

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND FOOD INSECURITY AS A LOOMING THREAT

Gönül Tezcan¹

Aydın Adnan Menderes University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Department of International Relations

Abstract: From climate change to ethnic conflicts, from pandemics to cyber terrorism, humanity faces many non-traditional, multi-dimensional and complex security threats in the 21st century. Food security is one of these challenges that concerns the whole world and requires global solutions. The European Union (EU), as one of the actors with the highest level of welfare and providing the most humanitarian aid in the world, is not currently facing a serious food crisis. However, the adverse effects of climate change and the challenges that the Union has recently faced, such as the European debt crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the Russia-Ukraine war, have brought food security to the top of the EU agenda. This study aims to research the issue of food insecurity in the European Union. The main argument of the study is that food security is not currently an acute problem for the European Union, but it is a looming threat. Although the EU has addressed food insecurity within the scope of agricultural policy until recently, in today's "overheated" world full of natural disasters, economic crises, wars and conflicts, food security is now requiring a multidimensional approach, including economic, energy, health, environmental and social policies.

Keywords: European Union, Food security, Climate change, Covid-19, Russia-Ukraine war

Introduction

Although traditional security issues like interstate wars and arms races remain a dolent reality in the 21st century, humanity today is primarily facing significant challenges from non-traditional security threats such as civil wars, ethnic conflicts, terrorism, irregular migration, financial shocks, energy crises, pandemics, and climate change.

Conflicts, multiple crises, and natural disasters are becoming more frequent and intense. These events reduce food supplies, hinder access to food and medical service, and strain social protection systems. As a result, as poverty, hunger and "distress migration" increase, the need for humanitarian relief also increases (FAO, 2017: xi). According to the "The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2023" report, approximately 2.5 billion people experienced food insecurity in 2022 (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023: vii). This number will probably increase gradually.

The world population has exceeded 8 billion as of August 31, 2024 despite the decrease in the growth rate (Worldometer, 2024a). It is expected to reach 10 billion by 2050, which will boost agricultural demand and increase pressure on natural resources (FAO, 2017: x). In addition to the population growth, climate change, conflicts and wars, the adverse effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, and most recently, the grain crises resulting from Russia's

¹ Contact address: gkucukyuru@adu.edu.tr

attack on Ukraine, have all triggered a global food crisis. Access to food is decreasing day by day, and this situation is affecting women and children the most.

In short, food security, is increasingly becoming the focus of global agenda. Policy makers seek international solutions and policies to ensure adequate, safe and supportive food access to everyone. It is now increasingly essential to eliminate disruptions in supply chains, maintain agricultural sustainability, protecting environment and biodiversity, and relieving geopolitical tensions. In this context, advanced, multidimensional, collaborative and flexible solutions are searched worldwide.

What is the situation in the European Union (EU) regarding food security? In today's rapidly changing and interconnected world, the EU is directly affected by what happens outside its borders. The Union stares into conflicts and wars in the neighbourhood, and it also has to deal with new and unconventional security threats such as terrorism, cyber-attacks, climate change and its associated risks (EEAS, 2023). The economic crises, pandemics and wars experienced in the last 20 years have made food security an important agenda topic for the EU. As one of the actors that struggles against poverty and hunger in many parts of the world with humanitarian aid support, what is the EU doing to address the imminent food insecurity on its own continent?

The aim of this study is to analyse the threats and risks posed to the European Union by food insecurity, which, although not yet an acute security issue, has cast a shadow over Europe. The study seeks to answer the questions: "As one of the main actors providing financial and humanitarian support to enhance global food security worldwide, how will the EU cope with potential intensifying food insecurity on its own continent in the long term?" and "Does the EU have the necessary strategic plan to address this challenge?"

The study primarily provides an analytical review of recent future oriented research with a particular focus on reports from international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In the first section, the study will present a brief conceptual framework. In the second part, it will analyse the current situation and recent developments regarding food (in)security in the EU. It will focus on the climate change, Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war as key cases and take the policy responses of the Union so far. In the third section, the study will discuss the future challenges and possible solutions to the food crises and in the last instance food insecurity in the EU.

