



POTSDAM-INSTITUT FÜR
KLIMAFOLGENFORSCHUNG

Originally published as:

[Wang, X.](#), [Bodirsky, B. L.](#), [Müller, C.](#), Chen, K., Yuan, C. (2022): The triple benefits of slimming and greening the Chinese food system. - Nature Food, 3, 9, 686-693.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43016-022-00580-1>

The triple benefits of slimming and greening the Chinese food system

Xiaoxi Wang^{1,2*}, Benjamin Leon Bodirsky^{2*}, Christoph Müller^{2,1}, Kevin Chen^{1,3}, Changzheng Yuan^{4,5*}

Abstract

The Chinese food system has undergone a transition of unprecedented speed, leading to complex interactions with China's economy, health, and the environment. Structural changes experienced by the country over the past decades boosted economic development but worsened the mismatch between food supply and demand, deteriorated the environment, drove obesity and overnutrition levels up, and increased the risk for pathogen spreads due to intensive farming. Here, we propose a strategy for slimming and greening the Chinese food system toward sustainability targets. This strategy takes into account the interlinkages between agricultural production and food consumption across the food system, going beyond agriculture-focused perspectives. We call for a food-system approach with integrated analysis of potential triple benefits for the economy, health, and the environment, as well as multisector collaboration in support of evidence-based policy making.

Main

Despite having a lower per-capita availability of water and cropland than the global average and facing severe resource depletion¹, China recently saw an unprecedented economic growth that has not only shifted millions of people out of poverty and hunger but also reshaped its food system. Important dietary and nutrition changes took place within just two generations in the country, while in other high-income countries the same process took place over more than a century. This quick transition shifted consumption patterns from scarce, carbohydrate-dominated diets toward affluent diets (Figure 1a)–rich in animal protein, sugar, fat, and processed industrial foods², along with high food wastage³. Economic growth and associated structural changes also led to a decrease in physical labor intensity, an increase in more sedentary occupations⁴, and consequently, more obesity and chronic diseases in the population⁵ (Figure 1b). Socio-economic changes in China have led to differences in food consumption, thus impacting the economy, public health, and the environment. With ongoing economic growth in China, it is expected that total food demand continues to rise and affluent dietary patterns become even more prevalent, exacerbating the mismatch between food demand and supply and imposing additional economic, health and environmental challenges.

38 Undernutrition, micronutrient deficiency and overnutrition have all been challenging
39 individual and public health, leading to human suffering and high healthcare
40 expenditures⁶. Health risks measured as million disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) are
41 attributed to low intake in whole grains, nuts and seeds, fruits, vegetables, legumes, and
42 fiber; and high intake in sugar sweetened beverages, red meat, and processed meat⁷
43 (Figure 2a). Notwithstanding notable dietary improvements in China from 1982 to 2011,
44 the overall dietary quality remains suboptimal (Figure 1a) and was estimated to cause
45 51% of all cardiometabolic deaths and 20.8% of total deaths in 2010–2012²,
46 underscoring the need for effective public health nutrition strategies to improve diet
47 quality in China. A large gap yawns between poor rural and better-off urban areas, despite
48 the substantially improved overall nutritional status in China⁸. While urbanization is a
49 driving factor behind the dietary shift toward an unhealthy Western diet⁹, rural residents
50 had overall less optimal diets compared to urban counterparts (Figure 1a). The
51 prevalence of stunting between 2010 and 2013 among children in urban areas was 4.2%,
52 but 11.3% in rural areas⁸. While rural China experienced a larger decrease in
53 underweight prevalence than urban areas, the increase in overweight population also
54 exceeded growth in urban counterparts¹⁰. Moreover, food safety remains another urgent
55 issue in China, alongside toxic metals in cropland soils, foodborne bacteria, parasites, and
56 viruses^{11–13}.

57 Food systems and economic development are closely interconnected. Notably, the share
58 of the value of agricultural outputs in China's total economy dropped from 24.0% in 1991
59 to 7.7% in 2020 (Figure 2b) while the whole economy grew. The change in agricultural
60 activity also affected employment in agriculture and the upstream and downstream
61 sectors along the food supply chain. The proportion of the population employed in
62 agriculture in China has declined from 59.7% in 1991 to 25.3% in 2019 (Figure 2b). Also,
63 as much as 19% of grains in China are lost or wasted throughout the supply chain³, with
64 4-5% of China's labor force bound to activities that produce waste and amplify the
65 mismatch between food supply and demand^{1,9}. Reducing these inefficiencies would
66 further reduce employment in agriculture, and requires either novel agricultural
67 business models or the absorption of employment by other economic sectors.

68 While agricultural employment declines, finding alternative livelihoods is difficult for
69 rural residents^{14,15} as a strict household registration system prevents population
70 mobility¹⁶ and reduces access to the urban education system^{14,15}. Under these
71 circumstances, structural changes fuel the urban-rural divide and social inequality in
72 China^{17,18}. Similarly, migration and the lifestyle of migrant workers lead to less intake of
73 fruit and vegetables but higher alcohol consumption compared to urban residents¹⁹.
74 While the reduction of undernutrition has improved labor productivity, both
75 undernutrition and newly rising overnutrition are still a threat to public health and the
76 economy. Sub-optimal dietary patterns with the simultaneous occurrence of both
77 undernutrition and overweight and obesity (i.e., the double burden of malnutrition^{8,20})
78 impairs working forces despite the improvements made from better food accessibility.
79 The loss of individual productivity due to malnutrition is estimated to be more than 10%

80 of people's lifetime earnings, while the corresponding loss of GDP is as high as 2-3%²¹.
81 The Chinese food system is currently a major driver of environmental damage,
82 contributing 19% of China's greenhouse gas emissions²² (Figure 2c). The decline from 51%
83 in 1990²² reflects more the industrialization and rising emissions from other economic
84 sectors than an absolute decline of agricultural emissions. The large increase in the diet-
85 related carbon footprint, from 2.15 in 1980 to 3.04 kg CO₂eq/day/capita in 2017 in urban
86 Beijing, is attributed to the growing consumption of animal-sourced foods²³. China is the
87 country with the highest ambient nitrogen pollution levels in the world, with agriculture
88 contributing 95% of ammonia emissions and 51% of nitrous oxide emissions²⁴. This
89 poses great challenges for reducing air pollution²⁴ and eutrophication of aquatic
90 systems²⁵. Additionally, food production drives soil erosion and biodiversity loss, and
91 intensifies the competition for scarce fertile land and freshwater resources²⁶⁻²⁹. The
92 ongoing diet transition, if not modified, is expected to further exacerbate pressure on the
93 environment and land in China³⁰. While evidence is still being built in China, adjusting the
94 dietary patterns of Chinese residents has great potential to reduce environmental
95 pressure.

