BIOETHICS BRIEFING NOTE

NUFFIELD COUNCIL™ BIOETHICS

Meat alternatives



OVERVIEW

- There is growing interest and investment in meat alternatives that attempt to imitate meat, with plant-based products already available and cultured meat in development.
- The environmental profile of meat alternatives looks promising in some scenarios, but there is little independent evidence on the consequences of large-scale production.
- Long-term studies are needed to assess the health and other implications of eating meat alternatives.
- The proportion of people willing to try plantbased and cultured meat alternatives is

- increasing. There are calls for accurate and transparent labelling and marketing practices, and for regulatory preparedness.
- It is important to contextualise the role of meat alternatives within our global food system.
 Meat alternatives might increase food security if production is scaled up, but meat reduction initiatives could have a negative impact on some farming communities. Meat alternatives should be considered within these broader contexts and alongside a range of other potential solutions for achieving food sustainability.

INTRODUCTION

Meat occupies a special position in the diets of many humans.¹ It is often desired and valued culturally and for its taste and nutritional value as an energy-dense and rich source of protein and

vitamins.² Global meat production has tripled over the last four decades,³ due to an increase in the world's population size, affluence, and dietary preferences.⁴ Farming practices vary globally and carry social, cultural, and economic significance. Livestock farming employs millions of people, can deliver some environmental benefits by helping manage habitats for wildlife, allowing carbon storage, and providing landscapes for recreation.5 However, most animals farmed for meat worldwide are farmed intensively.6 This can result in significant use of freshwater, greenhouse gas emissions, soil degradation, pollution, and loss of biodiversity.7 There are longstanding concerns about the welfare of animals in certain farming systems, and some people have fundamental objections to the rearing and killing of animals for food.8 Meat production can contribute to public health risks such as the transmission of disease and antibiotic resistance.9 and high consumption of processed meat is associated with adverse health conditions. 10 These

problems support an ethical imperative to reduce meat production and consumption. International bodies, experts, and NGOs are calling for people to reduce the amount of meat in their diets, or to stop eating meat altogether.11

There is growing interest in meat alternatives that attempt to closely imitate meat produced from animals. Manufacturers of these kinds of products aim to fulfil people's desire for meat, without the potentially harmful consequences of meat production. 12 This briefing note takes a global view with particular reference to the UK context to consider the possible implications of meat alternatives for animal welfare, the environment, and human health, and their place within broader efforts to promote public health and sustainable food systems.

BOX 1. TYPES OF MEAT ALTERNATIVES

There are two main types of meat alternatives that imitate meat produced from livestock:

- Plant-based meat alternatives use a biomimicry approach to create the taste and texture of meat without the use of any animal products, offering people a 'viscerally equivalent' experience to eating meat.13
- Cultured meat alternatives are grown from the cells of an animal and seek 'biological equivalence' with livestock meat products without the slaughter of animals.14 These

products are also known as cultivated or cellbased meats.15

Definitions of what cultured meat 'is' and its status as a meat are still contested and at the heart of debates about how these foodstuffs should be regarded. 16 Whilst cultured meat may be seen by some as meat, these categories are in many ways constructed, historically situated, and political, and may change over time based on the criteria used to define meat.17

BOX 2. OTHER RESPONSES TO THE IMPACTS OF LIVESTOCK FARMING

There are a range of other approaches to mitigating the impacts of livestock farming that are being explored or promoted, for example:

- 'Plant-forward' diets which involve the consumption of long-established plant-based alternatives to meat such as jackfruit, soy-based products like tofu and tempeh, and seitan made from wheat, or other meat alternatives like Quorn made from mycoprotein.
- Alternative sources of protein such as insects as feed for livestock or insect-based food products, which are a rich source of protein, essential amino acids and other nutrients, and have a much lower carbon, land, and water footprint than meat.

