic and reaction to it. First and foremost, however, it has an effect of victimisation. A further representative field of such consumer victimisation is the advertisement industry. There, again, consumers are presented a reality which does not reflect the actual truth, which is, again, repeatedly criticised:

“Die Aufnahmen legten offen, wie sehr Konsumenten getäuscht würden: «Die kleinbäuerliche Landwirtschaft, wie es in der Werbung zelebriert wird, gibt es leider nicht mehr. Glückliche Schweizer Hühner sind ein Märchen.»“(20 Minuten, 22.02.2016)

“«In der Werbung wird den Konsumenten eine faire, naturnahe Produktion vorgegaukelt. Das ist aber keine Voraussetzung, damit ein Produkt unter dem Regional-Label verkauft werden kann», kritisiert Konsumentenschützerin Sara Stalder (50). Regional bedeute noch lange nicht Bio. Zudem profitiere nicht der lokale Bauer, sondern die Händler.” (Blick, 22.03.2017)

“«Die Grossverteiler belügen uns mit ihren idyllischen Werbebildern, jeden Tag. Es ist eine absolute Frechheit», sagt Herren. Mit ihrer Initiative möchte sie die Werbe-Lüge in die Realität umsetzen.” (NZZ, 19.12.2017)

All three of these statements emphasise that consumers are presented an idyllic and peaceful picture of Switzerland’s agriculture; however, the actual reality looks quite different. Particularly when it comes to ‘Swissness’, consumers seem to be very susceptible to idealised images. Accordingly, their resentment is even bigger when, ‘Swissness’ turns out to be a deception. An example illustrating this circumstance can be seen in the following excerpt (Blick, 21.10.2015b):

“Viele Unternehmen verwenden «Swissness», ohne sich um die Voraussetzungen zu kümmern. So wird «Swissness» zur «Bschissness». Die Konsumenten sind irgendwann nicht mehr bereit, dafür mehr zu bezahlen.”

What is interesting is that the resentment of consumers is indeed also articulated as considerable when discussing specific products. For instance, traditional Swiss foods such as ‘Swiss Chocolate’ or ‘St. Galler Kalbsbratwurst’ are frequently the centre of debate on deceptions or misleading practices (Blick, 16.05.2015, 18.05.2015, 21.10.2017). As a consequence of this, consumers are further framed as in need of protection (NZZ, 09.01.2019). Overall, it can be argued that the framing of consumers as victims is represented in various instances and can thus be considered as an important feature of this discourse strand.

### **8.2.8 Typology 8 – The Ignorant**

A further framing of consumers portrays them as ignorant, unknowledgeable and naïve. A first line of argumentation within this framing is that consumers have insufficient knowledge on the seasonality of fruit and vegetables (Blick, 17.07.2019a). This is presented as particularly problematic since retailers often consider consumers as responsible for the design of their product range. A second example is provided in the context of food waste, where consumers are framed as ignorant of what can be eaten

(e.g. the broccoli stem) and what needs to be wasted (NZZ, 21.05.2019). A third example goes into a similar direction, indicating that consumers lack the knowledge and ability to decide on the quality of food products beyond the date of expiry (20 Minuten, 12.02.2020). All of these aspects form part of the narrative that this knowledge has been lost throughout the transition from an agrarian to an industrialised society. Building on this narrative, the more encompassing argumentation can be identified that consumers have a romanticised understanding of contemporary agricultural practices and are thus detached from production processes. This can be observed in the following text passage (NZZ, 24.09.2022a):

“Es gibt viele Wissenslücken. Konsumenten haben keine Idee davon, wie Lebensmittel produziert werden, wie es beim Bauern zugeht, was in Lebensmittelfabriken passiert. Das führt zu naiven Vorstellungen.”

What is interesting when following the respective discussion is that, again, remarkable attention is given to the meat sector. The discourse raises the argument that consumers seem to have an idealised view of what the meat industry looks like (20 Minuten, 24.01.2019). This is, on the one hand, referred to a lack of information. On the other hand, consumers are also blamed of not wanting to know what practices are applied. This can be observed in the following reader’s comment (Blick, 01.09.2022):

“Die Menschen wollen nur das Stück Fleisch auf dem Teller, aber möchten es nicht mit einem Tier in Verbindung bringen. Sie müssen lernen, dass für das Fleisch ein Tier sterben musste. Ich esse gerne ein wenig Fleisch und denke immer daran, dass dafür ein Tier sein Leben gegeben hat.”

What is noteworthy is that this statement was given by a consumer, thus implying a self-critical attitude such as indicated in previous typologies. Yet, the ignorance of consumers is not only seen as rooted within their own responsibility, but is cultivated by others. For instance, meat producers are repeatedly criticised for intentionally hiding certain conditions in order to uphold the romanticised agricultural image shared by many consumers. This is expressed in the following statement (Blick, 31.08.2022a):

“Die Fleischindustrie beklagt, dass die Konsumenten heute keine Ahnung mehr hätten, wie das Fleisch produziert werde, das sie essen. Aber ihnen die Realität zeigen, das will man dann doch nicht.”

Beside these aspects of *lacking* knowledge and a romanticised picture of the food system, the media articles further indicate that *wrong* knowledge and misinformation are prevalent (Tagesanzeiger, 24.09.2013). A prominent example of such misconception is that consumers associate plant-based diets directly with healthy diets. Of course, this is not automatically the case. This is criticised in the following excerpt (Blick, 28.02.2020):

“Viele assoziieren vegan und bio mit gesunder Ernährung. Doch das ist ein Trugschluss.”

All of these examples indicate, again, that there is a fundamental complexity to the food system which causes misinformation and ultimately confusion. This positions consumers both in a state of being highly influenceable as well as overwhelmed. Therefore, the wish for more simplicity and thus less complexity is expressed (NZZ, 04.06.2015).

### **8.2.9 Typology 9 – The Overwhelmed**

Taking the framing of consumers as ignorant and unknowledgeable one step further, these often accumulate in a state of being overwhelmed. Indeed, this can be considered as a further typology presented in the analysed media discourse. Prominent examples of such state are provided by descriptions of lacking knowledge regarding seasonality (20 Minuten, 07.03.2022) or the environmental footprint of products (NZZ, 02.06.2021). The root of these overwhelming circumstances can be identified in the high degree of complexity which is attributed to contemporary food systems. Thus, it is the complex and partially counterintuitive interconnectedness which can be considered at the source of this notion. One illustrative example of this is the issue of regionality: consumers commonly assume that regionally grown products are less harmful to the environment than others, as these products are not transported over long distances; however, this is oftentimes not the case due to the even higher impact of cultivation-methods (Die Weltwoche, 26.08.2021a; NZZ, 02.10.2021). The discrepancy between these aspects is indeed difficult to acknowledge for consumers. Similar goes for the complexity of health-related aspects. In this context, two main issues are prominently observed: either, consumers consider a product mistakenly as healthy, or they are overwhelmed by the high amount of information provided on the packaging and are confused what is true and false (Blick, 13.05.2017). The latter is described in the following statement (NZZ, 24.03.2017):

“Da ist es schwer, den Überblick darüber zu behalten, was wirklich gesund ist und was nicht. Sollen Kohlenhydrate aus dem Speiseplan gestrichen werden, oder sind sie essenziell für die Verdauung? Sollen sie stattdessen durch tierische Proteine ersetzt werden, oder wäre ein Verzicht auf Fleisch nicht doch besser? Sind vitaminreiche Früchte gesund, oder ist der hohe Fruchtzuckeranteil eher schädlich?”

Most of the questions raised in this passage cannot be answered with yes or no, which indeed illustrates the incremental complexity of nutrition. Unfortunately, this circumstance frequently results in a state of resignation, as is expressed quite strikingly in the following text passage (NZZ, 28.12.2020):

“Man will verantwortungsvoll essen – und scheitert von der Suppe bis zum Salat. Alles bio oder doch vegan? Wiesen-Milch, Heu-Milch oder eine Milch aus Reiskorn-Kühen? Was immer man isst, man wird seiner Gesundheit womöglich schaden. Oder man schadet der Welt.”

Consumers can thus be understood as profoundly overwhelmed. On the one hand, a potential solution suggested to this issue is to provide more information on products so that consumers are empowered to take more knowledgeable decisions. This is discussed as a particularly powerful option in cases where

essential information on the production origin or manner are currently missing (e.g. certain ingredients in ready meals) (Blick, 09.08.2017, 16.07.2019). In this context, it can be argued that an adequate amount of information labelled on the packaging would support consumers in their decision-making. Yet, on the other hand, it is exactly the opposite and thus an information overload which is a considerable contributor to the confusion of consumers. A crucial term which is indicative of this notion is the so-called ‘labelling jungle’. This circumscribes the existence of a large number of labels which exaggerates the capacity of consumers to understand their individual significance and differences. The following text passage indicates this quite nicely (Blick, 19.12.2017):

“Wer nachhaltig einkaufen will, muss heute fast schon Experte sein. Bio-Knospe oder Alnatura-Bio, den Marienkäfer auf der Verpackung oder das Schweizer Fähnchen? Sollen die Labels dem Konsumenten doch helfen, sich beim Einkauf zu orientieren. Gleichzeitig wird der Labelsalat immer grösser. Aldi und Lidl haben eigene Bio-Auszeichnungen, weil den Discountern die Nutzung des Knospe-Logos untersagt ist. Aber sind die Produkte der Billigheimer denn damit weniger umwelt-schonend produziert?”

As indicated by the concluding question of this excerpt, it is difficult to understand the significance of individual labels due to the large amount existing. Through this overwhelming coexistence, the originally intentioned purpose of labels – to provide more transparency and clarity – is ultimately undermined (NZZ, 15.06.2023; 20 Minuten, 11.10.2013). In this case, the following idea can be formulated: as soon as consumers are no longer aware of what individual label stand for, such certifications become meaningless and thus redundant (20 Minuten, 09.02.2018). Indeed, this correlation between a continuously increasing number of labels and their weakened representativeness is recognised, addressed and criticised in the media discourse too, as the following examples indicate:

“Das Wachstum bringt eine Verwässerung des ehemaligen Nischenmarktes mit sich. Als Konsument ist es schwierig, im Label-Dschungel von vegan, Fair Trade, Slow Food, Selection oder «Mini Region» den Überblick zu behalten.” (NZZ, 27.05.2016)

“Jetzt müssen sich die Konsumenten beim Einkaufen nicht nur durch das Label-Chaos kämpfen. Coop serviert den Kunden seit heute als erster Schweizer Detailhändler zusätzlich einen Ampel-Salat.” (Blick, 18.03.2019)

What makes the ‘Labelling-Jungle’ even more overwhelming is that many labels are not perceived as trustworthy (20 Minuten, 17.03.2014). This, again, raises feelings of resignation. Finally, as the following text passage indicates, the ultimate reaction can be a state of indifference (Blick, 20.12.2017):

“Bei all diesen Labels blickt eh keiner durch. Ich kaufe nach Geschmack, Preis und Auge. Das, was ich mag, finanziell sinnvoll ist und gut aussieht. Ich ignoriere Bio-Labels bewusst.”

Taking a look at this last statement, it can be argued that crucial efforts should be made in order to avoid a state of indifference or even ignorance. Yet, it is important to mention that such can also be understood as a form of pragmatism. Therefore, the framing of consumers as overwhelmed provides an interesting starting point for potential system-changes in the future.

### **8.2.10 Typology 10 – The Contradictory**

A final framing of consumers portrays them as contradictory and inconsistent in their behaviour. This represents the last typology presented in this thesis. What is interesting is that this characterisation assigns them a mixture of active and passive role within the transition process towards a more sustainable food system. On the one hand, such builds on the perspective that consumers are knowledgeable actors and would thus actually know how to act in order to contribute to positive change. However, on the other hand, the described inconsistent or contradictory characterisations are often considered as a rather passive component of consumer behaviour which is mostly framed as beyond their awareness. Again, this framing is addressed in various instances of the media discourse. A first example of this attribute can be observed in the following (Die Wochenzeitung, 24.06.2021):

“Was geschieht mit einer Gesellschaft, die sich in einem «permanenten performativen Selbstwiderspruch» befindet? «Wohl noch nie haben auf der Welt so viele Menschen entgegen ihren eigenen Überzeugungen gehandelt», sagt Zurstiege.”

This state of “permanent performative self-contradiction” is indeed recognisable in various issues which are problematised within the contemporary food system (Die Wochenzeitung, 24.06.2021, translation). The phenomenon of contradiction is also called ‘action-intention gap’ (20 Minuten, 09.08.2018). Generally speaking, this framing makes the potential influence or guidance of consumers as an actor group remarkably more difficult. Taking this argument one step further, it can therefore be argued that the rational model of the ‘homo oeconomicus’ is challenged (NZZ, 07.08.2014):

“Der Homo oeconomicus, das Modell des kühl berechnenden Wirtschaftssubjekts, hat ausgedient, so heisst es. An seine Stelle ist der «unvernünftige» Kunde getreten, dessen Präferenz-Ordnung nicht immer stabil ist, der sich einmal so, einmal anders entscheidet und dann wieder vergisst, zwischen welchen Konsum-Alternativen er eigentlich wählen kann.”

According to this statement, the conclusion to be drawn is that the contemporary system requires for a less rational and more emotional understanding of consumer decisions. Indeed, the absence of rationality can be considered as additionally complicating the issue. This is particularly the case if consumers act differently to what they say (NZZ, 18.11.2015). Focusing on the aspect of *Sustainability*, it can be observed that people often say that climate change is an important topic to them; yet their behaviour in everyday life does often not reflect this attitude (Die Weltwoche, 18.07.2019). The contradiction of e.g. environmentally conscious lifestyle and emission-intense car and airplane-travel indicates the

inconsistent nature of human decision-making for instance quite strikingly (Die Wochenzeitung, 11.08.2016). In addition to decisions in the context of everyday life, the inconsistency created by this image can further be identified with regard to political decision. There, the argument is frequently raised that consumers vote differently to how they behave and decide in the supermarket. In the following, a number of excerpts will be provided in which such can be observed:

“Würde man die Kassenbons als Wahlscheine zählen, würde die Initiative mit über 90 Prozent abgelehnt», hält Küng fest.” (20 Minuten, 14.09.2022)

“Die Stimmberechtigten auferlegen den Schweizer Bauern strengere Standards, sind danach aber als Konsumenten nicht bereit, höhere Preise zu bezahlen.” (NZZ, 04.01.2020)

“Vor drei Jahren haben wir an der Urne beschlossen, dass sich Zürich auf den Weg zur 2000-Watt-Gesellschaft machen soll. Auch ich habe ja gesagt. Was 2000-Watt-Gesellschaft heisst, habe ich in diesen Tagen nachgeschaut.” (Die Weltwoche, 11.08.2016a).

It is particularly the latter statement which can be considered as an explicit declaration of consumers' contradictory behaviour. A field in which this argumentation for an incongruence between thinking and acting is particularly noticeable is, once again, in the sector of meat-consumption. It is argued that consumers' interest in animal-welfare is ultimately replaced by their interest product prices (20 Minuten, 05.11.2015). This discrepancy of interest and action can be observed in the following statement (NZZ, 23.10.2020):

“In Umfragen sagen 77 Prozent der Schweizerinnen und Schweizer, dass die moderne Industriegesellschaft die Natur in gefährlicher Weise missbrauche. Drei von vier Schweizern sprechen sich gegen Massentierhaltung aus. Gleich viele akzeptieren auf keinen Fall Pestizide im Trinkwasser. Die Zahlen stehen in einem eigenartigen Widerspruch zu einer anderen Zahl: Der Marktanteil von Bio liegt bei 10 Prozent. Würden alle Schweizerinnen und Schweizer Bio kaufen, wäre das Pestizidproblem gelöst. Würden alle Schweizer Bio kaufen, hätten alle Kühe, Schweine und Hühner Auslauf. Es brauchte keine Initiativen mehr gegen Pestizide, keine komplizierten Absenkpfade für Gülle, keine Volksbegehren zur Abschaffung der Massentierhaltung und keine Gegenvorschläge dazu.”

In addition, taking the issue of cross-border-shopping further into account, the contradictory nature of this behaviour becomes even more striking (Blick, 27.04.2018):

“Die Konsumenten sind alles andere als konsequent. Denn gleichzeitig boomt besonders beim Fleisch der Einkaufstourismus. Dass Nutztiere im Ausland oft weniger gut gehalten werden als in der Schweiz, nehmen offenbar viele in Kauf. Hauptsache billig, lautet dann die Devise.”

What is interesting to observe in the context of shopping abroad is that critically discussed topics such as GMO seem to become, compared to domestic production, less important there. This can be considered as further indication of the inconsistent and contradictory nature of human-beings as consumers (NZZ, 09.09.2013):

“Die Diskussion darüber bezeichnete Marti als verlogen. Denn die tierischen Nahrungsmittel, die in die Schweiz eingeführt würden, seien mit gentechnisch veränderten Futtermitteln produziert worden. Das werde akzeptiert. Auch störe es keinen Schweizer Konsumenten, der in Lörrach einen Joghurt kaufe, dass dieser allenfalls von Kühen stamme, die mit Gentech-Soja gefüttert worden seien.”

An additional argument raised in this statement is that consumers practice intentional ignorance in certain cases. This means that they do not want to know about the consequences of their actions (Blick, 26.09.2022). In this context, consumers are oftentimes framed as lazy and ignorant (20 Minuten, 12.07.2018). However, as has been indicated in the context of the previous typology, this way of dealing with the current state of inherent complexity in the food system can also be understood as a form of pragmatism. Taking all of the above-mentioned examples into account, it can thus be argued that the framing of consumers in discourse is as contradictory as their actions. Indeed, this aspect will be further investigated and contextualised within the following discussion.

### **8.3 Key Findings**

The print media analysis has provided insights into both the negotiation of responsibility as well as the framing of consumers within the discourse on the transition process towards a more sustainable food system. The first part of the analysis has demonstrated that responsibility is continuously handed from one actor group to the other. Yet, a major polarisation between consumers and the government has been observed as dominating the media discussion. The second part of the analysis has outlined 10 typologies which illustrate prevalent consumer framings. These results indicate the presence of an overall heterogeneous and partially conflicting consumer framing. Essentially, a central dichotomy can be identified in this respect: either consumers are presented as active contributors to change, or they are perceived as passive recipients of taken measures. Focusing on their framing as an active and involved actor group, consumers are oftentimes described as critically questioning the nature of issues in the food system. They are further characterised as self-determined, powerful and influential as well as acting intentionally and responsibly. This independent and self-determined way of acting, however, also partially serves as the foundation of their characterisation as ‘bargain hunters’. Indeed, the active involvement of consumers is not always perceived as positive, leading to their representation as inconsistent, irrational, egocentric or even incompetent. Shifting the focus from an active to a more passive framing of consumers, it can be noted that they are repeatedly characterised as victims and overwhelmed. Moreover, the actor group is partially described as lazy, ignorant and naïve. Ultimately, contradictory behaviour can be



considered as a key attribute assigned to the group of consumers. Such is shown as profoundly entangled within the system, indeed also in a financial respect.

## 9 Discussion

As the analysis of Switzerland's and Zurich's governmental strategies as well as the print media discourse has indicated, there is a high degree of complexity inherent to the discourse which is continuously reproduced by different understandings of responsibility- and actor group-framings. Taking this as a foundation for further discussion, several observations which have been made throughout the analytical process will be introduced and expanded upon in the following. As has been discussed in chapter 4, it is important to bear in mind that the interpretation of discursive elements as well as the negotiation of their meaning always remain subject to individual interpretation, impacted by pre-existing knowledge, experiences and background (Jäger and Zimmermann, 2010, pp. 19–20). Thus, as Jäger emphasises, individuals are inevitably entangled and engaged within the discourse which they are born to and therefore also act within its construct (2015, p. 37). Acknowledging that the analysis of a discourse is never all-encompassing in nature and thus, ultimately, impacted by aspects of personal positionality and research focus, discourses can be attributed a central role in the development of societal norms and the acceptance of notions as 'true' (Jäger, 2015, p. 37). The following discussion will, firstly, revisit the research questions 1-4 before, secondly, contextualising the findings within the bigger picture.

The first research question has aimed to find answers on how the responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system is politically assigned to actor groups in Switzerland's national and Zurich's cantonal as well as municipal policy strategies. As has been introduced in chapter 4, a core element of *Critical Discourse Analysis* is the negotiation of power structures through and within discourse. Jäger understands discourses as 'Vehicles of Knowledge' which negotiate power (Jäger, 2015, p. 38). They can thus be understood as "providing structure to power and domination" in societies (Jäger, 2015, p. 38). Applying this analytical approach to different policy strategies, it has been observed that most of the strategy documents provide a distinct idea of what the target group, the required fields of actions as well as the overall goal of the transition towards a more sustainable food system are. Considering Derrida's post-structuralist approach of *Deconstruction*, a form of binary opposition between 'responsible actors' and 'not responsible actors' is implied by the strategies. More precisely, according to Gibson-Graham, this differentiation suggests that every actor group that is not part of the defined *responsible actors* is automatically excluded from the concept and can thus not be of similar importance to the overall discussion (2003, p. 98). Yet, contextualising these findings within the conceptual background of Foucault's critical assessment on the role of the state and its relation to society in terms of power structures, it seems interesting to note that the individual perceptions of the strategies on a national, cantonal and municipal level differ in terms of who they see in which role and responsibility. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that consumers are only partially mentioned as part of the target group. This represents an interesting aspect which serves as a basis for the subsequent step of analysis.

