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1 Integrating degrowth and efficiency perspectives 2 enables an emission-neutral food system by 2100 3

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15

16 Abstract

17

18

19 Degrowth proponents advocate for reducing ecologically destructive forms of production and
20 resource throughput in wealthy economies to achieve environmental goals, while transforming
21 production to focus on human well-being. Here we present a quantitative model to test degrowth
22 principles in the food and land system. Our results confirm that reducing and redistributing
23 income alone, within current development paradigms, leads to limited greenhouse gas (GHG)
24 emissions mitigation from agriculture and land-use change, due to nutrition transitions towards
25 unsustainable diets already occurring at relatively low income levels. Instead, we show that a
26 structural, qualitative food system transformation can achieve a steady-state food system
27 economy that is net GHG-neutral by 2100 while improving nutritional outcomes. This
28 sustainable transformation reduces material throughput via a convergence towards a needs-
29 based food system, is enabled by a more equitable income distribution and includes efficient
30 resource allocation through the pricing of GHG emissions as a complementary strategy. It
31 thereby integrates degrowth and efficiency perspectives.

32 Main

33 Introduction

34 Proponents of degrowth propose an “equitable downscaling of production and consumption that
35 increases human well-being and enhances ecological conditions at the local and global level”, to
36 be undertaken voluntarily and democratically¹. Degrowth proponents see this transformation as
37 necessary to meet environmental goals, such as those laid out in the Paris Accord or the
38 Planetary Boundaries², as degrowth would reduce demand-driven pressures on the
39 environment³. Degrowth arguments also include a strong environmental and economic justice
40 component: Downscaling and redistribution of the high-income economies of the Global North
41 would allow for “more space” for countries of the Global South to develop and still grow within
42 environmental limits^{4,5}. A reduction of GDP is generally not seen as an objective per se, but
43 rather as the expected consequence of the downscaling of material and energy
44 throughput⁴. Some practitioners may also target a reduced GDP as a means, given the strong
45 association between GDP and certain ecological impacts⁶.

46
47 While the theoretical debate around degrowth is emergent and lively^{4,7,8}, few studies have
48 attempted to quantify degrowth propositions in modeling work, in order to assess how effectively
49 such proposals meet stated goals. Integrated assessment modeling of future environmental
50 scenarios without the precondition of economic growth, especially in the Global North, are
51 needed^{3,9}.

52
53 Degrowth scenarios have been analyzed recently on a macro-economic scale and for the
54 energy system^{10,11}, but not for the land and food system. A focus on the implications for the food
55 and land system is long overdue as it is today the largest cause of biodiversity and ecosystem
56 destruction^{12,13} and as it emits one third of global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions along the
57 entire supply chain¹⁴. Furthermore, Land-Use and Land-Use Change (LULUC) emissions may
58 alone preclude achieving the 1.5°C and 2°C climate targets as decided upon in the Paris
59 Accord¹⁵.

60
61 An assessment of degrowth scenarios for the land and food system should aim to cover the
62 breadth of degrowth proposals and decompose the main dynamics that lead to GHG reduction
63 and reduced economic activity. A review¹⁶ structures the degrowth literature according to three
64 economic policy objectives: (1) A sustainable scale of the economy, keeping the economy within
65 the planetary boundaries of a “safe operating safe” with pollution remaining within environmental
66 absorption capacity²; (2) “fair redistribution” between rich and poor, on both national and
67 international scales; and (3) “efficient allocation” of resources in order to maximize well-being¹⁷.

68
69 Here, we use a quantitative land system model¹⁸ to decompose different dynamics behind a
70 degrowth pathway and scrutinize the consequences of different viewpoints in the debate by
71 constructing a range of scenarios, aligning with the policy objectives identified above.

72 **Results**

73 **Scenario Set**

74 Our set of exploratory scenarios of stylized socio-economic transformations covers different
 75 constituents of both degrowth proposals and efficiency-based approaches already theorized and
 76 modeled (Table 1). Two scenarios of ex-ante GDP reduction (GDP-CAP) or redistribution (GDP-
 77 FAIR) aim at discussing the potential and limitations of purposefully reducing or redistributing
 78 GDP, as opposed to the following scenarios, which address qualitative aspects of the food
 79 system with no prior assumptions of GDP - in line with current degrowth scholarship⁴. The food
 80 preference-change scenario (DIET) is oriented along a needs-based provision of food; the
 81 efficient allocation scenario (EFF) assumes a global greenhouse gas tax internalizing the costs
 82 of climate change stemming from food supply chains. Finally, the sustainable scenario
 83 combines GDP-FAIR, DIET and EFF.

84
 85 The scenario assumptions serve as input to MAgPIE4, a modular open-source framework for
 86 modeling global land systems and their environmental impacts¹⁸ (see Methods). Our scenarios
 87 focus exemplarily on greenhouse gas emissions as a central indicator for environmental
 88 sustainability. Further environmental indicators such as biodiversity intactness¹⁹, nitrogen
 89 pollution²⁰, and water withdrawals have been shown to respond similarly^{21,22}.

90
 91 There is extensive literature on the process of re-organizing the economy towards a degrowth-
 92 oriented system through democratic and participatory institutions^{7,16}. We assume this a priori in
 93 this article and instead focus on the implications of such a transformation for the food and land
 94 system.

