

1 **The energy trap of industrial agriculture: A summary of the results of 82 energy**  
2 **balances of past and present agricultural systems in North America and Europe**  
3 **(from 1830 to 2012)**

4

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37 **Keywords:** Agricultural Systems • EROI (Energy Return On Energy Investment) •  
38 Agroecosystem • Circularity • Socioecological Transition • Dietary Transition • Forest Transition

39

40

41 **Abstract**

42

43 Early energy analyses of agriculture revealed that behind higher labor and land productivity of  
44 industrial farming there was a decrease in energy returns on invested energy in comparison to past  
45 organic agricultural systems. Studies on recent trends show that efficiency gains in production  
46 and use of inputs have again improved energy returns somewhat. However, most of these  
47 agricultural energy studies have focused only on external inputs at the crop level, concealing the  
48 important role of internal biomass flows that livestock and forestry recirculate within  
49 agroecosystems. Here we show for the first time the changing energy profiles of agroecosystems,  
50 including livestock and forestry, with a circular bioeconomic approach that accounts for the  
51 energy returns to external inputs, internal biomass reuses, and both, synthesizing the results of 82  
52 farm systems in North America and Europe from 1830 to 2012. With this historical multi-EROI  
53 approach, we found a general trend towards much lower external returns, little or no increases in  
54 internal returns, and almost no improvement in total returns. The energy trap was driven by shifts  
55 towards a growing cropping dependence on fossil-fueled external inputs, much more intensive  
56 livestock produce fed with grains, less forestry, and a structural disintegration of agroecosystem  
57 components by increasingly linear industrial farm managements. Overcoming the energy trap  
58 requires nature-based solutions to reduce current dependence on fossil-fueled external industrial  
59 inputs, and increase the circularity and complexity of agroecosystems to provide healthier diets.

60

61 [INSTERT Fig. 1 HERE]

62

63 **1 Introduction**

64

65 This article provides a summary of the results obtained by the international project *Sustainable*  
66 *Farm Systems: Long-Term Socio-Ecological Metabolism in Western Agriculture* (SFS), which  
67 has been working since 2012 to compile the largest data set on energy analysis of past and present  
68 agroecosystems calculated so far with the same approach and methodology. The environmental  
69 history perspective of the SFS project has led us to rethink the energy accounting methods applied  
70 for half a century to mainly contemporary agricultural systems, calculating a single energy return  
71 (EROI) on the industrial inputs expended by farmers from outside of their farms (Pimentel et al.  
72 1973; Leach 1975, 1976; Pimentel and Pimentel 1979; Fluck and Baird 1980; Naredo and Campos

73 1980; Smil, Nachman and Long 1983; Stanhill 1984; Smil 1984; Dazhong and Pimentel 1984;  
74 Jones 1989; Giampietro, Cerretelli and Pimentel 1992; Fluck 1992; Hammerschlag 2006; Murphy  
75 et al. 2011; Pimentel 2011). Although some of these early energy case studies made comparative  
76 analyses among the agricultural managements of countries and regions with different levels of  
77 agricultural industrialization, only one studied a 19<sup>th</sup>-century farm system (Bayliss-Smith 1982).

78

79 Given the linearity of today's industrial agriculture that is highly dependent on external industrial  
80 inputs (seeds, synthetic fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides, tractors, electric implements, imported  
81 feed), it has made sense to focus the energy analysis on a single EROI that expresses the extent  
82 to which these farm systems are energy sinks instead of net energy suppliers to the rest of society  
83 (Marshall and Brockway 2020). This also contributes to assess what minimum EROI the societal  
84 system must achieve to maintain its own metabolic complexity (Giampietro, Mayumi and Sorman  
85 2011, 2013). Nevertheless, to study preindustrial fully solar-based agricultures means dealing  
86 with something completely different. Given the scarcity and cost of external energy sources then  
87 available, preindustrial farmers had to rely on a circular multifunctional management of their  
88 agroecosystems. Livestock feeding, and its supply of tractive force and manure, played a key role  
89 in the bioeconomic circularity that integrated the management of cropland, forestland, and  
90 pastureland to recirculate soil nutrients between them (Krausmann 2004).

91

92 Cropping-pasture integration, combined with leguminous crops, was the hallmark of the English  
93 agricultural revolution and its later adoption in Atlantic and continental Europe (Campbell and  
94 Overton 1991; Allen 2008; Tello et al. 2017). Indeed, this was also a key feature of a much broader  
95 set of practices for maintaining soil fertility across continents throughout world history of farming  
96 (McNeill and Winiwarter 2004, 2010), which the new advances towards an agroecological  
97 transition are currently recovering everywhere in the world (Gliessman 2016; Wezel et al. 2020;  
98 González de Molina and López-García 2021; Pirdashti et al. 2015; Xie et al. 2018; Farias et al.  
99 2020; Emran et al. 2022).

100

101 Therefore, energy analysis of past and present farm systems can no longer conceal the role of  
102 internal biomass reuse flows of agroecosystems in an analytical black box (Tello et al. 2015, 2016;  
103 Guzmán and González de Molina, 2017). The energy returns to the internal energy inputs must  
104 be accounted for, together with the external ones. These internal energy returns have two  
105 meanings. On the one hand, they account for a partial energy efficiency in the agroecosystem  
106 functioning. On the other hand, they assess the proportion of energy recirculated for the  
107 agroecosystem reproduction relative to the final product extracted. These internal matter-energy  
108 flows becomes temporarily stored in the living funds of the agroecosystem, such as livestock,  
109 fertile soils, and trees, while the energy extracted as products is dissipated and no longer plays a

110 role in their sustenance. Therefore, the ratio of internal reuses compared to the energy dissipated  
111 as human consumption provides relevant information for the sustainability of agroecosystems,  
112 provided that this internal recirculation keeps a complex integration between the living funds to  
113 prevent them from quickly becoming dissipative.

114

115 The last condition is important because societies did not always fulfill it in past times. In the  
116 expanding agricultural frontiers with a great shortage of labor relative to the abundance of land  
117 there was not enough labor capacity for sufficient biomass recirculation, but yields were not  
118 affected in the short term because the soils were very rich in nutrients. This was the case in the  
119 19<sup>th</sup>-century North American Great Plains, where Western settlement began with cattle ranching,  
120 followed by plowing the sod for an export-oriented grain growing that was kept separate from  
121 most livestock. Only a small fraction of the nutrients removed from these soils returned to them  
122 as manure (Burke et al. 2002), and that soil mining lasted until yield decrease and population  
123 growth paved the way for greater cropping-pasture integration (Cunfer 2005, 2021; Cunfer and  
124 Krausmann 2016; Gutman 2018). Therefore, if the energy analysis of agricultural systems is to  
125 be sustainable, it must account for the energy return to internal reuses, external inputs, and both  
126 (Gingrich, Cunfer and Aguilera 2018). The last review article published on the subject considers  
127 this agroecological multi-EROI methodology the most circular energy analysis of farm systems  
128 developed to date (Hercher-Pasteur et al. 2020).

