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**Retail prices for sustainable, healthy diets: are foods with lower environmental impacts and healthier nutritional profiles also more expensive?**

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1 **Abstract**

2

3 *Background*

4 Affordability is a key barrier to shifting to healthier, more environmentally sustainable diets.

5 Nutrient-dense foods are more expensive for meeting daily energy needs compared to less

6 healthy food groups, and some strategies for reducing environmental impacts of food systems

7 can increase food prices. Still, healthy, environmentally sustainable diets may be less expensive

8 in some contexts. We provide the first global test of how food prices relate to the

9 environmental impacts and nutritional value of food items within and between food groups.

10

11 *Methods*

12 We use retail food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program (ICP) from

13 181 countries in 2011 and 2017. We match ICP food items to estimates of GHG emissions,

14 water footprint, and nutritional profile from published research. We use visualizations and OLS

15 regression to estimate the relationship between prices per kilocalorie and GHG emissions,

16 water footprint, and nutrient profile of retail food items.

17

18 *Findings*

19 We find food items with lower emissions and water footprint are less expensive ways to meet

20 dietary needs in all food groups, with large heterogeneity between food groups. Food items

21 with healthier nutritional profile are significantly more expensive in most but not all food

22 groups, and different aspects of healthfulness drive this association for different food groups.

23 Price per kilocalorie is most strongly associated with environmental impacts and nutritional  
24 profile for animal source foods, where a 50% increase in price per kilocalorie is associated with  
25 an 8.7 gram CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalent per 100 kilocalories increase in GHG emissions, 19.7 liter per 100  
26 kilocalorie increase in water footprint, and 4.0 point increase in Food Compass Score.

27

### 28 *Interpretation*

29 Less expensive food items tend to have lower environmental impacts but also lower nutritional  
30 profiles. Still, there are inexpensive, low-impact options within each food group. Accounting for  
31 these differences in environmental harm, health impacts and cost by type of food could help  
32 guide policy interventions towards healthier and more environmentally sustainable options for  
33 all.

34

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37 Prices for Nutrition project (INV-016158).

38

## 39 Introduction

40 Food systems have significant impacts on the health of our planet, contributing to  
41 environmental crises including climate change, water scarcity, biodiversity loss, and pollution.  
42 Food systems account for as much as one third of anthropogenic greenhouse gas (GHG)  
43 emissions (Crippa et al. 2021) and 70 percent of freshwater withdrawals (FAO 2021), as well as  
44 about 32 percent of terrestrial acidification and 78 percent of aquatic eutrophication (Poore  
45 and Nemecek 2018). At the same time, inadequate and poor-quality diets contribute to hunger,  
46 food insecurity, and rising prevalence of diet-related chronic diseases, while also exacerbating  
47 environmental crises (Willett et al. 2019; FAO et al. 2022; Clark et al. 2019).

48 Many have called for shifts towards healthier, more environmentally sustainable diets  
49 to address these challenges (Tilman and Clark 2014; Willett et al. 2019). However, food prices  
50 are a key barrier to consuming healthy, sustainable diets for many people. For people to shift  
51 their food choices, healthy, environmentally sustainable foods must be affordable, yet healthy  
52 diets remain unaffordable for over three billion of people globally (FAO et al. 2022).

53 Analyses of agricultural and food policy often assume, either implicitly or explicitly, that  
54 more environmentally sustainable and healthier diets are more expensive for consumers (FAO  
55 et al. 2022; Willett et al. 2019; Lindgren et al. 2018). Narratives about the cost of healthy,  
56 environmentally sustainable foods are partially driven by consumers' perceptions. Many  
57 consumers are willing to pay a premium for products marketed with health or sustainability  
58 claims, which may drive both beliefs about the relative prices of these products (Dolgoplova  
59 and Teuber 2018; Alsubhi et al. 2023; S. Li and Kallas 2021) and the higher prices often charged

60 for them (J. Li and Hooker 2009), which consumers may extrapolate to the mistaken belief that  
61 all healthier foods are more expensive (Haws, Reczek, and Sample 2017).

62 Many past studies on the relationship between food price and environmental impacts of  
63 food systems have focused on trade-offs between reducing environmental impacts of food  
64 systems and improving food security and diets. For instance, evidence from modelling studies  
65 indicates that land-based strategies to mitigate GHG emissions (e.g., reducing land use change  
66 to protect forested land, growing crops for bioenergy, or switching to climate-smart production  
67 practices) can increase land scarcity and production costs, thus increasing food prices  
68 (Stevanović et al. 2017; Fujimori et al. 2022; Doelman et al. 2019). Policies that aim to improve  
69 the sustainability of groundwater use are also predicted to reduce total agricultural production,  
70 thus increasing food prices (Calzadilla, Rehdanz, and Tol 2010).

71 There can also be trade-offs between the healthfulness and cost of foods. At retail food  
72 outlets, fruits, vegetables, and other nutrient-rich food groups are more expensive on average  
73 than starchy staples, vegetable oils, sugars, and other less healthy foods for meeting daily  
74 energy needs (Headey and Alderman 2019; Carlson and Frazão 2012). Evidence from Belgium,  
75 Mexico, and the United States also suggests that higher-quality diets that are closer to meeting  
76 dietary guidelines are more expensive per kilocalorie and per day (Vandevijvere et al. 2020;  
77 Curi-Quinto et al. 2022; Conrad et al. 2021).

78 When we consider both the healthfulness and environmental sustainability of foods and  
79 diets, the evidence is more mixed. The EAT-Lancet reference diet, a dietary pattern intended to  
80 be healthy for both people and the planet, is unaffordable for many, especially in lower-income  
81 countries (Hirvonen et al. 2020; Willett et al. 2019). Still, studies of modelled or observed diets

82 in specific countries show that some healthier, more environmentally sustainable dietary  
83 patterns tend to be less expensive (Springmann et al. 2021; Curi-Quinto et al. 2022; Conrad et  
84 al. 2023). Modelling global data, Springmann et al. (2021) suggest that vegetarian and vegan  
85 diets are less expensive compared to current diets, especially in wealthier countries  
86 (Springmann et al. 2021). Examining dietary surveys from Mexico, Curi-Quinto et al. (2022)  
87 show that healthier, more environmentally sustainable diets are less expensive, and adults with  
88 lower socioeconomic status are more likely to consume these diets (Curi-Quinto et al. 2022).  
89 Analyzing the diets of individuals in the United States who follow popular dietary patterns,  
90 Conrad et al. (2023) find that plant-based diets have low GHG emissions and relatively low cost,  
91 yet there are trade-offs between cost, diet quality, and environmental impacts of other dietary  
92 patterns (Conrad et al. 2023).

93           However, many of these theoretical dietary patterns differ markedly from what most  
94 people currently consume and do not necessarily reflect the breadth of foods available at retail  
95 food outlets globally (Hirvonen et al. 2020; Willett et al. 2019; Springmann et al. 2021). This  
96 study provides the first global test of how market prices relate to the environmental impacts  
97 and nutritional value of food items within and between food groups. We combine retail food  
98 prices from 181 countries with estimates of the GHG emissions, water footprint, and nutritional  
99 profile of these food items, to assess whether healthier, more environmentally sustainable  
100 diets are more expensive. Identifying which healthier or more sustainable foods are actually  
101 less expensive, within and between food groups, could help in the design of policy interventions  
102 that achieve environmental and health goals at lower cost to consumers.

103

## 104 **Methods**

105           We use food item availability and retail prices from the World Bank’s International  
106 Comparison Program (ICP) global and regional food lists in 2011 and 2017. The ICP provides  
107 average prices in local currency units (LCU) for 869 food items in 177 countries in 2011 and 732  
108 food items in 175 countries in 2017, as reported by national statistical organizations (The World  
109 Bank 2023). We convert to prices in 2017 United States dollars (USD) using purchasing power  
110 parity (PPP) exchange rates for individual consumption expenditure by households, provided by  
111 the ICP. We exclude 5 countries and territories (Anguilla, Bonaire, Cuba, Montserrat, and  
112 Taiwan) for which PPP exchange rates were not available.

113           The ICP reports prices per reference quantity (e.g., 1 kilogram of rice, 500 grams of  
114 bread, 1 liter of olive oil, etc.). We convert prices per reference quantity to prices per kilogram  
115 using information available in food item descriptions provided by the ICP. We match the ICP  
116 food items to food composition data – kilocalories per 100g and edible portion – from the USDA  
117 Standard Reference Release 28 (SR-28), the USDA Food Products Database, the West Africa  
118 Food Composition Table, the Bangladesh Food Composition Table, and the USDA Food Products  
119 Database, and the FAO/INFOODS Global food composition database for fish and shellfish (uFish  
120 1.0). We use food composition data to calculate prices per kilogram and per kilocalorie of edible  
121 matter. (See equations in Appendix 1a.)

122           We classify food items into food groups based on the Healthy Diet Basket (HDB), a set of  
123 globally comparable recommended intakes of six key food groups developed based on national  
124 dietary guidelines from 10 countries. HDB food groups include starchy staples; animal-source  
125 foods (ASFs); legumes, nuts and seeds; vegetables; fruits; and oils and fats (Herforth et al.



126 2022). We calculate prices per recommended daily intake by adjusting prices per kilocalorie of  
127 edible matter by the HDB recommended intake of each food group. (See Appendix 1b for  
128 recommended intakes of each HDB food group.) We categorize sugars, sweets, and candies into  
129 an additional food group, for which there is no recommended intake. We exclude alcoholic  
130 beverages, non-caloric beverages, coffee, tea, culinary ingredients, spices, herbs, condiments,  
131 mixed dishes with unclear composition, and infant foods.

132 We draw estimates of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and water footprint of food  
133 items from a database created by Petersson et al. (2021). GHG emissions estimates represent  
134 all emissions from production and distribution of each food item; water footprint estimates  
135 represent all water use and pollution from production and distribution of each food item,  
136 including ground and surface water (blue water) and rain water (green water) (Harris et al.  
137 2020). These estimates reflect environmental impacts of food items to the consumer stage,  
138 including post farm gate impacts such as processing, packaging, and transport but excluding  
139 post-market impacts such as cooking. This database includes estimates of GHG emissions in  
140 carbon dioxide equivalents (CO<sub>2</sub>e) per kilogram of food for 324 food items and estimates of  
141 water footprint in liters of water per kilogram of food, based on the Global Water Footprint  
142 Standard, for 320 food items. (See Appendix 1d for detailed methodology for matching GHG  
143 emissions and water footprint estimates to ICP food items.) We convert GHG emissions to CO<sub>2</sub>e  
144 per kilocalorie of food and water footprint to liters per kilocalorie of food using food  
145 composition data.

146 We estimate the nutritional profile of food items using established metrics, including  
147 Food Compass Score (FCS) (Mozaffarian et al. 2021), Nutri-Score (Santé Publique France 2023),

148 and Health Star Rating (Australian Government 2023). FCS is a nutrient profiling system that  
149 rates the healthfulness of foods on a scale of 0 to 100 based on 9 domains relevant to health  
150 outcomes, including nutrient ratios (ratios of unsaturated to saturated fat, fiber to  
151 carbohydrates, and/or potassium to sodium), vitamins, minerals, food-based ingredients,  
152 additives, processing, specific lipids, total fiber and protein, and phytochemicals (Mozaffarian et  
153 al. 2021). (See Appendix 1d for descriptions of the 9 FCS domains.) Nutri-Score, created by  
154 Santé Publique France, is a nutritional rating between 0 and 5 based on the food item's content  
155 per 100g of nutrients and foods to promote, including dietary fiber, protein, fruits, vegetables,  
156 pulses, nuts, and plant oils, and nutrients to limit, including total sugar, saturated fat, sodium,  
157 and total energy. The Nutri-Score is translated into a letter from A to E for use on a color-coded  
158 front-of-pack label (Santé Publique France 2023). The Health Star Rating is a nutritional rating  
159 that scores foods between 0.5 and 5 to inform front-of-pack food labels with 0.5 to 5 stars.  
160 Health Star Ratings are based on the food item's total energy; content of nutrients associated  
161 with chronic disease, including saturated fat, sodium, and sugar; and content of nutrients and  
162 foods associated with improved health outcomes, including fiber, protein, fruits, vegetables,  
163 nuts, and legumes (Australian Government 2023). We match the ICP food items to estimates of  
164 the Health Star Ratings and Nutri-Score of USDA FNDDS 2015-16 food items from Mozaffarian  
165 et al. (Mozaffarian et al. 2021) and to updated FCS of USDA FNDDS 2017-18 food items  
166 provided by the Food Compass research team.

167 We visualize the relationship between GHG emissions, water footprint, and nutrient  
168 profile and price per kilocalorie using scatter plots and line graphs. Due to the large number of  
169 price observations, we use binned scatter plots, where each point represents the mean of the

170 x-axis and y-axis variables across 100 equal-sized bins of the x-axis variable. Line graphs show  
171 average GHG emissions, water footprint, and nutrient profile by decile of price per kilocalorie;  
172 deciles represent deciles of price by food group, country, and year. We estimate the  
173 associations between price per kilocalorie and GHG emissions, water footprint, and nutritional  
174 profile using the following OLS regression model:

$$175 \quad Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \ln(\text{price}) + \varepsilon$$

176 Where Y is a vector of measures of environmental impacts and nutritional profiles of each ICP  
177 food item, including GHG emissions in kilograms of carbon dioxide-equivalents per kilocalorie of  
178 food, water footprint in liters per kilocalorie of food, Food Compass Score on a scale from 0 to  
179 100, each of the 9 component domains of FCS, Health Star Rating on a scale from 0 to 5, and  
180 Nutri-Score on a scale from 1 to 5 (letter scores of E are converted to 1, D to 2, etc.), and price  
181 is the price per kilocalorie of each ICP food item. Regression models include country fixed  
182 effects and are stratified by HDB food group. Visualizations and analyses are executed in Stata  
183 SE 16.

184

185 **Results**

186 We find that food items with lower emissions and water use are less expensive ways to  
187 meet dietary needs in all food groups, with large heterogeneity between food groups. Food  
188 items with healthier nutritional profile scores are significantly more expensive in most but not  
189 all food groups, and the relationship between price and nutritional profile varies between the  
190 different measures of healthfulness that make up the FCS.

191

192 *GHG emissions and retail food prices*

193 The GHG emissions associated with retail food items varies distinctly between food  
194 groups. ASFs have much higher GHG emissions per kilocalorie on average, and the most within-  
195 group variation in GHG emissions. Though some vegetables have lower GHG emissions, there is  
196 a wide range of GHG emissions associated with different vegetables, including some high-  
197 emissions vegetables such as tomatoes and mushrooms that have higher GHG emissions than  
198 inexpensive, low-emissions ASFs such as sardines and anchovies.

199 More expensive food items have significantly higher GHG emissions per kilocalorie for  
200 all food groups except fruits (Figure 2). The magnitude of this association is largest for ASFs and  
201 vegetables. A 50% increase in price per kilocalorie is associated with an increase in GHG  
202 emissions of 8.659-grams CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalent per 100 kilocalories for ASFs and 3.086-grams for  
203 vegetables. In fact, the emissions associated with the most expensive of ASFs and vegetables in  
204 each country are over twice as high as the emissions associated with the cheapest foods in each  
205 food group (Figure 3).

206 Starchy staples, legumes, nuts, and seeds, oils and fats, and sugars, sweets, and candies  
207 have lower GHG emissions per kilocalorie compared to vegetables and ASFs across all deciles of  
208 price per kilocalorie (Figure 3). Still, there is a smaller but significant association between price  
209 and GHG emissions per kilocalorie in each of these food groups. A 50% increase in price per  
210 kilocalorie is associated with an increase in GHG emissions of 1.634-grams CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalent per  
211 100 kilocalories for sugars, sweets, and candies, a 0.115-gram increase for starchy staples, a  
212 0.0845-gram increase for legumes, nuts, and seeds, and a 0.956-gram increase for oils and fats.

213

#### 214 *Water footprint and retail food prices*

215 There is wide variation in the magnitude of water footprint per kilocalorie between food  
216 groups. On average, starchy staples, oils and fats, and sugars, sweets, and candies have the  
217 lowest water footprint. In comparison, more nutrient-dense food groups, including animal-  
218 sources foods, legumes, nuts, and seeds, fruits, and vegetables have higher water footprint and  
219 larger variation in water footprint between food items within each food group (Figure 1b).

220 Retail food prices per kilocalorie are positively associated with water footprint for every  
221 food group except for starchy staples (Figure 1b, Figure 2). The magnitude of association  
222 between price and water footprint is largest for ASFs, followed by legumes, nuts, and seeds,  
223 and vegetables. On average a 50% increase in price per kilocalorie is associated with a 19.659-  
224 liter higher water footprint per 100 kilocalories for ASFs, an 18.157-liter increase for legumes,  
225 nuts, and seeds, and a 13.042-liter increase for vegetables. Though fruits have relatively high  
226 water footprint on average, the association between price and water footprint is slightly

227 smaller; a 50% increase in price per kilocalorie is associated with a 4.394-liter higher water  
228 footprint (Figure 2).