96 The expansion of agriculture into natural ecosystems, the sprawl of urban areas¹, the
97 underregulated livestock sector, and the strong interrelations between wild and
98 domestic animals also contribute to the emergence and reassortment of novel
99 pathogens^{31,32}. China has been a hotspot of the reassortment of avian influenza viruses in
100 poultry³³, which can be linked to the intensification of the livestock industry in wetland
101 habitats³⁴. Livestock farming³⁵, aquaculture (e.g., China accounting for 58% of global
102 antibiotics in aquaculture)³⁶ and even crop farming³⁷ are contributing to the creation of
103 antibiotic resistance. Next to the appearance of novel diseases, agriculture may also
104 impede the health system's response to such pathogens due to increased antibiotic
105 resistance^{35,38}.

106

107 **Toward slim and green growth**

108 Solving the issues mentioned above is paramount given the large scale of the Chinese food
109 system and the importance of its impact both domestically and internationally. As these
110 issues cannot be addressed separately and are in fact forming a "Syndemic"³⁹, we propose
111 to adopt a macro-perspective on the food system that integrates macro-economic
112 thoughts on sustainable transformation and cross-sectoral externalities with regard to
113 health and the environment. To achieve "slim and green growth", a food-system approach
114 is needed that entails an integrated analysis framework able to take into account the
115 interlinkages between agricultural production and food consumption across the overall
116 food system – and that goes beyond agriculture. Slim growth means that those production
117 factors that are used for revenue-generating but not welfare-creating activities – such as
118 food losses or unhealthy foods – need to be freed and relocated to more productive use.
119 Green growth means that hidden costs, such as environmental, health, and social external
120 effects, have to be subtracted to reveal the true growth of a sector⁴⁰.

121 In line with the slim and green growth, a broader perspective of sustainable diets should
122 also target a general reduction of diet-related health risks, including under- and over-
123 nutrition, and diet-related chronic diseases, which is closely related to public health⁴¹.
124 Food security can be understood in multiple ways such as nutrition security⁴¹, although
125 it is often narrowly interpreted in the Chinese context with emphasis on food
126 availability⁴². In detail, the slim and green growth requires economic growth and social
127 policies to provide people at all life phases with the income to purchase healthy diets. A
128 mix of economic incentives, food and nutrition education, and improved food
129 environments (e.g., food availability, affordability and stability, and food messaging)⁴³ are
130 further needed to support healthy diet choices.

131 A slim and green growth also requires broader health objectives that consider indirect
132 risks, ranging from novel and resistant pathogens to agriculture-led air pollution. Recent
133 prospective cohort analyses of Chinese older adults indicate that adopting healthy plant-
134 based diets reduces all-cause mortality⁴⁴ and mitigates air pollution hazards on cognitive
135 function⁴⁵. Strategies can be borrowed from the Healthy China 2030 action plan, with
136 focus on the promotion of public health and disease prevention, which can help reduce
137 healthcare needs and the economic burden of disease^{46,47}. Under such a national plan, in
138 our view, the development of a preventive healthcare system emphasizing the role of
139 nutrition education and clinical nutrition and promoting the "prevention first" principle
140 offers an opportunity for mitigating health risks rather than treating diseases⁴⁷. A
141 broader scope with consideration of potential impacts on the food system could make the
142 nutrition and health industry a new driving force for health promotion and economic
143 growth, and consider environmental pollution and food safety issues in concert. Such a
144 transformation would also provide employment and advanced training possibilities for
145 educated and unskilled labor, ranging from caregivers, nurses, doctors and food and
146 nutrition educators to people employed in canteens and gastronomy.

147 For a slim and green growth, more explicit environmental objectives need to define
148 spatially explicit critical loads⁴⁸ depending on the vulnerability of local ecosystems and
149 the exposed population. To this end, regulating agriculture is not enough; the entire food
150 supply chain needs restructuring, cuts in food losses, increased resource efficiency,
151 circularity, and the provision of decent livelihoods. Concepts like the green GDP or the
152 Gross Ecosystem Product (GEP) as applied to the Qinghai Province in China provide
153 useful guidance in policy decision making in China⁴⁹. Yet, these concepts need to be
154 broadened to include the public health sector as well.

155 **Transformation by evidence-based policy**

156 The current situation is ripe for change and, in fact, has good initial conditions. Even more
157 importantly, policymakers are aware of the necessity of this change, as both a reduction
158 of the urban-rural divide in the health and economic dimensions and of environmental
159 pollution are core pillars of the fourteenth 5-year plan (2021-2025)⁵⁰ in China. China's
160 agricultural sector has changed significantly since the beginning of the 21st century, with
161 particular efforts on reducing agrochemical inputs and promoting organic and ecological

162 agriculture. In 2015, China’s Ministry of Agriculture introduced two national strategies to
163 achieve zero growth in the use of chemical fertilizer and pesticides by 2020⁵¹. As
164 important measures of environmental protection, the individual sets of ten principles
165 addressing air⁵², water⁵³, and soil⁴², ecological fiscal transfer schemes⁵⁴, and the recent
166 pledge of the climate neutrality ambition in 2060 also put forward higher requirements
167 for sustainability in agricultural production and food processing. As an important
168 measure for the improvement of dietary behavior and population health, the updated
169 “Chinese Dietary Guidelines” (taking the EAT-Lancet guideline into consideration)²⁸
170 stresses the key role of diet and nutrition for both public and planetary health.

171 For the transformation of the food system toward slim and sustainable growth, certain
172 practices need to be changed to simultaneously reduce hidden environmental, social, and
173 health costs. Table 1 & 2 provides a cross-sectoral overview on potential interventions in
174 the Chinese food system. For instance, practices such as wild animals being sold in wet
175 markets and highly polluting aquaculture production must be reduced. Livestock
176 industries have to be shrunk, particularly in high-risk areas such as wetland habitats to
177 avoid the emergence of novel pathogens³⁴. The economic activities and employment of
178 labor force in the upstream and downstream industries of agriculture could undergo
179 substantial changes too. Rather than subsidizing agricultural production and thereby
180 escalating pollution, exiting payments to reduce livestock density may facilitate rapid
181 structural change⁵⁵. Diverting subsidies into education programs can help build up food
182 and nutrition knowledge and practices¹⁷, which provides an opportunity to foster healthy
183 diets and change consumption preferences⁵⁶. These education programs, targeting in
184 particular younger people and their families in rural areas^{57,58}, could help reduce the
185 urban-rural divide; left-behind children are the primary group facing micronutrient
186 deficiency, stunting, and cognitive issues^{17,18}. There is evidence that parents’ diets
187 changed for the better as a consequence of nutrition education in kindergartens⁵⁹. The
188 long-term benefits of promoting food and nutrition education programs for improving
189 human capital, preventing human health risks, and reducing environmental damages
190 deserve more research and evidence. At the same time, alternative livelihoods in rural
191 areas are needed that allow for structural change and have higher real productivity. One
192 opportunity may lie in the horticultural sector, which can provide a synergetic effect on
193 the economy and the environment. In contrast to the livestock industry^{24,25}, the
194 horticultural sector in combination with strict sustainability targets – and facilitated by
195 improved production technology^{60,61} – has benefits with respect to public health and the
196 environment⁶² through reduced resource consumption and stronger soil conservation
197 than the cultivation of grain crops. In addition, the horticulture industry has proven to
198 provide livelihoods for many smallholders⁶³ and much higher labor intensity on average
199 than the livestock sector⁶⁴.