129

130 We know from previous research on crop-specific energy balances that the energy returns to  
131 external inputs were lower in highly industrialized agricultural systems than in more traditional  
132 ones less dependent on industrial inputs (Pimentel and Pimentel 1979; Dazhong and Pimentel  
133 1984; Giampietro, Cerretelli and Pimentel 1992). More recent research has found that efficiency  
134 gains in the production and use of agrochemicals and machinery have improved agricultural  
135 energy returns to external inputs from the 1980s onwards (Pellegrini and Fernandez 2018;  
136 Marshall and Brockaway 2020), particularly in Europe (Bajan et al. 2021), although with  
137 differences between products, regions, types of management and scales (Harchaoui and  
138 Chatzimpiros 2019; Gingrich and Krausmann 2018; Aguilera et al. 2015; Hamilton et al. 2013;  
139 Murphy et al. 2011; Pelletier et al. 2011; Dalgaard, Halberg and Porter 2001; Schroll 1994). Our  
140 research questions are the following. What happens when we calculate these energy balances not  
141 only for specific crops, but for entire agroecosystems from past organic to current industrial  
142 agriculture? What role has played in this socioecological transition the disintegration between  
143 agricultural, livestock and forestry components of agroecosystems? In section 2 we explain our  
144 case studies, conceptual approaches, and methods; in section 3 we present and discuss the results,  
145 and in section 4 we conclude.

146

147 **2 Materials and methods:**

148

149 *2.1. Case studies*

150

151 This article builds on 82 energy balances calculated in different points of time from 1840 to 2012  
152 in 19 multi-scalar case studies of 5 countries, ranging from the farm and municipal to county or  
153 national level, always referred to whole agroecosystems encompassing cropland, pasture and  
154 forest uses, or at least two of them. These system-wide energy analyses have been carried out in  
155 Nemaha, Chase and Decatur counties in Kansas, United States (Cunfer, Watson and MacFadyen  
156 2018); Queens, Kings and Prince counties in Prince Edward Island (MacFadyen and Watson  
157 2018), and the province of Quebec, Canada (Parcerisas and Dupras 2018); Sankt Florian and  
158 Grünburg regions in Upper Austria (Gingrich et al. 2018<sup>a</sup>), and the whole Austria (Gingrich and  
159 Krausmann 2018); Holubí Zhoř village and a farm in Czech Republic (Fraňková and Cattaneo  
160 2018); and seven Spanish municipalities: Santa Fe in Granada province, Andalusia (Guzmán and  
161 González de Molina 2007); Caldes de Montbui, Castellar de Vallès, Polinyà and Sentmenat in  
162 Barcelona province (Marco et al. 2018; Gómez 2017) and Les Oluges in Lleida province,  
163 Catalonia (Díez et al. 2018); Manacor in the Mallorca Island (Fullana et al. 2021); together with  
164 a county (Baix and Alt Maresme in Catalonia; Parcerisas, personal communication) and the whole  
165 country of Spain (Guzmán et al. 2018; González de Molina et al 2020). The location map (Fig.  
166 SM1), and the full list of case studies with the energy returns (Table SM1), are in the  
167 Supplementary Material.

168

169 These case studies show differences in natural resource endowments, types of management and  
170 technical implements used, and the spatial scales of their system boundaries. Each of them has its  
171 own characteristics and history, discussed in the original articles presenting results for each case.  
172 This previous work, based on a qualitative comparison of seven regional-scale case studies,  
173 suggested an agroecosystem energy transition characterized by diverging energy profiles in  
174 traditional organic and industrial agriculture (Gingrich et al. 2018b). In this synthesis, we draw  
175 on a larger sample of multi-scalar case studies, including local, regional, and national cases, to  
176 conduct optimality analyses of the possible relationships among three interrelated EROIs  
177 compared to their actual historical shifts, and statistical analyses testing whether statistically  
178 significant trends can be identified in the changing energy profiles across this transition. If  
179 common trends appear despite their biogeographical, socioeconomic, and historical differences,  
180 and the multi-scale character of the sample, this will mean that they underwent similar structural  
181 changes that drove their long-term socioecological paths.

182

183 Traditional organic farming, as it still prevailed throughout most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe,  
184 relied on renewable biomass flows managed to reproduce their agroecosystem components, while  
185 agricultural colonization in North America frontiers, despite being less integrated and more  
186 extractive, also relied on very small non-renewable energy inputs (Cunfer et al. 2018; MacFadyen  
187 et al. 2018). We denote this type as solar-based farming system. In contrast, industrial agriculture  
188 as it emerged in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and became dominant in Western industrialized countries  
189 after World War II, relies largely on external inputs such as synthetic fertilizers, agrochemicals  
190 for weed and disease control, machinery, and imported feed associated with high carbon  
191 emissions, water pollution, soil degradation and biodiversity loss (Pimentel 2011; Rockström et  
192 al. 2020; Crippa et al. 2021).

193

## 194 *2.2. Conceptual approach to the circular energy analysis of agroecosystems*

195

196 Farmers build agroecosystems coproducing with nature (Gliessman and Engles, 2015; Van der  
197 Ploeg 2014). Fig. 2 depicts the system boundaries, the main compartments or energy ‘funds’, and  
198 the energy flows considered in this approach (Gingrich, Cunfer and Aguilera 2018). Its circular  
199 approach aims to highlight the structural changes between internal and external energy inputs  
200 throughout the industrialization of agriculture (Tello et al. 2016; Galán et al. 2016; Guzmán and  
201 González de Molina 2017; Gingrich et al. 2018<sup>b</sup>). The conceptual frame of our agroecological  
202 multi-EROI model is the study of agricultural social metabolism (González de Molina and Toledo  
203 2014; González de Molina et al. 2020), and the accounting methodology is based on the  
204 bioeconomic ‘fund-flow’ analysis introduced by Georgescu-Roegen (1971, 1976) which has been  
205 further developed by Giampietro, Mayumi and Sorman (2011, 2013).

206

207 [INSERT Fig. 2 HERE]

208

209 Living ‘funds’ are the structural components of agroecosystems that can supply a flow of useful  
210 products to farmers and society, provided their own reproductive needs are met (livestock, soils,  
211 landscapes, farm-associated biodiversity). The more diverse and integrated through internal  
212 matter-energy flows these funds are, the more complex and circular the agroecosystem is (Fig.  
213 2). Depending on where the boundaries of the energy analysis are set, the type of products and  
214 inputs considered vary. This, combined with the adoption of a linear approach with a single EROI  
215 or a multi-EROI agroecological circular one, leads to different results expressing partial or whole  
216 system energy returns (Murphy et al. 2011; Arizpe, Giampietro and Ramos-Martin 2011;  
217 Hercher-Pasteur et al. 2020). When energy analyses only consider specific crops (Pracha and  
218 Volk 2011; Pagani et al. 2017; Pellegrini and Fernández 2018), they cannot address the structural  
219 changes that industrialization of agriculture has meant for the loss of biophysical integration and

220 circularity of agroecosystems (Patrizi et al. 2018; Marco et al. 2018; Font et al. 2020), and for  
221 landscape heterogeneity and biodiversity (Marull et al. 2019<sup>a</sup>, 2019<sup>b</sup>, 2018).