1. Food (In)Security: A Brief Conceptual Framework

Article 25 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right to food as a fundamental human right: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food" (UN, 1948).

The Human Development Report 1994, which introduced the new understanding of security that centers on the security of the people rather than the states, emphasizes the necessity of sustainable human development for peace (UNDP, 1994:1). In the report, the threats to human security are divided into seven interdependent categories: political security, economic security, health security, food security, environmental security, community security, and personal security (UNDP, 1994: 24-25). In short, food security, as a basic human right, is also an indispensable constituent of human security.

Food insecurity emerged as an important global agenda item after the crisis of 1972-1974 when food prices increased because of oil crisis and shortages of wheat production. Since then, certain global institutions such as the World Food Program, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, and the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, have been established to seek solutions and develop policies, particularly to enhance agricultural productivity and combat poverty. At the first decade of the 21st century, the 2007-2008 financial crisis made food insecurity re-gain a matter of concern due to the rising food prices and instable food availability (Hadley and Crooks, 2012: 73,75). While the effects of the 2007-2008 global financial crisis were still ongoing, food security took a new hit with the Covid-19 pandemic. Many workers became unemployed and lost job security, food prices increased, and food supply chains were disrupted. The final blow to food security was the Russia-Ukraine war.

We can refer to food insecurity when people have uncertain or limited access to nutritious and safe food or when they cannot acquire food without resorting to socially unacceptable ways (Borch and Kjærnes, 2016: 138). According to Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, "food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 1996). Later, in 2002, the term "social" added to the definition. According to the World Food Programme, an agency of the United Nations, food security is "a condition that exists when all people at all times are free from hunger" (WFP, 2007: 15). At this juncture, it is necessary to state that even though food security is often used interchangeably with concepts such as hunger, poverty, malnutrition, etc., they are actually different but related concepts (Hadley and Crooks, 2012: 74).

Food security has four components: availability (relating to food supply); access (relating to obtainment); utilization (relating to taking the food in and absorption); and stability (relating to the risks affecting availability, access and utilization) (FAO, 2006). Since measuring food security is not easy, it is generally the food insecurity that is discussed and measured (Simon, 2012:8). According to FAO, food insecurity occurs when someone "doesn't have regular access to enough safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and an active and healthy life" (FAO, 2024). In fact, in the world, there is enough food sufficient for everyone, at least for now. Rather than food scarcity, what causes food insecurity is poverty. Billions of people experience chronic undernourishment because of lacking enough purchasing power or the land for cultivating. Therefore, increasing agricultural production is inadequate to overcome hunger, unless social and economic inequalities are addressed (Gonzales, 2015: 59). In other words, food security is closely related to other human security elements, mainly the economic security. In order to provide food security, there is a need for a comprehensive approach that considers national measures such as employment opportunities, income distribution and insurance systems and other global measures such as combating with climate change and ensuring agricultural sustainability (UNDP, 1994: 26-27).

Governments and international organizations seeking solutions for food insecurity both nationally and globally. The European Union, as one of the world's three largest economies and the biggest donor for international development and humanitarian aid (Eurostat, 2024; European Commission, no date-a), endeavours and takes steps to combat food insecurity both inside and outside of its borders. In the next section, the study presents the EU's regional

and global approach to food insecurity, and discusses the Union's strategies regarding food security in the face of recent developments.

2. EU Food (In)Security: Current Realities and New Developments

The European Union uses its resources to combat food insecurity both inside and outside of its borders. It plays an important and effective role in promoting global food security through providing financial support, humanitarian relief and development aid programs to the vulnerable countries, especially the ones in the African continent. It invests in innovative and sustainable technologies and provides policy leadership in the global arena (EEAS, 2023). The Union is investing €18 billion for global food security between 2020 and 2024, in about 70 partner countries (European Commission, no date-b). It becomes a part of the global efforts to address the food insecurity such as Global Crisis Response Group (GCRG) and the G7 Global Alliance for Food Security (GAFS) (EEAS, Global Food Security, 2023). In addition, within the framework of Team Europe, the EU, the member states, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and European Investment Bank (EIB) cooperate for a comprehensive response to food insecurity along the strands of solidarity, production, trade, and multilateralism (EEAS, 2023). Within this framework, the Union supports vulnerable populations via humanitarian food assistance; supports investments regarding food security to boost production and develop sustainable food systems; tries to stabilize global fertilizer and food prices especially by increasing Ukraine's production and export potential; and cooperates with UN-based agencies and certain financial institutions (EEAS, 2023).