229 For ASFs, the direction of the relationship between price and water footprint varies  
230 somewhat as price increases (Figure 1b, Figure 3). While some relatively expensive ASFs have  
231 high water footprint, such as fresh and cured beef products, some of the most expensive ASFs  
232 in each country have comparatively low water footprint, such as certain cheeses and fresh fish  
233 fillets. For vegetables, fruits, and legumes, nuts and seeds, the relationship between price per  
234 kilocalorie and water footprint is somewhat more even across deciles of price (Figure 3). More  
235 expensive food items within each food group generally have higher water footprint compared  
236 to less expensive alternatives.

237

### 238 *Nutrient profile and retail food prices*

239 There is wide variation in nutrient profile between food groups. For most food groups,  
240 price is positively associated with healthfulness, and the magnitude of this association is largest  
241 for ASFs, followed by sugars, sweets, and candies, starchy staples, and vegetables. In contrast,  
242 higher price is associated with lower healthfulness for oils and fats (Figure 1c, Figure 2).

243 Vegetables, fruits, and legumes, nuts, and seeds have high nutrient profile across all  
244 deciles of price per kilocalorie (Figure 3). There is a small but significant positive association  
245 between price and nutrient profile for these three food groups, though the magnitude of this  
246 association is relatively small (Figure 2). A 50% increase in price per kilocalorie is associated  
247 with a 1.551-point increase in FCS for vegetables, a 1.186-point increase for fruits, and a 0.363-  
248 point increase for legumes, nuts, and seeds, all relatively small on a scale from 0 to 100.

249 Starchy staples and sugars, sweets, and candies have lower nutrient profile on average  
250 across all deciles of price per kilocalorie, though more expensive options within each group do  
251 tend to be more nutritious (Figure 1c, Figure 3). Still, there is a small but significant positive  
252 association between price and nutrient profile for these food groups. A 50% increase in price  
253 per kilocalorie is associated with a 1.925-point increase in FCS for starchy staples and a 2.080-  
254 point increase for sugars, sweets, and candies.

255 Higher price is most strongly associated with higher nutrient profile for ASFs. A 50%  
256 increase in price per kilocalorie of ASFs is associated with a 4.049-point increase in FCS.  
257 However, much of this association is driven by a smaller set of highly nutritious ASFs that are  
258 expensive in many countries, including fresh fish like grouper, snapper, and sole (Figure 1c,  
259 Figure 3).

260 The price per kilocalorie of oils and fats is negatively associated with nutrient profile. A  
261 50% increase in the price of oils and fats is associated with a 7.879-point decrease in FCS. This  
262 trend is primarily driven by the high cost of butter, ghee, and margarine in many countries,  
263 which have much lower nutrient profile than comparatively inexpensive plant oils.

264 Results comparing other measures of nutrient profile, including Health Star Rating and  
265 Nutri-Score to food prices per kilocalorie, are generally consistent with results on Food  
266 Compass Score (see Appendices).

267

#### 268 *Domains of nutrient profile and retail food prices*

269 FCS is a composite score calculated from sub-scores across 9 domains – nutrient ratios,  
270 vitamins, minerals, food-based ingredients, additives, processing, specific lipids, fiber and

271 protein, and phytochemicals. When we look at the associations between price per kilocalorie  
272 and each domain of the FCS, we see that certain domains are more strongly associated with  
273 price in general, and certain domains drive associations with price for different food groups. In  
274 general, the presence of food-based ingredients with proven links to chronic disease outcomes  
275 and favorable nutrient ratios (i.e., unsaturated to saturated fat, fiber to carbohydrates, and  
276 potassium to sodium) are most strongly associated with price per kilocalorie. Additives and  
277 phytochemicals, however, are not strongly associated with price per kilocalorie for any food  
278 group.

279         The associations between FCS and price also vary widely between domains. For  
280 vegetables, higher cost is associated with higher content of minerals, vitamins, and fiber,  
281 suggesting that less expensive vegetables are lower in these nutrients on average. In contrast,  
282 these aspects of healthfulness are not associated with cost for fruits, suggesting that  
283 inexpensive fruits are similarly high in minerals, vitamins, and fiber compared to less expensive  
284 fruits. For legumes, nuts, and seeds, price is only significantly associated with favorable nutrient  
285 ratios, again suggesting that the content of key nutrients such as minerals, vitamins, fiber, and  
286 protein is similar across price points within this food group.

287         Among starchy staples and sugars, sweets, and candies, price per kilocalorie is most  
288 strongly associated with favorable nutrient ratios (fiber to carbohydrates and unsaturated to  
289 saturated fat, in this case). Thus, inexpensive, less healthful options within these food  
290 categories tend to be those high in refined grains, added sugars, and saturated fat.

291         Higher cost of ASFs is most strongly associated with content of food-based ingredients.  
292 For ASFs, seafoods are given positive points towards food-based ingredients and red and



293 processed meats are given negative points, so this association is primarily driven by the high  
294 cost of many seafoods, especially shellfish.

295 **Discussion**

296 Comparing retail food prices from 181 countries with estimates of the GHG emissions,  
297 water footprint, and nutrient profile associated with each food item, we find that more  
298 expensive retail food items tend to be more healthful and have higher environmental impacts.  
299 Thus, less expensive foods tend to have lower environmental impacts but are somewhat less  
300 nutritious compared to alternatives within the same food group. Higher price is associated with  
301 higher GHG emissions in all food groups except for fruits, and the association between price  
302 and emissions is largest for ASFs and vegetables. Higher price is associated with higher water  
303 footprint for all food groups except for starchy staples, and the association between price and  
304 water footprint is largest for nutrient-dense food groups including ASFs, legumes, nuts, and  
305 seeds, vegetables, and fruits. Higher price is also associated with higher nutrient profile in all  
306 food groups except oils and fats, though different aspects of healthfulness drive the association  
307 with price in different food groups. Still, there are healthful, inexpensive options available in  
308 each food group, and these options tend to have lower environmental impacts. While nutrient-  
309 dense food groups such as vegetables, fruits, and ASFs are more expensive on average per  
310 kilocalorie compared to starchy staples, oils and fat, and sugars, there are less expensive,  
311 relatively nutritious options within each of these food groups that also have lower  
312 environmental impacts.

313 Past studies showing that healthier, more environmentally sustainable dietary patterns  
314 tend to be less expensive (Springmann et al. 2021; Curi-Quinto et al. 2022; Conrad et al. 2023)  
315 have primarily focused on trade-offs between food groups, for example consuming less ASFs  
316 and more fruits, vegetables, and plant-source protein foods. Our results are consistent with

317 these studies, reinforcing the finding that ASFs have both higher cost and higher environmental  
318 impacts on average compared to other food groups. However, calls for broad dietary shifts are  
319 often criticized as infeasible because of the difficulty of changing individual and cultural food  
320 preferences and the high comparative cost of some nutrient-dense foods (Headey and  
321 Alderman 2019).

322         We show that incentives aiming to lower environmental impacts of diets could instead  
323 focus on shifts to less expensive, lower impact foods within each food group. This strategy  
324 would be most effective for the nutrient-dense foods groups (ASFs, vegetables, fruits, and  
325 legumes, nuts, and seeds) that already have the highest burden of cost and environmental  
326 impacts, as well as the largest variation in cost and environmental impacts. Vegetables, fruits,  
327 and legumes, nuts, and seeds have comparatively high nutrient profile at all price points, so  
328 choosing less expensive options would have little impact on dietary quality. While the most  
329 nutritious ASFs are also the most expensive, there are also nutrient-dense options at lower  
330 price points.

331         For consumers to choose healthy, environmentally sustainable options within each food  
332 group, however, they need access to information about these attributes. Our results highlight  
333 the importance of creating comprehensive, standardized food labeling systems that convey  
334 information about both the healthfulness and environmental impacts of foods. Some aspects of  
335 nutrient profile are already communicated on food labels in many countries, though not often  
336 in ways that are interpretable by consumers, and levels of environmental impact are rarely  
337 shown on food labels. The database and methodology created in this study – linking retail food  
338 items to prices, environmental impacts, and nutritional profiles – can be used to inform

339 comprehensive labeling schemes, as well as the selection of low-cost, healthy, environmentally  
340 sustainable foods for inclusion in nutrition programs or interventions.

341           These results can also highlight specific areas where innovations to improve the  
342 efficiency of food supply chains and reduce food prices. For example, we find that less  
343 expensive vegetables have lower GHG emissions and water footprint but are also less  
344 nutritious. In particular, less expensive vegetables tend to have lower vitamin and mineral  
345 content. Thus, innovations to reduce the price and environmental impacts of expensive  
346 vegetables such as tomatoes, spinach, and broccoli could have benefits for both nutrition and  
347 the environment.

348

#### 349 *Strengths and limitations*

350           This is the first global analysis connecting retail food prices to estimates of the  
351 environmental impacts and healthfulness of foods available at retail around the world. We  
352 utilize average country-level retail food prices from 181 countries from the ICP, an established  
353 initiative managed by the World Bank to monitor and compare retail prices between countries.  
354 We leverage a comprehensive, recently created database of GHG emissions and water footprint  
355 associated with specific food items, created through a standardized methodology that  
356 accounted for the quality and uncertainty of existing evidence (Petersson et al. 2021). We  
357 estimate nutrient profile using FCS, a multidimensional nutrient profiling system that allows us  
358 to assess both the overall healthfulness of each food item and components that contribute to  
359 these scores. By starting with retail food availability and prices, we focus on the cost and  
360 impacts of the foods available in retail food environmental worldwide rather than foods

361 consumed as part of theoretical dietary patterns. By converting prices and environmental  
362 impacts to units per kilocalorie, we are able to meaningfully compare between different  
363 options within the same food group that have different mass, water content, and inedible  
364 portion.

365         This study has a few important limitations. First, we use estimates of GHG emissions and  
366 water footprint compiled by Petersson et al. (2021) based on a review of available evidence.  
367 Most studies estimating the GHG emissions and water footprint of foods are from higher-  
368 income countries, yet we utilize ICP food prices from 181 countries. Thus, we use global  
369 estimates of GHG emissions and water footprint for each food item rather than country-specific  
370 estimates. In addition, estimates of GHG emissions and water footprint were not available for  
371 all ICP food items. We matched GHG emissions estimates to 78% of ICP food items and water  
372 footprint estimates to 76% of ICP food items. We exclude foods for which no appropriate match  
373 was available, including some processed foods for which available GHG emissions and water  
374 footprint estimates did not account for important post farm gate impacts. (See Appendix 1c for  
375 details on matching between ICP food items and environmental impact estimates.)

376         Water footprint is a consolidated indicator that includes both green and blue water use  
377 and pollution. The estimates used do not differentiate between green and blue water use, nor  
378 do they account for local water scarcity. Still, the water footprint estimates from Petersson et  
379 al. (2021) provide a starting point for understanding the relationship between retail food prices  
380 and water use. In addition, food systems have important environmental impact beyond GHG  
381 emissions and water use, such as contributions to land use and land use conversion,  
382 biodiversity loss, and pollution of land, air, and waterways. Reliable estimates of the magnitude

383 of how specific foods contribute to these impacts are scarce. Future studies of the  
384 environmental impacts of food items that focus on a wider variety of countries, foods, and  
385 types of environmental impacts could lead to useful insights on the relationship between food  
386 prices and environmental impacts for specific foods, agricultural production systems and value  
387 chains, geographies, and contexts.

388

### 389 *Conclusions*

390 As climate change and other environmental crises intensify and diets continue to  
391 transition towards less healthy diets in many countries, we increasingly need to identify  
392 strategies to reduce the health and environmental impacts of diets while simultaneously  
393 addressing the affordability of healthy diets. When we look at retail food environments  
394 globally, less expensive food items tend to have lower environmental impacts but also lower  
395 nutritional profiles. Still, there are inexpensive, low-impact options within each food group.  
396 Accounting for these differences in environmental harm, health impacts, and cost by type of  
397 food could help guide policy interventions towards healthier and more environmentally  
398 sustainable options for all.

399

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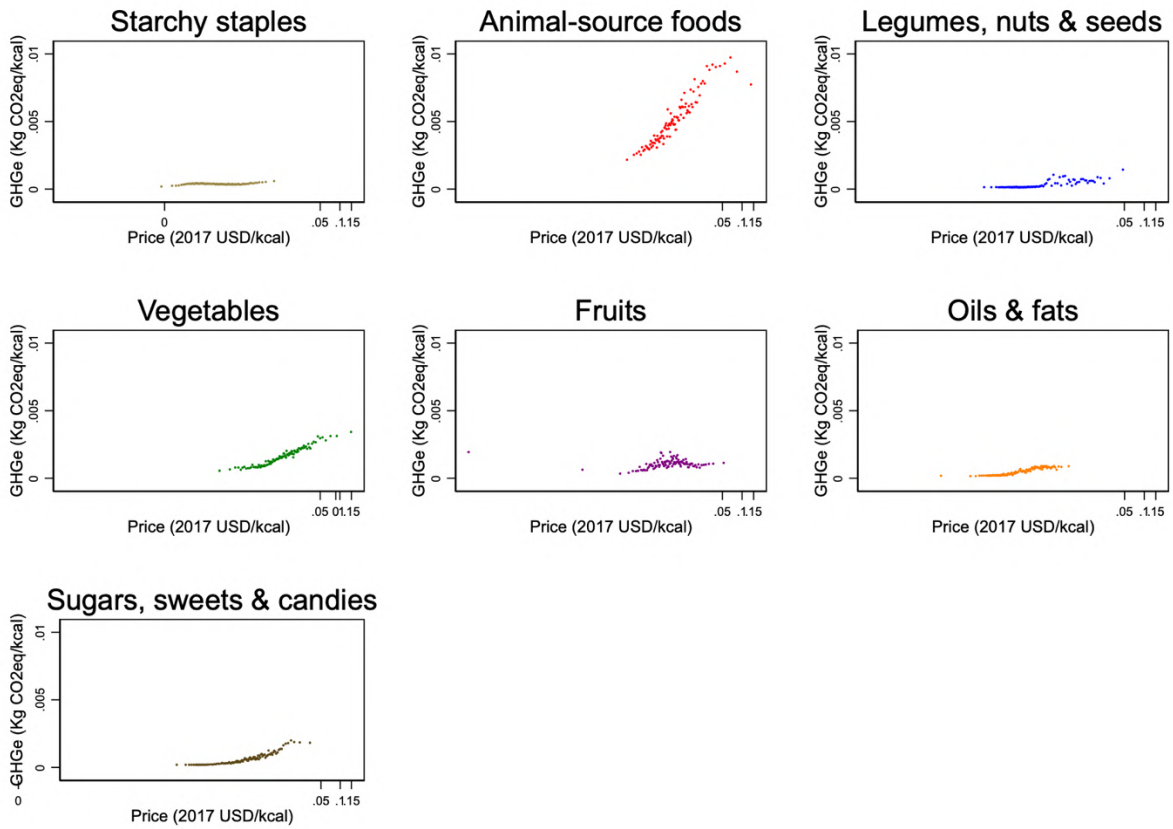
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517

518 Tables and figures

519

520 **Figure 1a. Estimated mean GHG emissions conditional on price per kilocalorie, by food group**

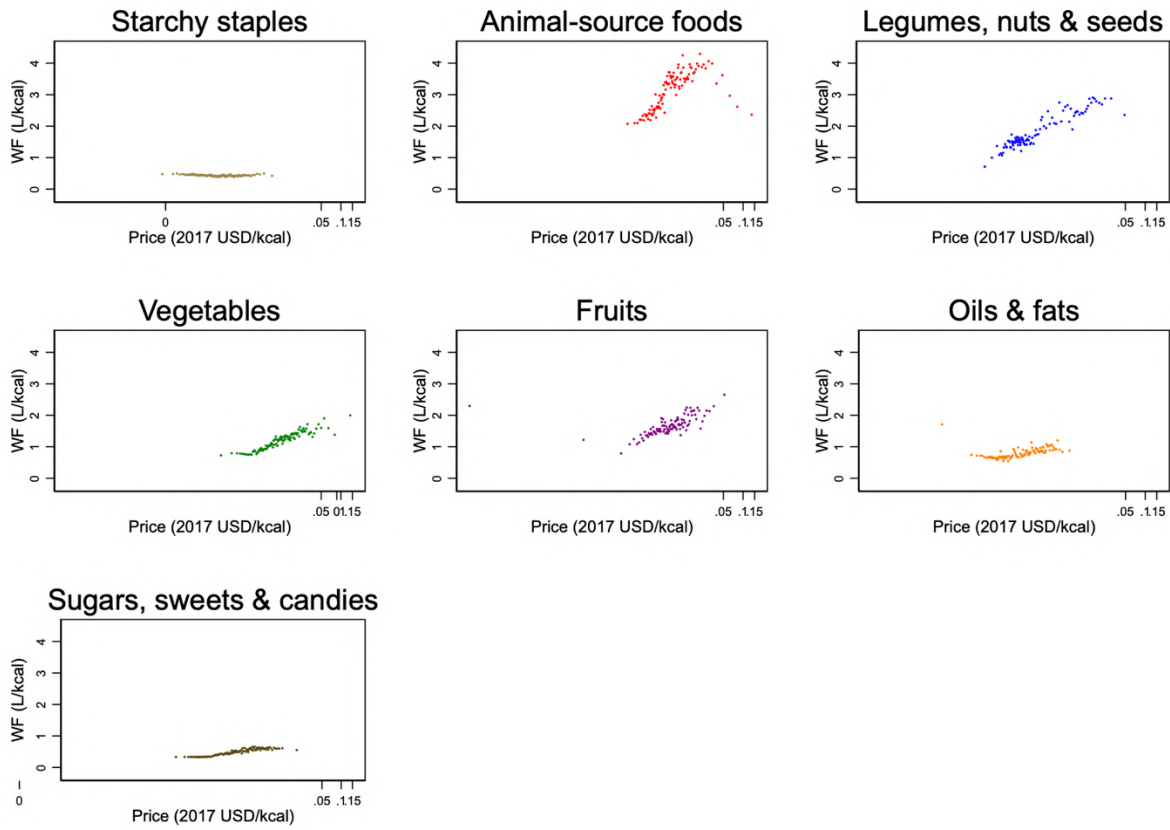


521

522 *Note: GHG emissions estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
523 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 699 food*  
524 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilocalorie is shown in natural-log scale.*

