

Supplementary File

S1: Central actors involved in the farmer's protest discourse. Selection by authors; information retrieved from the respective websites of the organizations.

Organization name	Explanation
Representation of farmers' interests	
Working Group for Rural Agriculture (Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft) ABL https://www.abl-ev.de/ueber-uns/	Association of conventional and organic farms that work together for sustainable, socially and environmentally compatible agriculture and the corresponding political framework conditions. Members also include people from other professional groups who are committed to the preservation of rural agriculture.
Alliance "We are fed up!" ("Wir haben es satt!") https://www.wir-haben-es-satt.de/ueber-uns/traegerkreis	Initiative since 2011 of farmers, conventional and organic, from animal husbandry to arable farming, food artisans, nature, environmental and animal welfare activists, people involved in development cooperation, committed young people and critical citizens.
Family businesses in agriculture and forestry (Familienbetriebe Land und Forst) FABL https://fablf.de/	As the umbrella organization of eleven regional associations, the association represent the interests of family farms and forestry businesses at national and European level. It includes campaigns for the protection of private property and the strengthening of economic power in rural areas.
Representation of interests of independent farmers (Interessenvertretung Freie Bauern) https://www.freiebauern.de/	The Free farmers are the representative body for family farms in Germany. They emerged from the Brandenburg Farmers' Association and exclusively represent the interests of farmers - not those of agricultural corporations. They work independently of politics and industry.
Farming creates connection (Landwirtschaft schafft Verbindung) LSV https://lsvdeutschland.de/ with subdivisions at state level	The association aims to set itself apart from other farmers' associations through more radical protest, among other things. Although the association speaks out against the protests being appropriated by the right, it itself has links to the right-wing extremist scene. According to the spokesperson the association actually wants to appear politically neutral.
German Farmers' Associations (Deutscher Bauernverband) BDV https://www.bauernverband.de/ with subdivisions at state and regional level	The DBV is a business association and representative of the interests of 300,000 farms in rural areas. Members of the DBV are 18 state farmers' associations. The DBV was founded in 1948 and is politically independent. The DBV represents all agricultural businesses in Germany with different production type, size and legal form. The spectrum ranges from agricultural, economic, ecological and social issues to legal and tax matters, education and youth issues.
German Association of Young Farmers (Bund der Deutschen Landjugend e.V.) BDL https://www.landjugend.de/der-bdl/bundesvorstand	Founded in 1949, the BDL is today the largest youth association in rural areas and represents the interests of around 100,000 young people in order to maintain and create prospects for the young generation to live and stay in rural areas.
German Countrywomens' Associations (Deutscher LandFrauen Verband e.V.) DLV https://www.landfrauen.info/	The Deutscher LandFrauenverband e.V. (dlv) is Germany's largest association for rural women and their families. Its aim is to improve the quality of life, working conditions and social participation in rural areas. The dlv represents the political interests of all women in rural regions and the profession of women farmers. 400 county and district associations, 12,000