What about the food security within the EU? Yet already, in the EU, food availability is not at stake. For most agricultural products and many animal products, the Union is self-sufficient. However, it is a net importer of certain products, such as sunflower oil and sea food. The crisis triggered by the Russia-Ukraine war has revealed the EU's dependence on Russia, especially in some imported inputs such as energy, agricultural fertilizers, animal feed and additives. Rising food prices with the war have put low-income families, whose purchasing power has already decreased due to the Covid-19 pandemic, in even more difficulty (Caprile, 2022). It can be said that food security in the EU may be at risk in the long term, if not in the short term.

It is often considered that people in the West are food secure to lead a healthy life (Borch and Kjærnes, 2016: 137). To confirm this, the main topic of discussion regarding "food" within the borders of the EU has been food safety rather than food security for many years. In the EU, food security was an agenda item only within the scope of the humanitarian aid until recently. However, worsening climatic conditions, the Euro crisis, the coronavirus pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war have made the food insecurity an important agenda topic.

According to Eurostat, in 2022, 8.3% of the EU population were unable to afford a proper meal; and the percentage of people who were at risk of poverty was 19.7%. While Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia had the highest, Ireland and Luxembourg had the lowest poverty rates. Unfortunately, these percentages are increasing year by year (Eurostat, 2023). In this section, three recent incidents that threaten food security in the EU- climate change, Covid-19 pandemic and Russia-Ukraine war-will be critically discussed.

2.1. Climate change and the food (in)security in the EU

NASA defines climate change as “a long-term change in the average weather patterns that have come to define Earth’s local, regional and global climates”. Climate change has been observed since the mid-20th century due to human activities, especially the use of fossil fuels, which increased gas emissions causing a rise on the Earth’s surface temperature (NASA, no date).

Global warming and other aspects of climate change cause severe weather events, and coastal erosion, destroy ecosystems, raise health risks, increase social inequalities and, disrupt agriculture so, reducing food security. Governments and international agencies seek solutions and share knowledge and resources. Since the problem is transnational, international cooperation has key importance. Climate change is one of the key factors that most affects food security on local, regional and global scales. Decreased access to food, reduced food quality, declined agricultural productivity and interruption of food distribution due to temperature increases and extreme weather events, such as hurricanes, droughts, etc., have increasingly become common problems worldwide (EPA, no date).

The EU is a global leader in combating climate change through several policies, legislations and initiatives. After signing the Paris Agreement in 2015, the European Commission adopted the European Green Deal in 2019. The strategy aims to make the Union climate-neutral by 2050, while at the same time pursues economic growth and promote energy-efficient and environment-friendly technologies and innovations. In this regard, the EU expects all economic sectors to contribute to reducing emissions. And besides, the EU aims to increase the absorption capacity of the Union through protecting natural ecosystems. Funding is another important component of the EU’s climate action. The Union aimed to spend 30% of its 2021-2027 budget for combating climate change and its adverse effects. Also, the Union is one of the pioneers in financing global efforts regarding climate change (European Council, 2023).

The number of people experiencing acute food insecurity has increased to 345 million by June 2022, up from 135 million in 2019. South Asia, Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa regions cover 80% of the population most affected by food shortages and climate change. The decrease in water resources, the increase in extreme weather events, and the increase in heat-related diseases and pests due to climate change will increasingly negatively affect agricultural production. It is likely that more people will be pushed into poverty year-over-year. In Africa alone, an estimated 43 million people will drop below the poverty line by 2030 (World Bank Group, 2022). EU provides humanitarian food assistance worldwide to the vulnerable people affected by the food crises. Ukraine, Syria, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Bangladesh and Mali are some that the Union carried out food assistance interventions in 2023 (European Commission, 2024a).

