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## Pathways for advancing pesticide policies

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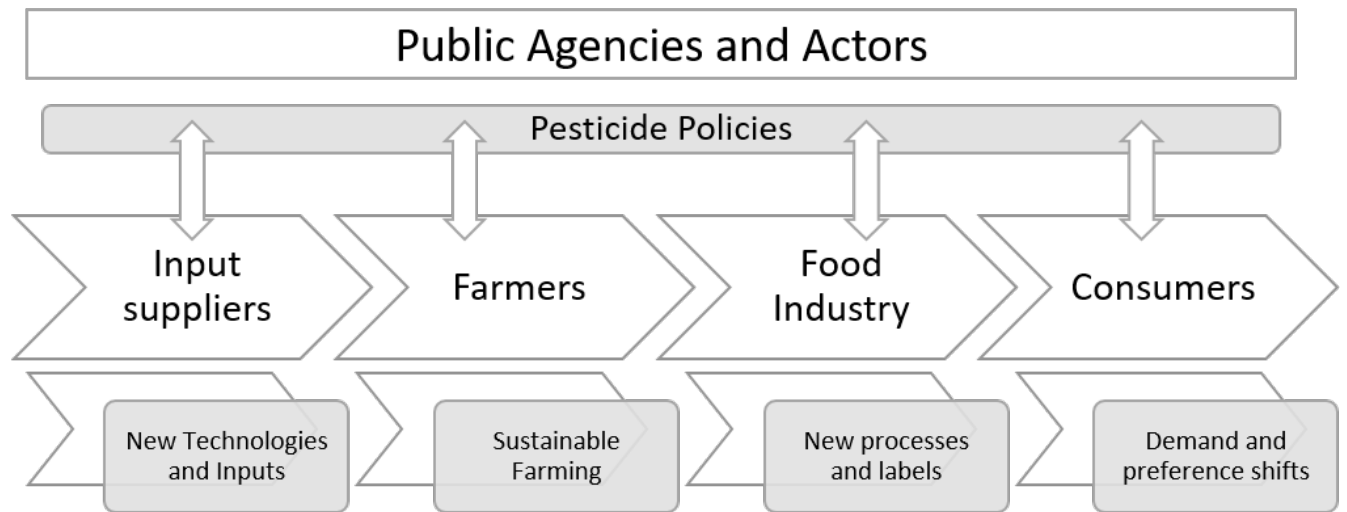
### Abstract

Numerous pesticide policies have been introduced to mitigate the risks of pesticide use, but most have not been successful in reaching usage reduction goals. Here, we name key challenges for the reduction of environmental and health risks from agricultural pesticide use and develop a framework for improving current policies. We demonstrate the need for policies to encompass all actors in the food value chain. By adopting a multi-disciplinary approach, we suggest ten key steps to achieve a reduction in pesticide risks. We highlight how new technologies and regulatory frameworks can be implemented and aligned with all actors in food value chains. Finally, we discuss major trade-offs and areas of tension with other agricultural policy goals and propose a holistic approach to advancing pesticide policies.

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## MAIN

Pest management in agricultural cropping systems is critical for food security<sup>1</sup> but the adverse effects of pesticides on human health and the environment have been repeatedly shown<sup>2-4</sup>. The reduction of potential risks from pesticide use is widely discussed amongst agricultural policy and food value chain actors worldwide<sup>5-7</sup>. Reduction measures range from the development of new technologies and agricultural inputs to the implementation of more sustainable farming systems and the introduction of food labels. All these strategies are guided, monitored, and supported by public policies (Fig. 1).



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**Figure 1. Interactions between food value chain actors and pesticide policies.**

Pesticide policies interact with input suppliers, farmers, the food industry and consumers – each actor can contribute towards sustainable food systems with actions specific to their role (bottom row). Current policy measures can be classified as command and control measures (e.g. pesticide authorization, bans, use regulations), market-based measures (e.g. pesticide taxes, financial support of new technologies, direct payments) and information-based measures (e.g. education, labelling, awareness raising) (detailed in Figure 2, pesticide policy mix box). Many specific, national or regional measures are contained in each of the three categories and may target conflicting policy goals<sup>8</sup>.

