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Understanding the barriers and drivers to food system transformation in France

Charlie Brocard, Aurélie Catallo (IDDRI)

Food systems in Europe and the UK are not delivering for people or the planet. While this may sound stark, it reflects well-documented poor health outcomes, environmental harm and the persistent difficulty of making healthy and sustainable diets affordable and accessible—particularly for those most affected. Despite sustained efforts by many actors over several decades, progress has fallen short of what is needed.

Against this backdrop, this report examines the activities of changemakers in France, the barriers they face and the needs they express to overcome these barriers and to seize opportunities that are available to them. The objective is to better align research and funding with action and to accelerate food system transformation, with a focus on health, climate and equity outcomes.

The analysis is grounded in a series of interviews with a diversity of changemakers as well as previous work by IDDRI on the political and socio-economic implications of food system transformation (see Schiavo *et al.*, 2025; IDDRI & I4CE, 2025). It is part of a larger project carried out with the support of the Wellcome Trust, in order to better understand how to improve health, climate and equity outcomes of food systems across the EU (covering France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland and Spain) and the UK. Some changemakers who act at the European level were also interviewed.

KEY MESSAGES

Changemakers in France attach paramount importance to intervening in public policy. Faced with mounting obstacles, however, they are increasingly turning to economic actors, with a view to transformation through the market, and, more marginally still, to action at local level.

There are four main barriers, direct and indirect, to changing food practices:

- political instability and a lack of political ambition;
- the economic constraints bearing on households and businesses;
- narratives that work against change;
- and consumers expressing preferences that are incompatible with a healthy, sustainable food system.

To overcome these barriers, changemakers point first and foremost to needs outside the academic sphere. Where research needs are mentioned, they refer to synthesis work in accessible, plain-language form.

- Needs outside research: multi-stakeholder dialogue spaces; new narratives; building on experiments already carried out; support for developing new supply chains.
- Research needs concern three areas above all: the social and economic implications of food system transformation; the social and political conditions for change; and the technical and economic knowledge required to navigate a transition.

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1. APPROACH AND METHOD

There are various ways of understanding what people eat and what shapes those choices. We draw here on practice theory in sociology, which holds that the “food practices” governing what we eat—shopping, cooking, using up leftovers and so on—are not a product of individual motivation. They arise instead where three components meet: materials (the food available, for example), meanings (the social representations attached to an action) and competences (knowing how to cook) (Dubuisson-Quellier and Plessz, 2013). We connect this to the idea of “food environments”, which holds that practices are shaped less by individuals’ free and autonomous choice than by the nature of the environments they encounter (European Commission, 2023). These environments—where people decide what to buy, prepare their meals and so on—comprise four dimensions: economic, physical, socio-cultural and cognitive (Brocard and Saujot, 2023).

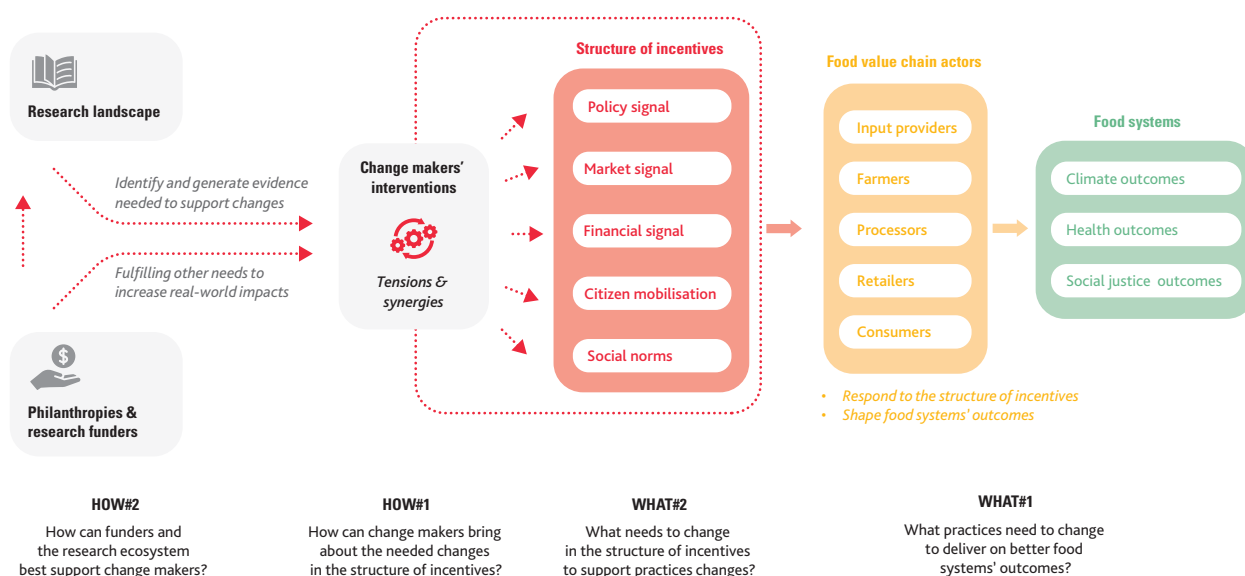
If individual food practices are to change, then, it is food environments that must change first—which puts the actors who shape those environments at the heart of any inquiry into how change happens. Some deal directly with eaters, determining the food they are exposed to: retailers, restaurants and canteen managers, but also manufacturers. Non-governmental actors such as NGOs also play a part, whether indirectly, through the pressure they bring to bear on economic actors, or directly, through their own initiatives and narratives. Public authorities, for their part, can set the ground rules—on regulation, competition and knowledge—as well as targets and incentives, and they sometimes deal with eaters directly, through nutritional guidelines, consumption subsidies and so on. Lastly, academics and experts play a part in identifying problems and possible solutions, both in their own field and in public debate. This too has an effect on food practices, though an indirect one, exerted mainly by way of economic actors and public authorities.

This report therefore sets out to understand how change-makers in France see their own work, the obstacles standing in their way, and what they need in order to overcome them. It was produced under a partnership with [Wellcome Trust](#), a major philanthropic funder in the food and health field in the United Kingdom and Europe. The French context is the subject of this *Study*, but the overarching conceptual framework was developed jointly with Oxford-TABLE ([Figure 1](#)), drawing on seven country analyses—Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom, alongside France—together with an analysis of the Brussels bubble.¹ The country teams pooled their approach on, among other things, the sampling rules² and the identification of the routes to change taken by changemakers (see Chapter 3). A synthesis report bringing together findings from the different countries analyzed can be accessed [here](#).

¹ The Brussels bubble comprises stakeholders and policymakers active within and around the three main EU institutions: the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the Council of the EU.

² Each partner was tasked with conducting at least ten interviews of around an hour with a range of different types of actors, in line with confidentiality rules. Each country also held a workshop at which the findings were presented back to the interviewees.

FIGURE 1. Food system change dynamics



2. STATE OF PLAY: FOOD PRACTICES IN FRANCE

2.1. Context and problem

In France as elsewhere in Europe, the food system faces a series of interconnected challenges. Consumption in particular raises environmental, social and public health concerns. Environmentally, the food system—and meat production and consumption above all—is responsible for the overshoot of several planetary boundaries (Rockström *et al.*, 2025; Bowles *et al.*, 2019). In public health terms, dietary patterns are linked to rising rates of cardiovascular disease, diabetes, overweight and obesity (Fanzo and Davis, 2019). On both counts, the food system generates “hidden” costs (FAO, 2024) or “societal” costs (Secours Catholique *et al.*, 2024) whose considerable scale has now been quantified. Socially, people’s ability to eat food of their own choosing is eroding, as food precariousness and food insecurity spread and deepen (Brocard *et al.*, 2025).

