

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21

# Food production shocks across land and sea

Richard S. Cottrell<sup>1,2\*</sup>, Kirsty L. Nash<sup>1,2</sup>, Benjamin S. Halpern<sup>3,4,5</sup>, Tomas A. Remenyi<sup>6</sup>,  
Stuart P. Corney<sup>2</sup>, Aysha Fleming<sup>1,7</sup>, Elizabeth A. Fulton<sup>1,8</sup>, Sara Hornborg<sup>1,2,8,9</sup>, Alexandra  
Johne<sup>2</sup>, Reg A. Watson<sup>1,2</sup>, Julia L. Blanchard<sup>1,2</sup>

\*Corresponding author: [richardstuart.cottrell@utas.edu.au](mailto:richardstuart.cottrell@utas.edu.au)

## Affiliations

<sup>1</sup>Centre for Marine Socioecology, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 7004

<sup>2</sup>Institute for Marine and Antarctic Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 7004

<sup>3</sup>National Centre for Ecological Analysis and Synthesis, University of California, 735 State St,  
Santa Barbara, CA 93101-5504, USA

<sup>4</sup>Bren School of Environmental Science & Management, University of California, Santa  
Barbara, CA, 93106, USA

<sup>5</sup>Imperial College London, Silwood Park Campus, Burkhurst Rd., Ascot, SL57PY, UK

<sup>6</sup>Antarctic Climate and Ecosystems Cooperative Research Centre, University of Tasmania,  
Hobart, Australia, 7004

<sup>7</sup>CSIRO Land and Water, Castray Esplanade, Hobart, Australia 7004

<sup>8</sup>CSIRO Oceans and Atmosphere, Castray Esplanade, Hobart, Australia 7004

<sup>9</sup>RISE – Research Institutes of Sweden, Agrifood and Bioscience, Sustainable Food  
Production, Gothenburg, Sweden

## 22 **Abstract**

23 Sudden losses to food production -shocks- and their consequences across land and sea pose  
24 cumulative threats to global sustainability. We conduct an integrated assessment of global  
25 production data from crop, livestock, aquaculture, and fisheries sectors over 53 years to  
26 understand how shocks occurring in one food sector can create diverse and linked challenges  
27 among others. We show that some regions are shock hotspots, exposed frequently to shocks  
28 across multiple sectors. Critically, shock frequency has increased through time on land and  
29 sea at a global scale. Geopolitical and extreme-weather events were the main shock drivers  
30 identified, although with considerable differences across sectors. We illustrate how social-  
31 ecological drivers, influenced by dynamics of the food system, can spillover multiple food  
32 sectors and create synchronous challenges or trade-offs among terrestrial and aquatic systems.  
33 In a more shock-prone and interconnected world, bold food policy and social protection  
34 mechanisms that help people anticipate, cope and recover from losses will be central to  
35 sustainability.

## 36 **Main**

37 Food production shocks pose significant challenges for the UN Sustainable Development  
38 Goals (SDGs)<sup>1</sup> because of their potential to disrupt food supply and security, livelihoods, and  
39 human well-being<sup>2-7</sup>. A wide range of social-ecological pressures on food systems can drive  
40 shocks through direct or indirect mechanisms. For example, droughts or floods can rapidly  
41 increase mortality of crops, livestock, or farmed fish; whereas sudden outbreaks of violent  
42 conflict may prevent farmers or fishers accessing their production systems<sup>7,8</sup>. Prolonged  
43 overfishing can also produce unexpected, sudden losses in catch as exploited fish populations  
44 are pushed toward ecological tipping points, after which stock collapse occurs<sup>9</sup>. People's  
45 vulnerability to shock events rests on their capacity to adapt, the scale and frequency of

46 shocks, and their dependence on the affected sector<sup>10</sup>. Given millions of people worldwide  
47 simultaneously depend on agricultural and seafood sectors for food and livelihoods<sup>11,12</sup>,  
48 understanding national vulnerabilities to shocks requires a complete picture of exposure  
49 across sectors on land and sea. Yet studies on food production shocks to date largely deal  
50 with agricultural and seafood commodities in isolation<sup>2,7,13</sup>. Integrated understanding is  
51 required to assess cumulative risks to sustainability across all food sectors in the face of  
52 environmental change and human population growth.

53 We investigate historical global trends in exposure to and drivers of food production shocks  
54 across crop, livestock, fisheries, and aquaculture sectors from 1961 – 2013. We use an  
55 established, standardised approach to identify shocks and their drivers in national production  
56 data taken from the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and other published  
57 sources. Using local regression models, we identify shocks through breaks in the  
58 autocorrelation structure of a time-series, and couple detection with a literature review of in-  
59 country events at the shock point. We map global shock frequency and co-occurrence and  
60 highlight the different ways shocks can permeate multiple food production sectors or drive  
61 trade-offs across them.

### 62 ***Global trends in food production shocks***

63 From 741 available food production time-series (crops = 187, livestock = 190, fisheries = 202,  
64 aquaculture = 162), we detected 226 shocks across 134 nations. When pooled, we found  
65 agricultural sectors (crop and livestock) slightly more shock prone than aquatic sectors  
66 (fisheries and aquaculture) over the 53-year period (0.31 vs 0.29 shocks country<sup>-1</sup>  
67 respectively). Shock frequencies were regionally distinct within sectors, with some areas  
68 experiencing shocks far more frequently than others (Figure 1). Shock frequencies were  
69 highest in South Asia for crops (Figure 1a), the Caribbean for livestock (Figure 1b), Eastern

70 Europe for fisheries (Figure 1c), and South America for aquaculture sectors (Figure 1d).  
71 Importantly, some regions experienced high frequency in more than one sector. For example,  
72 South Asia experienced one of the highest shock frequencies to livestock as well as to crops,  
73 and the Caribbean experienced high frequency of fisheries shocks alongside livestock  
74 systems. Therefore, while there is varying exposure to production shocks within sectors, in  
75 several regions patterns of high shock frequency overlap and create areas of high cumulative  
76 exposure to production shocks across multiple fronts.

77 The frequency of shocks has increased across all sectors at a global scale. In our results,  
78 annual shock frequencies fluctuated considerably over time, yet decadal averages, minima  
79 and maxima increased steadily from the 1960s and 70s (Figure 1e-h). We did not detect any  
80 shocks to aquaculture production until the early 1980s likely due to its nascence, but decadal  
81 shock rates have risen faster and to a level higher than in any other sector since (Figure 1h).  
82 Increasing shock frequency is a food security concern in itself. Conflict-related shocks across  
83 Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East since 2010 are responsible, combined with adverse  
84 climate conditions, for the first uptick in global hunger in recent times<sup>4</sup>. While the human  
85 impact of shocks depends on the degree to which livelihoods in a region or country depend  
86 on food production and the variation in vulnerability among households<sup>4</sup>, increased frequency  
87 reduces time for recovery between events. Smaller windows for recovery hinder coping  
88 strategies such as the accumulation of assets that can be sold during times of hardship, and  
89 can ultimately negatively influence the resilience of producers and communities to shocks<sup>4</sup>.