The second research question has focused on how the actor group of consumers is discussed in Switzerland's national and Zurich's cantonal as well as municipal policy strategies and what prevalent framings are used in order to do so. Continuing the analysis by practicing a form of *Double Reading*, further interesting observations have been made. Revisiting what has been indicated by Rasiński, the first reading serves the understanding of the “dominant interpretation of the text, its assumptions, concepts and arguments”, whereas the second reading should allow for the analysis of its “excluded, repressed and inferior interpretation that forms an undercurrent in the text” (2011, p. 11). Applying this approach to the analysed corpus of policy strategies, the following could be observed: when considering the way the strategy documents are formulated, several of the strategies use the pronoun ‘we’ in order to address the reader, express the current situation or the required procedures of change. Yet, the reference group of this generic pronoun ‘we’ remains largely undefined. Practicing the ‘first reading’ within this analysis, the pronoun can be understood as referring to the actor group of consumers because of the fact that every individual reading the strategy is also a consumer. In this regard, the implied omnipresence of consumers within the transition strategies towards a more sustainable food system can be read as acknowledging consumers’ relevance to the process. However, based on the ‘second reading’, it could also be argued that the implicit mentioning of consumers indicates that ‘it goes without saying’ that consumers are responsible for the transition overall. As a consequence, based on Derrida’s *Double Reading*, it would then no longer be the explicitly formulated target group that would be responsible for system change, but ultimately the implicitly addressed actor group of consumers. It can be argued that the strategies actually support this second-reading interpretation to a certain extent, as most documents aim to provide an appropriate environment in order to make consumers ‘take the right decisions’. The significance of this finding lies in the fact that consumers are positioned in a state of semi-autonomy, as they are expected to act responsibly and thus sustainably but are at the same time considered as influenceable by governmental interventions. Regarding the process of *Double Reading*, Rasiński further suggests that the ‘dominant interpretation’ of the text is closely aligned with what is excluded from it, resulting in the fact that “the relation between the two interpretations becomes more important than the dominant interpretation” itself (2011, p. 12). Applying this suggestion to the findings of the policy analysis, the argument can be made that the discursive framing of consumers indicates that they are leading system change. However, at the same time, many of the strategies imply that consumers’ capability of responsible action is limited and in need of governmental interventions. Juxtaposing these arguments, the conclusion can be drawn that consumers are expected to lead change through their agency although not being in the ultimate possession of such. Indeed, this state needs to be considered as contradictory in nature.

The third research question has investigated how responsibility in the transition process towards a more sustainable food system is publicly negotiated in Switzerland's and Zurich's print media discourse. The aim of *CDA* is to investigate the role of knowledge which is generally understood as representing the truth (Jäger, 2015, p. 12). The underlying assumption is that public discourse serves as a

mean of constructing reality. *CDA* focuses not only on what is explicitly articulated, but it also considers what is not said and thus not a matter of public concern (Jäger, 2015, p. 12). In this context, discourses cannot be understood as simply mirroring ‘reality’ but should rather be acknowledged in their own ‘existence’ and ‘materiality’ (Jäger, 2015, p. 33). This form of analysis thus aims to investigate different discourse strands which are prevalent. However, it is not only interested in their individual nature but also in the way they interact, overlap and influence each other (Jäger, 2015, p. 81). Shifting the focus on the print media discourse, it can be observed that responsibility is attributed very heterogeneously among actor groups. In fact, the previously outlined state of ‘semi-autonomy’ as a juxtaposition of responsibility and influenceability is reflected in the media discourse too. Whereas all of the analysed actor groups are depicted in the media discourse as needing to take more responsibility, they are simultaneously portrayed as both acting responsibly and expecting accountability from other parties. It can be argued that this behaviour is partially reflected in the so-called *Not-in-My-Backyard* problem. This refers to the concept that individuals question why they should change their behaviour although anybody else does so. A fundamental issue of this concept is that individuals tend to perceive their own actions as having no impact if other actors do not alter their behaviour in a similar manner. As a result, they may adopt an attitude of resignation and perceive their own actions as insignificant. Common questions raised in this case are the following: “Why should I stop flying if my neighbour drives a car?”, “Why should Switzerland as a small country act as a role model if China continues their environmentally detrimental practices?” or, “Why should we change laws if everybody should change their behaviour for themselves?” (Die Weltwoche, 29.08.2019, translations). This rejection of action and responsibility based on the action of others can result in a rather toxic cycle, thus leading to the stagnation of required change.

The final research question has focused on how the actor group of consumers is discussed in Switzerland’s and Zurich’s print media discourse. This analysis has provided evidence that the discussion on the allocation of responsibility is particularly divided between the government and consumers. Investigating the former, it has been found that the government is framed as both taking too little responsibility as well as regulating too much. This reflects the inconsistency of opinions existing on the role the state is supposed to take in this issue. Focusing on the latter and thus the framing of the actor group of consumers, Derrida’s concept of *Deconstruction* can be applied as well. *Deconstruction* can be understood as questioning the commonly acknowledged truths in society, confronting the existence of structure and the construction of meaning through binary oppositions (Rasiński, 2011). The application of this concept to the media discourse at hand resulted in a differentiation of 10 typologies. (see chapter 8.2). When investigating these typologies more closely, the observation can be made that they, again, entail multiple binary oppositions and are thus oftentimes contradictory: for instance, one framing presents consumers as victims, which can be opposed to their framing as powerful or egocentric by other media articles. Another framing presents them as critical or responsible, which is contrary to their portrayal as ignorant or solely focused on money as bargain hunters. A further typology refers to their

framing as overwhelmed, whereas yet another characterises them as self-determined. A final typology frames consumers as contradictory in their behaviour. Thus, as the provided juxtaposition of typologies indicates, there is not a homogenous framing of the actor group of consumers in the media discourse encounterable. Rather, there are various characterisations observable, which partially align but often contradict each other.

A first observation that can be made when comparing the representation of consumers in the policy strategies with the portrayal in the media documents is that there seems to be a different degree of awareness regarding diversity within the group of consumers. This refers to the level beyond these typologies. Whereas policy strategies often describe their awareness of these aspects (although not all to a similar extent), little consideration to differences in e.g. cultural, financial or religious backgrounds is given in the media discourse. This observation is applicable to both international and intra-national contexts such as among different language regions in Switzerland. However, the homogenising framing of consumers contradicts the overarching societal trend towards increasing individualisation and responsibility which is meanwhile described in various media articles, particularly with regard to nutrition. As has been discussed previously, this is for instance expressed in the identified narratives of ‘nutrition as a form of identity construction’ or even ‘religion’ (see chapter 8.2.4). Contextualising the overall findings of the policy analysis with those of the print media analysis, it can be argued that both document-types assign responsibility to multiple actor groups. However, it remains in both of them subject of continuous negotiation who is responsible for what, and to what degree the government is allowed or required to implement regulations such as suggested in the strategies after all. Transferring the observations made so far to a meta-level, it can be argued that the media discourse additionally reinforces the heterogeneous allocation of the responsibility in the discussion at hand.

A second observation that can be made based on the conducted analysis is that the overall discourse is characterised by a high degree of contradictory elements on numerous levels, both in the framing of consumers and the understanding of their responsibility. Taking all of the provided aspects into account, the *Deconstruction* of the discourse at hand has provided the following insights: on a first level, consumers are *framed as* contradictory by the media discourse; however, the way how this framing is done is contradictory in *itself*. On a second level, the policy analysis has indicated that the political understanding of consumers puts them also in a contradictory position between needing to take responsibility and being incapable to taking their own decisions. Aiming to better understand the effect of this consumer framing, it seems important to take a look at how the system in which consumers engage is discursively constructed. In doing so, an overall expression of mistrust could be identified throughout the analysis. Again, this is presented both explicitly and implicitly by the media discourse. Firstly, articles explicitly present reasons why certain actors in the system are not trustworthy or they show that certain actors mistrust others. Secondly, the formulations used (e.g. in the readers’ comments) implicitly express mistrusting attitudes towards each other. As has been indicated previously, the media discourse does not merely present sequences of mistrust; it also has the potential to further encourage such. This

is problematic since this presence of mistrust can be understood as a central element of the overarching problem: in a system where mutual mistrust among the different actors is inherent, the identification of a commonly agreed solution to implement measures for change becomes challenging. This is, for example, due to the *Not-in-My-Backyard problem*. As a consequence, the transition process towards a more sustainable food system can be considered as slowed down.

It can be argued that there are various reasons for the existence of this mistrust: considering the analysis of the print media discourse, a repeatedly addressed aspect which can be understood as both a potential reason as well as outcome of mistrust in the system is a lack of transparency. As has been demonstrated throughout the analysis, there is e.g. a detached relationship between consumers and food production, leading to a misinterpretation of production conditions. This misconception is additionally emphasised by the romanticisation of ‘peasantry’ as an expression of cultural value in Switzerland. The lack of transparency can thus be understood as a core problem to the mutual understanding of involved actor groups and interlinked aspects of the production system. The perceived need to confront this lack of transparency is repeatedly described in the discourse, leading increased attention to product certification, declarations and labelling. Contextualising this trend within Polanyi’s *Double Movement Theory*, this would support tendencies to “insulate the fabric of social life from the destructive impact of market pressures” (Block, 2008, p. 1). It can therefore be understood as a form of attempted countermovement. Contradictory though it may seem, this increased attention directed towards labels does not result in more clarity and transparency within the system; however, as described on numerous occasions in the media discourse, additionally enhances the complexity and ultimately results in a ‘Labelling-Jungle’. As a consequence, labels in fact lose their credibility. This ‘Labelling-Jungle’ is repeatedly described as lacking external control of the certifications’ validity in the analysed discourse, thus leading back to the original problem of mistrust due to lacking transparency. Following this strand of thinking further, it can be argued that labels become very limited in their usefulness to increase trust within the system. This is the case since their character as a form of countermovement is undermined by scepticism towards their trustworthiness, which limits their effectiveness. What is more, there is a relationship of reciprocity which can be identified in this context, as the undermined effectiveness of labels, in turn, fuels increased mistrust. In order to summarise the discussed labelling issue, it can thus be said that labels are indeed a step into the direction of more transparency; however, they must still be understood as far from allowing ultimate transparency.

Aiming to conceptualise this issue, it is interesting to reflect on this notion with respect to *Food Regime Theory*, particularly when focusing on the *Food from Nowhere-* and *Food from Somewhere Regime* as raised by McMichael and Campbell. Whereas the *Food from Nowhere Regime* is characterised by a focus on low prices, the *Food from Somewhere Regime* significantly evolves on the social and ecological standards which are particularly popular among “affluent consumers in Western societies” (Campbell, 2009, p. 313). This is the case when international labels make, for instance, the cultivation methods of products transparent on a global scale and thus influence where and by whom they will be

bought (Campbell, 2009, p. 311). Regarding the *Food from Somewhere Regime*, labelling and product declarations thus play an important role. This is the case since consumers actively demand for such transparency. Indeed, this can be observed in the media discourse, too. Expanding on this argument, Campbell identifies a “binary relationship” in this context, concluding that “foods must not only be demonstrably from somewhere, they must also provide legitimate assurance that they are not food from nowhere: their *raison d’être* requires the existence of both” (2009, pp. 317–318). This ‘*raison d’être*’ is then, however, challenged by the persistence of a ‘Labelling-Jungle’ that hinders transparency. Therefore, it can be argued that such increases confusion as well as mistrust throughout the system.

Combining the finding of contradictory consumer framings with the finding of failing neoliberal markets and mistrust, an additional layer of complexity arises. Indeed, the further analysis showed that consumers are not only framed as contradictory as an actor group, but their behaviour is also portrayed as contradictory in nature: this finding further demands a critical engagement with Burch & Lawrence’s argument that “[c]onsumers are seen to be ‘greening’ – adopting attitudes and behaviours that, at one and the same time, question the health and environmental benefits of technology-intensive and ‘factory’ farming, and support the development of ‘alternative’ (especially organic) and other purportedly more sustainable food production systems” (2005, p. 12). Based on the diverse consumer framings which could be identified, the question needs to be raised whether this ‘greening’ tendency can be generally attributed to consumers. Applying this aspect to the discussion so far, it thus also seems necessary to critically engage with the assumption that consumers generally care about labels and ultimately use them in order to take better informed decisions. A distinct case which, in fact, challenges this viewpoint is the example of egg labelling in Switzerland. It is noteworthy that the labelling of eggs is already fully transparent today. There is a code printed on each egg which can be entered into an online search engine to trace where and under which circumstances it was produced. As various media articles indicate, consumers are particularly sensitive to labels in the context of eggs. Their interest in good egg production standards is further reflected in the fact that they are ready to pay significantly more for high-quality products. However: regardless this high sensitivity for product quality, the tracing option which allows for ultimate transparency is seldom used by the Swiss population. Consequently, the critical question can thus be raised whether increased labelling transparency would be used by consumers. Juxtaposing this notion with the repeatedly expressed wish for more transparency which has been identified as a reoccurring motive of the analysis, a dichotomy between argumentation and consumer action can thus be identified. Indeed, this is an example of contradictory consumer behaviour which challenges both the usefulness of labels as well as the foundation of the *Food from Somewhere Regime*. As a consequence, the question needs to be raised whether it is really transparency in the production system which is the ultimate solution to the current problem of mistrust in the system.

Of course, the representativeness of the egg-labelling example can be considered as limited, since such mainly concentrates on animal welfare and does not consider environmental or social *Sustainability* standards. Moreover, there might be a great variety of reasons why this behaviour is the case.

Nevertheless, it is one of few examples of direct transparency that can be encountered in Switzerland. Aiming to find potential explanations for the contradictory actions of consumers, it seems interesting to draw a connection to the findings of the analysis on consumer framing in the form of 10 typologies (see chapter 8.2). Based on these typologies, it is possible to attempt a formulation of different perspectives on the observed contradictory consumer behaviour. Regarding label transparency, this resulted in the following two, indeed rather provocative, statements:

- I. *Consumers do not want (T2) full transparency since they are too egocentric (T5), ignorant (T8) or price focused (T6) to make the effort and take the responsibility for what they buy. In this perspective, consumers would actually know what they needed to do in order to consume more sustainably. However, they would not want to change their behaviour as they do not care enough. Consequently, they portray themselves as victims (T7) of the system and maintain a positive self-image that others would need to take more responsibility.*
- II. *Consumers are responsible (T4) and self-determined (T3) but are overwhelmed by the system's complexity (T9) and victimised (T7) by the persistent mistrust. In this perspective, consumers lack the resources and thus the knowledge (T8) of what they would need to do to implement change.*

The numbers in brackets indicate which typology the listed element can be referred to. These perspectives can be understood as an attempt to synthesise the results of consumer framing. Their formulation aims to emphasise that strongly divergent consumer framings that have been encountered throughout the *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Their coexistence can have problematic consequences, particularly if such remains unaddressed in the context of responsibility allocation. This is the case when other actor groups see consumers in the light of perspective 1 (knowledgeable but too lazy to change their behaviour), but consumers would actually be too overwhelmed by the system and thus lacking the required knowledge to change their behaviour which is reflected in perspective 2. Similar applies to the other way around. Considering that these statements are intentionally provocative and, indeed, reproduce a dualistic perspective which conflicts with the idea of post-structuralism, their formulation can surely be criticised of being too simplistic. However, it is exactly this simple and dualistic formulation which allows for a direct confrontation of two fundamental currents inherent to the discourse. It can be argued that their coexistence fuels misconceptions and mistrust, both of which have previously been identified as challenging elements for *Sustainability Transitions*. These findings can be transferred to the negotiation of responsibility, where it can be argued a distinct allocation becomes next to impossible. One effect of this circumstance can be seen as reflected in consumers' contradictory behaviour within this complex system. Considering agency as a further element of the picture, this contradictory behaviour can ultimately be understood as a form of pragmatism. In fact, pragmatism is oftentimes the only way how a complex system can be navigated in daily life.

Approaching these findings from a Foucauldian perspective, it seems important to bear in mind that discourses are not only places of actor group representation, but also of power negotiation. Linking

back to Jäger, all of the identified discourse strands co-create ‘the knowledge’ that is transported by the discourse which serves as a vehicle “providing structure to power and domination” in societies (Jäger 2015: 38). Taking a final step in this discussion, the significance of these elements within the negotiation of power needs to be reflected upon. In order to do so, it is important to understand that the act of eating can in itself interpreted as political bottom-up approach. Continuing this discussion with Polanyi’s *Double Movement Theory* in mind, sustainable eating choices can thus generally be understood as a form of countermovement. Indeed, the intentional decision to compensate for the perceived failure of the first movement of *laissez faire* can be observed in the media discourse, too. Ultimately, the interaction of various actors exercising power co-constructs the system that is in place. Yet, as the analysis has indicated, there is a main polarisation between consumers and the state observable. Accordingly, it seems relevant to analyse the positioning of the government in the previously identified state of contradictions and mistrust too. Referring to the ‘Labelling-Jungle’ and the repeatedly raised wish for more transparency, the question arises what the role of governmental interventions in this context are.

Discussing this question based on Block’s argumentation, the ineffectiveness of the contemporary ‘Labelling-Jungle’ could indeed be read as confirming the ‘utopian’ nature of self-regulating markets in a neoliberal system (Block, 2008, p. 6). However, taking *Food Regime Theory* into consideration, it can further be argued that this ineffectiveness of labels is challenging the implementation of a *Corporate-Environmental Food Regime* as suggested by Friedmann (Campbell, 2009, p. 310). Following her argument, this is problematic as such sustainable *Third Food Regime* is considered as crucial condition to escape the negative cycles of crisis alternating phases of temporary stability that have been observed in the past with the *First* and *Second Food Regime* (Campbell, 2009, p. 310). Yet, as has been demonstrated at various stages throughout this thesis, even the *Sustainability* concept in itself is expression of a fragmented concept, contributing to an overall system which is dominated by mistrust, contradictions and consequently lacking stability. The current state of insufficient ‘Food Security’ on a global scale, next to multiple environmental, economic and social challenges, can be understood as an expression of such lacking stability, preventing the achievement of *SDG 2*. Therefore, taking all of the presented insights into account, the conclusion can be drawn that ‘Food Security’ such as defined in *SDG 2* and *12* remain distant from being achieved. This is the case since contradictions, mistrust and misconceptions prevent a fruitful transition towards more sustainable food systems. As the analysis presented in this thesis has shown, a post-structuralist approach may prove useful in order to re-think the current negotiation of responsibility and allow for a better understanding of the involved processes and framings which continue to be reproduced within discourse.

## 10 Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis has aimed to contribute to the discussion on food systems as well as on the emergence of a potential *Third Food Regime*. In order to do so, the post-structuralist approach of *Critical Discourse Analysis* has been applied. Firstly, the analysis has examined Switzerland’s and Zurich’s



policy strategies on the allocation of responsibility and the framing of consumers. This has provided insights into both explicit, but mainly implicit responsibility-allocations of consumers in the transition process towards more sustainable food systems. Furthermore, it has been shown that consumers are framed as both responsible and influenceable by external regulations at the same time. Secondly, the analytical focus of this thesis has shifted towards the print media discourse. Based on a text corpus including articles of Die Wochenzeitung, Blick, Tagesanzeiger, 20 Minuten, Neue Zürcher Zeitung and Die Weltwoche, that were published between 2013 and 2023, the allocation of responsibility as well as the framing of consumers have been further analysed in a journalistic context. The findings of this analytical step have provided insights into the continuous handing-on of responsibility among actor groups. Moreover, aiming to reconstruct what has been previously detangled, the analysis has allowed for an identification of 10 typologies of consumer framing. Understanding the process of re-thinking neoliberal economies in the context of food systems as a fundament of critical engagement with contemporary market systems, the analysis has built on Friedmann's idea that food systems have to become more sustainable in order to escape the persistent cycle of crises alternating phases of temporary stability (Campbell 2009: 310). Yet, as the provided findings of the *CDA* indicate, the establishment of such stability is challenged by a high degree of mistrust and contradictions inherent to the system. Considering that *SDG 12* and thus sustainable consumer behaviour represents a crucial stepping-stone for the achievement of 'Food Security' as defined in *SDG 2*, this seems indeed problematic. When contextualising this issue within the conceptual debate on the role of the state and its relation to individuals in society, an investigation of power structures also seems of relevance.