222

223 A sustainability assessment of the evolution of energy efficiency of farming must take these  
224 structural changes into account, given their contribution to global warming and environmental  
225 degradation (Crippa et al. 2021; Rockström et al. 2020; Tilman et al. 2002; Tilman 1999). These  
226 detrimental impacts have a lot to do with the dependence of industrial agriculture on fossil-fuel  
227 based external inputs (Pimentel 2011), as well as with the lack of circularity and integration of  
228 agroecosystems. Reducing or overcoming dependence on external inputs will curtail  
229 environmental degradation, but raises concerns about energy yields and land and labor  
230 requirements. Divesting from fossil energy inputs while improving energy returns on investment  
231 (Hammerschlag 2006) requires a new advance towards more circular agrarian bioeconomy  
232 (Schmidt, Padel and Levidow 2012). This agrarian bioeconomy will contribute to the UN  
233 Sustainable Development Goals as proposed by the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS  
234 2021; Caron et al. 2018), the FAO 2018 Scaling Up Agroecology Initiative (FAO 2018), the IPCC  
235 (2019) recommendations in the special report on Climate Change and Land, and the new EU  
236 agroecology initiatives beyond the Farm to Fork Strategy within the European Green Deal  
237 (European Commission 2022).

238

### 239 *2.3. The circular multi-EROI accounting method of agroecosystems*

240

241 The differentiation between external inputs and recirculation of internal biomass flows is the  
242 cornerstone of our circular bioeconomic approach that combines three EROI indicators to analyze  
243 the changing fund-flow patterns of agroecosystems (Table 1).

244

245 [INSERT Table 1 HERE]

246

247 Based on this accounting method, we calculate three different and interrelated energy indicators  
248 using as output the useful biomass provided to farmers and society at the exit gate of the  
249 agroecosystem considered (*FP* or *Final Produce*). The most aggregate EROI indicator is the *Final*  
250 *EROI* (or *FEROI*), which measures the energy return in terms of the ratio of *FP* biomass flows to  
251 the whole set of energy carriers used as inputs, either coming from outside or within the  
252 agroecosystem (*TIC* or *Total Inputs Consumed*):

253

$$254 \text{ Final EROI (or FEROI)} = \frac{\text{Final Produce (FP)}}{\text{Total Inputs Consumed (TIC)}} \quad (1)$$

255

256 *TIC* can be split into *External Inputs (EI)* and the internal flows of *Biomass Reused (BR)*, where  
 257  $TIC = BR + EI$ . This allows to decompose *FEROI* into two other energy indicators, the  
 258

$$259 \text{ External Final EROI (or EFEROI} = \frac{\text{Final Produce (FP)}}{\text{External Inputs (EI)}} \quad (2)$$

260 and the

$$261 \text{ Internal Final EROI (or IFEROI} = \frac{\text{Final Produce (FP)}}{\text{Biomass Reused (BR)}} \quad (3)$$

262

263 Distinguishing between *BR* and *EI* flows, and accounting for them in a systemic way, provides a  
 264 consistent analysis of the long-term  $\frac{EI}{BR}$  structural shifts. Recall that *IFEROI* is not only a partial  
 265 indicator of energy efficiency, but also the ratio of the biomass energy reinvested in the  
 266 reproduction of the agroecosystem living funds to the *FP* dissipative energy extracted from it.  
 267 The core idea underpinning this conceptual approach is the principle that all living systems rely  
 268 on internal biophysical cycles that sustain their reproduction over time (Jordan 2016). The  
 269 recirculation of matter-energy flows allows them to maintain complexity, increase temporary  
 270 energy storage, and decrease internal entropy by keeping them away from thermodynamic  
 271 equilibrium (Ho 2013; Morowitz and Smith 2007). That also applies to agroecosystems  
 272 (Gliessman and Engles 2015; Guzmán and González de Molina 2017).

273

#### 274 2.4. Analyzing the changing energy profiles of agroecosystems along socioecological transitions

275

276 To identify general trends in the changing energy profiles of agroecosystems, we use the  
 277 following function that relates *FEROI*, *EFEROI* and *IFEROI* values:

278

$$279 \text{ FEROI} = \frac{\text{EFEROI} \cdot \text{IFEROI}}{\text{EFEROI} + \text{IFEROI}} \quad (4)$$

280

$$281 \text{ The proof is straightforward: } \frac{\text{EFEROI} \cdot \text{IFEROI}}{\text{EFEROI} + \text{IFEROI}} = \frac{\frac{FP}{EI} \cdot \frac{FP}{BR}}{\frac{FP}{EI} + \frac{FP}{BR}} = \frac{\frac{FP^2}{EI \cdot BR}}{\frac{FP(EI+BR)}{EI \cdot BR}} = \frac{FP}{EI+BR} = \text{FEROI}.$$

282

283 Expression (4) is the equation of a three-dimensional surface that encompasses all the values that  
 284 *FEROI*, *EFEROI* and *IFEROI* can take at the same time (Fig. 3a).

285

286 [INSERT Fig. 3 HERE]

287

288 In any visualization of empirical results, this surface is limited by the highest EROI value found  
 289 in the analyzed agroecosystems, since despite the increasing curvature of the surface towards the



290 vertical axis it does not have a theoretical upper limit. The curvature reveals the existence of  
291 diminishing returns at any point (i.e., additional *FEROI* increases always require greater  
292 proportional increases in *EFEROI*, *IFEROI* or both). In Fig. 3b, this possibility surface is drawn  
293 as a two-dimensional ‘energy map’ where the contour levels represent equal *FEROI* values.

294

295 As these energy maps show the three EROI values of an agroecosystem at the same time, they  
296 can visualize the changing energy profiles of farm systems throughout the socioecological  
297 transition from preindustrial organic to full industrial agricultures in a deeper analytical way than  
298 using three time series for each EROI, as we did before with a limited number of these case studies  
299 (Gingrich et al. 2018b). High *EFEROI* values would be the hallmark of traditional solar-based  
300 organic agriculture due to their low dependence on external inputs, which in turn would require a  
301 great reliance on internal recirculation of biomass flows and lower *IFEROI* values. Accordingly,  
302 the *FEROI-IFEROI-EFEROI* coordinates of traditional organic agroecosystems would be near  
303 the left corner in the energy map (Fig. 3b). Industrialization would free agricultural systems from  
304 labor-intensive biomass reuses by replacing them with increasingly cheaper external inputs based  
305 on fossil fuels, moving their energy profiles towards other regions of the energy map. Any  
306 displacement along the contour lines expresses a change in the energy profiles of agroecosystems  
307 in terms of their *EFEROI-IFEROI* values while keeping the same value level of *FEROI*, whereas  
308 the opposite is true for any displacement outside contour lines.