In terms of what people actually eat, diets today contain too much animal produce; too much sugar, fat and salt; and too many (ultra-)processed products. They leave too little room for plant-based products, for products from farming methods that are sustainable and protective of health—organic farming, for instance—and for wholegrain cereal products, as the Haut Conseil de la santé publique’s recommendations make clear (2025). The most recent public data available show that as long ago as 2015, only 28% of the population were meeting the recommendations on fruit and vegetables, against 27% for processed meat and 68% for red meat. Women’s diets tend to align more closely

with nutritional guidelines than men’s, particularly on meat and wholegrains. Adherence to the recommendations also rises with age (Santé publique France, 2019).

Table 1 indicates the most recent consumption data for fruits and vegetables, meat and milk products in 2014 and 2024. We also provide a breakdown by meat type and milk product. These data show that the French population is further away from nutritional recommendations related to fruit and vegetables in 2024 than in 2014 as the consumption has fallen. In 2014, 30% of the fruits and vegetables consumed were processed, compared with around 18% in 1960 (Agreste, 2025). Meat consumption is stable overall, with poultry substituting for beef and pork. Given the current nutritional recommendations, which set no cap on either total meat or poultry and recommend favouring poultry over beef and pork, this trend is favourable. Milk consumption is falling while cheese consumption is stable.

Table 2 presents food (in)security indicators for France in 2015 and 2023. There are multiple ways to capture the difficulties of accessing safe and adequate food. We suggest looking at two indicators: food insecurity, and food insufficiency. The former is the most common indicator, based on a simplified version of the US Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) created in 1995. It is composed of six questions and makes it possible to assess whether the respondent is in a situation of food security (0-1), moderate food insecurity (2-4) or severe food insecurity (5-6). The 2015-2023 comparison shows a steep increase in food insecurity in the French population from 11% to 32%. Food insufficiency is an indicator based on a further question complementary to the HFSSM. Quantitative food insufficiency corresponds to the answer: “I/we sometimes did not have enough to eat” while qualitative food insufficiency corresponds

to “I/we had enough to eat, but not always what I/we would have wanted”, in each case over the past 12 months. Quantitative food insufficiency is sometimes used as a synonym for “food precariousness” (Bléhaut *et al.*, 2023), which is often used in French reports on food poverty. These indicators also show a sharp increase between 2015 and 2023: from 3% to 10% and from 19% to 51%. *Note that 2023 data come from a different study/survey than the 2015 data. While the authors aimed for comparability with the 2015 INCA 3 survey data, there might be a slight overestimation.*

TABLE 1. Individual annual consumption trends for fruits and vegetables, milk products, and meat in France 2014-2024

	FRUITS AND VEGETABLES (KG/PERS/Y) (a)				
			Fruits	Vegetables	Total
2014			84,4	83,8	168,2
2024			77,5	80,1	157,9
	MILK PRODUCTS (KG/PERS/Y) (b)				
	Milk	Cheese	Butter	Other*	Total
2014	61,9	24,3	8,4	37,1	131,7
2024	50,6	26,3	7,7	34,5	119,2
	MEAT (KGEC/PERS/Y) (c)				
		Poultry	Pork	Beef	Total
2014		26,3	32,5	24,2	83
2024		30,8	30,6	20,8	82,2

*Flavored yogurt, crème fraîche, fresh dairy desserts, and fresh cheeses

(a) CTIFL (2025). *Achats de fruits et légumes frais par les ménages français pour leur consommation à domicile*. 14 p ; CTIFL (2015). *Achats de fruits et légumes frais par les ménages français. Données 2014*. 8 p ; FranceAgriMer, CTIFL, Interfel (2021). *Achats de fruits et légumes frais par les ménages français pour leur consommation à domicile. Données 2020*. 20 p.

(b) Agreste (2025). *Graph'Agri 2025 – Données de consommation française de produits laitiers et d'œufs*.

(c) FranceAgriMer & Agreste. (2025). *En 2024, la consommation de viande de volailles rattrape celle de viande de porc* ; Natura Sciences (2016). « Les Français mangent trop de viande ! »

TABLE 2. Food insecurity indicators in France 2015-2023

	FOOD INSECURITY	QUANTITATIVE FOOD INSUFFICIENCY	QUALITATIVE FOOD INSUFFICIENCY
2015	11% (a)	3% (a)	19% (a)
2023	32% (b)	10% (c)	51% (c)

(a) Anses. (2017). *Étude individuelle nationale des consommations alimentaires 3 (INCA 3)*.

(b) C-Ways & Nestlé (2024). *Observatoire des vulnérabilités alimentaires. Partage des enseignements principaux de la 2^e édition*. 28 p. https://www.nestle.fr/sites/g/files/pydnoa566/files/2025-02/Observatoire_Vulnérabilités_Edition_2_-_2024_-_version_courte_jeunes_et_familles.pdf

(c) Bléhaut, M. & Gressier, M. (2023). *En forte hausse, la précarité alimentaire s'ajoute à d'autres fragilités*. *Crédoc*, 1–4.

2.2. The main developments in food policy since 2004

Food is increasingly visible as a topic in the media and in public policy, particularly since 2014 (see **Figure 2**). 2014 was the year of the Avenir Law, primarily an agricultural orientation bill, which also created a framework for local food partnerships to be developed around a range of food themes (nutrition, environment, gastronomy, food insecurity, etc.). Local food partnerships (PAT–*Projets Alimentaires Territoriaux* in French) are one of the main innovations in French food policy in the last decade: 447 PAT are now in place across France.³ Although they only represent an annual budget of around 1 to 3 million euros,⁴ they have become quite central to the work of the French General Directorate for Food at the Ministry of Agriculture and have also attracted considerable attention from stakeholders at national and local level.

The second major change in food policy concerns waste and food poverty policy. In 2016, the Garot Law made it mandatory for supermarkets to draw up a donation plan for unsold food products to charities and food banks, while prohibiting the destruction of unsold food products. In exchange, supermarkets are compensated (through a tax exemption mechanism worth around 360 million euros per year–Le Morvan and Wanecq, 2019) based on a percentage of the value of donated products. This policy officially ties the objective of reducing food waste to the food poverty mitigation policy that primarily rests on donation of food to people through food banks. Since then, quantities of food collected by food banks have increased, as have the associated handling costs, many products being unfit for donation (e.g. beyond their expiry date) (Caillavet *et al.*, 2021). The 2018 EGAlim Law extended the requirement to donate to food banks to the agri-food industry as well as institutional catering.