Overall, the conclusion of the analysis can be seen in the fact that the allocation of responsibility remains unresolved and will thus continue to be shifted from one actor group to the other. This is the case since the multitude of contradictions regarding consumers and their behaviour needs to be understood as inherent to the system. This is due to the ongoing reproduction of mutual mistrust, misconceptions and lacking transparency. Indeed, these issues are not easily resolved, but need to be understood as deeply intertwined characteristics of contemporary societies in Zurich, Switzerland and beyond. Yet, considering the conceptual framework used as a fundament of this thesis, the coexistence of these issues can be understood as hindering the transition process towards a more sustainable food system overall. Linking this conclusion back to David Ogilvy's statement that initially led into this thesis, it can be said that the analysis conducted indeed reflects the author's perception of consumers as contradictory actors. Taking one step further, the findings would even allow to add a further line to his statement: "*Consumers don't think how they feel. They don't say what they think and they don't do what they say. Yet, others often think that they know how consumers feel. That they say what they think and that they do what they say. This is how confusion grows and trust fades away.*" Although this suggestion should of course not be taken too seriously, this thesis has indeed found that there seems to be an underlying assumption of mutual understanding of what the homogenised 'consumer' is, how they feel and what they actually want. Yet, it has further been shown that this assumption is in need to be challenged since not all

members of society see the 'consumer' in the same light. Ultimately, mutual mistrust among the actor groups has been found as underlying the transition process towards a more sustainable food system in discourse. This should be understood as a central issue, since it is only trust which allows for effective collaboration throughout such a complex system after all.

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**11.2 Figures**

*Figure 1:* Our World in Data, 2024b. Number of People Who Are Moderately or Severely Food Insecure, 2021, viewed 13.04.2024, <https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/number-of-people-moderately-or-severely-food-insecure?time=2021.>

*Figure 2:* Stockholm Resilience Centre. 2023. The 2023 Update to the Planetary Boundaries, viewed 05.02.2024, <https://www.stockholmresilience.org/research/planetary-boundaries.html.>

*Figure 3:* Our World in Data, 2024a. Meat Consumption vs. GDP per Capita, 2021, viewed 13.04.2024, <https://ourworldindata.org/meat-production.>

*Figure 4 & 5:* FSO (Federal Statistical Office), 2023c. Agriculture and Food – Pocket Statistics 2023.

**Documentation of the Contribution of AI-based Tools in this Work:**

<i>AI-Based Tool</i>	<i>Purpose of Use</i>	<i>Chapter</i>
<i>ChatGPT</i>	R-Code (Data Acquisition / Filtering)	Chapter 4
<i>DeepL</i>	Proofreading / Improvement of Text Formulation	Chapter 8 & 9



## 12 Appendix

### 12.1 Code-System MaxQDA

1 (RQ1-4) Diskurselemente	0
<b>1.1 Nachhaltigkeit</b>	17
<b>1.2 Fleischkonsum &amp; -produktion</b>	0
1.2.1 Tierschutz	116
1.2.2 Fleisch / -verzicht / Veganismus / Vegetarismus	190
1.2.3 Fleischqualität / Antibiotikagehalt	17
<b>1.3 Fleischersatz &amp; -alternativen</b>	48
<b>1.4 Entomophagie</b>	25
<b>1.5 Food Waste</b>	81
<b>1.6 Verpackung &amp; Plastik</b>	1
1.6.1 Verpackung	30
1.6.2 Plastik	1
1.6.2.1 Allgemein	16
1.6.2.2 Mikroplastik	10
1.6.2.3 Verbot Gratis-Plastiksäckli	15
<b>1.7 Generationen Unterschiede</b>	57
1.7.1 Klimajugend	21
<b>1.8 Regionalität &amp; Direktvermarktung</b>	66
<b>1.9 Schweizer Agrarpolitik &amp; AP22+</b>	74
1.9.1 Feed no Food / Food for Fuel	7
1.9.2 Multifunktionalität LW	7
1.9.3 Betriebsgrösse	11
1.9.4 Klimawandel / Klimapolitik	69
1.9.5 Freihandel vs. Grenzschutz / Kartellgesetz / Import	150
1.9.6 Direktzahlungen / Subventionen / Lenk. A / Einsatz Steuergelder	90
1.9.7 Volksinitiativen / Referenden	56
1.9.7.1 Massentierhaltungsinitiative	43
1.9.7.2 Trinkwasserinitiative	43
1.9.7.3 Pestizidinitiative	26
1.9.7.4 Initiative für Ernährungssouveränität	15
1.9.7.5 Initiative "Grüne Wirtschaft"	14
1.9.7.6 Fair-Food-Initiative	12
1.9.7.7 Fair-Preis-Initiative	7
1.9.7.8 Initiative für Ernährungssicherheit	7
1.9.7.9 Konzernverantwortungsinitiative	5
1.9.7.10 Hornkuhinitiative	3
<b>1.10 Deklaration &amp; Labels</b>	2
1.10.1 Allgemein	132

1.10.2 Rückverfolgbarkeit / Fussabdruck	3
1.10.3 Swissness	40
1.10.4 Labelling-Dschungel	28
1.10.5 Nutri-Score / Ampelsystem / Eco-Score	37
<b>1.11 Bio Anbau</b>	0
1.11.1 Allgemein	109
1.11.2 Übersättigter Markt führt zu Preiszerfall	13
<b>1.12 Pestizide</b>	96
<b>1.13 GMO</b>	73
<b>1.14 Lebensmittelpreise</b>	223
1.14.1 Eigenmarken	31
<b>1.15 Einkaufstourismus</b>	135
<b>1.16 Spezifische Narrative</b>	0
1.16.1 Duttweiler-Narrativ	29
1.16.2 Nutrition-as-Religion-Narrativ	18
1.16.3 Nutrition-as Identity-Narrativ	56
1.16.4 Romantisierung Landwirtschaft	30
<b>1.17 Zusätzliche Elemente</b>	1
1.17.1 Transnationale Multis / Grosskonzerne	131
1.17.2 Verändertes Einkaufsverhalten	0
1.17.2.1 Alternative Zahlungssysteme	20
1.17.2.2 Einkaufen als Erlebnis	27
1.17.2.3 Alternative Detailhandelsysteme	15
1.17.2.4 Onlinehandel	72
1.17.2.5 Self-Scanning / Self-Checkout	19
1.17.2.6 Datenschutz / Kundenkarten	21
1.17.3 Marketing, Werbung und Gesundheit	0
1.17.3.1 Salz / Salzreduktion	9
1.17.3.2 Zucker / -gesetz / -reduktion	53
1.17.3.3 Marketing	61
1.17.4 COVID-19	73
1.17.5 Kollaborationsforderung	28
1.17.6 Systemwandel-Forderung	28
1.17.7 Industrielle Landwirtschaft	24
1.17.8 Produktrückrufe / Lebensmittelsicherheit	16
1.17.9 NIMBY	14
1.17.10 Umweltfreundlichkeit als teuer	13
1.17.11 Palmöl	13
1.17.12 Black Friday	12
1.17.13 Umweltschutz	12
1.17.14 Ladenöffnungszeiten	10
1.17.15 Schokolade	8

1.17.16 Quereinsteiger:innen in LW	6
1.17.17 Milchersatzprodukte	6
1.17.18 Rohstoffkrise	6
1.17.19 Functional Foods	2
<b>2 (RQ1-2) Policy Dokumente</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>2.1 Zielgruppe</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2.2 Framing Konsumierende</b>	<b>5</b>
2.2.1 'wir' / 'uns'	36
<b>2.3 Handlungsfelder</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2.4 Vision / Ziel der Strategie</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>2.5 Verantwortungs-Allokation</b>	<b>9</b>
2.5.1 'Der Kanton...'	8
2.5.2 'Der Bund...'	18
<b>3 (RQ3-4) Print Media Dokumente</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>3.1 (RQ3) Verantwortungsaushandlung</b>	<b>19</b>
3.1.1 INDIVIDUEN / KONSUMIERENDE / BEVÖLKERUNG	1
3.1.1.1 Argument - von K wird mehr Verantwortungsübernahme gefordert	140
3.1.1.2 Argument - K fordern Verantwortungsübernahme anderer	11
3.1.1.3 Argument - K zeigen Verantwortungsbewusstsein	19
3.1.2 MARKT / DETAILHANDEL / KONZERNE	1
3.1.2.1 Argument - von DH wird mehr Verantwortungsübernahme gefordert	59
3.1.2.2 Argument - DH fordert Verantwortungsübernahme anderer	3
3.1.2.3 Argument - DH zeigt Verantwortungsbewusstsein	12
3.1.3 PRODUZIERENDE / BÄUERINNEN / BAUERN	1
3.1.3.1 Argument - von P wird mehr Verantwortungsübernahme gefordert	36
3.1.3.2 Argument - P fordern Verantwortungsübernahme anderer	6
3.1.3.3 Argument - P zeigen Verantwortungsbewusstsein	11
3.1.4 STAAT / POLITIK / VERWALTUNG / KANTON	0
3.1.4.1 Argument - von S wird mehr Verantwortungsübernahme gefordert	121
3.1.4.2 Argument - S fordert Verantwortungsübernahme anderer	4
3.1.4.3 Argument - S zeigt Verantwortungsbewusstsein	30
3.1.4.4 Argument - S greift zu viel ein	91
<b>3.2 (RQ4) Framing Akteurgruppen</b>	<b>0</b>
3.2.1 Framing Akteurgruppen (Ausgangslage Typologien)	0
3.2.1.1 INDIVIDUEN / KONSUMIERENDE / BEVÖLKERUNG	1
3.2.1.1.1 Haltung - kritisch-hinterfragend / misstrauisch	134
3.2.1.1.2 Haltung - mit Wunsch nach mehr Transparenz	30
3.2.1.1.3 Haltung - auf nichts verzichten wollen	23
3.2.1.1.4 Haltung - Ernährung als Identitätsmerkmal	23
3.2.1.1.5 Haltung - anspruchsvoll / fehlende Wertschätzung LM	19
3.2.1.1.6 Haltung - faul / träge / nachlässig / bequem / Gewohnheitstier	12
3.2.1.1.7 Haltung - desinteressiert	3

3.2.1.1.7.1 nicht an Nachhaltigkeit interessiert	10
3.2.1.1.7.2 nicht an Gesundheit interessiert	1
3.2.1.1.8 Haltung - egoistisch / engstirnig / undankbar	16
3.2.1.1.9 Haltung - unverschämt / skrupellos	8
3.2.1.1.10 Zustand - einflussreich / mächtig	9
3.2.1.1.10.1 mächtig durch Handlungsentscheidungen	38
3.2.1.1.10.2 mächtig durch Konsumententscheidungen	50
3.2.1.1.11 Zustand - selbstbestimmt	114
3.2.1.1.12 Zustand - inkonsequent / irrational	80
3.2.1.1.13 Zustand - unwissend / naiv	82
3.2.1.1.14 Zustand - hintergangen / getäuscht	91
3.2.1.1.15 Zustand - mündig	75
3.2.1.1.16 Zustand - überfordert	67
3.2.1.1.17 Zustand - finanziell involviert	0
3.2.1.1.17.1 muss für staatliche Ausgaben mit Steuern zahlen	15
3.2.1.1.17.2 muss für Preisdifferenzen aufkommen	28
3.2.1.1.18 Zustand - fehlender Produktionsbezug	37
3.2.1.1.19 Zustand - beeinflussbar	30
3.2.1.1.20 Zustand - verwirrt durch Label-Dschungel	28
3.2.1.1.21 Zustand - schützenswert	20
3.2.1.1.22 Zustand - inkompetent	15
3.2.1.1.23 Zustand - hin und hergerissen	12
3.2.1.1.24 Fokus - Preis	91
3.2.1.1.24.1 je teurer desto hochwertiger	2
3.2.1.1.25 Fokus - Qualität	25
3.2.1.1.25.1 keine Zahlungsbereitschaft für Qualität	4
3.2.1.1.25.2 Zahlungsbereitschaft für Qualität	45
3.2.1.1.26 Fokus - Nachhaltigkeit	12
3.2.1.1.26.1 Motivation intrinsisch	46
3.2.1.1.26.2 Motivation extrinsisch	7
3.2.1.1.27 Fokus - Gesundheit	69
3.2.1.1.28 Fokus - Lifestyle / Trends	56
3.2.1.1.29 Fokus - Geschmack / Genuss	40
3.2.1.1.30 Fokus - Tradition / Kultur	57
3.2.1.1.31 Fokus - Ethik	45
3.2.1.1.32 Fokus - Produkt-Herkunft	35
3.2.1.1.33 Fokus - Religion	12
3.2.1.2 MARKT / DETAILHANDEL / KONZERNE	0
3.2.1.2.1 Haltung - kritisch	1
3.2.1.2.2 Haltung - Nachhaltigkeit als Verkaufsargument	19
3.2.1.2.3 Haltung - freiwillige Umsetzung Nachhaltigkeits-Standards	12
3.2.1.2.4 Haltung - traditionelles Handwerk als Verkaufsargument	7

3.2.1.2.5 Haltung - Ausnutzen Unwissenheit der Konsumierenden	8
3.2.1.2.6 Haltung - konsumierendenfreundlich	6
3.2.1.2.7 Haltung - bevormundend	4
3.2.1.2.8 Zustand - unter Druck	10
3.2.1.2.9 Zustand - mächtig / einflussreich	5
3.2.1.2.10 Zustand - von Konsumierenden ausgenutzt	4
3.2.1.2.11 Zustand - von Staat instrumentalisiert	3
3.2.1.2.12 Fokus - Profit	40
3.2.1.2.13 Fokus - Permanente Verfügbarkeit Produkte	3
3.2.1.3 PRODUZIERENDE / BÄUERINNEN / BAUERN	0
3.2.1.3.1 Haltung - verantwortungsbewusst	18
3.2.1.3.2 Haltung - leidenschaftlich	13
3.2.1.3.3 Haltung - nicht verantwortungsbewusst	9
3.2.1.3.4 Haltung - innovativ	13
3.2.1.3.5 Haltung - Selbstwahrnehmung als Entrepreneur	8
3.2.1.3.6 Haltung - ängstlich	6
3.2.1.3.7 Haltung - jammern gerne	5
3.2.1.3.8 Haltung - faul	3
3.2.1.3.9 Zustand - arme Zwischenakteur:innen	37
3.2.1.3.10 Zustand - B wertgeschätzt	12
3.2.1.3.11 Zustand - B nicht wertgeschätzt	14
3.2.1.3.12 Zustand - (von Markt) unter Druck gesetzt	27
3.2.1.3.13 Zustand - Sündenbock	29
3.2.1.3.14 Zustand - B verhätschelt	10
3.2.1.3.15 Zustand - Prekäre Arbeitsbedingungen	5
3.2.1.3.16 Zustand - B politisch einflussreich	5
3.2.1.3.17 Zustand - bedroht	2
3.2.1.3.18 Zustand - B überflüssig / abschaffen	2
3.2.1.3.19 Zustand - im Clinch zwischen S und DH	2
3.2.1.3.20 Fokus - Profit	9
3.2.1.4 STAAT / POLITIK / VERWALTUNG / KANTON	0
3.2.1.4.1 Haltung - nicht verantwortungsbewusst	14
3.2.1.4.2 Haltung - verschwenderisch (Steuergelder)	9
3.2.1.4.3 Haltung - verantwortungsbewusst	4
3.2.1.4.4 Zustand - unfaire Förderung einzelner Gruppen	11
3.2.1.4.5 Zustand - inkonsequent	10
3.2.1.4.6 Zustand - zwischen In- und Ausland	4
3.2.1.4.7 Zustand - international beeinflusst	3
3.2.1.4.8 Fokus - Marktförderung / Koordination	3
3.2.1.5 WEITERE AKTEUR:INNEN	0
3.2.1.5.1 Wissenschaft / Forschung	15
3.2.1.5.2 Bauernverband / Agrarlobby	111

3.2.1.5.3 Konsumentenschutz	76
3.2.1.5.4 Konsumierende ausserhalb Lebensmittelsektor	60
3.2.1.5.5 UNO / WHO / WTO / FAO / EU	26
3.2.1.5.6 NGOs / Umweltorganisationen	7
3.2.2 Typologien Akteurguppen	0
3.2.2.1 INDIVIDUEN / KONSUMIERENDE / BEVLÖLKERUNG	2
3.2.2.1.1 Typologie - Hinterfragende / Kritische Akteur:innen	150
3.2.2.1.2 Typologie - Mächtige / Einflussreiche Akteur:innen	84
3.2.2.1.3 Typologie - Selbstbestimmte Akteur:innen	140
3.2.2.1.4 Typologie - Verantwortungsbewusste Akteur:innen	163
3.2.2.1.5 Typologie - Egozentrische Akteur:innen	62
3.2.2.1.6 Typologie - Schnäppchenjäger:innen	87
3.2.2.1.7 Typologie - Opfer / Hintergangene Akteur:innen	150
3.2.2.1.8 Typologie - Unwissende / Naive Akteur:innen	105
3.2.2.1.9 Typologie - Überforderte Akteur:innen	120
3.2.2.1.10 Typologie - Inkonsequente / Irrationale / Faule Akteur:innen	149
3.2.2.2 MARKT / DETAILHANDEL / KONZERNE	0
3.2.2.2.1 Typologie - Eigennützige / Profitorientierte Akteur:innen	76
3.2.2.2.2 Typologie - Opfer / Hintergangene Akteur:innen	19
3.2.2.2.3 Typologie - Nachhaltigkeitsbedachte Akteur:innen	15
3.2.2.2.4 Typologie - Mächtige / Einflussreiche Akteur:innen	10
3.2.2.2.5 Typologie - Konsumierendenfreundliche Akteur:innen	5
3.2.2.3 PRODUZIERENDE / BÄUERINNEN / BAUERN	3
3.2.2.3.1 Typologie - Opfer / Hintergangene Akteur:innen	65
3.2.2.3.2 Typologie - Sündenböcke	43
3.2.2.3.3 Typologie - "Jammeri" / verhätschelte Akteur:innen	24
3.2.2.3.4 Typologie - Eigennützige / Profitorientierte Akteur:innen	21
3.2.2.3.5 Typologie - Enterpreneure	23
3.2.2.3.6 Typologie - Verantwortungsbewusste Akteur:innen	17
3.2.2.3.7 Typologie - Leidenschaftliche Akteur:innen	12
3.2.2.3.8 Typologie - Wertgeschätzte Akteur:innen	13
3.2.2.3.9 Typologie - Mächtige / Einflussreiche Akteur:innen	6
3.2.2.4 STAAT / POLITIK / VERWALTUNG / KANTON	0
3.2.2.4.1 Typologie - Bevormundender / Freiheitseinschränkender Akteur	106
3.2.2.4.2 Typologie - Steuergeldverpuffer	25
3.2.2.4.3 Typologie - Unfairer / Inkonsequenter Akteur	21
3.2.2.4.4 Typologie - Koordinierender Akteur	13
3.2.2.4.5 Typologie - Verantwortungsbewusster Akteur	3
<b>3.3 (RQ+) Verbesserungsansätze</b>	7
3.3.1 keine Werbung	18
3.3.2 Nudging	14
3.3.3 Öffentliche Verpflegungsbetriebe	23

3.3.4 Öffentliches Beschaffungswesen	6
3.3.4.1 Armee soll als Vorbild dienen	4
3.3.5 Alternative Systeme	26
3.3.5.1 Lebensmittel-Rettungsaktionen	11
3.3.5.2 LW-Genossenschaften	2
3.3.5.3 Anlässe / Themenwochen	3
3.3.5.4 Kooperativen / Projekte	37
3.3.5.5 Agrarökologie	4
3.3.5.6 Online-Direktvermarktung	6
3.3.5.7 Urban Farms	3
3.3.6 Bereich - INFORMATION	54
3.3.6.1 Apps	1
3.3.6.1.1 Inhaltsstoffe-Scanner	1
3.3.6.1.2 App-Einkaufsassistenz	1
3.3.6.1.3 Rückverfolgung (via App)	10
3.3.6.2 True-Cost Accounting	6
3.3.6.3 Freiwilliges Labelling für mehr Transparenz	3
3.3.7 Bereich - BILDUNG	37
3.3.7.1 Schulische Ausbildung	12
3.3.7.2 Landwirtschaftliche Ausbildung	4
3.3.7.3 Ernährungsbildung- / Erziehung zuhause	5
3.3.7.4 Einblicke Bauernhof	1
<b>4 Analyse</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>4.1 SCHLÜSSELTEXTE</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>4.2 MARKER</b>	<b>284</b>
<b>4.3 BESONDERS ANALYSERELEVANT</b>	<b>1229</b>
<b>4.4 ZUSATZINFORMATION</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>4.5 NICHT HAUPTFOKUS</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>4.6 &lt;Konsum*&gt;</b>	<b>4132</b>
<b>5 Paraphrasen</b>	<b>1332</b>

## 12.2 R-Code

*R-Code at the example of NZZ:*

```
install.packages("dplyr")
install.packages("writexl")
install.packages("stringr")
```

```
library(dplyr)
library(writexl)
library(stringr)
```

```
NZZ <- NZZ_0813_0823_KonsumentIn
```

```

NZZ_original_df <- NZZ_0813_0823_KonsumentIn

#Keywords as defined in previous work-step (case sensitivity!)
keywords <- c("Landwirtschaft", "Landwirtschafts", "landwirtschaftlich", "Bauer", "Bauern", "Bäuerin", "Bäuerinnen", "bauern", "Boden", "Bodens", "Böden", "Essen", "isst", "essen", "esst", "Esst", "gegessen", "Lebensmittel", "Lebensmitteln", "Umwelt", "Ernährung", "ernähren", "Ernährungs", "Nahrung", "Nahrungs", "Agrar", "agrar", "Einkauf", "einkaufen", "Einkaufs", "Einkaufen", "Einkäufe", "Laden", "Läden")

# Create an empty dataframe for NZZ_filtered_df
NZZ_filtered_df <- data.frame()

# Loop through keywords and filter rows
for (keyword in keywords) {
  filtered_rows <- NZZ_original_df %>%
    filter(str_detect(NZZ_original_df$content, keyword))

# Append filtered rows to NZZ_filtered_df
  NZZ_filtered_df <- bind_rows(NZZ_filtered_df, filtered_rows)
}

# Export the filtered data to an Excel file
write_xlsx(NZZ_filtered_df, "NZZ_filtered_dataset.xlsx")

```

### 12.3 Corpus I – Policy Strategies

FSVO (Federal Food Safety and Veterinary Office), 2017. Geniessen und gesund bleiben – Schweizer Ernährungsstrategie 2017-2024.