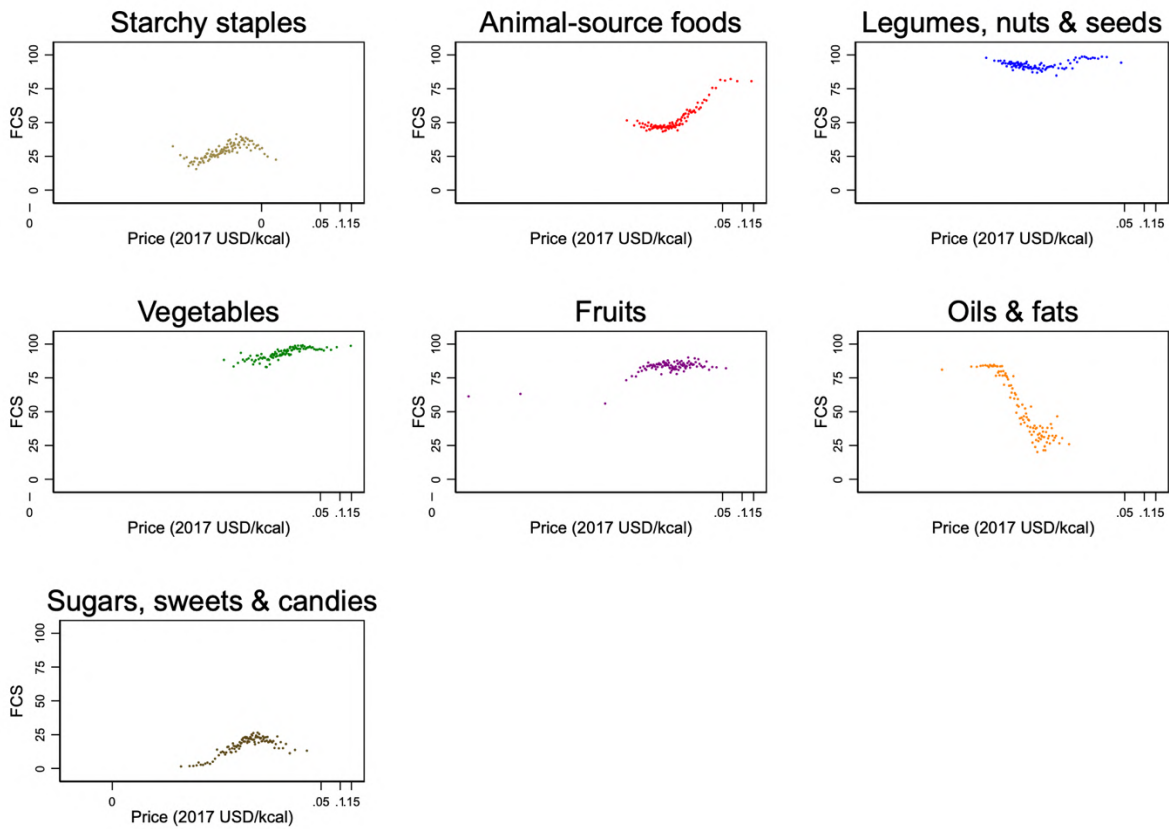
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526 **Figure 1b. Estimated mean water footprint conditional on price per kilocalorie, by food group**



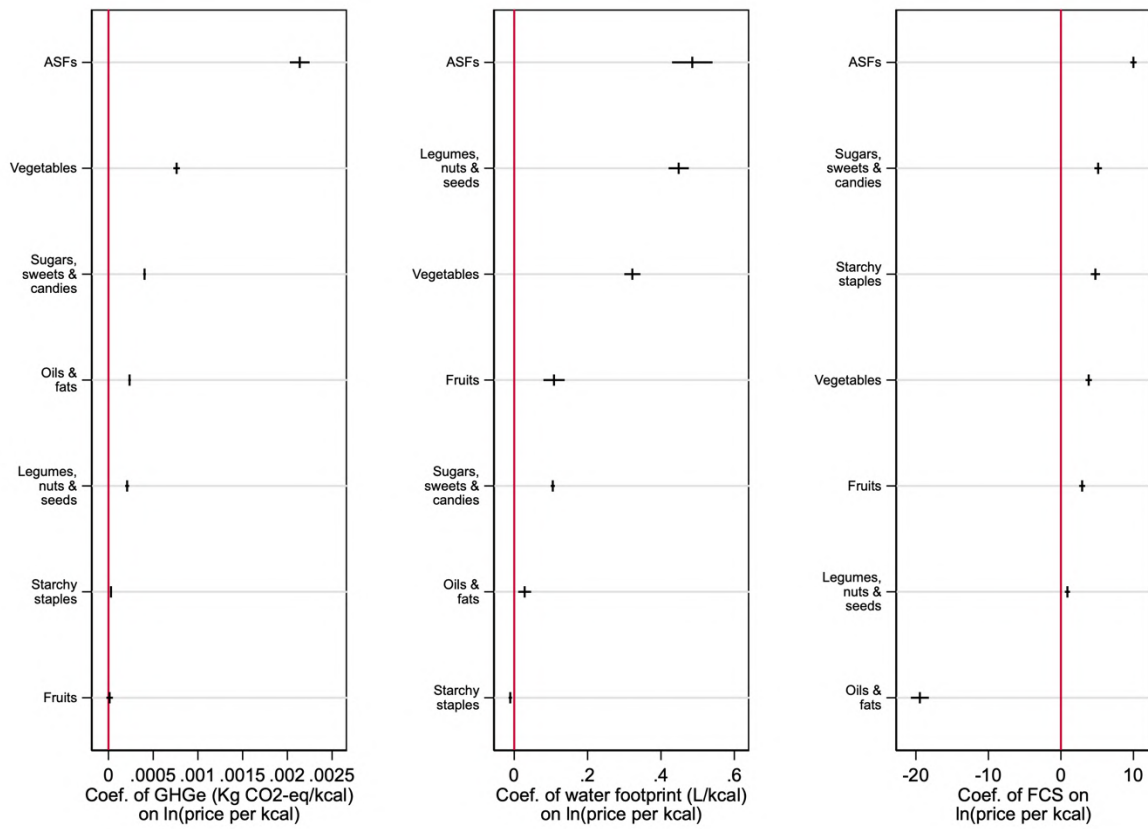
527  
528 *Note: Water footprint estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
529 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 681 food*  
530 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilocalorie is shown in natural-log scale.*  
531

532 **Figure 1c. Estimated mean Food Compass Score conditional on price per kilocalorie, by food**  
533 **group**



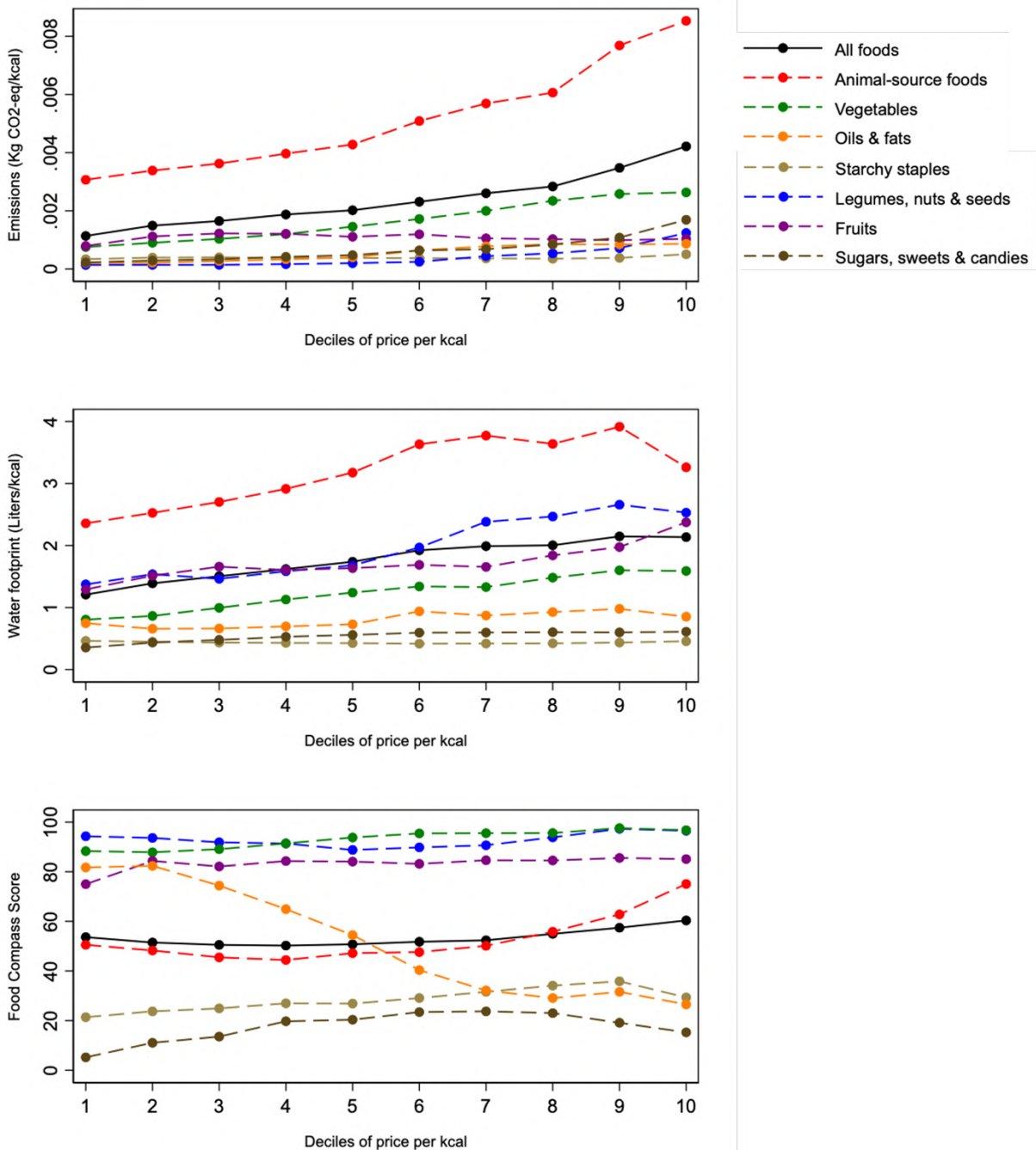
534  
535 *Note: Food Compass Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average*  
536 *retail food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for*  
537 *824 food items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilocalorie is shown in natural-log scale.*  
538

539 **Figure 2. Associations between price per kilocalorie and GHG emissions, water footprint, and**  
 540 **Food Compass Score by food group**



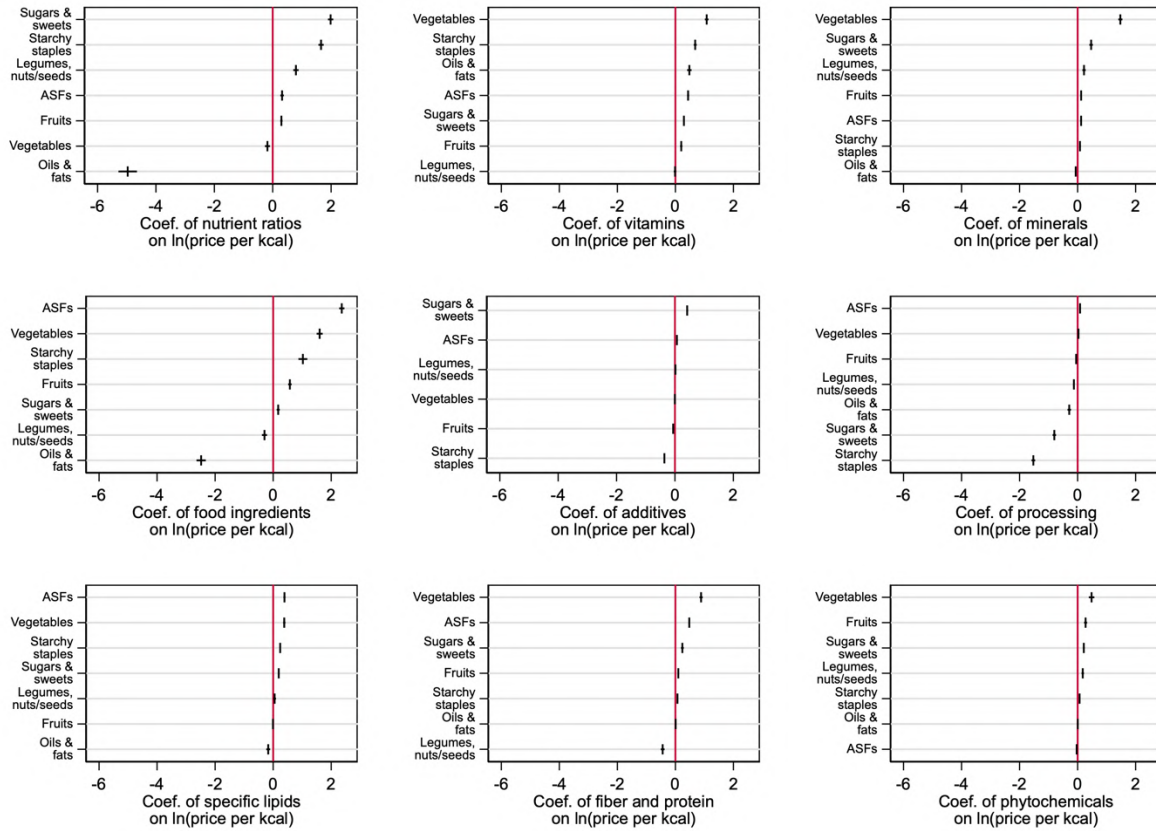
541  
 542 *Note: Tick marks represent coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of linear regressions of*  
 543 *GHG emissions, water footprint, and Food Compass Score (FCS) on log(price) with country fixed*  
 544 *effects, stratified by food group. ASF stands for “animal-source foods.”*  
 545

546 **Figure 3. GHG emissions, water footprint, and Food Compass Score by deciles of price per**  
 547 **kilocalorie for each food group**



548  
 549 *Note: GHG emissions and water footprint estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) and Food*  
 550 *Compass Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
 551 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 824 food*  
 552 *items in 181 countries.*  
 553

554 **Figure 4. Associations between the 9 domains of Food Compass Score and price per**  
 555 **kilocalorie by food group**



556  
 557 *Note: Tick marks represent coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of linear regressions of*  
 558 *each domain of Food Compass Score (FCS) on log(price) with country fixed effects, stratified by*  
 559 *food group. Estimate for coefficient on “additives” omit the “oils & fats” food group because all*  
 560 *food items scored zero in this dimension. ASF stands for “animal-source foods.”*  
 561

562 **Supplementary Materials**

563

564 Appendix 1a. Equations for calculating price per kilogram (kg), kilocalorie (kcal), and  
565 recommended daily intake

566

567 Appendix 2: Comparing retail food prices per kilogram and per recommended daily intake to  
568 GHG emissions, water footprint, and nutritional profile

569

570 Appendix 3: Comparing retail food prices to nutritional profile using Health Star Rating and  
571 Nutri-Score

572



573 **Appendix 1. Supplementary methodological details**

574

575 **Appendix 1a. Equations for calculating price per kilogram (kg), kilocalorie (kcal), and**  
576 **recommended daily intake of each food item**

577

578 
$$\text{Price per kg of edible matter} = \frac{\text{Price per kg}}{\text{Edible portion}}$$

579

580 
$$\text{Price per kcal of edible matter} = \frac{\text{Price per kg of edible matter}}{\text{Kcal per kg of food}}$$

581

582 
$$\text{Price per recommended daily intake}$$

583 
$$= (\text{Price per kcal of edible matter})$$

584 
$$\times (\text{Recommended intake in kcal of food group})$$

585

586  
587

**Appendix 1b. Healthy diet basket daily recommended intakes by food group**

Food group	Minimum number of food items selected for cost of healthy diet	Total energy content (kcal)	Equivalent gram content, by reference food (edible portion)
Starchy staples	2	1160	322g dry rice
Animal-source foods	2	300	210g egg
Legumes, nuts, and seeds	1	300	85g dry bean
Vegetables	3	110	270-400g vegetable
Fruits	2	160	230-300g fruit
Oils and fats	1	300	34g oil

588  
589

Source: Herforth et al., 2023

590 **Appendix 1c: Environmental impact data sources and matching**

591

592 ICP food items were matched to food item names in Petersson et al. (2021). Where  
593 possible, ICP names were matched directly to names used by Petersson. If a direct match to the  
594 food item was not available, we matched to estimates of GHG emissions and water footprint  
595 for a group of foods (e.g., berries, seafood), referred to as typology or sub-typology by  
596 Petersson et al. (For example, a food item “raspberries” might fit in the typology “fruits” and  
597 the subtypology “berries.”) For example, shrimp and prawns were matched directly to an  
598 estimate of GHG emissions for shrimp and prawns, while crab was matched to an estimate of  
599 GHG emission for seafood on average. ICP food items were excluded from the analysis if there  
600 was no relevant food item, typology, or subtypology in Petersson et al. (e.g., camel meat) or if  
601 the relevant typology or subtypology did not account for important ingredients or value chain  
602 stages. For example, dried fish, smoked fish, and canned fish other than tuna were excluded  
603 because the Petersson et al. estimate of GHG emissions for processed fish included only  
604 estimates for canned tuna and fish sticks.

