# Embedding digital agriculture into sustainable Australian food systems: Pathways and pitfalls to value creation

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#### **Abstract**

Digital agriculture is exciting attention because of an expectation that food systems will be disrupted by new digital technologies through improvements in precision, efficiency, volume, speed of process or identity of product. This is against the background of the drive for sustainability in food systems.

A diversity of technology applications is unilaterally emerging in all food chains with benefits realized through human acceptance and adoption in business processes.

This paper focuses on Australia but the lessons apply to digital agriculture globally. We propose that sustainable food systems frameworks identify the relation of individual changes to broader systemic change, to relate individual changes to one another and to understand how multiple changes within a system can trigger major shifts in entire agrifood chains. With this rapidly-changing landscape in mind, we argue that food system frameworks cover five domains: production, market, capitals, governance and data technologies.

We analyse experience from agricultural systems, compare it to digitization in non-agricultural systems and conclude that change will be both disruptive and cumulative. We consider the role of systems governance to be under-reported. Governance will prove critical in areas of IP legislation, policy harmonization and targeted investment.

#### 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 The introduction of digital technology to agriculture and food systems

Digital technology is influencing all aspects of economic and social life (Trendov et al., 2019a). The widespread adoption of digital technologies such as smartphones, the internet-of-things and cloud-based technologies has changed everyday life for rich and poor alike. Disruptors in the digital context, such as the iPhone, Uber, and AirBnB, are examples of changes that are happening or will soon occur in all sectors of the global economy. We therefore subscribe to the following definition of digital disruption (Skog et al., 2018: 432): "The rapidly unfolding processes through which digital innovation comes to fundamentally alter historically sustainable logics for value creation and capture by unbundling and recombining linkages among resources or generating new ones." Digital transformation as a goal, and as a process, has been variously defined as the incorporation and uptake of digital technologies. It also includes the reorganisation of firms and their business models to take best advantage of digital technologies while networking within value chains and the broader society (Bowersox et al., 2005).

Digital agriculture has been defined as "the use of detailed digital information to guide decisions along the agricultural value chain" (Shepherd et al., 2020: 5084). The proportion of management processes in agriculture that are digital is the lowest amongst all sectors in both the US and the Australian economies (Blackburn et al., 2017; Manyika et al., 2015; Trendov et al., 2019b). While we note that their methods may underestimate the degree of digitization currently present through technologies embedded in germplasm, farm machinery or agrochemicals, these authors imply an almost inevitable growth of digital agriculture merely through the opportunity to catch up. Globally, there are high hopes that digital technology will bring deep changes in sustainable agriculture through demand (Government Office of Science, 2011), although the changes are mostly yet to happen. Nevertheless, the rapidly changing parts of the agri-food supply frameworks attract investment by venture capitalists (Burwood-Taylor et al., 2020, 2021). As yet, the investment has reached about US\$30 billion (in 2020), which is a fraction of the global value of food chains of over US\$3 trillion. Commentators anticipate roles for digitally-empowered food systems to address challenges of future food security in the face of

increasing population, while maintaining a plethora of factors like food quality, environmental sustainability, equity and a host of surveillance, value addition and management tasks (Klerkx et al., 2019). Interest in the potential of digital agriculture in Australia is heightened by its sensitivity to changes in global value chains (Greenville, 2019), as well as its degree of vertical coordination (Lammers et al., 2018) and broad stakeholder group (Janssen et al., 2017). A roadmap for Australian agriculture to reach a value of A\$100 billion (US\$78 billion) by 2030 (Thomas, 2018) sees innovation using digital technology playing a substantial role, building on the industry's current strengths.

It has been estimated that improved decisions resulting from digitally-generated information will increase the value of Australian agriculture by over A\$20 billion (US\$15.6 billion) annually, with additional benefits generated in the downstream food and fibre sectors; notably, in some sectors, the gain was envisaged primarily from "improving trust" (Perrett et al., 2017). These authors identify particular "practice areas" with high returns to the successful implementation of digital transformation. Implementing it, however, raises major challenges, including deficient infrastructure with poor connectivity and deficient internet service (Keogh, 2019), skills shortages (CSB-SYSTEM, 2020; Darnell et al., 2018), and a lack of appropriate decision tools (Banhazi et al., 2012; Keogh & Henry, 2016; Rojo-Gimeno et al., 2019) particularly those embracing the new business models offered by digital agriculture (Griffith et al., 2013; Leonard et al., 2017).

# 1.2 The need for a clearer vision in embedding digital agriculture into sustainable Australian food systems

Although numerous reports have been published on aspects of digital agriculture, the formal research literature is both dispersed in its purpose and selective in product coverage (Klerkx et al. 2019) and has focused little on impact. Most reports rely on surveys or case studies, both of which may be biased by pre-existing expectations of change, and indeed the stage of change undergone by participants. The above-mentioned lack of appropriate decision tools further obscures incentives. While digital agriculture takes a value-chain approach to technology in food production systems (Shepherd et al., 2020), precision agriculture is very much in the domain of pre-farm gate production and focuses on the understanding of temporal and spatial variability to improve sustainability (International Society of Precision Agriculture, 2019; National Research Council, 1997). The meagre adoption of some forms of precision agriculture highlights the dangers of misreading change processes and of assuming that technical capability leads automatically to development.

The change we seek is more effective management processes enabled by digital agriculture, rather than the development of the technology itself. Reports that encourage investment in agriculture, such as Burwood-Taylor (2020), promote an optimistic narrative around digital agriculture in terms of innovative thinking and the eagerness of users to adopt new ways of agri-food production. This oversimplifies what is a complex and uncertain opportunity, and can lead to unachievable expectations. Given the power of narratives to influence investors' opinion (Goldfarb & Tucker, 2017; Schiller, 2017), it is important to clarify the opportunities and risks digital agriculture represents.

The changes that digital agriculture brings will have consequences for investors, farmers, managers of components of the supply framework and consumers. Each group has different, and sometimes competing, objectives and will seek different information. To address the problem of increasing complexity from growing market demands for safe food from secure, sustainable sources, coupled with the need for investment into new technologies, we present an overview of the change process that digital technology will bring to Australian agriculture. We achieve this through addressing the following

objectives: 1) Identifying the potential for digital agriculture to contribute to sustainable growth and 2) Identifying how this transformative change will occur.

### 2 Digital technology, practice change and a sustainable food framework

Change in food frameworks will occur in response to demand, but the change must be sustainable. How will technologies support change within and around sustainable food frameworks?