Kanton Zürich, 2022. Leitbild Nachhaltige Ernährung.

Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2021. Strategie Nachhaltige Entwicklung 2030.

Stadt Zürich, 2022. Gemeindeordnung der Stadt Zürich.

Stadt Zürich, 2019. Strategie nachhaltige Ernährung Stadt Zürich.



## 12.4 Corpus II – Print Media Articles

Blick	2013-08-16	Cervelats kosten neu über 1 Stutz
Blick	2013-08-17	«Die Schweiz ist sowieso zu teuer»
Blick	2013-08-20	«Es ist ein Zeichen der Vernunft»
Blick	2013-09-18	Fast ein Viertel weniger Kartoffeln
Blick	2013-09-24	Endlich! Bald sind alle Kassenzettel ungiftig
Blick	2013-09-27	«Die Gen-Multis verschlimmern das Hungerproblem!»
Blick	2013-10-08	«Der Konsument kann es steuern»
Blick	2013-10-15	Güggeli fürs gute Gewissen
Blick	2013-10-15	Ein Herz für den Guggel
Blick	2013-10-23	Das Essen gehört auf den Teller
Blick	2014-01-07	Coca-Cola aus Tschechien!
Blick	2014-01-13a	Preiszerfall tut der Schweiz gut
Blick	2014-01-13b	«Dieses Cola müsste noch billiger sein»
Blick	2014-02-21	«Das Personal soll abstimmen»
Blick	2014-02-24	«Tierhaltung so mies wie vor 30 Jahren»
Blick	2014-03-27	Fenaco erzürnt Bauern
Blick	2014-04-05	Cervelat wird dieses Jahr schon wieder teurer
Blick	2014-04-07	Die Lust auf Bio ist gross
Blick	2014-04-14	«Es ist wie die 10 Gebote»
Blick	2014-04-15a	Bauern erobern die Grossstadt
Blick	2014-04-15b	«Selber denken tut nicht weh»
Blick	2014-04-19	Bio-Bauern völlig uneins
Blick	2014-04-24	Zu McDonald's statt in die Beiz
Blick	2014-05-03	Metzger und Detailhändler streiten um die Wurst
Blick	2014-05-05	Aldi-Chef taut ein wenig auf
Blick	2014-05-09	So schmeckt Bio am besten!
Blick	2014-05-20	Rivella macht auf jung

Blick	2014-06-03	Das BLICK-Tiefpreis-Manifest
Blick	2014-06-04	Diese vier schaden uns Konsumenten
Blick	2014-06-11	Regulierungs-Wahn kostet uns 50 Milliarden pro Jahr
Blick	2014-06-30	Neue Front im Kapsel-Krieg
Blick	2014-07-22	Grenz-Shopping auf Rekordhoch
Blick	2014-07-23a	Migros gegen Bundesrat
Blick	2014-07-23b	Sinnvolles M-Engagement
Blick	2014-07-24	«Bolliger geht es nur um Cash»
Blick	2014-07-28	Bauern riskieren ihr Image
Blick	2014-08-09	Mit dem Kindermehl fing alles an
Blick	2014-08-11	Weil Spekulanten den Preis treiben!
Blick	2014-08-16	Spar-Chef nimmt das Wetter sportlich
Blick	2014-08-21	«Faule Bauern sollen büssen»
Blick	2014-08-25	Discounter expandieren
Blick	2014-09-08	Saumässig viel Schwein!
Blick	2014-09-09	Mehr Poulet, weniger Koteletts ... und am liebsten aus der Schweiz
Blick	2014-10-02	Schweinefleisch wird im Laden noch billiger
Blick	2014-10-06	Die Sammelwut der Detailhändler
Blick	2014-10-07	«Auf dem Markt kennt man die Kunden auch»
Blick	2014-10-16	«Fairtrade hilft den Bauern nicht»
Blick	2014-10-25	«Nörgler habe ich keine getroffen»
Blick	2014-11-11	Wenig Fleisch dran
Blick	2014-11-12	«Auch Angst ist schädlich»
Blick	2014-11-14	Zu viel reden schadet dem Geschäft
Blick	2014-11-28	Härtere Strafen für Fleisch-Betrüger
Blick	2014-12-09	Zürich will bei Fleischkontrolle abspecken
Blick	2014-12-12	POLITIK & WIRTSCHAFT
Blick	2015-01-20	Der grosse Schnäppchen-Report
Blick	2015-01-26	Verkauft uns nicht für blöd!

Blick	2015-01-27	Fliegt jetzt das Schweizer Gemüse aus dem Regal?
Blick	2015-02-24	«Man riecht und sieht, wenn etwas schlecht ist»
Blick	2015-03-13	Einkaufen im Internet boomt
Blick	2015-04-04	«Man muss halt schauen, wo man bleibt»
Blick	2015-04-20	Mehr Grenzwächter gegen Einkaufstouristen
Blick	2015-04-23	Aldi kämpft um Käfer und Knospe
Blick	2015-05-07a	Hartes Bauerplay im Bundeshaus
Blick	2015-05-07b	Das geht uns auf die Nüsse!
Blick	2015-05-16	Immer mehr Schoggi kommt aus dem Ausland
Blick	2015-05-18	«Kein Wunder, machen die solche Profite!»
Blick	2015-05-21a	Bauern starten Regulierungs-Offensive
Blick	2015-05-21b	Nicht jede Liebe hält ewig
Blick	2015-05-22	MaXXX Havelaaaaah!
Blick	2015-05-26	Ist diese Saison nicht gut Kirschen essen?
Blick	2015-05-27a	Pestizide auf Obst und Gemüse
Blick	2015-05-27b	«Jeder darf essen, was er will»
Blick	2015-05-27c	Pflanzenschutz mit Gift - schädlich oder nötig?
Blick	2015-05-28	«Perfektes Obst gibt es nicht!»
Blick	2015-06-06	Die Säckli rascheln noch lange
Blick	2015-06-24	Neue Attacke auf Nestlé-Kapseln
Blick	2015-07-18	Den Milchbauern gehen die Einkaufs-Touristen auf den Sack
Blick	2015-07-18	Migros prüft Cola-Importe
Blick	2015-07-20	Mit Papier-Säcken gegen den Einkaufs-Tourismus
Blick	2015-08-17	Jetzt kommt die Schweine-Schwemme
Blick	2015-08-28	Die Milchwirtschaft leidet
Blick	2015-09-03	Danke, dass ihr da seid
Blick	2015-09-09	«So etwas würde ich nie wagen!»
Blick	2015-09-14	Larven gegen den Hunger der Welt
Blick	2015-09-28	Trotz Knappheit bleibt Milch wertlos

Blick	2015-10-09	Ein Körnchen Gesundheit
Blick	2015-10-21a	Das Kreuz mit dem Kreuz
Blick	2015-10-21b	«Swissness anstatt Bschissness»
Blick	2015-10-21c	Das Recht der Konsumenten
Blick	2015-10-21d	Kreativer Kaffeekapsel-Revolutzer
Blick	2015-11-09	«Der Bäcker war zum Scheitern verurteilt»
Blick	2015-11-20	«Dutti würde sich im Grab umdrehen»
Blick	2015-11-26	«Selbstmord aus Verzweiflung»
Blick	2015-12-05	Vegan ist das neue Bio
Blick	2015-12-23	Weihnachten so billig wie nie
Blick	2015-12-30	Wo Konsumenten 2016 Geld sparen
Blick	2016-01-19	Nun müssen Regeln her
Blick	2016-01-26	«Warum isst man so etwas?»
Blick	2016-01-29	Discounter Aldi geht in die Marken-Offensive
Blick	2016-01-30	Endlich ist der Kunde König
Blick	2016-02-19	Panikmache mit falschen Zahlen
Blick	2016-02-24	«Die Preise fallen auch dieses Jahr»
Blick	2016-02-26	Gut reagiert oder clever inszeniert?
Blick	2016-03-02	Der Bundesrat soll Klarheit schaffen
Blick	2016-03-17	Preise zum Allergisch werden
Blick	2016-03-26	Hoflieferant des Osterhasen
Blick	2016-04-08	Ist Bio nur für Reiche, Herr Bärtschi?
Blick	2016-04-18	«Der Frankenschok ist noch lange nicht ausgestanden»
Blick	2016-06-02	«Schwarzmalerei ist bei mir nicht drin»
Blick	2016-06-07	Diese Glacepreise sind uncool
Blick	2016-06-13	Sommer muss auch den Sommer retten
Blick	2016-06-14	Wollen wir das alles wissen?
Blick	2016-06-15	Caffè Latte verliert das Schweizerkreuz
Blick	2016-06-23	Darum hat der Cervelat immer Schwein

Blick	2016-06-27	Hier punkten Sie am meisten
Blick	2016-06-28	«Sparen tut man damit nicht»
Blick	2016-07-01	POLITIK & WIRTSCHAFT
Blick	2016-07-08	Früchte und Gemüse sind teurer
Blick	2016-07-13	Jetzt wird auch die Milch glücklich
Blick	2016-07-19	Schweizer pfeifen aufs Klima
Blick	2016-07-28	Die Kuhschweiz gibts bald nicht mehr
Blick	2016-08-09	POLITIK & WIRTSCHAFT
Blick	2016-08-16	Sind diese Schweine wirklich glücklich?
Blick	2016-08-16	Nespresso kapselt Spar ab
Blick	2016-09-01	Milch-Lobby reagiert allergisch
Blick	2016-09-19	Aldi steckt alle in die Tasche
Blick	2016-11-26	«Viele kaufen, was sie nicht brauchen»
Blick	2016-12-14	«Nur Bauern lassen sich so ausbeuten»
Blick	2016-12-28	Detailhändler haben den kater
Blick	2016-12-29	«Plötzlich sind Preise wie in der EU möglich»
Blick	2017-01-04	Coop holt zügig auf
Blick	2017-01-09	«Eine irreführende Kopie»
Blick	2017-01-25	Jeder Dritte scannt selbst
Blick	2017-03-22	So ein Käse!
Blick	2017-03-27	«Warum reden die nicht miteinander?»
Blick	2017-04-01	Harte Discounter sind heute Softies
Blick	2017-04-04	«Als Bauer bin ich ein Grüner»
Blick	2017-04-05a	43% Bio-Aufschlag
Blick	2017-04-05b	Der billige Wahnsinn
Blick	2017-04-07	«Wenn Läden schliessen, veröden Städte und Dörfer»
Blick	2017-05-06	Trotz Eis-Frost kein Preis-Frust
Blick	2017-05-13	Diät fürs Schoggi-Stängeli
Blick	2017-05-15	«Die stehen auf meiner Abzocker-Liste»

Blick	2017-05-16	Warum schweigen die Marken-Giganten?
Blick	2017-05-17	«Greifen wir einfach zu anderen Produkten!»
Blick	2017-05-19	Was aus dem Labor kommt, wird gegessen
Blick	2017-05-29	Milchbauern für Migros-Boycott
Blick	2017-05-30	«Aufhören, wenns nicht mehr rentiert»
Blick	2017-06-13	Der Zoll im Hosensack
Blick	2017-06-19	Schwein gehabt!
Blick	2017-06-23	5000 Lädeli verschwunden
Blick	2017-06-29	Die Rabattschlacht kennt nur Verlierer
Blick	2017-06-30	«Schuld haben nie die Konsumenten»
Blick	2017-07-01	«Wer zahlt den Preis für Billigpreise?»
Blick	2017-07-27	Aldi fairärgert Bauern
Blick	2017-08-09	Das Eiern geht weiter
Blick	2017-08-10	«Warum sollten wir verzichten?»
Blick	2017-08-25	Bauernschreck Franziska Herren
Blick	2017-10-03	Milch, Käse und Joghurt werden teurer
Blick	2017-10-04	«Ohne Pestizide kann man die Welt nicht ernähren»
Blick	2017-10-21	Falsches Fleisch in der Wurst
Blick	2017-10-27	«Sie verniedlichen das Schlachten!» «Sie verbreiten Lügen!»
Blick	2017-11-02	«Das Papier ist umgehend zu schreddern»
Blick	2017-11-09	Braucht es überhaupt noch Einkaufstempel?
Blick	2017-11-15	Gefragt ist schnell und billig
Blick	2017-11-23	Shoppen, bis Ihnen schwarz vor Augen wird
Blick	2017-11-29	«Ich dusche heiss»
Blick	2017-12-19	O sole bio
Blick	2017-12-20	«Bei all diesen Labels blickt eh keiner durch»
Blick	2018-01-06	Kapseln interessieren nicht die Bohne!
Blick	2018-01-09	Einmal Einkaufstourist, immer Einkaufstourist
Blick	2018-01-26	Metzger mischte Lamm ins Wild

Blick	2018-02-15	Chef verschreibt Nestlé mehr Vitamine und Bio
Blick	2018-02-21	Der Gigant kommt still und leise
Blick	2018-02-22	Erste Löcher in Coop-Regalen
Blick	2018-02-23	«Der Konsument hats in der Hand»
Blick	2018-02-26	Beizen und Kantinen servieren Billig-Fleisch
Blick	2018-03-06	Emmis neuester Kraftakt
Blick	2018-04-05	Das macht unsere Bauern sauer Erdbeeren spottbillig
Blick	2018-04-13	320 Franken pro Kopf für Bio
Blick	2018-04-19	«Kunden haben es in der Hand»
Blick	2018-04-27	Fleisch ist immer mehr Schweizern wurst
Blick	2018-04-27	Fleisch ist nur noch Beilage
Blick	2018-05-03	POLITIK & WIRTSCHAFT
Blick	2018-05-07	Winzige Teilchen, grosse Umweltbelastung
Blick	2018-05-08	7 Milliarden für die Bohne
Blick	2018-05-11	Raschelsäckli sind besser als ihr Ruf
Blick	2018-05-16	Nestlé will Familien fit machen
Blick	2018-06-16	Auch in den Läden herrscht Torhunger
Blick	2018-07-17	Musterschülerin Schweiz muss nachsitzen
Blick	2018-08-02	Ohne Regen muss er seine Kühe zum Metzger bringen
Blick	2018-08-04	Das Filet wird auf Herz und Nieren geprüft
Blick	2018-08-06	«Geht beim örtlichen Metzger einkaufen!»
Blick	2018-08-09	«Umweltschutz bedeutet halt nicht Gewinnmaximierung»
Blick	2018-08-18	Schweizer Fleisch mehr als doppelt so teuer
Blick	2018-08-21	«Die Schweiz hat die falschen Bauern, nicht die falschen Kühe»
Blick	2018-08-27	«Ich entscheide selber, was auf meinen Teller kommt»
Blick	2018-09-03	«Economiesuisse erzählt Lügenmärchen»
Blick	2018-09-06a	So mästet der Staat die Bauern
Blick	2018-09-06b	Was der Staat alles subventioniert, geht auf keine Kuhhaut
Blick	2018-09-07	Die Trittbrettfahrer im Bauern-Paradies

Blick	2018-09-08a	«Die Bauern tragen nicht viel zu unserem Wohlstand bei»
Blick	2018-09-08b	Halber Preis, doppelte Freude
Blick	2018-09-12a	Leitungswasser predigen, Mineralwasser trinken
Blick	2018-09-12b	Schweizer hängen am ausländischen Tropf
Blick	2018-10-13	Kassensturz!
Blick	2018-10-18	«Er soll ein lebenslanges Tierhalteverbot erhalten»
Blick	2018-11-21	So machen Sie den Black Friday zum Freudentag
Blick	2018-11-22	«Der Schweizer Konsument tickt wie ein Amerikaner»
Blick	2018-11-30	«Das Zeitalter der Malls geht langsam zu Ende»
Blick	2018-12-01	POLITIK & WIRTSCHAFT
Blick	2018-12-12a	Gebt dem Süssen Saures!
Blick	2018-12-12b	Multis setzen uns auf Diät
Blick	2018-12-17	Zucker à discrétion
Blick	2018-12-20	EU will Plastik verbieten, Schweiz wartet
Blick	2019-01-09a	Coop wirft Whiskas und Kellogg's aus dem Regal
Blick	2019-01-09b	Der Kropf kehrt zurück!
Blick	2019-01-09c	Das ganze Jahr ist Ausverkauf
Blick	2019-02-02	Importeuren drohen hohe Bussen – zahlen muss der Kunde!
Blick	2019-02-20	Deutsche Discounter stürmen die Hochpreisinsel
Blick	2019-03-15	Es braucht jetzt einen Klima-Schulterschluss
Blick	2019-03-16	Mit Schild, Charme und Pellerine
Blick	2019-03-18	Jetzt haben wir den Ampel-Salat
Blick	2019-04-18	Darfs es Gitzeli meh si?
Blick	2019-04-23	Danone drängt, Coop bockt
Blick	2019-05-04	Die Auswahl an Milch geht auf keine Kuhhaut
Blick	2019-05-06	«Der Schweizer Konsument hat es gerne ordentlich»
Blick	2019-05-18	Darf man heute eigentlich noch grillieren?
Blick	2019-05-20	«Kein Chlor-Huhn auf dem Teller»
Blick	2019-06-06	Sind wir öko oder nur geizig?



Blick	2019-06-15	Vegan-Burger macht Konsumenten und Investoren verrückt
Blick	2019-06-26	Migros und Coop bei Lebensmittel-Ampel ausgebremst
Blick	2019-06-27	«Selbst kochen statt Fertigprodukte kaufen»
Blick	2019-07-05	«Der erste Schritt zu einer neuen Menschheit ist getan»
Blick	2019-07-12	Coop lässt Cola schrumpfen
Blick	2019-07-13	«Die verspotten uns mit einem Schulbubentricli»
Blick	2019-07-15	«Konsument hat das Nachsehen»
Blick	2019-07-16	Dieser Apfel ist besser fürs Klima als dieser
Blick	2019-07-17a	«Regional ist gut, aber nur zusammen mit saisonal»
Blick	2019-07-17b	«Wir wollen CO2-neutral produzieren»
Blick	2019-07-31a	Cervelat-Barometer kündigt Preisrekord an
Blick	2019-07-31b	Geld zurück gibts erst ab 50 Euro
Blick	2019-08-02	«Vielleicht reduziert das den Fleischkonsum»
Blick	2019-08-09	NEWS
Blick	2019-08-14	Milch wird nicht besser – aber teurer
Blick	2019-08-17	«Es ist unfair, jetzt nur auf die Landwirte zu zeigen»
Blick	2019-08-21	Preis für den grössten Fussabdruck
Blick	2019-08-22	«Wir Konsumenten sind mitschuldig»
Blick	2019-08-26	«Hätte ich Nachkommen, würde ich wohl verzweifeln»
Blick	2019-08-28	«Der Bürger ist nicht in der Lage, das selber zu lösen»
Blick	2019-08-29	Den vollen Einkaufskorb in einer Sekunde bezahlt
Blick	2019-09-18	Revolution am Regal
Blick	2019-10-07	Migros bringt den Metzger zum Anfassen
Blick	2019-10-24	Jetzt können auch die Gratis-Plastiksäcke einpacken
Blick	2019-10-26	Das Ablaufdatum soll zum Auslauf-Modell werden
Blick	2019-10-28	«Lebensmittelverschwendung fängt bei jedem Einzelnen an»
Blick	2019-11-05	«Ich fühle mich reingelegt und hintergangen»
Blick	2019-11-08	Grosshändler jetzt auch für die Kleinen
Blick	2019-11-28a	«Verzicht gilt als Versagen»