605 Petersson et al. included estimates of the certainty of each GHG emissions and water  
606 footprint estimate, along with suggestions for whether to use the estimate at the item,  
607 typology, or subtypology level. We followed the following rules to match food item, typology,  
608 and subtypology estimates to each food item.

609

<b>Recommendation in Petersson et al. (2021) database</b>	<b>Estimate used</b>
“Ok item”	Food item
“Item matched typology” OR “Better typology”	Typology
“Better subtypology” or “Better typology or subtypology”	Subtypology
“Item or typology” or “Item or typology or subtypology”	Food item, if item estimate had low uncertainty; Typology or subtypology, if item estimate had high uncertainty

610

611 **Appendix 1d. Description of the 9 Food Compass Score domains**

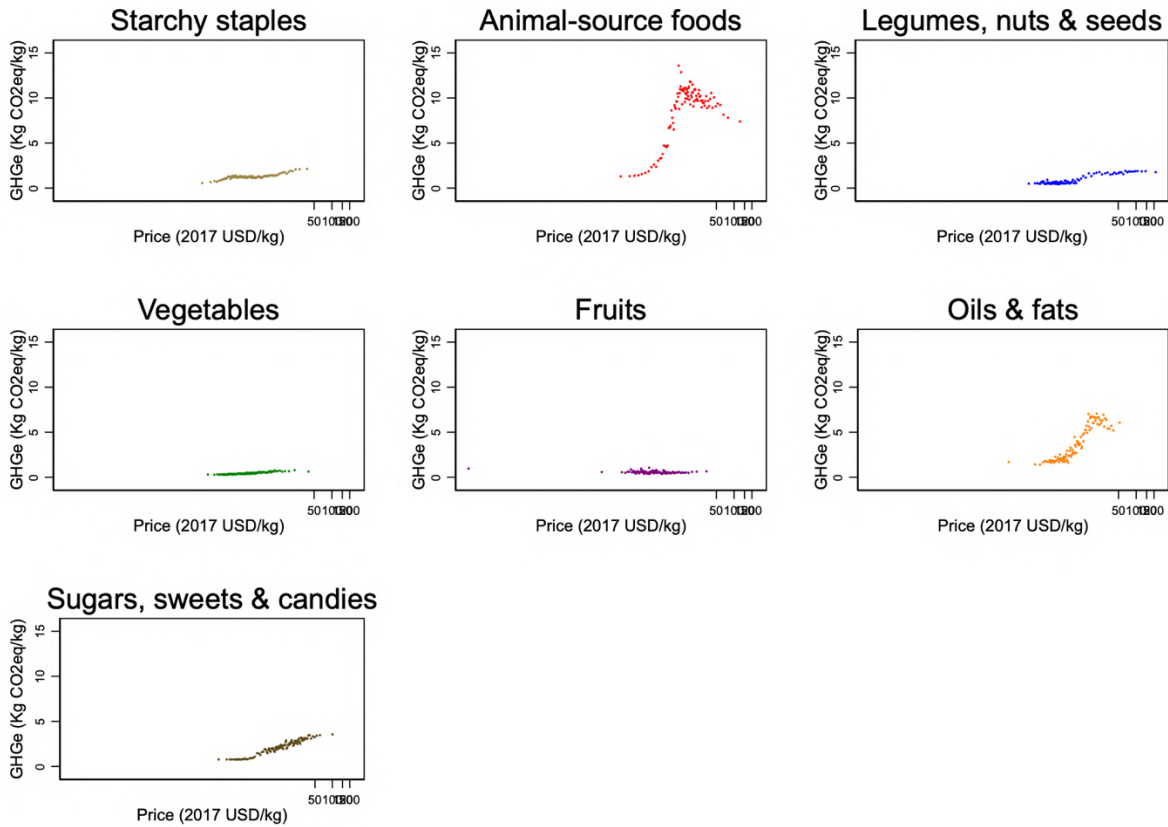
612

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Description</b>
Nutrient ratios	Ratios of the quality of fats (unsaturated:saturated fats), carbohydrates (carbohydrate:fibre), and/or minerals (potassium:sodium)
Vitamins	Vitamins related to undernutrition and chronic diseases (e.g., Vitamin A, thiamin)
Minerals	Minerals related to undernutrition and chronic diseases (e.g., calcium, iron)
Food-based ingredients	Food groups with impacts on chronic diseases (e.g., fruits, whole grains)
Additives	Food additives with evidence of health harms (e.g., nitrates, artificial sweeteners)
Processing	NOVA classification and other processing characteristics (e.g., fermentation, frying) with health implications
Specific lipids	Lipids with evidence of health associations (e.g., trans fats, cholesterol)
Fiber and protein	Total fiber and total protein
Phytochemicals	Total flavonoids and total carotenoids

613 *Source: Mozaffarian et al. (2021), Supplementary Table 3*

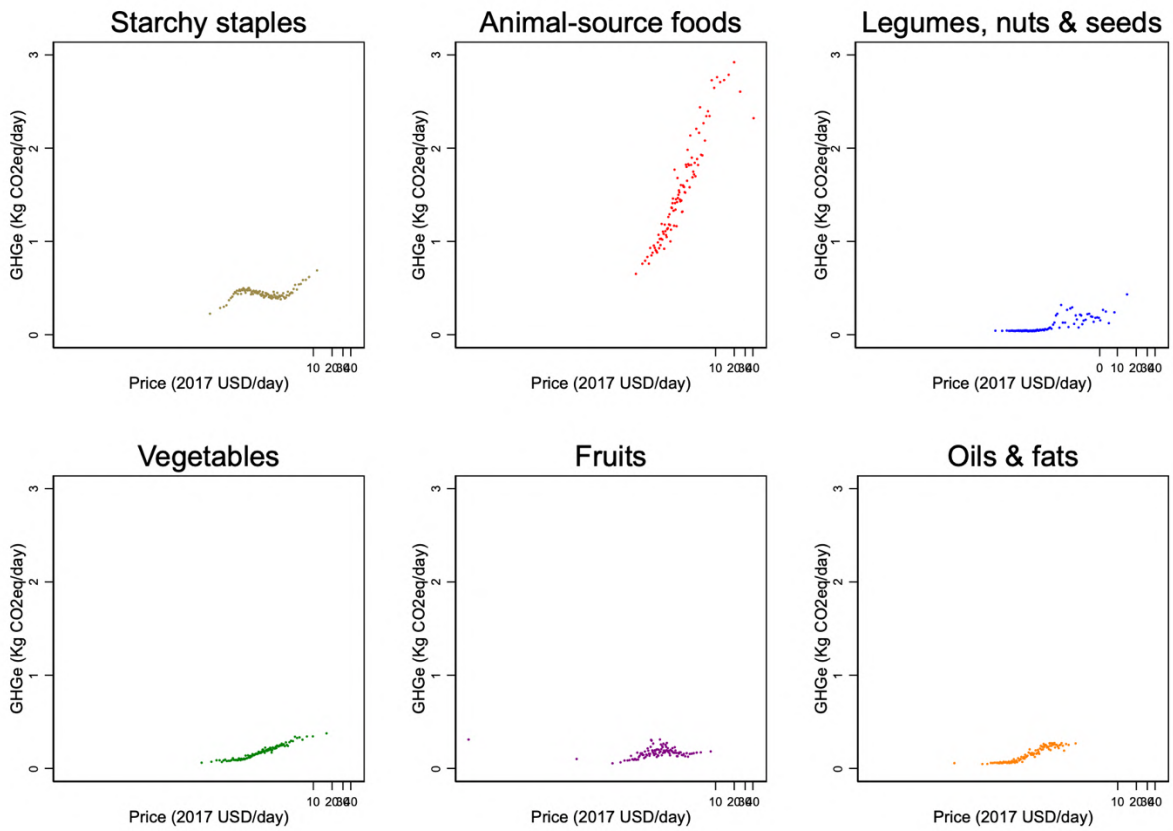
614

615 **Appendix 2: Comparing retail food prices per kilogram and per recommended daily intake to**  
616 **GHG emissions, water footprint, and nutritional profile**  
617  
618 **Supplementary Figure 2a. Estimated mean GHG emissions conditional price per kilogram, by**  
619 **food group**



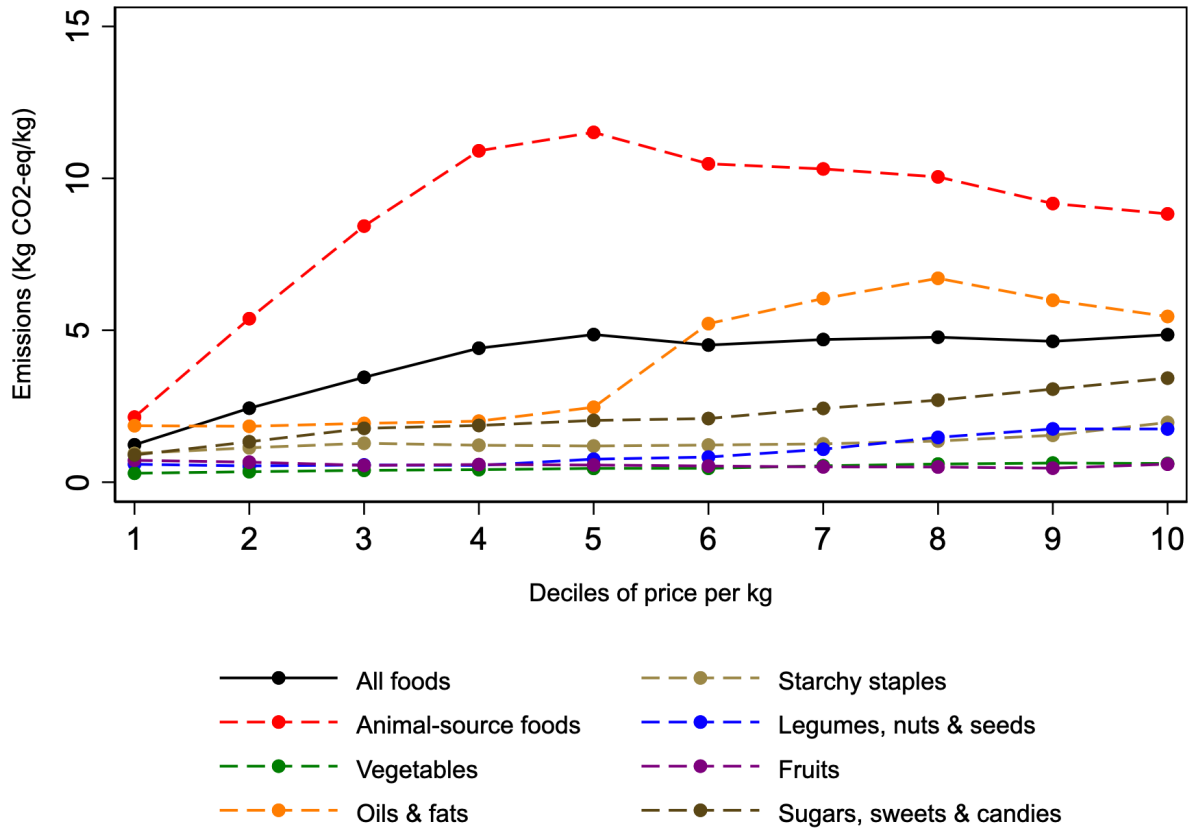
620  
621 *Note: GHG emissions estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
622 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 700 food*  
623 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilogram is shown in natural-log scale.*  
624

625 **Supplementary Figure 2b. Estimated mean GHG emissions conditional on price per**  
626 **recommended daily intake, by food group**



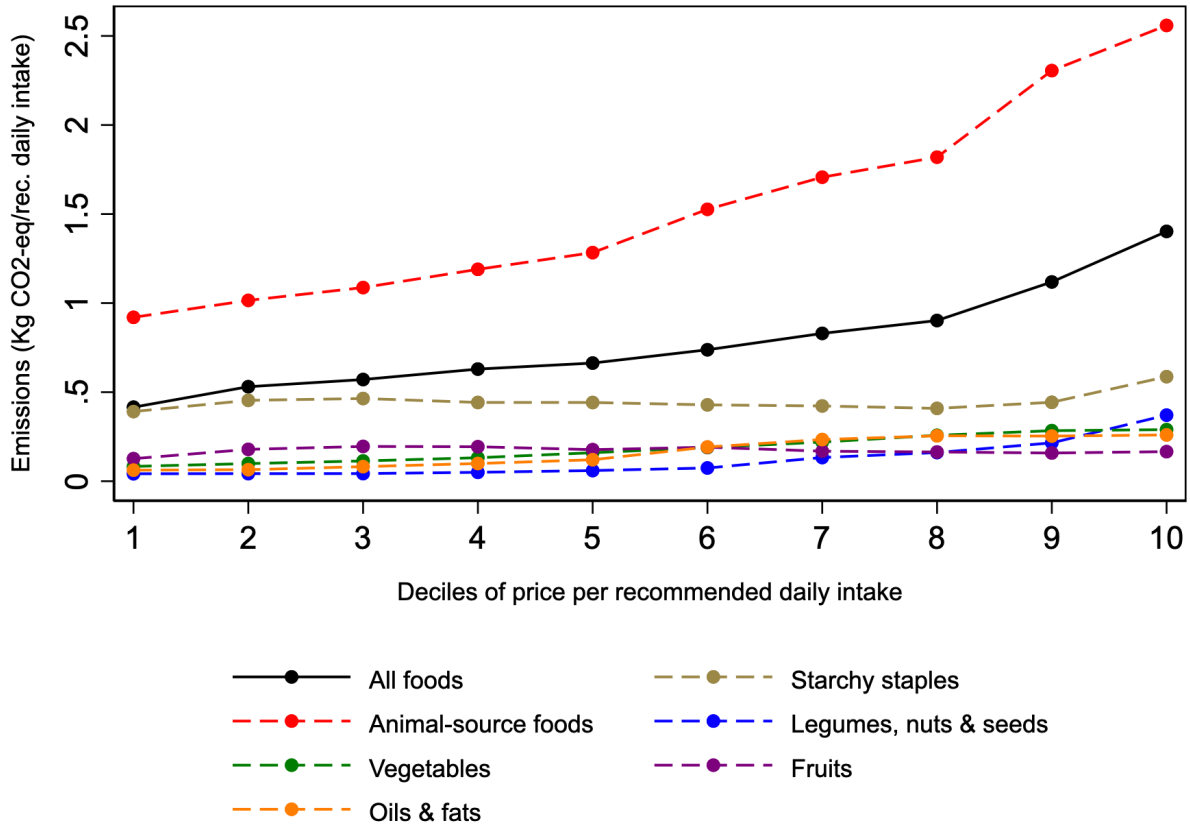
627  
628 *Note: GHG emissions estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
629 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 637 food*  
630 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per recommended daily intake is shown in natural-log*  
631 *scale.*  
632

633 **Supplementary Figure 2c. GHG emissions by decile of price per kilogram for each food group**



634  
 635 *Note: GHG emissions estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
 636 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 700 food*  
 637 *items in 181 countries.*  
 638