- Initiatives which encourage and promote **reducing waste** across the entire food system.
- Agroecological farming methods which combine dimensions of social, technological, economic, and environmental contexts with local ecological knowledge for holistic approaches to sustainable farming and which could reduce GHG emissions, restore soils and biodiversity.18
- Techniques using genome-editing in farmed animals which are being researched and developed in an attempt to produce diseaseresistant animals and reduce some of the environmental impacts of meat production, for example, by improving feed conversion ratios.19

SOCIAL CONTEXTS AND CHANGING BEHAVIOURS

In many societies and cultures, the provision and consumption of meat signals status, hospitality, cultural practice, and religious observance.²⁰ Decisions about the purchase of meat are influenced by many factors including affordability, convenience, marketing activities, personal preferences, and cultural norms.²¹ On average, people in high income countries consume between 80-115 kg of meat per year, compared with 4-32 kg in low and middle-income countries.²²

Although the global demand for meat is on the rise, 14% of people in Britain now identify as flexitarian²³ – meat-eaters reducing their meat consumption –

and 70% of buyers of plant-based meat alternatives are meat-eaters.²⁴ Furthermore, an increasing number of people are opting for vegetarian and vegan diets.²⁵ However, only 4% of the UK population are vegan or vegetarian.²⁶

Efforts to encourage a reduction in meat consumption have so far resulted in relatively small changes in meat eating habits.²⁷ Rather than trying to change people's meat-eating behaviour, manufacturers of meat alternatives are seeking to change how meat is produced, representing a paradigm-shift in strategies.

PLANT-BASED MEAT ALTERNATIVES

MARKET TRENDS

New products have helped boost the plant-based meat alternatives sector. In the European market, meat substitutes have seen a growth rate of 450% between 2013 and 2017,²⁸ capturing 1% of the total meat market.²⁹ Global investments in the plant-based meat industry exceeded US\$1 billion between 2017-2018. Investors include venture capitalists, as well as those in the traditional meat industry, such as Tyson Foods, America's largest meat producer, which has also launched its own plant-based products.³⁰

Recent products that have been introduced into the market include the Beyond Burger, which is sold in over 25,000 food outlets worldwide and can be found in the meat section of some UK supermarkets, and the Impossible Burger, which is served in more than 10,000 food outlets in the US. In October 2019, it was reported that Impossible Foods has applied for authorisation of the use of an ingredient, soy leghemoglobin, which would enable its products to be sold in the EU.³¹

METHODS OF PRODUCTION

New plant-based meat alternatives are using novel ingredients and innovative processes to create products with a higher degree of meat mimicry. Beyond Burger's key ingredients are pea protein isolate, canola oil and refined coconut oil. The Impossible Burger uses soy protein isolate and soy leghemoglobin, which contains 'heme', an iron-rich molecule. Impossible's leghemoglobin is manufactured by genetically engineered yeast and

gives the burger the colour, aroma, and flavour of meat.

Creating realistic cuts of meat or fish, rather than processed products such as burgers, remains a challenge. However, 3D-printing techniques to produce plant-based meat alternatives are being developed. Using a new scaffolding technique, meat-alternative products can be 3D-printed from vegetable proteins to resemble the fibrous texture of meat.³³

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

Estimates of the environmental impact and sustainability of large-scale production of plant-based meat alternatives vary according to the assumptions of different lifecycle assessments,³⁴ and further independent evidence is needed. Lifecyle assessments comparing plant-based meat alternative products to conventional meat products find that plant-based meat uses 72-99% less water, 47-99% less land, emits 30-90% fewer greenhouse gases and causes 51-91% less aquatic nutrient pollution.³⁵

Other research, however, suggests that some plant-based meat alternatives can produce similar levels of emissions as some unprocessed or minimally processed animal-sourced products.³⁶ Environmental sustainability might be limited by the energy required for protein processing and transformation of raw materials.³⁷ Plant ingredients can also pose environmental risks.³⁸ Intensive crop monoculture can drive deforestation and climate

change, as with the example of soy production in South America.³⁹

IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH

In contrast to most meat products, the Beyond Burger and Impossible Burger provide fibre and contain no cholesterol.⁴⁰ However, these and similar products are highly processed and incorporate purified plant protein rather than whole foods, contain similar levels of calories and saturated fat as beef burgers, and have much higher levels of sodium and iron.⁴¹ Nutrition experts have cautioned

against extrapolating the health benefits of eating minimally processed fruits, vegetables, whole grains and nuts to plant-based meat alternatives.⁴²

The health effects of soy leghemoglobin and other ingredients not previously consumed by humans have not been established.⁴³ There are calls for rigorous, independent studies to assess the overall long-term health implications of plant-based meat alternatives, so that people can make informed food choices based on considerations of health, as well as animal welfare and environmental impact.⁴⁴

CULTURED MEAT

MARKET TRENDS

There has been an investment of over US\$100 million in the cultured meat industry since 2015. 45 The technology is in an early rapid development phase and faces challenges of scalability and affordability for mass markets. A prototype of a cultured beef burger, funded by Google co-founder Sergey Brin, was announced in 2013.