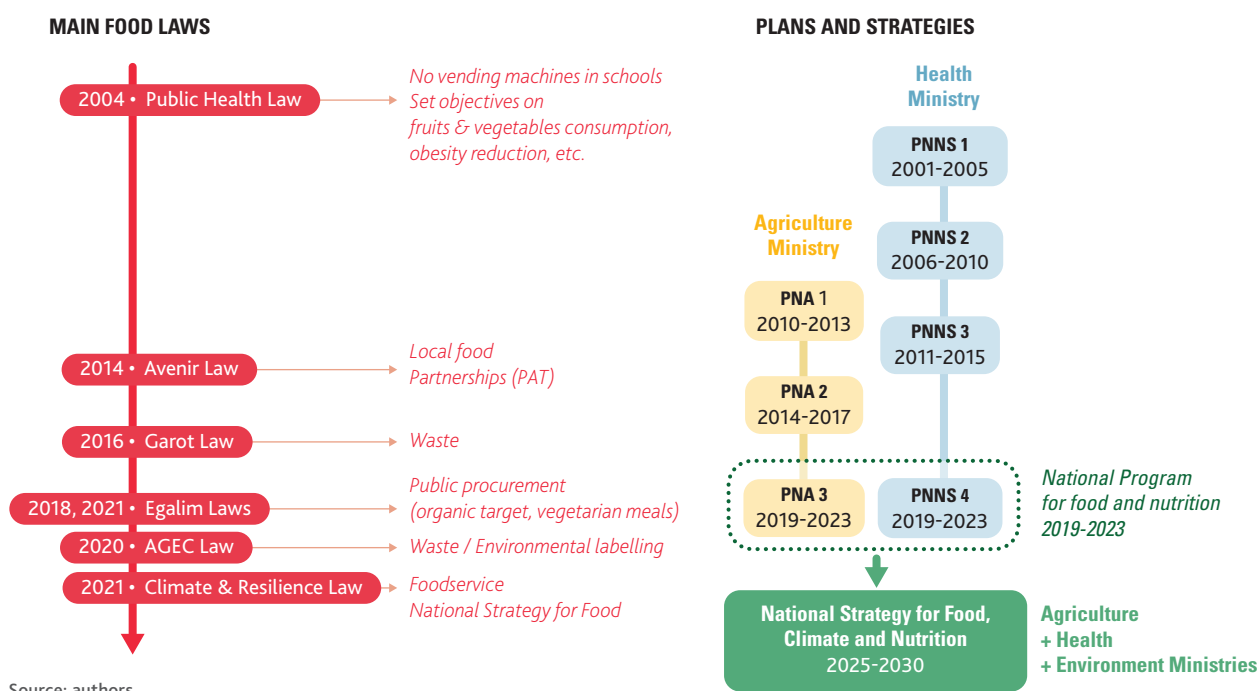
A third major change in recent years concerns sustainability goals in public procurement. New objectives were introduced from 2018 through a set of laws (EGAlim, AGECE, Climate and Resilience) aimed at increasing the environmental performance of the institutional catering sector. In 2018, an objective was set for public canteens to source 50% of “sustainable, high-quality products”⁵ including 20% organic by 2022. In 2019, an experiment with a weekly vegetarian meal was launched. This was confirmed and made mandatory in the 2021 law, while a further experiment was launched with a daily vegetarian option–which itself became mandatory in university, State and public company canteens from 2023. The same year, the 50%/20% targets were extended to private catering from 2024.

³ The list of PAT as well as information on topics addressed, studies and events can be found here : <https://france-pat.fr/>.

⁴ 1,7 million euros for 2025-2026 : <https://agriculture.gouv.fr/lancement-dun-appel-projets-2025-2026-vers-la-strategie-nationale-pour-lalimentation-la-nutrition>.

⁵ They are defined by the law as all products under official quality and origin signs/certifications such as protected designation of origin (PDO), protected geographical indication (PGI), Label Rouge or “farm-made”. See https://medias.amf.asso.fr/upload/files/Mesures_Egalim.pdf.

FIGURE 2. Main changes in food policy in France 2000-2025



Finally, two major changes should be mentioned. The first relates to the creation of two labelling schemes, covering the nutritional and environmental quality of food products respectively. Nutri-Score was launched in France in 2016. It has since been adopted by other European countries (Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland), and the algorithm was updated in 2023. The environmental labelling scheme, dubbed “Environmental scoring” was made available in Spring 2026 and first tested by the retailer E. Leclerc. The second is the announcement in the 2021 law that a new, integrated strategy on food, nutrition and climate to 2030 should be developed in order to improve coherence between sectoral plans and set new targets. The said Strategy was put out for consultation in April 2025 and released in February 2026. It comprises one major innovation: a turn to the retail sector, with a requirement to report on sales of “sustainable, high-quality” sales and draw up voluntary plans to boost such products.⁶

Food policies and the food debate have followed somewhat similar routes. A major topic, addressed through a series of laws (2018, 2021, 2023), is trade negotiations between retailers on the one hand, and their suppliers (manufacturers, producers) on the other. Agriculture and industry stakeholders managed to put it high on the agenda so as to increase their capacity to carry weight in those negotiations and preserve their operating margins. Running alongside this is the debate around retailers’ (and manufacturers’, although more marginally so) gross

margins on healthy and sustainable products, such as organic, plant-based products or fruit and vegetables—a debate largely led by environmental NGOs and consumer organizations. It has not yet produced any legislation, although the future Food Strategy’s mention of retail can be considered as a partial outcome of this agenda. Another key topic in the debate has been ultra-processed foods and the risks to health, including in relation to the shift to plant-based foods in public procurement (with the fear, promoted by meat lobbies and some nutritionists, that this would increase the share of ultra-processed products). Health-based taxation (e.g. on soda, sugar and fast food) is also a recurring topic in the French Parliament, but without any concrete outcome so far.

3. HOW CHANGEMAKERS ARE SEEKING TO CHANGE FOOD ENVIRONMENTS

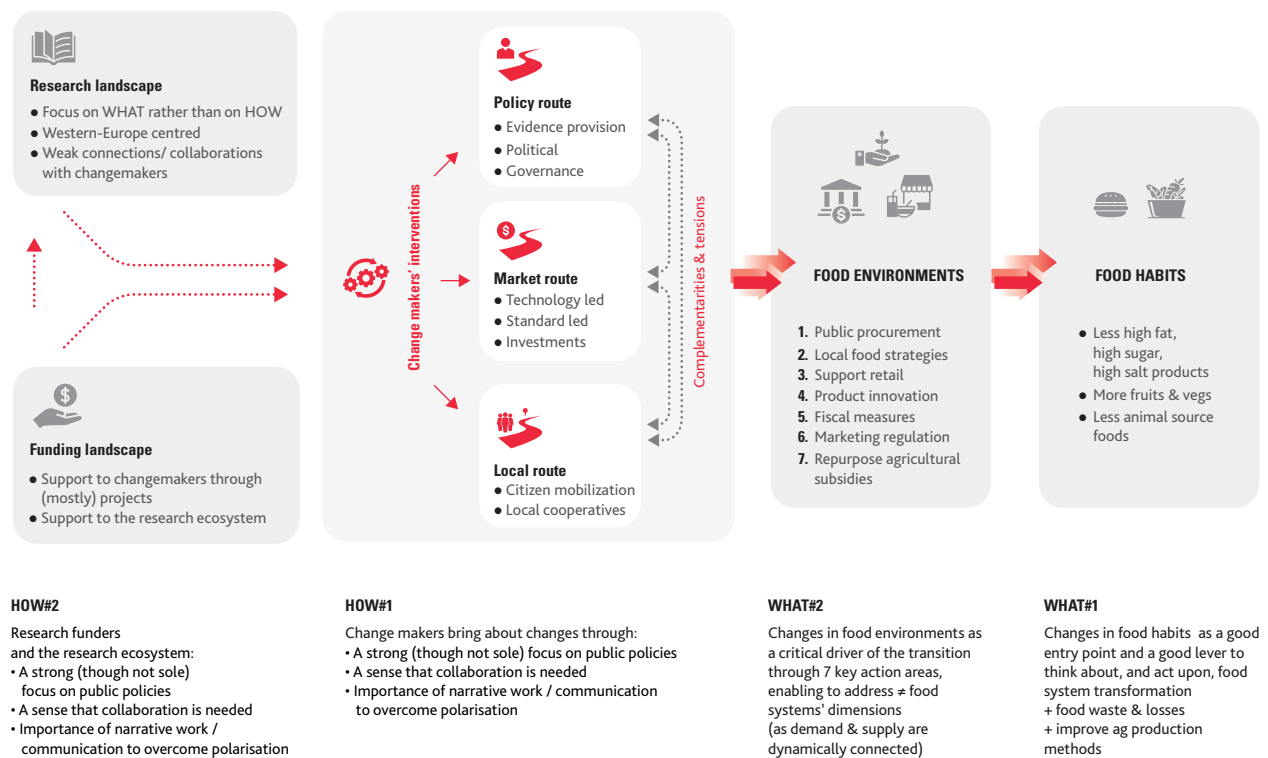
3.1. Three “routes to change” for food system changemakers

Building on the conceptual framework set out in Figure 1, the wider project of which this Study forms part has produced a schematic overview of the main strategies taken by food system changemakers across the EU (Figure 3).