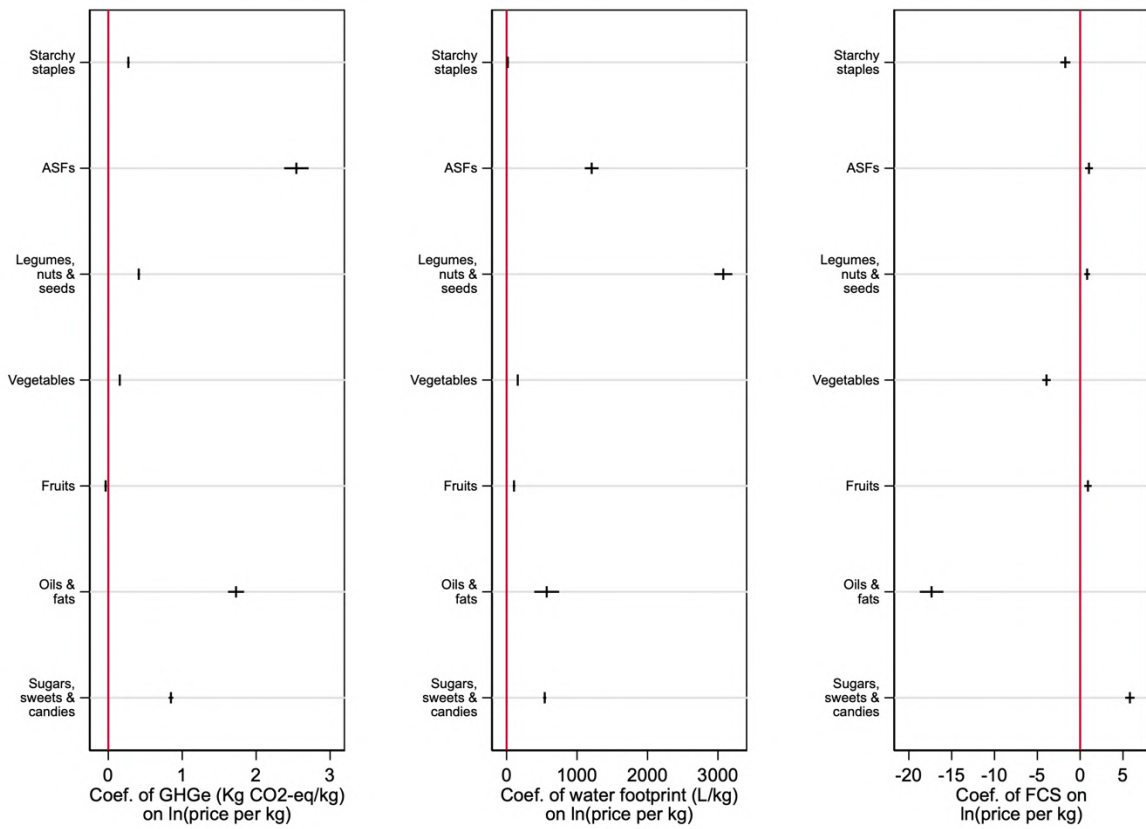
639 **Supplementary Figure 2d. GHG emissions by decile of price per recommended daily intake for**  
 640 **each food group**



641  
 642 *Note: GHG emissions estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
 643 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 637 food*  
 644 *items in 181 countries.*  
 645

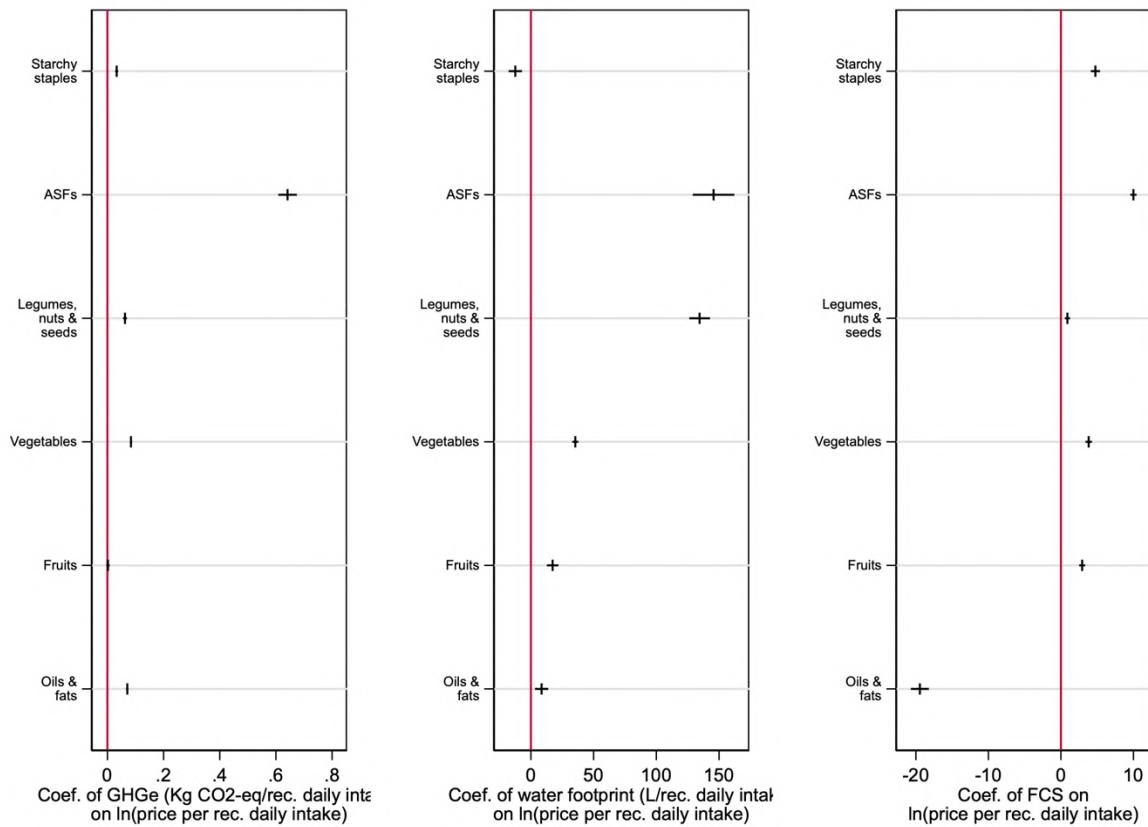


646 **Supplementary Figure 2e. Associations between price per kilogram and GHG emissions, water**  
 647 **footprint, and Food Compass Score by food group**



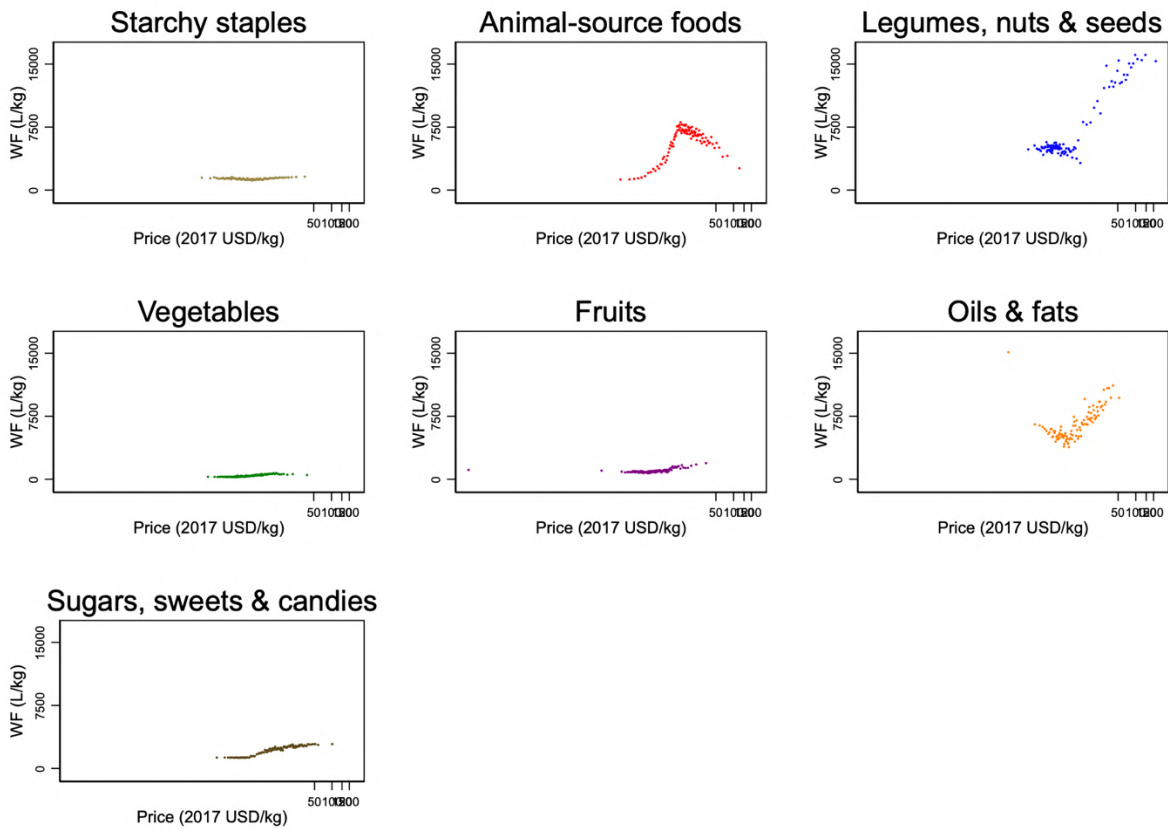
648  
 649 *Note: Tick marks represent coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of linear regressions of*  
 650 *GHG emissions, water footprint, and Food Compass Score (FCS) on  $\ln(\text{price})$  with country fixed*  
 651 *effects, stratified by food group. Estimates per recommended daily intake omit “sugars, sweets*  
 652 *& candies” because there is no recommended intake of this food group. ASF stands for “animal-*  
 653 *source foods.”*  
 654

655 **Supplementary Figure 2f. Associations between price per recommended daily intake and GHG**  
 656 **emissions, water footprint, and Food Compass Score by food group**



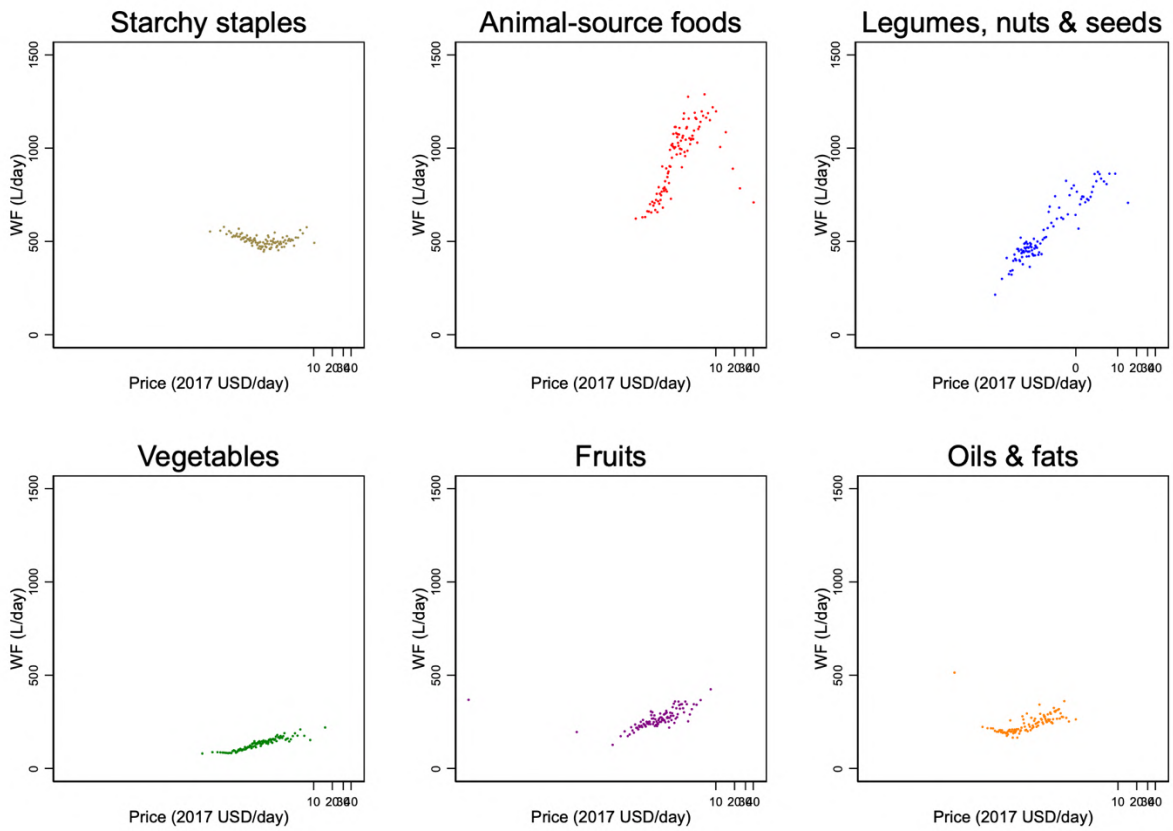
657  
 658 *Note: Tick marks represent coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of linear regressions of*  
 659 *GHG emissions, water footprint, and Food Compass Score (FCS) on log(price) with country fixed*  
 660 *effects, stratified by food group. Estimates per recommended daily intake omit “sugars, sweets*  
 661 *& candies” because there is no recommended intake of this food group. ASF stands for “animal-*  
 662 *source foods.”*  
 663

664 **Supplementary Figure 2g. Estimated mean water footprint, conditional on price per kilogram,**  
665 **by food group**



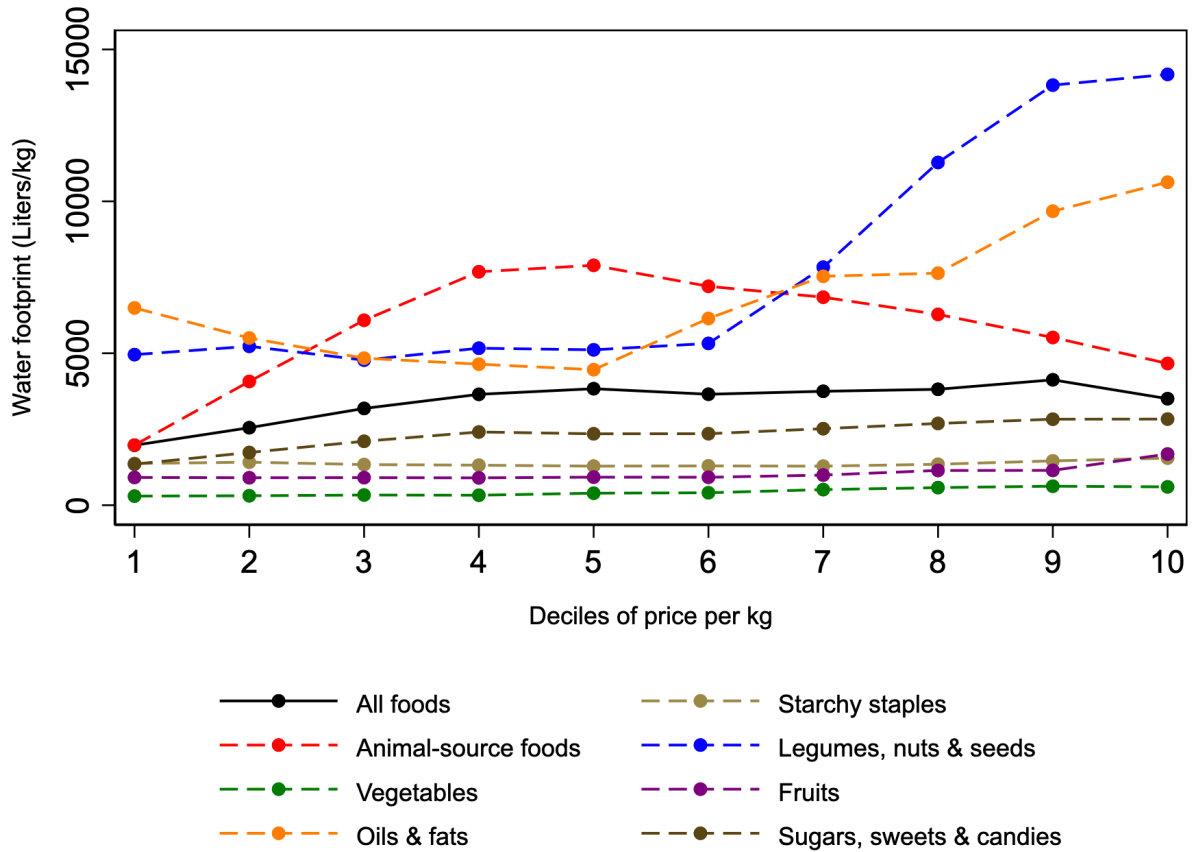
666  
667 *Note: Water footprint estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
668 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 682 food*  
669 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilogram is shown in natural-log scale.*  
670

671 **Supplementary Figure 2h. Estimated mean water footprint conditional on price per**  
672 **recommended daily intake, by food group**