95
 96 **Table 1. Scenario descriptions, decomposing proposals in the degrowth literature.**

97

Scenario	Scenario settings	Literature analogue
Baseline (BAU)	Baseline scenario along middle-of-the road development (SSP2 storyline), including moderate economic and population growth ²⁹ .	Default baseline scenario of many integrated assessment analyses of the land and food system ^{21,70} .
Capped Income (GDP-CAP)	Total per-capita income decreases by 2030 to a limit of 12746 USD _{05PPP} , which is the World Bank threshold between middle- and high-income countries ⁷¹ . Countries below the threshold follow their normal growth path. See Supplementary Figure 1, for income trajectories of scenarios.	The selected threshold corresponds roughly to the income level where mean life satisfaction, life expectancy, infant mortality and participation in education begin to saturate ^{35,72,73,76} . This scenario does not include a qualitative transformation but rather simulates income reduction as measured by GDP, within the current economic paradigm.

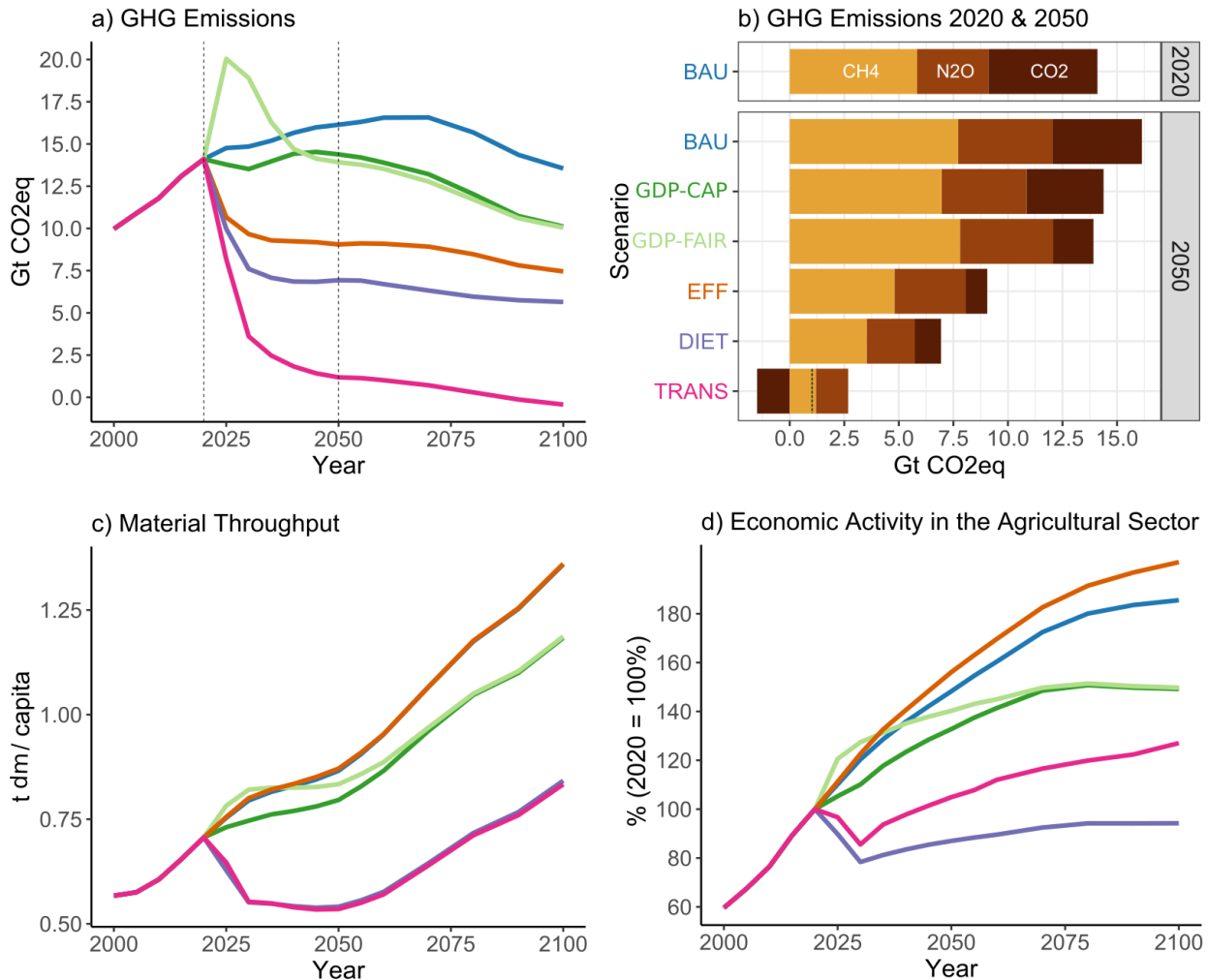
<p>Fair Redistribution (GDP-FAIR)</p>	<p>Like GDP-CAP, but increasing per-capita income to 12746 USD_{05PPP} for countries below this limit by 2030. In both FAIR and GDP-CAP, the historically observed relation between dietary patterns and income is maintained.</p>	<p>A fair and equitable economy in terms of income, where countries of the Global South have increased GDP per capita, given redistribution from higher-income countries^{4,77}. This scenario does not include a qualitative transformation but rather simulates income redistribution within the current economic paradigm.</p>
<p>Preference change (DIET)</p>	<p>A dietary shift towards the “Planetary Health Diet”³⁶ by 2030, which sees much lower animal-source food consumption, combined with a reduction of food waste⁵⁶.</p>	<p>A shift in diet has been proposed as part of any degrowth process in the agri-food sector, especially in a way that meets human needs for a good life, while remaining within planetary boundaries⁷⁸. Such a shift should result in reduced consumption of emissions-intensive products⁴.</p>
<p>Efficient Allocation (EFF)</p>	<p>GHG tax in line with the Paris Accord goal of 1.5°C warming. Non-CO₂ GHGs are priced according to their CO₂-equivalent warming potential.</p>	<p>An efficiency-based mitigation approach, reducing emission sources at the same marginal mitigation costs across emission sources by technical mitigation measures or relocation of resources and production factors. Achieved via a greenhouse gas price that internalizes externality costs of pollution into production costs³¹. Emission pricing is the key instrument in most integrated assessment analyses of the land and food system²⁴.</p>
<p>Sustainable Transformation (TRANS)</p>	<p>Combines GDP-FAIR, EFF and DIET</p>	<p>A sustainability transformation combining societal change and efficient taxing, as a combination of degrowth and efficiency perspectives³⁰.</p>

