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Global Land Use Implications of Dietary Trends

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Abstract

Global food security and agricultural land management represent two urgent and intimately related challenges that humans must face. We quantify the changes in the global agricultural land footprint if the world were to adhere to the dietary guidelines put forth by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), while accounting for the land use change incurred by import/export required to meet those guidelines. We analyze data at country, continental, and global levels. USDA guidelines are viewed as an improvement on the current land-intensive diet of the average American, but despite this our results show that global adherence to the guidelines would require 1 gigahectare of additional land—roughly the size of Canada—under current agricultural practice. The results also show a strong divide between Eastern and Western hemispheres, with many Western hemisphere countries showing net land sparing under a USDA guideline diet, while many Eastern hemisphere countries show net land use increase under a USDA guideline diet. We conclude that national dietary guidelines should be developed using not just health but also global land use and equity as criteria. Because global lands are a limited resource, national dietary guidelines also need to be coordinated internationally, in much the same way greenhouse gas emissions are increasingly coordinated.

40 **Introduction**

41

42 Increasing pressures on land and other natural resources such as water is largely attributed to
43 the increase in demand for agricultural products [1]. The agricultural sector is extremely
44 resource-intensive and continues to transform itself as populations grow. Global food
45 production is the largest user of fresh water and uses approximately 38% of the land on Earth
46 [1,2]. An estimated 62% of the remaining global land surface is either unsuitable for cultivation
47 on account of soil, climate topography, or urban development (30%) or is covered in natural
48 land states like forests (32%), so very little land is available for agricultural expansion that does
49 not destroy native land states. Hence, more efficient agricultural production is urgently needed
50 [3].

51 However, approximately 12% of the world remains undernourished [2]. According to
52 estimates from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the world
53 will need to produce 70% more food by 2050 to meet increased demand [3]. The global food
54 system is at a point of change where a thorough understanding of the relationship between
55 food consumption patterns, agricultural production and distribution is required to improve the
56 overall sustainability of the system [4]. It has become important now more than ever to make
57 global agricultural production both sustainable and equitable.

58 The global distribution of diet may play a major role in achieving this goal. Food
59 consumption patterns vary widely between countries. Average caloric intake in least
60 developed, developing, and industrialised countries varies widely; 2,120, 2,640, and 3,430 kcal
61 per person per day, respectively [5,6]. In many developing countries the average intake is even
62 lower than 2,120 kcal per person per day, resulting in undernourishment [3].

63 National dietary guidelines provide guidance on what constitutes a healthy diet,
64 especially in industrialised countries where individuals have access to a wide choice of foods.
65 The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) released *The Dietary Guidelines for*
66 *Americans, 2010* (“USDA guidelines” hereafter) to promote a healthy diet low in calories and
67 saturated fats. The dietary guidelines are divided by food groups and daily caloric intake levels
68 depending on age, sex, and physiological status (Table 1) [7]. Comparing the recommended
69 food group servings to current agricultural outputs and dietary practice reported in food
70 balance sheets from the FAO—both in the United States and many other industrialised
71 countries—shows a mismatch between current and guideline diets. For instance, in North
72 America, the consumption of land-intensive foods like meat is higher than the USDA guidelines
73 recommend, and consumption of land-sparing foods like vegetables is too low [8,9].

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77 **Table 1.** Daily recommended caloric intake of each food group as outlined by the United States
 78 Department of Agriculture Food Guide. Table adapted from the USDA *Dietary Guidelines for*
 79 *Americans 2010* [7]. Food groups are divided into 6 categories with servings determined by
 80 caloric levels. The caloric levels are assigned based on sex, physiological status and age.