200 These changes indicate potential trajectories that research will have to show how
201 constraints on agricultural production do not jeopardize the gains in food security of the
202 past. The linkage between the food system and the environment and health sectors is

203 central to its transformation both because of synergies and potential trade-offs among
204 food, environmental and health plans. Metrics with a sustainability focus (e.g., green
205 GDP⁶⁵) will help illustrate the connectedness of these different sectors so that
206 improvements in one sector (e.g., increased food security) at the expense of another (e.g.,
207 higher GHG emissions) can be more easily detected and thus avoided. The potential major
208 challenges associated with food system transformation are lock-ins of infrastructure
209 investments and unwillingness to pay for the true cost of food, as well as the need to
210 understand the scope of the problem at the actor level - all of which require strategies of
211 maximizing the co-benefits between the economic, public health, and environmental
212 aspects while minimizing potential trade-offs. Our perspective provides a food-system
213 viewpoint and solicits a range of potential measures; greater scientific evidence on the
214 synergies and trade-offs between these measures is warranted.

215 **Integrative analysis for a systemic transformation**

216 China needs a systemic transformation of the food system with an economy-wide
217 perspective instead of incremental changes toward single-targeted objectives. Thus,
218 integrative analysis of potential triple benefits for economy, health, and the environment
219 is necessary despite some activities already being implemented (e.g., regulations about
220 zero growth in chemical fertilizer and pesticides^{51,66}).

221 Lessons can be learned from the climate change community, e.g., with respect to the
222 energy transition⁶⁷. Here, pathways were designed for a sustainability transition that
223 achieve the overarching goals, mapping out the technological measures, the required
224 scale and the timing of the transformation, as well as suitable policy instruments. Such
225 pathways can be further improved to account for market imperfections, novel
226 technologies or even side-effects of the transformation, such as employment impacts on
227 unskilled labor. The big advantage of these pathways compared to the large body of
228 literature on individual policy interventions is that they allow for enquiring the optimal
229 relative ambition levels across individual measures, assessing whether the overall targets
230 can be met, and combining them in a way that the achievement of side-goals is not
231 impaired.

232 Externalities on economy, public health, and the environment are omnipresent within
233 food systems and thus the economic problem is how to incentivize socially optimal food
234 production and consumption. Given the wide range of economic, health, and
235 environmental problems connected to the food system, the food system transformation
236 is a considerably more “wicked problem” than the energy transition. Policy instruments
237 in the food system are more heterogeneous than in the energy system, since a central
238 instrument such as greenhouse gas pricing is insufficient to transform the food system.
239 These extant hidden costs are due to not only various market failures but also policy
240 failures that prevent food systems from operating at environmental, social, and economic

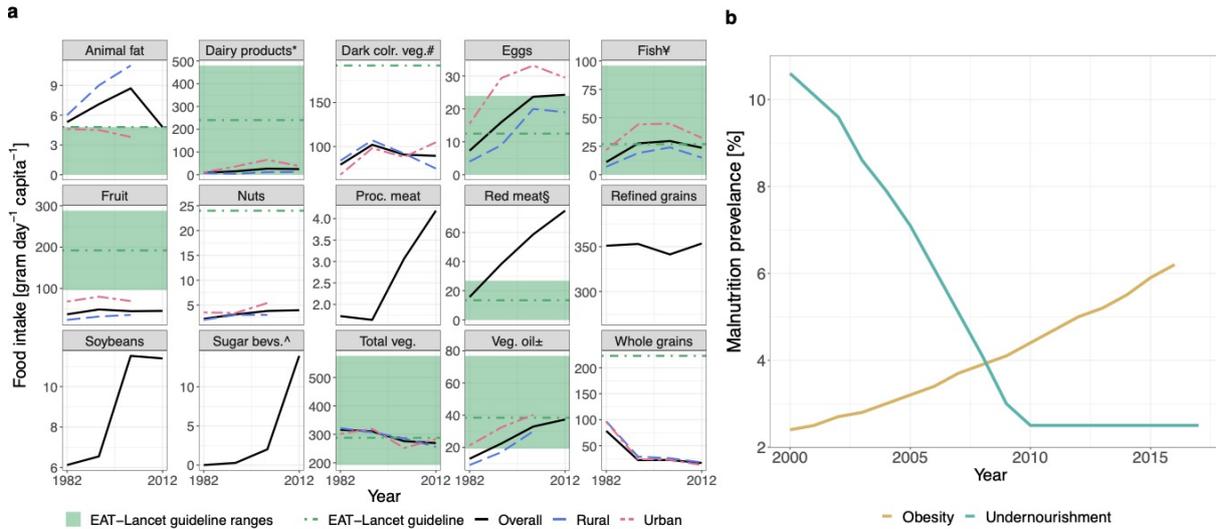
241 optimal levels. Economists can make key contributions to the analysis of food systems
242 by developing methods and metrics to reveal the true cost of food systems⁶⁸. It is utterly
243 important to break disciplinary silos and integrate these metrics into a system approach
244 with a large-scale view, which alters the frame of the analysis and requires multisectoral
245 collaboration. We thus suggest considerably widening the perspective beyond
246 agriculture or the food supply chain to capture the entire nature of the problem, and to
247 identify solutions subsequently. While most interventions focus on a specific primary
248 policy target, they also hold strong interaction with other targets (Table 1 & 2). Policy-
249 making should therefore be more integrated. Similar to “health-in-all-policies” (HiAP)⁶⁹,
250 we need an “environment-in-all-policies” such that, for example, environmental criteria
251 find entry into nutrition guidelines, or environmental and nutrition targets are integrated
252 into agricultural R&D funding schemes. Finally, while economic evaluations already play
253 a role in today's policy-making, we argue to open the perspective of economic
254 assessments beyond the regulated sector, also toward impacts such policies may have on
255 social inequality, urban-rural divide, migration and other economic sectors.