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Scenario Legend

- BAU "Business as Usual"
- GDP-CAP "Capped Income"
- GDP-FAIR "Fair Redistribution"
- EFF "Greenhouse Gas Pricing"
- DIET "Preference Change"
- TRANS "Sustainable Transformation"



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Figure 1. Development of emissions, material throughput, and economic activity for 6 scenarios. a) GHG emissions for 2020-2100 in CO₂eq GWP100. Dotted lines indicate years of comparison in (b). b) shows the composition of GHG emissions in 2020 and 2050 as a stacked bar plot for, CH₄, N₂O and CO₂ in Gt CO₂eq GWP100. Dotted line in TRANS shows net total. c) Cumulative material throughput of food consumption, calculated as the demand for crop products in tons of dry matter (t dm) per capita. d) Percentage change of the economic activity in the agricultural sector (expressed as the factor costs of production at constant factor prices excluding land rents, water rents and emission taxes) as line-chart relative to 2020.

111 Average yearly GHG emissions from agriculture and land-use change (LULUC) from 2020-2100
112 are highest in the SSP2 BAU baseline, at an average of 14.4 Gt / year of CO₂-equivalents in
113 100-year global warming potential (CO₂eq GWP100) emissions (Fig. 1a), and 16.1 Gt CO₂eq in
114 the year 2050. While the precise warming effect cannot be derived from the GWP100 metric, a
115 comparable scenario¹⁵ shows that business-as-usual emissions from the LULUC sectors alone
116 would lead to global warming between 1.5 and 2°C. In the “Capped Income” (GDP-CAP) and
117 “Fair Redistribution” (GDP-FAIR) scenarios, CO₂eq emissions are reduced only modestly (14.4
118 Gt CO₂eq for GDP-CAP and 13.9 Gt CO₂eq for GDP-FAIR in 2050), as the reduced
119 consumption in high-income countries is countered by a continued (GDP-CAP) or rapid (GDP-
120 FAIR) increase in consumption in low-income countries. In fact, the redistribution in the GDP-
121 FAIR scenario even results in higher food demand and increased emissions relative to the
122 SSP2 baseline during the years when redistribution is implemented. Despite the substantial
123 reduction in overall economic activity (global GDP in GDP-CAP is 44% and in GDP-FAIR is 51%
124 that of BAU by 2050, see Fig. S1), cumulative emissions from 2020 to 2100 still are in excess of
125 the remaining emission budget for achieving a 1.5° climate target with a probability of 66%¹⁵,
126 with 1024 Gt CO₂eq (GDP-CAP) and 1077 Gt CO₂eq (GDP-FAIR). The limited effect (in terms
127 of a reduction of LULUC GHG emissions) for the GDP-CAP and GDP-FAIR scenarios
128 compared to BAU stems from the fact that the main dynamic of the ‘nutrition transition’ –
129 increasing demand for land- and emissions-intensive animal-sourced products as well as
130 increased food waste – unfolds already at relatively low per-capita income levels²³.

131
132 The “Efficient Allocation” scenario (EFF) results in almost a halving of LULUC-related GHG
133 emissions by 2100, with 9.05 Gt of GHG emissions in 2050. This price signal reduces emissions
134 by incentivizing afforestation and less-polluting management practices, and incentivizing land-
135 sparing and investments in yield-improving technological change²⁴ (see Methods). The
136 consumer “Preference Change” (DIET) scenario as part of a degrowth pathway also leads to
137 substantial emissions mitigation (6.93 Gt CO₂eq in 2050), due to reduced demand-side
138 pressures on the land system (i.e. a shift away from instead of towards animal-source products).
139 Finally, a sustainability transformation scenario (TRANS) where fair redistribution is combined
140 with efficient allocation and preference changes reduces cumulative emissions to 1.18 Gt
141 CO₂eq in 2050. In this scenario, land becomes available for increased afforestation and
142 regrowth of natural vegetation, resulting in negative CO₂ emissions that compensate for some
143 of the residual N₂O and CH₄ emissions. By 2100, this scenario shows net-zero emissions for
144 the food system.