81

Food Group	Daily Calorie Level											
	1000	1200	1400	1600	1800	2000	2200	2400	2600	2800	3000	3200
Fruit (Cups)	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
Vegetables (Cups)	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.5	4.0	4.0
Grains	3.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	6.0	6.0	7.0	8.0	9.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
Whole-grain portion (oz-eq)	1.5	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.5	5.0	5.0	5.0
Meat and Beans (oz-eq)	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	5.5	6.0	6.5	6.5	7.0	7.0	7.0
Milk (cups)	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Oils (tsp)	3.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	6.0	6.0	7.0	8.0	8.0	10.0	10.0
Discretionary calorie allowance	165	171	171	132	195	267	290	362	410	426	512	648

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85 It is well known that there is not enough land for land-intensive diets such as those
 86 currently practiced in the United States to be applied globally [3]. However, it is not known
 87 whether the healthier and less land-intensive diets such as described in the USDA guidelines
 88 would have the same limitation. This could result in net land sparing attributable to countries
 89 such as the United States where meat consumption declines under a USDA guideline diet. At
 90 the same time, land use attributable to the poorest countries would increase, as individuals
 91 gain the calories required to avoid malnourishment. This would clearly make global diets more
 92 equitable, but it is not clear what the net effect on land use would be.

93 Therefore, in this paper we build on the global land use change literature, which
 94 explores both the drivers and consequences of how human decisions affect landscapes [10,11],
 95 to address the question: Is there enough land worldwide under current agricultural practice for
 96 every country to adhere to the USDA guidelines?

97

98 **Methods**

99

100 We used the USDA guidelines because they are comprehensive and well articulated (Table 1)
101 [7]. Also, many lower-income countries are beginning to adopt a more westernized lifestyle
102 including a diet similar to that expressed in the USDA guidelines, so the study is consistent with
103 ongoing global dietary trends.

104 We used the FAOSTAT database [2] to compile the food supply quantity for each of the
105 commodity aggregates listed in Table 1 and grouped them according to the major food groups
106 recognized in the USDA MyPyramid model: fruits, vegetables, grains, meat/protein, dairy, oils
107 and discretionary [7]. For beverages, oils, sugar, butter and stimulants we converted the
108 processed quantities to equivalent primary quantities (e.g. wine to grapes, beer to barley,
109 butter to milk etc.) using conversion factors given by the FAO [12]. The food supply quantity
110 derived from the domestic supply and reported in the Food Balance Sheets includes production
111 plus imports minus exports. Thus, when calculating domestic land use, we subtracted the
112 imported quantity to determine domestic land used for growing food. We also used these data
113 to compute the import dependency ratio, defined as the ratio of the import quantity to the
114 domestic supply quantity, for each country and each commodity. This ratio is used at a later
115 step of the analysis (see below).

116 Next we took the recommended daily serving sizes of each food group based assuming
117 an intake of 2000 kcal/day and converted those to masses using the food balance sheets
118 handbook given by the FAO [13]. For each country we multiplied each of these masses by 365
119 (days) times the population of the country to get the quantity of each food group that would be
120 required in order for that country to adhere to the USDA guidelines in a year. A country's
121 surplus of each food group was taken to be the actual food supply for each food group minus
122 the corresponding quantity that would be required to meet the USDA guidelines. A negative
123 surplus is interpreted as a deficit, meaning that the country would need more food from that
124 group to follow the guidelines.

125 For each country the surplus of each food group was divided into two parts: one that
126 was produced within that country (domestic), and one that was produced outside of that
127 country (displaced) according to the import dependency ratio [13]. To meet the dietary
128 guidelines, we allow that imports may be increased, exports may be changed to domestic
129 production, and domestic production may be expanded where possible. For example, suppose
130 a country's domestic supply is X tonnes of some commodity and it imports Y tonnes of the same
131 commodity. The import dependency ratio is then Y/X . Now suppose that the amount of that
132 commodity required by that country to meet the guidelines is Z tonnes. The surplus is given by
133 $S=X+Y-Z$. We assume the surplus can be divided into two parts according to the domestic part S_d
134 $= S*(1-Y/X)$ and the imported (displaced) part $S_i = S*(Y/X)$.

135 For the domestic portion of the surplus, the change in agricultural land area within that
136 country that is required to meet the USDA guidelines was taken to be the domestic surplus S_d
137 divided by that country's combined yield of all commodities in the given food group

138 (Supplementary Appendix, Table S1) [2,7]. The change in agricultural land area outside of that
139 country was computed in the same way, but using the displaced surplus S_i and the world
140 average yields. Yields for crops can be found in the FAOSTAT database. For livestock products
141 we estimated yield in terms of production per hectare of land. The details of the calculations
142 and the corresponding python script appear in Supplementary Information (Appendices A and
143 B). The code we used for the analysis is also available on Github
144 (<https://github.com/Pacopag/faolyzer>).