309

310 This possibility surface allows to calculate optimal shifts to increase *FEROI* scores by changing  
311 the *EFEROI-IFEROI* variables (Fig. 4), another useful reference to compare with the actual paths.  
312 Note that the gradient direction of each vector expresses, at any point of the energy map, the  
313 optimal *EFEROI-IFEROI* value shifts required to attain the largest possible *FEROI* increase there.  
314 The length of each vector expresses the respective potential of *FEROI* improvement for any  
315 agroecosystem placed in different regions of the energy map. The shorter length of vectors as they  
316 move towards higher *FEROI* values indicates the inevitable diminishing returns due to entropy.

317

318 [INSERT Fig. 4 HERE]

319

320 This is a descriptive analysis, not a prescription. We know that higher *FEROI* values are beneficial  
321 to farmers, and to society at large, but only if all else remains equal or better. Since we cannot  
322 take this for granted, more research is required on the impacts of these energy changes on different  
323 dimensions not included in the model to consider potential trade-offs. However, comparing the  
324 real *FEROI-EFEROI-IFEROI* paths with the optimal ones provides a useful information to  
325 interpret the changing energy profiles of agroecosystem throughout socioecological transitions.

326 Here we use for the first time this multi-EROI possibility surface as an energy mapping of the  
327 changing energy profiles of agroecosystems from past organic to current industrial management.

328

### 329 2.5. Statistical analyses of the main drivers of FEROI trends

330

331 Historical studies of our 82 energy balances performed one by one suggested the hypothesis that  
332 the main drivers of long-term FEROI trends may have been the changing role of cropping,  
333 livestock raising, and forestry along the structural change from the organic farming of the  
334 preindustrial era, highly circular and integrated, to the highly linear and disintegrated current  
335 industrial agriculture.

336

337 To test this hypothesis, we used linear mixed-effects models with either FEROI, EFEROI, or  
338 IFEROI as dependent variables, introducing as fixed effects livestock energy produce per unit of  
339 farmland (LIV), the share of woodland area over total farmland (WS), the energy product per unit  
340 of farmland (FP), the human labor performed in energy terms per farmland hectare (L), the year  
341 to which each energy balance corresponds (Y), and the spatial scale (S) of the case study (i.e.,  
342 country, province, county, village, farm). Each case study was introduced as a random effect  
343 nested within its country. FP and L are used as control variables for natural resource endowment,  
344 land use intensification, and technical change, which are needed given the large differences  
345 between the case studies in these respects. Introducing Y as independent variable avoids temporal  
346 autocorrelation, and introducing the random effect avoids spatial autocorrelation. The analysis  
347 was performed with the package “Rcmdr” (Fox 2005) in R (R Development Core Team 2009).  
348 Models were chosen that complied with basic statistical assumptions and that improved the AIC  
349 value by at least two units in relation to the other models. When necessary, response variables  
350 were transformed, or influential values were removed from the data.

351

352 We performed an additional test, shown in the Supplementary Material, to search for statistically  
353 significant differences among the three periods studied: traditional organic (1830-1900),  
354 intermediate organic-industrial (1901-1950) and full industrial agriculture (1951-2012). Paired  
355 sample t-tests with a significance level of 0.05 were run between pairs of the three periods. When  
356 multiple years were available for a case study in any given period, we kept only one value by  
357 removing the values for those years closest to the other periods. These three statistical tests of  
358 linear mixed effects and the additional paired sample t-test provide much stronger insight into the  
359 underlying driving forces of the main common trends in the observed multi-EROIs, compared to  
360 the previous summary with only one part of this database published in Gingrich et al. (2018).

361

362

363 **3 Results and discussion**

364

365 *3.1. The energy trap of industrial farming*

366

367 Fig. 5 depicts the sample of 82 farm systems as points with different color according to the  
368 historical period in the above three-dimensional possibility surface. Below the figure depicts the  
369 same results in the bidimensional energy map where *FEROI* values are shown with contour lines.

370

371 [INSERT Fig. 5 HERE]

372

373 The changing energy profile of our 82 agroecosystems displays a general trend that we name an  
374 ‘energy trap’ defined as the clustering of most *FEROI-EFEROI-IFEROI* industrial farming data  
375 near to the origin axes of the three-dimensional surface encompassing all possible values these  
376 three EROIs can simultaneously take. In 17 out of 19 case studies energy returns on external  
377 inputs (*EFEROI*) are higher in the traditional organic group than in the industrial farming group.  
378 In the industrial group, the energy returns on internal biomass flows (*IFEROI*) are greater than in  
379 the traditional organic cases in 14 cases, but these *IFEROI* increases are smaller than the  
380 corresponding *EFEROI* decreases (see also Table SM1 and Fig. SM5 in the Supplementary  
381 Material). This explains why in this sample we do not have cases that shifted to very high *IFEROI*  
382 values located in the right corner of Fig. 5. Finally, *FEROI* values are lower in industrialized than  
383 in traditional organic times in 11 case studies out of 19, and equal in one case. These simultaneous  
384 *FEROI-EFEROI-IFEROI* changes driven by increases in external inputs (*EI*) greater than the  
385 corresponding increases in final product (*FP*), and greater than decreases in biomass reuses (*BR*)  
386 when they occurred, has brought their energy profiles closer to the origin vertex of the energy  
387 map where the values of the three EROIs are the lowest (Fig. 5). Therefore, our answer to the first  
388 research question is that agricultural industrialization has led to an energy trap when external,  
389 internal, and total input returns are considered together in a long-term historical perspective for  
390 entire agroecosystems, and not only single crops or activities.

391

392 The general picture of the energy trap of industrial farm systems shown in Fig. 5 is confirmed by  
393 the basic statistics of the *FEROI-EFEROI-IFEROI* data set (see Table SM2 in the Supplementary  
394 Material). According to the paired sampled t-tests, mean *FEROI* values were not significantly  
395 different (p-values > 0.05) across all case studies and time periods despite having a lower mean  
396 in full industrial than in the traditional organic or intermediate organic-industrial farming cases.  
397 Conversely, *EFEROI* values significantly decreased (p-values < 0.05) from the traditional organic  
398 cases to the intermediate period, and from the latter to the full industrial period, confirming the  
399 energy trap. *IFEROI* values were significantly smaller (p-values < 0.05) in the organic and

400 intermediate periods than in the industrial period. This confirms that the higher dependence on  
401 fossil-fueled external inputs (*EI*) went hand in hand with lower efforts in biomass-energy  
402 reinvestment (*BR*) in the reproduction of the living funds of the agroecosystems. Conversely, the  
403 much lower reliance on *EI* of past organic farming involved higher *BR* values per unit of final  
404 produce (*FP*). The three EROI values follow a normal distribution, but dispersion is high as  
405 expected in a multiscale sample of very different sites in biogeographical and historical terms.