### 90 ***Drivers of production shocks across land and sea***

91 Extreme weather events and geopolitical crises were the dominant drivers of shocks in our  
92 analysis, but the relative importance of drivers varied across sectors (Figure 2). Over half of  
93 all shocks to crop production systems were a result of extreme weather events (Figure 2),

94 largely drought, reinforcing the concern about vulnerability of arable systems to climatic and  
95 meteorological volatility across the globe<sup>14</sup>. We also found extreme weather to be a major  
96 driver of shocks to livestock (23%), particularly where reductions to feed occurred. For  
97 instance, severe summertime droughts in Mongolia in 2001 and 2010 reduced fodder and  
98 feed availability, compromised livestock condition, and led to mass mortality events during  
99 cold winter extremes<sup>15</sup>. Diseases such as foot and mouth also contributed to 10% of livestock  
100 shocks. Geopolitical crises, however, such as economic decentralisation in Europe or conflict  
101 in Sub-Saharan Africa, accounted for the greatest proportion (41%) of the livestock shocks in  
102 our analysis (Figure 2).

103 In contrast, drivers of seafood production shocks were more diverse than for terrestrial  
104 systems (Figure 2). For fisheries, overfishing was responsible, at least in part, for 45% of  
105 shocks detected in landings data. However, geopolitical crises contributed to 23% of fisheries  
106 shocks, climate/weather events to 13% and policy changes to 11%. Shocks driven by policy  
107 changes can reflect positive interventions, but may also be a response to declining resources.  
108 In the aquaculture sector, while disease (included in 'Other' category) was the most common  
109 individual driver, responsible for 16% of shocks overall, a spectrum of geopolitical stressors  
110 were behind a third of aquaculture shocks, from state dissolution, to violent conflict, and  
111 declining competitiveness in export markets.

112 Patterns of driver influence differed across regions (Supplementary Figure 1). For example,  
113 in South Asia, where agricultural shocks were most frequent, nearly all crop and livestock  
114 losses were driven by flood or drought. Whereas in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the greatest  
115 burden of hunger still persists<sup>4</sup>, geopolitical or economic crises were the leading drivers of  
116 agricultural shocks (Supplementary Figure 1). In seafood sectors, regional diversity of driver  
117 types was more consistent. In wild systems, overfishing and geopolitical drivers contributed  
118 to numerous shocks across Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia. For aquaculture,

119 disease was the primary driver in Europe and Latin America, but geopolitical conditions were  
120 more significant for both East Asia or the Middle East and North Africa (Supplementary  
121 Figure 1). Therefore, while we highlight dominant shock drivers for each sector at a global  
122 scale, we reiterate that challenges for increasing food production will vary greatly from place  
123 to place.

124 The reason for the increase in shock frequency through time across sectors is not clear, in part  
125 because many potential factors (including quality of reporting) have changed and increased  
126 over the time period. However, crop production shocks driven by extreme weather became  
127 more frequent in our results over time (Supplementary Figure 2). In livestock, fisheries and  
128 aquaculture sectors particularly, the diversity of drivers increased from the 1970s  
129 (Supplementary Figure 2). As food systems become increasingly globalised and  
130 interdependent, a greater diversity of exogenous shocks may influence them over time<sup>16</sup>. For  
131 instance, livestock disease is increasing globally, driven largely by a rapid rise in demand for  
132 meat, the incursion of livestock in natural systems, intense farming practices and the mass  
133 movement of animals and people<sup>17</sup>. The nature of interdependencies among sectors are also  
134 changing<sup>18</sup>. Demands for feed now tightly couple aquaculture to both capture fisheries and  
135 crop systems<sup>19</sup>, and the production challenges each of these encounter. Furthermore, financial  
136 institutions motivated by socioeconomic drivers disconnected from their geographies of  
137 influence, increasingly sway producer investments and decisions with complex or unknown  
138 consequences for production stability or sustainability<sup>20</sup>.

### 139 *Co-occurrence and spillover across terrestrial and aquatic sectors*

140 Climate events, violent conflict or other social-ecological stressors can create complex  
141 synchronous, or lagged effects across different systems<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, a single stressor could  
142 elicit numerous shocks across different food sectors but not always at the same time. So,

143 while we would not necessarily expect shocks from the same stressor to coincide at the exact  
144 shock point (year), we would assume to see clumping of shocks within broader time-periods.  
145 Co-occurrence appeared in our data from the early 1990s and more frequently in the latter  
146 half our time-series (Figure 3a). Of the 134 nations affected by shocks in our analysis, 22 of  
147 these experienced shocks in multiple sectors during the same five-year period (Figure 3b).  
148 We recognise these trends are influenced by the length of time intervals used in Figure 3 and  
149 further do not reflect changes in other sectors not detected as a shock (although they may be a  
150 response or a driver of shocks detected here). Overlapping shock occurrence in this way  
151 allows us to identify and further examine the more detailed conditions underpinning  
152 occurrence of multi-sectoral shocks.

153 Shocks spanning multiple sectors were often driven by geopolitical events. For example, loss  
154 of Soviet-linked subsidies, and reduced export markets in Albania during the fall of  
155 communism resulted in large declines in crop, fisheries, and aquaculture production<sup>21-23</sup>.  
156 North Korea experienced lagged impacts from economic fall-out from USSR dissolution by  
157 the mid-1990s, and extreme flooding exacerbated the scale of production losses on land. The  
158 resulting famine led to the deaths over 200,000 people<sup>24,25</sup>. In Mali, internal conflict from  
159 2011 onwards displaced farmers and fishermen alike by limiting access to rivers and farms  
160 directly, or through disruption to supply chains<sup>26</sup>. Nonetheless, the geography of the shock,  
161 the magnitude of the driver, the importance of the affected systems for national production,  
162 and the adaptive (e.g. coping strategies), absorptive (e.g. reserves, assets, capital), or  
163 transformative capacities (e.g. governance mechanisms)<sup>4</sup> of affected communities will all  
164 influence how a shock manifests across different food systems. Taking further examples from  
165 Figure 3, we illustrate how the social-ecological dynamics of both the country and the shock  
166 can yield variable responses across sectors (Figure 4).