In this section, we propose a concept of global change in response to demand and a picture of change in Australian food systems in response to demand and capacity. A vision for change must explain how technology will move food systems towards a sustainable future. Jevon's paradox suggests that digital technology may have adverse effects by promoting profits over sustainability. Commentary on the sustainability of economic activity (Solow, 1991; UNI-IHDP & UNEP, 2012) explains the need to consider not just gains of production but also the human and natural capitals that underpin and sustain them. We consider this from global, and then Australian, perspectives.

#### 2.1 Global challenges

The World's population is projected to increase until 2050, stabilizing at almost 10 billion (United Nations et al., 2019). Meeting the demand for more food will require more from the natural capital that supports food production (Godfray et al., 2010; UNEP, 2014). Several authors point to emerging evidence of failures in agricultural systems to provide basic needs of food, and express concern about the ability of global ecosystems to balance the pressure to providing a range of ecosystem services demanded without inflicting irreversible damage (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; Rockström et al., 2009). The sharp spike in global food prices in 2010 indicated the challenges that confront food systems (Government Office of Science, 2011). FAO estimate that if recent trends continue, more than 840 million people will be affected by hunger by 2030, mainly in sub-Saharan Africa (FAO, 2020). Tension is anticipated within river basins due to competing demands for food, water and energy (Molden et al., 2007). Others identify the ongoing loss of biodiversity due to agricultural growth (Benton et al., 2021). Above all, growth in food systems must contend with the threats posed by Global Climate Change (Pachauri et al., 2015).

The dominant source of production growth will need to come from intensification of agriculture, either through increased cropping intensity (13–15%) or, more importantly, through yield increases from the process of sustainable intensification (75–76%) (Bruinsema, 2009; Godfray & Garnett, 2014; Pretty et al., 2018; Pretty, 1997; Rockström et al., 2017). However, while the capacity to meet demand appears to exist within food systems globally (Cassman & Dobermann, 2021; Foley et al., 2011), food systems may not respond in ways that are considered sustainable. Yield gains in high-yielding systems may have slowed (Grassini et al., 2013) while those in areas such as sub-Saharan Africa - which have the significant potential to contribute to the global solution - remain stubbornly slow (Figure 1). While the technical means to improvement may exist (Cassman & Grassini, 2020), the intensification of food systems under competing drivers is understood to be a complex process, involving institutional and infrastructural barriers

(Fischer & Connor, 2018) and entailing multiple entry points, trade-offs and feedbacks (Béné et al., 2019; Herrero et al., 2021).

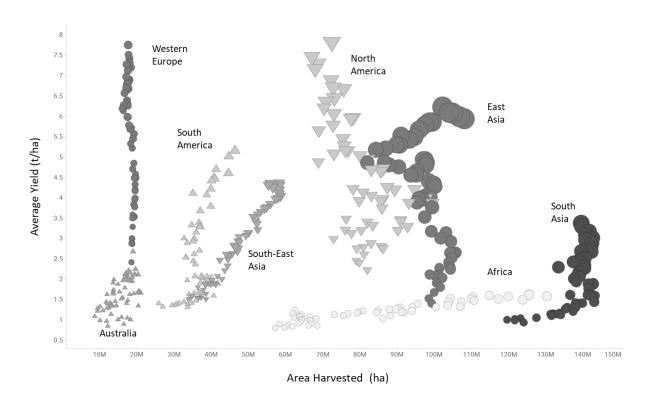


Figure 1: Comparison of production statistics from different regions (1960-2019) suggests contrasting patterns of cereals intensification. The size of bubble indicates gross production. A hesitant intensification in Australia compared to other areas. Difficult growing conditions and exposure to world markets explains a lack of consistent progression of productivity in Australia Data from FAOSTAT.

Producing enough food to feed the future global population on a sustainable basis will be insufficient. Food must be safe and nutritious (Willett et al., 2019), it must be desirable to the consumer, and it must offer appropriate incentives along the supply chain for investment and for participation by stakeholders. In addition to facilitating food supply chain operation, information is itself in demand to certify the attributes for which consumers are willing to pay (Gao & Schroeder, 2009). This, taken with the major growth of international trade, led the FAO, WHO and WTO to call for a new approach, sometimes called OneHealth (Mackenzie & Jeggo, 2019) involving globally co-ordinated food supply chains to meet the demand for more nutritious food of known attributes and provenance.

A global reassessment of sustainable intensification identifies three stages in the transition towards sustainability: efficiency, substitution and re-design (Pretty et al., 2018). Digital agriculture technologies can support all three processes: Precision agriculture aims improve production efficiencies the use of spatial technologies. Digital agriculture accelerates substitution within food systems through the application of technologies, including phenomics and metabolomics, which link genetic, environmental and management aspects of production systems, through global nutrient budgeting or product certification driven by consumer demand. Re-design is supported by the capacity of digital agriculture technology such as remote sensing; field-robust technologies, high-dimensional modelling and communications media to link components and actors within the food system as governments and individuals explore options for change through local adaptation. The outcome is to link the four components that we mention below of production, consumer, capitals and governance through tools such as data-rich valuation of natural capital, social networking of farmers, IP policy to support human capitals amongst farmer groups and evidence-based policy

With this in mind, the framework we propose in this paper includes the role of digital technologies to support the range of changes that define sustainability. But first, we examine the Australian context of our research agenda.

#### 2.2 The Australian setting

While Australian agribusiness is dominated by commodity export, we observe digital agriculture to have contrasting roles of supporting productivity gains in commodities while also enabling opportunities for value in a quality product. Although Australia ranks only 23<sup>rd</sup> as a global food producer, it ranks 12<sup>th</sup> in terms of exports (Greenville, 2019), which is about two-thirds of the value of production. The OECD (OECD, 2015) highlights the need for improvements in productivity in Australian agricultural systems, for which Keogh (2019) details some of the technical challenges, particularly in rural Australia. Digital agriculture is often associated with close-to-market, low-volume, high-value products, but a more important role in Australia will therefore be to drive productivity growth for land, labour and water in a changing environment: some of the elements of sustainable intensification are discussed below. The variability of typical Australian growing conditions can be viewed as an asset if better data allow smarter management of the risks involved. Australian risks often include weather uncertainty, variable market prices, and institutional changes in their business management (Nguyen et al., 2007). However, the current yield gap of about 50% for most Australian crops (Lawes et al., 2018) suggests that substantial scope remains for improvement in production efficiency, in addition to gains in value. Australian cereals farmers deal with risk by avoiding it ((Nguyen et al., 2007); Figure 1). Digital technology will provide a better understanding of the risks so that producers can exploit them rather than avoid them.