## Mixed success from policy efforts in Europe

Though risks from agricultural pesticide use are heterogeneous across global regions, Europe serves as a valuable case study for an assessment of policy design and instruments. It has a leading role in implementing pesticide policies and exports standards to interlinked global agriculture, sometimes also referred to as non-tariff trade barriers<sup>9</sup> – such examples include food quality and safety standards, like maximum residue limits for pesticides on food, or the technical standard of Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points<sup>10,11</sup>. Direct payments to farmers constitutes a substantial part of farm incomes in Europe and is tied to cross compliance regulations and the provision of multiple ecosystem services.

European pesticide policies include regulatory frameworks, direct payments and, since 2011, mandatory National Action Plans to reduce risks and impacts of pesticide use on human health and the environment (Directive 2009/128/EC). Current assessment of pesticide active ingredients is based on hazards rather than the actual risk exposure of humans and the environment to substances, which would require data collection and monitoring beyond current levels, as well as modelling of impacts on the scale of the whole agricultural system<sup>12,13</sup>.

Despite substantial efforts in the last decade, there is little evidence that Europe has achieved the reduction in pesticide risks and impacts as mandated in National Action Plans. A direct assessment of policy targets proves difficult, as most European countries do not publish or monitor data on risks – or environmental and health impacts of utilized pesticides on a national level – which is a major weakness of current policies<sup>14</sup>. However, we know that since the introduction of National Action Plans pesticide sales in Europe have remained stable<sup>15</sup>, farmers' usage has not decreased (as seen in France)<sup>16</sup> and surface and groundwater contamination still regularly exceed legal thresholds<sup>4,17</sup>. This suggests weak effects of current policies – in line with general public perception in Europe that current agricultural policy does not sufficiently consider the protection of the environment<sup>18,19</sup>. Pesticide policies need to be revised and advanced. Here, we take a multi-disciplinary view and outline current research that show ten pathways to a successful reduction of potential risks from agricultural pesticide use.

## Policy indicators, targets and design

**Tangible pesticide risk indicators.** Specific and measurable targets are required to achieve a reduction of potential environmental and health risks from agricultural pesticide use<sup>20</sup>. Risks – and indicators to measure those risks – require definition, which are missing in most European countries<sup>21</sup>. Purely quantitative indicators (i.e. kilograms of active ingredients or number of standard dosages) are currently used for *a posteriori* risk assessment, but quantitative measures alone do not necessarily correspond with potential environmental and health risks. Policies

115 focusing on quantity reductions could induce the use of low-dose pesticides with a higher  
116 efficacy on target organisms but at the same time a stronger (eco)-toxicological effect on non-  
117 target organisms<sup>22</sup>. Effective and efficient policies require national governments to prioritize  
118 country-specific reduction goals for potential environmental and health risks, set tangible  
119 indicators to quantify the specified potential risks and transparently monitor and publish data on  
120 these risks at a national level. New sensor and monitoring technologies increasingly allow the  
121 implementation of cheaper, real-time monitoring systems of risks over time and space<sup>23,24</sup>.  
122 Denmark demonstrates that spatially explicit and risk oriented indicators can help to establish  
123 successful policies, which achieve a reduction in pesticide load<sup>25</sup>.