Changemakers seek to shift food environments by way of three routes to change, whose relative weight and practical form vary from one place to another.

⁶ <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/blog-post/draft-french-national-strategy-food-nutrition-and-climate>

FIGURE 3. State of play: general strategies taken by food system changemakers across the EU



Source: EU report.

- *The policy route:* This strategy rests on the central assumption that social change comes about only once public policy changes. It divides in turn into three sub-categories. The first holds that policy will change through the conviction of public decision-makers, won by rational argument. The second wagers instead that what needs to be worked on is power relations, decision-making processes and political maneuvering. The third targets the nature and functioning of institutions, whose governance must become more collaborative and open if policy is to take the right direction.
- *The market route:* This strategy assumes that change occurs when private actors alter their practices or innovate. It is often closely bound up with the first route, running in either direction: because innovation is held to depend on the right regulatory conditions, or because policymakers are thought more likely to act once private actors support the change or stand to gain from it.
- *The local, citizen-led route:* This strategy rests on the premise that change comes about incrementally, locality by locality, driven by citizens getting involved in innovative projects.

The sub-sections that follow set out how far French changemakers draw on each of these routes, and how each plays out in practice in France.

3.2. French changemakers' preferred routes of transformation

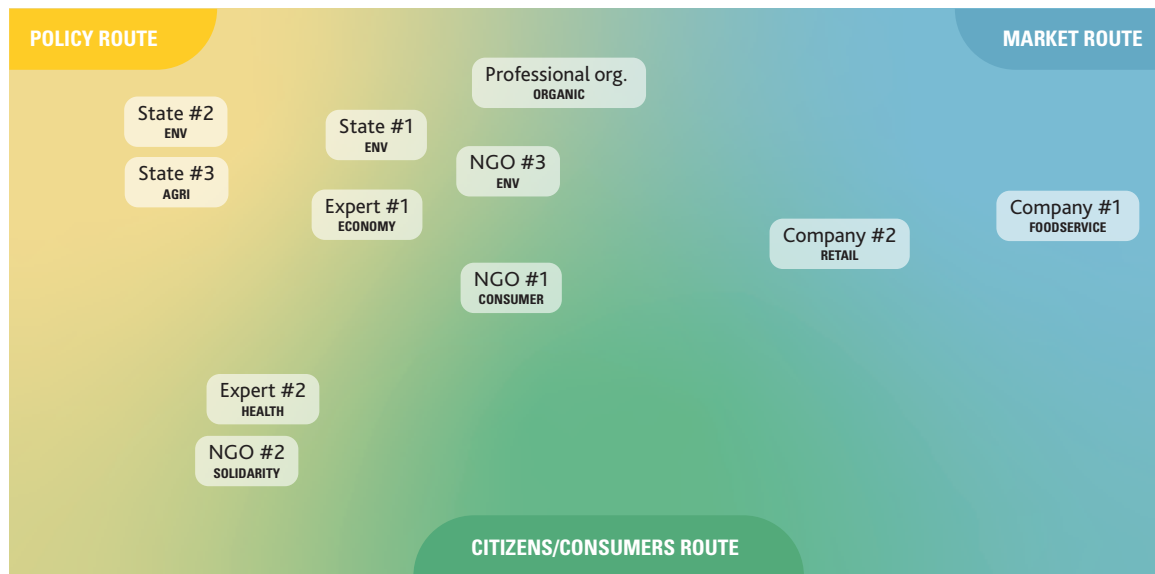
The French national context analysis is based on interviews with the following actors, who also took part in the workshop:

- 3 NGOs (one consumer organization, one environmental organization, one social organization);
- 3 State actors (one agriculture ministry, one environment ministry, one public agency on ecological transition);
- 3 private actors (one commercial catering company, one retail company, one professional organization in the field of organic foods);
- 2 experts (one in health, one in finance and economics).

Figure 4 positions interviewees on a map according to the transformation route they favour. It shows that most changemakers in our sample prefer the policy route, as discussed below. It also shows a turn towards the market route on the part of NGOs, experts and State actors.

3.2.1. A limited but representative sample of French changemakers

In our view, the sample is fairly representative of the community of changemakers in France. We can however point out a series of limitations. First, there is a lack of actors operating predominantly at local level (e.g. regional or sub-regional), which can partly explain why the citizen-consumer route is the least favoured. Second, non-profit organizations from the

FIGURE 4. Mapping of interviewed changemakers positioned by preferred route of transformation

Source: authors.

fields of health or alternative agriculture are absent. These are well-connected to the three NGOs we interviewed but may hold different views on certain topics (as some NGO representatives highlighted during the interviews). Third, we lack industrial actors such as companies whose activity is mostly conventional, but which may be developing an organic or plant-based product range as well as pure-players in plant-based foods. This may well lead us to underestimate certain barriers and obstacles. For example, we know that the current regulatory context at EU level is a major impediment for players in the field of plant-based foods or alternative proteins, an area only partially covered here. Lastly, there is clearly a great deal of variation within each type of actor we identified and interviewed—we nevertheless consider this smaller sample sufficiently diverse to support this analysis.

3.2.2. Changemakers' positions and how they relate to interests and viewpoints

Changemakers are not all connected across types and scales. In the broad sense, NGOs can be described as the most "central" type of actors if positioned in a network map, as they tend to connect with all other types of actors. They are also well-connected with one another, including across topic areas. Experts are also quite transversal. Private actors and State actors on the other hand, are pushed to the edge of the network: State actors generally lack knowledge of how the private sector operates and what drives it, while private actors tend to reach out only occasionally when a legislative proposal is on the table. This makes it difficult if not impossible to talk about a "changemakers community" because certain types of actors lack platforms, dialogue spaces and lasting bilateral connections. If actors across types were able to agree on shared goals and recommendations, this would probably increase changemakers' capacity to make their demands heard.

Changemakers are diverse in type and nature and in terms of the position they hold in the food system. This in turn gives rise to different conceptions of where their interests lie, but also different viewpoints and ideas about what needs to change and how. For instance, because they prioritize economic, budgetary, climate, biodiversity and public health objectives differently, ministries (and public actors in the broader sense) may have conflicting visions of what the food transition entails.

While changemakers might sometimes agree on the overall direction (towards more quality products, more plant-based products, fewer unhealthy products), their opinions can diverge on the means and pace of achieving them. Some retail or food-service actors have set their own objectives on plant-based products or in other areas. However, NGOs see the levers they use as ineffective and the pace of transformation as too slow. NGOs also point out how retailers keep promoting unsustainable and unhealthy products that therefore remain core to their profitability strategy.

As regards the consumption of organic products in particular, the lack of State regulations has allowed retailers to drop referencing numbers during the inflation crisis, which has had dramatic consequences for organic product sales. This is unanimously criticized by other stakeholders, including State actors themselves, even though the retailers' decision was both perfectly legal and logical from a (short-term) profitability-centred perspective.

These tensions can (and do) prevent changemakers from identifying common objectives to rally around—if such a thing is even possible. They can also generate a climate of distrust and opposition between some of them (for an NGO, for example, the best strategy is to pressure private actors and obtain State regulations), while others try to find common ground beyond their differences (for example, one NGO works collaboratively with

some retailers while also pushing them publicly to do better by publishing sustainability rankings). Nonetheless, such tensions are rooted in a genuine divergence of interests between changemakers with regard to the means, speed and responsibility for changing the food system. Whether one focuses on how these tensions *limit* changemakers' influence and capacity to act, or rather on how they *push* the least ambitious among them to move, is a matter of judgement and strategic assessment.

