

A more volatile world: implications for food security and how to achieve it

Professor Tim Benton

Distinguished Fellow

Environment and Society Centre, Chatham House

tbenton@chathamhouse.org

Solution



What is food security?





Marching the 2015 International hunger cargets: taking stock of uneven progress

"Food security exists when 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". (World Food Summit, 1996)



"market-led" food security: can the market supply the sorts of food people like to eat, cheaply? The cheap-food focus ignores the costs externalised to the environment and health

systems.

"9 meals from anarchy" & "hunger challenge" food security: is the short term supply of food assured to allow people to eat when they are hungry?

> "Sustainable" food security: can the market be structured to supply food that people like and want, and that underpins a healthy diet, and is supplied sustainably (i.e. costs are not levied on health and environment)?





WHY ARE WE WHERE WE ARE TODAY?

Taking a food systems approach reveals "Jevons' paradox" writ large

FIGURE 6 QUANTIFIED HIDDEN COSTS OF AGRIFOOD SYSTEMS BY COST CATEGORY (LEFT) AND SUBCATEGORY (RIGHT), 2020







NOTE: All values are expected values.

SOURCE: Lord, S. 2023. Hidden costs of agrifood systems and recent trends from 2016 to 2023 – Background paper for The State of Food and Agriculture 2023. FAO Agricultural Development Economics Technical Study, No. 31. Rome, FAO.

S

Where is food grown?

How crops are used varies around the world

Average fraction of harvest used for direct food, feed, and processing





Source: <u>Ray, D. K., Sloat, L. L., Garcia, A. S., Davis, K. F., Ali, T., & Xie, W.</u> (2022). Crop harvests for direct food use insufficient to meet the UN's food security goal. Nature Food, 3(5), 367-374.

WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE

A systems approach highlights the Jevon's paradox





William Stanley Jevons

The paradox: Increasing production efficiency **increases** demand (through lowering prices)

Over the last 60 years, we have reduced the price of food and increased its availability, whilst growing the agri-food economy. Political dialogue remains largely focused on producing more food As a result, collectively we waste and overeat more, and repurpose "excess production" – such that across the EU, over 60% of all grain production is fed to livestock, reducing the price of meat.

The "cheaper food paradigm" (CFP) drives interlocking vicious circles





Benton & Bailey 2019 Global Sustainability



THE FOOD SYSTEM IS NOT RESILIENT AS WELL AS UNSUSTAINABLE

Food security is about trade at a global and local level



Flour (39%) (Wheat Flour, Calcium, Iron, Niacin, Thiamin), Milk Chocolate (30%) [Sugar, Cocoa Butter, Cocoa Mass, Dried Skimmed Milk, Dried Whey (Milk), Butter Oil (Milk), Vegetable Fats (Palm, Shea), Emulsifiers (Soya Lecithin, E476), Natural Flavouring], Vegetable Oil (Palm), Wholemeal Wheat Flour (9%), Sugar, Glucose-Fructose Syrup, Raising Agents (Sodium Bicarbonate, Malic Acid, Ammonium Bicarbonate), Salt



https://www.chathamhouse.org/2017/06/chokepoints-and-vulnerabilities-global-food-trade

Risk cascade (example from CCRA2): supply shock





- Destabilisation of fragile economies (Arab Spring, Syria)
- Movement of people into the EU
- Rise of nationalism

Jet stream dynamics leads to connected weather extremes

Environmental Research Letters

LETTER • OPEN ACCESS • IOPSELECT

Evidence for a wavier jet stream in response to rapid Arctic

warming

Jennifer A Francis¹ and Stephen J Vavrus² Published 6 January 2015 • © 2015 IOP Publishing Ltd Environmental Research Letters, Volume 10, Number 1



OPEN Influence of Anthropogenic Climate Change on Planetary Wave Resonance and Extreme Weather

Received: 03 January 2017 Accepted: 20 February 2017 Published: 27 March 2017 Michael E. Mann¹,

Michael E. Mann³, Stefan Rahmstorf², Kai Kornhuber², Byron A. Steinman³, Sonya K. Miller³ & Dim Cournou^{3,4}



...which have the potential to lead to compound effects globally (e.g. multiple breadbasket impacts)



https://www.britannica.com/science/Rossby-wave





"Sustainable" intensification & land sparing to meet inevitably increasing global food demand



Agro-ecological approaches (land sharing) and land-sparing enabled by demand-reduction through adopting healthy, sustainable, low-waste consumption.

CONTESTED VISIONS FOR A "SUSTAINABLE FOOD SYSTEM"

...each vision is based on sets of (mainly ideological) assumptions, so is a "social choice"

Benton, Tim G., and Helen Harwatt. "Sustainable agriculture and food systems." (Chatham House, 2022).