Despite Australian farmers' general characteristic of risk avoidance, they are noted innovators (OECD, 2015), which is an essential factor in the adoption of new technologies, such as those of digital agriculture (Ernst and Young, 2019; Thomas, 2018). Yet, there are major obstacles to the expression of such innovation (Keogh, 2019; Leonard et al., 2017; Wiseman & Sanderson, 2018a), with multiple opportunities hindered by a lack of industrial organization, inconsistent policy on issues such as data governance, and the lack of scale (Leonard et al., 2017). Nevertheless, overall expectations are substantial, and the gains from digital agriculture are anticipated to generate more than A\$20 billion [US\$15.6 billion] annually for Australian agribusiness (Heath, 2018; Perrett et al., 2017). The majority of advances are expected in the grains and livestock industries, primarily because of their scale, but rapid growth is also sought in high-value export products for which Australia has a competitive advantage (Agrifutures Australia, 2021). A different layer of uncertainty surrounds the gains from digital agriculture as Australian agribusiness moves from established value chains towards more dynamic market arrangements and opportunities. Many see this to be the future for Australian food systems, but uncertainty arises because few can explain how the changes will sustainably occur and how investment opportunities must be approached. The rest of the paper focuses on the Australian context of digital agriculture with recognition of the influence of global players and innovations.

### 3 Growth of digital agricultural technology

#### 3.1 Historical growth

Digitally transformed agriculture emerged around 2014, although precision agriculture globally dates from the 1980s and in Australia from the 1990s (Cook & Bramley, 1998). Use of digital technology in agriculture has grown over recent years (KPMG & Skills Impact, 2019). Data from Google for 2015-21 (Figure 2) show that while interest in precision agriculture continued to grow to 2020, the interest in digitally transformed agriculture accelerated over the period, but from a lower base.

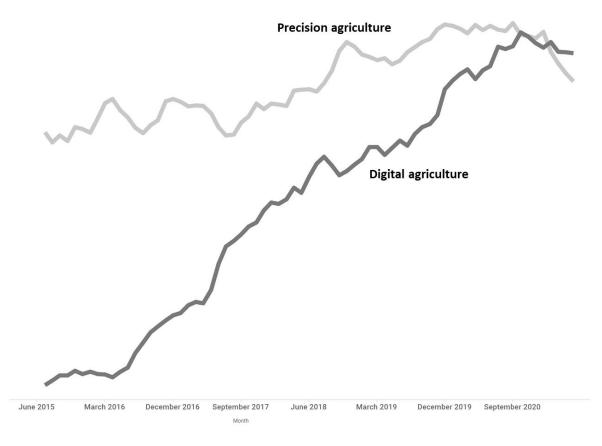


Figure 2: Global interest reported by Google Trends in the terms "digital agriculture" and "precision agriculture" 2015-2021. Weekly data are normalized to the average for 2020 and presented as ten-week running means.

#### 3.2 How does digital technology introduce change in agriculture?

Digital technology generates value by means of data creation and sharing which enables better business process (Keogh & Henry, 2016; Leonard et al., 2017; Wolfert et al., 2017). We view digital technologies' functions in food systems as having four general "classes" (see Box 1). Throughout the paper we describe the types of outcomes that technologies enable. Following an analysis of digital technology, blockchain technology is considered and we provide a reflection on what has changed from the advent of the technologies discussed in this section.

#### Box 1: Classes of technology

- 1. Data: Sensing the system.
- 2. Control: Responding to insight.
- 3. Modelling: Working out what complex multi-sensor data means.
- 4. **Networking and Communication:** Increasing the flow of data and insights.

#### 3.2.1 Data

Digital technology in agriculture provides primary data, from a vast array of sensors, internet of things (IoT) and data from secondary sources, including data of physical and socio-economic condition. Together these provide information on many different parts of the food systems. The sensors directly measure the condition of components or aspects of entities of interest such as cells, soils, climate, plants, animals, products, and their packages, location and condition as they pass from production through processing to consumers. Secondary data include those from omics (omics data include chemistry information describing plant or animal genomics, phenomics, proteomics or metabolomics), monitors, remote sensing whether from satellite, airborne or ground-based devices, radio frequency identification (RFID) scanners, and other data such as GPS. Other secondary data are those used to monitor and adjust activities within value frameworks, such as those that support trading, inventory management, certified product information, e-commerce or management of the supply framework.

Protected cropping systems have traditionally been more data-centric than broadacre cropping (Klerkx et al., 2019) and have been partially digital since the 1970s. The volume of data collected in broadacre cropping systems lagged until the 1990s, when it jumped dramatically with the introduction of precision agriculture (National Research Council, 1997). Yield sensors on grain harvesters, coupled with GPS, gave precise geo-referenced yield data at a resolution of a few meters. These data were then expected to guide fertilizer application. Geo-referenced sensors are now available to provide on-the-go estimates of machinery position, grain protein, reflectance, and absorption of crop canopies, weeds, soil geophysical properties, and machinery performance. While the costs of technology have reduced dramatically, in broadacre cropping, issues remain regarding the conversion of data into information of sufficient value to promote widespread adoption for complex field management operations, although adoption of spatial guidance has been very high (Lowenberg-DeBoer & Erickson, 2019).

The dairy industry has used sensors of individual milk yield and quality for decades to measure cow performance and adjust feeding accordingly. Data technologies were developed later in other livestock systems because of technical difficulties with field-robust sensors (Wathes et al., 2008). Recently, RFID technology has allowed producers to adopt robust sensors, which has dramatically increased data flow in many livestock systems (Barge et al., 2013; Zhang et al., 2020). A range of technologies, including animal tracking (Barge et al., 2013), DEXA carcase analysis (Connaughton et al., 2020; Delgado-Pando et al., 2021), electronic noses for profiling of meat quality (Wojnowski et al., 2017) and blockchain technologies (Cao et al., 2021) are being explored to promote objective measurement and to stimulate information sharing throughout livestock systems. Summarising recent research on the motivation for uptake of digital technologies in food and agriculture (CSB-SYSTEM, 2020; Demartini et al., 2018) we suggest that the roles of digital technology in value creation include:

- Data-enabled valuation of equity
- Production efficiency through precision agriculture, by varies inputs to meet variations in the land's capability to produce.
- Product streaming to increase value
- Preserving value through environmental control during logistics
- Increasing value by precision processing and
- Certifying origin of products using distributed data ledger technology

Direct, proximal or remote sensing of field growth environments has developed in parallel to support an interpretation of these data. Satellite imagery dates from the 1970s (Weiss et al., 2020), but recent substantial increase in the spatial and spectral resolution, which, together with data from various airborne and ground sensors, has improved the precision and utility of remote sensing for digital agriculture.