406

407 Our corroboration of the energy trap of industrial agriculture contrasts with the results obtained  
408 in several studies, including some of our SFS project, which have found improvements in external  
409 EROIs (i.e., *EFEROI* here) of industrial farming from the 1980-1990s onwards (Marshall and  
410 Brockway 2020; Harchaoui and Chatzimpiros 2019; Pellegrini and Fernández 2018; Gingrich and  
411 Krausmann 2018; Aguilera et al. 2015). The long-term historical character of our data set puts  
412 these later results into clearer perspective. The improvements observed in recent decades are very  
413 small compared to the steep *EFEROI* decline during the transition from traditional solar-based to  
414 current fossil-based agriculture.

415

416 The mean *FEROI* values were not significantly different along the three time periods due to 7  
417 outliers with *FEROI* values of full industrial farming that outperform those of traditional organic  
418 or intermediate organic-industrial systems (Fig. 5, and Supplementary Material). This can be  
419 explained by the different composition of their agroecosystems, and the way they changed over  
420 time. Three of them are in the Great Plains of the United States where colonization began in the  
421 1870-1880s through extensive cattle ranching with extremely low *IFEROI* and *FEROI* values,  
422 placing their green dots near to the origin vertex in bottom corner of Fig. 5. They then evolved  
423 into an intermediate organic-industrial mixed farming more integrated with pasture and higher  
424 *FEROI* values, until the shocks of the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl drought led to an early  
425 adoption of industrial agriculture in some areas (e.g., Nemaha) compared to Europe. This, in turn,  
426 gave rise to either higher (Nemaha and Decatur) or stagnant (Chase) *FEROI* values also  
427 depending on variations in rainfall, soil quality and proportion of livestock raising (Cunfer,  
428 Watson and MacFadyen 2018; Cunfer and Krausmann 2016; Cunfer 2005).

429

430 Other exceptions with *FEROI* industrial values greater than those of traditional organic or  
431 intermediate organic-industrial agricultures were in colder and wetter bioregions such as the  
432 Canadian Prince Edward Island (MacFadyen and Watson 2018). There, the importance of forest  
433 products levelled out higher energy returns in the long run, except when cereals, potatoes, and  
434 livestock became more important and decreased *EFEROI* scores (Queens County). In the Czech  
435 village of Holubí Zhoř, the *FEROI* and *IEFROI* values of traditional organic farming were scant  
436 due to the cost of livestock feeding in the poor soils of the Bohemian-Moravian highlands with

437 low temperatures and rainfall, compared to a current organic farm (Fraňková and Cattaneo 2018).  
438 In Sankt Florian municipality of Upper Austria, a cropland specialization of rich soils meant  
439 current higher *FEROI* values (including the sale of straw, a flow currently reused or wasted in  
440 other places), compared to traditional organic farming when livestock densities were similar but  
441 meant a higher energy burden (Gingrich et al. 2018<sup>a</sup>). This later shift went contrary to the one  
442 found in the neighboring Grünburg municipality, specialized on cattle and pig rearing, as well as  
443 in the whole of Austria despite the rise in *FEROI* values in 1991 and 2010 (Gingrich and  
444 Krausmann 2018).

445

446 Therefore, upon closer examination these exceptions have a lot to do with the agroecosystem  
447 composition and economic specialization (Gingrich et al., 2018<sup>b</sup>) making their paths consistent  
448 with the interpretation of the main drivers behind the general trend towards the energy trap:  
449 livestock and forestry components were the main explanation of these outliers, together with land  
450 and labor endowments. All in all, these outlier cases remind us that the overall trajectory toward  
451 steeply decreasing *EFEROI* scores, combined with only minor *IFEROI* increases and almost no  
452 *FEROI* improvements, was not a necessity but a historically contingent result of a global, but  
453 regionally differentiated socioecological transition. The fact that some common trends appear  
454 despite the large differences among these 82 agroecosystems indicates that they shared certain  
455 structural changes that drove their long-term paths.

456

### 457 *3.2 Structural changes: livestock and forestry roles in the energy transition*

458

459 The growing relevance of livestock production and the declining relevance of forestry have been  
460 two main drivers of the *FEROI* values adopted during the transition from traditional organic to  
461 full industrial farm systems in the Global North countries, counties, and municipalities of our data  
462 set. The results of the mixed-effects models confirm that they were decisive factors that drove the  
463 profiles of energy returns to all inputs consumed, to internal biomass reuses, and to external inputs  
464 in the 82 agroecosystems of the sample, once the differences in natural resource endowment and  
465 land and labor intensities have been controlled, as well as temporal and spatial autocorrelation.  
466 *FEROI* values increase with *FP* and with woodland share (*WS*), whereas they decrease as human  
467 labor (*HL*) and livestock produce (*LP*) increase, as expected. Furthermore, *FEROI* values  
468 significantly decrease as the year (*Y*) of the energy balance is more contemporary, as shown in  
469 the mixed-effects model (5):

470

$$471 \text{FEROI} = 3.49 + 0.01 \cdot \text{FP} + 1.21 \cdot \text{WS} - 0.31 \cdot \text{HL} - 0.05 \cdot \text{LP} - 0.002 \cdot \text{Y} \quad (5)$$

472

473 Although all the variables have a significant effect on *FEROI*, the ones with the greatest weight  
474 are *WS*, *FP*, and *LP*, in this order. AIC values for the chosen models and their null models, and  
475 Chi sq. and P(>Chi sq.) values for each variable are given in the Supplementary Material for all  
476 the three mixed-effects models.

477

478 Converting  $\log (IFEROI)$  into the dependent variable gives the following equation (6), where  
479 yields as control variable (*FP*) has a higher weight than the relevance of woodland (*WS*):

480

$$481 \log (IFEROI) = -1.07 + 0.02 \cdot FP + 1.58 \cdot WS \quad (6)$$

482

483 This result confirms a feature already observed in Gingrich et al. (2018b). On the one side, the  
484 maintenance of internal biomass reuse flows (*BR*) devoted to livestock feeding, or too slight a  
485 decrease of them, which are the predominant *BR* trends per unit of land found in the dataset (see  
486 the Supplementary Material), turn *LP* statistically not significant. On the other side, the variation  
487 in the relevance of woodland share (*WS*) is significant given that forestry entails a much higher  
488 energy *FP* with any *BR* per unit of land. However, we know that behind those steady trends in  
489 livestock-related *BR* flows there has been a profound structural change from mixed organic  
490 farming, where extensive grazing integrated all land uses with each other, to livestock feeding in  
491 linear industrial feedlots disintegrated from the rest of farmland. This feature is clearly observed  
492 using the entire energy balance as a scanning of the underlying structural fund-flow pattern of  
493 most case studies.