Core issues at the heart of the debate



Sustainable Ag Version 1	Sustainable Ag Version 2
"Sustainable" intensification & land sparing to meet	Agro-ecological approaches (land sharing) and land-
inevitably increasing global food demand	sparing enabled by demand-reduction through
	adopting healthy, sustainable, low-waste
Key Assumptions	consumption.
Demand is exogenous and will increase as	Key Assumptions
population size and wealth increase	Demand can be changed and should be shaped by
	social needs through regulatory change leading to
	structural change in markets
Growing market demand requires productivity	The current unsustainability of farming is a form of
growth to raise supply	market failure that can be corrected
Distant shange is difficult and not the programs of	
policy	A healthy diet is also a (more) sustainable one
	Agro-ecological approaches can supply sufficient
The potential for technologically led sustainable	nutrients to "feed the world" if consumption
intensification is large	patterns change
	Agro-ecological approaches are more sustainable
Land sparing is enabled by sustainable	than sustainable intensification
intensification	
growth to raise supply Dietary change is <i>difficult</i> and not the preserve of policy The potential for technologically led sustainable intensification is large Land sparing is enabled by sustainable intensification	A healthy diet is also a (more) sustainable one Agro-ecological approaches can supply sufficient nutrients to "feed the world" if consumption patterns change Agro-ecological approaches are more sustainable than sustainable intensification



TODAY'S SYSTEM IS LOCKED-IN

The food system has a lack of functional resilience but a lot of structural resilience

Waste is Ill-health from Consumption drives The cheaper economically rational poor diets not economic growth food paradigm accounted for **Market concentration** Cheaper food is Ultra-processed foods good for growth Markets provide are cheap to produce Markets are the solution and buy, and dominated by few, Policy stimulates increasingly available big players, with market via: vested interest in Business models are deregulating the status quo Changing based on growth in liberalizing diets is not the output and Competitors and driving efficiency role of consumption disruptors face through scale governments Farming focuses on a significant barriers targeting state support few commodities grown to entry at globally important Social safety intensively and at scale commodities nets are not needed Unsustainable path dependencies Environmental Innovation is impacts not costed So much money has been spent driven by by business interests, it is difficult Transformative change is incumbents and to change tack perceived as prohibitively focused on Near-monopolies exert big price challenging, politically and efficiency pressures economically improvements Chatham House | The Royal Institute of International Affairs

to BAU



WHAT SHAPES THE FUTURE?

What shapes the future?







Events happen that reshape markets, politics and attitudes

FROLA



THINKING ABOUT RISKS

Models probably under-estimate the hazards at the moment, and we often under estimate risks by ignoring cascading and compound effects



RISK=

HAZARD



Climate change slow-onset issues (e.g. gradual drying) Changing weather, especially extremes Spatial synchrony through teleconnections (e.g. jet stream) Tipping points Climate change on ecology

X EXPOSURE X Will you get flooded? LITY Do you have flood defences?

How much does national/institutional/ financial/national security rely on goods from overseas that could be disrupted by hazards?

Are systems efficient but fragile (e.g. just-in-time)?

Shaped by political, economic and social factors (and also the *perception* of the hazard)



RISK=

HAZARD X EXPOSURE X VULNERABILITY

Extremes (damaging weather, pests and diseases etc)

Global interconnectivity of economies Global interconnectivity of risks Slow action on climate change

Lean economies, inter-connected across space, sectors and time. Weakened int'l architecture of cooperation (rules based systems) Geopolitical changes and disruptions Polarising societies and attitudes Increased inequality (exemplified by COVID-19)

The metaphorical zoo of future instability

e.g. *food disruption*: drought, flood, heatwave affecting one or more production areas; pests and diseases; disruption on port or transport infrastructure; disruption on centralised processing facilities; problems with labour caused by climate hazards (diseases, movement, instability) etc etc etc



Turbulent Uncertain Novel Ambiguous



Black swan: rare, high-impact events





If there are 1000 potential black swan events, each at 1/1000 probability, then something is *very* likely to happen If we can't predict the exact risks, only that "something will happen" we need to focus on resilience:

Properties of resilience to reduce exposure and vulnerability:

Securitising food supply – increasing self-sufficiency, allyshoring - for national security may make the world more unstable....

Chatham House | The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Avoiding single points of failure.

Ally shoring and/or

diversification of

supplies of critical

goods.

Development of increased flexibility/agility/ substitutability/or reducing demand and doing-without.

Increasing self

sufficiency/on-

shoring.

Early identification of and intervention in hotspots of risk.

Increasing

redundancy/storage.



Future of food systems







Changing worlds will change the space for action and what is not possible in today's world may suddenly become possible



https://www.agrifood4 netzero.net/agri-foodsystem-2050.html



SCENARIO A **'BUILD BACK FAST AGAIN'**

An unstable and globalised world, where economic growth is key (essentially business as usual)



globalised,

underpinned by

circular sustainable

systems and values

SCENARIO B **'CIRCULAR WORLDS'** Geopolitically stable and



An unstable, regionalised world, where a circular economy is driven by the need to save resources



SCENARIO D **'THE RIGHT TO FOOD'**

A geopolitically stable world, with a globalised economy built on 'green growth'.

SCENARIO A **'BUILD BACK FAST (AGAIN)'**



An unstable, globalized world which most values economic growth (BAU)

A world of ultra-processed foods, (un)sustainable intensification, land sparing, tech-driven. Much volatility – resilience is important.