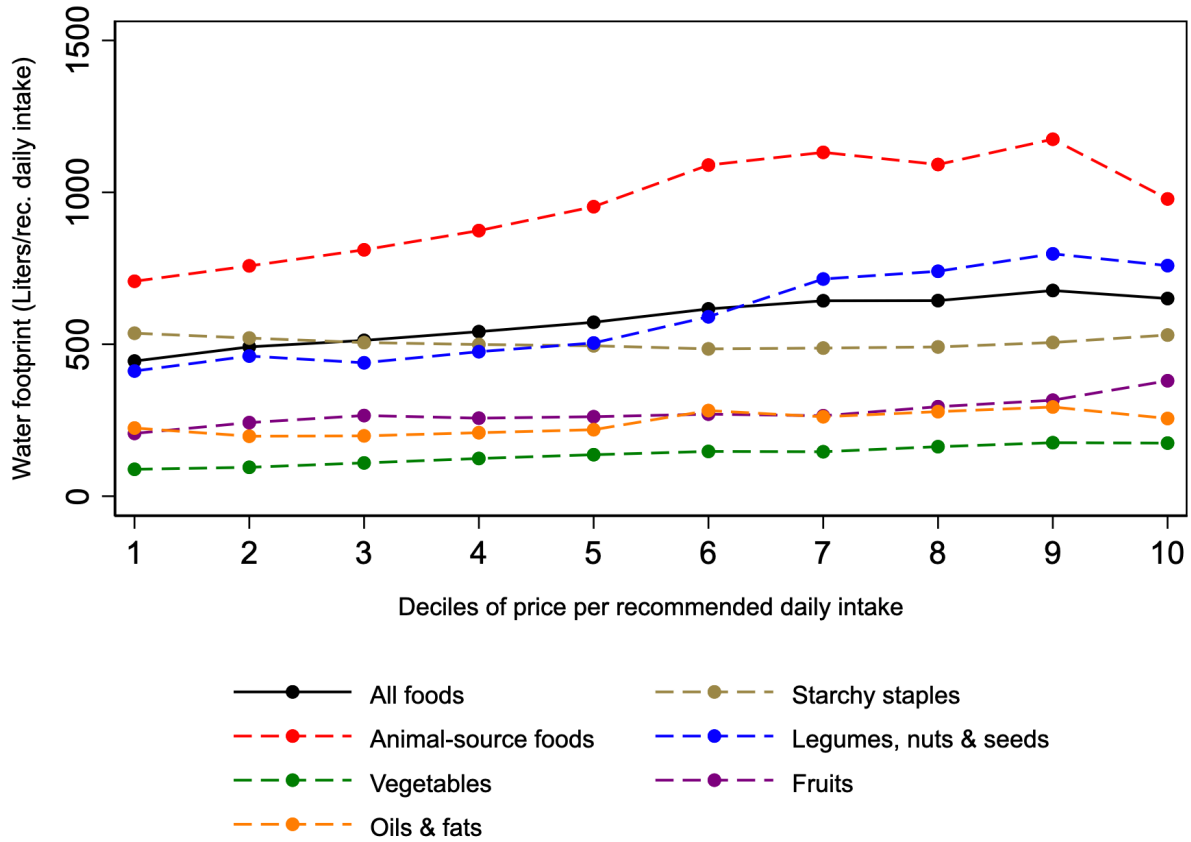
673 *Note: Water footprint estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
674 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 633 food*  
675 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per recommended daily intake is shown in natural-log*  
676 *scale.*  
677  
678

679 **Supplementary Figure 2i. Water footprint by decile of price per kilogram for each food group**



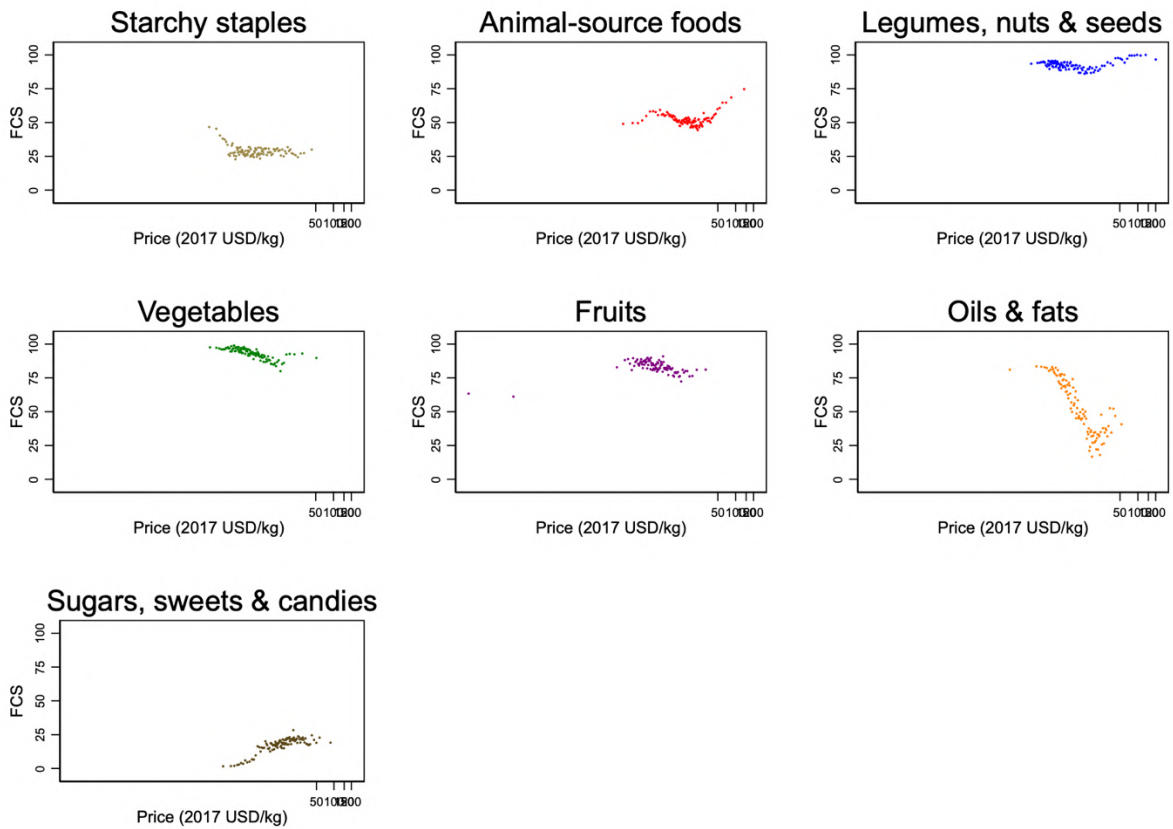
680  
 681 *Note: Water footprint estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
 682 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 682 food*  
 683 *items in 181 countries.*  
 684

685 **Supplementary Figure 2j. Water footprint by decile of price per recommended daily intake for**  
 686 **each food group**



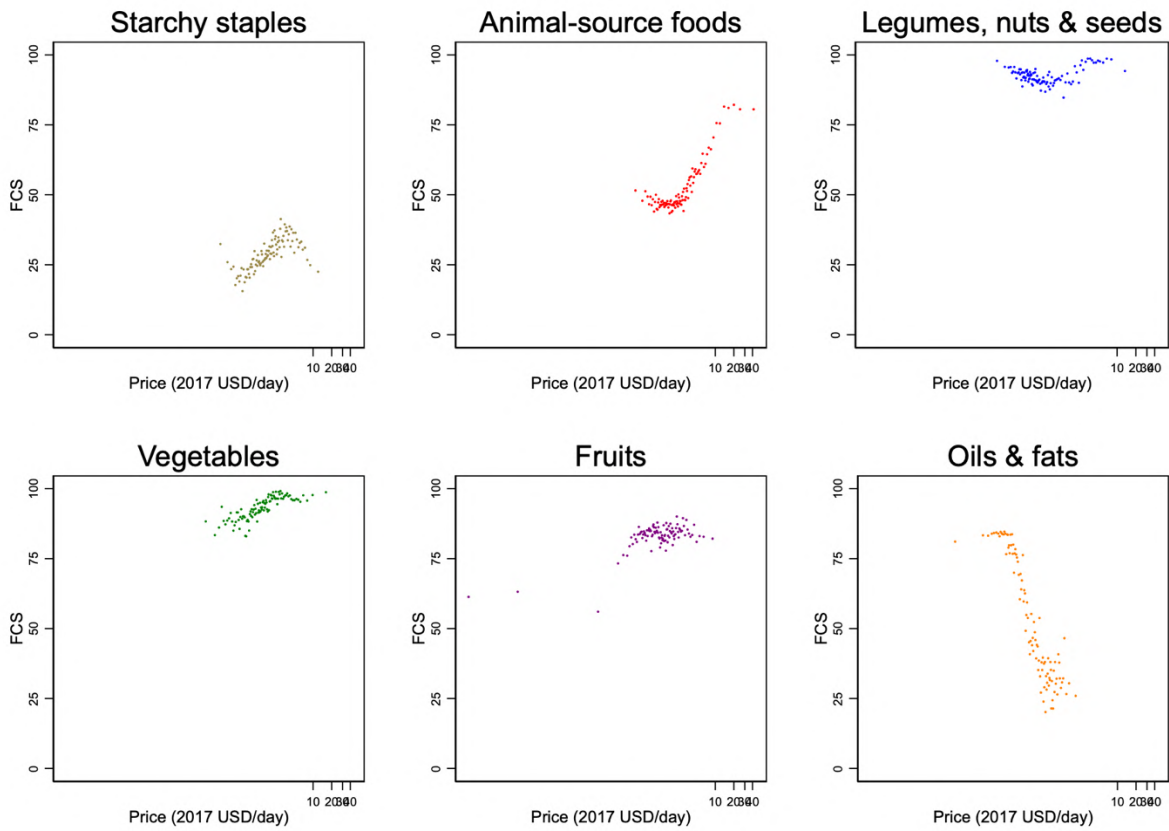
687  
 688 *Note: Water footprint estimates from Petersson et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
 689 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 633 food*  
 690 *items in 181 countries.*  
 691

692 **Supplementary Figure 2k. Estimated mean Food Compass Score conditional on price per**  
693 **kilogram, by food group**



694  
695 *Note: Food Compass Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average*  
696 *retail food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for*  
697 *827 food items in 181 countries.*  
698

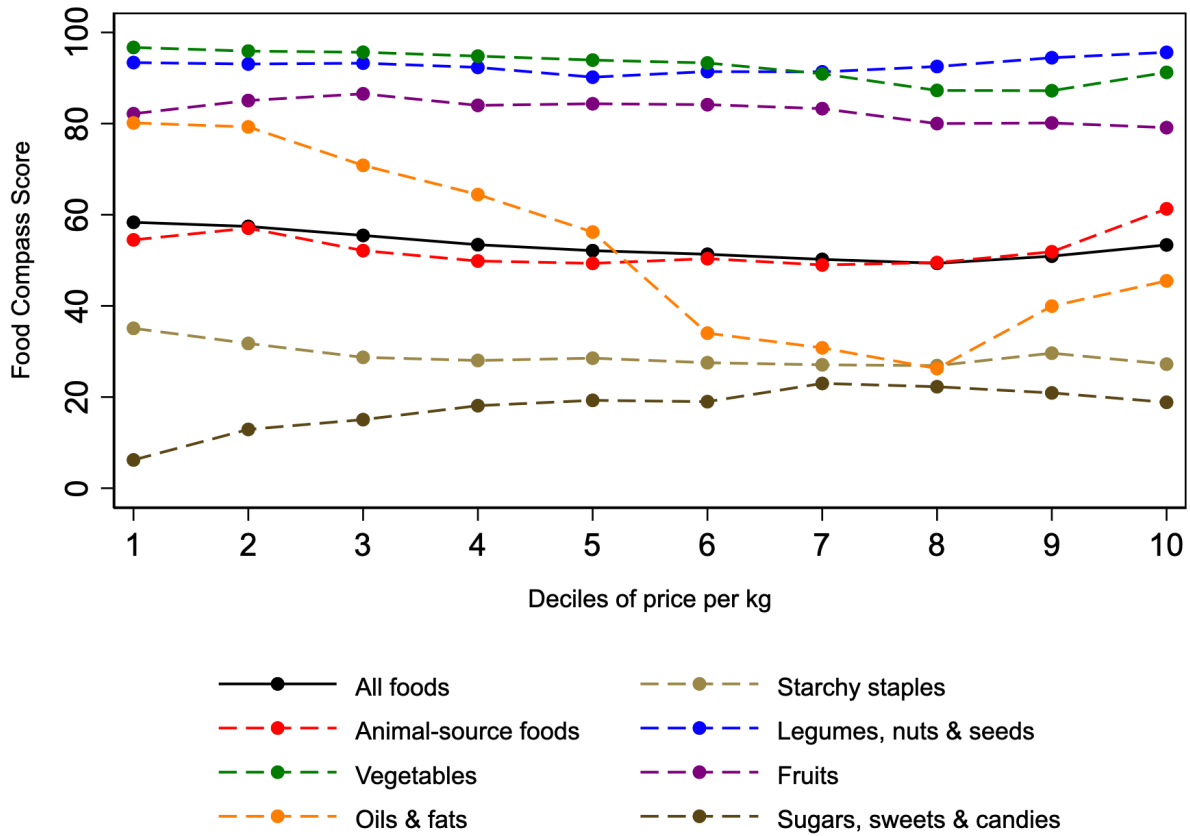
699 **Supplementary Figure 2I. Estimated mean Food Compass Score conditional on price per**  
700 **recommended daily intake, by food group**



701  
702 *Note: Food Compass Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average*  
703 *retail food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for*  
704 *720 food items in 181 countries.*  
705

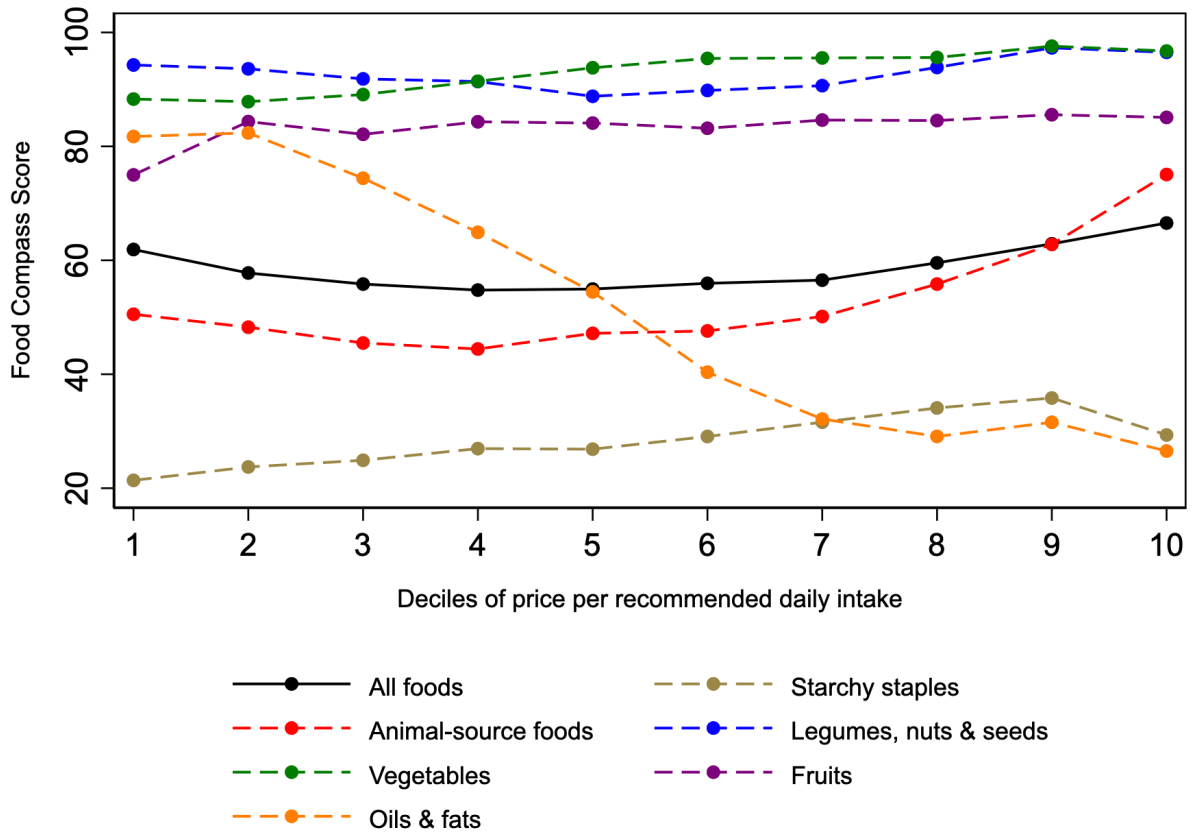


706 **Supplementary Figure 2m. Food Compass Score by decile of price per kilogram for each food**  
 707 **group**



708  
 709 *Note: Food Compass Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average*  
 710 *retail food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for*  
 711 *827 food items in 181 countries.*  
 712