4. FRENCH CHANGEMAKERS' OPERATIONAL STRATEGIES

Interviewees' strategies are quite different, which is partly linked to their nature. Depending on their position in the food system, they do not face the same obstacles, nor do they have the same resources at hand. Still, we can identify some commonalities across differences, as well as bridges that connect some of these types of actors to one another.

4.1. Climate and health as common entry points

The first common denominator relates to what entry points are chosen (and deemed legitimate) by interviewees. Interviews show that both climate (GHG emissions) and health (nutritional standards) are widely used as entry points because they are generally perceived as more consensual and legitimate; can be monitored more easily, are easier to grasp cognitively, and can mobilize teams internally and stakeholders externally.

"So, in fact, we are dealing with a range of environmental issues that we are familiar with and none of which can be ignored: biodiversity, animal welfare, decarbonization, etc., and everything that this implies, including food waste. [...] I brought up the issue of carbon because, despite everything, it remains one of the easiest topics to explain in plain terms to the general public, compared to biodiversity or other important topics that are a little more difficult to explain. [...] The advantage of carbon is also that we have Agribalyse, so we can measure it, we can set targets, it can be quite fluid [...] But carbon is quite easy as a starting point. And from there, it's easy to move on to all the other issues." (Private actor)

"There is a natural overlap of interests between health and the environment, which counts for more than good interpersonal relationships." (State actor, interview)

"This is a huge issue for us because, at the moment, I think there is a shift in public debate towards health issues rather than environmental ones." (Private actor, interview)

All actors, to a different extent, however sought to keep a more holistic approach to environmental issues by integrating biodiversity, water and soil health issues into their objectives. Many also sought to make health and climate compatible with

animal welfare, social justice and proximity and local objectives. This could however be complex to manage:

"Then there's also the view held by quite a few organizations, which is very much based on nutritional deficiencies. And on the fact that we're going to suffer from deficiencies if we don't eat enough meat, we're going to be missing things. Yes, you'll be missing things, but you'll also be less likely to develop type 2 diabetes and cancer. So there's a bit of a "nutritionism", or focus on nutrition issues, like you have to tick all the boxes in terms of nutritional intake." (NGO, interview)

"Just transition" also emerges as a topic in which most interviewees are increasing their investments: it is perceived as a necessary step to avoid being seen as an organization driving changes detrimental to lower-income groups, but it also reflects a recent shift in the debate on food and agriculture transitions towards their socio-economic dimensions and implications.

4.2. The "how to do it?" question takes centre stage in an unfavourable context

According to interviewees, the key questions relate to "how" to realize and implement sustainability transition pathways (e.g. decarbonizing a supply chain, boosting adoption of a sustainable practice, etc.) rather than to the "what". They therefore tend to look at similar challenges: how to promote changes in diet while confronted with a highly competitive environment (at sector, country and EU levels) and rather rigid food environments? How to develop and improve the competitiveness of supply chains such as leguminous crops, organic production and plant-based alternatives? How to navigate the fine line between economic viability and sustainability? Lastly: in a food system overwhelmed by competing interests and pushbacks from defenders of the status quo, how can changes be generated?

All interviewees tend to analyse the current French context as unfavourable to transforming the food system. The current phase is one where changemakers are questioning their modes of action and strategies. NGOs underline an unfavourable political context, State actors mention budgetary constraints and lack a clear direction, while private actors highlight a complex economic model and an unclear and incomplete policy framework. While the policy context is evolving only slowly, non-State actors are one step ahead in terms of the challenges they identify and the questions they are confronted with. This generates a context in which private actors seem to want to do more, and are asking for common rules, clearer directions and supportive policy environments (both in terms of regulations, for example framework on waste or nutrition standards, and in terms of public policies to stimulate the demand, for example, information, education and improvement of food environments). NGOs and experts also call for a more complete policy framework covering, for example, increasing plant-based consumption and reducing meat consumption, access to healthy food and ultra-processed foods, one that would focus on improving consumers' food environments, reducing inequalities and developing supply chains.

"In terms of education, progress has been made. In terms of communication, there have been campaigns, tools, brochures, and a website developed by Santé publique France. There have been a number of initiatives in terms of information, education and communication, as well as actions taken in schools and in the health sector. [...] But the major measures, precisely those that are not at the individual level, which are well identified, are marketing regulations, advertising, economic regulation, taxation, subsidies, information on the quality of salt in food [...], improving the food supply, how to improve the nutritional quality of food, how to push manufacturers to improve the food supply and many other actions. We have had very little success there." (Expert, interview)

"So, I don't remember where I heard this but I found it interesting. It was someone explaining how bicycles were introduced. How, in fact, bicycles became accessible to everyone. And I found it quite interesting. We made it less difficult because we electrified it, we made it more user-friendly, we built cycle paths, and in the end we never talked about the environment, but about health. Yes. In fact, when it comes to meat, I think that's really the angle we need to take to succeed." (Private actor, interview)

BOX 1. THE FOOD ENVIRONMENT APPROACH IN CHANGEMAKERS' PERSPECTIVES

Food environments refer to the economic, physical, socio-cultural and cognitive environments in which consumers make their daily food decisions. The notion offers an alternative to the responsible consumer paradigm for thinking about how food practices change and what policies might enable that change. The concept is widely used (sometimes spontaneously and explicitly, sometimes implicitly, by underlining the limits of information measures and the potential that lies in adapting the food supply) by our interviewees—and systematically so by NGOs and experts. Most actors mention changes in the physical (particularly relating to retail and catering sectors) and socio-cultural (new narratives around certain products e.g. plant-based products, marketing and advertising regulations) dimensions of the food environment. Many references are also made to educating citizens, making accurate and transparent information available, developing awareness campaigns and updating nutritional guidelines. This is still considered a priority by interviewees, whether because these measures seem more consensual and easier to implement in the current context, or because they continue to adhere at least partly to the responsible consumer paradigm. Lastly, and quite surprisingly, the relative prices of food products are rarely mentioned. At the same time, constrained household resources and the overall narrative according to which food should be cheap are underlined as key obstacles.

4.3. The policy route dominates, with a shift from the rational to the political sub-route

For most interviewees, the three routes of transformation (policy, market, citizen-consumer) (see Box 1) make sense and are seen as complementary. Nevertheless, and as the set of key questions suggests, their interest and activity remain predominantly focused on the policy and market routes. The policy route is the main one, as many demands and expectations from all types of actor come back to policy changes.

Within the policy route, three sub-routes were identified in the general typology (rational and conviction-based; political and power dynamics-based; institutional and governance-based). Changemakers that were interviewed do not see the rational sub-route as promising, although they continue to produce data and expertise-based advocacy work. They acknowledge the limitations of a strategy based on convincing stakeholders and policymakers, which is seen as a prerequisite for conveying messages successfully but not a guarantee of it in a difficult political context where power dynamics and narratives are unfavourable to changemakers. Many of them also note the blocking role of specific actors within the food system: the main farmers' union (FNSEA), the meat and dairy industries, industry lobbies and the Ministry of Agriculture at ministerial-office level. Hence, a shift within the policy route from the "rational" to the "political" sub-route is visible.

"For me, it's not about figures or missing data. [...] Or let's say that beyond that it's more a matter of desk work for some people, when we're really dealing with specific issues, for ministerial offices or things like that, where I think they need to be convinced of a particular calculation. [...] But otherwise, for me, we've gone beyond demonstrating the problems, scientifically speaking. [...] I think the battle is somewhere else, because this appeals to a type of audience that I think is now somewhat convinced by the figures." (NGO, interview)

"At the beginning, [...] I thought that if I brought in some knowledge, the people opposite me would be more receptive. Decisions would be based on things that were a bit rational, a bit scientific... No, that's not the case. [At the same time] I feel that the mindset remains 'we have the right causes, we're going to bring all the figures to show why this is important, why it needs to be done'." (NGO, interview)

4.4. There is growing interest in the market route across all actors

Meanwhile, the market route is developing, with interest from all types of actor. Private actors are looking at how to change practices on their own while reducing the risk of State regulation. NGOs are moving away from a policy-centric strategy in order to be more resilient at a time when they see little to no policy progress.