494

495 Regarding *EFEROI*, we removed the 2012 balance of the Czech Republic of a single organic farm  
496 because it was an influential value, and we also used  $\log (EFEROI)$  as dependent variable to  
497 obtain statistically significant results in equation (7):

498

$$499 \log (EFEROI) = 27.57 + 0.02 \cdot FP - 0.13 \cdot LP + 1.19 \cdot Snation - 0.35 \cdot Sprovince + \\ 500 0.33 \cdot Smunicipality + 2.01 \cdot WS - 0.01 \cdot Y \quad (7)$$

501

502 The variable that has the most important effect is the year of the balance sheet (*Y*) so that when  
503 the year is more recent, the lower is the dependent variable. This clearly confirms the energy trap  
504 of industrial agriculture driven by increases of external energy inputs (*EI*) greater than the growth  
505 in the final energy produce (*FP*) obtained. Then comes the livestock produce per farmland unit  
506 (*LP*) with the expected negative effect, revealing the importance for the energy trap of the dietary  
507 transition to greater meat production and consumption, besides the impact of fossil-fueled  
508 agrochemicals and machinery in *EI* values. And then, the scale of analysis (*S*), the woodland share  
509 (*WS* with a positive effect), and the control variable of yields (*FP* with a positive effect). This also

510 confirms the relevance of forest abandonment in the Global North as part and parcel of the energy  
511 trap, after controlling for the differences in biogeographic resource endowments.

512

513 The statistical significance of the scale of analysis ( $S$ ) reveals that log ( $EFEROI$ ) values are higher  
514 when accounted for at the nation-wide energy balances than at the other lower scales (province,  
515 county, or municipality; see the Supplementary Material). Although this result deserves further  
516 research, we observe that it has to do with the fact that when leaping from the municipal or county  
517 level to the country scale some matter-energy flows that are counted as external inputs ( $EI$ ) at the  
518 lower levels become internal biomass reuses ( $BR$ ) at the national level. A relevant case are the  
519 grains coming from another municipality, county, or province of the same country to be used as  
520 animal feed, which must be counted as an external input ( $EI$ ) when they are bought outside the  
521 municipal, county or province system boundaries considered. When the energy balance is carried  
522 out at the national level, these same flows will be counted as  $BR$ , and only the animal feed  
523 imported from abroad will be considered  $EI$ . This reduces the amount of  $EI$  in the denominator  
524 when the agricultural energy balance is scaled up at the country level, while in the numerator  $FP$   
525 includes all flows consumed within and sold outside the system boundaries at all scales  
526 considered, leading to higher  $EFEROI$  values when they are calculated at the national level. That  
527 must be considered when using our multi-EROI approach in multiscale case studies.

528

529 According to these results, the proportion of forest area and intensity of livestock production have  
530 been two main factors that most explain the final energy returns ( $FEROI$ ) of these 82  
531 agroecosystems, meaning that industrialization deeply changed the energy profiles of their fund-  
532 flow patterns. In most cases, synthetic fertilizers accounted for the largest share of external energy  
533 inputs ( $EI$ ), greater than machinery and fuel (Aguilera et al. 2015). Once farmers were able to  
534 replenish soil fertility with cost efficient fossil-based fertilizers, they no longer needed to rely on  
535 either livestock manure or biomass transfers between agroecosystem compartments to replenish  
536 depleted cropland soils, breaking the energy-nutrient nexus between crops, livestock and grazing  
537 land that was key to traditional organic agriculture (Krausmann 2004). The end of the  
538 multipurpose use of livestock as recycler of crop by-products, provider of manure and driving  
539 force, and carrier of soil nutrients from uncultivated to cultivated land, has meant a structural  
540 change of agroecosystems led by the nutritional transition towards a diet with very high meat and  
541 dairy consumption in the Western countries here studied (Schramski, Woodson and Brown 2020;  
542 Henry et al. 2019; Alexander et al. 2016; Westhoek et al. 2014).

543

544 Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century the share of crops allocated to livestock feeding grew from 10% to  
545 45% of global production of grains (Haberl et al. 2016; Smil 2000). In Spain, the energy content  
546 of land produce diverted to livestock feeding rose from 28% in 1900 to 53% in 2008 (Guzmán et

547 al. 2018). While livestock was managed at the service of farmland for millennia, current industrial  
548 agriculture cultivates a large amount of land at the service of livestock with great matter-energy  
549 losses (Alexander et al. 2017). This explains why, instead of a simple substitution of *EI* for *BR*,  
550 agricultural industrialization entailed a functional change that turned *BR* flows into feed and  
551 fodder while reducing or abandoning pastures and the reuse of crop by-products as animal feeding  
552 (Soto et al. 2016; Marco et al. 2018; González de Molina et al. 2020). The growth of cultivated  
553 feed has countered the simultaneous abandonment of other traditional forms of biomass  
554 recirculation, such as green manures, composting of animal manure, and crop rotation with  
555 legumes. Despite the substitution of tractors for horses and mules, the number of cattle, pigs and  
556 hens have greatly increased livestock densities only to produce animal protein. In industrial farm  
557 systems with a high share of animal production, imported feed becomes the largest external input  
558 (Padró et al. 2017; Díez et al. 2018).

559

560 In traditional solar-based agroecosystems, the high land and energy costs of livestock feeding was  
561 addressed through a close integration of animal husbandry with complex land uses (Patrizi et al.  
562 2018; Guzmán, González de Molina and Alonso 2011; Guzmán and González de Molina 2009).  
563 This integrative role has virtually disappeared with livestock industrialization. Current feedlots  
564 perform a linear feed-to-meat bioconversion disconnected from the rest of the agroecosystem  
565 living funds. Therefore, in addition to the steep increases in external inputs (*EI*), our results show  
566 that blundering into the energy trap has to do with the structural change of agroecosystems in the  
567 relationship between farmland and livestock that has limited or totally offset the *BR* decreases  
568 while deeply modifying its role (Marco et al. 2018).

569

570 It helps realize the energetic importance of this disintegration to compare the partial returns of  
571 organic-multifunctional and industrial livestock raising using either a circular integrated  
572 accounting or a linear one. When the linear energy yield of a feed-to-meat bioconversion is  
573 accounted for at the barnyard or feedlot gate, industrial livestock breeding outperforms traditional  
574 multifunctional animal husbandry—although at the expense of animal wellbeing. When  
575 compared with an agroecosystem circular way, either traditional organic or novel agroecology  
576 managements outperform the industrial feedlots due to the addition of manure and driving force  
577 as outputs, and the reuse of by-products as input savings (Marco et al. 2018; Patrizi et al. 2018;  
578 Tello et al. 2016; Pérez-Neira, Soler-Montiel and Simón-Fernández 2014; Pérez Neira 2016;  
579 Pirdashti et al. 2015).

580

581 The disintegration between livestock and the entirety of agroecosystems has also put an end the  
582 previous balance of livestock size relative to cropland and forest components. This, and the  
583 increase in world feed trade, has led to quantities of manure that exceed the capacity of nearby



584 cropland to absorb them in importing regions with high livestock densities, turning slurry into a  
585 polluting waste (Cattaneo, Marull and Tello 2018). Meanwhile, soil organic matter is being  
586 depleted in feed exporting regions (Padró et al. 2017, 2019; Infante-Amate et al. 2022). Both  
587 contribute to breaking the global N and P biogeochemical cycles on which soil fertility depends  
588 (Rockström et al. 2020; Billen et al. 2021).