145 Using this approach, we converted the USDA guidelines to land area required for the
146 guideline diet at the level of country, continent, and world. We wished to estimate a
147 conservative lower bound on the amount of land needed to meet the guidelines, if countries
148 were to switch to the USDA guidelines in 2010. Hence, instead of relying on model-based
149 projections for future demographics and possible dietary trends, we used historical FAOSTAT
150 country-level data and estimated the amount of land required for the guideline diet, given the
151 observed (lower) historical population sizes and agricultural activity until 2010. Hence, the
152 resulting data point for each year represents the amount of land spared or required in that
153 year, if the given country had been adhering to the USDA guidelines. Although we generated
154 these estimates for 1960 to 2010 to evaluate past trends, the values for 2010 are most relevant
155 to the current situation and generate a lower bound for possible future land requirements.
156 Hence we focus on the 2010 estimates for our conclusions.

157

158 **Results**

159

160

161 **Global analysis**

162 On a global scale it is apparent that certain food groups are driving most changes in agriculture.
163 We observe that if the world were to alter its food consumption to meet the USDA guidelines,
164 there would need to be a dramatic and unsustainable increase in agricultural lands (Figure 1).

165

166 **Figure 1. There is not enough land in the world to allow everyone to eat a USDA**
167 **guideline diet.** Plot shows net amount of land spared (or required) to meet the
168 *USDA Dietary Guidelines for Americans 2010*, by year for (a) all food groups, and
169 for (b) oils, (c) grains, (d) meat and pulses, (e) vegetables, (f) fruits, (g) dairy, and
170 (h) discretionary. Red depicts the amount of land spared or required based only on
171 domestic production while the blue line combines domestic land and displaced
172 land (land use a country generates elsewhere by relying on food imports) to depict
173 a total amount of land spared (or required). A net positive value for land spared
174 means less land would be required under a change to a USDA guideline diet, while
175 a net negative value means more land would be required to meet the guidelines (a
176 “land deficit”). The gap between domestic and total land spared for all groups is

177 nonzero due to discrepancies in the FAO dataset; the two curves should match
178 one another.

179
180 Overall, for the world to meet the guidelines, additional land is required for fruits, dairy
181 and oils and discretionary products (Figure 1). In contrast, significant amounts of land would be
182 spared in the meat, vegetables and grain sectors. This trend is common to most continents
183 except Africa (Supplementary Information, Appendix C). In total for all food groups,
184 approximately 1 gigahectare (Gha) of additional land is required to meet the guidelines (Figure
185 1, “all groups”, 2010 data point). 1 Gha of land is roughly the size of Canada and exceeds the
186 amount of fertile land currently available worldwide. Hence, the current USDA guidelines do
187 not go far enough in terms of setting up a globally sustainable dietary practice.

188 Our analysis also shows temporal trends in land spared or required under the guidelines
189 (Figure 1). Required land has been steadfastly increasing since 1960 (Figure 1, “all groups”) due
190 to increasing global population.

191
192 **Analysis by continent**

193 The challenges of providing stable access to adequate food are exacerbated by inequitable
194 dietary patterns of over- and under-consumption between countries and continents. Some of
195 these issues become apparent when we analyze data at the continental level, at which notable
196 common trends in consumption patterns and the associated land requirements emerge. For
197 instance, North America and the European Union displace more land than any other continents,
198 due to food imports (Figure 2). If North and South America shifted to USDA guidelines, they
199 would spare a moderate amount of land from changing to a less land-intensive diet. In contrast,
200 Africa, Eastern Europe, the European Union and Oceania would cause a large land deficit. The
201 impact of Asia shifting to USDA guidelines would be almost neutral, although the historical
202 trend suggests this will not be the case in the near future. The fact that the European Union
203 (where malnourishment is currently uncommon) would cause a land deficit by shifting to the
204 USDA guidelines suggests that the guidelines are unsustainable when it comes to land-intensive
205 foods like meat.