145
146 The scenarios also show very different trends in their agricultural material throughput, defined
147 here as the total demand for crops for food, feed, and other purposes (Fig. 1c). Both BAU and
148 EFF show a continued increase, nearly doubling the per-capita footprint by the end of the
149 century. The GDP-FAIR redistribution scenario leads to a slightly faster initial increase due to
150 the acceleration of income-driven dietary changes in low-income countries but converges to the
151 slower-growing value of the GDP-CAP scenario in the longer term. Finally, the DIET and
152 TRANS scenarios project a strong initial reduction of the agricultural material throughput, and
153 would only return to a per-capita footprint comparable to today towards the end of the century.
154 Comparing material throughput with GHG emissions, there is no direct coupling between the

155 two quantities in our scenarios. In the EFF and TRANS scenarios, we observe a partial but not
156 complete decoupling of emissions from the material throughput; residual non-CO2 GHG
157 emissions from agricultural production can be reduced but not completely avoided.

158
159 Changes in the material scale and efficiency of the agri-food system also impact economic
160 activity, which we here define as the sum of global agricultural production costs, investments
161 into agricultural R&D, and irrigation and land expansion costs. These costs correspond to
162 production factors such as labor, capital, and input commodities that are required by the food
163 system from the wider economy. In BAU, agricultural economic activity grows by 48% from 2020
164 to 2050 (Fig. 1d). When GDP is reduced in GDP-CAP and GDP-FAIR, agricultural activity is still
165 89% that of BAU in 2050, although GDP in GDP-CAP is 21% that of BAU by 2050 (Fig. S1).
166 This can be traced back to food being a necessity good with an income elasticity smaller than
167 unity. The efficient allocation scenario (EFF) with a GHG tax actually increases agricultural
168 economic activity relative to BAU, as the implementation of mitigation measures increases
169 costs, and as GHG-intensive land expansion has to be replaced by the intensification of existing
170 croplands. In contrast, the structural change of the DIET scenario, in particular the reduction of
171 animal-source foods, leads to a strong initial reduction and subsequent stabilization of economic
172 activity to slightly below current levels. The TRANS scenario, combining GDP-FAIR, EFF, and
173 DIET, shows a short-term decline of economic activity, and then a small but steady increase to
174 a level 20% above current levels, also due to continuous population growth.

175
176 The dynamics driving the different scenario outcomes are further described in the
177 Supplementary Text S1 and the Supplementary Data S2.

178 Discussion

179 Our study applies a set of quantitative scenario simulations in order to decompose the different
180 constituents of both degrowth and efficiency-based visions for the agriculture and food system.
181 We find that in order to reduce global LULUC GHG emissions, both a change of dietary
182 preferences and a change of economic incentives by emission pricing are most crucial. A more
183 equitable income distribution between countries only leads to very limited reductions in LULUC
184 emissions if it remains within the current “nutrition transition” paradigm, i.e. the historically
185 observed relations between income and dietary patterns^{23,25}.

186 Our results are in line with the arguments of degrowth proponents, who differentiate sustainable
187 degrowth from economic recession in that degrowth proposals also transform the economy in a
188 qualitative manner¹. We show that a simple reduction of income in high-income countries, while
189 maintaining the existing food system, is not very effective in mitigating GHGs; most importantly
190 because the food system - in contrast to the energy system²⁶ - already produces relatively high
191 emissions at low per-capita incomes¹⁴. The results from the GDP-FAIR scenario even indicate
192 that the marginal pollution per unit of income is higher at lower incomes. Despite a lower global
193 average GDP in the GDP-FAIR scenario (see Supplementary Figure 1), greenhouse gas
194 emissions increase relative to the BAU scenario for the period of redistribution. Also, from the
195 public health perspective, there is no sweet spot of economic development within the classical

196 nutrition transition; the decline of undernutrition is paralleled by a simultaneous rise of
197 malnutrition, the so-called “double burden of malnutrition”^{23,27}.

198 The food system thus needs to be transformed both in terms of its material scale and its
199 qualitative structure: resource intensive and highly polluting industries, such as the livestock
200 industry, would need to be downscaled along with a reduced consumption of animal protein.
201 Other sub-sectors such as horticulture should in contrast even be expanded due to their role in
202 preventing malnutrition and chronic diseases^{23,28}. Furthermore, farmers need to adopt low-
203 polluting management practices, and supply chains must shift towards low-polluting source
204 materials.

205 Our study explores two distinct ways to change the qualitative structure of the food system:
206 Emission pricing (EFF), which includes the hidden costs of GHG emissions into the decision-
207 making at various stages of the food supply chain; and changing preferences of consumers
208 (DIET), which influences the structure of the economy from the end of the supply chain.

209 While emission pricing and the resulting efficient allocation of resources has received a lot of
210 attention in the integrated assessment modeling community²⁹, it is less prominent and indeed
211 often criticized in the degrowth literature^{16,30}. We thus consider it separately from the degrowth
212 narrative, although some emission pricing schemes within a degrowth framework have been
213 proposed³¹. Indeed, such schemes warrant further consideration as our model simulations show
214 high mitigation potentials for the scenarios that introduce a price signal for GHGs into the
215 agricultural and land system (EFF and TRANS). A GHG price does not only incentivize
216 efficiency improvements and the implementation of mitigation technologies, as opposed to e.g
217 subsidies for mitigation measures or more efficient technologies, a tax or cap-based policy
218 circumvents rebound effects that can occur from efficiency-improvements and passes on the
219 increased costs as mitigation incentive to upstream sectors and consumers. In these up-stream
220 sectors, the price signal may lead to further mitigation, which is however not included in our
221 assessment. For instance, higher raw material prices may incentivize food loss reduction or the
222 replacement of emission-intensive animal-based ingredients by plant-based alternatives in the
223 food processing sector³².