A further wave of data technologies is arriving through the internet-of-things (IoT), which has the potential to provide real-time data from a wide range of sensors on equipment, animals, water tanks, gates and elsewhere. The wide deployment of this technology will depend on better and more widespread internet connectivity in rural areas (Nirmalathas, 2016; United Soybean Board, 2019). Downstream within food systems, blockchain technologies will support incentives for reducing food waste and managing uncertainty. IoT monitoring of food products through the value framework is expected to reduce losses by 1%-4% (World Economic Forum, 2019). Despite the need for fitness of telecommunications to support growth, there remains a lack of appropriate quantitative data supporting data use 'behaviour' by food producers and the capability of existing or planned network infrastructure to cater for that data use; producers in Australia continue to express frustration about the lack of development of rural telecommunications (Lamb, 2017). The conclusion can therefore be drawn that adoption of rural innovations requires user buy-in as well as numerous positive product attributes.

#### 3.2.2 Control

Digital technology generates value when it improves an action through better control of an activity or process. Desired effects include machinery guidance, animal control, selection of input type or quantity, control of processing action, or modified value of product or attribute. Table 1 lists a selection of technologies that are either in use or at advanced stages of development.

Table 1: Current agricultural technologies that are either in use or at advanced stages of development; these are examples of technologies that provide improved control of an activity or process.

Innovation	Use
Auto-steer	High-resolution GPS guides farm machinery precisely to avoid
	overlaps or misses
RFID selection of livestock	Individual animals are selected on basis of weight gain or other
(often referred to as EID)	diagnostic criteria for differential feeding, treatment or cull
Virtual fencing	Animals are controlled by digital fence lines in the field based on
	GPS
Variable rate technology	Equipment is capable of changing rates during operation in
	accordance with a digital field map and GPS. Applicable to
	fertilizer, spray or irrigation
On-the-go spraying	Real-time detection and treatment of weeds or nutrient deficiency
Robotics	Machine operations in the yard or processing to improve precision
	and reduce labour costs.
	Selective harvest. Product quality is differentiated within-
	management units to increase total value
Digital trading	Data intensive valuation to account for differential quality,
	consumer preference, and provenance
Data-driven financial and	Precision financing of product and components of natural capital
insurance instruments	

#### 3.2.3 Modelling

Modelling provides the linkages between data and control. For example, auto-steer – widely used in no-till farming in developed countries, uses GPS to estimate the current location of a machine, a digital model then compares that to the desired location, and a response to correct the steering if needed. This is an unusually simple example. Analysis

often requires several sources of data, which are then combined to represent complex processes as they vary over space and time. The results that appear to the user conceal the complex calculations of the model and the effort that went into its development.

From a model design perspective, a review of the next generation of models revealed the need to characterize systems up to the farm gate (Antle et al., 2017). Advice on the technological advances necessary to model systems beyond the farm gate is available (Jones et al., 2017) and associated digital technologies have developed in four ways to support advances in modelling. These are:

- Software has become capable of analysing more complex problems. It has also become more accessible in open source software (e.g. QGIS Development Team (2021) and R Core Team (2020)), which encourages collaboration and codevelopment of models.
- Database management is now more competent to handle large datasets from multiple sources and with more flexible formatting. Through GODAN and other programs, systems are developing to facilitate networking of large databases for both public and private benefit (Kretser et al., 2015).
- Visualization of large, linked databases is easier (Charvat et al., 2018) but requires specialist data managers.
- Continued expansion of data storage and computing power at much reduced prices.

#### 3.2.4 Networking and communications

Communication and networking technologies promise new patterns of disruption to existing agricultural systems through their effects on the distance that separates people. Economists believe innovation conforms to the gravity model (the premise that trade "gravitates" more towards size or scale) through processes of knowledge sharing, matching and knowledge spill over (Carlino & Kerr, 2014). These would seem to relegate agriculture – by definition non-agglomerated – outside the innovation mainstream. In Australia and elsewhere, agricultural organizations are attempting to improve agglomeration by coordinating grower groups.

There are documented examples of the digital mobilisation of cooperative action both along the food supply chain (Berti & Mulligan, 2016) and amongst farms (Lev & Stevenson, 2011) which address traditional problems of farmers' lack of coordination, scale and market power. In addition, many cooperatives have adopted advanced information technology for market intelligence and other decision support, often to overcome spatial separation. These developments are often described as "hubs".

Further development in digitally-enabled collaborative action is in data platforms that serve some collective or individual need on a service provision basis. Platforms can take various forms and associated governance structures ranging from in-house and proprietary through to being stand-alone service providers (Wolfert et al., 2014). The requirements for their effective operation in an Australian context are reviewed by Darnell et al. (2018); these include the well-understood constraints on more conventional collaboration, such as shared ownership and its relationship to control and decision making. Studies of agri-food trading platforms in well-developed online environments such as China have also emphasised the importance of strong physical and operational networks which can ensure satisfactory delivery and certify product safety and quality, alongside the virtual network (Montealegre et al., 2007; Wei et al., 2020).

The rapid global growth of mobile phone and data coverage still has major deficiencies for rural areas in many countries (United Soybean Board, 2019), including Australia (Nirmalathas, 2016). This is a clear priority for government intervention, discussed later in this paper. Nevertheless, social media is an essential vehicle for P2P (person-to-person)

or B2P (business-to-person) communication, for understanding customer preferences and adapting products to meet the demand and overcome the problems incurred by relying on traditional extension pathways. Cloud computing allows simple local devices to use remote computing and storage resources at low cost, allowing the data to be shared easily.

## 3.2.5 Shortening value chains using blockchain technology

Distributed ledger or blockchain technology (BCT), introduced to agriculture after 2008, offers secure methods to transfer information between parties. BCT could improve relations between actors in food frameworks who are isolated, insecure, externally controlled or data-poor. For example, food fraud which is avoidable by way of enhanced connectivity between consumer and producer costs the food industry tens of billions of dollars per year, leaving aside the consequences to health and brand damage (Rocchi et al., 2020). The potential impact is substantial for Australia, which aspires to export high-quality products (Greenville, 2019). There are many other applications for BCT, such as land registration, smart contracts and access to financial products (FAO et al., 2019).