Cultured meat research was initially led by biomedical scientists in universities, but has more recently moved into the space of entrepreneurship. 46 Start-ups are being funded by venture capitalists, biotech companies like Merck, and large companies in the livestock industry, including Tyson Foods and Cargill. This shift has seen an increase in intellectual property activity to secure patents. Non-profit organisations such as The Good Food Institute and New Harvest are also funding research and driving investment into cultured meat alternatives.

METHODS OF PRODUCTION

Cultured meat has been inspired by techniques used to reconstruct human muscle tissue from cells. 47 Stem cells or cells sourced from animals are put in a growth medium and then placed on a scaffold to recreate the structure of meat. 48 The process is housed within a closed bioreactor to provide sterility and an optimal environment for cells to be cultured. Organ printing and nanotechnology combined with tissue engineering techniques may provide further possibilities for creating cultured meat that has the characteristics of conventional meat.

Researchers in this field face several technical hurdles related to scaling up production, efficiency

of the process, and recreating the texture of meat. There are concerns about the use of certain cell types such as non-human embryonic stem cells, which have unlimited regenerative potential and could accumulate genetic mutations over time.⁴⁹

IMPLICATIONS FOR ANIMAL WELFARE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Developers of cultured meat aim to eliminate the need to farm and slaughter animals for meat altogether. However, currently some animal products are still required in research, such as cells and fetal bovine serum. The latter is not viable for commercial production. Researchers are developing an artificial growth medium that would eliminate the need for fetal bovine serum.⁵⁰

Lifecycle assessments predict that cultured meat production would use substantially less water, land, and produce less waste than conventionally produced meat.⁵¹ Projections of greenhouse gas emissions for cultured meat are scenariodependent,⁵² with some estimates suggesting that it could emit 78-96% fewer greenhouse gases.⁵³ Others have raised concerns that the energy requirement of the cultured meat process, according to some assessments, could have a greater and longer-term global warming potential than cattle production,⁵⁴ unless renewable energy is used.⁵⁵ The true environmental benefits and costs of cultured meat will only become known once it is in production.⁵⁶

The Good Food Institute believes that cultured meat could reduce the environmental impacts of food production to help meet sustainability goals.⁵⁷ This is premised on the assumption that meat alternatives will lead to a 'substitution effect', replacing

conventional meat, and not an 'addition effect' whereby meat alternatives increase global meat production and consumption.58

IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH

Cultured meat has a similar composition to meat from livestock, but the closely controlled process of production may enable a greater degree of design of the taste and nutritional components.59 The process might eliminate risks of zoonotic infection posed by livestock farming and could remove the need for veterinary antibiotics in closed systems of production, thus reducing the impact

of industrialised meat production systems on antimicrobial resistance. 60 Currently, antibiotics are used by a number of researchers in initial cell culturing.

The potential for contamination and bacterial growth at different stages of the culturing process might carry health risks, as might the addition of growth factors and additives, such as hormones, which are used in some conventional meat production outside the EU.61 The Food Ethics Council has highlighted the need for research to assess the health risks associated with cultured meat.62

BOX 3. REGULATORY CHALLENGES

Concerns have been expressed about the lack of regulatory preparedness for meat alternatives. 63 Meat alternatives will require regulatory frameworks that ensure the safety and transparency of products. Different elements of cultured meat that might require regulation include cell sourcing, safety of ingesting novel materials, protocols for preventing and monitoring contamination, requirements for managing waste, and certifying and inspecting production facilities.64

In the UK, meat alternatives are expected to be regulated by the Food Standards Agency under the EU Novel Foods Regulation, unless they contain genetically modified organisms or additives that mean they fall under additional regulatory regimes within the European Food Safety Authority.65 The implications of the UK's exit from the European Union for regulation in this area are currently uncertain. Timely and affordable regulatory processes that facilitate an open culture for supporting innovation are being called for.66

BOX 4. PUBLIC OPINION

Although an increasing number of people are willing to try meat alternatives,67 the proportion of people who would substitute conventional meat with these products is still low.68 Public opinion varies by location: research in China and India indicates a higher public acceptance of meat alternatives compared with the US.69