224 GHG taxation would also translate into higher food prices (although the tax could be
225 redistributed, discussed further on). Under cost-efficient CO₂ prices, the low cost-share of
226 agricultural products in total food prices³³, and observed price-elasticities, the resulting food
227 price changes would however not have a transformative impact on dietary patterns (see
228 Supplementary Text S2). Consumer tax levels to incentivize sustainable diets would thus need
229 to be much higher than the signal that would reach consumers from a uniform emissions tax³⁴,
230 and changing demand via prices would therefore constitute an inefficient alternative to
231 production-side mitigation from an environmental cost-benefit perspective.

232 However, the potential of demand-side mitigation is substantial, as shown in the DIET scenario,
233 and the pricing of GHG emissions only achieves minor impacts on this front. Transformative
234 dietary change is therefore a key strategy. This approach is in line with the degrowth arguments
235 that consumption should be oriented along with the satisfaction of basic human needs and
236 provide living standards such that a “good life for all” is possible within environmental limits³⁵.

237 This diet-change is not a mere reduction of consumption, but a qualitative change that can be
238 even considered an improvement with respect to the satisfaction of human needs, given the
239 improved nutritional composition of the dietary shift³⁶.

240 Transformative dietary change, with its large mitigation potential, can also be achieved with
241 different (non-price) mechanisms such as persuasion, access, empowerment, or nudging.
242 Research has so far mostly focused on policy interventions to improve dietary health and
243 compiled and evaluated a broad spectrum of interventions that target food preferences and food
244 environments^{37,38}. Mechanisms such as food labeling³⁹, advertisement bans⁴⁰, dietary
245 counseling^{41,42}, and public food provision⁴³ have been identified as effective and often cost-
246 efficient alternatives to fiscal instruments. In economic nomenclature, these policies target
247 preferences (represented for instance by parameters such as demand-elasticities or floor
248 demand shifters) which are usually assumed exogenous and constant. A consumer with the
249 same income and faced with the same market prices will consume different quantities if she
250 lives in a food environment with low marketing for highly processed foods, if the food availability
251 in the canteen is modified, or if her awareness for environmental or health topics is raised.
252 Research on the dynamics and drivers of preference change, on the influence of food
253 environments, and their impacts on elasticities and floor demand shifters⁴⁴ is yet
254 underdeveloped but would be the necessary bridge between a more holistic food system
255 approach and standard economic models. The investigation would also be confronted with
256 welfare economics paradoxes with regard to the evaluation of policy interventions, as the same
257 individual may value a bundle of goods differently before and after the intervention⁴⁵.
258 Considering the strongly reduced burden of disease for both poor and rich consumers³⁶, the
259 more modest and diverse consumption patterns of the EAT-Lancet diet could be considered an
260 improvement of aggregate welfare, despite lower willingness-to-pay. Improved welfare
261 indicators should therefore go beyond the aggregation of the individual willingness to pay, and
262 could for example correct for differences in assets between individuals⁴⁶, or include further
263 indicators that are oriented along outcomes of consumption such as health or subjective well-
264 being⁴⁷.

265 Qualitative transformations of the food system lead to distinct outcomes for material scale,
266 economic activity, and income distribution. Our simulations show that the emission pricing
267 scenario EFF shows a partial decoupling between emissions and material throughput while
268 leaving the material throughput largely unchanged compared to a BAU scenario. In contrast, the
269 DIET scenario reduces environmental pollution along with material throughput. The results also
270 show that reduced or stable economic activity in the agricultural sector is the consequence, and
271 not the cause, of a sustainable food system. Economic contraction in high-income countries like
272 in the GDP-CAP scenario does not lead to a strong reduction in material throughput or
273 emissions in the food system; in contrast, the qualitative transformation of the DIET and TRANS
274 scenarios leads to a strong reduction in economic activity in the agricultural sector during the
275 transformation phase, resulting after 2030 in almost steady-state economic activities
276 comparable to today's level (Fig. 1c).

277 While the environmental benefits of TRANS accrue mainly from the EFF and DIET levers,
278 income redistribution from GDP-FAIR is furthermore a necessary though not sufficient condition

279 for a sustainable transformation, as higher incomes will be required in lower-income countries to
280 afford healthy diets, and to pay for the full price of food that includes the environmental
281 externalities. Although the Planetary Health diet reduces dietary expenses in high-income
282 countries and many middle-income countries, the average costs of 2-3 USD_{11PPP} per day would
283 likely exceed available incomes in many lower-income countries⁴⁸. Higher incomes in lower-
284 income countries would not necessarily require global economic growth but could also be
285 achieved by international redistribution. Furthermore, while the pricing of emissions may have a
286 regressive distributional effect for lower-income populations, this could be reverted effectively
287 via re-distributing tax revenue as per-capita dividends and via international transfers⁴⁹. Indeed,
288 in our EFF scenario, the revenues from emissions pricing collected in 2050 amount to \$3.36
289 trillion USD₀₅ by 2050, and would be available for redistribution or reinvestment in social
290 policies. Emissions taxation with revenue-neutral redistribution has also been implemented in
291 practice and resulted in improving public support⁵⁰.