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125 **Dimensions of policy targets.** Policies typically focus on intensive margins, i.e. potential risks  
126 of specific crops or products, such as the ban of neonicotinoids<sup>26</sup>. However, pesticide use is  
127 highly heterogeneous across crops and different agricultural systems<sup>16,27</sup>. Policy-induced  
128 changes in farmers' land use through extensive margins, such as the switch from one crop to  
129 another, or super-extensive changes, like switching from conventional to organic farming, have  
130 large effects on use levels. Extensive and super-extensive margin effects may even point in the  
131 opposite direction of intensive margin effects. For example, a subsidized insurance may induce  
132 reductions in use levels per hectare, but lead to an expansion of economically more risky crops  
133 that are often more pesticide intensive<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, it is crucial for policies to consider intensive,  
134 extensive and super-extensive margins in the design and evaluation of policy measures (Fig. 2),  
135 allowing for long-term implications of policies regarding land and technology use. Critical  
136 discussions are required about targets for pesticide use levels and more sustainable land use and  
137 agricultural systems at a regional and landscape level<sup>29,30</sup>.

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139 **Realignment of agricultural policy goals.** European agricultural policies aim to enable multiple  
140 ecosystem services and to be aligned with UN Sustainable Development Goals<sup>29,31</sup>, but stricter  
141 pesticide policies could have unintended side-effects on other policy goals, and vice versa<sup>19</sup>. For  
142 example, they might induce changes in land use and management practices that could decrease  
143 food production and quality, increase soil erosion or lead to higher greenhouse-gas emissions<sup>27</sup>.  
144 Banning specific pesticides might even foster the use of more harmful ones<sup>32</sup>. Resistance  
145 management is key in this regard: banning currently registered compounds, while only slowly  
146 marketing new, lower-risk active ingredients, makes alternation of active ingredients impossible  
147 in the long-run. Unintended side-effects of policy measures need to be clearly acknowledged and  
148 quantified by all actors; policy measures that reduce trade-offs have to be prioritized. Market-  
149 based policy instruments, such as taxes, are particularly suited to incorporate external costs and  
150 trade-offs into decisions made by farmers, the food industry and consumers. Long-term vision  
151 and commitments of policies are needed to foster investments and the development of efficient  
152 strategies. Moreover, to gain momentum, strong and persistent policy signals to the actors of the  
153 food value chain are needed. A good example is the successful establishment of a large-scale

154 cereal production program with highly reduced pesticide use over the last 30 years in  
155 Switzerland, which is based on an interplay of governmental direct payments, a market-based  
156 price mark-up and labeling to consumers<sup>27</sup>.

## 159 **Farmer and consumer actions**

160 **Farmer decision-making processes.** Although all actors of the food chain are involved in the  
161 reduction of potential pesticide risks, crucial pest management decisions are made at farm level  
162 <sup>33</sup>. Pest development and weather conditions are processes with major stochasticity, leading to  
163 uncertainties in crop growth and efficiency of pesticides <sup>34</sup>. Risk perception and preferences of  
164 farmers – and information about uncertainties – influence their evaluation of pest management  
165 costs and gains so that they may not follow a strictly profit maximizing rationale<sup>35</sup>. Further,  
166 behavioral factors, such as perception biases and habits influence the farmers' decision-  
167 making<sup>36,37</sup>. Effective policies must consider farmers' heterogeneous behavior and decision  
168 rationales<sup>38</sup> regarding pesticide applications and offer differentiated policy solutions; insurances  
169 reducing uncertainty for very risk-averse farmers<sup>28,39</sup>, pesticide taxes or incentives driving shifts  
170 in economic behavior<sup>40</sup>, or more information and extension services targeting farmers who lack  
171 information on alternatives may work best in achieving policy targets<sup>39</sup>, respectively.  
172 Importantly, farmers' self-selection allows policy-makers to reduce complexity and specificity of  
173 well-designed policies – and may increase cost-efficiency. For example, imposing a tax will  
174 ensure that those with the lowest marginal abatement costs reduce risks, while those with higher  
175 abatement costs, such as producers of high-value crops, do not.