256 Future research yet needs to show how these – or further policies – can be combined to
257 achieve a transformation, and at which ambition level they need to be employed to
258 achieve the food system targets⁷⁰. For many of these policies, it is still unclear how
259 effective they can be at achieving a transformation in quantitative terms (e.g., using
260 econometric policy-evaluation methods). To explore feasible transformation pathways,
261 agendas toward sustainable food systems in China will therefore require
262 multidisciplinary and synergistic approaches, more scientific evidence, and more
263 collaborative work⁷¹.

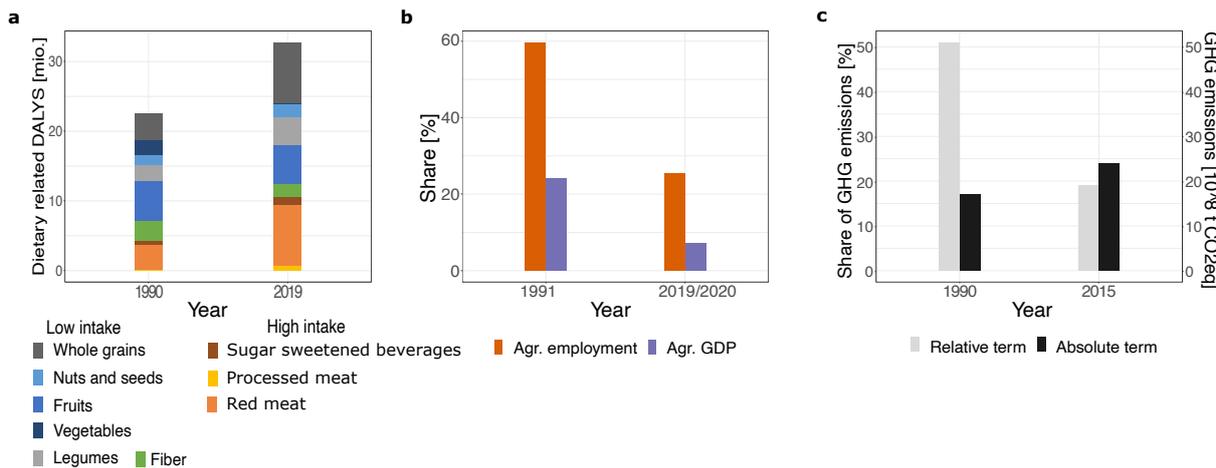
264 There are several important scientific panels and initiatives functioning as science-policy
265 initiatives for food systems transformation⁷². The International Panel of Experts on
266 Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food), for instance, where FAO is playing an important
267 role to promote the agroecological food movement and shift the paradigm from industrial
268 agriculture to diversified agroecological systems. The Chinese government has also been
269 joining force with its vibrant civil society actors that actively advocate for agroecology. In
270 addition to producer-side measures, transforming the Chinese food systems requires
271 consumer-side measures. This implies a scope systematically utilizing data and modeling
272 tools in the food system to fill in knowledge gaps. Coordination of high-quality data
273 collection, econometric analysis of policy impacts, sophisticated model development and
274 application, and team-based research output as a systematic collaborative action
275 network are prerequisites for supporting targeted policymaking for the Chinese food
276 system transformation⁷³. By exchanging with the Food Systems Dashboard⁷⁴, the Chinese

277 Food Systems Dashboard (CFSD) has been initiated to provide the public and scientific
278 communities with a holistic data view of the Chinese food system and visualization
279 services for users to obtain and analyze the food system indicators for various regions of
280 China and different economic levels (Figure 3). As illustrated by Figure 1a, the CFSD
281 initiative facilitates better understanding about rural- and urban-specific situations
282 related to the consumption of various food groups. The CFSD aims to provide a
283 harmonized and curated basis for integrated analyses to explore food system sustainable
284 pathways by considering synergies in a consistent manner. A unified framework will be
285 further developed by connecting integrated assessment models⁷⁵ that incorporates local
286 information. Exchange with national and global science and decision maker networks will
287 aid successful food systems transformation in China. A commissioned China-focused
288 country study by the Food System Economics Commission (FSEC) is one example of such
289 collaborative work. These initiatives are about catalyzing sustainability research with a
290 focus on the Chinese food system – taking serious consideration of existing policies, using
291 fine-scale data and involving other Chinese and international research partners⁶⁶. This
292 network has fostered new collaborative research, opinion exchange, and increased
293 research capacity^{44,66}. Resulting insights can be fed back into international science-policy
294 initiatives such as FSEC and IPES-Food, and act as a role model for sustainability
295 promotion in other sectors and regions.