Commission for the Future of Agriculture (ZKL) (Zukunftskommission Landwirtschaft) https://www.bmel.de/DE/themen/landwirtschaft/zukunftskommission-landwirtschaft.html	local associations and 22 regional associations form a strong network. Committee initiated by Chancellor Angela Merkel at an “agricultural summit” with 40 associations and organizations following farmers' demonstrations on December 2019. Involvement of practitioners, scientists and social actors to compile recommendations for a practicable transformation towards a more sustainable agriculture with a final report presented to Chancellor Merkel (July 2021). In September 2022, Federal Minister of Agriculture Cem Özdemir asked the members to continue their work. On April 11, 2024, the Commission met at the invitation of the Federal Chancellor in the Berlin Chancellery and will present an extension of its final paper to be discussed with the Chancellor.
Governmental actors	
(Federal) Ministry of Agriculture; (Federal) Ministry of Economics; (Federal) Ministry of Finance; (Federal) Ministry of Justice; (Federal) Ministry of the Interior; (Federal) Ministry of the Interior; Chancellery; EU Commission; European Environment Agency; Federal Council; Federal Criminal Police Office; Federal Environment Agency; Federal Government / State Governments; Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution; Federal President / prime minister of the states; Ministry of Transport; Office for the Protection of the Constitution; Police	
Environmental NGOs	
Last Generation (Letzte Generation); WWF; The Momentum / Fridays for Future; Greenpeace	
NGOs	
German Hotel and Restaurant Association (Deutsche Hotel- und Gaststättenverband); German Police Union; Federal Association of the German Food Trade;	
Economy interests	
Association of the Automotive Industry; Association of the Biofuel Industry; Confederation of German Employers' Associations; German Trade Association; Federation of the German Construction Industry	
Science organizations	
Thaer Institute of Agricultural and Horticultural Sciences (HU); Thünen Institute of Farm Economics; Ifo Institute; Ruhr University Bochum; Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies	
Political Parties	
Social Democratic Party (SPD); The Green Party; Liberal Democratic Party (FDP); The Left Party; Conservative Party Germany (CDU/ CSU); Alternative for Germany (AfD)	

S2: Coding scheme and search words

FAZ articles with keyword search “Bauern” UND “Protest”

Structure of coding referring to Schaub, S. (2021). Problem perception (prp), Policy instrument (pi), Policy position (pop).

ID	Concept	
7	Agrardiesel subsidy cut	POP
12	Agri motor tax exemption	POP
233	Agri-photovoltaic plants	PI
361	Agricultural organizations+supply chain act	PI
97	Agricultural transformation	POP
384	Airline industry	RT
231	Animal husbandry labeling act	PI
19	Animal welfare	PRP
228	Animal welfare tax	PI
366	Biodiesel	RT
268	Biodiversity loss	PRP
159	Burden of bureaucracy	PRP
39	Climate damage	PRP
185	Climate protection	PRP
264	Climate/environ entrepreneur business model	PI
112	Compliance with the debt brake	PRP
15	Confidence in agricultural policy	PRP
177	Construction industry	RT
315	Criticism of EU governance	PRP
371	Criticism of Federal government	PRP
16	Criticism of government	PRP
180	Criticism of earlier government	PRP
225	Criticism of farmers association	PRP
210	Criticism of political communication	PRP
183	Cutting EU agricultural subsidies	POP
232	Declaration of origin	PI
134	Disproportional burden	PRP
250	Downsizing bureaucracy	POP
95	Downsizing subsidy programmes+bureaucracy	POP
306	EU environmental protection act	PI
299	EU expansion of area premia	PI
338	EU green deal	PI

362	EU nature restoration law	PI
293	EU set-aside extension	PI
375	EU election campaign	RT
202	EU rules	PRP
96	EU-nitrates directive	PI
98	Ecological farming	POP
184	Energy crisis	RT
38	Farm deaths	PRP
9	Federal budget cuts	POP
329	Fertilizer regulation	PI
6	Financial loss	PRP
17	Financial situation of farmers	PRP
229	Fixed prices for milk	PI
287	Focus on subsidies	PRP
240	Fridays for future	RT
257	Further relief for farmers	PI
178	Future commission agriculture	RT
271	GMO-free farming	POP
356	GAEC standard	PI
331	Green ideology	RT
358	Growth opportunities act	RT
335	Hybride wrafare	RT
258	Income tax improvement	PI
269	Increase VAT meat+other animal products	PI
63	Infiltration by radical right wing actors	PRP
10	Joint government decision	POP
83	Lack of appreciation	PRP
58	Last generation	RT
254	Limit power of retail chains	POP
45	Livestock conversion program	PI
301	Media criticism	RT
360	National set-aside extension	PI
242	Other countries	RT