206
207 **Figure 2. Continents differ widely in land spared (or required) under USDA**
208 **guideline diet.** Plot shows net amount of land spared (or required) to meet the
209 *Dietary Guidelines* in each continent, by year for (a) the world, (b) Asia, (c) Africa, (d)
210 European Union, (e) Eastern Europe, (f) South America, (g) North America and (h)
211 Oceania. Red depicts the amount of land spared or required based only on domestic
212 production while the blue line combines domestic land and displaced land (land use
213 a country generates elsewhere by relying on food imports) to depict a total amount
214 of land spared (or required). A net positive value for land spared means less land

215 would be required under a change to a USDA guideline diet, while a net negative
216 value means more land would be required to meet the guidelines (a “land deficit”).

217 For most decades, Asia would have caused a net land deficit by shifting to the USDA
218 guidelines, since it was (and remains) a relatively under-nourished part of the world (Figure 2b).
219 An inflection point appears in the Asian dataset in 1980, when countries like China and India
220 began liberalizing their economies. Most notable are increases in land use for meat and grains
221 as Asia slowly begins to adopt a more westernized diet (Supplementary Information, Appendix
222 C). This suggests that while Asia has increased land use rapidly, equity in resource distribution
223 at the sub-continental level is imbalanced. For instance, one third of Indians are
224 undernourished and continue to live under food insecurity [3]. Inequities in global trading and
225 extension services as well as poor infrastructure trap populations in Asia in poverty. However,
226 future improvements towards equal land use change may better harness agricultural yields to
227 align the Asian diet with those of wealthier and more sustainable areas of the world, such as
228 the European Union.

229 Africa would require more land to meet the guidelines than any other continent. In fact,
230 most of the additional land required to meet the guidelines globally would be the result of
231 dietary shifts in Africa. This is not surprising because undernourishment is widespread in Africa
232 [14]. However, an inflection point, probably corresponding to growth in some African
233 economies, occurs in 1990 (Figure 2c). Almost all of the additional land required to meet the
234 guidelines would be the result of increased dairy consumption (Supplementary Information,
235 Appendix C). Although the extra land required to meet the guidelines in Africa is impossibly
236 large (more land is needed than what is available), Africa also stands the most to gain with
237 respect to growing agricultural yields [15]. Thus, although it is not currently possible to bring
238 the African diet in line with that of the USA or the European Union without a net growth in
239 agricultural lands, future improvements in agricultural practices in Africa may help to close the
240 gap.

241 The European Union would also require a significant amount of land to meet the USDA
242 guidelines. Almost all of the additional land needed would be the result of increased dairy and
243 fruit land use, a trend common to most of Europe (Supplementary Information, Appendix C).
244 We note that displaced land (from buying food imports) contributes strongly to European Union
245 land use, and exceeds displaced land use in North America (Figure 2d). Interestingly, the land
246 requirements for the European Union indicate the need for more displaced lands than domestic
247 land. This suggests that an American diet is unsustainable from a land use perspective,
248 domestically speaking.

249 Land use in Eastern Europe has fluctuated significantly over time (Figure 2e). After the
250 late 1980s, a land use deficit developed in the Eastern Europe dataset, and has largely persisted

251 in recent years. Therefore, in order to meet the USDA guidelines, Eastern Europe would require
252 a large amount of new land.

253 North America can spare a significant amount of land, should the USDA guidelines be
254 followed. The stems largely from meat, grain and vegetable land use (Supplementary
255 Information, Appendix C) [16]. Land use for meat is greater in North America than any other
256 continent, and as a result, land use displacement in North America is also significant (Figure 2g).

257 South America can also spare a significant amount of land by meeting the guidelines,
258 mostly from land sparing due to meat and grains, followed by vegetables and discretionary
259 products. South America shows a steady increase in land use since 1984 (Figure 2f). This trend
260 is overwhelmingly due to rapid increases in land use for meat. Thus, reducing meat
261 consumption in South America shows strong potential for sparing land (Supplementary
262 Information, Appendix C). Finally, Oceania can spare a small amount of land if the guidelines are
263 met, primarily from meat, grains and vegetables (Supplementary Information, Appendix C,
264 Figure 2h).