Although they might agree on the general direction of travel, non-profits and retailers generally disagree when it comes to the rate and magnitude of changes involved. They also have different views on the role of consumers: while NGOs tend to embrace a supply-centred (food environment) view, retailers acknowledge their own influence while also underlining that it is demand (led by educated and informed consumers) that has to change. In that sense, the market route (see Box 1) may be further refined according to actors' degree of adherence to the "responsible consumer" paradigm.

State actors are also signalling increasing interest in the market route. They are open to considering voluntary schemes and incentives to drive change in the market (retail and industry sectors) as they realize that changing demand requires careful attention to what shapes it: namely, food environments. One specific topic arose in the workshop that had been present in few interviews: the development of common rules and regulations favourable to sustainability in specific sectors (e.g. retail) in order to create a level playing field and drive change. Six out of ten actors mentioned it during the discussion, some emphasizing the voluntary nature of such rules, others suggesting mandatory regulations should be developed.

"On the market side, there is a demand to get closer to these economic sectors, but we are proceeding gradually. This raises the question of 'how to support them'. We are hearing there is a need for a framework, which means regulation, but we are currently focusing heavily on incentives, even as budgets are shrinking. We are reaching the end of this incentive-based approach; we need to be able to implement regulations." (State actor, workshop).

Finally, the preferred scale for action is the national one, although the European Union, which did not feature much in the interviews, was mentioned a couple of times during the workshop as a level where changemakers should mobilize more. The local level was scarcely mentioned; examples of topics cited include mobilizing citizens and local economic actors, the limitations of the local food partnerships framework, and building alternative food networks.

5. BARRIERS TO FOOD SYSTEM CHANGE IN FRANCE

Four main types of barriers emerge from the analysis of the interviews, which was slightly adjusted to take into account remarks made during the workshop. These barriers are political, economic, discursive and consumer-related.

5.1. Barriers related to the political context

The first barrier concerns the political context and dynamics. All types of actors mentioned a lack of ambition from the State on the

sustainability of the food system, some emphasizing meat and plant consumption, others accessibility and the right to safe and healthy food. We underline below that all types of actors also mentioned the need for clearer direction and a common policy framework to make progress. Some specified that private actors could not self-regulate and therefore should be State regulated. Most NGOs and experts noted the tense and unstable political climate and its shift to the right, which called into question their capacity to make their arguments heard. Lastly, almost all actors referred to the power of existing private interests blocking change through their connections to the highest levels of the State, including the difficulty of building any measure around "less and better meat".

5.2. The issue of price and revenue

The second barrier is economic. It operates at the level of households, companies, and the food system itself, although the last of these was the least mentioned barrier. In a context where inflation in France returned to "normal" only in 2025, there is evident tension between what consumers are promised and expect around "cheap food" and the demands of civil society and citizens for more "quality food". State actors and companies underlined households' low willingness to pay for more quality while NGOs and some others highlighted growing food inequalities and precariousness. This led them to question the distribution of value in the food chain, including the issue of retailers' and manufacturers' (excessive) gross margins on healthy and sustainable products. Most actors also referred to the need to reshuffle existing agricultural subsidies to change relative prices and make sustainable products more accessible. Budget cuts and constraints were also mentioned. Lastly, high competition within sectors and between geographical areas was identified as an impediment to change, with all economic actors being caught in a race to the bottom on quality in order to compete.

5.3. Narratives that discourage change

The third barrier pertains to narratives. Narratives are understood here as discourses, words and ideas used in public debate to increase the salience of a topic and shape how questions are asked. Narratives are generally rooted in "real-life" problems and concerns; they are not just discourse. In that sense, narratives alone could not be performative if they did not reveal issues that changemakers face when trying to transform the food system. They are therefore particularly interesting as a material for identifying where changemakers' needs lie. NGOs, experts and some of the State actors referred to discursive barriers the most, which was less true of private actors.

- Several actors, including civil society, noted a pervasive narrative that includes sustainability initiatives (e.g. developing organic food) with increased social inequalities. This narrative is connected to a difficult economic context for households in France, and to the fact that products promoted in the context of the transition to sustainability may be (perceived as) more expensive than current diets (e.g. plant-based alternatives to meat, organic products).

- Other narratives that discourage change include: implying that a more plant-based diet means higher risks of nutritional deficiencies and higher probability of a heavily processed diet (connected to, among other things, a focus in the debate on proteins versus fibres, poor understanding of risk-benefit nutritional analyses, and the lack of political and academic settlement on how ultra-processed foods are defined);
- pitting consumers' and producers' interests against one another (connected to, among other things, the issue of value distribution in the food chain, farmers' incomes and household budgets);
- favouring local and proximity concerns over sustainability and organic ones (connected to, among other things, symbolic distancing from organic products and political discourse celebrating proximity and organizing conflict around sustainability);
- connecting domestic production capacity with France's geopolitical power, at the expense of less intensive modes of production and reduced meat consumption (connected to, among other things, ideological and political goals and a growing concern for European and French self-sufficiency in the face of an increasingly unstable geopolitical context);
- using biodiversity metrics to rehabilitate red meat consumption (connected to, among other things, tensions between various environmental and social objectives as they materialize in science-policy arenas, for example in environmental labelling methodology).

5.4. Consumer-level barriers

The fourth barrier refers to the consumer level: perceptions about the (lack of) change in demand and drivers behind it. The idea that food must be cheap is in the eyes of many a major impediment to the capacity to drive changes in consumer behaviours as well as in food chain actors' practices. Consumer behaviour is unanimously seen as running counter to what would be needed to sustain food system transformation: reluctant to change when it comes to the consumption of meat or unhealthy foods; fragile and fickle when it comes to organic food. NGOs and experts underlined during the workshop that this resulted from unfavourable food environments, whose improvement then appeared as *the* priority in most interviewees' strategies. Lastly, many actors underline the confusion generated by the abundance of label schemes.

5.5. Three additional, less prominent barriers

There are three further barriers, mentioned by several actors of different types but less prominent in the interviews and the workshop. These relate to the regulatory framework, compromise and the weighing of issues, and institutions and governance.

- The **regulatory framework** is identified by a private actor as too rigid, which slows down sustainability initiatives (in the fields of nutrition and waste reduction). Other private

actors mention the need for clarity and common rules. Some NGOs and experts stressed the EU competition, internal market and trade framework can also be a hurdle.

- **Tensions between various objectives** given to food system actors is considered a second difficulty by some. The lack of a common framework for evaluating and deciding on trade-offs (within environmental issues, and between environmental issues and others—ethical, social, health) is emphasized.
- **Institutional change and a more favourable governance system** are mentioned by an expert, State actors and an NGO as one way forward to balance out the power given to agricultural actors in the food system.

6. OPPORTUNITIES AND NEEDS

6.1. Two main opportunities

6.1.1. Emerging opportunities in the economic sphere

In the view of all changemakers in our sample, opportunities will arise with regard to the practices of economic actors, specifically manufacturers, retailers and the catering sector. Experts, State actors and NGOs therefore attempt to better understand the rationales at play in economic sectors, emphasize the need for sustainable business cases and turn gradually towards market players. For their part, private actors (at least those interviewed) seem open to change. They, however, underline that rules are not always the most effective mechanism, and call for the co-construction of policies with the State and NGOs. Retail clearly appears to be a top priority in our interviews, while the out-of-home eating environment ranks second. Industry appears as another topic of interest with the aim of identifying those agri-food players who would have an interest in the food and agriculture transition (e.g. because they sell plant-based products, have invested in long-term agreements with farmers, etc.).