167 Drivers of shocks can create similar or opposing responses in production across multiple  
168 sectors, revealing links between terrestrial and aquatic systems. In both Kuwait (Figure 4a)  
169 and Afghanistan (Figure 4b), different shock drivers at different scales created similar  
170 national-level responses spanning terrestrial and aquatic production. The invasion of Kuwait  
171 by Iraq in late 1990 and the subsequent conflict with the US and allies was a huge nationwide  
172 disturbance, caused widespread devastation to agricultural land and the removal of the  
173 majority of Kuwaiti fishing vessels ceased commercial fishing<sup>27</sup>. Rapid declines in crop,  
174 livestock and fisheries production occurred from 1990, with shocks detected in both livestock  
175 and fisheries time-series (Figure 4a). In Afghanistan, a severe drought from 2000 – 2002  
176 decimated cereal production particularly in the country’s north. Large increases in animal  
177 diseases and reduced fodder severely affected production for pastoralists<sup>28</sup> and we detected a  
178 shock to fisheries landings at the same point (Figure 4b). The similar declines across sectors  
179 disguise the differences in vulnerability however. Disturbances at the scale of the Gulf War  
180 are rare events, whereas droughts are frequent across Western Asia. In Afghanistan, its  
181 landlockedness and the absence of marine fisheries leaves national food production more  
182 vulnerable to drought.

183 In contrast, divergent responses to extreme weather in Dominica illustrate the potential for  
184 land-sea trade-offs when human adaptation measures shift resource use across sectors.  
185 Repeated damage to farmland from tropical storms during the 1970s pushed more of the  
186 nation’s farmers into fishing for a primary income source<sup>29</sup>. After Hurricane David decimated  
187 the banana crop in 1979, fisheries landings increased dramatically from 1980, followed by a  
188 rapid decline in 1983 (Figure 4c), likely driven by overfishing leading to stock collapse in  
189 nearshore waters<sup>29</sup>. Shifts between land and sea following a shock were rare in our analysis of  
190 national time series. It is possible Dominica’s small size, and high dependence on a single  
191 crop for livelihoods of the rural poor (who have few absorptive strategies for coping with



192 crises)<sup>30</sup>, contributed to this response. However, it is likely these switches occur much more  
193 widely at smaller scales given the prevalence of joint dependence on fisheries and agriculture  
194 worldwide<sup>11</sup> and because small-scale fisheries are often used to buffer the effects of extreme  
195 events<sup>31</sup>.

196 In Ecuador, shocks occurred at similar points in both crop and aquaculture systems with  
197 seemingly unrelated proximate drivers if investigated solely from single sector perspectives  
198 (Figure 4d). The strong El-Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) event of 1998 led to  
199 widespread flood damage to croplands across Ecuador<sup>32</sup> detected as a shock in our time-  
200 series, and at the same time, a large reduction in coastal fisheries landings occurred (Figure  
201 4d), although not detected as shock due to the variable nature of the Humboldt system<sup>2</sup>.  
202 While there were reports of flood damages to shrimp farms in 1998, two years later we  
203 detected a shock to aquaculture production because of dramatic declines in the shrimp  
204 industry. These declines are consistent with the reports of a white-spot syndrome outbreak,  
205 which severely affected the industry in 2000<sup>33</sup>. We could find no documented link of the El-  
206 Niño event and the disease outbreak; however, abnormally warm coastal waters on the  
207 Pacific South American coast are associated with both El-Niño events and the rapid spread of  
208 the White-spot Syndrome virus<sup>34</sup>. Irrespective of whether these shocks are connected or not,  
209 an increased co-occurrence because of linked or independent drivers becomes problematic for  
210 communities with a reduced capacity to deal with these dual impacts.

### 211 ***Challenges and potential for sustainable development in a shock-prone world***

212 Shocks across multiple sectors pose significant threats to improving global food security as  
213 well as other sustainability targets. For example, one target within SDG 2 of zero hunger, is  
214 to strengthen adaptive capacity in the face of climate change and extreme events<sup>1</sup>. For many  
215 people, livelihood diversification between agriculture and fisheries is a key strategy in

216 alleviating the impacts of production shortfalls<sup>11,35,36</sup> yet shocks across multiple sectors  
217 compromise these options. A lack of viable alternatives can drive people to derive food or  
218 income from other sources with unpredictable sustainability consequences. The declines in  
219 large mammal populations in West Africa during times of low fish supply or after the  
220 collapse of agricultural systems in the Soviet Union are clear examples<sup>37,38</sup>. Trade-offs across  
221 sectors like this including the example from Dominica (Figure 4c) present significant  
222 challenges for achieving other sustainability targets. Unpredictable shifts among sectors  
223 create interactions among the goals for life on land, life below water or responsible  
224 production and consumption<sup>1</sup> for instance. Further, as shock rates increase across all sectors  
225 the capacity for shocks to co-occur increases simultaneously.

226 On a global scale, increased shock frequency may pose a threat to the resilience of the global  
227 food system through impacts on trade. Nearly a quarter of food, agricultural land, and  
228 freshwater resources are accessed through trade<sup>6</sup> and a number of countries are dependent on  
229 imports to meet the food demands of their population<sup>39</sup>. Trade dependency is also becoming  
230 more regionally specialised, with some major breadbaskets the sole suppliers of commodities  
231 to other nations. For example, Thailand currently provides over 96% of rice imports to a  
232 number of West African countries<sup>40</sup>. The high dependence on just a handful of producers for  
233 some countries highlights future vulnerability. Producing countries often reduce or ban  
234 exports during production crises to protect domestic supply, endangering import-dependent  
235 trade partners<sup>5,6,39,40</sup>. If shock frequencies continue to increase and major producing nations  
236 are affected, a shift to a state of reduced exports is plausible at a global level. Increased  
237 commodity prices linked to global scarcity would favor higher paying nations<sup>40</sup>, leaving low-  
238 income, trade-dependent countries in jeopardy. In the case that a higher frequency of shocks  
239 is influencing the stability of trade, we might expect to see increased temporal variability in

240 either trade or price data. Whether or not these signals are present in the available data  
241 warrants further investigation.

242 Country-level differences in vulnerability to external or domestic production shocks mean  
243 challenges posed by them are uneven across regions and commodities. For example, frequent  
244 shocks in small Caribbean livestock sectors will have variable consequences across the  
245 different regional economies, yet a shock in major producers such as Argentina may  
246 influence supply for multiple trade-partners around the world<sup>41</sup>. Comparing across  
247 commodities, frequent or severe crop shocks in major breadbaskets such as South Asia can  
248 have far reaching consequences for global food availability and access<sup>5</sup> but relatively small  
249 shocks to fish landings in small-island developing states may have equally negative effects on  
250 nutrition<sup>12,42</sup>. The diverse sources of threat across land and sea from domestic or foreign  
251 sources highlights a pressing need to improve resilience to shocks in both agricultural and  
252 seafood sectors.

253 Building resilience at a global level will require more proactive national food and trade  
254 policies. Investing in climate-smart food systems that exploit ecosystem services to mitigate  
255 extreme-events will be increasingly important<sup>43</sup>. For instance, increasing diversity of plant  
256 and animal breeds/varieties can minimise vulnerability to disease; integrating agroforestry  
257 into farm systems and enhancing soil quality can improve recovery times after drought and  
258 floods<sup>3,43</sup>. Concerted efforts should be made in import-dependent countries to build domestic  
259 food reserves to buffer the effects of supply losses when trade partners reduce exports during  
260 production shocks<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, international trade policies should aim to disincentivise  
261 behaviours that exacerbate the impacts of production shocks such as commodity hoarding and  
262 export bans. Such policy is especially important for major food producers such as the USA,  
263 India, or China, whose trade networks have greater global influence on food supply<sup>6</sup>.  
264 Maintaining fair and open trade should be made a priority in addressing global hunger.