According to European Environment Agency (EEA), “Europe is the fastest warming continent”. Climate change is increasingly affecting daily life in Europe. Europe is getting warmer; and this puts Europe’s natural resources, energy, financial stability, food security and health at risk. In the last 40 years, 85.000 to 145.000 people in Europe have died due to extreme weather conditions, most of them due to heat waves. The EEA warns that the Union is not prepared for those rapidly growing risks (EEA, 2024).

2.2. Covid-19 pandemic and food (in)security in the EU

The world was first introduced to Covid-19 in December 2019, with the case emerging in China's Wuhan province. On 11 March 2020, World Health Organization (WHO) declared a pandemic. The pandemic, which slowly spread from the borders of Asia to Europe and then to the world, was the main agenda of all countries for a long time (Euronews, 2020; WFP 2020). In addition to threatening public health and causing more than 7 million deaths to date (Worldometer, 2024b), the pandemic has also caused serious political, economic, social and societal problems.

The Covid-19 pandemic threatened the nutrition and food security of millions of people. In order to control or mitigate the Covid-19 outbreaks, all countries more or less implemented measures such as border restrictions and lockdowns which disrupted food supply chains. (UN 2020: 2) The pandemic caused serious global economic shocks which have affected financial and business sectors, and gave rise to lack of employment, loss of remittances, and medical costs (UN, 2020: 3).

The stability of food supply chains is of great importance to ensure food security in the world. Border controls, lockdowns, social distance measures, temporary closures of most workplaces, etc. during the Covid-19 epidemic have created instability in terms of food security. Some countries' export restrictions have put countries that are dependent on foreign sources for some foodstuffs in a difficult situation. While food deficiencies have caused an increase in some diseases, they have also made it difficult to fight the disease by reducing resistance and immunity against Covid-19. In addition, the closure of most workplaces, layoffs, loss of income and increase in food prices are another dimension of the pandemic that restricts access to food. (Soğancılar, Dereli, and Sağlam Arı, 2022: 2342-2343).

The Covid 19 pandemic has been a big and difficult test for the EU as well. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the EU has had to grapple with the burdens brought by the Eastern expansion, the debt crises created by the global financial crisis in the Eurozone, the Arab Spring and the refugee crisis it triggered, rising nationalism, Brexit, etc., and was unprepared and tired to face Covid-19. While the pandemic has revealed the vulnerabilities in the EU's political and economic structure, it has also highlighted the policy inadequacies and foreign dependency in the health sector. In addition, with the crisis, the neo-liberal policies that form the basis of the EU began to be questioned (Tezcan, 2020: 59-60).

Although there are many studies indicating that food security in the EU was only affected for a short time and that the food sector was generally flexible against the crisis during the Covid-19 pandemic, (Mărcuță et al., 2021:385, 391; Pawlak et. al, 2024:1, Matthews, 2021: 12), import reductions endangered the physical food access in most EU members. Also, the food prices as well as the rate of severe food insecurity increased, and the percentage of households unable to afford a meal with enough protein saw a rise compared to 2019 (Pawlak, et. al, 2024:1). As in the 2008 global financial crisis, the groups most affected by the pandemic were the poorest groups in Europe, as worldwide. As Çaycı stated in her study, the Covid 19 pandemic has affected poor, low-income families and young people more in many issues such as remote working opportunities, home ownership, access to health services and education (2023: 35,49,50). Although there were problems in terms of raw materials, labor and logistics, food supply in the EU did not suffer a serious blow and was able to resist the negative effects of Covid-19, owing to the production capacity of the agricultural sector.

However, unfortunately, during the Covid-19 period, food insecurity was a matter of concern for certain vulnerable groups (Mărcuță et al., 2021: 391). This tells us that food security in the EU during the pandemic was about access to food rather than food availability.

2.3. Russia-Ukraine war and food (in)security in the EU

In February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, one of the most important suppliers of the world food market. Before the war, as it can be seen in the chart below, Ukraine and Russia were the main agricultural importers of the world. They were together providing nearly 12% of food calories traded worldwide. Both countries had the largest share in world cereals production. While Ukraine was the largest exporter of sunflower oil, Russia was the largest exporter of fertilizers. They were also important players of the global wheat market (Caprile, A., 2022).