The advantages BCT offers include security, transparency, independence and speed (Mearian, 2018; Yiannis, 2019). Challenges include a lack of regulation conformity, scope of security and time needed for participants to learn unfamiliar technology.

It remains to be seen if BCT can be implemented satisfactorily as part of digital agriculture. There remains some scepticism with statements that there is no example in agriculture with "wide adoption and which is truly run as a shared system. And . . . if the real issue is market structure – technology won't solve that." (Martha Bennett, cited in Mearian (2018).

## 3.3 What has changed?

Several recent reports suggest that the move to digital agriculture and food is occurring and that the pace of its adoption will increase in the near future (Keogh, 2019; Keogh & Henry, 2016; Perrett et al., 2017; Ramasubramanian, 2010; Trendov et al., 2019b; US FDA, 2019; World Bank (2021). From these, we summarise six underlying reasons for this:

- 1. Technology has become much cheaper.
- 2. People and sensors are more connected, and the connections will become faster and capable of conveying more complex data.
- 3. Society has changed in ways that accept the technology, which has become commonplace.
- 4. Labour costs have increased, and labour has become scarce in many rural areas.
- 5. Modelling capacity can now represent complex realities and is no longer limited to large dedicated computer facilities.
- 6. Data have become more embedded in business models, increasing the number of stakeholders who may seek digital connections to products, firms and supply chains as part of their decision support.

#### 4 New food value frameworks: Digital agriculture's role in a paradigm shift

Thus far, we have outlined the situation of digital agriculture from global and national perspectives. We have also made a case for the need for a clearer vision of digital agriculture. Evidence has been presented to claim a rise in the interest of digital agriculture and we have outlined several methods of how digital agriculture will stimulate change in agriculture and associated value frameworks. In this section, we discuss digital agriculture's role in the creation of new food value frameworks and comment on how digital technologies will drive efficiencies in sustainable food systems as they become increasingly complex.

Early data applications focused on improvements in agricultural production efficiency, which we refer to as the *production* domain. More recently there has been emphasis (Burwood-Taylor et al., 2021) on the role of technology in creating value beyond the farmgate: the *market* domain.

Addressing sustainable food systems requires, in our view, three further domains. The first and second are in the *capital* and *governance* domains, which concerns the role of technologies to protect and govern investment in human and natural capitals that underpin sustainable production (UNEP 2014). The third is in using *data technologies* to help govern complex food systems through data-enhanced instruments for sustainability in terms of policy, finance, legislation or public investment. In this sense, data is an asset from which to generate value (Wiseman and Sanderson 2018). This section of the paper draws the capital and data technologies domains into the more-mature production and market domains of agribusiness.

#### 4.1 Demand focus is the future; supply focus is the past

Food systems have reached a stage of development where their design is grounded in consumer satisfaction (Taylor & Fearne, 2006, 2009). They also show extreme concentration at retail, input and processing levels (Maglaras et al., 2015). Retailers control access to the consumer and dictate many aspects of the supply conditions (Hingley, 2005). Hence a variety of transaction mechanisms have emerged, all of which target delivery of customer value at minimum cost.

Digital transformation plays many roles in this change, at all stages of the value chain, and offers many opportunities. It offers a means to coordinate divergent mechanisms within food systems (Kramer et al., 2021; Kumar et al., 2020).

Consumer demand will be more important in the future and drive value in terms of demand for products with repeatable quality and quantity (Grunert, 2005; Verbeke, 2005). For example, developers of plant-based protein must meet consumer expectations for products that are like meat, while meat producers are focused on reducing carbon emissions. Other examples include the emphasis food retailers put on the repeatable quality of fresh fruit and vegetables. This emphasizes the need for channels to provide feedback information from retailers/customers to producers. Digital technology now allows feedback from consumers to all upstream actors in the supply framework (Shepherd et al., 2020).

Nevertheless, producers, logistics and value chains remain the focus of digital technology in developing value frameworks in agriculture. Although producers dominate food frameworks, in developed societies, most components of retail food are unusable by consumers in their raw state (fresh fruit and vegetables are exceptions).

To enable information flow through the value chain framework, a range of technologies new to agriculture are available. These include blockchain technology to provide assurance in the nature and provenance of products and their transaction history (Yiannis, 2018). A range of predisposing conditions have been identified for the implementation of blockchain for food products (Behnke & Janssen, 2020), and Australian implementations are in its early stages. In turn, such strongly curated information offers secondary uses such as the specification of "smart contracts" (Staples et al., 2017).

Use of social media in marketing and generating consumer feedback offers significant potential, particularly in developing value addition mechanisms that circumvent, or possibly complement, retailers' hold on consumer demand information.

New analyses (such as metabolomics) to assess food quality offer yet further opportunities (Kobayashi et al., 2015). The degree to which new digital processes interact within the value framework may determine how much extra value is created (see Box 3).

Natural, human and manufacturing capital must be maintained and nurtured when considering food production. Digital technology will enable new financial, administrative and social instruments to evolve. An early goal is the sustainability of food supply frameworks in which value accumulates throughout the process, including managing the waste that is produced (Shafiee-Jood & Cai, 2016).

Box 3: Creating value in meat processing

- a) DEXA† technology identifies the characteristics of each sheep carcass as it enters the processing plant.
- b) This information increases value when used to control meat-cutting robots to meet customer requirements.
- c) It adds more value when fed back to the sheep producer, and more when it is used to modify feed characteristics.
- d) The total value added far exceeds that of the original but depends upon integration within the supply framework.

†DEXA = Dual Energy X-ray Absorptiometry.

Some economists assert that the growth of human capital is the only true indicator of the sustainable use of natural resources (Solow, 1991). Food systems are therefore sustainable only when the processes they use increase a society's overall welfare. Economists debate how to measure the increase in human capital and how to establish what causes it. It is likely that food producers will adopt many new digital-based systems ranging from robotics to data sharing and artificial intelligence platforms. These will have as-yet unforeseen social consequences, some of which need new skills (KPMG and Skills Impact, 2019) that will take time to assimilate into the supply framework.