265 In shock-prone areas, a number of social protection mechanisms will be key. These  
266 mechanisms may help nations, communities and households prevent and anticipate shocks,  
267 cope with them and recover<sup>4</sup>. For example, conflict-related shocks remain the biggest barrier  
268 to food security in the world's most food insecure regions<sup>4,7</sup>. Greater understanding of the  
269 causes of conflict in different areas is central to prevention<sup>4</sup>. New early-warning systems for  
270 violence are already underway<sup>44</sup>. During times of crisis, timely food and cash transfers, and  
271 food or cash for work programmes show promise throughout Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>45</sup>. For  
272 those displaced, to speed up recovery and close yield gaps, participatory planning and post-  
273 conflict support such as tools, seeds or skills training is crucial<sup>4,46</sup>. Weather-indexed  
274 insurance is another innovative tool to protect producers against loss of income or food  
275 access during adverse conditions<sup>47</sup>, and will be particularly important if extreme events  
276 become more frequent<sup>48</sup>.

277 Increased investment in food systems research to improve resilience to shocks is urgently  
278 required under climate change. Continued development of drought and pest-related resistance  
279 in key crops is crucial<sup>49</sup> but understanding and addressing barriers to uptake in food-insecure  
280 countries is equally important<sup>50</sup>. The same applies where fish-farming could increase  
281 resilience to external shocks in vulnerable nations<sup>42</sup> but barriers that limit industry growth  
282 must be overcome. In commercial-scale aquaculture systems, improvements in open data and  
283 new sequencing technologies can help us understand the microbial conditions surrounding  
284 disease emergence, which is fundamental to meeting increasing global seafood demands<sup>51</sup>.  
285 Without learning to mitigate and adapt to the effects of increased volatility in food systems,  
286 global goals to end hunger and protect our natural ecosystems may be out of reach.

287 Trends discussed here almost certainly underrepresent the frequency of production shocks.  
288 Aggregation of production data to country level smooths out sudden production losses that  
289 are locally isolated or restricted to a single food type. This is particularly true in large

290 countries such as the United States of America or Australia where food is grown over large  
291 and diverse landscapes. Small-scale, unreported food systems (e.g. some inland and marine  
292 fisheries or aquaculture, backyard farm systems and wild meat sources) are also not included  
293 in the data used in this analysis. Although this is a recognised weakness, the data used here  
294 represents the best source of production data with global coverage across multiple sectors.  
295 Nevertheless, localised shocks or shocks to small-scale systems are still of concern for the  
296 livelihoods and food security of communities dependent on them.

297 Achieving the SDGs by 2030 will require addressing drivers of food production shocks and  
298 derived threats. With shock frequency increasing across sectors, the likelihood of shock co-  
299 occurrence increases, particularly in hotspots of shock exposure. Production challenges will  
300 be hardest felt by those with lower capacity to adapt to or absorb shocks. With extreme  
301 weather events predicted to increase into the future, potentially interacting with civil unrest,  
302 achieving food security in regions most exposed to shocks may hinge on successful social  
303 protection mechanisms to help people cope and recover. Fundamental shifts toward shock-  
304 resilient food systems will require considerable but achievable change to how we grow and  
305 trade food. Integrating and understanding links between land and sea will be critical for  
306 programmes and research aiming to affect progress towards food security and sustainable  
307 development.

## 308 **Methods**

309 To identify and compare shock occurrence among fundamentally different systems  
310 (agriculture and seafood), we adopt the paired statistical and qualitative approach of Gephart  
311 et al<sup>2</sup>. This method identifies shocks through breaks in the autocorrelation structure of a time-  
312 series and combines this with a literature search for likely driver of the shock. Alternative  
313 studies have used pre-published data sets on extreme events to understand responses in

314 production data<sup>31</sup>, however this skews focus toward drivers with plentiful data – often  
315 terrestrial and biophysical events such as floods, droughts, or cold fronts. Others have also  
316 used the trade in virtual water to study shocks in agricultural systems<sup>13</sup>, but this largely  
317 eliminates the marine component of our food system. Reliance on statistical detection in  
318 production data avoids specificity making it a standardised approach applicable across crop,  
319 livestock, fisheries, and aquaculture sectors.

## 320 *Data Sources*

321 We use a range of food production data from the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization  
322 (FAO) combined with published production datasets for our analysis. We used crop and  
323 livestock data from FAOSTAT production quantity dataset 1961 – 2014 dataset  
324 (<http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/>)<sup>52</sup>. Crop types included cereals, coarse grains, fruits, roots and  
325 tubers, pulses, tree nuts and vegetables; while livestock included total meat, milk, and egg  
326 production from bovine, poultry, swine, mutton and goat sources. We used the FAO FishStat  
327 database<sup>53</sup> for inland and marine aquaculture production, and inland fisheries landings data  
328 (1950 – 2015 Global Production dataset, [www.fao.org/fishery/topic/166235/en/](http://www.fao.org/fishery/topic/166235/en/)). We used  
329 marine fish landings data from Watson<sup>54</sup> to account for estimates of large-scale, small-scale  
330 and illegal, unregulated, and unreported (IUU) landings. Fisheries data included all landed  
331 finfish, crustaceans, and molluscs. Aquaculture data included all farmed finfish, crustaceans,  
332 molluscs and algae. While we recognise that underreporting of small-scale production across  
333 all sectors is a limitation of FAO data, it provides global coverage of production across  
334 multiple sectors, and the detection of shocks relies on overall trends in data rather than  
335 absolute production values. We obtained country shapefiles used for mapping global patterns  
336 from Natural Earth (<https://www.naturalearthdata.com/>) and adapted EEZ shapefiles from  
337 Marine Regions (<http://www.marineregions.org/>)<sup>55</sup>. We performed all data analyses using R  
338 statistical software<sup>56</sup>.

339 *Detecting shocks and identifying drivers*

340 For all countries we aggregated production to total annual values from 1961 – 2013 across all  
341 commodity types described above for crop, livestock, fisheries and aquaculture sectors. We  
342 fitted local polynomial regression (LOESS) models with a span of 0.6 to aggregated annual  
343 production data for all countries and sectors. We regressed model residuals against lag-1  
344 residuals, and any outliers in this regression (quantified as data points with a Cook's  
345 distance  $> 0.3$ ), we deemed shocks (Supplementary Figure 4). Given only production losses  
346 are of concern for food security, we only considered shock points associated with a loss in  
347 production relative to a previous 7-year median production baseline.