589

590 The decline of forestry and agroforestry, and the consequent shrinking relevance of wood biomass  
591 in agricultural produce (*FP*), is the second structural change that drove the energy trap of  
592 industrial agriculture by disintegrating forests from the rest of agroecosystem living funds. Wood  
593 is the densest energy carrier of all biomass products that can be gathered in large quantities with  
594 comparatively less effort. The diminishing importance of wood in many parts of the global North  
595 has gone hand in hand with the land-sparing effect of an increasingly intensified agriculture  
596 segregated from forest uses (Gingrich et al. 2007). In Spain, the share of wood in the agricultural  
597 output halved from 1950 to 2010 (Soto et al. 2018), which resulted in lower *EFEROI* and *FEROI*  
598 values (Guzmán et al. 2018). Conversely, forestry intensification (e.g., in some parts in the  
599 Canadian Prince Edward Island) contributed to relatively higher *FEROI* because forestry uses less  
600 *EI* per unit of *FP* than cropland, and almost no *BR* at all. Forest transition, consisting of a  
601 decreasing importance of wood in many of our case studies, led to lower final energy returns  
602 (*FEROI*) and reinforced the decrease of external returns (*EFEROI*) as well.

603

### 604 *3.3 Limits of our circular multi-EROI model and possibilities for further research*

605

606 Models are useful tools for only a limited number of tasks. When we propose and use new ones,  
607 it is always good to explicitly warn of their limits not only to avoid misuse, but also to help new  
608 research go further. Our circular approach has abandoned a single-minded notion of energy  
609 efficiency of complex systems, using multiple EROIs instead of one. The black box of the  
610 functioning of agroecosystems has begun to be opened, highlighting the role of the internal reuse  
611 of biomass as a reinvestment of farmers in the living funds' reproduction. In doing so, we have  
612 followed Georgescu-Roegen's (1971) distinction between biophysical 'funds' and 'flows' and  
613 placed the sustainability focus on their relationship: how much is given to them in relation to what  
614 is taken out from them. However, we recognize that we end up summarizing the long-term paths  
615 followed by the flow/flow values of three EROIs without delving too much into the fund/flow  
616 ones behind. And we also admit that this means aggregating in the *EI*, *BR*, and *FP* values different  
617 types of energy flows of different power ranges, qualities and reproductive functions for the  
618 different funds involved.

619

620 A combination of emergy and exergy analyses at farm and agroecosystem levels can tackle better  
621 than our Material and Energy Flow Accounting (MEFA) the latter energy aggregation problem,  
622 and the recent proposals made by Jean Hercher-Pasteur with other colleagues at the Institut Agro  
623 in Montpellier have start overcoming the previous linearity required to account for emergy  
624 transformities (Hercher-Pasteur 2020, Hercher-Pasteur et al. 2022). The MuSIASEM proposal by  
625 Mario Giampietro and other ICTA colleagues (Giampietro, Mayumi and Sorman 2011, 2013) is  
626 the best-known approach to overcome at the same time the two main limitations of our MEFA  
627 approach. As put forward by Julien-François Gerber and Arnim Scheidel (2018), MuSIASEM is  
628 more integrative and comprehensive than MEFA, although MEFA is more easily comparative  
629 and historical. There are also further possibilities for our circular MEFA analysis of farm systems  
630 to advance, like the agroecological multi-EROI proposal made by some of our co-authors  
631 (Guzmán and González de Molina 2015, 2017).

632

633 When we closely examine in the 82 energy balances how the living funds of agroecosystems are  
634 interconnected by their matter-energy flows, we discover a loss of biophysical circularity and  
635 complexity in most industrial cases (Marco et al. 2018; Font et al. 2020). This suggests that the  
636 same factors underlying the poor energy performance of industrial agriculture have also led to  
637 severe and manifold environmental degradations (Rockström et al. 2020; Crippa et al. 2021;  
638 Tilman et al. 2002). Could this degradation of agroecosystems have been an additional cause of  
639 the energy trap of industrial agriculture? If this reversal causation holds true, industrial farming  
640 would have involved an eco-inefficient endeavor to substitute external inputs (*EI*) for internal  
641 functioning of natural processes (*BR*), both belowground through the turnover of organic matter  
642 that feeds soil biota and sustains its fertility (Maeder 2002), and aboveground in the land cover  
643 complexity that hosts all kinds of biodiversity-related ecosystem services (Carpenter et al. 2009;  
644 Marull et al. 2019<sup>a</sup>). Degrading the nature-based ecosystem services has compelled industrial  
645 farmers to replace them by increasing amounts of non-renewable external inputs of mechanical  
646 and agrochemical character (Giampietro 1997).

647

648 This hypothesis is also supported by other research showing that the biophysical yield gaps  
649 between organic and industrial farming at the crop level (Ponisio et al. 2015; Pagani et al. 2017)  
650 can be compensated for by the higher landscape agroecological synergies that characterized the  
651 circular bioeconomy of many traditional organic farming and are now being recovered by new  
652 agroecology farm managements (Padró et al. 2017, 2019 and 2020; Wezel et al. 2020).  
653 Addressing this question requires forthcoming research combining energy analysis with other  
654 assessments, such as soil nutrient balances (Tello et al. 2012; González de Molina et al. 2015;  
655 Cunfer 2021; Galán 2021; Güldner 2021; Corbacho and Padró 2021; Güldner, Larsen and Cunfer,  
656 2021), energy-landscape integrated analyses (Marull et al., 2019<sup>b</sup>, 2018), and other modelling

657 from a nexus approach (Alexander et al. 2015; Giampietro, Mayumi and Sorman, 2011, 2013).  
658 To that aim, the agroecological multi-EROI model here summarized is a first step in the research  
659 needed to advance towards more sustainable and circular agri-food systems within planetary  
660 boundaries (Tello and González de Molina 2017).

661

662 The multi-EROI optimization analysis explained above can also be useful in forthcoming research  
663 to identify and compare the existing options to overcome the energy trap of fossil fuel-based  
664 industrial agriculture. According to the directions and lengths of the gradient vectors to improve  
665 the final energy returns of farm systems (*FEROI*) by changing their internal and external energy  
666 returns (Fig. 3b), two main roadmaps can be discerned. On the one hand, towards a new  
667 agroecology transition aimed at overcoming the current dependence on external inputs through  
668 the search for higher final energy returns from nature-based solutions based on the internal  
669 recirculation of biomass within closely integrated landscapes and territories. Or, on the other  
670 hand, towards new industrial farms such as high-tech greenhouses and vertical crops relying on a  
671 higher consumption of renewable energy while saving on land and internal recirculation of  
672 biomass (Fig. 6).