In Australia, producers' and processors' disclosure of product characteristics and attributes on the Sedex data sharing platform has been used to inform retailers, which in turn provide product assurance for their customers (Sedex Australia, 2018). Mobilisation of this data beyond the immediate food system holds promise, for example, in insurance and finance markets where data provision serves as proof of risk management implementation (Ruiz-Garcia et al., 2009; Tripoli & Schmidhuber, 2018), or from natural capital accumulation which in turn allows inference about risk and resilience in natural systems (Cong et al., 2014). The existence and potential for data transmission do not, however, necessarily occasion success. Food retailers' attempts to employ metrics based on a purposive collection of farm-level data of interest to the consumer have been shown to encounter constraints associated with communication, trust and perceived lack of relevance amongst chain members (Freidberg, 2020). Extension into certification faces many of the same limitations, including incompatibility of supply chain actors' media (Theuvsen et al., 2007).

# 4.2 Developments in farm and food systems within the new food value framework

Digital technology will enable the present agriculture-based sustainable food chains to transform into complex frameworks. This will occur as food production systems grow in volume and complexity to meet the multiple demands of consumers. Consumers' demands apply pressure at points within the framework that will move production, processing and waste management up the spiral (Figure 3).

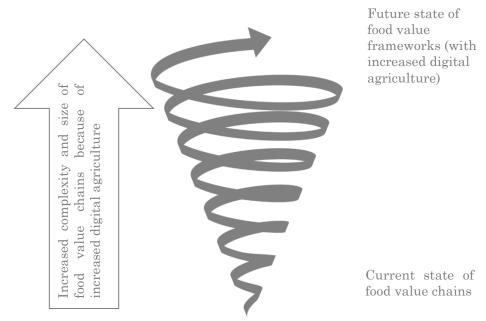


Figure 3: Food value chains will increase in size and complexity as they become frameworks and adopt digital technologies.

The mechanism for scalability of change within value frameworks determines how the investment will respond to change. The German Economist Schumpeter recognized two modes of economic development: disruption and accumulation (Fagerberg, 2003). In the case of disruption, scale is enabled through communications and networking technology if the business model allows some version of Metcalfe's Law (Briscoe et al., 2006) to operate whereby the value of telecommunications networks increases in proportion to the numbers of users. In the case of accumulation, existing entities will seek to modify processes that build on their commercial strengths. Both processes may operate concurrently and may be confounded (Malerba, 2006).

Connectivity between producer and consumer is important in both directions within the framework. Onward signalling maintains value in the product through its trusted identity as it passes through the framework, for example, through traceability. Backward signalling indicates consumer, buyer or processor preference back towards the producer (Spence, 2002). Blockchain packaging of information supports trading, and data transfer mechanisms that promotes innovation (Rejeb et al., 2020).

This section has argued that a new paradigm of agri-food value frameworks will emerge from the advent of digital agriculture. The next section of the paper continues with the theme of process innovation and the appetite for investment.

# 5 Business processes, innovation IP and social capital to adopt digital technology

Digital agriculture will attract more investors if they understand how the technology will drive innovation. Innovation in agriculture has become less deliberative (Hall et al., 2006) and more complex and collaborative (Satell, 2019). This change is costly. Of the US\$1.3

trillion invested in new digital projects in 2018, US\$900 billion was wasted because of an inappropriate emphasis on strategic goals and organizational cultural problems (such as mindset towards change and speed of decision making) (Tabrizi et al., 2019). Innovation brings together new ideas with new mixes of existing elements, including novel products and new ways of producing existing ones (Edquist, 2006). Therefore, we should look at changes in business processes that new technology make possible.

Food industry firms' innovation capacities have been found to be enhanced by networked relationships amongst firms, mainly where firms' networks include third parties beyond immediate suppliers, customers and peers (Kühne et al., 2015). Such third parties could well include digital and data service providers, and platform operators and members.

The factors that affect the investment decision to adopt agricultural technologies have been synthesised into three interacting drivers (Annosi et al., 2019). These are "capabilities" (especially in information acquisition and processing); "cognition" (regarding awareness of innovations' availability and of the benefits they deliver (Leonard et al., 2017); and "external factors", particularly the vertical linkages which are increasingly both an initiator and a consequence of digital transformation in food systems.

The different condition of these factors within food systems as they attempt digital transformation influences how benefits are recognized and realized (Fielke et al., 2020). Benefits of digital transformation may be more recognised by, and more available to, large and powerful firms and those engaged with structural change. Others (van der Burg et al., 2019) anticipate policy challenges associated with the distribution of power not only along the conventionally defined food supply chain but also within networks mobilised by data exchange in the food system.

As has been the case historically for the value chain, farmers' information networks operate on cooperative principles. Communities of Practice and Networks of Practice wherein farmers' weak organisational interlinkages are overcome so as to "collude on information sources" have been investigated (Oreszczyn et al., 2010). Furthermore, it has been identified that contextual economies of scale has benefits to farmers of such collusion in data collection and management (Sykuta, 2016). Examples have been reported where cooperatively-owned data has been used to exercise countervailing market power within the supply chain via horizontally oriented food hubs which collect and share data (Berti and Mulligan, 2016) and vertically co-ordinated food processing and marketing complexes built on seamless data transmission (Lev and Stephenson, 2011).

So how is this working? Facilitation of farmer collective action accelerates progress toward digital transformation by groups of farmers (King et al., 2019; Oreszczyn et al., 2010). At the production level in Australia, innovations arising from transdisciplinary science have been such an accelerator (Polk, 2015), and their translation and extension via the multiple stakeholder organisation Landcare (and more recently Grower Groups) are seen as a driver of innovation from within the food system rather than imported from outside (Baumber et al., 2018). Looking more broadly at innovation that crosses sectoral boundaries and bridges supply chain stages, it has been suggested that innovation platforms that focus on actors' shared interests at the micro-level of "innovation ecosystems" are the way forward (Pigford et al., 2018). The work targeted innovation in sustainable agricultural practices, but many of the same principles apply to digital agriculture transformation: interactions amongst actors within "regimes" of commercial practice. In the absence of external facilitators, these regimes emerge from the farmers' own networking (Sligo & Massey, 2007).

Technological innovation (e.g. machinery, equipment, plant and animal breeds) has long been critical to more productive agriculture together with operational efficiency (Ernst and Young, 2019). As discussed in previous sections, value creation drives this process. Innovative business processes can apply to a small part of the value framework or occasionally span the entire framework. Measuring and monitoring performance against metrics allows process efficiency projects to be targeted towards production problems. Bottlenecks, delays or areas displaying poor utilisation of resources are initial targets for digital technologies.