Blick	2019-11-28b	Konsumwütige Shopper, wütende Klima-Aktivisten
Blick	2020-01-08	Kein Geld, keine Kassen, keine Verkäufer
Blick	2020-01-09	«Wie bezahlt man denn bei einem Blackout?»
Blick	2020-01-25	«Was machen nun Veganer, die Nestlé immer boykottierten?»
Blick	2020-01-30	Ovo bringt Nutella auf die Palme
Blick	2020-02-19	Bei Coop steigen die Preise
Blick	2020-02-28	Unterwegs mit Snack und Pack
Blick	2020-03-09	Einkaufstourismus geht zurück
Blick	2020-03-10	«Wir sind die Milchkuh in Europa»
Blick	2020-03-28	«Im Aargau arbeiten wir bereits mit Bauern zusammen»
Blick	2020-03-30	Diese Spuren wird die Corona-Krise hinterlassen
Blick	2020-04-20	So verändert Corona den Konsum
Blick	2020-04-29	Kein kopfloser Kaufrausch
Blick	2020-05-16	Konsumlust köchelt noch auf kleiner Flamme
Blick	2020-06-10	Plastik-Röhrli und Wegwerf-Becher feiern Comeback
Blick	2020-06-19	«Wieso reduzieren Hersteller nicht die Plastikverpackung?»
Blick	2020-06-25	Ohne Pestizide nur noch leere Regale?
Blick	2020-06-26	«Ohne Fleisch wäre ich auf die Barrikaden gegangen»
Blick	2020-08-21	«Bauern sollen sich zusammentun»
Blick	2020-08-28	Kostete sein Käse 10 Menschen das Leben?
Blick	2020-08-29	Über 200 Produkte Denner lässt die Preise purzeln
Blick	2020-09-19	Das macht Konsumenten und Bauern ranzig
Blick	2020-09-21	«Hände weg von dieser Butter!»
Blick	2020-10-10	«Besser wäre der Export in Länder, wo Hunger herrscht»
Blick	2020-10-24	«Lassen Sie doch Familien die Äpfel selber pflücken!»
Blick	2020-10-29	Essenskuriere geben «Wenn es uns mehr Gummi
Blick	2020-11-17	Sie verkuppelt Bauern mit Kunden
Blick	2020-11-20	«Es gibt auch das Menschenrecht auf Arbeit und Nahrung!»
Blick	2021-01-06	Klamotten billiger, Zigis teurer

Blick	2021-02-04a	«Dafür braucht es Rückgrat»
Blick	2021-02-24b	Nur Coop wirft Palmöl aus dem Regal
Blick	2021-02-24	Plastik-löst Bargeld ab
Blick	2021-02-25	«Die Ressourcen der Erde sind nun mal beschränkt»
Blick	2021-03-09	Bitcoin im Warenhaus, am Kiosk und im Tankstellen-Shop
Blick	2021-03-22	Aldi und Lidl ante portas
Blick	2021-03-23	Für den Gipfeli-König sind Pestizide wie Zigaretten
Blick	2021-03-31	«Niemand soll zu etwas gezwungen werden, was er nicht will»
Blick	2021-04-23	Blick bei zwei Bio-Bauern, die das Heu nicht auf der gleichen Bühne haben
Blick	2021-05-07	«Die Konsumenten müssten ihr Einkaufsverhalten ändern»
Blick	2021-05-08	«Parmelin ist der Ober-Lobbyist»
Blick	2021-05-15	«Ich gebe mein Geld dort aus, wo ich es verdiene»
Blick	2021-06-01	Für eine Weltklasse-Landwirtschaft!
Blick	2021-06-04	«Die Nerven liegen blank»
Blick	2021-06-08	«Bargeld ist wieder König»
Blick	2021-07-17	Auf den Feldern ertrinken sogar die Regenwürmer
Blick	2021-10-13	Verpackung macht Fischstäbli 1.25 Franken teurer
Blick	2021-11-15	«Das ist zumindest trinkbar»
Blick	2021-11-18	Bio Suisse stoppt das Küken-Töten
Blick	2021-12-13	Das Pouletbrüstli wird angeblich doppelt so teuer
Blick	2021-12-14	«Tierwohl steht ganz klar über dem Geld»
Blick	2022-01-14	Schon jeder fünfte Burger ist nicht aus Fleisch
Blick	2022-02-08	«Mein Lager ist praktisch leer»
Blick	2022-03-03	NEWS
Blick	2022-03-30	Der Grill-Sommer wird teuer
Blick	2022-04-21	«Preise werden skrupellos erhöht»
Blick	2022-05-11	Bio-Bauern kontern Frontalangriff von Agrar-Multi
Blick	2022-05-28	Der Welt geht das Essen aus
Blick	2022-05-30	«Die Krise lehrt uns, mit Essen vorsichtiger umzugehen»

Blick	2022-06-03	«Der Klimawandel ist das grosse Problem unserer Zeit»
Blick	2022-06-07	«Das kommt der Umwelt zugute»
Blick	2022-06-17	Klatsche für Migros-Chefs
Blick	2022-08-25a	Bio wäre ihr Ende
Blick	2022-08-25b	«Die Winnetou-Glace ist eine tickende Zeitbombe»
Blick	2022-08-31a	Erst die Bauern brachten die Fleischindustrie zur Einsicht
Blick	2022-08-31b	Diese Fotos sollten Sie nicht sehen!
Blick	2022-09-01	«Die Konsumenten sollen die Realität kennen»
Blick	2022-09-05	«Die Migros sollte schon lange das Sortiment reduzieren»
Blick	2022-09-06	«Entscheidend ist, ob der Kaffee schmeckt»
Blick	2022-09-26	Mehr Mut zur Realität, bitte!
Blick	2022-11-02	NEWS
Blick	2022-11-23	«Ich kaufe seit Jahren Gemüse direkt ab Hof»
Blick	2022-12-23	Weihnachtsgans lieber mit Fleisch
Blick	2022-12-24	Grössere Verpackung Höherer Preis Gleicher Inhalt
Blick	2023-01-16	Fleischliche Gelüste auch im Veganuary
Blick	2023-01-20	«Mein Kilo Clementinen war nur 560 Gramm schwer»
Blick	2023-02-14	«Sicher hat das Kleber-Theater den Grünen nicht geholfen»
Blick	2023-02-18	Ist ein Guggeli ohne Huhn ein Guggeli?
Blick	2023-02-20	«Ein Poulet ist ein Poulet, ein Rüeblì ist ein Rüeblì»
Blick	2023-02-23	«Für geltendes Recht muss nicht lobbyiert werden»
Blick	2023-03-01	Der Hof des Grauens
Blick	2023-05-12a	Wird die Migros jetzt ein M günstiger?
Blick	2023-05-12b	Revolution bei der Migros
Blick	2023-05-24	Lebensmittel-Preise sinken – aber nur punktuell
Blick	2023-07-11	«Auch die Schweizer Hersteller müssen sich an Regeln halten»
Blick	2023-07-28a	Multis verdienen sich an unseren Mehrkosten satt
Blick	2023-07-28b	Riesige Gewinne dank Preiserhöhungen
Die Wochenzeitung	2014-07-17a	Holt euch die Kleider im Nachbardorf!

Die Wochenzeitung	2014-07-17b	Die Unternehmen und ich
Die Wochenzeitung	2014-07-17c	Vor dem Regal mit den gläsernen Müesli von der App
Die Wochenzeitung	2014-09-18	Angriff abgeblasen
Die Wochenzeitung	2015-01-15	Gemüse kann politisch machen
Die Wochenzeitung	2015-02-19	«Warum schreiben Sie nicht über Frauenthemen?»
Die Wochenzeitung	2015-03-12	Nicht mehr so radikal
Die Wochenzeitung	2015-08-20	Die Forschung nicht den Konzernen überlassen
Die Wochenzeitung	2015-09-17	Und was essen wir morgen?
Die Wochenzeitung	2016-02-25	Ernährungssouveränität – am besten mit Horn
Die Wochenzeitung	2016-05-05	leserinnenbriefe
Die Wochenzeitung	2016-09-22	Da warens nur noch drei
Die Wochenzeitung	2016-10-20	Pollen, Lizenzen, Gedächtnisverlust
Die Wochenzeitung	2017-04-20	Tausend Tiere auf einem Teller
Die Wochenzeitung	2017-06-15	Für ungespritzte Äpfel und offene Grenzen
Die Wochenzeitung	2017-08-31	Eine Vorlage für alles und das Gegenteil
Die Wochenzeitung	2017-12-14	Störgeräusche im Burgfrieden
Die Wochenzeitung	2018-05-17	Kühe in der Familie
Die Wochenzeitung	2018-07-12	Zu dicke Portemonnaies
Die Wochenzeitung	2018-08-30	Leserinnenbriefe
Die Wochenzeitung	2018-10-11	Krasser als Kaviar
Die Wochenzeitung	2018-12-13	«Gesundheitszuträglich, nahrhaft und preiswert»
Die Wochenzeitung	2019-01-31	«Unsere Ideen sind viel weniger naiv als der Glaube, auf dem jetzigen Weg könne es weitergehen»
Die Wochenzeitung	2019-02-21	Das Bollwerk gegen Land Grabbing wird angekratzt
Die Wochenzeitung	2019-07-18	Was wird hier eigentlich «gerettet»?
Die Wochenzeitung	2020-01-09	Ein Kommunist bei der SVP
Die Wochenzeitung	2020-01-30	«Der Körper hat nicht genug Zeit, sich zu erholen»
Die Wochenzeitung	2020-02-20	«Das Poulet wird schöngeredet»
Die Wochenzeitung	2021-05-13	«Es ist wichtig, dass wir einander wertschätzen»
Die Wochenzeitung	2021-06-24	Die Ware Aufmerksamkeit

Die Wochenzeitung	2021-12-09	Keine Würde ohne Auslauf
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-02-24	Das Skalpell im Erbgut
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-04-07	Denken im Kreislauf – für die Zukunft
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-08-11a	Das Quäntchen zu viel?
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-08-11b	Einkaufen ist politisch
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-08-18	Warum essen wir eigentlich keine Hunde?
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-08-25	Zwei Schritte zurück
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-09-15a	Schweinewürde
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-09-15b	Realitätsverweigerung
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-09-29	Ein fantasieloses Nein
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-10-27	Ein Patent auf Pommes frites?
Die Wochenzeitung	2022-12-15	Viel mehr als Bio
Die Wochenzeitung	2023-03-16	Bündner Bäuer:innen testen die Zukunft
Die Wochenzeitung	2023-06-22	Hungrig auf Sardinellen
Die Wochenzeitung	2023-06-29	DIE WOCHENZEITUNG News
Die Weltwoche	2013-08-08	Landwirtschaft noch viel teurer
Die Weltwoche	2013-08-15	Landwirtschaft vs. Asylwesen
Die Weltwoche	2013-09-26	Omeletten mit spanischen Nierli
Die Weltwoche	2013-10-10	Das grüne Paradox
Die Weltwoche	2013-11-14	Znüni-Terror im Kindergarten
Die Weltwoche	2013-11-21	Die Mythenbauern
Die Weltwoche	2013-11-28	Von «Dutti» lernen
Die Weltwoche	2013-12-19	Mehr Wissen, weniger Mythen
Die Weltwoche	2014-01-09	Bibel gegen Vampire
Die Weltwoche	2014-01-16a	«Werfen Sie Ihre Saftpresse weg!»
Die Weltwoche	2014-01-16b	Nicht jeder Rappen zählt
Die Weltwoche	2014-06-12	Süßes Gold
Die Weltwoche	2014-06-26	Falsches Signal
Die Weltwoche	2014-08-07	Es ist nicht leicht, grün zu sein

Die Weltwoche	2014-08-14	Vollbremsung im Kiesbett
Die Weltwoche	2014-09-11	Brüsseler Etikettenbürokratie
Die Weltwoche	2014-10-09a	Krach ums Geldverteilen
Die Weltwoche	2014-10-09b	Vegan von Katze bis Kind
Die Weltwoche	2014-10-09c	Teures Wunschdenken
Die Weltwoche	2014-11-13	Bundesrat: Irrweg nach links
Die Weltwoche	2014-11-20	Propheten und Profiteure
Die Weltwoche	2015-02-26a	Wo soll das enden?
Die Weltwoche	2015-02-26b	Bedrohliche Verzerrungen
Die Weltwoche	2015-03-05	«Volkes Wille»
Die Weltwoche	2015-03-19	Die Schweiz als EU im Kleinformat
Die Weltwoche	2015-05-13	Sonntagsliberale
Die Weltwoche	2015-05-21	Erstaunliche Schlüsse
Die Weltwoche	2015-05-28	Feindbild Bauer
Die Weltwoche	2015-06-18	Unechter Wettbewerb
Die Weltwoche	2015-10-08a	Ein Bauer, der nicht weint
Die Weltwoche	2015-10-08b	Schweine im Schlaraffenland
Die Weltwoche	2015-10-29a	Seite an Seite mit der Verwaltung
Die Weltwoche	2015-10-29b	Böse Bratwurst
Die Weltwoche	2015-11-12	Nichts gelernt
Die Weltwoche	2015-12-17	Fein und gemein
Die Weltwoche	2015-12-23	Gewaltfreies Geben und Nehmen
Die Weltwoche	2016-02-25	«Nicht bevormunden»
Die Weltwoche	2016-03-10	Iss dich schön
Die Weltwoche	2016-06-02	Zauberformel der Bauern
Die Weltwoche	2016-06-30	Zertifizierte Schindluderei
Die Weltwoche	2016-07-28a	Auf wertvollem Boden
Die Weltwoche	2016-07-28b	Sünder
Die Weltwoche	2016-08-11a	Die grüne Lebenslüge

Die Weltwoche	2016-08-11b	«Ich bin ein Grüner, nicht der Papst»
Die Weltwoche	2016-08-25	Stadt und Land
Die Weltwoche	2016-09-15	Logisch statt ökologisch
Die Weltwoche	2016-09-29	Gestärkte Feinde
Die Weltwoche	2016-10-27	Nach Lust und Laune
Die Weltwoche	2016-12-08	Rettet die solidarische Schweiz
Die Weltwoche	2016-12-22	Bauern der Zukunft
Die Weltwoche	2017-01-26	Guter und schlechter Protektionismus
Die Weltwoche	2017-03-02	«Die Menschen wollen trinken»
Die Weltwoche	2017-04-13	Lob der Hochpreisinsel
Die Weltwoche	2017-05-11	Mit aller Macht
Die Weltwoche	2017-06-22	Giraffen und Geissen
Die Weltwoche	2017-09-21	Krieg der Öko-Bananen
Die Weltwoche	2017-11-23	Vertrauen aufbauen
Die Weltwoche	2018-01-04	Macht es selber
Die Weltwoche	2018-01-18a	Rückkehr des Pelzes
Die Weltwoche	2018-01-18b	Zu viele Köche
Die Weltwoche	2018-02-15	Der Bauernkrieg
Die Weltwoche	2018-04-05	Der orange Riese wankt
Die Weltwoche	2018-04-12	«Sie liefern sich freiwillig aus»
Die Weltwoche	2018-04-19a	Schwarzes Raclette
Die Weltwoche	2018-04-19b	Avocado-Alarm
Die Weltwoche	2018-05-17	Die Hälfte für den Staat
Die Weltwoche	2018-07-26	Gute Marken entstehen durchs Kaufen
Die Weltwoche	2018-08-16	Nur ändern, was nicht funktioniert
Die Weltwoche	2018-09-13	Landwirtschaft: Zucker statt Peitsche
Die Weltwoche	2018-10-04	Wer schädigt die Wirtschaft?
Die Weltwoche	2018-11-29	Landwirtschaft im Park
Die Weltwoche	2019-04-18	Käse-Revolution



Die Weltwoche	2019-05-02a	Wie reich muss ich sein, um Grün zu wählen?
Die Weltwoche	2019-05-02b	Einfach unverkäuflich
Die Weltwoche	2019-05-23	Preis des Gewissens
Die Weltwoche	2019-06-20	Entschlossen gegen Protektionismus
Die Weltwoche	2019-07-11	Verbesserte Umwelt
Die Weltwoche	2019-07-18	Landwirtschaft hat Zukunft
Die Weltwoche	2019-07-18	Bessere Welt
Die Weltwoche	2019-07-25a	Reiche Schweiz, arme Schweiz
Die Weltwoche	2019-07-25b	Geschlechterkampf auf dem Bauernhof
Die Weltwoche	2019-07-25c	Ideen, die die Welt verändern
Die Weltwoche	2019-08-08	Weniger Auswahl, höhere Preise
Die Weltwoche	2019-08-29a	Wie viel CO2 steckt im Alltag?
Die Weltwoche	2019-08-29b	Mein grünes Tagebuch
Die Weltwoche	2019-10-10	Sicher sind nur die Subventionen
Die Weltwoche	2019-10-24	Bersets Kreuzzug
Die Weltwoche	2020-01-30	Kraft des Guten
Die Weltwoche	2020-03-05	Spielraum kaufen
Die Weltwoche	2020-03-26	«Nach der Krise werden wir in einer anderen Welt leben»
Die Weltwoche	2020-05-20	Endlich wieder shoppen
Die Weltwoche	2020-10-01	Das perfekte Steak
Die Weltwoche	2020-10-22a	Tagebuch
Die Weltwoche	2020-10-22b	Trumpf Grün
Die Weltwoche	2020-12-10	Soll man Zölle einseitig aufheben?
Die Weltwoche	2020-12-17	Weltwunder Landwirtschaft
Die Weltwoche	2021-01-14	Der blinde Fleck der Klimajugend
Die Weltwoche	2021-01-28	Fettfreie Ära
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Die Weltwoche	2021-05-27	Endlich: Vegi-Burger und Labor-Fleisch
Die Weltwoche	2021-06-03	«Die Klimabewegung ist eine Religion»

Die Weltwoche	2021-06-17	Die grosse Disruption
Die Weltwoche	2021-07-15a	Die Schweiz plagt ihre Pflanzen
Die Weltwoche	2021-07-15b	Entschlossen in die Klimadiktatur
Die Weltwoche	2021-08-26a	Importierte Belastungen
Die Weltwoche	2021-08-26b	Duell der Flaschen
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Die Weltwoche	2021-11-25	Schnäppchenjäger denken an Inflation
Die Weltwoche	2022-01-13	Vor diesen Abstimmungen wird gewarnt
Die Weltwoche	2022-02-10	Bauern entdecken die Gen-Technik
Die Weltwoche	2022-04-21	Gesundes Trinkwasser auf den letzten Metern bewahren
Die Weltwoche	2022-05-25	Schweiz, wohin?
Die Weltwoche	2022-06-02	Lob des Freihandels
Die Weltwoche	2022-06-23a	Romantik trifft auf Realität
Die Weltwoche	2022-06-23b	«Wir zeigen, dass es auch mit mehr Markt geht»
Die Weltwoche	2022-06-23c	Zauberformel des Detailhandels
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Die Weltwoche	2022-07-28	Achtsam in den Kollaps
Die Weltwoche	2022-08-11a	Der Bio-Papst, der auf Gentech hofft
Die Weltwoche	2022-08-11b	Ein Nahrungsmittel, das verbindet
Die Weltwoche	2022-10-20	Mehr Auswahl, weniger Zucker
Die Weltwoche	2022-11-03	Das elfte Gebot
Die Weltwoche	2022-11-24	Label-Klau bei der Agrarlobby
Die Weltwoche	2022-12-01	Moralische Botschaft
Die Weltwoche	2022-12-08	Wachstum nützt dem Klima
Die Weltwoche	2023-01-05a	Montreal: Die Biodiversität
Die Weltwoche	2023-01-05b	Unser täglich Brot
Die Weltwoche	2023-02-16a	Vier gute Nachrichten
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Die Weltwoche	2023-04-13	Wie viel Zucker soll es sein?
Die Weltwoche	2023-05-04	Wir sind ja so Klima-naiv
Die Weltwoche	2023-06-01	Angriff aufs Essen
Die Weltwoche	2023-06-29	Arthur Honeggers fleischfreie Schweiz
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-08-08	Geschröpfte Konsumenten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-08-15	«Helfer der Konsumenten»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-09	Eine gentechfreie Schweiz gibt es nicht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-10	Wenn Produzenten auch Konsumenten sind
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-16	Ein Drittel landet im Abfall
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-18	Ständerat gegen mehr Deklarationspflichten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-19	Mehr Drive für den Online-Handel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-23	«Produktlabels sind bedeutende institutionelle Innovationen»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-09-26	Der Warenkorb als Datenquelle
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-10-11	Eine Fülle von Labels und Zertifikaten zur Gewährleistung «fairer» Produktion
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-10-28	«Jedes zweite Brot landet im Müll»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-11-06	Konsumentenpreise in der Schweiz stabil
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-11-13	Das Megaprojekt weckt Ängste
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-12-04	Abschreckendes Fett
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2013-12-19	Kein «Klonfleisch» auf europäischen Tellern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-01-11	Konsumenten im Vorteil
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-01-25	«In der Schweizer Landwirtschaft ist nicht alles besser»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-02-13	Grüner Umbau der Wirtschaft
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-02-19	L'Etat, c'est quoi?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-02-20	Neue Kundengeneration gesucht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-03-05	Genussvoll und gesund
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-03-15	E-Commerce revolutioniert den Schweizer Detailhandel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-03-20	Deklarationspflicht tut not
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-03-26a	Volg setzt eigene Akzente
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Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-04-02a	Wo Gentech drin ist
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-04-02b	Mehr fleischloses Essen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-04-10	Biomarkt stark gewachsen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-04-12	«Food Waste» – Schande und Chance zugleich
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-04-25	Dosiert wachsender Schweizer Fleischmarkt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-06-17	Alt heisst nicht ungeniessbar
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-06-19	Selbst ist der Kunde
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-06-23a	«Vische» stinken nicht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-06-23b	Verschwenderischer Umgang
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-07-02	Das Essen der «Anderen»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-07-18	Veganismus in aller Munde
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-08-07	Einkaufserlebnis
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-08-14a	Moderne Verpackungen haben es in sich
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-08-14b	Verführerisch, informativ, pädagogisch, ökologisch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-08-16	Einkaufen und Wegwerfen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-08-28	Den Kunden im Laden gefallen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-08-29	«Bevormundete Konsumenten»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-09-03	Der Umgang mit «unvernünftigen» Kunden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-09-29	Nachhaltigkeit ist kein Luxus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-10-16	Nur jede dritte Kartoffel wird gegessen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-10-31	Grosser Markt für muslimische Waren
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-11-06a	Von der Essgabel zurück in den Kuhstall
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-11-06b	Herkunft ist das halbe Produkt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-12-19	Gentech-Deklaration bleibt unverändert
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2014-12-20a	Gefangen im Überfluss
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Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-01-07	Die Sorgen der Schweizer Konsumenten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-01-08	Mission des Detailhandels zur Überwindung der Wegwerfmentalität
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-01-19	Nachhaltig leben ist nicht schwer – oder doch?