296 **Figures**

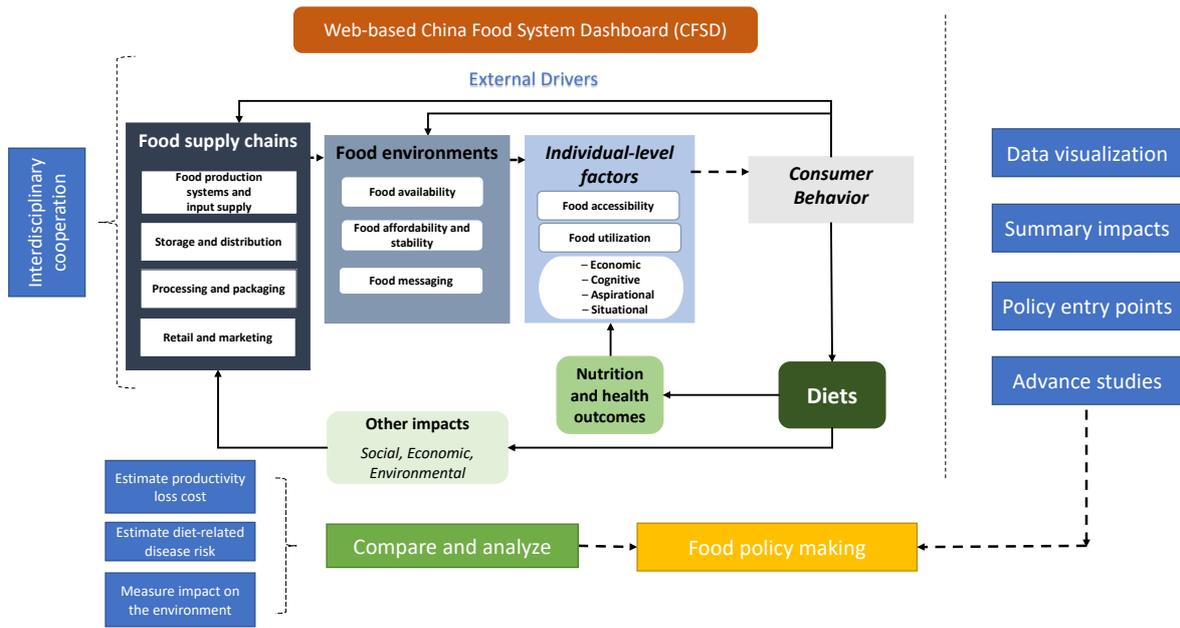


297
 298 **Figure 1: Food intake per day per capita and malnutrition prevalence in China.** a) Food intake per
 299 capita with the unit of gram per day in China (solid line in black), and in its rural and urban areas (dash
 300 lines in blue and red) between 1982 and 2011, based on CNNS national representative survey data² and
 301 the China Nutrition Statistics Yearbook (CNSY)⁷⁶ w.r.t. the EAT-Lancet guideline (levels as dash lines and
 302 ranges as shaded area in green)²⁸. There are 15 food groups considered in CNNS. *: total dairy products; §:
 303 including ruminant meat and pork; ¥: fish, shellfish, and other seafood; ^: sugar-sweetened beverages; #:
 304 dark colored vegetables including dark green, red, and orange vegetables; ±: vegetable oils for cooking. b)
 305 Share of undernourishment and obesity (age >= 18 years old) in China's total population; the share of
 306 undernourishment is reported as <2.5% after 2009-2011 based on FAOSTAT⁷⁷. Intake of refined and whole
 307 grains, red and processed meat, and sugar beverages was scaled to total energy of 2400 kcal from CNNS².
 308 Intake of total and dark colored vegetables, vegetable oils, eggs, dairy products, fish, animal fat was from
 309 the CNSY⁷⁶. Intake of fruits, soybeans, and nuts in 1982-2002 was from the CNSY and that in 2012 was
 310 CNNS². For rural and urban statistics, all data were from the CNSY, among which intake of whole grains was
 311 partitioned from total grains according to their shares²; there are no related data available for the intake of
 312 processed meat, red meat, refined grains, soybeans, and sugar-sweetened beverages in urban and rural
 313 areas.



314
 315 **Figure 2: Economic, public health and environment impacts of the Chinese food system.** a) risks
 316 measured as million disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) related to diets which are categorized in low
 317 intake in whole grains, nuts and seeds, fruits, vegetables, legumes, and fiber; and high intake in sugar
 318 sweetened beverage, red meat, and processed meat, based on Global Disease Burden⁷; b) share of
 319 agricultural employment in 1991 and 2019 and gross domestic production (GDP) in 1991 and 2020, based
 320 on world development indicators⁷⁸; c) GHG emissions from the Chinese food system in relative and absolute
 321 terms in 1990 and 2015²².

322



323

324

325

326

327

Figure 3: The Chinese food system dashboard (CFSD) framework to visualize and analyze the food system indicators. This serves as a harmonized and curated basis that connects integrated assessment models for integrated analyses to explore food system sustainable pathways. This framework is adapted from JHU FSD framework⁷⁴.

328 **Tables**

329 Table 1. Objectives for the Chinese food system transformation with regard to subsystems of agricultural and food production, and food processing and retail. Exemplary interventions
 330 with a primary target also may have co-benefits with regards to secondary targets. We indicate potential (co-) benefits for economy (ec), public health (h) and the environment (en)
 331 with “+” for clear implications; “+/-” for neutral implications.

Sub-System	Objectives	Interventions to achieve primary targets	Examples for co-benefits with secondary targets
Agricultural and food production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operate agricultural and food production within planetary boundaries • Promote future-proof and resilient business models • Use and preserve ecosystem services 	Promote agricultural extension and educational programs for smallholders on regenerative agricultural practices [en: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversified production improves nutritional status [h: +] • Integration of ecosystem services reduces costs [ec: +] • Improved rural livelihoods reduce urban-rural divide [ec: +]
		Phase out subsidies to rectify price distortion and repurpose subsidies to promote green agricultural technologies [en: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support of structural change of food systems [ec: +] • Improves health via reduced pollution [h: +]
		Internalize environmental externalities, e.g., via tax reform [en: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Double dividend of Pigouvian taxes [ec: +] • Improves health via reduced pollution [h: +]
		Facilitate structural change within agriculture (e.g., advanced training or professional reorientation, support for major investments, exit payments) [ec: +; en: +; h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divert support from polluting to sustainable farm systems [en: +]
		Promote diverse and hybrid business models (e.g., agritourism, direct marketing, collaborations with water works or city councils) [ec: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pioneers of sustainable farming can gain more from agritourism and direct marketing [en: +, h: +/-] • Payment for ecosystem service provision [en: +]
		R&D investment [ec: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research programs should be oriented toward environmental and nutritional targets [en: +, h: +]
Food processing and retail	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce the extent of food processing • Reduce the environmental footprint (e.g., energy requirements in transport, cooling, and processing) • Reduce food loss and the resulting overproduction 	Improve tracking of products within food supply chains to safeguard food safety [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitates life-cycle inventories to better assess environmental footprints through the food value chains [en: +] • Increases trust in food system and willingness to pay for environmental, animal welfare and health attributes of products [en: +; ec: +]
		Develop new food preservation and transport technologies [ec: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduces food loss [en: +] • Improves food safety but may also reduce fresh product consumption [h: +/-]
		Promote modern direct marketing of products by farmers [ec: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empower consumers via direct feedback to express their wishes for sustainable products [en: +]
		Improve regulations and legislation about food advertising and labelling to restrict unhealthy products (e.g., ultra-processed foods) [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large synergies between healthy and environmental-friendly consumption [en: +] • Economic public health benefits may outweigh reduced added-value in food industry [ec: +/-]
		Labelling and pre-selection of healthy and sustainable options in food delivery apps [en: +; h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustworthy labeling can improve profit margins [ec: +]

332 Table 2. Objectives for the Chinese food system transformation with regard to subsystems of food consumption, public health and healthcare system, and non-food economy. Exemplary
 333 interventions with a primary target also may have co-benefits with regards to secondary targets. We indicate potential (co-) benefits for economy (ec), public health (h) and the
 334 environment (en) with “+” for clear implications; “+/-” for neutral implications.