176  
177 **Consumer choices and preferences.** Consumers commonly rely on simplistic assumptions  
178 when evaluating the risks of chemicals <sup>41</sup> – the natural-is-better <sup>42</sup> and contagion heuristics,  
179 where laypeople ignore the quantity and focus on the act of contamination <sup>43</sup>, may be especially  
180 important in the context of pesticides. Public chemophobia persists and citizens are generally  
181 concerned with pesticide use<sup>41</sup>, yet present a strong insensitivity to dose-response relationships  
182 <sup>44</sup>. Demand for foods produced with reduced amounts of pesticides may be limited because such  
183 labeling would remind consumers of undesirable chemicals used in their foods' production –  
184 consumers commonly value labels of organic crops produced without synthetic pesticides higher  
185 than labels of reduced use <sup>45</sup>. In contrast, free-from labels appear to create biased perceptions  
186 because consumers can wrongly conclude that goods without such a label may be less healthy,  
187 which is not necessarily the case<sup>46</sup>. Price signals (e.g. incorporating external costs of pesticides)  
188 in combination with information have the potential to drive consumer behavior and policies that  
189 alter agricultural practices and systems. However, these systems must still produce food products  
190 that fulfill consumers' preferences.

## 192 Sustainable plant protection

193 **Pesticide admissions and regulations.** Despite admission of new pesticides to the European  
194 market being strongly regulated and following the precautionary principle, new evidence on  
195 adverse effects are found and dozens of formerly registered pesticides are now restricted or  
196 banned<sup>47</sup>. Simultaneously, fewer new active ingredients are authorized<sup>48</sup>. Admission re-  
197 assessments focus on individual active substances and are governed by their current  
198 authorization expiration date, rather than adopting a holistic, long-term strategy. For residue  
199 levels, retailers creating stricter private standards does not necessarily lead to safer products but  
200 might increase the risk of gaps in plant protection measures and pest resistances.

201  
202 Development and registration of new and safe pesticides requires improvements to the admission  
203 process. In the pre-authorization phase, creation of a single authority for handling active  
204 ingredient authorization and monitoring would improve coordination and unify the authorization  
205 process. Instead of relying on industry-supplied data, more assessments by anonymous,  
206 accredited laboratories would increase credibility and trustworthiness whilst reducing conflicts of  
207 interest. Environmental parameters should be used to assess potential risks from transformation  
208 products. Registrations limited to safer, more efficient products would enable faster post-  
209 authorization risk assessment, whilst shorter time periods between market release and risk  
210 investigation by public bodies would improve the authorization process<sup>49</sup>.

211  
212 Currently, risk assessments only focus on single pesticides and single crops – a more holistic  
213 view of risk assessments on the landscape level is needed to assess real world pesticide use<sup>12</sup>.  
214 Agreed definitions of low-risk products in fast-track authorization systems with lower data  
215 requirements and long-term authorization periods are required to enable farmers to replace  
216 banned, toxic pesticides with products containing less harmful active ingredients, whilst  
217 simultaneously maintaining effective resistance management. A dynamic policy framework  
218 would support pesticide vigilance in all European countries<sup>50</sup> – such programs have already been  
219 established in Denmark (see <https://www.forskningsdatabasen.dk/en/catalog/2389310167>) and  
220 are being implemented in France<sup>51</sup>.

221  
222 **Sustainable farming systems.** Sustainable agricultural systems can potentially decrease  
223 agricultural pesticide use<sup>30,52,53</sup> following the efficiency-substitution-redesign framework<sup>30</sup> –  
224 optimizing (e.g. precision farming), substituting (e.g. biocontrol agents or mechanical weed  
225 control) and redesigning (in) the current cropping system (e.g. favoring biotic interactions). In  
226 Europe, cross-compliance regulations comprise aspects of integrated pest management, with  
227 farmers receiving direct payments for conversion to extensive or organic production systems.  
228 Despite their potential<sup>54</sup>, tools like prevention and non-chemical pest management are not widely



229 considered by farmers due to the knowledge-intensive nature of these systems, the higher risks  
230 and potential differences in efficiency, which can result in higher short-term costs than  
231 conventional practices<sup>3</sup>. Economic incentives encouraging farmers' adoption of agro-ecological  
232 and integrated pest management measures have to account for the farmers' decision rationales  
233 and require the support of official and independent advisory services. Current plans for the  
234 common agricultural policy (CAP) reform are only addressing these issues indirectly<sup>29</sup>, missing  
235 a golden opportunity to promote pesticide-free farming systems.