673

674 [INSERT Fig. 6 HERE]

675

676 The shift towards the left agroecological region in Fig. 6 points to a sustainable way-out based on  
677 increasing  $\frac{FP}{BR}$  energy returns (*IFEROI*), by reintegrating the living funds of agroecosystems into  
678 more complex and bio-economically circular food territories (Altieri and Nicholls 2012; González  
679 de Molina and López-García 2021). According to our analysis, restoring sustainable forestry and  
680 agroforestry (Pérez Neira 2016) to abandoned woodland in the Global North, reducing livestock  
681 production and consumption, and restarting extensive livestock grazing that reintegrates forests,  
682 grasslands, and cropland management, would drive such agroecological advances that increase  
683 *IFEROI* and *FEROI* returns. This fits with current prospective scenarios of a European  
684 agroecology transition (Poux and Aubert 2018; Billen et al. 2021; European Commission 2022),  
685 in line with FAO (2018), and with United Nations proposals (CFS 2021).

686

687 Conversely, agricultural factories located in the opposite right region of the same Fig. 6 might  
688 also try to replace fossil synthetic fertilizers with compost, stop using pesticides, and increase  $\frac{FP}{EI}$   
689 returns (*EFEROI*) through self-production of renewable energy. However, like any other factory,  
690 these would no longer be agroecosystems but industrial sites. They can only produce provisioning  
691 goods, not all the regulatory and supporting ecosystem services that complex agroecology  
692 landscapes provide through their aboveground and belowground biodiversity. In addition to this,

693 the materials and energy required to build and operate these agricultural factories raise serious  
694 concerns about their sustainability and viability on a large scale (Slameršak et al. 2022; Nieto et  
695 al. 2020; Krausmann et al. 2017). In any case, the worst agricultural final energy yield prospects  
696 seem to be trying to merge the two way-outs along the diagonal line in Fig. 6, where all vectors  
697 are shorter from the origin vertex according to the optimality analysis shown in Fig. 4. Society  
698 must decide the way forward, and we need more research to inform this crucial societal decision.  
699 These final prospective considerations on how to get out of the energy trap of industrial  
700 agriculture, based on the optimality analysis of the possible relationships that exist between the  
701 three EROIs of our circular energy modeling of farming, go further beyond the agroecosystem  
702 energy transition view that we proposed earlier (Gingrich et al. 2018b).

703

#### 704 **4 Conclusion**

705

706 Mapping for the first time in a multi-EROI possibility surface the changing energy profiles of 82  
707 North American and European agroecosystems throughout the long-term transition from  
708 traditional organic to full industrial agriculture, we conclude that the prevailing path has led them  
709 to an energy trap of low energy returns on external inputs and, in most cases, on all inputs  
710 consumed as well. This has been the combined effect of sharp increases in non-renewable external  
711 inputs and only minor or no reductions of internal reuses of biomass flows due to dietary transition  
712 and forest abandonment in the Global North. This has entailed deep changes in the structural  
713 composition of agroecosystems and the energy carriers that flow in and out of them. The  
714 functional disconnection among cropland, livestock, pastures, and forests has led to linear  
715 agroecosystem flows increasingly driven towards a very inefficient feed-to-meat energy  
716 bioconversion. Together with the declining significance of energy efficient forestry, this  
717 combination of factors explains the poor energy performance of industrial agriculture in the  
718 Global North.

719

720 Therefore, this article reveals for the first time the importance for the low energy performance of  
721 industrial agriculture of the structural change from a circular integration between agriculture,  
722 livestock, and forestry in past organic agroecosystems, up to the linearity of their disaggregation  
723 at present. This has been possible thanks to bringing to light with a circular multi-EROI analysis  
724 the importance of internal recirculation of the matter-energy flows that reproduce in good state  
725 the living funds of agroecosystems. According to these analyses and results, a sustainable way  
726 out of the energy trap of industrial agriculture will be to manage agroecosystems so that farmers  
727 reinvest once more in the internal cycles of nature. These cycles integrate the living funds of  
728 agroecosystems in a more circular biophysical turnover capable to upgrade their energy  
729 efficiency, reduce GHG emissions, improve soil fertility and carbon sequestration, prevent water

730 pollution, and keep the supporting and regulating ecosystem services that biodiversity provides  
731 (Dainese et al. 2019; van der Ploeg et al. 2019; Migliorini and Wezel 2017). The agroecological  
732 multi-EROI energy analysis applied in this study is a contribution to this task.

733

#### 734 **Declarations**

735

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742

743 **Ethics approval** Not applicable.

744

745 **Conflict of interest** The authors declare no competing interests.

746

747 **Consent to participate** Participants gave oral consent to use the information.

748

749 **Consent for publication** Participants gave oral consent to use the information.

750

#### 751 **Availability of data and material**

752 All data used in this joint summary of the multi-EROI data set assembled by the international SFS  
753 project from 2012 to 2022 in North American and European countries and regions can be found  
754 in Table SM1 of the Supplementary Material. The detailed data for each flow and farm system  
755 component collected for these 82 energy balances are explained in the references of each case  
756 study and three methodological working papers (Aguilera et al. 2015; Cunfer, Watson and  
757 McFadyen 2018; Díez et al. 2018; Fraňková and Cattaneo 2018; Fullana et al. 2021; Galán et al  
758 2016; Gingrich and Krausmann 2018; Gingrich et al. 2018<sup>a</sup>; Gómez 2017; Guzmán and González  
759 de Molina 2008, 2015; Guzmán et al. 2014; Guzmán et al. 2018; Marco et al. 2018; McFadyen  
760 and Watson 2018; Padró et al. 2017; Parcerisas and Dupras 2018; Soto et al. 2016; Tello 2015;  
761 Tello et al. 2016).

762

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764

765 **Authors’ contribution statement**

766 This is a collaborative research article that summarizes the main findings of the international SFS  
767 project conducted from 2012 to 2022. Enric Tello: Conceptualization, Methodology, Data  
768 curation, Writing-Original draft preparation, co-Funding acquisition; Vera Sacristán: Formal  
769 analysis, Visualization; Claudio Cattaneo: Methodology, Data curation, Writing-Original draft  
770 preparation; José Ramon Olarieta: Formal analysis, Data curation, Validation, Writing-Original  
771 draft preparation; Joan Marull: Formal analysis, Validation, Writing-Original draft preparation;  
772 Roc Padró: Conceptualization, Methodology, Data curation, Formal analysis, Validation; Manel  
773 Pons: Formal analysis, Validation; Simone Gingrich, Fridolin Krausmann: Conceptualization,  
774 Methodology, Writing-Original draft preparation, Data curation, co-Funding acquisition; Elena  
775 Galán, Inés Marco: Conceptualization, Methodology, Data curation; Gloria Guzmán, Manuel  
776 González de Molina: Conceptualization, Data curation, co-Funding acquisition; Geoff Cunfer:  
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778 Andrew Watson, Joshua MacFadyen, Eva Fraňková, Eduardo Aguilera, Juan Infante-Amate,  
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780 Xavier Cussó, Onofre Fullana, Ivan Murray, Gabriel Jover: Data curation.

781

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