265

266 **World Map**

267 We also created a world map with our results, showing net land spared or required for each
268 country to shift to a USDA guideline diet as of 2010 (Figure 3) [17]. Countries in blue or teal
269 colours could reduce global land use by shifting to a USDA guideline diet (net positive land
270 spared), while countries in green, red or yellow would cause an increase in land use are (net
271 negative land spared). Although 1 gigahectare of extra land would be required globally for a
272 guideline diet (Figure 1), the world map shows how the results are much more variable at the
273 country level. The countries that can spare the most land are the USA, Brazil and Australia. In
274 contrast, the countries that require the most land to meet the guidelines are Mozambique,
275 Saudi Arabia, and India. Global economic disparity is often described in terms of the gap
276 between the Global North and the Global South. In contrast, our country-level map shows a
277 strong hemispheric divide: the western hemisphere would largely spare global lands by shifting
278 to a USDA guideline diet, whereas the eastern hemisphere would largely use up more global
279 lands under such a diet. The Western hemisphere would spare significant amounts of land
280 under a USDA diet largely due to current very high levels of meat consumption, via grain grown
281 to feed livestock.

282

283 **Figure 3. A western/eastern hemispheric divide in land spared versus land**
284 **required by a USDA guideline diet.** Land spared or required in 2010 by country, in
285 millions of hectares (MHa). According to the scale, countries that would reduce
286 global land use by changing to a USDA guideline diet (net positive land spared) are
287 indicated in blue and teal, while countries that would require extra land to meet
288 the guidelines (net negative land spared) are indicated in red, yellow or green.

289 The map was created by the authors from FAOSTAT data using the ©Google Maps
290 API (<https://developers.google.com/maps/> with Apache License Version 2.0) [17].

291

292 Discussion

293

294 Currently, the world is in the midst of a “nutrition transition” that is marked by rapid changes in
295 the composition and quantity of our diet [18]. In particular, around the world, diets are
296 becoming more dominated by livestock, sugar, and saturated fat, and this is linked with the
297 rising tide of obesity and diabetes [19]. These emerging diets are also linked with excessive land
298 use and greenhouse gas emissions, the unsustainable use of water, and the loss of biodiversity
299 [20]. Against this background of both unsustainable and unhealthy diets [21,22], nutritional
300 guidelines such as that offered by USDA guidelines shows us what a balanced diet *ought* to look
301 like.

302 Unfortunately, our analysis shows that there is not enough land for the world to adhere
303 to the USDA guidelines under current agricultural practices. One gigahectare of fertile land—
304 roughly the size of Canada—would be required. This is despite the fact that the USDA guideline
305 diet is already less land-intensive than the current US diet. Our analysis also revealed a
306 hemispheric divide. North America, South America and Oceania could spare significant
307 amounts of land if they moved to the less meat-intensive (and consequently, grain-intensive)
308 diet in the USDA guidelines. In contrast, Africa, the European Union and Asia would require a
309 significant expansion of agricultural lands to support a USDA guideline diet. Further to this
310 point, the fact that Europe is sparing land by avoiding a USDA guideline diet suggests that there
311 may be sustainable ways to improve diets in the poorest countries avoid malnourishment,
312 while also sparing land compared to the USDA guideline diet. Feeding the world while
313 preserving natural land states and their ecosystem services is a complex problem that may
314 require applying multiple solutions. We, therefore, conclude that revising national dietary
315 guidelines to create dietary goals that are not just healthier but also more sustainable and
316 equitable from a global land use perspective are part of the solution. In this way we build on
317 the literature of the global land use community that discusses the challenge of maintaining
318 ecosystem services while producing enough food to meet the global demand for nutrition [11].
319 The easy availability of FAO data helps makes this plausible.