Sub-System	Objectives	Interventions to achieve primary targets	Examples for co-benefits with secondary targets
Food consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve food security and nutrition quality • Reduce food waste and the resulting overproduction • Improve access and affordability of healthy and sustainable diets 	Income transfers for food insecure population groups [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help people to overcome poverty trap [ec: +] • Improved human capital [ec: +] • Reduce economic inequality [ec: +]
		Develop dietary guidance (e.g., dietary guidelines) for healthy and sustainable food [en: +; h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved human capital [ec: +] • Reduce medical expenditure and economic burden [ec: +]
		Enforcing healthy and sustainable offers in canteens, expand population coverage of public food provision, improving their financial resources [en: +; h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanent direct marketing between canteens and farmers can offer business models for sustainable farming [ec: +] • Preventive health services reduce treatment costs [ec: +]
		Introduce nutrition classes in kindergartens and schools [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preventive health services reduce treatment costs [ec: +] • Healthy plant-based nutrition positive for environment [en: +]
		Nutrition counseling for prevention in healthcare system [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preventive health services reduce treatment costs [ec: +] • Offers novel career perspectives for low-educated caregivers [ec: +]
		Campaigns for consumers to adopt practices to improve efficiency in cooking, food preservation, and waste disposal [en: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reducing waste and preserving food surpluses means reducing food expenditure and improving food security for poor [ec: +, h: +]
Public health and healthcare system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevent chronic disease and improve resilience of population by using dietary interventions • Adopt a one-health perspective and extend healthcare system to more societal spheres 	Educate nutritionists, dietitians, etc. [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preventive health services reduce treatment costs [ec: +] • Healthy plant-based nutrition positive for environment [en: +]
		Improve nutrition in hospitals and sanatoriums, initiating healthier diet after treatment [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanent direct marketing between canteens and farmers can offer business models for sustainable farming [ec: +] • Public health prevention measures reduce treatment costs [ec: +]
		Include public health experts and one-health experts in planning councils (e.g., for urban and rural development) [h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved labor productivity [ec: +] • Mitigation and reduced exposure to environmental pollution [en: +]
Non-Food Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce economic and health inequality and integrate urban and rural areas • Develop holistic concepts of public welfare and economic development • Improve cross-sector and rural-urban labor migration 	Invest in high-quality education in rural areas [ec: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved resource efficiency [en: +] • Higher awareness for health and pollution [h: +]
		Adopt holistic indicators for measuring welfare and account for cross-sectoral external effects, such as the Green GDP [ec: +; en: +; h: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reveal hidden costs related to economy, public health, and the environment [ec: +; en: +; h: +]
		Diverting premiums toward retraining programs (e.g., for livestock farmers) [ec: +]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitates convergence to a more sustainable food system [en: +] • Facilitates successful migration [ec: +]

335

336 **References**

- 337 1. Gong, P. *et al.* Urbanisation and health in China. *The Lancet* **379**, 843–852 (2012).
- 338 2. He, Y. *et al.* The dietary transition and its association with cardiometabolic mortality
339 among Chinese adults, 1982-2012: a cross-sectional population-based study. *Lancet*
340 *Diabetes Endocrinol* **7**, 540–548 (2019).
- 341 3. Liu, J., Lundqvist, J., Weinberg, J. & Gustafsson, J. Food Losses and Waste in China and
342 Their Implication for Water and Land. *Environ. Sci. Technol.* **47**, 10137–10144 (2013).
- 343 4. Ng, S. W., Norton, E. C. & Popkin, B. M. Why have physical activity levels declined
344 among Chinese adults? Findings from the 1991–2006 China health and nutrition surveys.
345 *Social Science & Medicine* **68**, 1305–1314 (2009).
- 346 5. Monda, K. L., Gordon-Larsen, P., Stevens, J. & Popkin, B. M. China’s transition: the
347 effect of rapid urbanization on adult occupational physical activity. *Soc Sci Med* **64**, 858–
348 870 (2007).
- 349 6. Zhou, M. *et al.* Mortality, morbidity, and risk factors in China and its provinces, 1990–
350 2017: a systematic analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2017. *The Lancet*
351 **394**, 1145–1158 (2019).
- 352 7. Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME). Global Burden of Disease (GBD
353 2019). *Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation* <https://www.healthdata.org/gbd/2019>
354 (2020).

- 355 8. Gao, L. *et al.* Double Burden of Malnutrition and Nutrition Transition in Asia: A Case
356 Study of 4 Selected Countries with Different Socioeconomic Development. *Advances in*
357 *Nutrition* **11**, 1663–1670 (2020).
- 358 9. Zhai, F. *et al.* Dynamics of the Chinese Diet and the Role of Urbanicity, 1991–2011. *Obes*
359 *Rev* **15**, (2014).
- 360 10. Dearth-Wesley, T., Wang, H. & Popkin, B. M. Under- and overnutrition dynamics in
361 Chinese children and adults (1991–2004). *Eur J Clin Nutr* **62**, 1302–1307 (2008).
- 362 11. Liu, Y.-Y. *et al.* Emergence of plasmid-mediated colistin resistance mechanism MCR-1
363 in animals and human beings in China: a microbiological and molecular biological study.
364 *Lancet Infect. Dis.* **16**, 161–168 (2016).
- 365 12. Zhao, F.-J., Ma, Y., Zhu, Y.-G., Tang, Z. & McGrath, S. P. Soil Contamination in China:
366 Current Status and Mitigation Strategies. *Environ. Sci. Technol.* **49**, 750–759 (2015).
- 367 13. Lu, Y. *et al.* Impacts of soil and water pollution on food safety and health risks in China.
368 *Environ. Int.* **77**, 5–15 (2015).
- 369 14. Rozelle, S. & Hell, N. *Invisible China: How the Urban-Rural Divide Threatens China's*
370 *Rise*. (University of Chicago Press, 2020).
- 371 15. Wang, X., Luo, R., Zhang, L. & Rozelle, S. The Education Gap of China's Migrant
372 Children and Rural Counterparts. *The Journal of Development Studies* **53**, 1865–1881
373 (2017).
- 374 16. Tombe, T. & Zhu, X. Trade, Migration, and Productivity: A Quantitative Analysis of
375 China. *American Economic Review* **109**, 1843–1872 (2019).