"So we're kind of in a position where we're saying to the public authorities, "OK, let's go ahead, but how do we go about it?" and "How do we work with action plans for each consumption channel?" We're trying to really engage in discussion about retail and how we're going to gradually move towards... objectives and/or at least reporting and/or a strategy developed with these players to include X objectives. And the same goes for the commercial catering sector." (Private actor, interview)

"Like many others, I think the opportunities I see are to stop focusing on the agricultural link, for many reasons, but mainly because politically it is untouchable, for both good and bad reasons, and to focus on others, particularly downstream. [...] For me, that's where we... We have a chance to make a move, something we haven't played much yet, so it's off to a good start. [...] I think we need to keep working on that because there's popular support for it. [...] My hope is to find players

like that downstream, anywhere from first-stage processing through to retail, who have an interest in making the transition." (Expert, interview)

6.1.2. Mobilizing other narratives

Another opportunity, in the eyes of several actors, is to mobilize narratives other than climate mitigation to develop transition pathways, such as the health agenda (with the next revision of the French National Health and Nutrition Plan in view), the adaptation agenda (which can mobilize people within organizations), and the economic agenda (strengthening domestic supply chains, reducing imports, making a more efficient use of public spending).

For NGOs and experts, it is also crucial to continue communicating on the functioning of the current food system and its implications for social and environmental issues, as well as on the responsibility of major private actors—together with the State through public spending and rule-making—in shaping current unsustainable food environments. They also look to the power of citizen mobilization (through campaigning, journalistic investigations, health scandals) and to building alternatives on the ground.

6.2. Needs

6.2.1. Research needs are not central. Where research is needed, it should be more adequate, timely and accessible

Research and expertise⁷ are rarely mentioned spontaneously by interviewees, but when asked, they consider them useful resources for their work. When they do, and probably due to the identity of the interviewer, they tend to refer to topics IDDRI has worked on or is working on, such as food environments, retail, or the socio-economic dimensions of the agroecological transition. They also refer to their own expertise material and NGO reports (e.g. specifically on retail). Expertise is generally used as a source of legitimacy and/or guidance for the work of changemakers. When asked, they generally mention how research is useful for answering "big questions" (e.g. how do behaviours change?) rather than "operational questions" (e.g. "what is the best design for a nutritional tax scheme?"). This, however, can be biased by the overall framing of the interview as well as by the lack of a central discussion topic in the public debate around food today. One recurring, specific topic does however emerge: the role of ultra-processed foods, their definition, and the link to plant-based foods.

"When it comes to issues of value distribution, which are somewhat related to price breakdowns, we ultimately lack the knowledge to be able to implement effective regulations and rules among supply chain actors: retailers, processors and producers. We would need very well-documented research,

perhaps on the margin issues for each of them. But for me, that remains secondary to the need for a somewhat binding framework to get them to move as well. And then, on commercial catering, I would have a slightly different position. I feel that in this case, there is a real lack of shared knowledge." (State actor, interview).

"For me, the thing we're not working on, and what X is trying to do at the moment, is whether we can really make the transition in the current context of free trade. If so, how? [...] For me, that's the elephant in the room. Especially at a time when there's a lot of talk about competitiveness again." (Expert, interview)

Research generally comes up as a secondary or marginal topic in interviews. This is in line with the observation that actors believe it is no longer a matter of conviction but rather of finding the right alliances, policy frameworks, narratives and project and business viability. This does not mean that changemakers do not believe research is useful. Rather, they consider it a prerequisite, which is however not sufficient for unlocking change. A tool in a toolbox that needs rethinking. In this view, those who already produce expertise continue to do so, but they are trying to work with different angles, topics, and formats to make it as useful as possible to the community.

"We did not mention research as a first resort because the overall message is that the material is there, the studies are there and can be used. There is no need to wait for further studies to make decisions that can be taken right now. After all, there are still needs that are emerging, particularly in the X : for example, observing changes in eating habits; on ultra-processed foods, the risk of allergies linked to these products and their environmental or health impacts—but for the moment, progress is difficult because although studies already exist, there is no harmonization of definitions and no comprehensive study or meta-study on the subject. The lack of clear evidence is still a gap that lobbies are rushing to fill. Another point: the social dimension of the food transition." (State actor, interview)

They also emphasize that there is **no need for "more" research but for more adequate, accessible and timely research**. Adequate refers to "filling gaps" regarding the socio-economic dimensions of food system transformation (at consumer, retail, industry and agriculture level); power dynamics and how to produce change (e.g. why do some campaigns work and not others, how to carry weight in negotiations, etc.); and communicating better and finding new narratives. Some also pointed out the need to better grasp the socio-economic operating space in which transition policies are to develop, in order to identify whether it is the pillars of our system that need to evolve (e.g. free trade) or whether change can happen regardless. Accessibility translates into the need for easily readable formats and for ensuring that the best available information is made available to all operators. "Timely" refers to research that is useful in a given political context, which in turn demands adaptability and flexibility from expertise-producers.

⁷ The distinction is important: only two interviewees referred to academic work (in the field of nutrition and health) while others, when they did talk about research, mainly referred to expertise (produced by NGOs, State agencies or think tanks).

"So, academic research must be maintained, even in areas where we already know things. It's true that, fundamentally, it doesn't add much, because when you already have 30, 50, 100 studies, it doesn't really add to scientific knowledge, but it does help to maintain and revive media interest, and to revive NGOs, associations, the media and politicians. [...] So that's important. Now, I think that the most important part is actually about popularization, and why this research is not successful in terms of political will, the actors, the mapping of things, the weight of lobbies. So that's... That's very important, and then we need to better understand citizens' initiative, how to help mobilize it."
(Expert, interview)

6.2.2 Other needs

The private actors and some State actors we interviewed put forth two major needs and a minor one. The first is a clearer regulatory framework (objectives, budgets) that minimizes contradictions and is conducive to companies' actions. The second is food policies that address the demand side: through information, such as State-led campaigns on organic and plant-based products and on healthy eating, but also through updated nutritional recommendations that integrate an environmental component, and through education. They also acknowledge the role they must play in developing more favourable food environments and suggest common rules and frameworks for economic sectors and food supply chains are a way forward. The minor need is for reliable metrics for devising efficient mitigation strategies and making decisions easier and more legitimate when compromises must be made.

On the other hand, other State actors, NGOs and experts highlighted the need for more policies addressing the demand-side (which makes this topic the most prevalent and consensual), with an emphasis on food environments, and particularly retail. They also underlined the importance of changing the structure of funding for the food system and developing domestic supply chains that contribute to sustainability objectives, and that are viable from farm to fork. A few of them mentioned the need for a change in the governance of food and agricultural policy. Lastly, they emphasized the need to support alternatives to the food system and to mobilize society and citizens.

6.3. Conclusion

In this research endeavour, we interviewed 11 changemakers across the food system's main themes, positions and types, and organized a workshop with them. We learnt that food system actors are in an important phase of questioning: the socio-economic context is detrimental, the political context unfavourable and yet sustainability initiatives are entering the implementation phase. Changemakers are therefore confronted with a three-dimensional problem:

- How to guarantee and restore ambition and directionality in the evolution of food systems, in order to attain objectives and secure long-term investments?
- How to deal with the socio-cultural, technical and economic difficulties of implementing change?

- How to support and build collective initiatives/coalitions to reduce first mover risk and increase the salience of food sustainability topics?

Changemakers share a fairly convergent analysis of the barriers to change, although this may vary across actor types and positions in the food system. They mainly aim at changing policies, although this priority is challenged by a growing interest in driving changes in the market. These two routes of transformation interact, not always bidirectionally and not always in the same order. The citizen-consumer route is less favoured.