320 However, it is worthwhile noting that reformulating national dietary guidelines with
321 consideration of global land use also needs to account for cultural and economic variation in
322 food sources. For instance, in the Global South, coarse grains (millet and sorghum), legumes,
323 and game hunting are an important part of many diets [23]. However, these food sources are
324 generally under-represented in datasets, suggesting more efforts should be targeted toward
325 their data collection in order for land use estimation to become more accurate. This is an
326 important area for future research. A full accounting of land use implications of dietary shifts
327 including the full range of cultural and economic dietary heterogeneity is beyond the scope of

328 our manuscript, since our more limited goal was only to establish why national-level dietary
329 guidelines must go beyond nutritional health as a criterion to include land use as well, with the
330 USDA guidelines representing an example of an unsustainable model.

331 The looming global land deficit suggested through this analysis is echoed by similar work
332 on water [1,24]. Briefly, this literature points out that we also face the potential for widespread
333 water shortages and that to avert such a crisis new paradigms are needed to conserve water
334 and develop drought resistant crops and livestock. Another approach to reduce water use is
335 through international trade to ensure that the food produced in regions where water is
336 abundant can be traded with regions where water is scarce [25,26]. Sometimes this is called
337 the trade in “virtual water” [27].

338 Our analysis was also broken down by continent and country. Recent dietary trends in
339 Africa and Asia (Figure 2) show movement toward the USDA guidelines, as reflected in other
340 research on evolving diets in these regions [28]. China, India, and Saudi Arabia have changed
341 most drastically in recent years with an increase in agricultural land use. Pakistan, along with
342 India, is responding to growing consumer demand for more western diets by increasing beef
343 production [29]. Of particular interest in Asia is China, which is rapidly increasing production in
344 several sectors, largely contributing to Asia’s rapid agricultural growth rate (Supplementary
345 Information, Appendix C) [28]. Humans will have to deal with growing inequities as growing
346 land use for meat consumption by rich countries causes rising food costs for staples such as
347 pulses and grains and thus harms the poor and under-nourished remainder [30,31].

348 It is important to note that our analysis made simplifying assumptions and did not
349 include all factors that could influence dietary and land use trends in coming years Our estimate
350 is conservative since we relied upon recent historical data rather than attempting to project
351 into the future using population models. The world’s population will continue increasing for
352 years to come, creating stronger challenges than our analysis has described. On the other hand,
353 by avoiding future projections, we also neglected new technologies and possible future
354 increases in agricultural yield in continents like Africa.

355 The FAOSTAT dataset is a secondary data source and relies largely upon data collected
356 from member countries. Therefore, it is subject to variable accuracy. This is reflected in our
357 own analyses. For instance, at the global level, there should be no discrepancy between “total”
358 and “domestic” land spared because total imports should, by definition, match total exports at
359 the agglomerated global level. However, Figure 1a suggests a discrepancy between these two
360 values of approximately 20% in 2010. This error could be due to a combination of factors, such
361 as anomalous data points; differences between reported imports and exports (for instance, if a
362 country under-reports imports or exports due to black market activity); or discrepancy between
363 the FAO production data and the food balance sheets. We did not attempt country-level case
364 studies to validate our results since it would be difficult to generalize from case studies to the
365 overall accuracy of our findings. However, previous studies have compared results derived from
366 FAOSTAT to remote sensing data [32] and IPCC data [33] for instance, finding fair but imperfect
367 agreement between the data sources. Our finding that there is not enough land for the world

368 to shift to a USDA guideline diet would likely not change if errors in the FAOSTAT dataset were
369 removed. Therefore, our recommendation that national dietary guidelines should take global
370 land use into consideration would likely also not change.

371 Our analysis concerns only masses and caloric values of food products, but a more
372 detailed analysis would include more specific breakdowns of nutrients, fats and proteins.
373 Similarly, differing demographics and their individual nutritional requirements were not
374 accounted for. The FAO trade matrix could also be used in conjunction with country-specific
375 yields to improve estimation of country-level land use, instead of using global average yields.
376 These are valuable areas for future research.