348 Consistent with the approach by Gephart et al.<sup>2</sup>, for each shock detected we calculated the  
349 size of a shock and its recovery time for comparisons across sectors and regions  
350 (Supplementary Figure 1). Shock size equals the loss in production (in tonnes) relative to the  
351 previous 7-year median baseline. Recovery time for the shock is calculated as the number of  
352 years taken to increase back up to at least 95% of this baseline. Some shocks did not recover  
353 by the end of the time series and we highlight the individual shocks in Supplementary Table 1.  
354 We calculated shock frequencies for each geographical region, by dividing the number of  
355 shocks detected from 1961 – 2013 by the number of time-series used for detection. For  
356 annual shock frequencies, for every sector we divided the number of shocks detected for a  
357 given year by the number of countries producing in that year. This approach compensates for  
358 different numbers of countries within each region, and the increasing number of countries  
359 producing through time.

360 Adopting a qualitative approach to identifying the drivers of production shocks helps account  
361 for and recognise the multiple and complex social-ecological factors contributing to an event.  
362 For a detected shock, we searched peer-reviewed and grey literature (e.g. NGO reports, news

363 articles etc.) for the likely causes, or drivers, of each individual shock. Each shock was  
364 assessed independently disaggregating production data into individual commodities to  
365 identify the species affected and check our analysis, which allowed greater specificity to our  
366 search. We only attributed a driver to a shock when our search returned a documented event  
367 or set of conditions where a negative effect on agricultural or seafood sectors (dependent on  
368 the sector affected) was explicitly mentioned at or just before the shock point (i.e.  
369 documentation stipulated the link rather than us establishing purely correlative trends). The  
370 combination of quantitative and qualitative methods adopted by Gephart et al.<sup>2</sup> provide  
371 complimentary approaches where purely data driven methods may highlight correlative  
372 relationships with drivers without causation. Likewise, purely qualitative analyses may be  
373 limited in their capacity to detect shocks because of differences in reporting across regions.  
374 We caution that this approach is not meant to provide a comprehensive list of contributing  
375 factors for a given shock within the data, but instead highlights potential drivers of change  
376 from the literature we identify. It is plausible that other unidentified factors contribute to the  
377 changes seen in the data.

378 In our analysis, we classify drivers of shocks into five main categories. *Climate/weather*  
379 *events* include anomalies such as storms, droughts, ENSO events, or climate-driven  
380 ecosystem change. *Geopolitical/economic events* covers disturbances from conflict, state  
381 dissolution or financial crises. *Mismanagement* includes multiple categories such as  
382 overfishing in the ocean, or deforestation and erosion of soils on land. *Policy change* can  
383 refer to, for example, closure of a fishery or abolition of agricultural subsidies. The ‘*Other*’  
384 category includes a wide range of pressures from production diseases to geological events  
385 such as tsunamis or volcanic eruptions. Due to the complex nature of social-ecological  
386 stressors on food systems, we combined many of these categories to explain the drivers of  
387 production shocks and highlight these sub-categories. The Unknown category contains



388 shocks for which we could not find a documented reason. It is possible that our statistical  
389 approach to detection means we identify changes to national reporting methods as a shock.  
390 This highlights the importance of the complimentary quantitative and qualitative approaches  
391 used here to identify if a statistical anomaly in production data is reflected by conditions or  
392 events reported in reality<sup>2</sup>.

393 We do however acknowledge that some production losses detected may not be completely  
394 unanticipated. Some production losses driven by economic recession or policy changes may  
395 be expected by producers. However, to what extent the production losses detected here were  
396 anticipated is unclear because of data scarcity. Policy responses to dwindling resources can  
397 certainly produce shocks to food supply and livelihoods, as exemplified in the closure and  
398 subsequent anger surrounding the North-West Atlantic cod fishery in 1993<sup>57</sup>. But even if an  
399 event *is* anticipated, the scale of disruption may be unknown (the uncertainty surrounding the  
400 economic impacts of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union is a contemporary  
401 example). While the uncertainty surrounding whether a statistical shock in production data  
402 equates to a shock in reality is a limitation, this method does allow non-biased detection of  
403 shocks caused by drivers for which there is scant data (e.g. sudden declines from fish stock  
404 collapse). Although sensitivity analyses of Cook's distance, LOESS span or production  
405 baseline parameters provided confidence intervals, we may not have detected all shocks  
406 (Supplementary Figure 3). Further, the shock detection method described here is less  
407 sensitive to production changes in highly variable systems where large fluctuations are  
408 common within the time series<sup>2</sup>.

## 409 **Data availability**

410 Crop and livestock production data were accessed through FAOSTAT

411 <http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/>. For marine fisheries production we used the published dataset

412 by Watson<sup>54</sup> at <https://www.nature.com/articles/sdata201739>. Aquaculture and inland  
413 fisheries data were extracted from global production datasets using FishStat software  
414 ([www.fao.org/fishery/topic/166235/en](http://www.fao.org/fishery/topic/166235/en)). All code and data products used for analyses in this  
415 study are publicly available through a Github repository (<https://github.com/cottrellr/shocks>).  
416 All data that support this study are available from the corresponding author on request

## 417 **Corresponding author**

418 All correspondence relating to this article should be directed to Richard Cottrell  
419 ([richardstuart.cottrell@utas.edu.au](mailto:richardstuart.cottrell@utas.edu.au))

## 420 **Acknowledgements**

421 The authors acknowledge the funding and intellectual support for this work from the Centre  
422 for Marine Socioecology, University of Tasmania and RSC acknowledges funding from the  
423 CSIRO-UTAS Quantitative Marine Science Program, and the Australian Training Program.

## 424 **Author contributions**

425 RSC, JLB, KLN, and BSH designed the study, and RSC conducted the analysis and wrote the  
426 paper. TAR assisted with figures and AJ assisted with qualitative analysis of shock drivers.

427 All authors contributed to development of the paper through methodological advice,  
428 comments and edits of the text and figures.

## 429 **Competing interests**

430 The authors declare no competing interests.

## 431 **References**

432 1. United Nations. Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable

- 433 development. *United Nations Gen. Assem.* 1–5 (2015). doi:10.1007/s13398-014-0173-  
434 7.2
- 435 2. Gephart, J. A., Deutsch, L., Pace, M. L., Troell, M. & Seekell, D. A. Shocks to fish  
436 production: Identification, trends, and consequences. *Glob. Environ. Chang.* 42, 24–32  
437 doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2016.11.003 (2017).
- 438 3. Seekell, D. *et al.* Resilience in the global food system. *Environ. Res. Lett.* 12, 025010  
439 doi: 10.1088/1748-9326/aa5730 (2017).
- 440 4. FAO IFAD UNICEF WFP & WHO. *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the*  
441 *World. FAO, Rome, Italy* (2017).
- 442 5. Tadesse, G., Algieri, B., Kalkuhl, M. & von Braun, J. Drivers and triggers of  
443 international food price spikes and volatility. *Food Policy* 47, 117–128 doi:  
444 10.1016/j.foodpol.2013.08.014 (2014).
- 445 6. Marchand, P. *et al.* Reserves and trade jointly determine exposure to food supply  
446 shocks. *Environ. Res. Lett.* 11, doi: 10.1016/j.foodpol.2013.08.014 (2016).
- 447 7. Buhaug, H., Benjaminsen, T. A., Sjaastad, E. & Theisen, O. M. Climate variability ,  
448 food production shocks , and violent conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Environ. Res. Lett.*  
449 10, 12 doi: 10.1088/1748-9326/10/12/125015 (2015).
- 450 8. Dabbadie, L. *et al.* in *FAO: Impacts of climate change on fisheries and aquaculture.*  
451 *Synthesis of current knowledge, adaptation and mitigation options* (eds. Barange, M.  
452 *et al.*) 449–464 (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, Rome,  
453 2018).
- 454 9. Selkoe, K. A. *et al.* Principles for managing marine ecosystems prone to tipping points.  
455 *Ecosyst. Heal. Sustain.* 1, art17 doi: 10.1890/EHS14-0024.1 (2015).