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-01-20	Selbst nimmt der Kunde
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-05a	Patriotisch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-05b	Stammkunden halten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-06	Günstigere konventionelle Produkte
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-14	«Unser Lebensmittelmarkt ist kaputt»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-18	Werbung, kosher und mit Mass
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-24	Take-away-Essen fast ohne Abfall
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-02-28	Wenn der Staat stupst und schubst
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-03-31	Die fetten Jahre sind vorbei
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-04-02	Illusorische Gestaltungskraft der Politik
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-04-04	Die nicht so heile Welt des «fairen Handels»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-04-11	Genuss und Gelassenheit?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-04-18	Ein neuer Rohstoff auf dem Vormarsch
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Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-05-02	Die Welt braucht mehr Kalorien
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-06-04	Der Weg zur Vereinfachung führt zuweilen zu mehr Komplexität
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-06-19	«Wir tragen zu stabilen Bundesfinanzen bei»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-06-25	Die Macht der Kundschaft
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-06-25	Meckern erwünscht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-07-07	Bauernfamilien schaffen Werte
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-07-08a	Der ewig beratungsbedürftige Mensch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-07-08b	Es geht um die Wurst
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-07-14	Insekten als Speise unbeliebt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-08-11	Tüfteln an der Grenze des süssen Geschmacks
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-09-01a	Der horrende Preis der Regulierung
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-09-01b	Teure Hinweise für Allergiker
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-09-11	Einkaufen und Kochen war gestern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-09-23	Beschränkte Rationalität der Konsumenten

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-10-14	«Der Einfluss der Ernährung ist riesig»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-10-16	«Wir wollen eine gerechte Welt, aber die anderen sollen dafür zahlen»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-10-23	Kutteln vom Rind
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-11-06	«Die meisten haben ein verklärtes Bild der bäuerlichen Welt»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-11-18	Wie man Kunden zum Kauf führt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2015-11-27	Konsumentenschützer müssen sparen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-01-12	Jammern ist des Bauers Lust
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-02-26	Mars macht mobil
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-02-27	Tante Emma kommt digital zurück
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-03-12	Die Produktrückrufe häufen sich
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-03-24	Politik auf dem Teller
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-04-12	So lebte Ihr Poulet
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-04-20	Einkaufen ohne Umwege
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-04-25	Kann denn Speise Sünde sein?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-05-27	Die Zukunft des «guten Essens»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-07-09	Kunden als Kassierer
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-07-14	«Moral muss sich lohnen»
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Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-09-14	Konsumverzicht oder Techniksprünge?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-10-14	Die Todesboten im Kochtopf
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-11-01	Kleine Säckli-Gebühr mit grosser Wirkung
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-11-08	Die Macht der Konsumenten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-12-06	Bund soll Gelder für Fleischwerbung streichen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-12-14	Konsum als «emotionales Erlebnis»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2016-12-17	Apéro mit Mehlwürmern und Grillen
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Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-01-05b	Grenzenlose Freiheit der Generation Z

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-01-14	Schöne neue Shopping-Welt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-01-21	Gibt es perfekten Konsum?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-01-30	Dem Food-Waste auf der Spur
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-02-16	Gesund heisst vor allem: genug
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Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-03-31	Kämpfer für die Konsumenten – und den eigenen Vorteil
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-04-06	Die Aldi-Kinder kommen doch nicht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-04-21	Heuschrecke sur son lit de légumes
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-04-25	Wenn Lebensmittel zum Politikum werden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-04-28	Insekten-Snacks bald in aller Munde?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-05-12	Die Mehlwürmer lassen auf sich warten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-05-31	Das neue «Lädelisterben»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-06-06	Was für das Geschäft mit Insekten spricht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-07-10	Zerpickte Landschaft
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-07-24	«Bauern stehen nicht unter Heimatschutz»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-07-25	Schweizer Schleckmäuler mögen es teuer
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-07-31	Weltmeister im Verkauf von Bio-Eiern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-08-05	Belastete Eier auch in der Schweiz
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-08-07	Eier-Affäre zieht Kreise
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-08-14a	Bio – alles andere als logisch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-08-14b	«Gezielte Kontrollen gefordert»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-08-25a	Übeltäter Zucker
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-08-25b	Retuschen reichen nicht aus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-09-06a	Der süssen Versuchung widerstehen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-09-06b	Noch weniger Zucker in Joghurts
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-09-07	«So wenig wie möglich, so viel wie nötig»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-09-08	Mythos Selbstversorgung

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-09-09	Rückwärtsgewandt geht's nicht vorwärts
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-09-25	Glasklares Ja zum Artikel über Ernährungssicherheit
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-10-10	Die Freiheit, unvernünftig zu sein
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-10-11	Schubsen, aber wohin?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-10-13	Nudge ist Quatsch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-10-26	Schützenhilfe für Eltern im Kampf gegen den Zucker
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-10-28	Die Bürger tragen die Verantwortung
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-11-02	Was für ein Donnerwetter
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-11-10	Umweltprobleme in der Demokratie
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-11-21	Esskultur hat mit Lust, nicht mit Lastern zu tun
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-11-30	Der «Foie-Graben»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-12-07	Detailhandel verliert gut 9 Milliarden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-12-14	Der gute Patriotismus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2017-12-19	«Wir subventionieren unsere eigene Umweltzerstörung»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-01-10	Einkaufstourismus ist zur fixen Grösse geworden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-01-24	Entscheidend ist die Frischwaren-Logistik
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-02-20	Auf der Suche nach der neuen Zuckerformel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-02-20a	Zwischen «smartem Snack» und «geselligem Genuss»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-02-20b	Konsumenten dürfen Süsses bevorzugen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-02-23a	Essen mit Schikanen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-02-23b	Kulturkampf ums Essen wird härter
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-02-23c	Mein Magen gehört mir
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-03-20a	Sag, wie hältst du es mit Quälfleisch?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-03-20b	Der Laden hat noch nicht ausgedient
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-03-31	«Die Sitten verwildern, die Gerechtigkeit ist obdachlos»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-06-04	Der arbeitende Kunde
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-06-26	Ein Volk von Fleischessern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-07-18	Fleisch aus dem Bioreaktor
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-07-24	«Wir müssen zur Mutter Erde zurückkehren»



Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-03a	«Für Tiere würde ich ins Gefängnis gehen»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-03b	Konsumenten werden vorsichtiger
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-06	Leitplanken für ökologisches Wirtschaften
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-07	«Alles, was ich in der Stadt nicht ernte, ist verschwendetes Essen»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-10	Willkommen im Label-Dschungel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-14	Jenseits von Senf und Mayonnaise
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-15	Bürgerliches Nein zu Agrarinitiativen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-21a	Milchtrinker wollen die Kuh kennen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-08-21b	Ohne Digitalisierung keine Transparenz
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-09-06	Die Freiheit ist ein wundersames Tier
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-09-10	Briefe an die NZZ
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-09-20	Die Zuckersteuer ist besser als ihr Ruf
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-09-24	«Geiz ist geil»-Mentalität ist uns Lateinern fremd»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-10-27	Der Alpkäse kommt aus dem Automaten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-11-13	Kreativität im koscheren Mikrokosmos
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-11-15	Briefe an die NZZ
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2018-12-03	Eine Steuer zum Schutz der Gesundheit?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-01-09	«Consumers first» –wirklich?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-01-29	«Wir benötigen ein nationales Label»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-02-12	Ein «Labelsalat» ist hochwillkommen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-02-12a	Gesündere Konsumenten dank Ampelsystemen?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-02-12b	Richtig essen dank der Ampel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-02-26	Saftiger Ärger
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-03-09	Das 2000-Watt-Zürich fliegt zu viel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-03-16	Die Swissness soll verwässert werden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-03-19	Hast du deine Ovo heute schon gehabt?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-03-30	Kostenwahrheit – das «Grün» der Ökonomen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-04-03	Mit Chips aus altem Zopf gegen Food-Waste
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-04-05	Fleisch aus dem Labor statt vom Bauernhof

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-04-06	Markt oder Staat?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-04-09	Viel verdirbt lange vor dem Verzehr
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-05-21	Auf dem Teller statt im Abfall
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-06-06	Zuckerrausch muss ein Ende haben
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-06-14	Ein Huhn für alle Fälle
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-06-19	Der Reiz des Potenzials
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-06-27	Nestlé führt Lebensmittel-Ampel ein
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-06-28	Die Kreislaufwirtschaft läuft noch nicht rund
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-07-18	Grossteil der Bioprodukte ist in Plastik verpackt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-08-09	Der Kampf gegen Food-Waste ist für den Klimaschutz zentral
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-08-12	Milchbauern setzen auf neues Ökolabel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-08-17	Schwierige Entscheidungen vor dem Supermarktregal
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-08-21	Städter machen sich die Hände dreckig
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-08-28	Kampf gegen Zucker und Salz
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-08-29	Wirtschaft mit wichtiger Rolle beim Klimaschutz
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-09-06	Gewagte Theorien
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-10-01	Sollen die Detailhändler die Welt retten?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-10-17	Freihandel und Nachhaltigkeit passen zusammen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-11-12	Biolebensmittel bleiben vorerst Nischenprodukte
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-11-14	Das Poulet aus der Erbse
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-11-20	Kann Nachhaltigkeit unethisch werden?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-11-22	Die Klimawende wird in den Städten entschieden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-11-23	Bio-Knospen für gesunden Informationsstoff
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-12-11	Wie Algorithmen uns beim Einkaufen lenken
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2019-12-28	Die Jugend hat recht
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-01-04	Ein Schicksalsjahr für die Bauern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-01-07a	Die Händler sitzen am längeren Hebel
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-01-07b	Die Eigenmarken der Detaillisten ziehen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-01-18	«Für meine Studenten koche ich vegetarisch»

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-01-25	Powerfood für Grossunternehmen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-02-10	Hohe Renditen mit fleischlosem Fleisch?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-02-13	Unverkaufte Lebensmittel sollen an Bedürftige
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-02-18a	Angstmacherei als Geschäftsmodell
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-02-18b	Stupsen statt Zwingen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-03-27	Der Staat kommt meist, um zu bleiben
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-04-04	Wie Zürcher Bauern mit der Krise ringen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-05-04	Den Detailhandel plagen viele Sorgen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-05-06	Bauern wollen die Grossverteiler umgehen und die Kunden direkt erreichen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-05-12	Die Trägheit der Konsumenten ist gross
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-05-14	Gefüllte Lager sind effizienter als Autarkie
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-05-15	Corona-Krise infiziert Klimadebatte
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-06-22	«Versorgungssicherheit und Nachhaltigkeit sind nicht umsonst zu haben»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-07-09	«Wir haben den Einkaufstourismus ab Tag eins der Grenzöffnung wieder gespürt»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-07-10	Umwelt: Innovationen statt Subventionen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-07-23	Der Home-Office-Trend macht Valora zu schaffen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-07-25	Exoten in unsichtbarer Verpackung
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-07-31	Nestlé profitiert von den Essgewohnheiten im Home-Office
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-08-05	Für einmal ist staatliches Handeln angezeigt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-08-15	Das Essen soll auch in der Krise schmecken
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-09-05	Weniger Staat, mehr Gurkensalat
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-09-15	Agrarsubventionen schaden der Umwelt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-09-30	Wenn Bio günstiger wäre, stiege der Verkauf rasant
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-10-06	Erst kommt die Moral, dann das Essen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-10-23	Niemand muss Bioäpfel kaufen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-11-11	Mit vertikalen Gemüsefeldern in die Zukunft
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-12-19	Ein Saueli wird zum Schinkli
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-12-22	Das Rennen um den Pflanzen-Burger
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-12-24	Crevetten lassen sich auch am Rheinufer züchten

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-12-28	Wer gesund stirbt, ist genauso tot
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2020-12-31	Es wird mehr im Dorf eingekauft, nur nicht vor Weihnachten
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-01-15	Der angeblich bessere Kapitalismus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-01-20	Unser täglich entsorgtes Brot
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-01-22	Der Freihandel bringt Vorteile für die Umwelt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-01-27a	Heuschrecken schmecken erst wenigen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-01-27b	Der Konsum bricht ein wie im Frühling
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-02-02	Gesünder essen beginnt mit nützlichen Produktinformationen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-02-17	«Die Grenze zwischen bio und konventionell verschwimmt»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-02-18	Weshalb wir Dinge kaufen, die wir nicht brauchen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-02-25	Detailhändler experimentieren mit Einkaufsboxen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-03-01a	Verstaatlichungsschübe – wie man sie überwindet
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-03-01b	Wie wir zu Konsumenten wurden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-03-17	Verpasstes bleibt oft verpasst – auch beim Konsum
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-03-18	Künftige Abkommen werden es schwer haben
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-03-24	Das Schleudertrauma der bäuerlichen Schweiz
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-03-31	«Wir setzen vermehrt auf kleine Läden»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-04-06	Migros ist offen für grüne Gentechnik
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-04-14	«Schweizer Volksinitiativen sind ein gutes Frühwarnsystem für uns»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-04-28	Unternehmen, hört die Signale!
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-04	Grossverteiler warnen vor höheren Preisen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-08	«Umwelt und Klima dürfen nicht zum Hobby der grünen Eliten im Westen werden»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-18	Bereits jeder sechste Bürger ist fleischlos
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-19a	Schweizer zahlen viel für Bio-Produkte
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-19b	Bio-Lebensmittel könnten günstiger sein
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-19c	Bio-Produkte – für Schweizer ein Luxus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-20	Der Einkaufstourismus ist zurück
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-21a	Absatz von tierfreundlich produziertem Fleisch sinkt während der Pandemie
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-05-21b	Oatly trifft den Zeitgeist

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-06-02	Orientierungslos im Supermarkt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-06-11	Verbote verhindern den Wettbewerb
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-06-21	«Uns interessieren die Menschen hinter den Zutaten»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-07-10	Der Wert der Überzeugungsarbeit
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-08-02	Verhindern Verbote den Wettbewerb?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-08-05	Die nötige Zählung der Politiker
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-08-21	Agrarindustrie will strengere Regeln für Pestizide verwässern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-09-24	Die Politik verschläft die Gen-Revolution
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-01a	Regionalität wird überschätzt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-01b	Zuschriften
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-01c	«Regional» ist nicht immer ökologisch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-02	Die Förderung ist oft nur verkappter Protektionismus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-07a	Sogar der gute alte Rosenkohl feiert ein Comeback
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-07b	Wohlstand hilft dem Klima mehr als Moral
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-08	Nestlé macht jetzt vegane Shrimps
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-12	Wie die Lebensmittelampel berechnet wird, stösst den Milchbauern sauer auf
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-20a	Ernährung und Innovationsfähigkeit
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-10-20b	Schweizer Einkaufstouristen halten sich etwas zurück
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-11-06	Die Migros muss alte Zöpfe abschneiden
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-11-09	Verzichten kann man nur im Überfluss
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-11-15a	«Mit Urban Gardening tragen Sie nichts zum Wohlstand bei»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-11-15b	Das 1,5-Grad-Ziel ist tot – es lebe die Klimapolitik
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-12-10	Der Welthandel rettet uns
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-12-11	«Nachhaltigkeit war nicht nice to have, sondern eine Überlebensstrategie»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2021-12-22	Mehr Feinkost statt Massenware, bitte!
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-01-28	Kann uns der Staat vor Übergewicht retten?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-01-31	Schweizer Startup in Singapur will Südostasien für Fleischersatz begeistern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-02-02	Klima, Staat und die Privatwirtschaft
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-02-03	«Die Bauern sind Pragmatiker, keine Ideologen»

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-02-19	Die Schweiz – der ideale Staat
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-03-09	«Radikaler Meinungswechsel» in der Gentech-Politik
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-04-04	Europa vergeht die Lust auf illegale Erdbeeren aus Spanien
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-04-06	Hohe Margen für Bio- und Label-Agrarprodukte
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-05-03	Gespaltenes Verhältnis der Migros zur Demokratie
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-05-04	Tierhaltung zwischen Staat und Markt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-05-17	Schröpfen Migros und Coop die Konsumenten?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-05-23	Zu viel Lärm um die Migros
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-05-23	«Corona hat uns alle egoistischer gemacht»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-05-27	Globales Nachhaltigkeits-Mass tut not
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-06-01	Klima, Hunger, Inflation: In Krisenzeiten floriert der Paternalismus
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-06-14a	Essen wir bald Fleisch, für das keine Tiere mehr getötet werden?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-06-14b	«Noch ist zellbasiertes Fleisch viel zu teuer»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-06-24	Weniger Emissionen, weniger Food-Waste
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-07-15	Milchersatz ist eine heikle Wachstumsstory
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-07-16	Tierschützer nehmen die Foie gras ins Visier
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-07-21	Schweizer achten derzeit vermehrt auf die Preise
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-07-23	Das grosse Umräumen in den Regalen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-07-27	Schweizer Startups mischen die Landwirtschaft auf
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-08-08	«Es hungern keine Menschen in Afrika, weil wir Bioprodukte essen»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-08-10	Nur noch Rösti mit Gemüse und Brot?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-08-12	Spielen die Bauern das Zünglein an der Waage?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-08-15	«Die Schweizer müssten Schlange stehen, aber sie kommen nicht»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-08-16	Sollen alle Tiere in der Schweiz nach dem Bio-Standard leben?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-08-25	Das Poulet-Problem
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-09-24a	«Fleisch ist etwas Besonderes»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-09-24b	Mit Gurke gegen Covid-19
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-09-26a	Die Fleischfeinde züchten heilige Kühe
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-09-26b	Der Fleischpreis ist wichtiger als das Tierwohl

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-11-17	Dem Vegan-Hype folgt die Ernüchterung
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-11-22	Von Schuld und Steuern
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-11-29	Der Kampf um die Wurst geht in die nächste Runde
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-12-01	Das furzende Vieh im Visier
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-12-06	Fleischesser kosten mehr als Veganer
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-12-12	«Poulet» ist nicht unbedingt Hühnerfleisch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2022-12-21	Wozu der umstrittene Nutri-Score taugt
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-01-09	«Nachhaltigkeit» – die Worthülse
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-01-28	Der Preisüberwacher hält die Bio-Preise für zu hoch
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-01-31	Kein Fall für den Preisüberwacher
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-04-19	Falsche Nährwertangaben bei Lebensmitteln
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-05-13	So streut man den Bürgern Sand in die Augen
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-05-24	Lebensmittel sind Haupttreiber der Inflation
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-05-26	Kaffee kapseln sind besser als ihr Ruf
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-06-10	«Die Länge der Zutatenliste sagt nichts über die Qualität eines Lebensmittels aus»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-06-15	«Serbische Biohimbeeren sind ökologischer als konventionelle aus dem Thurgau»
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-06-23	Laborfleisch gehört auch auf europäische Teller
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-07-08	Die Kühe schlachten fürs Klima?
Neue Zürcher Zeitung	2023-07-26	Die verpackte Gurke ist gut für die Umwelt
Tagesanzeiger	2013-08-16	Bauern wollen Agrarreformen mit Volksinitiative stoppen
Tagesanzeiger	2013-08-28	Der Streit ums Kalbfleisch entzweit die Fleischbranche
Tagesanzeiger	2013-09-17	Kartoffeln, die wie Kartoffeln schmecken
Tagesanzeiger	2013-09-24	Erst die Moral, dann das Essen
Tagesanzeiger	2013-09-28	«Vegane Ernährung bietet das reinste Gewissen»
Tagesanzeiger	2013-11-09	Vegan wird zum Lifestyle
Tagesanzeiger	2013-12-09	Auch dieses Rind hat nur zwei Filetstücke
Tagesanzeiger	2013-12-14	Vom Acker in den Teller
Tagesanzeiger	2013-12-19	Vom Labor auf den Teller, Tagesanzeiger vom 17. 2.
Tagesanzeiger	2014-03-20	Bewachte Genpflanzen