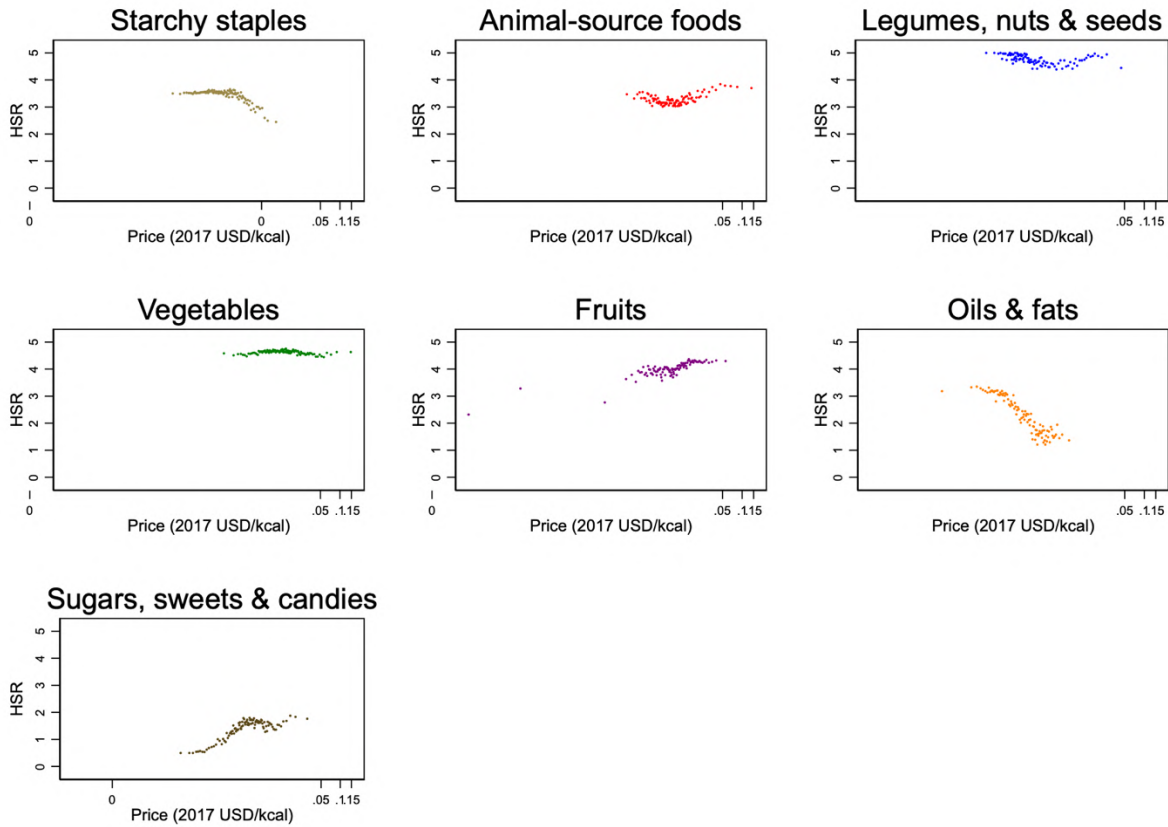
713 **Supplementary Figure 2n. Food Compass Score by decile of price per kilogram for each food**  
 714 **group**



715  
 716 *Note: Food Compass Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average*  
 717 *retail food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for*  
 718 *720 food items in 181 countries.*  
 719

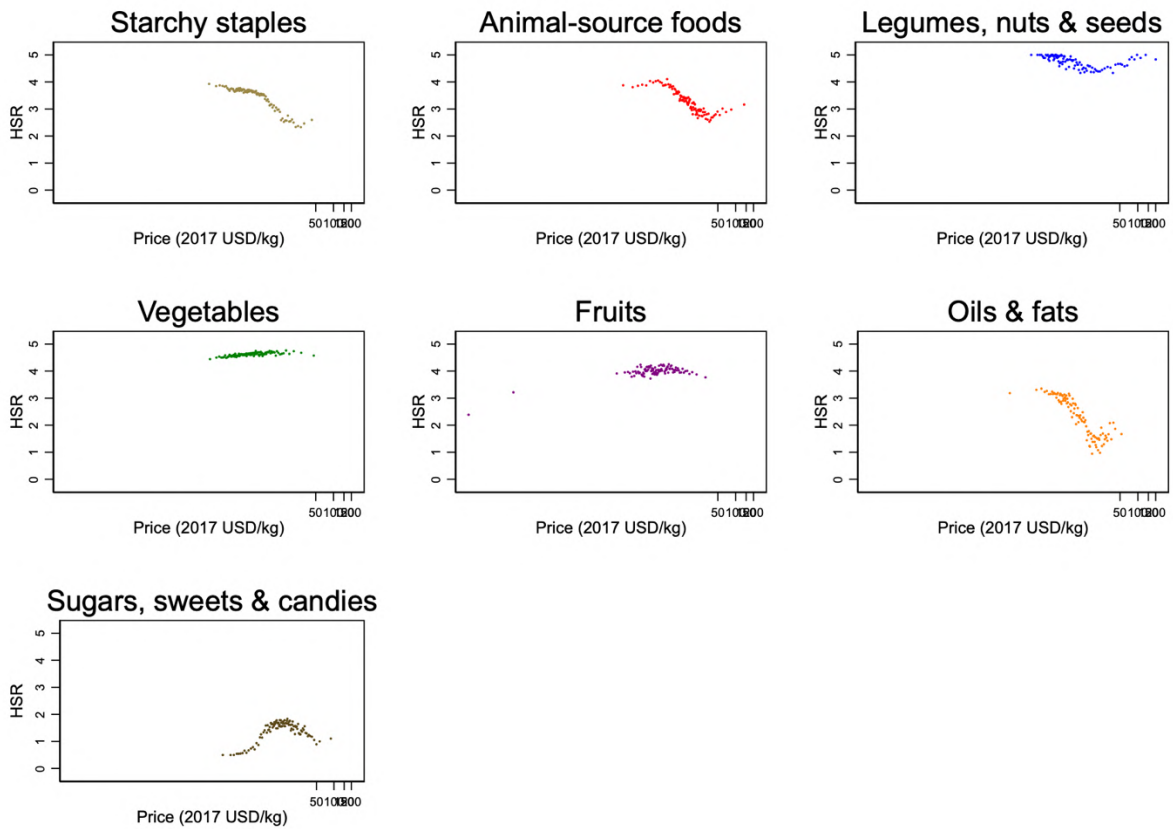
720 **Appendix 3: Comparing retail food prices to nutritional profile using Health Star Rating and**  
721 **Nutri-Score**

722  
723 **Supplementary Figure 3a. Estimated mean Health Star Rating conditional on price per**  
724 **kilocalorie, by food group**



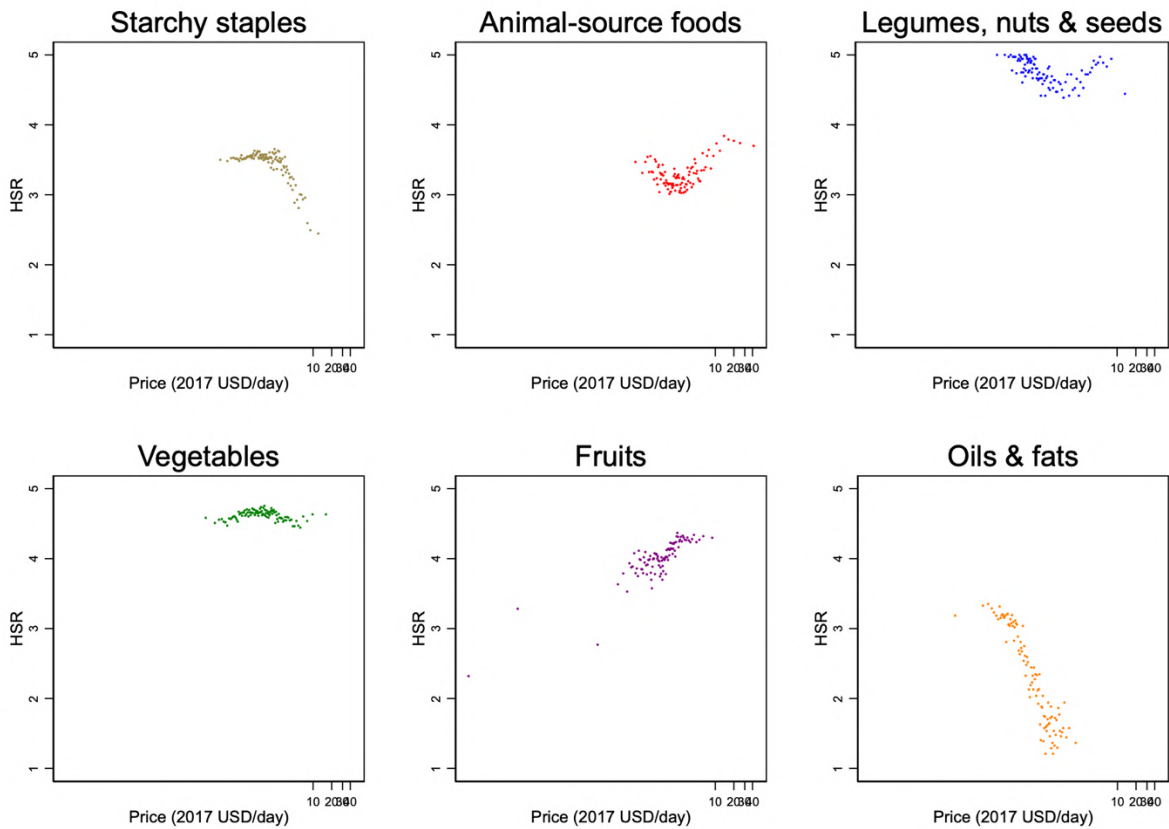
725  
726 *Note: Health Star Rating calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail*  
727 *food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 817*  
728 *food items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilocalorie is shown in natural-log scale.*  
729

730 **Supplementary Figure 3b. Estimated mean Health Star Rating conditional on price per**  
731 **kilogram, by food group**



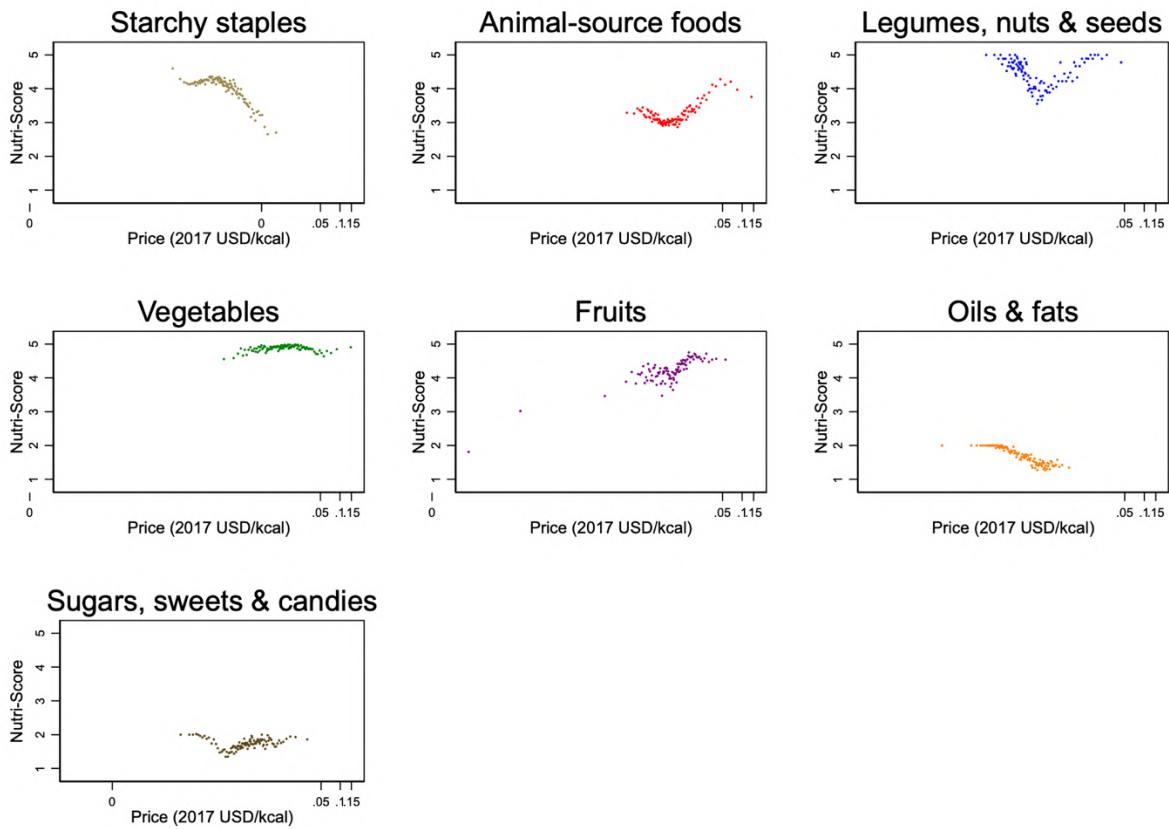
732  
733 *Note: Health Star Rating calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail*  
734 *food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 818*  
735 *food items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilogram is shown in natural-log scale.*  
736

737 **Supplementary Figure 3c. Estimated mean Health Star Rating conditional on price per**  
738 **recommended daily intake, by food group**



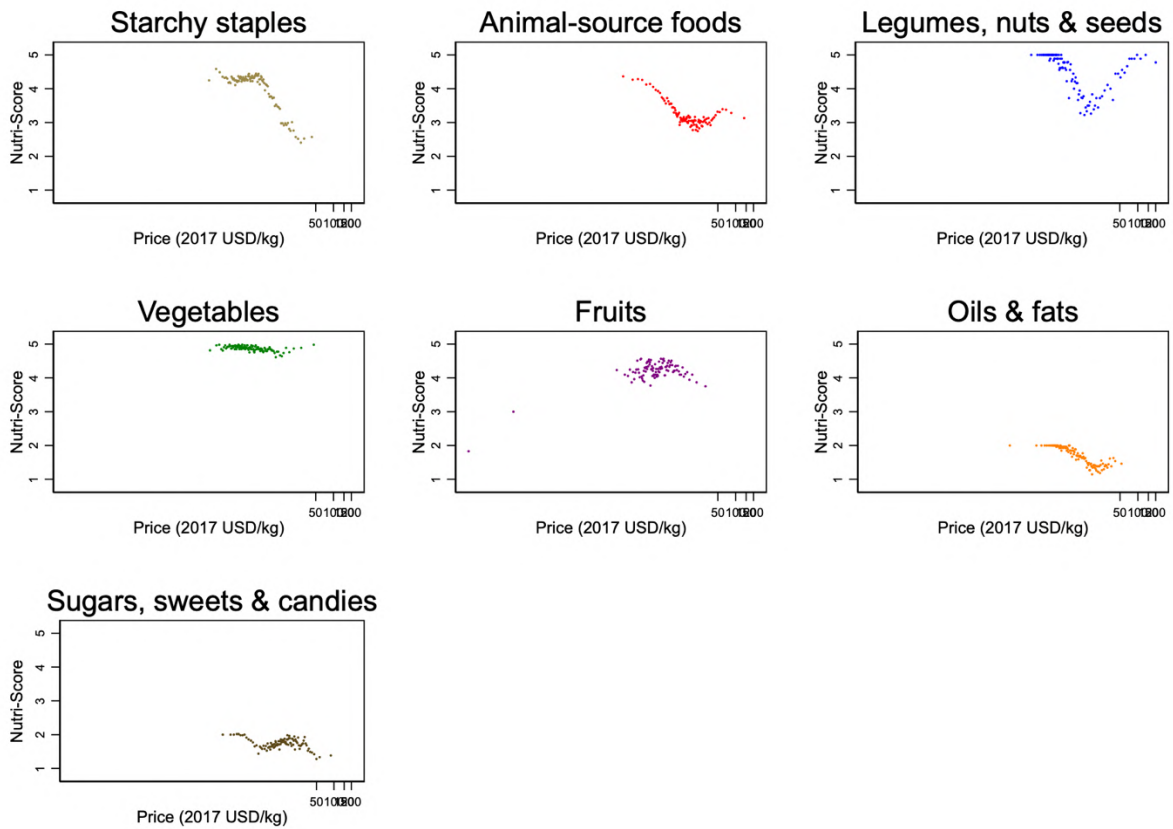
739 *Note: Health Star Rating calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail*  
740 *food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 715*  
741 *food items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per recommended daily intake is shown in*  
742 *natural-log scale.*  
743  
744

745 **Supplementary Figure 3d. Estimated mean Nutri-Score conditional on price per kilocalorie, by**  
746 **food group**