377 Future research could also study the impact of real or potential dietary shifts on
378 greenhouse gas emissions. Global agricultural production accounts for nearly 30% of total
379 greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions [31]. Livestock alone are responsible for 18% of GHG
380 emissions, which is higher than the share of GHG emissions from transportation [29]. Hence, a
381 shift to less meat consumption would also reduce GHG emissions. Other topics for future
382 research include the effects of food lost during storage and transportation and (more
383 importantly) food lost through waste and disposal. Food loss is significant around the world,
384 thus reducing food loss could also help spare land.

385 The implication of our results is that countries should coordinate their formulation of
386 dietary guidelines such that they are based not only on health considerations but also
387 consideration of sustainable global land use, equity, and natural ecosystem conservation.
388 Moreover, given that international agricultural trade is growing and global lands are
389 increasingly in demand for growing food, international coordination should incentivize country-
390 level improvements in dietary habits that result in global land sparing, similar to how countries
391 are beginning to coordinate reductions in their greenhouse gas emissions.

392

393

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395

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401 **References**

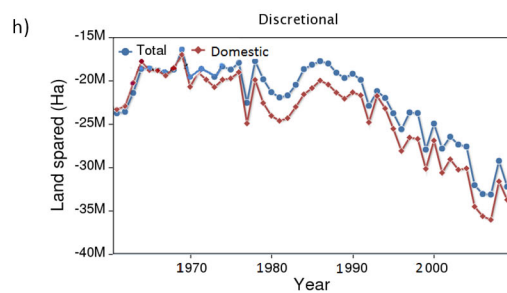
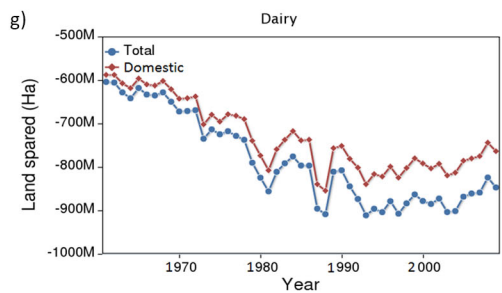
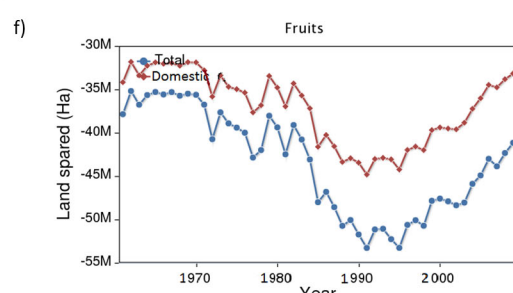
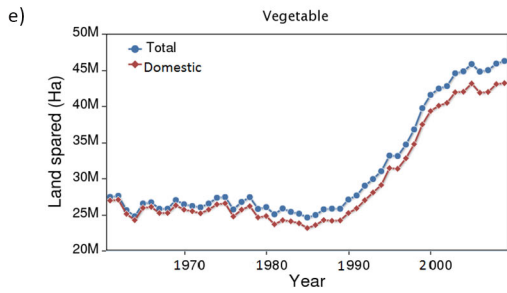
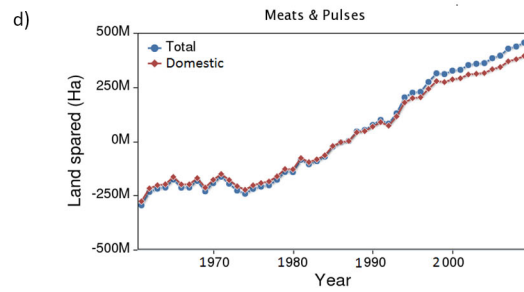
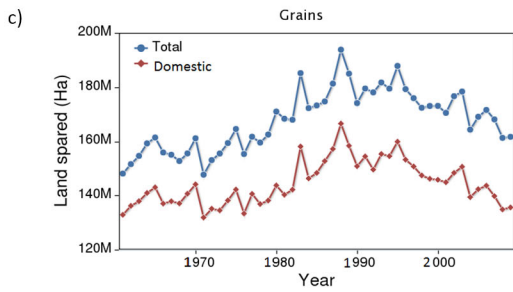
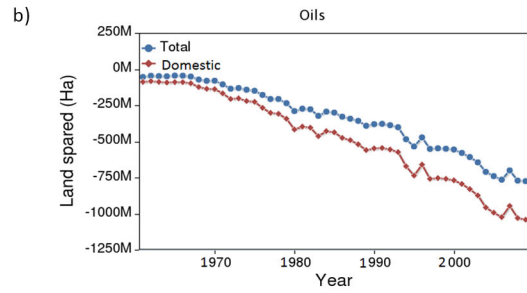
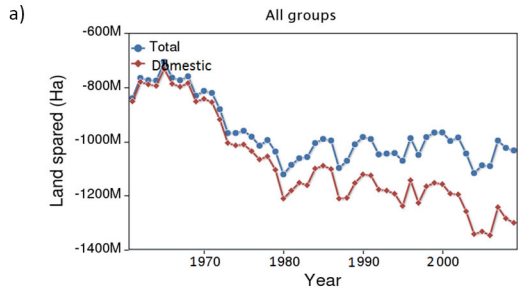
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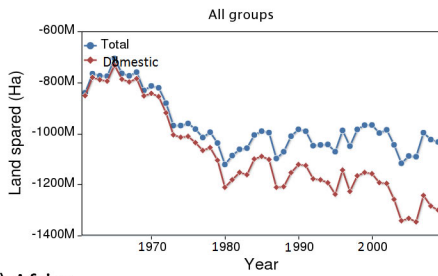
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489 **Supporting Information**