140	Other strikes	RT
18	Planning stability	PRP
205	Plate instead of tank	RT
160	Political urban-rural gap	PRP
52	Protest culture	PRP
46	Reallocation of budget	POP
214	Reduction of electricity tax	POP
330	Reduction of livestock numbers	POP
327	Reform	RT
344	Reform debt brake	PRP
376	Renewable fuels tax exemption	POP
217	Restriction plant protection	POP
174	Separation within farmers	PRP
297	Skilled labor shortage	RT
146	Specialized commission	POP
197	Subsidy biodiesel	POP
359	Tax smoothing	POP
363	Tax-exempt risk equalization reserve	POP
30	Threat of competition	PRP
21	Threat of food production	PRP
196	Traffic sector	RT
136	Value added tax increase	RT
181	Worldwide conflicts	RT
8	recognize BVG judgement	RT

S3: Organizations, types and short form

ID	Abbreviation	Type	English	German
5	BMWK	Gov / Admin	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Wirtschaftsministerium
11	DBV	NGO	German Farmers' Association	Deutscher Bauernverband
14	CDU BT	Politics	CDU Bundestag	CDU Bundestag
24	FDP BT	Politics	FDP Bundestag	FDP Bundestag
26	FarmWineAssRhein	NGO	Farmers and Winegrowers Association Rheinhessen	Bauern und Winzerverband Rheinhessen
29	BMEL	Gov / Admin	Federal Ministry of Agriculture	Bundesagrarministerium
35	CSU BT	Politics	CSU Bundestag	CSU Bundestag
37	Greenpeace	NGO	Greenpeace	Greenpeace
42	FH-WST	Science	Weihenstephan-Triesdorf University of Applied Sciences	Hochschule Weihenstephan-Triesdorf
44	IndepFarmers	grassroots	Representation of interests of independent farmers	Interessenvertretung Freie Bauern
48	BReg	Gov / Admin	Federal Government	Bundesregierung
50	SPD BT	Politics	SPD Bundestag	SPD Bundestag
51	BMF	Gov / Admin	Ministry of Finance	Finanzministerium
54	BMJ	Gov / Admin	Ministry of Justice	Justizministerium
56	AA	Gov / Admin	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Außenministerium
60	IM-NRW	Gov / Admin	NRW Ministry of the Interior	NRW-Innnenministerium
62	BMI	Gov / Admin	Federal Ministry of the Interior	Bundesinnenministerium
66	Alliance90/The Greens BT	Politics	Greens Bundestag	Bündnis 90/ die Grünen Bundestag
67	Alliance90/The Greens	Politics	Greens (Party)	Bündnis 90/ die Grünen (Partei)
68	GovNS	Gov / Admin	State Government of Lower Saxony	Landesregierung Niedersachsen
72	HessFarmers Ass	NGO	Hessian Farmers' Association	Hessischer Bauernverband
74	FaBLF	NGO	Family businesses in agriculture and forestry	Familienbetriebe Land und Forst
77	IAMO	Science	Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies	Leibniz-Institut für Agrarentwicklung in Transformationsökonomien
79	ThünenBWL	Science	Thünen Institute of Farm Economics	Thünen-Institut für Betriebswirtschaft
80	The Left (Saxony)	Politics	The Left (Saxony)	Die Linke (Sachsen)
82	ChancelleryBavaria	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery of Bavaria	Staatskanzlei Bayern
86	STMWI	Gov / Admin	Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs	Wirtschaftsministerium Bayern
88	RegFarmAssStarkeb	NGO	Regional Farmers' Association Starkenburg e.V.	Regionalbauernverband Starkenburg e.V.
90	GovSH	Gov / Admin	State government of Schleswig-Holstein	Landesregierung Schleswig-Holstein
92	Fed.Presid.office	Gov / Admin	Office of the Federal President	Bundespräsidialamt