292 Finally, mitigation activities of course require economic investment, e.g. to better monitor and
293 control nitrogen flows on croplands, to invest in better animal waste management facilities, or to
294 breed more efficient crops. Our simulation shows however that these additional costs are small
295 in comparison to overall production costs, and a degrowth-informed shift from polluting to
296 mitigation activities still results in a quasi-steady state land economy under a sustainable
297 transformation. In reality, these investment costs may be further offset by the restoration of
298 ecosystem services⁵¹.

299 We identify four limitations in this study, pointing toward opportunities for further research. First,
300 our model can only alter the income distribution between countries, but not change the income
301 distribution within countries. Missing global data on the intersection between income distribution
302 and diet distribution within countries still impedes such an assessment on the global scale. Yet,
303 inequality between countries is still much higher than inequality within countries⁵². Given
304 observed food demand patterns²³, it can be expected that reducing inequality within countries
305 would have qualitatively similar impacts as reducing inequality between countries, reinforcing
306 the dynamics observable in our study. Second, our study is a sectoral study for the food system.
307 Macroeconomic trends such as per capita income are exogenously prescribed, and the
308 economic activity in the agricultural sector does not further influence the wider macro-economy.
309 Impacts on employment and wages may be high and require social and structural change
310 policies⁴. Future assessments should investigate in more detail the interactions of the food
311 system with the energy system and the remaining macroeconomy, for example to derive
312 consistent bioenergy demand from an energy system running similar degrowth or emission
313 pricing trajectories, or to account for agricultural labor costs given degrowth dynamics in the
314 labor market. Moreover, energy emissions account for 21% of today's global food system
315 emissions and stem in similar shares from energy use in agricultural production, food transport,
316 processing, packaging, retail, and consumption¹⁴. These emissions are considerably higher in
317 HICs due to longer supply chains and industrialized food processing. Carbon pricing would
318 reduce these emissions via the decarbonization of the energy system⁵³, while diet change would
319 reduce these emissions via a shift away from processed products. Similarly, food waste
320 reduction could drastically lower methane emissions from wastewater and solid waste, which
321 account for a further 9% of food system emissions¹⁴.

322 Third, our scenarios focus on two central indicators: Greenhouse gas emissions and economic
323 activity in the agricultural sector. Previous assessments came to similar conclusions also for an
324 extended range of environmental indicators like nitrogen use, biodiversity loss, or freshwater
325 withdrawals. The current global food system could only nourish 3.4 billion people sustainably,
326 but a qualitatively altered food system could nourish up to 10.2 billion people⁵⁴. The favorable
327 impacts of diet change across environmental indicators has also been highlighted^{28,22}. For a
328 comprehensive welfare assessment of different pathways, further societal targets should also
329 be included²².

330

331 Finally, while our scenarios intend to aid in scrutinizing the desirability of goals and pathways,
332 this study can not assess the psychological, economic, social, or political barriers that prevent
333 such pathways. Future research should assess possible policy bundles to achieve such a rapid
334 and radical transformation, as well the political economy, political institutions, and social
335 movements that could enable such a change⁵⁵.

336

337 The food system should be more explicitly considered in the degrowth debate, as the basic
338 need of food has to be fulfilled in any economy, and as the food system is a major source of
339 GHG emissions and other environmental damages. We find that a sustainably transformed food
340 system would align with a substantially reduced agricultural material throughput, thus shrinking
341 the material scale of the global agri-food system. As a consequence, its economic scale may
342 slightly shrink in the near term and would grow more slowly in the longer term. For the food
343 system, our results quantitatively confirm that degrowth has to be qualitatively different from
344 negative economic growth. The reduction of economic activity is not an a priori cause of a
345 sustainable food system, but the consequence of it; negative growth or redistribution, if
346 conceived of only as reduction and redistribution of GDP within the current economic
347 development paradigm, contributes little to reducing environmental impacts of the food system
348 while it likely reduces the provision of low-polluting goods and services. Indeed, a reduction in
349 macro-level throughput as such does not guarantee a healthy and sustainable food system, for
350 which bottom-up consumption changes are needed. Emission pricing is a complementary
351 strategy that should receive further attention in the degrowth community, as it leads to more
352 efficient resource allocation. The combination of preference change and efficient allocation
353 integrates well into the concept of a sustainability transformation³⁰, and leads to the most
354 stringent reductions of GHG emissions from the food system. International income
355 redistribution, while not substantially reducing emissions by itself, may still be pivotal in its
356 function to enable lower-income people to afford sustainable diets and to compensate for
357 adverse distributional effects of emission pricing.

358 Methods

359 Model

360

361 We analyze the degrowth scenarios using the MAgPIE 4 *open-source framework for modeling*
362 *global land system*¹⁸. The model is well-documented and available open-source
363 (<https://github.com/magpiemodel>). MAgPIE combines socio-economic and biophysical data to
364 simulate spatially explicit land use scenarios for the 21st century, along with resultant
365 environmental impacts. At its core, the framework is a partial equilibrium economic model, with
366 the objective function to minimize production and other costs while meeting food, feed and
367 material demand.