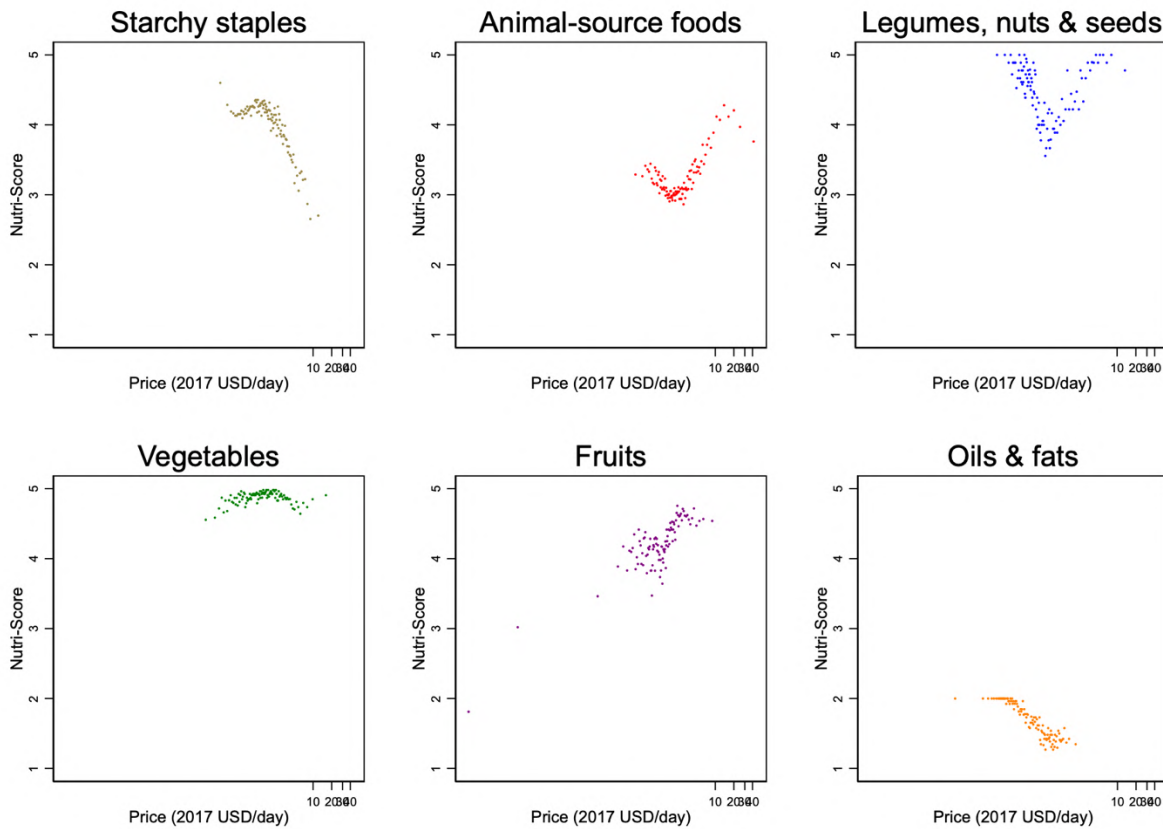
747  
748 *Note: Nutri-Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
749 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 817 food*  
750 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilocalorie is shown in natural-log scale.*  
751

752 **Supplementary Figure 3e. Estimated mean Nutri-Score conditional on price per kilogram, by**  
753 **food group**



754  
755 *Note: Nutri-Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
756 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 818 food*  
757 *items in 181 countries. Price in 2017 USD per kilogram is shown in natural-log scale.*  
758

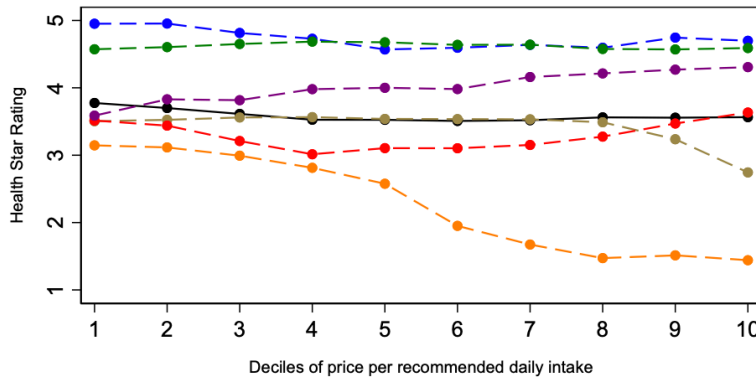
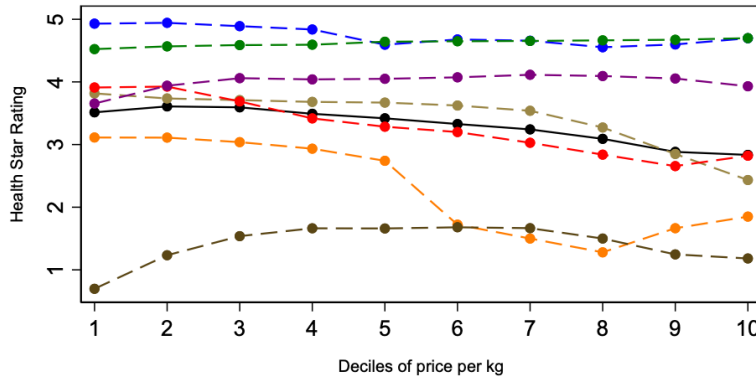
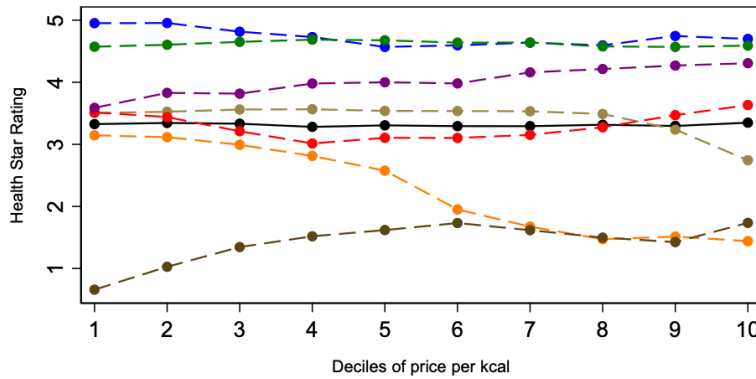
759 **Supplementary Figure 3f. Estimated mean Nutri-Score conditional on price per recommended**  
760 **daily intake, by food group**



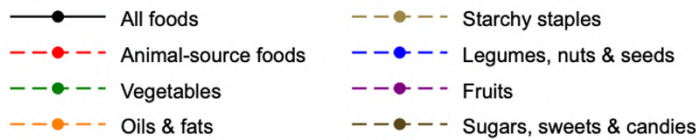
761  
762 *Note: Nutri-Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
763 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 818 food*  
764 *items in 715 countries. Price in 2017 USD per recommended daily intake is shown in natural-log*  
765 *scale.*  
766



767 **Supplementary Figure 3g. Health Star Rating by deciles of price per kilocalorie, kilogram, and**  
 768 **daily recommended intake for each food group**



769

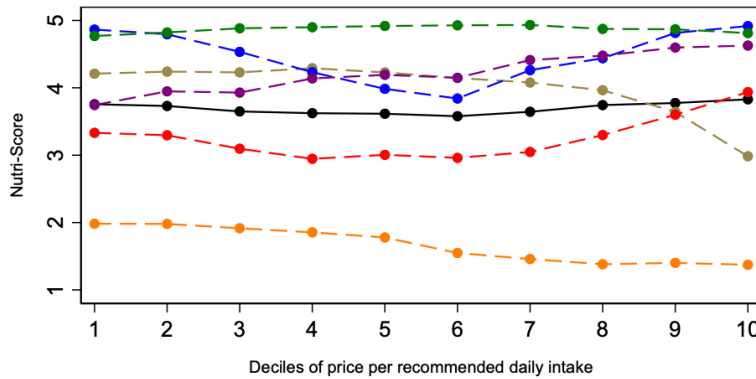
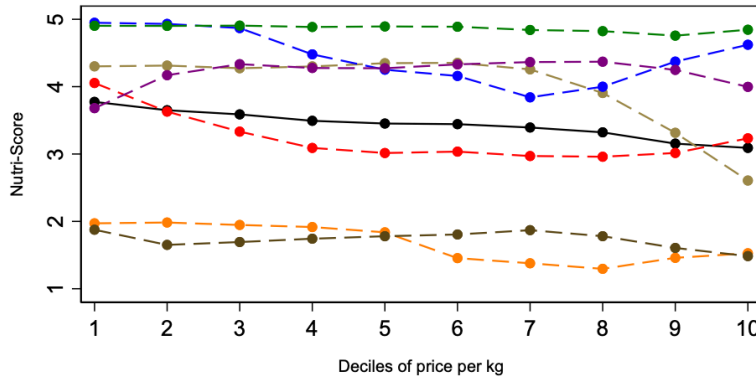
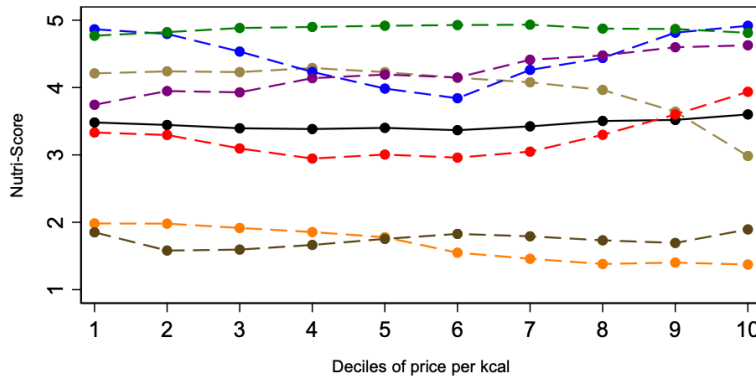


770

771

772 *Note: Health Star Rating calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail*  
 773 *food prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 818*  
 774 *food items in 181 countries.*

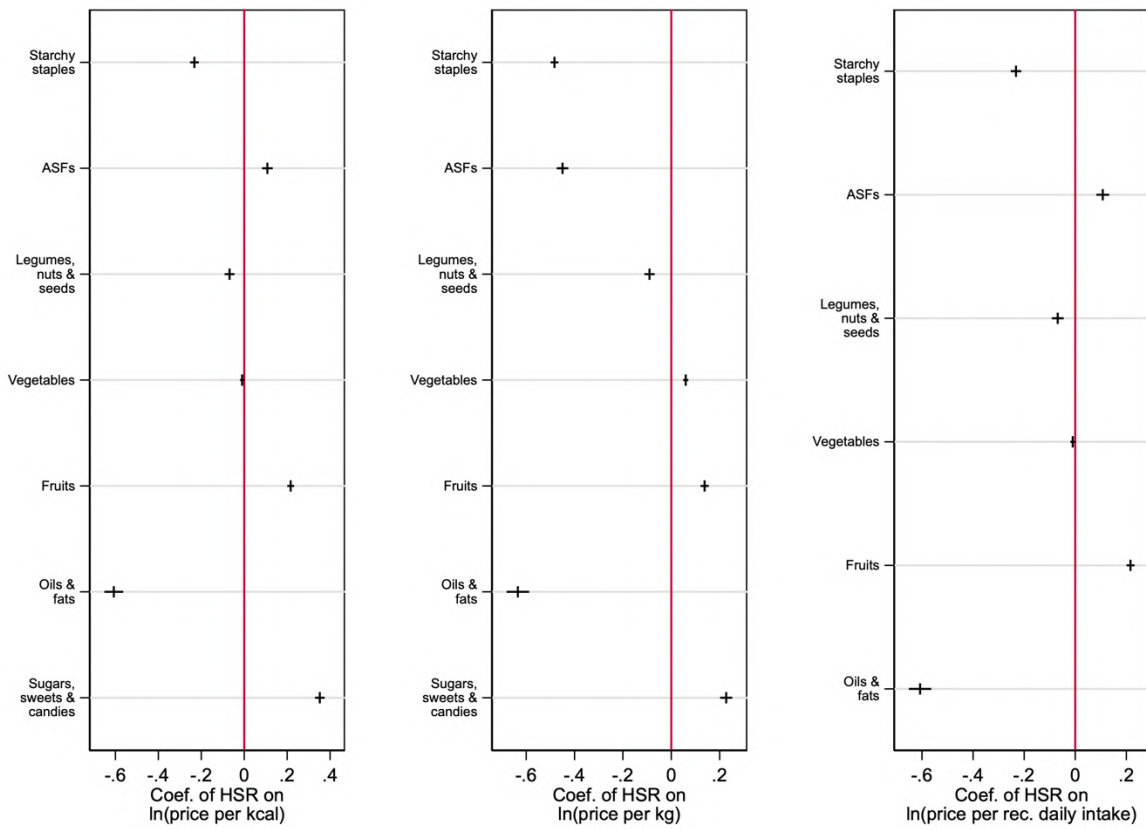
775 **Supplementary Figure 3h. Nutri-Score by deciles of price per kilocalorie, kilogram, and daily**  
 776 **recommended intake for each food group**



- 777
- All foods
  - Animal-source foods
  - Vegetables
  - Oils & fats
  - Starchy staples
  - Legumes, nuts & seeds
  - Fruits
  - Sugars, sweets & candies
- 778
- 779

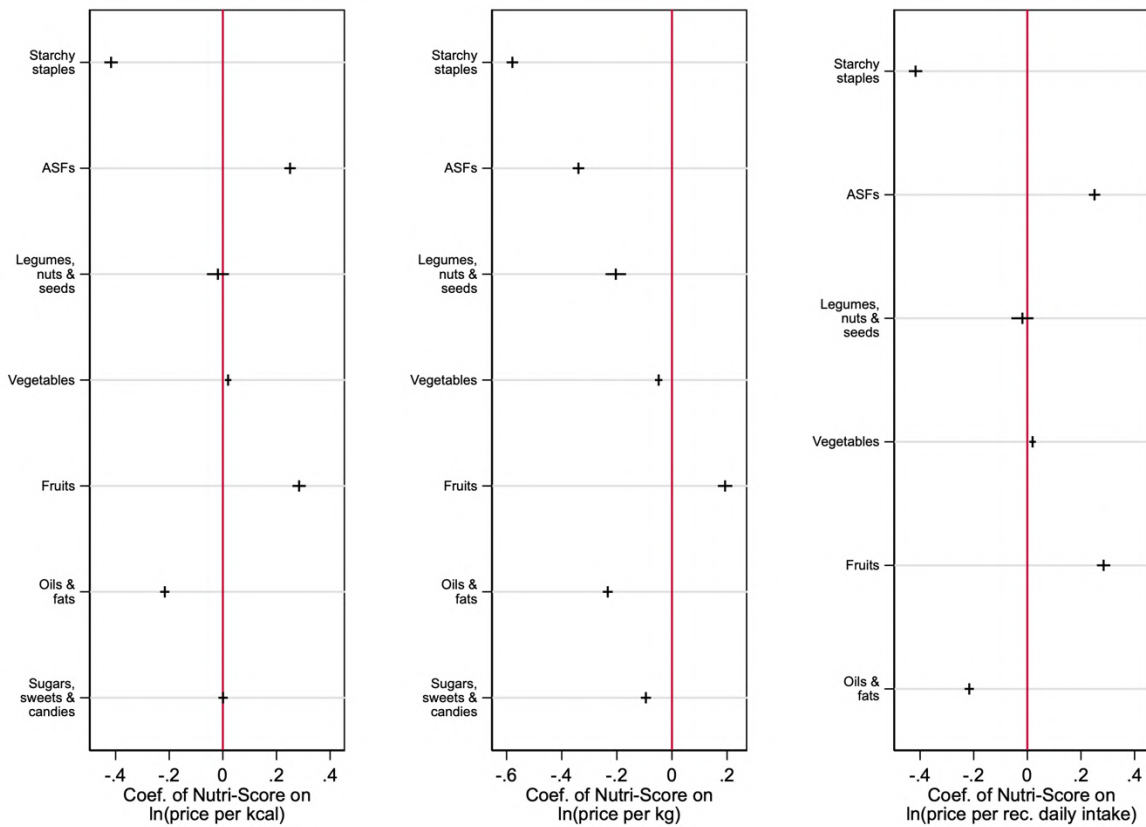
780 *Note: Nutri-Score calculations from Mozaffarian et al. (2021) matched to average retail food*  
 781 *prices from the World Bank International Comparison Program in 2011 and 2017 for 818 food*  
 782 *items in 181 countries.*

783 **Supplementary Figure 3i. Associations between Health Star Rating and price per kilocalorie,**  
 784 **kilogram, and recommended daily intake by food group**



785  
 786 *Note: Tick marks represent coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of linear regressions of*  
 787 *Health Star Rating (HSR) on log(price) with country fixed effects, stratified by food group.*  
 788 *Estimates per recommended daily intake omit “sugars, sweets & candies” because there is no*  
 789 *recommended intake of this food group. ASF stands for “animal-source foods.”*  
 790

791 **Supplementary Figure 3j. Associations between Nutri-Score and price per kilocalorie,**  
 792 **kilogram, and recommended daily intake by food group**



793  
 794 *Note: Tick marks represent coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of linear regressions of*  
 795 *Nutri-Score on log(price) with country fixed effects, stratified by food group. Estimates per*  
 796 *recommended daily intake omit “sugars, sweets & candies” because there is no recommended*  
 797 *intake of this food group. ASF stands for “animal-source foods.”*  
 798