94	CDU SA	Politics	CDU (Saxony-Anhalt)	CDU (Sachsen-Anhalt)
101	ThaerInstAgr Sci	Science	Thaer Institute of Agricultural and Horticultural Sciences (HU)	Thaer-Institut für Agrar- und Gartenbauwissenschaften (HU)
103	ChancelleryL owerSax	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery of Lower Saxony	Niedersächsischen Staatskanzlei
105	Chancellery NRW	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery North Rhine- Westphalia	Staatskanzlei Nordrhein- Westfalen
107	ChancelleryS axony	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery of Saxony	Staatskanzlei Sachsen
109	FarmAssBW	NGO	State Farmers' Association of Baden-Württemberg	Landesbauernverband Baden- Württemberg
111	FDP (BW)	Politics	FDP (Baden-Württemberg)	FDP (Baden-Württemberg)
120	FarmWineAs sRLP	NGO	Farmers' and Winegrowers' Association Rhineland- Palatinate South	Bauern- und Winzerverband Rheinland-Pfalz Süd
121	AgriconRLP	NGO	Agriculture connects Rhineland-Palatinate	Landwirtschaft verbindet Rheinland-Pfalz
123	ChancelleryB rB	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery Brandenburg	Staatskanzlei Brandenburg
125	ChancelleryM V	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	Staatskanzlei Mecklenburg- Vorpommern
127	ChancelleryS aarland	Gov / Admin	State Chancellery Saarland	Staatskanzlei Saarland
131	AgriAssWest- Li	NGO	Westphalian-Lippe Agricultural Association	Westfälisch-Lippischen Landwirtschaftsverband
133	RUniB	Science	Ruhr University Bochum	Ruhr-Universität Bochum
135	DEHOGA	NGO	German Hotel and Restaurant Association	Deutsche Hotel- und Gaststättenverband
138	STMELF-Bav	Gov / Admin	Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture	Landwirtschaftsministerium Bayern
143	AfD BT	Politics	AfD Federal Parliament	AfD Bundestag
145	Chancellery	Gov / Admin	Chancellery	Kanzleramt
148	FarmAssThur ingia	NGO	Thuringian Farmers' Association	Thüringer Bauernverband
150	Saxon Farmers' Association	NGO	Saxon State Farmers' Association	Sächsischer Landesbauernverband
152	Countryside creates connection	NGO	Countryside creates connection	Land schafft Verbindung
154	ABL-BW	NGO	Working Group for Rural Agriculture Baden- Württemberg	Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft Baden-Württemberg
156	SMI	Gov / Admin	Ministry of the Interior Saxony	Innenministerium Sachsen
158	MIK- Brandenb	Gov / Admin	Ministry of the Interior Brandenburg	Innenministerium Brandenburg
162	FutureComm Agri	Gov / Admin	Future Commission for Agriculture	Zukunftskommission Landwirtschaft
164	HessCountry women	NGO	Hessian Countrywomen	Hessische Landfrauen
167	RegFarmAss WettFR	NGO	Regional farmers' association Wetterau-Frankfurt	Regionalbauernverband Wetterau-Frankfurt
168	RegFarmAss Wetterau-FR	NGO	Regional Farmers' Association Wetterau-Frankfurt	Regionalbauernverband Wetterau-Frankfurt