236  
237 **Plant breeding strategies.** For centuries, resistance breeding has contributed to crop  
238 productivity and plant disease management<sup>55</sup>, and will continue to be a basic requirement for  
239 mitigating potential pesticide risks in Europe. However, plant breeding is a long and complex  
240 process, which is often unable to keep pace with the rapid evolution of pathogens or the  
241 emergence of new pests – processes that are increasingly driven by globalization and climate  
242 change<sup>56,57</sup>. Genomics and new plant breeding techniques provide enormous potential to  
243 increase the speed and technical opportunities in the development of resistant cultivars<sup>58</sup>.  
244 Current examples include the deployment of resistance sources from wild crop relatives that  
245 were lost during domestication<sup>59</sup> and the specific modification of resistance genes to increase  
246 their effect spectrum or to make them more durable<sup>60</sup>. However, the link between the value of  
247 advanced plant breeding and the reduction of pesticide use is often neglected in public  
248 discussions across Europe.

249  
250 Regulators face challenges in balancing the benefits of new breeding technologies with potential  
251 risks, costs and lack of political support<sup>61</sup>. In the case of genetically modified crops – which have  
252 been widely utilized around the globe – strong regulations in Europe, such as restrictions on the  
253 co-existence of genetically modified and conventional crops, have hindered wide-spread  
254 adoption<sup>62,63</sup>. Despite benefits in pesticide reduction<sup>64</sup>, negative consumer perception of  
255 genetically modified crops and knowledge gaps on plant breeding techniques in wider society  
256 have maintained a regulatory framework that prohibits the use of the latest gene technology  
257 developments. Europe can benefit from technologies like CRISPR/Cas to achieve durable  
258 resistance efficiently or provide easy access to resistance sources and crop diversity in gene  
259 banks (EU Council Decision L293/103) – these tools can strengthen plant breeding and take  
260 advantage of the enormous potential genetic diversity for crop improvement<sup>65</sup>. Thus, European  
261 policies require a revision of gene technology regulation in a differentiated, scientifically  
262 justified<sup>66</sup> and practically implementable manner<sup>67</sup>.

263  
264 **Smart Farming.** Information and communication technologies will disrupt agricultural practices  
265 to potentially reduce agriculture's ecological footprint<sup>68</sup>. Artificial intelligence, for example, can  
266 aid detection and classification of weeds, pests and diseases precisely and efficiently; images



267 taken from unmanned aerial vehicles or from tractor-mounted spraying booms allow targeted  
268 spraying, decreasing applied pesticide quantities. Challenges still remain: occlusion by other  
269 leaves or reflective leaf properties can hinder detection<sup>69</sup> and current or future precision farming  
270 technologies are currently mainly profitable for larger farms, e.g. due to economies of scale <sup>70</sup>.  
271 Nevertheless, large-scale, rapid adoption will likely occur once these technologies have proven  
272 their value in the field, especially through push and pull mechanisms like combining agri-  
273 environmental policy instruments such as taxes and subsidies<sup>40,70</sup>. Finally, investments in  
274 technical infrastructure, such as access to high-speed internet connections, satellite images, data  
275 platforms – and the development of suitable legal frameworks – are essential for enabling  
276 widespread adoption of these technologies.