The pathway of adoption of technology is strongly determined by the pattern of accumulation of intellectual property (IP) because this dictates who gains most value in the process. As we have witnessed in precision agriculture, farmers do not adopt the technology if they perceive no value from adoption (Lowenberg-DeBoer and Erickson 2019). Digital agriculture is far broader and offers the potential of value to farmers, suppliers, advisors, distributors, processors and others within food value frameworks.

The pattern of technology growth varies markedly, depending on who derives the value from its use. This is explained clearly by Malerba (2006), who uses analysis of change in different organizations to identify four contrasting patterns of technology growth (Pavitt, 1984). The different types show contrasting patterns of innovation and IP generation. They vary from disruptive, agile activities focussed on small specialist actors to large organizations that aim to protect their power and influence.

IP law is a relatively new issue for many in agriculture and presents several emerging issues concerning who owns the value from the data generated in digital agriculture (Sanderson et al., 2017; Wiseman & Sanderson, 2018a). Patenting a new or improved process is complex, and the technology use must be substantial, not incidental, which can be hard to prove (IP Australia, 2020). IP has become increasingly important to Australian agriculture as the value of food exports to China grows. Weak property rights increase the risk of the loss of IP.

# 6 Role of Government in Digital Agriculture

We have provided evidence thus far to suggest that digital agriculture is a process led by the private sector. Despite this, the public sector has important and often understated functions to support the resilient and equitable growth of digital food value frameworks. These include:

- Maintaining a competitive environment for digital transformation: particularly
  across services and data. This would include regulating the value chain ecosystem
  to encourage development through trading policy, intellectual property legislation,
  and taxation policy.
- Overseeing financial and insurance institutions to ensure their fitness to support development through licensing and regulation.
- Stimulating value frameworks by prudent investment in public goods such as communication and transport infrastructure.
- Maintaining human capital by investment in rural education, because digital capability of the workforce is a key factor in preparedness for change (Trendov, 2019b; KPMG and Skills Impact, 2019).

The public sector faces major challenges to support digitization (Dilmegani et al., 2014). It can support digital agriculture in three areas in addition to its traditional support of research and development (Keogh, 2019):

1. Harmonize policy that affects the sectors that support the change to digital agriculture;

- 2. Invest in mechanism for correcting market and institutional failure; and
- 3. Provide a legislative and regulatory environment to support rapid change.

Federal and state government policy in Australia supports sustainable growth with the policy environment favourable to rural innovation (OECD, 2015). Digital technology in agriculture can interact with these processes in several ways:

- 1. Policy influences transport, trade, rural education and communications, which affect the feasibility of options available for digital agriculture;
- 2. In marketing, demand for products will be influenced by policies that target trade, biosecurity and public health (Greenville, 2019);
- 3. Digital agriculture can aid policies that target sustainable growth as a component of agricultural productivity called "management of the ecosystem"; an important term not to be confused with the study of the interrelation between organisms in classical ecology.

#### 6.1 Investment

Investment in innovations was briefly touched on in a previous section, but from a public sector perspective, most governments are reluctant to invest in areas seen as the private domain. Recently, however, Australian states have invested public funds in innovation precincts or food hubs (Australian Government, 2018), hoping that private investors will also support the innovation. In some cases this has supported regional leadership and identity (Ernst and Young, 2019) and in others it has addressed the need for cross-subsidisation of services to sparsely populated areas (Keogh & Henry, 2016).

#### 6.2 Regulation and legislation

Scale and networking effects increase the tendency for the winner-takes-all to occur in the digital economy (Bughin et al., 2018). The imperative is on entrants to dominate market share or prepare to be dominated: this can have serious consequences for others in the ecosystem. Farmers and cooperatives enter this ecosystem with understandable trepidation. Often their only defence is government regulation.

Legal aspects of the ownership of agricultural data ownership in Australia focus on commercial sensitivity (Cho, 2018; Keogh & Henry, 2016) of IP which generates competitive advantage. The Australian National Farmers' Federation (National Farmers Federation, 2020) has addressed this aspect of farm level data to some extent in a Farm Data Code. A central purpose of such codes, seen also in the US and New Zealand is to generate trust amongst value chain actors through instruments such as business law and trademarks (Wiseman & Sanderson, 2018a).

## 7 Lessons from Precision Agriculture

The premise and potential value of digital agriculture have now been discussed at length, so it is prudent to consider lessons from similar technology that arguably have underperformed in adoption.

The expected benefits of precision agriculture in the 1990s did not materialize to the extent expected. For example, it has been shown that a pattern in which simple-to-apply precision agriculture technology such as GPS guidance is adopted very widely amongst crop farmers while more complex management processes such as yield map interpretation struggle to exceed 20% adoption and depends strongly on external technical support (Llewellyn & Ouzman, 2015). Similar patterns have been reported in the U.S. and Europe

(Lowenberg-DeBoer & Erickson, 2019). If we can understand why adoption failed, we can aim to avoid repeating the errors with digital agriculture.

#### 7.1 The need to demonstrate early value from technology

Precision agriculture was envisaged fundamentally as a management change enabled by spatial technology (National Research Council, 1997). It has developed largely as a toolbox of technologies from which farmers seek immediate benefit (Lowenberg-DeBoer and Erickson 2019).

Its main problem in the Australian grain industry has been a lack of clear value to adopters (Leonard et al., 2017). It proved hard to gauge big gains from variable rate technology, which is often confounded with precision agriculture even though it is just one use of the data. Longer term gains from interpretation of complex data has proven much less attractive than the clear and immediate benefit of a technology such as auto-steer. The full benefits of data-based learning may take years to acquire and are subject to many uncertainties such as weather and markets. As such, at this early stage of digital agriculture, its value throughout the food system must be demonstrated for success to be enjoyed.

#### 7.2 Technical innovation must become management practice

Business processes are interactions between people producing goods or services and, as demonstrated in this paper, are critical for value creation in food systems. In contrast, precision agriculture technology is fragmented. This obstructs the flow of data and hence the growth of management processes that could use it.

Patchy internet connectivity makes the problem worse. Connectivity in rural communities is a global problem and remains so in rural Australia (Gregory, 2020). It can be difficult to make the technology work in the field. In precision agriculture, the separate technologies have not communicated seamlessly with one another. Attempts by technology developers to address this issue further raises questions surrounding intellectual property (Wiseman & Sanderson, 2018b). Farmers may be wary of passing their data between machines through third parties using cloud-based data management systems. Lack of technical support was and remains a major barrier to the adoption of precision technology in Australia and elsewhere (Cook & Bramley, 1998; Fiocco et al., 2021). Most farmers who adopt precision agriculture did so through the agency of consultants (Llewellyn & Ouzman, 2015). We envisage that digital agriculture will need to address similar issues of control and training.