170	FarmAssSax	NGO	State Farmers' Association of Saxony	Landesbauernverband Sachsen
171	GovSax	Gov / Admin	State Government Saxony	Landesregierung Sachsen
176	FedConstrIndustry	NGO	Federation of the German Construction Industry	Hauptverband der Deutschen Bauindustrie
187	AfD Thuringia	Politics	AfD Thuringia	AfD Thüringen
189	Free Saxony (Party)	Politics	Free Saxony (party)	Freies Sachsen (Partei)
192	PoliceUnion	NGO	German Police Union	Deutsche Polizeigewerkschaft
193	BfV	Gov / Admin	Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution	Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz
199	GovMV	Gov / Admin	State Government of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	Landesregierung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
201	GovRLP	Gov / Admin	State Government Rhineland-Palatinate	Landesregierung Rheinland-Pfalz
204	BMUV	Gov / Admin	Ministry of the Environment	Umweltministerium
207	BMDV	Gov / Admin	Ministry of Transport	Verkehrsministerium
208	VDB	NGO	Association of the Biofuel Industry	Verband der Biokraftstoffindustrie
209	FedPresident	Gov / Admin	Federal President	Bundespräsident
212	LastGen	grassroots	Last generation	Letzte Generation
216	FarmAssOA	NGO	Farmers' Association Ostalb	Bauernverband Ostalb
218	FarmAssEllw	NGO	Ellwangen Farmers' Association	Bauernverband Ellwangen
227	GovBW	Gov / Admin	State Government of Baden-Württemberg	Landesregierung Baden-Württemberg
230	GovNRW	Gov / Admin	State Government of North Rhine-Westphalia	Landesregierung Nordrhein-Westfalen
237	FarmAssHLuBu	NGO	Farmers' Association Heilbronn-Ludwigsburg	Bauernverband Heilbronn-Ludwigsburg
241	FFF	Grassroots	The Momentum / Fridays for Future	Das Momentum / Fridays for Future
246	VerfSBW	Gov / Admin	Baden-Württemberg Office for the Protection of the Constitution	Verfassungsschutz Baden-Württemberg
247	BKA	Gov / Admin	Federal Criminal Police Office	Bundeskriminalamt
253	MKLLU MV	Gov / Admin	Ministry of Agriculture Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	Agrarministerium Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
266	BMU	Gov / Admin	Federal Environment Agency	Bundesumweltamt
270	We are fed up	Grassroots	Alliance "We are fed up!"	Bündnis "Wir haben es satt!"
274	FedAssFood Trade	NGO	Federal Association of the German Food Trade	Bundesverband des Deutschen Lebensmittelhandels
280	Greens/EFA (EP)	Politics	Greens (EP)	Bündnis 90/ die Grünen (EP)
285	ABL	NGO	Working Group for Rural Agriculture	Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft
289	FedRuralYouth	NGO	Federation of Rural Youth	Bund der Landjugend

295	HDE	NGO	German Trade Association	Handelsverband Deutschland
302	DJV	Media	German Association of Journalists	Deutscher Journalisten-Verband
308	GovIt	Gov / Admin	Government of Italy	Regierung Italien
309	BJV	Media	Bavarian Association of Journalists (BJV)	Bayerischer Journalisten-Verband (BJV)
310	Police	Gov / Admin	Police	Polizei
311	AllgNewspaper	Media	Allgäuer Newspaper	Allgäuer Zeitung
313	BDA	NGO	Confederation of German Employers' Associations	Bundesvereinigung deutscher Arbeitgeberverbände
318	EP	Politics	European Parliament	Eu-Parlament
326	Ifo	Science	Ifo Institute	Ifo-Institut
337	AssYoungFarmers	NGO	Association of Young Farmers	Verband der Junglandwirte
347	GovBrandenb	Gov / Admin	State Government of Brandenburg	Landesregierung Brandenburg
349	GovBavaria	Gov / Admin	State Government of Bavaria	Landesregierung Bayern
351	PUIG	NGO	Polish-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce (PUIG)	Polnisch-Ukrainische Wirtschaftskammer (PUIG)
354	WWF	NGO	WWF	WWF
357	EEA	Gov / Admin	European Environment Agency	Europäische Umweltagentur
365	VDA	NGO	Association of the Automotive Industry	Verband der Automobilindustrie
373	EUCom	Gov / Admin	EU Commission	Eu-Kommission
379	The Left	Politics	The Left	Die Linke
383	FH KL	Science	University of Applied Sciences Kaiserslautern	Fachhochschule Kaiserslautern