CHATHAM

Net zero arises through efficiency (to save money), resilience-building (e.g. improving soils to reduce climate impacts) and rewilding.

What would be needed?

Resilience building, and how to maximise mitigation when building adaptation? Tech for RUE, yield maximisation

Need for land-use strategy/incentives to ensure the right land is used in the right way

Food insecurity and inequality growing: how to mitigate by producing more food, more cheaply in a crisis?

How to drive changes in values and disrupt incumbent ideology to get off this pathway?

SCENARIO C **SELF-SUFFICIENCY** FOR SECURITY'



A geopolitically unstable, regionalised world, which is more circular and sustainable due to "waste not, want not" poverty

- Grim, poorer world, more circular, low waste systems, mixed farming, more self sufficiency, less trade, some tech but not shared. Ag policy based on nutrition needs. Food security (resilience in supply) more important than mitigation.
- Net zero largely arises from lower consumption, from increasing adaptation (e.g. improved soil carbon to build soil fertility) and reducing waste.

What would be needed?

- Incentives/capacity building for urban and smallscale market gardens/allotments; cooking skills
- Circularising farming and developing low input, circular, diverse farm systems (with green manure not synthetic fertilizer)
- Any new tech primarily developed from UK science base (legumes, protein extraction from grass for chicken feed etc)
- Agriculture for local consumption for nutrition security (not for e.g. exports, feed or whisky)

SCENARIO D **THE RIGHT TO** FOOD' Nutritious food for all ⊞ ⊞ PROTEIN PROTEIN LTD. INC.

A geopolitically stable world, global, with economies built around "green growth"

- UK farmscape: sustainable intensification and land sparing; green fertilisers and agroecologically intensive. Processed foods, but with focus on nutrition. More horticulture, less meat production. Tech-rich.
- About maximising yields, sustainably
- Net zero arises from "really sustainable" intensification, dietary change (less meat, more veg) and land sparing

What would be needed?

- Need for incentives/capacity growth in urban and small-scale market gardens/allotments;
- Really sustainable intensification: how to maximise yields in intensive land-sparing, not sharing, agroecological systems e.g. Green fertilisers and biological/Integrated pest control
- Carbon storage in former pastureland rewilding but how and where at least cost
- How to drive changes in values and disrupt incumbent ideology to get to this pathway?





A geopolitically stable, globalised, circular and sustainable world

- More whole foods, diverse, mixed farming landscapes, land sharing approaches, local food networks. Tech-rich.
- About growing "enough" not maximising productivity
- Net zero arises from changes in values (focus on well-being), diets, and agricultural systems.

What would be needed?

- Significant change in behaviours/farming/lifestyle to get here – need for capacity building and changing incentives
- More research on farm systems needed, and tech to produce sufficient yields on diverse, mixed, circular, agro-ecological farms
- How to drive changes in values and disrupt incumbent ideology to get to this pathway?





TUNA

CONCLUSIONS

Food x climate x politics = an uncertain future

Food system transformation is needed for human health, to protect biodiversity and reduce climate change impacts



- Change is all around us, and food system transformation is, in the long term, inevitable – to build resilience, sustainability and healthy diets – but it may be a rocky ride
- Food is part of national security: taking a 'security lens' (instead of a 'maximise productivity' lens) creates more space for driving food system transformation ("work for the best, plan for the worst")
- There is often an overly strong focus on technology to "unlock change" but systemic change is unlikely to arise unless citizens, farmers and investors enable political change that changes the "rules of the game"
- This, in turn, may be driven by volatility from climate change creating more geoand domestic political issues
- In many plausible futures, agro-ecological farming approaches and dietary change are more desirable, if not central to them (for ecological, economic and security perspectives). Its not about growing more of the same with less impact.

Leverage points to unlock systems-level change

Lovorado point	Example lovers
Leverage point	
Changing the rules of the market	Regulate/tax harmful effects
	Reform subsidies
	Stimulate demand for the "better"
	Make change less risky for markets
	Increase competition/reduce power of big businesses
Build market transparency	Increase disclosure
	Limit greenwashing
	Limit lobbying power
Unlocking political change	Build citizen pressure for change
	Foster ambition for change internationally (e.g. trade and COPs)
	Build social safety nets
Mainstreaming systems-level approach to change	Create a clear vision
	Build whole-of-govt approach
	Use "true-cost" accounting

But most of these politically difficult today

Change requires that the system be disrupted endogenously (changed politics) or exogenously (by events) to open the political space – and that might be soon



Thank you!



tbenton@chathamhouse.org







The food system is a complex system: feedbacks, loops and connections...and no overall governance: the outcomes (food supply, food security, environmental impacts) arise from billions of individual decisions by food system actors (policy, farming, industry, consumers)



Commodity crops, large scale Biotechnology and biofortification Ultra-processed foods Long supply chains Lots of robotics



More varied diets to provide nutrients

More varied farming systems, smaller scale

Less agricultural efficiency and more system efficiency

Low waste

Whole foods, cooked at home Short supply chains



СНАТНАМ

HOUSF