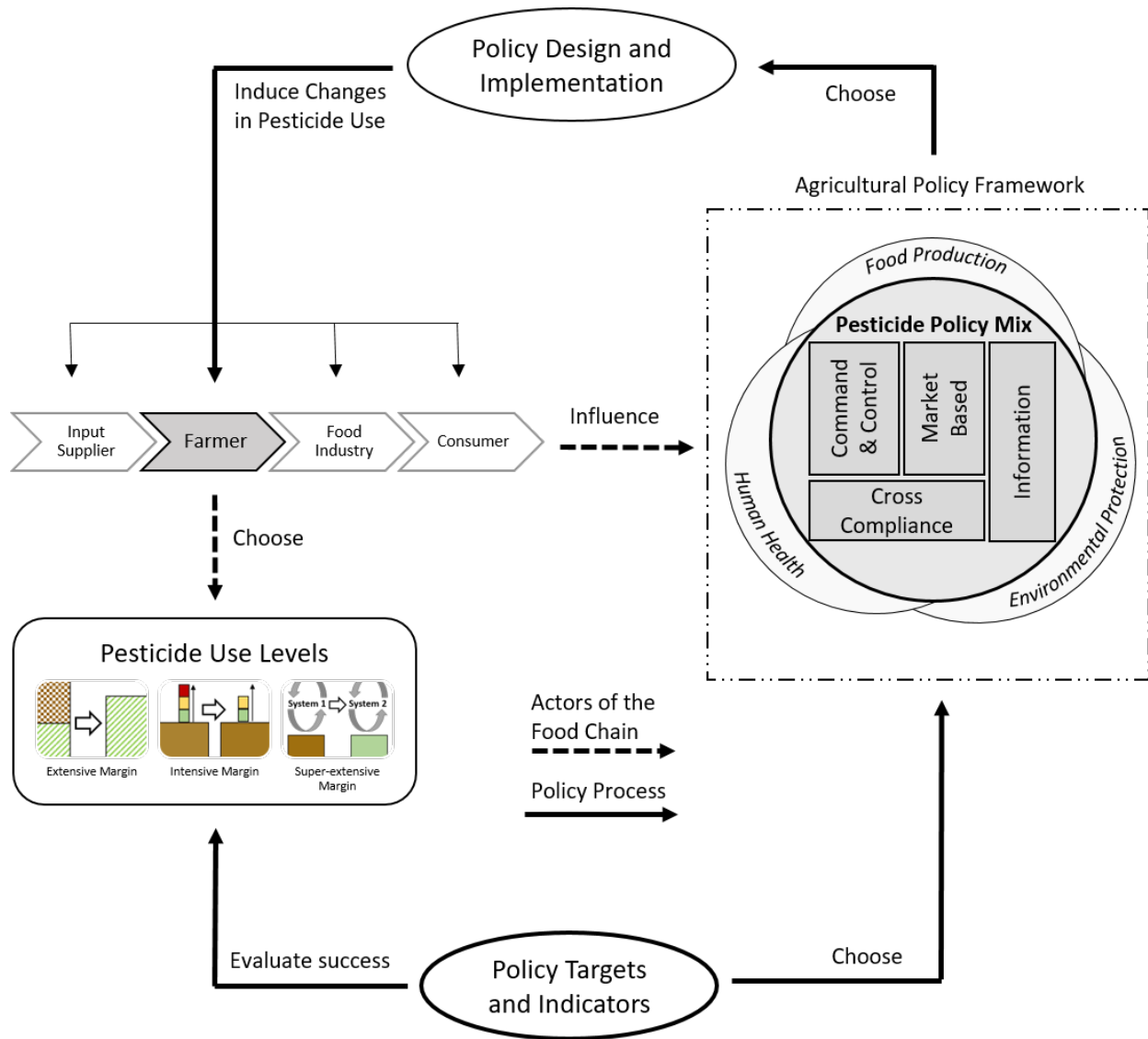
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278 **Efficient and dynamic pesticide policy portfolio.** Based on policy from water use and climate  
279 change mitigation, the most effective and politically feasible way to reduce potential risks  
280 consists of creating a policy mix of source-directed and end-of-pipe solutions <sup>71,72</sup>. Source-  
281 directed measures, such as taxes on pesticides and carbon emissions or energy, require  
282 considerable behavioral change from the target group and are often hindered by political  
283 opposition <sup>61</sup>. End of pipe measures, such as filtering or treatment of wastewater, reduces  
284 pollution exposure through technical solutions, which are effective but costly. Effective  
285 portfolios require so-called creative destruction, where contradictory policy instruments are  
286 replaced with new ones and are based on the nature of problems rather than political power  
287 games <sup>73</sup>. Thus, policy instruments should account for the complex nature of risk reduction and  
288 connect different sectors, decisional levels, and jurisdictional areas (Fig. 2)<sup>74</sup> – an example could  
289 be reinvesting revenues from pesticide taxes (incentivizing changes in individual, application-  
290 specific behaviour) in the promotion of sustainable farming systems, leading to sector-wide  
291 support to switch to alternative crop protection techniques<sup>40</sup>. Policies must dynamically adjust to  
292 future challenges in pest management, such as changes in pest pressure (e.g. through climate  
293 change and invasive species) <sup>57,75</sup>, trade-offs in new agricultural systems or increasing evidence  
294 on residues and pollution <sup>24</sup>. This requires the definition of potential policy pathways in response  
295 to key challenges – and a monitoring system that can trigger policy actions <sup>76</sup>.