368
369 The MAgPIE model is driven by a food demand module²³, which estimates final food demand
370 and dietary composition based on population growth, demographic change, and per-capita
371 income. It explicitly accounts for changes in caloric requirements by age, sex, physical activity
372 and body height, and estimates body weight, food waste and dietary composition endogenously
373 based on per-capita income. The model has been econometrically parameterized based on past
374 country-level trajectories of body mass distributions, and food demand. Food demand is
375 estimated for 4 product groups: Animal-source foods, empty calories (sugar, oil, alcohol), fruits
376 and vegetables, and staples. For the scenarios that assume preference changes, we only use
377 the information on caloric requirements and use exogenous assumptions for dietary composition
378 and food waste⁵⁶, assuming a shift towards the healthy and sustainable Planetary Health diet as
379 proposed by the EAT-Lancet commission³⁶.

380 The consumption of animal-based calories requires the cultivation of animal feed crops,
381 estimated based on regional dynamic feed-baskets⁵⁷. Similarly, the processing of empty calories
382 requires primary crop commodities based on conversion efficiencies from FAOSTAT. Per-capita
383 material demand for crops, processed products and livestock is assumed to grow proportional to
384 food demand. Bioenergy demand is exogenous and the same for all scenarios simulated in this
385 study. The cultivation of crops requires labor and capital inputs, land, nitrogen fertilizer, seed,
386 and, in the case of irrigated crops, water. The location of crop and pasture production is spatially
387 explicit on a 0.5° grid clustered to 200 production clusters. Production location is determined
388 based on cost-competitiveness, considering the limited availability of land, irrigation water,
389 organic fertilizers, and the differences in crop yield potentials, and transport costs. Yield
390 potential patterns, irrigation water requirements and irrigation water availability are obtained
391 from the dynamic crop and vegetation model LPJmL⁵⁴. Moreover, the model can intensify crop
392 production and achieve higher yields by investments into research and development as well as
393 by scaling up fertilization to higher nutrient demands. Future technological change forecasts in
394 MAgPIE have been estimated and validated based on historic trends and contemporary
395 data^{58,59}. These yield improvements do not take into account any “system-disrupting” future
396 technologies, such as the production of food without land⁶⁰, and involve correspondingly higher
397 fertilization needs per ha and corresponding emissions. The costs of additional yield gains were
398 derived on relating past productivity developments to investments in research, technology and
399 infrastructure⁵⁹.

400 Food can be traded internationally within certain self-sufficiency thresholds⁶¹. To satisfy
401 increases in demand, the model finds an economic equilibrium between expanding croplands
402 and expanding irrigated areas, relocating crop production to higher-yielding areas.
403 Emissions include CO₂ emissions from land-use change, as well as non-CO₂ emissions from
404 agricultural production. Land-use change emissions are based on spatially-explicit cropland and

405 pasture expansion and carbon stocks from the LPJmL model, including vegetation, litter and soil
406 carbon⁶².
407 When a price on emissions is activated, this incentivizes the preservation of currently existing
408 forests, as well as the planting of new forests⁶³. This afforestation is based on natural vegetation
409 growth curves and carbon densities of regionally native species, as opposed to plantation forest
410 curves⁶³. The maximum carbon density achievable by afforestation is that of natural forests.
411 Moreover, afforestation in our implementation can only take place in grid cells where carbon
412 densities support greater than 20 tonnes C/ha, a commonly-used threshold for forest and non-
413 forest land⁶⁴. Finally, afforestation in the model does not take place in boreal zones, as the
414 albedo effect would offset the climate effect of the CO₂ sequestration⁶⁵. This is implemented via
415 an exogenous constraint⁶⁶, but results in similar outcomes as studies that directly include the
416 albedo-effect within the optimization⁶⁷
417 CH₄ emissions from enteric fermentation are based on feed baskets⁵⁷ and the Tier-II
418 methodology of the IPCC national reporting guidelines⁶⁸. CH₄ emissions of rice are estimated
419 based on the Tier-I methodology of the IPCC national reporting guidelines⁶⁸. N₂O emissions are
420 based on a nitrogen-budget model²⁰ that explicitly accounts for manure availability, crop
421 residues, biological fixation and inorganic fertilizer application, as well as their direct and indirect
422 N₂O emissions based on IPCC reporting guidelines⁶⁸. CH₄ and N₂O emissions can be reduced
423 through marginal abatement cost curves⁶⁹. These estimates are derived based on available
424 mitigation technologies in the short-term, and extended for long-term mitigation scenarios to
425 account for technological learning and removal of implementation barriers. For methane from
426 enteric fermentation - the major CH₄ emission source - a maximum reduction potential of 29-
427 50% depending on world region is estimated for 2050, rising to 35-60% in 2100. Maximum
428 reductions of N₂O emissions from fertilization - the major agricultural N₂O source - range from
429 21-35% in 2050 and 26-40% in 2100. The economic potential can also be smaller, depending
430 on the level of the greenhouse gas price.