Percentage share of global exports in 2021			
Commodity	Ukraine	Russia	Russia and Ukraine
Wheat	10 %	24 %	34 %
Maize	15 %	2 %	17 %
Barley	13 %	14 %	27 %
Sunflower oil	31 %	24 %	55 %
Sunflower cake	61 %	20 %	81 %
Vegetable oils	–	–	10 %
White fish (Alaska Pollock)	–	16 %	–
Fertiliser mineral intermediates*		13 %	
Finished fertilisers		16 %	
Food calories traded globally	6 %	5.8 %	11.8 %

Source: Caprile, A. (2022). 'Russia's war on Ukraine: Impact on food security and EU response'. European Parliament. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2022/729367/EPRS_ATAG\(2022\)729367_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2022/729367/EPRS_ATAG(2022)729367_EN.pdf) (Accessed 21 August 2024).

The war also generated dramatic changes in the global energy sector. International sanctions imposed against Russia and the uncertainty about the war caused a sharp increase in energy prices and made the energy market quite volatile. In 2019, Russia's energy production corresponded to 16% of gas, 12% of oil and 6% of coal supplies globally. According to 2021 data, almost half of Europe's gas imports and the large part of its oil and coal imports was sourced from Russia, which indicates the EU's heavy dependence on Russian energy before the full-scale war (Adolfson et al., 2022; European Commission, 2024b). The EU, which has been adopting package of sanctions on Russia since Russia's occupation of Crimea in 2014, extended the scope of the sanctions with the start of the full-scale war. Although the EU has still not been able to eliminate its dependence on Russia, especially in natural gas, it

has significantly reduced its energy imports from Russia and turned to alternative suppliers and energy sources.

The Russia-Ukraine war has resulted in food security challenges both in Europe and across the world. Russia and Ukraine provided more than 50% of cereal imports to Middle East and North Africa, while East African countries source 18% and 72% of their cereals from Ukraine and Russia respectively (Caprile, 2022). FAO estimated that the war in Ukraine added 7.6 to 13.1 million underfed people in 2022 and 2023, in addition to the existing 720 to 811 million. African and Middle Eastern countries that rely on food imports from Ukraine and Russia are facing difficulties due to shortages and rising prices. Even in the Ukrainian lands, which can be considered as a breadbasket as yet, nearly half of the people are worried about finding enough food (Caprile, 2022).

At present, the EU is not in danger of food supply in terms of most agricultural and animal products. However, in some key inputs such as animal feed and fertilisers, EU relies heavily on Russia. In parallel with the rising input costs, food prices have also increased which, in the last instance, affected the purchasing power of the many (Caprile, 2022). Furthermore, rising energy prices also strengthen the upward trend in food prices by increasing the production costs. Therefore, we can say that addressing food insecurity has become an urgent need for the EU in order to secure its “food future”.

3. Addressing Food Insecurity in the EU: Securing the Future

In the previous parts of the study, recent events that threaten food security in the EU were approached. In this section, it will be discussed what precautions the EU has taken against these threats and how it has prepared against a possible food insecurity.

For many years, food security was addressed within the scope of the EU’s common agricultural policy (CAP) adopted in 1962. The aims of the CAP can be summarized as: supporting farmers, improving agricultural productivity, combating with climate change, management of natural resources, and promotion of rural economy. The CAP serves the Union’s goals of supporting “abundant, affordable, safe and good quality products”; providing farmers source, technology and infrastructure; protecting nature and biodiversity for the next generations (European Commission, no date-c).

As environmental concerns increase and the fight against climate change becomes more important, sustainability has become an important focus in discussions about food security. In this context, the “Farm to Fork Strategy” was adopted under the European Green Deal with the goal of “a fair, healthy, and environmentally-friendly food system” in the EU. The strategy targets sustainable production, distribution and consumption of food and prevention of waste (European Commission, no date-d). On 27 June 2024, the European Council adopted the strategic agenda for 2024-2029, which steers the EU’s future direction. In this document, the EU mentions the aim of fostering a sustainable, competitive and resilient agricultural sector that upholds food security. Empowering farmers within food supply chain and safeguarding natural environments are also the part of the Union’s stressed efforts (European Council, 2024).