- 456 10. IPCC. *Climate Change 2001: Impacts, Adaptation & Vulnerability, Contribution of*  
457 *Working Group II to the Third Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on*  
458 *Climate Change (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). (2001).*
- 459 11. Fisher, B. *et al.* Integrating fisheries and agricultural programs for food security. *Agric.*  
460 *Food Secur.* 10–16 doi:10.1186/s40066-016-0078-0 (2017).
- 461 12. Blanchard, J. L. *et al.* Linked sustainability challenges and trade-offs among fisheries,  
462 aquaculture and agriculture. *Nat. Ecol. Evol.* 1, 1240 doi: 10.1038/s41559-017-0258-8  
463 (2017).
- 464 13. Sartori, M. & Schiavo, S. Connected we stand: A network perspective on trade and  
465 global food security. *Food Policy* 57, 114–127 doi: 10.1016/j.foodpol.2015.10.004  
466 (2015).
- 467 14. Lesk, C., Rowhani, P. & Ramankutty, N. Influence of extreme weather disasters on  
468 global crop production. *Nature* 529, 84–87 doi: 10.1038/nature16467 (2016).
- 469 15. Rao, M. P. *et al.* Dzuds, droughts, and livestock mortality in Mongolia. *Environ. Res.*  
470 *Lett.* 10, doi: 10.1088/1748-9326/10/7/074012 (2015).
- 471 16. Liu, J. *et al.* Framing Sustainability in a Telecoupled World. *Ecol. Soc.* 2, doi:  
472 10.5751/ES-05873-180226 (2013).
- 473 17. Perry, B. D., Grace, D. & Sones, K. Current drivers and future directions of global  
474 livestock disease dynamics. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci.* 110, 20871–20877 doi:  
475 10.1073/pnas.1012953108 (2013).
- 476 18. Cottrell, R. S. *et al.* Considering land-sea interactions and trade-offs for food and  
477 biodiversity. *Glob. Chang. Biol.* 1–17. doi:10.1111/gcb.13873 (2017).
- 478 19. Froehlich, H. E., Runge, C. A., Gentry, R. R., Gaines, S. D. & Halpern, B. S.

- 479 Comparative terrestrial feed and land use of an aquaculture-dominant world. *Proc.*  
480 *Natl. Acad. Sci. U. S. A.* 201801692 doi:10.1073/pnas.1801692115  
481 (2018).
- 482 20. Galaz, V., Gars, J., Moberg, F., Nykvist, B. & Repinski, C. Why Ecologists Should  
483 Care about Financial Markets. *Trends Ecol. Evol.* 30, 571–580 doi:  
484 10.1016/j.tree.2015.06.015 (2015).
- 485 21. FAO. *Nutrition Country Profile - Republic of Albania. Food and Agricultural*  
486 *Organisation of the United Nations, Rome.* (2005).
- 487 22. Moutopoulos, D., Bradshaw, B. & Pauly, D. Reconstruction of Albania fishery catches  
488 by fishing gear. *Fish. Cent. Work. Pap. Ser.* 12, (2015).
- 489 23. FAO. *National Aquaculture Sector Overview. Albania. Text by Cobani, M. In: FAO*  
490 *Fisheries and Aquaculture Department [online]. Rome.* (2015).
- 491 24. Noland, M. Famine and Reform in North Korea. *Asian Econ. Pap.* 3, 1–40 (2004).
- 492 25. Noland, M., Robinson, S. & Wang, T. Famine in North Korea: Causes and Cures.  
493 *Econ. Dev. Cult. Change* 49, 741–767 (2001).
- 494 26. Kimenyi, M. *et al.* *The Impact of Conflict and Political Instability on Agricultural*  
495 *Investments in Mali and Nigeria. Afrca Growth Initiative. Working Paper 17.* (2014).
- 496 27. Matthews, A. Trade rules, food security and the multilateral trade negotiations. *Eur.*  
497 *Rev. Agric. Econ.* 41, 511–535 (2014).
- 498 28. FAO. *FAO/WFP Crop and food supply assessment mission to Afghanistan. Global*  
499 *Information and Early Warning Systems on Food and Agriculture World Food*  
500 *Programme.* (2002).

- 501 29. Ramdeen, R., Harper, S. & Zeller, D. Reconstruction of total marine fisheries catches  
502 for Dominica (1950-2010). *Fish. Catch Reconstr. Islands, Part IV. Fish. Cent. Res.*  
503 *Reports. Sea Around Us Fish. Centre, Univ. British Columbia* 22(2), 33–41 (2014).
- 504 30. Mohan, P. The economic impact of hurricanes on bananas: A case study of Dominica  
505 using synthetic control methods. *Food Policy* 68, 21–30 doi:  
506 10.1016/j.foodpol.2016.12.008 (2017).
- 507 31. Belhabib, D., Dridi, R., Padilla, A., Ang, M. & Le, P. Impacts of anthropogenic and  
508 natural “extreme events” on global fisheries. *Fish Fish.* 1–18 doi:10.1111/faf.12314  
509 (2018).
- 510 32. Bayer, A. M. *et al.* The 1997–1998 El Niño as an unforgettable phenomenon in  
511 northern Peru: a qualitative study. *Disasters* 38, 351 (2014).
- 512 33. FAO. *National Aquaculture Sector Overview. Ecuador. National Aquaculture Sector*  
513 *Overview Fact Sheets. Text by Schwarz, L. In: FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture*  
514 *Department [online]. Rome. (2005).*
- 515 34. Lafferty, K. D. *et al.* Infectious Diseases Affect Marine Fisheries and Aquaculture  
516 Economics. *Ann. Rev. Mar. Sci.* 7, 471–96 doi: 10.1146/annurev-marine-010814-  
517 015646 (2015).
- 518 35. Allison, E. & Ellis, F. The livelihoods approach and management of small-scale  
519 fisheries. *Mar. Policy* 25, 377–388 doi: 10.1016/S0308-597X(01)00023-9 (2001).
- 520 36. van Ginkel, M. *et al.* An integrated agro-ecosystem and livelihood systems approach  
521 for the poor and vulnerable in dry areas. *Food Secur.* 5, 751–767 doi: 10.1007/s12571-  
522 013-0305-5 (2013).
- 523 37. Brashares, J. S. *et al.* Bushmeat hunting, wildlife declines, and fish supply in West