#### 7.3 Institutions must support long-term change

Scaling is important to widespread adoption. Any technical innovation requires institutional support over the long-term for successful adoption. The success of a technology depends on the growth of know-how throughout the sector. Short-term, local successes may make the news, but they do not spread widely without industry-wide organizational capacity to invest in human capital and maintain progress. The need to develop sufficient organizational capital to achieve resilience and absorb the inevitable failures that occur. A failure to address organizational and social requirements results in the 'technology fallacy' (Kane et al., 2019) which could threaten the advancement of value created from digital agriculture.

#### 8 Conclusions

Digital agriculture describes the introduction of a wide range of technologies – many new to agriculture - that promise substantial change in the operation of food systems through the use of data (Shepherd et al., 2020). Investors in digital agriculture are being attracted by expectations of substantial gains as agriculture strives to catch up with other more

highly digitized sectors in a sustainable manner. To a degree, such a process is inevitable because the need for digitization in food systems is irresistible and because agriculture is considered to be the digital laggard in amongst economic sectors (Blackburn et al., 2017; Manyika et al., 2015), hence a strong candidate for change. Access to digital technology is increasing everywhere and is penetrating food systems globally.

Ultimately, digital technology promises changes in food systems through improvements in farm productivity, connectivity between farmers, consumers or intermediaries and through better control of processes throughout food systems. These changes offer prospects for improvements in global sustainability by connecting farmers better with consumers, intermediaries and the system in which they operate. By learning from the patchy adoption of precision agriculture, we acknowledge the need for adopters to realize value early from technology adoption. Learning from the patterns of technology led innovation in different industry sectors we also recognize the need to understand how adoption pathways differ according to who, in the food system, is likely to realise the value from digital technology adoption, as well as who owns the IP from its use. Failure to recognize the complexity of the changes will ultimately retard adoption.

#### 8.1 Three principles for change

Identifying the potential for digital agriculture must first consider a sustainable food system framework which views food production not as an independent activity but linked inextricably to consumer and societal demands, and reliant on natural and human capitals that sustain it. A further aspect is how people will govern such systems, through a range of digitally enhanced policies, financial and administrative instruments.

Food systems vary enormously, and to understand the scale of potential change, we propose evaluating the role of digital technologies in all systems, rather than focusing on symbolic examples such as robotics which, while of undoubted long-term potential, promise change currently in only a small subsector of the agricultural economy. We propose to learn lessons from the smaller agile sectors while also attending to the 'megalithic' commodities, which will have a greater impact, albeit more slowly.

Second, we propose to learn from the patchy adoption of precision agriculture and realize that digital technology use will grow through the value of the processes it enables. Value is not a resource waiting passively to be harvested but an improvement in function that needs to be learned with partners inside complex systems. Failure to realize the social and organizational requirements for this to occur results in the technology fallacy (Kane et al., 2019) – seen in many sectors.

Digital technologies enable levels of data acquisition, transfer and control through space and time that were impossible prior to its introduction. Currently, the scale of activity is very small, but the potential is very large, but it needs to consider the realities of the market. For example, what may work well for a high-value food product may be too expensive for a low-value product like export grain. Conversely, remote sensing technologies that are useful for big-paddock systems over large areas will likely not work for the intensive production of high-quality fruit. Similarly, customer-centric frameworks for high-value products are likely to move quickly in response to consumer demand. But Australian agriculture and its food networks will remain dominated by extensive production of export commodities because of the long-standing and possibly irreversible surplus production of food. Therefore a broad scope for adoption of digital technologies but focussed on production efficiencies.

Third, there is a need to recognize the contrasting innovation pathways that will develop for digital agriculture. The creation of IP and its subsequent appropriation follows distinct patterns in industries according to fundamental characteristics such as product type, capitalization and time since innovation (Malerba, 2006). Sectors that already have well-established pathways, such as plant and animal breeders, machinery and agrochemical manufacturers, will be able to operate within larger value frameworks. Smaller start-ups will be able to move quickly within selected small-volume frameworks, but their impact on the whole sector is uncertain. While the word 'disruption' is often associated with digital technology, not all change will be disruptive.

#### 8.2 The roles for digital technology in sustainable Australian food systems

To understand the transformative changes digital technology will bring to agriculture, we need to analyse it within a development context. While some developments are impossible to predict (who would have predicted Uber 20 years ago?), we do know how development trajectories work, which provide some insights.

Australian agribusiness is ripe for major growth. Digital agriculture is projected to support growth to an USD\$78 billion industry by 2030 (National Farmers Federation & KPMG, 2018). The expectation is dominated by gains in productivity, automation, managing crops and livestock under challenging environment, and managing financial risk. Gains in value determined by volatile trading conditions are less predictable, and most rapid growth will be in small volume, specialist products rather than large commodity exports although these ultimately are likely to account for most of the gain. The scalability of success will be limited by the organization and the activation of institutions, in which governments will play an important part.

Digital technology will fundamentally shift some change dynamics, with duality between large incumbent organizations and smaller partners becoming important. Disruptive start-ups appear exciting, but most start-ups fail, largely through their inability to scale. Moreover, experience elsewhere shows that some of the bigger movers in the field will aim to dominate its space if governments allow them to do so, thereby squeezing out potential newcomers. Small-volume, high-value products look appealing, but how much innovation can they support in Australia without government intervention?

Attention to changes in food system function is also a vital issue. Traditional agri-food systems thinking need to be modified to capture the nuances of systems that are increasingly operating in new, more complex ways. Digital agriculture technology could support moves toward sustainability by connecting activities to changes in natural capitals through data-enabled land valuation or carbon financing. However such moves must first contend with existing interests that may not feel the need for change. Digital technology and innovation rely on connectivity between actors within the framework and functioning institutions to foster growth. Actors within food systems need not just utilise new technologies but apply better tools to assist planning, and to help them deal with the increasing complexity. New partners and business models can arise if connection is easy.

Governments play a major role in supporting resilient and sustainable food systems. Digital technology will help producers manage risk, but digital technology should also ensure appropriate investment in natural and human capitals on which resilience depends. It would be a serious error to overlook the biology that underpins complex food systems. Artificial intelligence and machine learning will provide new insights, but these will acquire value only when they are understood within their environment.

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