## 300 **A holistic approach to pesticide policies**

301 One decade of major pesticide policy efforts have demonstrated that current policies are not  
302 effective in reaching their risk reduction goals. Here, we have shown that pesticide policy is  
303 bigger than the admission and regulation of single pesticides. Using a holistic framework (Fig.

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2), we outline pathways for a successful reduction of potential risks from agricultural pesticide use without putting other ecosystems services of agriculture at risk.



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**Figure 2. A holistic approach to pesticide policies.**

Policy targets and indicators (bottom) feed into the choice of the pesticide policy mix (right), which has to account for interactions between food production, human health and environmental protection - and is embedded in the agricultural policy framework. Design and implementation of policies are essential for their effects on actors (top) - and ultimately for farmers' choice of pesticide use levels (left). Success of policies may be evaluated along extensive, intensive and super-extensive margins, which refer to changes in pesticide use levels induced by farmers' land use changes, changes in pesticide use intensity (e.g. per crop or hectare) and changes in the agricultural system (e.g. switch from conventional to organic agriculture), using the defined policy indicators and targets.

318 Pesticide policies involve trade-offs and stress-points. Different actors within the food value  
319 chain may not perceive all reduction measures as equally promising. New technologies can  
320 reduce trade-offs in policies but may not be accepted by consumers. Farmers may not use more  
321 sustainable farming practices, new technologies or low-risk compounds if they are less  
322 profitable, more complicated and/or less effective than conventional approaches. Further,  
323 individual policy goals may contradict each other and lack reliable long-term planning horizons.  
324 Bans of single pesticides and diverging private standards for residues may, for example, increase  
325 long-term gaps in plant protection and lead to more resistances with severe agronomic  
326 consequences.

327

328 A new holistic and simple policy framework is needed to improve current pesticide policies.  
329 Creating simple, generic and long-term policy goals for all actors in the food value chain reduces  
330 policy complexity and maintains flexibility in policy tools and measures. The framework must be  
331 based on clear and tangible policy goals that include transparent assessment and monitoring  
332 procedures for risks – thus, enabling a transition from the current hazard-based system to a risk-  
333 based system. To overcome conflicting goals between food production, environmental  
334 protection, biodiversity and human health – and avoid single, isolated solutions for every policy  
335 goal and actor in the food value chain – pesticide policy should be integrated in a holistic food  
336 policy framework<sup>77</sup>. The political process must be dynamic and policies have to be continuously  
337 adapted to fit future changes in agricultural systems. The “From Farm to Fork” strategy, which is  
338 at the heart of the EU Green Deal, and the upcoming agricultural policy reforms in Europe  
339 present an important opportunity to advance current policies – and to take a major step forward  
340 towards the reduction of potential risks from pesticide use.

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## 523 **Author contributions**

524 NM and RF conceived of and led the manuscript writing and editing. The manuscript is based on the written input  
525 from all authors, which was the basis of the final manuscript. All authors carefully revised the manuscript  
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