Tagesanzeiger	2014-07-29a	Gift im Regal
Tagesanzeiger	2014-07-29b	Die Verpackung verdirbt das Essen
Tagesanzeiger	2014-08-07	Zum Wegschmeissen viel zu schade
Tagesanzeiger	2014-09-01	Tierschutz soll Importfleisch salonfähig machen
Tagesanzeiger	2014-09-11	Mehr Vegimenüs, weniger Fleisch
Tagesanzeiger	2014-09-18	Coca-Cola bleibt in der Schweiz teurer
Tagesanzeiger	2014-09-27	Hirnwindungen von der Stange
Tagesanzeiger	2014-10-20	Big Brother isst mit
Tagesanzeiger	2014-11-05	Leckere Insektensnacks
Tagesanzeiger	2014-11-06	«Deutlich höhere Einkommen für Kleinbauernfamilien»
Tagesanzeiger	2014-11-15	Märkte nur bis Mittag geöffnet
Tagesanzeiger	2014-12-22	Der Supermarkt am Bodensee
Tagesanzeiger	2015-01-08	Sushi ist das neue Sandwich
Tagesanzeiger	2015-01-17	Lange Schlangen, leere Regale und lauter Schweizer Autonummern
Tagesanzeiger	2015-02-21	«Nicht die Produzenten, sondern die Grossverteiler sahen ab»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-03-04	Der Rüebliretter
Tagesanzeiger	2015-04-27	«Zürich isst» – über den eigenen Tellerrand schauen
Tagesanzeiger	2015-05-07	Die Propaganda der Abschotter
Tagesanzeiger	2015-05-27	«Die hohen Preise für Fleisch kommen nicht dem Tier zugute»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-05-28	Schweizer Salat vom deutschen Acker
Tagesanzeiger	2015-06-09	«Wir sind doch keine Moralmaschinen»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-06-18a	Millionen Tiere könnten dem frühen Tod entgehen
Tagesanzeiger	2015-06-18b	Die Initiative «Grüne Wirtschaft» stösst auf grossen Widerstand
Tagesanzeiger	2015-07-01	Kleine Biobauern geben Grosskonzern Emmi den Laufpass
Tagesanzeiger	2015-07-09	Der Appetit auf Schokolade lässt nach
Tagesanzeiger	2015-07-10	«Ein wenig Fleisch essen ist sinnvoll»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-07-18	Ein Stück Grillkäse bedroht 100 Arbeitsplätze
Tagesanzeiger	2015-07-21	Was Coop testet, macht die Migros schon seit langem
Tagesanzeiger	2015-07-24	«Es stinkt nur, wenn Tiere nicht artgerecht gehalten werden»



Tagesanzeiger	2015-08-05	Und nun zum blutigen Teil
Tagesanzeiger	2015-08-12	Händler von Pferdefleisch kämpfen um ihr schwindendes Geschäft
Tagesanzeiger	2015-08-19	Fertig mit fettig
Tagesanzeiger	2015-09-01	Bessere Nahrung für Mensch und Tier dank neuem Forschungszentrum
Tagesanzeiger	2015-09-09	«Agro- und Tierfabriken plündern weltweit die Ressourcen»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-09-18	Grüner Genuss, gleich kistenweise
Tagesanzeiger	2015-10-03	«Ein kurzer Aufschrei hilft den Tieren nicht»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-10-26	Halbe Kartoffelernte geht verloren
Tagesanzeiger	2015-11-11	«Für den geschmacklichen Mehrwert lohnt sich der Aufwand allemal»
Tagesanzeiger	2015-11-12	Ein mageres Versprechen
Tagesanzeiger	2015-11-19	Die süsse Versuchung
Tagesanzeiger	2015-11-20	Wettlauf um gesunde Schoko-Pillen
Tagesanzeiger	2015-11-24	Ein Hochhaus als Gemüsegarten
Tagesanzeiger	2015-12-19	Dieser Fisch ist Wurst
Tagesanzeiger	2016-01-20	Am Sonntag liefert das Taxi die Einkäufe
Tagesanzeiger	2016-02-03a	Bittere Schokolade
Tagesanzeiger	2016-02-03b	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2016-02-13	Bundesrat will importierte Esswaren unter die Lupe nehmen
Tagesanzeiger	2016-02-20	«Die Marke gehört den Bauern»
Tagesanzeiger	2016-03-01	Kantonsrat wartet bei Gentech ab
Tagesanzeiger	2016-04-07	Einkaufen, als wäre man in Indien
Tagesanzeiger	2016-04-11	Wo Weltverbesserer und Businessfrauen gärtnern
Tagesanzeiger	2016-04-18	Wie der Lebensmittelverschwendung zu Leibe gerückt werden kann
Tagesanzeiger	2016-04-19	Zürcher bauen Europas grösste Urban Farm
Tagesanzeiger	2016-05-07	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2016-05-09	Gut fürs Gewissen, gut fürs Geschäft
Tagesanzeiger	2016-05-18	Gentech ohne Freisetzungsversuche
Tagesanzeiger	2016-07-01	Nachrichten
Tagesanzeiger	2016-07-05	Das Kreuz der Schweizer Schoggi-Fabrikanten

Tagesanzeiger	2016-07-14	Heimat verkauft sich gut
Tagesanzeiger	2016-07-18	Wenn das Essen zur Religion wird
Tagesanzeiger	2016-07-23	Den Ekel überwinden
Tagesanzeiger	2016-09-01	Die Technikgläubigkeit der Grünen
Tagesanzeiger	2016-09-15	Zürich fehlt das kulinarische Profil
Tagesanzeiger	2016-11-09	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2016-11-24	Fleischessen ist das neue Rauchen
Tagesanzeiger	2016-11-28	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2016-12-02	Die Schweizer bleiben dem Poulet treu
Tagesanzeiger	2016-12-17	Politik als Feind der Wissenschaft
Tagesanzeiger	2016-12-19	Der Kampf um die Einkaufstouristen
Tagesanzeiger	2016-12-24	Gentechpflanzen brächten der Schweiz Nachteile
Tagesanzeiger	2017-01-17	Zum Zurückbringen
Tagesanzeiger	2017-01-24	Ernteauffälle verknappen Nüsslisalat und Broccoli
Tagesanzeiger	2017-06-15	Mit den Füßen die Preise senken
Tagesanzeiger	2017-06-30	«Komposttee» statt Fungizide
Tagesanzeiger	2017-07-08	Bequemer? Bitte gern!
Tagesanzeiger	2017-07-10	Intelligentes Einkaufserlebnis
Tagesanzeiger	2017-08-11	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2017-08-24	Und auf einmal essen alle Insekten
Tagesanzeiger	2017-09-25	Der ungeliebte Pionier
Tagesanzeiger	2017-11-10	Zwerchfell statt Rindsfilet
Tagesanzeiger	2017-11-13	Weg vom Chemie-Hammer
Tagesanzeiger	2017-11-23	Gegen das dumpfe Fressen
Tagesanzeiger	2017-11-28	Kuh- oder Menschenfamilie? Tierschützer nehmen Werber beim Wort
Tagesanzeiger	2017-12-05	Shoppen in der Zukunft
Tagesanzeiger	2017-12-12	Milchlobby bekämpft «Cheeze»
Tagesanzeiger	2017-12-15	Delikatesse mit Beigeschmack
Tagesanzeiger	2017-12-22	Das Revival der Tante-Emma-Läden

Tagesanzeiger	2018-01-03	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2018-02-02	Wider den Boykott
Tagesanzeiger	2018-02-15	Weniger Abfall von Take-aways
Tagesanzeiger	2018-03-14a	Bundesratsvideo löst Alarmstimmung aus
Tagesanzeiger	2018-03-14b	Das Dilemma des Gartens Eden
Tagesanzeiger	2018-03-19	«Bioprodukte haben nicht immer die bessere Ökobilanz»
Tagesanzeiger	2018-04-07	Coop wirft weitere Nestlé-Produkte aus dem Regal
Tagesanzeiger	2018-05-11	Nachrichten
Tagesanzeiger	2018-05-19	Einkaufstourismus geht erstmals zurück
Tagesanzeiger	2018-05-30	Leserforum
Tagesanzeiger	2018-06-26	Jetzt gibts ganze Würmer und Grillen zum Knabbern
Tagesanzeiger	2018-07-04	Mogelpackung Trockenfleisch
Tagesanzeiger	2018-07-12	Aussen orange, innen grau
Tagesanzeiger	2018-07-30	Auf eigene Milchbüechli-Rechnung
Tagesanzeiger	2018-09-03a	Iss das!
Tagesanzeiger	2018-09-03b	Er beobachtet Roboter und Schnäppchenjäger
Tagesanzeiger	2018-09-20	Aufessen – aber alle!
Tagesanzeiger	2018-10-29	Es ist nie genug
Tagesanzeiger	2019-02-06	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2019-02-09	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2019-02-25	Die perfekte Banane
Tagesanzeiger	2019-04-20	Schweizer Eier sind Verkaufsschlager
Tagesanzeiger	2019-05-09	Abgelaufen
Tagesanzeiger	2019-05-22	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2019-06-13	Das rote E wirkt abschreckend
Tagesanzeiger	2019-06-27	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2019-07-05	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2019-07-19	SP, Grüne und EVP wollen Plastikgeschirr und Röhrlü verbieten
Tagesanzeiger	2019-08-28	Grundwasser an 48 Stellen belastet

Tagesanzeiger	2019-08-28	Beim Wasser verstehen die Bürger keinen Spass
Tagesanzeiger	2019-09-04	Gemeinden legen Quellen still wegen Pestizid im Grundwasser
Tagesanzeiger	2019-09-13	Auch Hahnenwasser ist belastet
Tagesanzeiger	2019-09-20	Hipster-Getränk von Rivella kommt in Altersheimen gut an
Tagesanzeiger	2019-10-09	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2019-12-23	Zucker, Zucker, überall Zucker!
Tagesanzeiger	2020-01-03	«Stellen Sie sich einen Bauernhof von Schaffhausen bis Genf vor»
Tagesanzeiger	2020-01-11	Durch Deklarationspflicht soll Tierquälerei transparenter werden
Tagesanzeiger	2020-01-13	Wer soll das essen?
Tagesanzeiger	2020-01-14	«Eine Klimasteuer muss auch das Fleisch verteuern»
Tagesanzeiger	2020-01-18	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2020-02-24	Wenn die Seezunge nur Pangasius ist
Tagesanzeiger	2020-02-27	Weniger Geld für «vergoldete» Höfe
Tagesanzeiger	2020-03-06	Warum Biofleisch so viel teurer ist
Tagesanzeiger	2020-04-25	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2020-05-13	Plötzlich gilt das Wasser als verschmutzt
Tagesanzeiger	2020-05-16	Gemüseabos: Radikal saisonal und gefragt wie nie
Tagesanzeiger	2020-06-03	Drastische Bilder aus Schweizer Ställen
Tagesanzeiger	2020-06-10	Wie die Krise den Bauern hilft
Tagesanzeiger	2020-07-17a	Bauern sprühen Antibiotika auf Gemüse, Früchte und Reis
Tagesanzeiger	2020-07-17b	Die Fleischlobby hat Angst
Tagesanzeiger	2020-11-12	Wie isst man richtig?
Tagesanzeiger	2020-12-09	Sie buckeln das Essen ins Homeoffice
Tagesanzeiger	2020-12-30	Was vom Corona-Jahr 2020 bleibt
Tagesanzeiger	2021-01-29	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2021-02-17	Auf Palmöl verzichten ist schwierig
Tagesanzeiger	2021-03-30	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2021-04-08	Gegen Zuckerbomben und Fettfallen
Tagesanzeiger	2021-04-28	Konfusion im Bioland

Tagesanzeiger	2021-05-10	Was wollen die Bauern?
Tagesanzeiger	2021-05-12	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2021-05-19	Die Widersprüche des Bauernkonzerns
Tagesanzeiger	2021-05-20	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2021-07-12	Beim Plastik-Güsel sieht Zürich alt aus
Tagesanzeiger	2021-07-24	Duttis Erbe wankt
Tagesanzeiger	2021-08-31	Dr. Franksteins Schatten
Tagesanzeiger	2021-09-13	Sie lässt das Huhn einfach weg
Tagesanzeiger	2021-09-16a	Soll man Werbung für Fleischaktionen verbieten?
Tagesanzeiger	2021-09-16b	Migros und Coop kooperieren für das Fleisch der Zukunft
Tagesanzeiger	2021-09-22	Zürcher essen kaum Bioäpfel
Tagesanzeiger	2021-09-28	Um ihr Brot reisst sich die halbe Stadt
Tagesanzeiger	2021-10-02	Um Mitternacht schnell auf den Markt
Tagesanzeiger	2021-10-18	«Hier tut sich etwas Gewaltiges»
Tagesanzeiger	2021-12-29	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2022-02-25	Alle kennen sie, kaum einer befolgt sie
Tagesanzeiger	2022-03-19	Wegen eines Fehlers: Migros-Tochter verteilte kostenlos Kaffeemaschinen
Tagesanzeiger	2022-04-13	«Es wird weniger Tiere geben auf Zürichs Bauernhöfen»
Tagesanzeiger	2022-04-29	Migros-Denkfabrik fordert fleischlose Schweiz
Tagesanzeiger	2022-05-14	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2022-05-31	Der Nahrungsmittelmulti will helfen
Tagesanzeiger	2022-06-20	Öko-Experten kritisieren Tilsiter-Werbekampagne
Tagesanzeiger	2022-08-24	Ihre Initiative bedroht seine Existenz
Tagesanzeiger	2022-09-09	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2022-09-22	Leserbriefe
Tagesanzeiger	2022-09-26	Sauce aus Tomaten, die niemand mehr will
Tagesanzeiger	2022-11-01	«Die Politik benachteiligt pflanzliche Proteine»
Tagesanzeiger	2022-11-08	«Ohne Gentechnik verlieren wir Zeit»
Tagesanzeiger	2022-12-08	«Güggeli» geht – Vegan-Start-up muss sich keine Täuschung vorwerfen lassen

Tagesanzeiger	2022-12-12	Gentechforscher verdienen, Bäuerinnen verarmen
Tagesanzeiger	2022-12-20	Start-up stellt ersten Shrimp-Automaten der Schweiz auf
Tagesanzeiger	2022-12-24	Wie wäre es dieses Jahr mit einem veganen Braten?
Tagesanzeiger	2023-01-04	Schweizer Reformhaus schliesst 37 Filialen
Tagesanzeiger	2023-01-20	«Die Jungen wollen nicht zu einem Konzern, der die Welt kaputtmacht»
Tagesanzeiger	2023-03-15	Ein Theater ums Fleisch
Tagesanzeiger	2023-03-23	Es gibt derzeit keine echten Freiland Eier
Tagesanzeiger	2023-06-13	Fleisch essen soll Luxus werden, fordert Franziska Herren
Tagesanzeiger	2023-07-03	Was bedeutet «klimaneutral» wirklich?
Tagesanzeiger	2023-07-06	Schon bald könnte Gentechweizen unbemerkt auf unseren Tellern landen
20 minuten	2013-08-07a	«Laborfleisch ist Gewöhnungssache»
20 minuten	2013-08-07b	Migros Basel setzt auf Urban-Farming-Produkte
20 minuten	2013-08-12	Detailhandel kämpft um leere Plastikbehälter
20 minuten	2013-08-22	Auch Pendler verpflegen sich heute gesünder
20 minuten	2013-09-06	Zwetschgen: Wenig, aber gut
20 minuten	2013-09-09	Migros plant Bio-Grossoffensive
20 minuten	2013-10-09	Schweizer Detailhändler verkaufen Ekel-Poulet
20 minuten	2013-10-11	Konsumenten verirren sich im Label-Dschungel
20 minuten	2013-11-06	Detailhändler suchen Plastiksack-Ersatz
20 minuten	2013-11-15	Adventsabzocke: Schoggi in Kalendern viel teurer
20 minuten	2013-11-18	Tiefere Preise – bremst Politik?
20 minuten	2013-11-20	Mit Hightech-Gutscheinen gezielt auf Kundenfang
20 minuten	2013-12-04	«In Containern ist genug Essen für alle»
20 minuten	2014-01-21	Neues Szenebier frisch in Basel gebraut und gezapft
20 minuten	2014-02-17	Schweizer konsumieren weniger Energydrinks
20 minuten	2014-02-24	Margarine nur für Ungesunde
20 minuten	2014-02-26	App warnt vor riskanten Chemikalien in Kosmetik
20 minuten	2014-03-07	Bleibt die Schweiz jetzt eine Hochpreisinsel?
20 minuten	2014-03-17	App zeigt, auf welche Labels Verlass ist

20 minuten	2014-04-03	Bauern zünden Initiativ-Turbo
20 minuten	2014-04-07	Protest gegen Eierindustrie
20 minuten	2014-04-10	Tragen wir bald Kleider aus Bananenfasern?
20 minuten	2014-04-15	«Esst weniger Käse»: Arzt warnt vor Nationalprodukt
20 minuten	2014-05-07	Bigger Mac: Kritik an neuem Riesen-Burger
20 minuten	2014-05-14	«Im Tante-Emma-Laden ging das früher auch»
20 minuten	2014-05-21	Nervengift in den meisten Schweizer Tomaten
20 minuten	2014-06-02	Der Prosumer kennt die wahren Markentrends
20 minuten	2014-06-20	Die Verpackung machts: Die Tricks bei der Milch
20 minuten	2014-06-24	Detailhandel verschmäht Äpler-Logo des Bundes
20 minuten	2014-07-01	Kaum jemand will kontaktlos bezahlen
20 minuten	2014-07-02	Süsstoff macht Dicke dicker
20 minuten	2014-07-07	Nestlé tüftelt an einem Replikator wie in «Star Trek»
20 minuten	2014-07-31	Auslandshopping wird einfacher
20 minuten	2014-08-15	Putins Importstopp: Bauern verschenken ihre Waren
20 minuten	2014-08-20	«Essen wird zum Statussymbol»
20 minuten	2014-08-21	«Kurzzeitige Trends interessieren uns nicht»
20 minuten	2014-08-22	Coca-Cola lockt neue Kunden mit Miniflaschen
20 minuten	2014-08-29	Schweizer sind zu schlau für Functional Food
20 minuten	2014-09-18a	Konsumentenschutz prüft Initiative für tiefere Preise
20 minuten	2014-09-18b	Nationalrat zementiert Hochpreisinsel Schweiz
20 minuten	2014-10-06	Pepsi: Stevia statt Zucker
20 minuten	2014-10-13	Preisvergleiche sind den Schweizern zu anstrengend
20 minuten	2014-10-16	Zwei von drei Kartoffeln landen im Abfall
20 minuten	2014-10-21	Nach Halal-Fleisch-Bschiss sind Muslime verunsichert
20 minuten	2014-10-24	Im Detailhandel herrscht ein Poulet-Notstand
20 minuten	2014-11-07	20 Sekunden
20 minuten	2014-11-12a	Greenpeace gegen Gen-Kartoffeln
20 minuten	2014-11-12b	Greenpeace warnt vor dem Versuch mit Gen-Kartoffeln

20 minuten	2014-12-05	Diese Lebensmittel werden in der Schweiz bald teurer
20 minuten	2014-12-09	Das Bargeld verschwindet: So wird in Zukunft bezahlt
20 minuten	2014-12-23	Pioniere bringen heimische Shrimps auf unsere Teller
20 minuten	2015-01-05	Grünkohl: Supergesund, aber kaum erhältlich
20 minuten	2015-01-29	Daten gegen Rabatte: «Nur eine Frage der Zeit»
20 minuten	2015-02-02	Bauern: Schweizer geben für Lebensmittel wenig aus
20 minuten	2015-03-18	Euro-Rabatte verführen Schweizer Konsumenten
20 minuten	2015-03-19	Für Politiker reicht Pelzverbot nicht aus
20 minuten	2015-04-01	«Einkaufstourismus kann ich gut nachvollziehen»
20 minuten	2015-04-30	Trotz Vegi-Trend essen wir mehr Fleisch
20 minuten	2015-05-22	In der Schweiz züchtet man essbare Insekten
20 minuten	2015-05-29	Online-Shopping: Migros setzt auf Abholstellen
20 minuten	2015-07-06	20 Sekunden
20 minuten	2015-07-09a	Spargründe: Keine Food-Waste-Kampagne
20 minuten	2015-07-09b	Kassen mit Self-Scanning sind bei Kunden beliebt
20 minuten	2015-07-21	Papa-Türk-Limo erobert Schweizer Detailhandel
20 minuten	2015-08-05	Bund will weniger Zucker in Joghurt und Müesli
20 minuten	2015-08-21	Konsumentenschutz lanciert Beschwerde-Portal
20 minuten	2015-08-31	Lebensmittelrecht lässt Preise steigen
20 minuten	2015-09-03	Clever-Markt zeigt, wie nachhaltig man einkauft
20 minuten	2015-09-03	«Wir müssen wohl bald Kartoffeln importieren»
20 minuten	2015-09-04	Schweizer sollen mehr Schweinefleisch essen
20 minuten	2015-09-10	Coca-Cola und Co machen gegen Zuckergesetz mobil
20 minuten	2015-09-11	E-Food revolutioniert den Lebensmittelmarkt
20 minuten	2015-09-17	Fischbestände halbiert: Auch Konsumenten sind gefordert
20 minuten	2015-09-22	Redlove-Äpfel für die Schweiz
20 minuten	2015-09-23	Konsumentenschutz soll kein Geld mehr erhalten
20 minuten	2015-10-07	Romands sind Bio-Muffel – Zürcher sind Bio-Fans
20 minuten	2015-10-08	Firmen lassen Kunden gratis für sich arbeiten