- 524 Africa. *Science* (80-. ). 306, 1180–1183 doi: 10.1007/s12571-013-0305-5 (2004).
- 525 38. Bragina, E. V. *et al.* Rapid declines of large mammal populations after the collapse of  
526 the Soviet Union. *Conserv. Biol.* 29, 844–853 doi: 10.1111/cobi.12450 (2015).
- 527 39. Suweis, S. *et al.* Resilience and reactivity of global food security. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci.*  
528 112, E4811–E4811 doi: 10.1073/pnas.1512971112 (2015).
- 529 40. Puma, M. J., Bose, S., Chon, S. Y. & Cook, B. I. Assessing the evolving fragility of  
530 the global food system. *Environ. Res. Lett.* 10, doi: 10.1088/1748-9326/10/2/024007  
531 (2015).
- 532 41. Tamea, S., Laio, F. & Ridolfi, L. Global effects of local food-production crises: A  
533 virtual water perspective. *Sci. Rep.* 6, 1–14 doi: 10.1038/srep18803 (2016).
- 534 42. Gephart, J. A., Rovenskaya, E., Dieckmann, U., Pace, M. L. & Brännström, Å.  
535 Vulnerability to shocks in the global seafood trade network. *Environ. Res. Lett.* 11, doi:  
536 10.1088/1748-9326/11/3/035008 (2016).
- 537 43. Lipper, L. *et al.* Climate-smart agriculture for food security. *Nat. Clim. Chang.* 4,  
538 1068–1072 doi: 10.1038/nclimate2437 (2014).
- 539 44. Uppsala Universitet. ViEWS: a political Violence Early-Warning System. *Department*  
540 *of peace and conflict research* (2017). Available at:  
541 <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/views/>.
- 542 45. Devereaux, S. Social protection for enhanced food security in sub-Saharan Africa.  
543 *Food Policy* 60, 56–72 doi: 10.1016/j.foodpol.2015.03.009 (2016).
- 544 46. Khan, Z. R. *et al.* Achieving food security for one million sub-Saharan African poor  
545 through push-pull innovation by 2020. *Philos. Trans. R. Soc. B Biol. Sci.* 369,  
546 20120284–20120284 doi: 10.1098/rstb.2012.0284 (2014).

- 547 47. Hazell, P. B. R. & Hess, U. Drought insurance for agricultural development and food  
548 security in dryland areas. *Food Secur.* 2, 395–405 doi: 10.1007/s12571-010-0087-y  
549 (2010).
- 550 48. Cai, W. *et al.* Increasing frequency of extreme El Niño events due to greenhouse  
551 warming. *Nat. Clim. Chang.* 4, 111–116 doi: 10.1007/s12571-010-0087-y (2014).
- 552 49. Marshall, A. Drought-tolerant varieties begin global march. *Nat. Biotechnol.* 32, 308–  
553 308 doi: 10.1038/nbt.2875 (2014).
- 554 50. Fisher, M. *et al.* Drought tolerant maize for farmer adaptation to drought in sub-  
555 Saharan Africa: Determinants of adoption in eastern and southern Africa. *Clim.*  
556 *Change* 133, 283–299 doi: 10.1007/s10584-015-1459-2 (2015).
- 557 51. Stentiford, G. D. *et al.* New Paradigms to Help Solve the Global Aquaculture Disease  
558 Crisis. *PLoS Pathog.* 13, 1–6 (2017).
- 559 52. FAO. FAOSTAT. (2017). Available at: <http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/>.
- 560 53. FAO. FishStatJ - Fisheries and aquaculture software for fisheries statistical time series.  
561 In: FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Department (2017).
- 562 54. Watson, R. A. A database of global marine commercial, small-scale, illegal and  
563 unreported fisheries catch 1950–2014. *Sci. Data* 4, doi: 10.1038/sdata.2017.39 (2017).
- 564 55. Flanders Marine Institute (2018). Maritime Boundaries Geodatabase, version 10.  
565 Available online at <http://www.marineregions.org/> <https://doi.org/10.14284/312>.
- 566 56. RCoreTeam R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing (R Foundation  
567 for Statistical Computing, 2017).
- 568 55. Milich, L. Resource mismanagement versus sustainable livelihoods: The collapse of