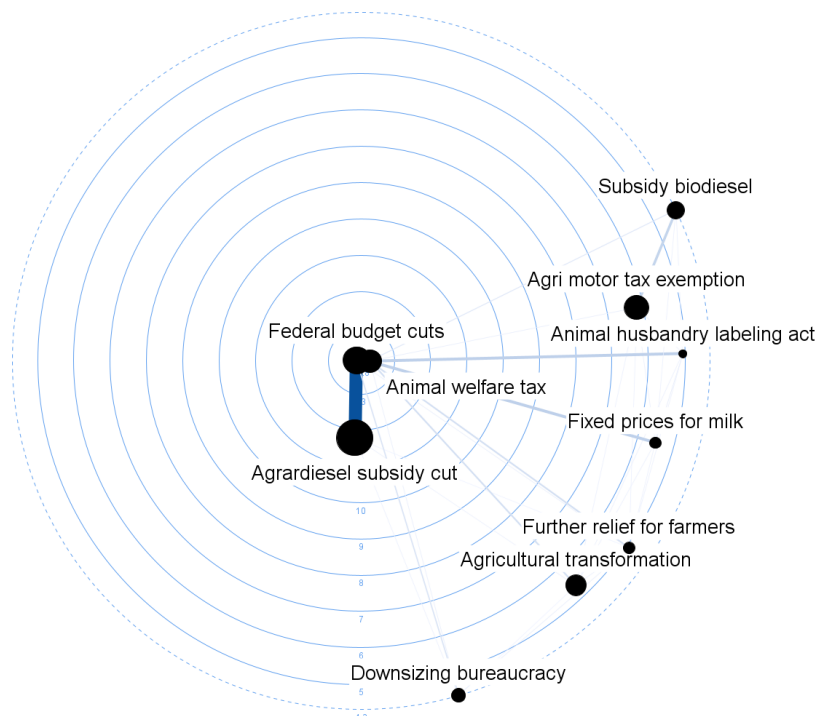


Figure 11. Top concepts linked by organizations that mention both concepts in the debate (contains policy proposal, policy instrument) in T2.2 (January 6, 2024–January 22, 2024). Notes: The figure visualizes the top 10, ranked by degree centrality; the full list of acronyms and shortened concept names can be found in the Supplementary File S2 below and all relevant concepts necessary for understanding the analysis are explained in the article text.

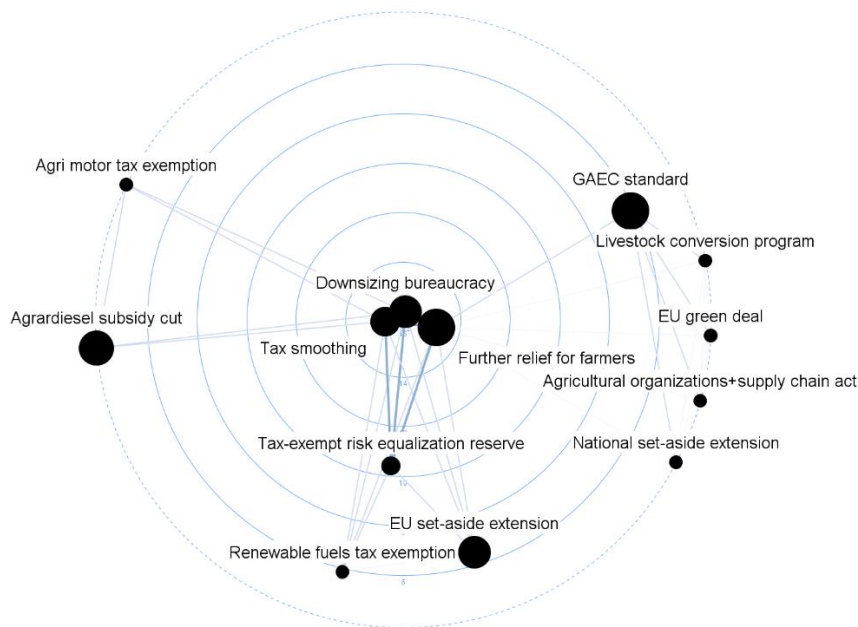


Figure 12. Concepts linked by organizations that mention both in the debate (contains policy proposal, policy instrument) in T4 (February 23, 2024—March 26, 2024). Notes: The figure visualizes the top 10, ranked by degree centrality; the full list of acronyms and shortened concept names can be found in the

Supplementary File S2 below and all relevant concepts necessary for understanding the analysis are explained in the article text.