20 minuten	2015-10-23	Die halbe Kartoffelernte endet als Foodwaste
20 minuten	2015-11-05	Bio predigen, aber Billig-Fleisch kaufen
20 minuten	2015-11-13	Fleischskandal schockiert Metzger
20 minuten	2015-12-09	Tierschützer fordern Pranger für Grusel-Bauern
20 minuten	2015-12-16	Ladenschluss-Chaos an speziellen Verkaufstagen
20 minuten	2015-12-18	Gequälter Fisch verdirbt rascher
20 minuten	2016-01-15	Bilder beeinflussen Wahl des Snacks
20 minuten	2016-02-22	«Glückliche Schweizer Hühner sind ein Märchen»
20 minuten	2016-02-23	Online-Shopping verstopft die Schweizer Strassen
20 minuten	2016-03-03	Peta: Auch Wolle ist grausame Tierquälerei
20 minuten	2016-03-29	Discounter Lidl lockt Kunden mit Bauernspezialitäten
20 minuten	2016-03-31	Diesen Marken vertrauen die Schweizer Konsumenten
20 minuten	2016-04-14	Metzger gegen staatliche Bevormundung
20 minuten	2016-05-18	Lernende bedanken sich auf Plakat
20 minuten	2016-06-02	Baselbieter Bauern setzen jetzt auf Online-Verkauf
20 minuten	2016-06-15	Tricks sollen Konsumenten zu Ökos erziehen
20 minuten	2016-07-12	«Fleisch doppelt so teuer zu verkaufen, ist vorstellbar»
20 minuten	2016-07-14	Kaum die Hälfte geht an Bauern
20 minuten	2016-07-19	«Zu viel Salz – wir verkaufen der Bevölkerung heute Gift»
20 minuten	2016-09-07	Coop eröffnet Filiale gleich neben Aldi
20 minuten	2016-09-14	Mehrheit will Ampelsystem für Kalorienbomben
20 minuten	2016-09-16	Grüne Wirtschaft: Wer hat die besseren Argumente?
20 minuten	2016-09-20	Faire Preise sollen in der Verfassung verankert werden
20 minuten	2016-09-23	Werden die Schweizer jetzt auf Raschelsäckli verzichten?
20 minuten	2016-10-12	Initiative fordert ein Verbot von Massen-Tierhaltung
20 minuten	2016-10-25	Warum Kunden personalisierte Preise als unfair empfinden
20 minuten	2016-12-20	Schweizer fürchten sich vor Bschiß an der Kasse
20 minuten	2017-01-04	Im Fast-Food-Markt tobt ein Verdrängungskampf
20 minuten	2017-01-05a	Schweizer kauften für 10 Milliarden im Ausland ein

20 minuten	2017-01-05b	Schweizer shoppen für 10 Mrd fremd
20 minuten	2017-01-17	Ohne Gentechnik: Schweizer Bauern fordern neues Label
20 minuten	2017-02-24	Snack gefällig? Genehmigen Sie sich eine Heuschrecke!
20 minuten	2017-03-10	Schweizer Zuckerwerbung – Millionen für die Katz?
20 minuten	2017-03-13	Bald warnt eine rote Ampel vor Kalorienbomben
20 minuten	2017-03-14	«Wäre Filet noch teurer, würden die Konsumenten umdenken»
20 minuten	2017-03-20	App soll Weg des Steaks vom Stall bis auf den Teller zeigen
20 minuten	2017-03-22	Kunden zahlen mehr für Regio-Produkte
20 minuten	2017-03-29	Migros bringt Bewertung von Produkten in die Läden
20 minuten	2017-03-31	Bei diesen Lebensmitteln nützt auch Waschen nichts
20 minuten	2017-04-12	DNA-Nachweis bald für jedes Schweizer Steak vom Rind
20 minuten	2017-04-26	6 Fragen zum Verzehr von Insekten
20 minuten	2017-05-03	Lachs ist der beliebteste Fisch
20 minuten	2017-05-12	Konsumenten getäuscht
20 minuten	2017-05-19	Überleben Schweizer Bauern ohne hohe Importzölle?
20 minuten	2017-05-23	Rivella ruft Flaschen wegen Scherben zurück
20 minuten	2017-05-26	Bananen landeten im Coop Bümpliz im Müll
20 minuten	2017-06-08	Gurke oder Aronia: Eptinger überrascht mit neuen Aromen
20 minuten	2017-06-12	Berner lancieren Honig direkt vom Wunsch-Imker
20 minuten	2017-06-15	Rindfleisch ist heiss begehrt – Importe müssen es richten
20 minuten	2017-06-26	Dauerrabatte setzen dem Schweizer Detailhandel zu
20 minuten	2017-07-07	Gemüsechips: Ungesundes Fett
20 minuten	2017-07-13	Mehr Schweizer wollen per Handy bezahlen
20 minuten	2017-07-26	So tief müssen Schweizer für Bio-Produkte in die Tasche greifen
20 minuten	2017-07-27	«Faire Milch» bei Aldi: PR-Gag oder Segen für Bauern?
20 minuten	2017-08-22	«Dann kaufen wir noch häufiger im Ausland ein»
20 minuten	2017-09-06a	Der Zmorge wird bald weniger süss
20 minuten	2017-09-06b	«Es ist Zeit, dass Berset eine Zuckersteuer prüft»
20 minuten	2017-09-18	Die Industrie verschleiern Palmöl in Waschmitteln

20 minuten	2017-09-19	«Notstand» – die Bauern fürchten um ihren Rosenkohl
20 minuten	2017-10-24	Das Ladensterben geht weiter – trotz mehr Umsatz
20 minuten	2017-10-27	Deutschland: Keine Infos zu Gift-Eiern
20 minuten	2017-10-30	Beim Milchmarketing verpuffen 10 Mio Franken
20 minuten	2017-10-31	«Mein Portemonnaie nehme ich gar nicht mehr mit»
20 minuten	2017-11-16	Konsumenten fahren auf Self-Scanning ab
20 minuten	2017-11-17	In diesen Momenten nervt Self-Scanning
20 minuten	2017-11-30	Verbot hätte in Westschweiz «einen Aufstand ausgelöst»
20 minuten	2017-12-06	Nun kommt das Label für faire Milch in die Schweiz
20 minuten	2017-12-07	Das sind die grössten Ärgernisse der Konsumenten
20 minuten	2017-12-18	Korrigendum
20 minuten	2017-12-21	Fast jeder Weihnachtsbaum ist mit Pestiziden belastet
20 minuten	2018-01-18	Migros macht Einbussen mit Onlinehandel wett
20 minuten	2018-01-25	Fleisch falsch deklariert: Metzger verurteilt
20 minuten	2018-02-02	«Das ist Tierquälerei»: Anzeigen gegen Pouletmäster
20 minuten	2018-02-09	Bauern streiten über Labels für faire Milchpreise
20 minuten	2018-02-13	Jagen Sie jedem Schnäppli nach oder pfeifen Sie darauf?
20 minuten	2018-02-15	Aldi und Lidl holen auf
20 minuten	2018-02-19	Nährwerte: Was taugt die Ampel der Food-Industrie?
20 minuten	2018-02-20	«Der Nestlé-Boycott ist vor allem ein guter PR-Coup»
20 minuten	2018-02-23	«Ohne Pestizide würden Preise um 20 bis 30 Prozent steigen»
20 minuten	2018-03-01	Nutella und Vitalis-Müesli sparen an den Zutaten
20 minuten	2018-03-27	Schweizer zahlen versteckte Gebühren für das Salz
20 minuten	2018-03-29	Nestlé lanciert neue Zuckerform
20 minuten	2018-04-17a	Erdbeeren: Hohe Pestizidwerte
20 minuten	2018-04-17b	Shoppern im Ausland lohnt sich weniger
20 minuten	2018-05-03	Boycott beendet: Die vier Akte des Coop-Nestlé-Deals
20 minuten	2018-05-24	«Als Bauer werde ich als Giftmischer abgestempelt»
20 minuten	2018-05-30	Welcher Becher ist aus Bioplastik?

20 minuten	2018-06-01	Schweizer sind Bargeld-Fans und Kreditkarten-Muffel
20 minuten	2018-06-13a	In der Schweiz soll es nur noch Bio-Fleisch geben
20 minuten	2018-06-13b	Die Deutschen haben genug von der Swissness
20 minuten	2018-06-18	Höherer Milchpreis: Das ändert sich für Konsumenten und Kühe
20 minuten	2018-06-29	Internet, Roboter, Drohnen – die Zukunft des Shoppings
20 minuten	2018-07-05	«Die Leute glauben, dass man alles gratis haben kann»
20 minuten	2018-07-11	Das sind die nervigsten Obst-Shopper im Supermarkt
20 minuten	2018-07-12	«Bequemlichkeit verleitet zu Wegwerfverhalten»
20 minuten	2018-07-18	Essen Vegetarier schon bald Fleisch aus dem Labor?
20 minuten	2018-07-31	Die aktuelle Mega-Hitze schlägt auf die Preise
20 minuten	2018-08-03	Food-Trend: Schnörkli und Schwänzli werden knapp
20 minuten	2018-08-09	«Klimaschutz-Massnahmen müssen bequem sein»
20 minuten	2018-08-17	Fake-Supermarkt zeigt uns real, wie wir einkaufen
20 minuten	2018-08-23	«Der Bundesrat setzt unsere Gesundheit aufs Spiel»
20 minuten	2018-08-27	Coop verkauft neu «gfüchtig echtes» Vegan-Hackfleisch
20 minuten	2018-09-03	Migros warnt vor einem Preisanstieg um 20 Prozent
20 minuten	2018-09-12	«Ich kaufe nie ein – das ist der Job meiner Frau»
20 minuten	2018-09-13	Welche Art von Kartennutzer sind Sie?
20 minuten	2018-09-24a	Jetzt beginnt der Kampf gegen Massentierhaltung
20 minuten	2018-09-24b	Darum gehen treue Kunden bei Rabatten oft leer aus
20 minuten	2018-09-27	So kaufen Konsumenten ganz einfach nachhaltig ein
20 minuten	2018-09-28	Insekten als Luxusnahrung
20 minuten	2018-10-11	Verpackungen können uns wahnsinning machen
20 minuten	2018-10-18	Sind meine Billigkleider wirklich ein Problem?
20 minuten	2018-11-12	Heiligabend: Coop hat doch nicht länger offen
20 minuten	2018-11-15	Diese Zahl freut die Umwelt
20 minuten	2018-11-16	Diese neuen Produkte schmecken den Kunden
20 minuten	2018-12-07	Statt Kassen gibt es in Zukunft eine Shopping-App
20 minuten	2018-12-12	Macht der Plastik-Verzicht die Produkte teurer?

20 minuten	2018-12-19	Wäre ein EU-Beitritt das Ende der Hochpreisinsel?
20 minuten	2019-01-03	Konsumtrends: Künstliche Intelligenz und Virtual Reality
20 minuten	2019-01-10	Profitieren die Konsumenten vom Mars-Boycott von Coop?
20 minuten	2019-01-24	«Beim saftigen Steak denkt keiner ans Schlachten»
20 minuten	2019-02-18	Aktivisten retten 3 Tonnen Süsskartoffeln vor dem Müll
20 minuten	2019-02-21	So will die Migros in Zukunft Palmöl zurückverfolgen
20 minuten	2019-02-28	Boycottiert die Migros bald auch noch Coca-Cola?
20 minuten	2019-04-02a	Ernährung ist die neue Religion
20 minuten	2019-04-02b	Schweizer Schnäppchenjäger gehen weniger ins Ausland
20 minuten	2019-04-23	Food-Rückrufe im Detailhandel häufen sich
20 minuten	2019-04-30	Rüebli über 24 Zentimetern landen im Abfall
20 minuten	2019-05-15	Fälscher fluten den Markt mit künstlichem Zitronensaft
20 minuten	2019-05-22	Onlineshop und Laden liefern sich ein Duell
20 minuten	2019-06-03	Sticht Coca-Cola mit seinem Energydrink Red Bull aus?
20 minuten	2019-06-28a	Eier Meier ermöglicht die Aufzucht von männlichen Legetieren
20 minuten	2019-06-28b	Ein Stück Heimat in der Salatsauce
20 minuten	2019-07-03	Milch-Blockchain von Nestlé
20 minuten	2019-07-11	Künftig zeigt ein Label, ob die Kuh Hörner hat
20 minuten	2019-08-14	Jetzt wird die Schweizer Milch grün – und teurer
20 minuten	2019-08-19	«Für die Bäcker ist fades Brot nicht verhandelbar»
20 minuten	2019-08-28a	Werden bald auch Softdrinks weniger süss?
20 minuten	2019-08-28b	Aldi führt Nutri-Score ein
20 minuten	2019-09-02	«Konsumenten wollen kein Gentech serviert bekommen»
20 minuten	2019-09-05	Detailhändler wollen, dass Kunden auf Pump einkaufen
20 minuten	2019-10-01	So verändert Technologie, wie und was wir essen
20 minuten	2019-10-14	«Weniger zu kaufen, hat die direkteste Wirkung aufs Klima»
20 minuten	2019-10-23a	Schweizer Onlineshops locken mit Gratisversand
20 minuten	2019-10-23b	Lidl lanciert Label für weniger Plastik
20 minuten	2019-11-19	Diese Coop-Waage zeigte den Kunden falsches Gewicht an

20 minuten	2019-11-22	Plastik im Tee: Viele Wasserkocher fallen im Test durch
20 minuten	2019-11-25	Über Eats verdreifacht Zahl der Partner
20 minuten	2019-11-29	Heute ist Black Friday – diese Fakten musst du kennen
20 minuten	2019-12-02	Manche Verkäufer arbeiten an Heiligabend bis 23 Uhr
20 minuten	2019-12-03	Auf Laktose verzichten – nicht aber auf Genuss
20 minuten	2019-12-13	Führt eine Gebühr zu weniger Retouren?
20 minuten	2019-12-17a	«Aufwand und Kosten sind nicht vertretbar»
20 minuten	2019-12-17b	Luxuswasser: Atlantik-Eis landet in Schweizer Läden
20 minuten	2019-12-20	«Weihnachten ohne Schokolade wäre tragisch»
20 minuten	2020-01-08	Darum kommen die hiesigen Detailhändler nicht vom Fleck
20 minuten	2020-01-09	Bauern erhalten dreimal mehr Geld als Schulkinder
20 minuten	2020-01-17	Das bedeutet der Brexit für Schweizer Konsumenten
20 minuten	2020-01-20	So viel mehr zahlen Sie für Biolebensmittel
20 minuten	2020-02-04	Importierte Schoggi sorgt für Unmut bei den Lesern
20 minuten	2020-02-10	Pestizide im Wasser: Kritiker werfen Behörden Versagen vor
20 minuten	2020-02-12	Zu grosse Packung gekauft: Fleisch landet oft im Abfall
20 minuten	2020-02-14	Bauern werden wegen Pestiziden und Tierhaltung beschimpft
20 minuten	2020-02-26	So viel mehr zahlen Kunden wegen Schweiz-Zuschlag
20 minuten	2020-03-17	Jetzt ist Schluss mit Einkaufstourismus
20 minuten	2020-04-08	Hamsterli.ch soll helfen, dass Läden überleben
20 minuten	2020-05-07	Schweizer geben 377 Fr. für Bio-Lebensmittel aus
20 minuten	2020-05-12	«Ein Ventil in der Corona-Depression» – Ansturm auf Luxusläden
20 minuten	2020-05-13a	Wasserversorger bangen um Qualität des «Hahnenburger»
20 minuten	2020-05-13b	Jetzt kommen die Corona-Rabatte
20 minuten	2020-05-19	Das kaufen die Leute nach dem Lockdown am meisten
20 minuten	2020-05-27	Pestizid-Grenzwert um das 22-Fache überschritten
20 minuten	2020-06-05	Diesen Marken vertrauen Schweizer am meisten
20 minuten	2020-06-12	So bezahlen wir in Zukunft
20 minuten	2020-07-02	So ringen Onlineshops um deine Aufmerksamkeit

20 minuten	2020-07-07	Alkoholisches Getränk von Coca-Cola?
20 minuten	2020-08-27	Swissness – jetzt erst recht!
20 minuten	2020-11-12	Ein kostenloser Essenslieferdienst – eine Neuheit!
20 minuten	2020-12-09	Das ärgerte die Konsumenten im Corona-Jahr am meisten
20 minuten	2020-12-15	«Jetzt verschieben die Kunden das Einkaufen auf früher»
20 minuten	2021-03-01	Umgekehrter Einkaufstourismus freut Detailhändler
20 minuten	2021-03-02	Kunden mussten warten – doch es blieb geordnet
20 minuten	2021-03-16	Rettungsaktion für Kartoffeln: Fünf Franken für sieben Kilo
20 minuten	2021-03-17	Corona: Haushalte sparen 3880 Fr.
20 minuten	2021-03-18	«Mondpreise sind verwerflich und für Käufer irreführend»
20 minuten	2021-03-31	Optimistischer als im Lockdown
20 minuten	2021-04-08a	Digitaler «Food-Lifestyle» für Unternehmen
20 minuten	2021-04-08b	E-Commerce: Baustein vernetzter Einkaufswelten
20 minuten	2021-04-08c	Vorteile beim kontaktlosen Klimaschutz
20 minuten	2021-04-09	«Bio Suisse schaut aufs eigene Geld»
20 minuten	2021-04-23	Sorgen die Frauen für die Annahme der Pestizidinitiative?
20 minuten	2021-06-01	Lust auf Konsum sorgt für wirtschaftliche Wiederbelebung
20 minuten	2021-06-08	Von «schön scharf» bis «schweiflig» – so kommen die neuen EM-Chips an
20 minuten	2021-06-14	Nach 28 Jahren: Migros streicht das Verkaufsdatum
20 minuten	2021-06-17	Bei diesen Detailhändlern wird am meisten eingekauft
20 minuten	2021-06-23a	Althergebrachtes Können, das es zu schützen gilt
20 minuten	2021-06-23b	Geschmackvoller Trinkspass sorgt für gesunde Abwechslung
20 minuten	2021-07-07a	App Croppy rettet die Ernte vor dem Müll
20 minuten	2021-07-07b	Ob Netflix oder Discounter – so sparst du Tausende Franken
20 minuten	2021-07-15	Unwetterschäden: Linke geben SVP die Schuld
20 minuten	2021-08-16a	Bund will Werbung für Fleischaktionen verbieten
20 minuten	2021-08-16b	Ricola irritiert mit Crowdfunding für Drink
20 minuten	2021-09-06	Berner findet Plastikstücke in Provençale-Zweifel-Chips
20 minuten	2021-09-21	Einkaufstouristen sollen ihre Waren ab 50 Fr. verzollen

20 minuten	2021-09-23	Migros füllt Rahm für Konkurrentin Coop ab
20 minuten	2021-09-27	Pasta, Couscous und Bulgur wohl bald teurer
20 minuten	2021-09-28	Gold der Alpen
20 minuten	2021-11-01	Neuer Online-Shop verkauft abgelaufenes Essen
20 minuten	2021-11-08	Bald Alkohol in Migros – «Der Zeitgeist ändert sich eben»
20 minuten	2021-11-16	Wie der starke Franken den Konsumenten hilft
20 minuten	2021-12-10	Weniger Kunden pro Quadratmeter – drohen Warteschlangen vor Läden?
20 minuten	2022-01-07	Düngerkrise: Bei Früchten steht Preisexplosion bevor
20 minuten	2022-02-21	Verein rüttelt an Schweizer Gentechverbot
20 minuten	2022-02-22	Streit um importierte Spargeln
20 minuten	2022-03-07	«Eine Verarschung» – Bauer tobt über «Schwiizer Wuche»
20 minuten	2022-03-24	«Nestlé ernährt den Aggressor und verliert das Konsumentenvertrauen»
20 minuten	2022-04-04	Vegi-Burger nicht so gesund
20 minuten	2022-05-05	Coop-CEO: «Man sollte Plastik nicht verteufeln»
20 minuten	2022-06-22	Der Weg aus der Wegwerfgesellschaft?
20 minuten	2022-07-27	IP-Suisse oder Bio? Zwei Bauernbetriebe im Direktvergleich
20 minuten	2022-07-28	Früchte und Gemüse könnten bald teurer werden
20 minuten	2022-08-15	Konsumentenschützer: Fleischersatz ist zu teuer
20 minuten	2022-09-14	«Im Abstimmungskampf werden Bauern wie Kriminelle dargestellt»
20 minuten	2022-10-31	Zu viel Schweinefleisch – «Ich lege für jedes Tier drauf»
20 minuten	2022-11-18	#NACHHALTIG
20 minuten	2022-11-22	«Der Run auf die Rüeblli ist überwältigend»
20 minuten	2023-01-12	Veganerin bringt Follower auf den Geschmack
20 minuten	2023-02-14	Darum kaufen die Leute wieder weniger Unverpacktes
20 minuten	2023-03-01	Tierquäler-Landwirt drohen bis zu 6,5 Jahre Gefängnis
20 minuten	2023-03-27	Preisexplosion im Ausland: Einkaufstourismus am Ende?
20 minuten	2023-05-24	Darum ist der Nutri-Score irreführend
20 minuten	2023-06-07	Rote Kirschen nicht mehr gefragt: Bauer muss 60 Kirschbäume fällen
20 minuten	2023-06-09	Preisabsprachen? Weko ermittelt



20 minuten	2023-06-21	Beim Essen schauen Schweizer auf den Preis statt auf die Umwelt
20 minuten	2023-07-21	#NACHHALTIG

## Personal Declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Bülach, 30.04.2024,

  
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