- 376 17. Wang, L. *et al.* Are infant/toddler developmental delays a problem across rural China?
377 *Journal of Comparative Economics* **47**, 458–469 (2019).
- 378 18. Luo, R. *et al.* The effect of a micronutrient powder home fortification program on anemia
379 and cognitive outcomes among young children in rural China: a cluster randomized trial.
380 *BMC Public Health* **17**, 738 (2017).
- 381 19. He, L. *et al.* Clustering of multiple lifestyle behaviors among migrant, left-behind and
382 local adolescents in China: a cross-sectional study. *BMC Public Health* **21**, 542 (2021).
- 383 20. Popkin, B. M., Corvalan, C. & Grummer-Strawn, L. M. Dynamics of the double burden
384 of malnutrition and the changing nutrition reality. *The Lancet* **395**, 65–74 (2020).
- 385 21. World Bank. *Repositioning nutrition as central to development: a strategy for large scale*
386 *action.* (World Bank, 2006).
- 387 22. Crippa, M. *et al.* Food systems are responsible for a third of global anthropogenic GHG
388 emissions. *Nature Food* 1–12 (2021) doi:10.1038/s43016-021-00225-9.
- 389 23. Xiong, X. *et al.* Urban dietary changes and linked carbon footprint in China: A case study
390 of Beijing. *Journal of Environmental Management* **255**, 109877 (2020).
- 391 24. Gu, B. *et al.* Atmospheric Reactive Nitrogen in China: Sources, Recent Trends, and
392 Damage Costs. *Environ. Sci. Technol.* **46**, 9420–9427 (2012).
- 393 25. Yu, C. *et al.* Managing nitrogen to restore water quality in China. *Nature* **567**, 516–520
394 (2019).
- 395 26. Springmann, M. *et al.* Options for keeping the food system within environmental limits.
396 *Nature* **562**, 519–525 (2018).

- 397 27. Springmann, M., Godfray, H. C. J., Rayner, M. & Scarborough, P. Analysis and valuation
398 of the health and climate change cobenefits of dietary change. *PNAS* **113**, 4146–4151
399 (2016).
- 400 28. Willett, W. *et al.* Food in the Anthropocene: the EAT–Lancet Commission on healthy
401 diets from sustainable food systems. *The Lancet* **393**, 447–492 (2019).
- 402 29. FOLU. Growing Better : Ten Critical Transitions to Transform Food and Land Use.
- 403 30. Kastner, T., Rivas, M. J. I., Koch, W. & Nonhebel, S. Global changes in diets and the
404 consequences for land requirements for food. *PNAS* **109**, 6868–6872 (2012).
- 405 31. Vanwambeke, S. O., Linard, C. & Gilbert, M. Emerging challenges of infectious diseases
406 as a feature of land systems. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* **38**, 31–36
407 (2019).
- 408 32. Vanwambeke, S. O., Linard, C., Gilbert, M. & Dellicour, S. SARS-CoV-2 emergence and
409 diffusion: a new disease manifesting human–environment interactions and a global
410 geography of health. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* **46**, 43–45 (2020).
- 411 33. Dhingra, M. S. *et al.* Geographical and Historical Patterns in the Emergences of Novel
412 Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza (HPAI) H5 and H7 Viruses in Poultry. *Front. Vet.*
413 *Sci.* **5**, (2018).
- 414 34. Gilbert, M., Xiao, X. & Robinson, T. P. Intensifying poultry production systems and the
415 emergence of avian influenza in China: a ‘One Health/Ecohealth’ epitome. *Archives of*
416 *Public Health* **75**, 48 (2017).

- 417 35. Van Boeckel, T. P. *et al.* Global trends in antimicrobial resistance in animals in low- and
418 middle-income countries. *Science* **365**, (2019).
- 419 36. Schar, D., Klein, E. Y., Laxminarayan, R., Gilbert, M. & Van Boeckel, T. P. Global
420 trends in antimicrobial use in aquaculture. *Scientific Reports* **10**, 21878 (2020).
- 421 37. Spraying diseased citrus orchards with antibiotics could backfire. *Nature* **567**, 283–283
422 (2019).
- 423 38. Mann, A., Nehra, K., Rana, J. S. & Dahiya, T. Antibiotic resistance in agriculture:
424 Perspectives on upcoming strategies to overcome upsurge in resistance. *Current*
425 *Research in Microbial Sciences* **2**, 100030 (2021).
- 426 39. Swinburn, B. A. *et al.* The Global Syndemic of Obesity, Undernutrition, and Climate
427 Change: The Lancet Commission report. *The Lancet* **393**, 791–846 (2019).
- 428 40. Seppelt, R., Arndt, C., Beckmann, M., Martin, E. A. & Hertel, T. W. Deciphering the
429 Biodiversity–Production Mutualism in the Global Food Security Debate. *Trends in*
430 *Ecology & Evolution* **35**, 1011–1020 (2020).
- 431 41. Herforth, A. *et al.* *Cost and affordability of healthy diets across and within countries.*
432 (Food Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), 2020).
433 doi:10.4060/cb2431en.
- 434 42. The State Council. *Food Security in China.* (The State Council Information Office of the
435 People’s Republic of China, 2019).

- 436 43. HLPE. *Nutrition and food systems. A report by the High Level Panel of Experts on Food*
437 *Security and Nutrition of the Committee on World Food Security.*
438 <https://www.fao.org/3/i7846e/i7846e.pdf> (2017).
- 439 44. Chen, H. *et al.* Plant-based dietary patterns in relation to mortality among older adults in
440 China. *Nat Aging* 1–7 (2022) doi:10.1038/s43587-022-00180-5.
- 441 45. Zhu, A. *et al.* Interaction between plant-based dietary pattern and air pollution on
442 cognitive function: a prospective cohort analysis of Chinese older adults. *The Lancet*
443 *Regional Health - Western Pacific* **20**, 100372 (2022).
- 444 46. Chen, P., Li, F. & Harmer, P. Healthy China 2030: moving from blueprint to action with
445 a new focus on public health. *The Lancet Public Health* **4**, e447 (2019).
- 446 47. Hu, F. B., Liu, Y. & Willett, W. C. Preventing chronic diseases by promoting healthy diet
447 and lifestyle: public policy implications for China. *Obesity Reviews* **12**, 552–559 (2011).
- 448 48. Gerten, D. *et al.* Feeding ten billion people is possible within four terrestrial planetary
449 boundaries. *Nature Sustainability* **3**, 200–208 (2020).
- 450 49. Ouyang, Z. *et al.* Using gross ecosystem product (GEP) to value nature in decision
451 making. *PNAS* **117**, 14593–14601 (2020).
- 452 50. The State Council. The 14th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social
453 Development of the People’s Republic of China and Outline of the Vision for 2035.
454 http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2021-03/13/content_5592681.htm (2021).
- 455 51. Jin, S. & Zhou, F. Zero Growth of Chemical Fertilizer and Pesticide Use: China’s
456 Objectives, Progress and Challenges. *Journal of Resources and Ecology* **9**, 50–58 (2018).