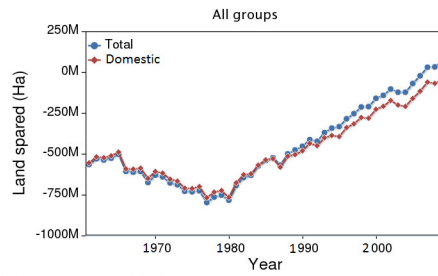
490 SI Appendix: Supplementary Methods, Figures and Tables.



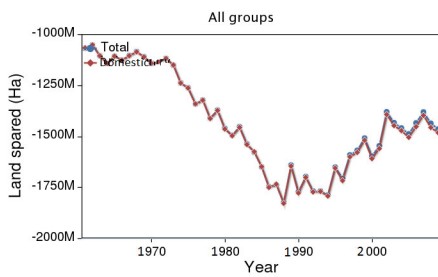
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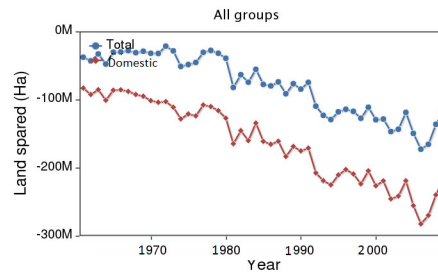
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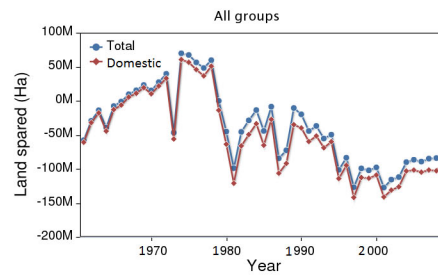
c) Africa



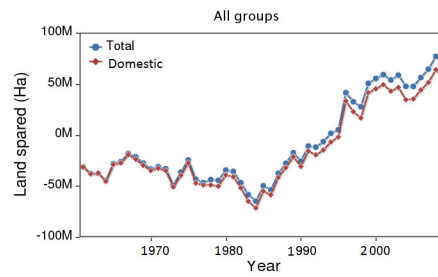
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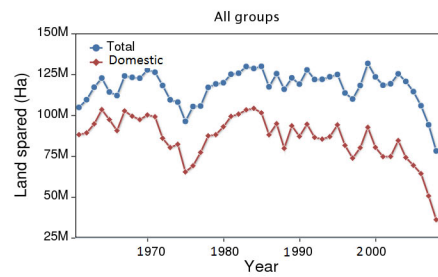
e) Eastern Europe



f) South America



g) North America



h) Oceania