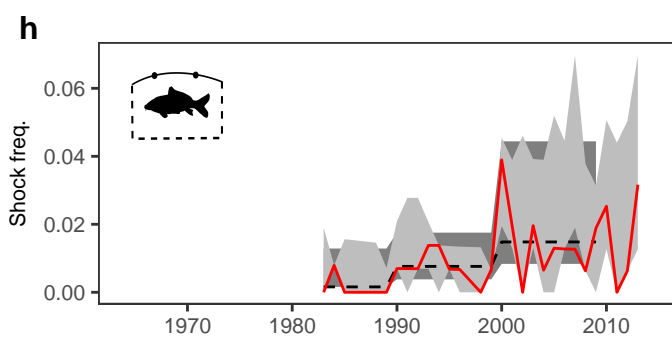
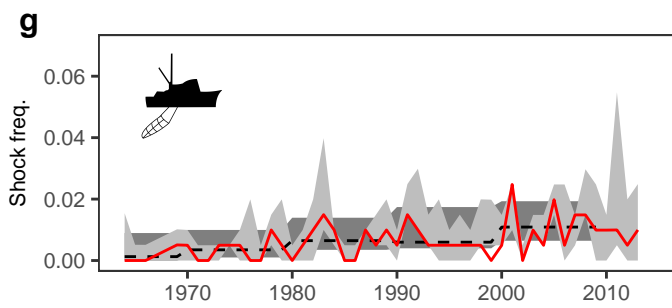
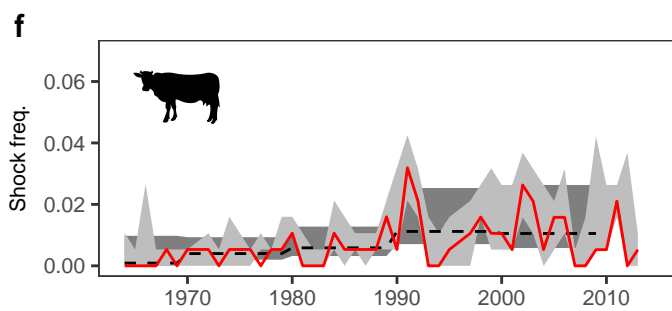
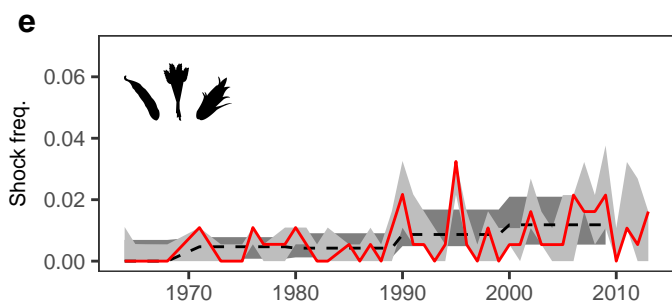
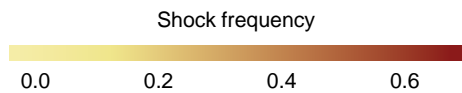
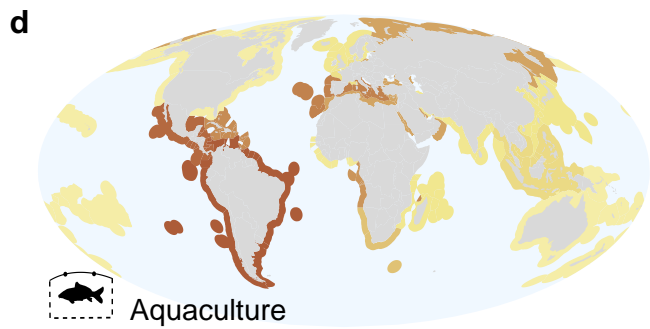
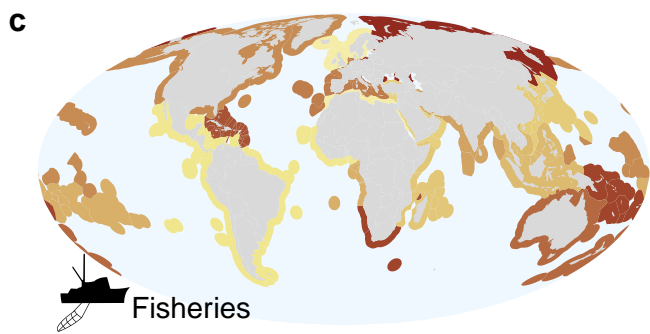
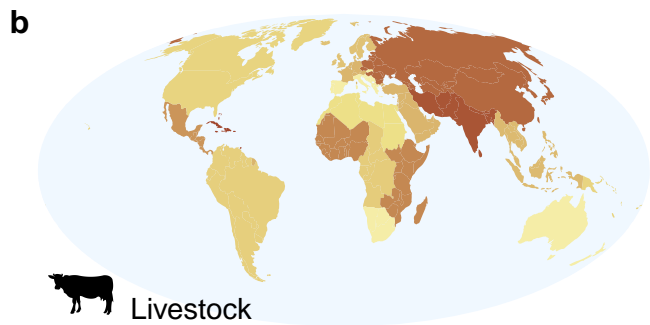
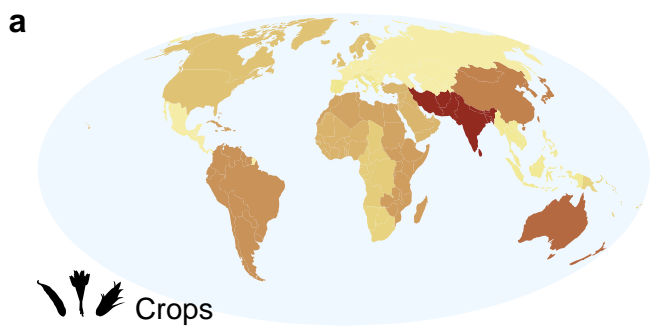
569 the newfoundland cod fishery. *Soc. Nat. Resour.* 12, 625–642 doi:  
570 10.1080/089419299279353 (1999).

**Figure 1 – Spatial (a-d) and temporal (e-g) trends in food production shock frequency in crop, livestock, fisheries, and aquaculture sectors from 1961-2013.** Regions include North America, Central America, Caribbean, South America, Northern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, Southern Africa, East Africa, Western Asia, South Asia, East Asia, South-east Asia, Melanesian, Micronesia, Australia and New Zealand, and Polynesia. The red line in the time series indicates the annual shock frequency from the shocks identified in this study. Light grey confidence interval describes the plausible range of frequencies under different combinations of LOESS model span (0.2-0.8), production baseline durations (3,5,7, or 9 years) and average types used for baseline (mean or median). Dashed black line is the decadal mean of the red line and the dark grey band is the decadal minima and maxima of the confidence interval.

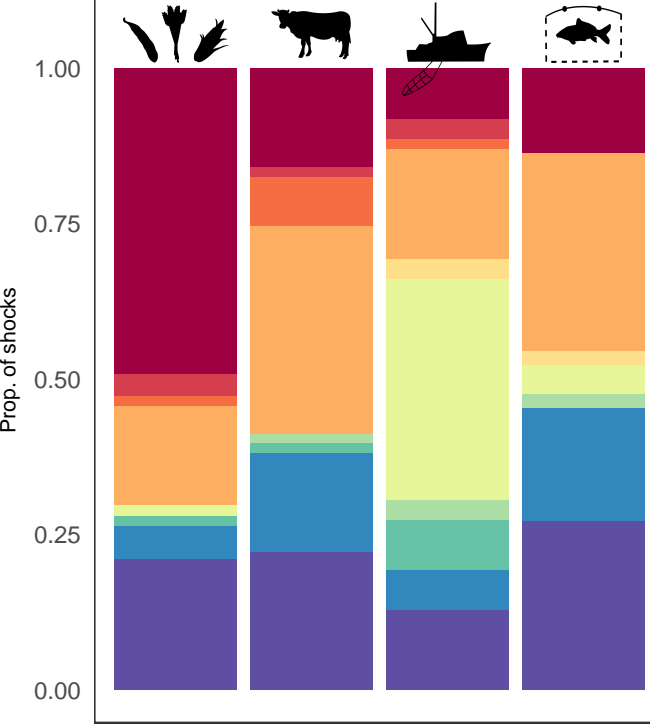
**Figure 2 – Drivers of food production shocks for crop, livestock, fisheries and aquaculture sectors.**

**Figure 3 – Heat map of shock co-occurrence across terrestrial and aquatic food sectors through time.** a) Global extent of co-occurrence in all countries affected by shocks in our analysis grouped by subregion b) Isolated countries where shocks occurred across multiple sectors during the same five-year period.

**Figure 4 – Case studies of shock spillover, trade-offs, and co-occurrence across terrestrial and aquatic sectors.** a) Invasion of Kuwait during the Gulf War b) Severe drought in Afghanistan c) Land-sea switches following Hurricane David in Dominica d) El-nino driven floods on land followed by an outbreak of white-spot disease in shrimp farms, Ecuador.



Year



### Driver of shock

- Climate/weather events
- Climate/weather events & mismanagement
- Climate/weather & geopolitical/economic events
- Geopolitical/economic events
- Mismanagement & geopolitical/economic events
- Mismanagement
- Mismanagement & policy change
- Policy change
- Other
- Unknown