- 457 52. The State Council. Notice of the State Council on Printing and Distributing the Action
458 Plan for the Prevention and Control of Air Pollution. [http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2013-](http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2013-09/12/content_2486773.htm)
459 [09/12/content_2486773.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zwggk/2013-09/12/content_2486773.htm) (2013).
- 460 53. The State Council. Notice of the State Council on Printing and Distributing the Action
461 Plan for the Prevention and Control of Water Pollution.
462 http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2015-04/16/content_9613.htm (2015).
- 463 54. Busch, J. *et al.* A global review of ecological fiscal transfers. *Nat Sustain* 1–10 (2021)
464 doi:10.1038/s41893-021-00728-0.
- 465 55. Zaken, M. van A. *New steps to tackle nitrogen pollution offer prospects for farmers -*
466 *News item - Government.nl.* [https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2020/02/07/new-](https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2020/02/07/new-steps-to-tackle-nitrogen-pollution-offer-prospects-for-farmers)
467 [steps-to-tackle-nitrogen-pollution-offer-prospects-for-farmers](https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2020/02/07/new-steps-to-tackle-nitrogen-pollution-offer-prospects-for-farmers) (2020).
- 468 56. Garnett, T., Mathewson, S., Angelides, P. & Borthwick, F. *Policies and actions to shift*
469 *eating patterns: What works?* 85 (2015).
- 470 57. Cao, Z.-J., Wang, S.-M. & Chen, Y. A Randomized Trial of Multiple Interventions for
471 Childhood Obesity in China. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* **48**, 552–560
472 (2015).
- 473 58. Qian, L., Newman, I. M., Yuen, L.-W., Du, W. & Shell, D. F. Effects of a comprehensive
474 nutrition education programme to change grade 4 primary-school students' eating
475 behaviours in China. *Public Health Nutr.* **22**, 903–911 (2019).
- 476 59. Hu, C. *et al.* Evaluation of a kindergarten-based nutrition education intervention for pre-
477 school children in China. *Public Health Nutrition* **13**, 253–260 (2010).

- 478 60. Cui, Z. *et al.* Pursuing sustainable productivity with millions of smallholder farmers.
479 *Nature* **555**, 363–366 (2018).
- 480 61. Herrero, M. *et al.* Innovation can accelerate the transition towards a sustainable food
481 system. *Nature Food* **1**, 266–272 (2020).
- 482 62. Galdeano-Gómez, E. Does an Endogenous Relationship Exist between Environmental
483 and Economic Performance? A Resource-Based View on the Horticultural Sector.
484 *Environ Resource Econ* **40**, 73–89 (2008).
- 485 63. Wang, H., Dong, X., Rozelle, S., Huang, J. & Reardon, T. Producing and Procuring
486 Horticultural Crops with Chinese Characteristics: The Case of Northern China. *World*
487 *Development* **37**, 1791–1801 (2009).
- 488 64. USDA ERS. Farm Labor. [https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-](https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-labor/#size)
489 [labor/#size](https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-labor/#size).
- 490 65. Wang, J. Revive China’s green GDP programme. *Nature* **534**, 37–37 (2016).
- 491 66. Wang, X. *et al.* Reforming China’s fertilizer policies: implications for nitrogen pollution
492 reduction and food security. *Sustain Sci* (2022) doi:10.1007/s11625-022-01189-w.
- 493 67. IPCC. AR5 Climate Change 2014: Mitigation of Climate Change — IPCC.
494 <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg3/> (2014).
- 495 68. Fan, S. Economics in food systems transformation. *Nat Food* **2**, 218–219 (2021).
- 496 69. Becerra-Posada, F. Health in all policies: a strategy to support the Sustainable
497 Development Goals. *The Lancet Global Health* **3**, e360 (2015).

- 498 70. Gaupp, F. *et al.* Food system development pathways for healthy, nature-positive and
499 inclusive food systems. *Nat Food* **2**, 928–934 (2021).
- 500 71. Rockström, J. *et al.* A safe operating space for humanity. *Nature* **461**, 472–475 (2009).
- 501 72. Singh, B. K. *et al.* Enhancing science–policy interfaces for food systems transformation.
502 *Nat Food* **2**, 838–842 (2021).
- 503 73. Schmidt-Traub, G., Obersteiner, M. & Mosnier, A. Fix the broken food system in three
504 steps. *Nature* **569**, 181–183 (2019).
- 505 74. Fanzo, J. *et al.* The Food Systems Dashboard is a new tool to inform better food policy.
506 *Nature Food* **1**, 243–246 (2020).
- 507 75. Soergel, B. *et al.* A sustainable development pathway for climate action within the UN
508 2030 Agenda. *Nat. Clim. Chang.* **11**, 656–664 (2021).
- 509 76. Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention. China Nutrition Statistics Yearbook.
510 <http://www.chinanutri.cn/sjnj/>.
- 511 77. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. FAOSTAT.
512 <https://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#home>.
- 513 78. World Bank. World Development Indicators.
514 <https://databank.worldbank.org/reports.aspx?source=world-development-indicators>
515 (2022).

516

517 **Acknowledgments**

518 The authors acknowledge the funding from the National Key Research and Development
519 Program of China (2020YFA0608604), and the Fundamental Research Funds for the
520 Central Universities in China, and the support from the Food System Economics

521 Commission and the Good Food Foundation. The authors would like to thank Hui Chen
522 and Jiaqi Xuan from Zhejiang University and Yuxuan Gu from Nanjing Normal University
523 for their excellent research assistance. The authors also appreciate the editor and three
524 anonymous reviewers for their very insightful comments and constructive suggestions.
525 Any errors remaining are the authors' sole responsibility.

526

527 **Author information**

528 **Affiliations**

529 ¹ China Academy for Rural Development, Department of Agricultural Economics and Management,
530 Zhejiang University, China

531 ² Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, Germany

532 ³ International Food Policy Research Institute, United States

533 ⁴ School of Public Health, The Children's Hospital, Zhejiang University School of Medicine, China

534 ⁵ Department of Nutrition, Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, United States

535 **Contributions**

536 X.W., B.L.B., C.Y. developed the initial idea and paper draft. X.W., B.L.B., C.Y., C.M.
537 contributed equally to the further conceptualization and writing of the manuscript. X.W.
538 curated the data and created the illustrations. X.W., B.L.B., C.Y., C.M., K.C. contributed to
539 the editing and reviewing of the manuscript and agreed on the final version.

540 **Corresponding authors**

541 Xiaoxi Wang | xiaoxi_wang@zju.edu.cn

542 Benjamin Leon Bodirsky | bodirsky@pik-potsdam.de

543 Changzheng Yuan | chy478@zju.edu.cn

544

545 **Ethics declaration - Competing interests**

546 The authors declare no competing interests.