431

432 Scenario design

433

434 The business-as-usual scenario (BAU) follows the “middle-of-the-road” storyline of the Shared
435 Socioeconomic Pathways SSP2. The scenario set-up is well documented and results have been
436 compared with other land system models⁷⁰. In this scenario, the total global income increases
437 from 103 trillion USD_{05PPP} to 231 trillion USD_{05PPP} by 2050 (Supplementary Fig. S1), and
438 average global per capita income from 13410 USD_{05PPP} to 25179 USD_{05PPP} by 2050.
439 Additionally, population increases from 8 billion people to 9.5 billion in 2070 before decreasing
440 again to 9 billion by 2100.

441

442 The GDP-CAP scenario, which limits the high-end of per-capita income and therefore the
443 resulting food demand and dietary composition derived from past trends, reduces the per-capita
444 income of all countries where per-capita income in 2020 is above 12746 USD_{05PPP} to this value
445 by 2030. 12746 USD_{05PPP} is the threshold between a middle- and high-income country as
446 defined by the World Bank⁷¹. This value also corresponds roughly to the income level where

447 mean life satisfaction begins to saturate^{72,73} and is furthermore very close to the current global
448 average income of around 13 000 USD_{05PPP} in 2020. Countries where per-capita income
449 remains below this threshold continue to grow along the SSP2 baseline until reaching the
450 threshold level. Total income decreases from 103 trillion USD_{05PPP} to 77.7 trillion USD_{05PPP} in
451 2030, although further growth in lower-income countries means that global income then peaks
452 in 2080 at 119.3 trillion USD_{05PPP}. Global average per capita income also decreases from 12
453 973 USD_{05PPP} to 9853 USD_{05PPP} by 2035, and only increases to 12696 USD_{05PPP} by the end of
454 the century as lower-income countries catch up to the sustainably-scaled income (Figure S1).

455
456 The GDP-FAIR scenario implements the same reduction but concurrently implements a “catch-
457 up” of countries where per capita income is below 12 746 USD_{05PPP}. These countries then see a
458 linear increase of income until 2030 to 12 746 USD_{05PPP} per capita. This amounts to a slight
459 increase of total GDP from 103 trillion USD_{05PPP} to 106 trillion USD_{05PPP} by 2030 (as opposed to
460 144 trillion USD_{05PPP} in BAU), and due to population increase, incomes peak in 2070 at 120
461 trillion USD_{05PPP} (Figure S1).

462
463 The DIET scenario implements a shift in consumer demand towards the Planetary Health diet
464 as described in Willet et al³⁶. The Planetary Health diet includes low amounts of animal-source
465 foods, instead emphasizing fresh vegetables and plant-based sources of proteins. For instance,
466 calories from livestock products are limited to 200kcal/capita/day. The shift from current diets to
467 the Planetary Health diet also takes place by 2030, for comparability with the income-based
468 scenarios. Furthermore, we limit food waste to 20% of caloric food intake, which is
469 approximately half of the current levels in high-income countries⁵⁶.

470
471 The EFF scenario follows the socio-economic assumptions and dietary trends of the BAU
472 scenario, but implements a GHG pricing on CO₂, N₂O, and CH₄ emissions arising from Land
473 Use and Land Use Change, as well as agricultural activities such as ruminant animal
474 production. The price trajectory is calculated with REMIND-MAGPIE⁷⁴, an integrated
475 assessment modelling framework that arises from the coupling of the MAgPIE model to the
476 REMIND energy-economy model⁷⁵. This enables the calculation of GHG prices to meet
477 mitigation targets, here a price trajectory that limits warming to below 1.5 degrees Celsius in
478 2100 is used (globally uniform CO₂ price of 140USD/ton in 2030, 371USD/ton in 2050, other
479 GHGs are priced according to GWP100 CO₂ equivalent). By internalizing the external costs, the
480 tax leads to a more efficient allocation of resources within the food system: area expansion into
481 natural vegetation is substituted by intensification of existing areas, trading routes source
482 commodities from less-polluting world regions and livestock production systems with lower
483 emissions gain a competitive advantage. Moreover, a range of explicit mitigation technologies
484 are implemented at additional costs to reduce emission factors⁶⁹, and forests are planted to
485 sequester CO₂⁶³. Bioenergy demand was not changed in the mitigation scenario, as the study is
486 limited to the food system and cannot account for the emissions offset in the energy system by
487 bioenergy.

488
489 The TRANS scenario is the combination of the scenarios GDP-FAIR, EFF, and DIET. The
490 dietary impacts of the GDP-FAIR scenario however overlap with the exogenous diet-shift

491 assumptions of the DIET scenario; the inclusion of the GDP-FAIR assumptions thus solely
492 assures the consistency that people can also afford the sustainable diets.

493

494 Data availability

495 Generated data and replication scripts have been archived at:

496 <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5543427>

497

498 Code availability

499 MAgPIE is an open-source model available at: <https://github.com/magpiemodel/magpie>. The
500 model documentation for the exact version of MAgPIE used in this study (v4.3.4) can be found
501 at <https://rse.pik-potsdam.de/doc/magpie/4.3.4/>.

502

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522 Author Contributions

523 BLB and DMC designed the study and drafted the manuscript. BLB, DMC, IW, EMB, HLC.
524 contributed to core model development, DMC undertook the modeling and analysis, all authors
525 contributed to discussing the results and writing the paper.

526

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529 Competing interests statement

530 The authors declare no competing interests.

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