Food security is now on the EU’s agenda more than ever. After the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the leaders of the EU member states accepted the 10-11 March Versailles declaration. They wanted the European Commission (EC) to work on options

to address rising input and food prices and to enhance food security globally. On 23 March, the EC adopted 'Safeguarding food security and reinforcing the resilience of food systems' that presents measures both member state and EU level, most of which can be implemented through the CAP. On 24 March, the European Parliament (EP) adopted a resolution supporting the Commission's package and called for food corridors to deliver goods and aid to and from Ukraine (Caprile, 2022).

The EU, in order to provide the flow of goods from Ukraine to Europe and to the world, "launched the 'Solidarity Lanes Action Plan' to establish alternative logistics routes via rail, road and inland waterways". Ukraine could export 136 million tonnes of goods between May 2022 and April 2024 owing to Solidarity Lanes (European Commission, no date-e). Another initiative allowing export of goods from Ukrainian ports in the Black Sea was the "Black Sea Initiative", signed in July 2022 between Russia, Ukraine and Turkey and witnessed by the UN. Until July 2023, the time Russia withdrew from the initiative, 60% of Ukraine's grain had been exported via the EU solidarity lanes, while 40% went via the Black Sea (European Council, 2024). These have helped the stabilization of world markets and suppressed food prices somewhat.

As De Schutter, Jacobs and Clément point out, for years, the EU, through the policies of the trade liberalization and common agricultural policy, has addressed food insecurity with a view to promoting food supply by increasing production. So, food would be plentiful and cheap, "as a substitute to a robust social policy" (De Schutter, Jacobs and Clément, 2020: 4). However, food security is not just about agricultural production and environmental protection. The Covid-19 pandemic has disrupted the food supply chains globally, diminished our well-being and led to losses in employment and income, so affected the food access of the millions of vulnerable people. The Russia-Ukraine war, left millions undernourished due to the damage of Ukraine's agriculture sector and grain blockade imposed by Russia. The war also has increased the global food prices and energy prices dramatically which in the long term can deepen the food crisis. In sum, food security is not only about food availability, it is also about food access, often more related to economic and social policies. Therefore, combating food insecurity require multifaceted and multidimensional efforts combining economic, political, social policies and health, trade, competition, agricultural, and environmental measures.

The EU needs an integrated and comprehensive "Common Food Policy" at EU level. De Schutter, Jacobs and Clément suggest that this common policy does not need member states to transfer authority to the EU level. Rather, it needs to be a policy that takes into account many sectoral policies, aims for harmony between all levels of governance and enables food democracy" (De Schutter, Jacobs and Clément, 2020: 7).

Conclusion

As one of the actors with the highest level of welfare, food security is now on the EU's agenda more than ever. As a result of certain challenges, such as climate change, Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war, food insecurity has gradually begun to pose an internal threat to the EU, which has struggled with global hunger and poverty for many years. However, it would not be correct to say that the Union is in an acute food crisis or under serious food security threat. The study argues that, food insecurity is a looming threat for the EU. Extreme weather events, droughts, floods, degradation of biodiversity, etc. caused

by climate change; at the same time, the price increases caused by the increase in food input costs have affected unemployed or low-income individuals, children, young and elderly people and immigrants more. That is to say, until now, thanks to its agricultural production capacity and technological capabilities, the EU can compensate for global instabilities in food prices and food supply within its borders. What is at stake has been economic access to food rather than food availability or physical access to food. For the EU, combating food insecurity has so far been a matter of agricultural production and sustainability rather than an economic and social issue. However, in this increasingly overheated world, where wars and conflicts, economic and health crises are increasing day by day, more and more people will experience food insecurity, both in the EU and around the world. Food security will continue to be an important agenda globally. In order to combat food insecurity, the EU should implement a multi-dimensional strategy that includes economic, social, environmental, agricultural, industrial and technological policies and reinforces multi-level governance.

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