Research is not identified spontaneously as a response to such barriers, although many actors engage with expertise or produce reports on a daily basis. Research is seen as a useful but insufficient tool to drive change—recommendations are made to make it more impactful. Needs outside research are also identified. In the following chapter, we set out a series of recommendations for funding strategies aiming to support food system change in France.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUNDING STRATEGIES AIMING TO SUPPORT FOOD SYSTEM CHANGE IN FRANCE

In what follows, we provide recommendations on funding priorities based on three types of material: interviews, the workshop and internal expertise.

7.1. Expertise-related needs

Overall, the message is that *additional* academic research is not the primary need expressed by stakeholders. This is convergent with our own view of the matter. However, we see a need for certain types of expertise:

- **Social and economic expertise** on the implications of changes in the food system and food supply chains for a range of socio-economic indicators (e.g. jobs, imports, competitiveness, investments, etc.); how to evaluate and scale up alternatives.
- **Economic and technical expertise** on the room for manoeuvre available to private actors (retail, industry, food-service) to implement changes in their production, commercial and supply management practices (e.g. costs, technical difficulties, regulatory context, etc.)
- **Political economy and socio-political research** into the conditions necessary for eliciting change in the private sector (e.g. constructing coalitions, identifying common denominators for establishing a level playing field, rethinking stakeholder participation arenas, etc.).

7.2. Synthesizing existing research and making it accessible

In parallel, there is a clear **need to synthesize existing knowledge from the grey and academic literature** and make it accessible to (all types of) actors. This can cover topics such as:

- How to communicate about plant-based, organic, and healthy food (whether for the marketing department of a retail brand, an NGO or a State actor)? (**communication sciences**)
- How to influence consumption behaviours, social norms, habits and food practices? (**sociology, social psychology, behavioural economics, marketing**)
- How to drive change in a complex and unfavourable (political, socio-economic, discursive) environment? (**political science, sociology, strategy**)
- How to mobilize citizens around food? What are compelling narratives, useful strategies, key message carriers...? (**communications, strategy, sociology**).

7.3. Some needs outside research

Lastly, crucial needs outside of research (where research can sometimes still play an accompanying role) are the following:

- **Diversification of narratives** and arguments used to justify the need for a transition so that they better fit the current political context. Instead of putting forward climate concerns, consensual issues (such as public health, reducing strategic dependencies, increasing resilience for risk and crisis management) could provide a more attractive hook for arguing in favour of the required transition.
- Creation and facilitation of **multi-actor negotiation arenas** to build compromises, coalitions and proposals. This type of intervention includes several "sub-needs", i.e. being able (1) to identify and recruit progressive yet influential people within the targeted types of actor (mainly processors and retailers), (2) to find an entity perceived both as expert and objective enough that the recruited people would entrust it

with the role of broker among a variety of changemakers and (3) to reach agreement among recruited actors on a set of policy actions to be communicated to policymakers in order to support the transition of manufacturers and retailers.

- Closely monitored **experiments** at national, regional or local level (e.g. modifying the commercial food environment and assessing impacts on purchases; developing alternatives to food banks and assessing social impacts, etc.), with the purpose of making them scalable or replicable.
- Identifying the **types of transformation required** to develop sustainable supply chains (e.g. plant proteins, the organic sector, processing for plant-based products, etc.), either from scratch or by transforming already existing but unsustainable ones. Once the required transformations are well documented, they may be supported by a variety of tools, such as de-risking, long-term agreements between commercial partners, technical support, etc.

7.4. How needs interact with barriers and opportunities

In the following table (**Table 3**), we make explicit how needs and priorities can help seize opportunities and/or transform existing barriers into opportunities. Rows set out needs as they were established by the country team and are complemented by the few other needs that were mentioned by actors but did not overlap with our selection (see the section above). They can be considered *means* to generate change. Columns present main barriers and opportunities as identified by changemakers. For the sake of clarity, barriers and opportunities are expressed using the same positive and normative language that indicates *objectives* for driving change in the food system (FS). When filling in the boxes, we indicate how meeting a given means (e.g. synthesizing existing knowledge on how to: generate change in adverse contexts) can help attain the objective (e.g. a clearer and more ambitious regulatory framework). We mention direct rather than indirect impact.

TABLE 3. How can identified needs facilitate food system changes?

OBJECTIVES ▶	MEANS ▼	CLEARER AND MORE AMBITIOUS REGULATORY FRAMEWORK	JUST AND ECONOMICALLY VIABLE DEVELOPMENTS	EFFECTIVE, ENABLING NARRATIVES	CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR CHANGES	WIDESPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE ISSUES AND DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE CURRENT FS	MOBILIZATION OF PRIVATE ACTORS	ENABLING GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONS	ALTERNATIVES TO THE CURRENT FS
DEVELOPING MORE RESEARCH ON									
Social and economic implications of FS change		Identify business cases, avoid reinforcing inequalities	"Change is feasible; change can bring benefits"	Role of prices and revenue; link to diets and products	Current system is highly unequal and economically fragile	Anticipate counter-arguments; decrease risk perception			Innovations and alternatives can bring solutions
Room for manoeuvre of private actors	Show it can be an enabler	Propose policies to support the private sector	as above		Private actors can be held responsible—they need to act	as above			
Political conditions for driving change in the private sector	Identify common ground and first steps		"Change is desirable for / desired by the private sector"			Facilitate new alliances and coalitions.	Identify enabling governance		Interactions between niches and the regime for driving change
SYNTHESIZING EXISTING KNOWLEDGE ON HOW TO									
Communicate better with consumers and in public debate	Support regulatory goals		Reduce consumer resistance and opponents' discourse manipulation	Increase uptake of sustainable behaviours; positive perceptions around change					
Influence consumption behaviours		Sustainability can mean no additional cost for households if diets change		Enable change through food environment evolutions		Demonstrate there is a market for sustainable and healthy products			Tailor alternatives to consumer needs; develop innovations to shape consumption determinants
Generate change in adverse contexts	Identify useful policy tools and processes		Effective and tailored narratives		A clear and firm diagnosis of the situation is a basis for change	Stimulate the market route if the policy route is blocked	Fit-for-purpose arenas and processes		Secure funding and support, build coalitions
Mobilize citizens around food	Regulation is a citizens' demand		"FS change is a citizens' demand"	Raise awareness and interest	Share knowledge of the damages, its causes and solutions	Increase pressure and reputational risk	Develop food democracy		Scale up engagement in alternatives
SUPPORTING NEEDS OTHER THAN RESEARCH, SUCH AS									
Diversifying narratives	Support the setting of objectives and policy development		If more adapted to the context, narratives are more effective	Increase uptake of sustainable behaviours; positive perceptions around change	Develop new perspective and angles of critique on the FS	Put them at the centre of the debate			Increase interest and access to alternatives
Creating and facilitating multi-actor negotiation arenas	Generate consensus on objectives, tools and first steps	Confront viewpoints on the implications of FS change	Messages are stronger if carried by diverse stakeholders			Bring them to the table, identify key changemakers	Enrich and complement existing governance structures		
Experimenting with alternatives to the FS		Proof of concept for sustainable business models	Help reframe the debate and provide new narratives; make change appealing	Investigate new ways to change consumption patterns; reinforce the "food environment" narrative	De-normalize the current functioning of the FS by showing alternatives				Reinforce and scale up alternatives
Supporting the development of sustainable supply chains		New or adapted viable business models	"Change is possible, as it is already being done here and there"	Change the food supply; make sustainable diets more accessible		Transition pathways, experiments and best-cases			Could partly lead to developing alternatives

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Understanding the barriers and drivers to food system transformation in France

Charlie Brocard, Aurélie Catallo (IDDRI)

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