Consumers of plant-based meat alternatives comprise a high percentage of meat-eaters and those from higher-income households.⁷⁰ Although the sustainability of plant-based products can persuade people to try meat alternatives, the appearance and taste of these products are stronger determinants of regular consumption.71

Framing cultured meat as integral to sustainability with wider societal benefits can influence people to try it even if they perceive few personal

benefits.⁷² Yet, some people have expressed concerns about the affordability, taste, safety, and personal health risks of cultured meat.⁷³ Feelings of disgust have also been reported with people perceiving cultured meat as 'unnatural'.74

People's hopes and fears about food more generally are captured in the Food Standard Agency's report, *Our Food Future*. 75 The report states that people are concerned about a loss of social connection with food and food waste, and tend to be in favour of small scale. local production.⁷⁶ Some feel that food is a class issue with healthy food becoming an unaffordable luxury. There are concerns about large profitdriven food businesses, and people want more transparency and traceability through clear labelling. People expect the Government to protect public and global interests in healthier and more sustainable food choices.

FURTHER ETHICAL ISSUES

PUBLIC HEALTH CONSIDERATIONS

The long-term health effects of consuming meat alternatives have not been established and it is not yet known how people will incorporate these foods into their diets. These products are usually highly processed and the use of novel ingredients and new production processes might carry health risks that are hard to predict.⁷⁷ Terms used by manufacturers to describe meat alternatives that promote their environmental and animal welfare benefits, such as 'clean', 'green' and 'slaughter-free', might mean people overlook the health implications of these products. However, there are questions around whether it is appropriate or fair to hold meat alternatives to higher standards of healthiness than conventional meat, given their potential positive environmental and animal welfare profiles, and how moral trade-offs of this kind could be addressed.

Reports suggest that people are not buying meat alternatives to entirely replace animal products. There is the possibility that the availability of meat alternatives might increase people's overall consumption of meat and meat-like products, which could have health implications.78 It is unclear how this outcome would be managed or controlled to prevent an exacerbation of the challenges of meat production and consumption.

MARKETING AND LABELLING

There are ongoing disagreements over the use of the term meat, and terms associated with meat, in labelling for non-meat products.79 There are questions about whether meat alternatives can be sold alongside meat in shops, and whether cultured meat products should be labelled according to their method of production.80 These questions reflect ambiguities which may be inevitable as part of a process of the changing meanings of meat.81

There have been calls to ensure that labelling and marketing is accurate and transparent so that people are not misled or confused.82 People might have concerns about the ingredients used during manufacture and the presence or use of genetically modified organisms. A Chatham House report calls for further research to explore public attitudes on meat alternatives and how they ought to be labelled.83

THE PLACE OF MEAT ALTERNATIVES IN SUSTAINABLE FOOD SYSTEMS

Taking a holistic food systems approach to addressing the challenges of meat production and consumption involves consideration of health. social, economic, political, animal welfare and environmental domains.84 Food systems are global and highly complex, and interact with a range of ethical issues such as climate change, food justice, and fair distribution of resources within local and country-specific contexts.85

Technologically driven food reform promises a range of benefits, though solutions ought to be implemented with due consideration to those whose livelihoods and homes could be impacted. One billion people, mostly from low-income countries, depend on livestock for their livelihoods, and are likely to be affected by meat reduction policies and the development of meat alternatives in highincome countries.86 There are food justice concerns about meat alternatives being part of a corporate food agenda with small number of multinational food companies having a monopoly over meat production, which could reinforce the gap between poorer and richer nations and decrease local selfsufficiency.87

Currently, meat alternatives are relatively expensive food items. In the future, however, they could offer greater food security if production is scaled up and they become cheaper than conventional meat. However, some would argue that promoting cheaper, healthier plant-based diets should be the focus.

The development of meat alternatives is a technological approach to reducing the adverse effects of meat production and consumption.88 Other approaches, which must not be overlooked, include improving global livestock practices, educational interventions and enacting behavioural change to reduce food waste and meat consumption. increasing the nutritional value of food, increasing the consumption of minimally processed plantbased proteins, and solutions addressing fair distribution of food resources for people across the world.89

CONCLUSIONS

Rather than trying to alter people's meat-eating behaviour, manufacturers are changing how alternatives to meat are produced. This represents a paradigm-shift in strategies to address the ethical issues associated with meat production.

The sustainability profiles of meat alternatives look promising in some scenarios. But energy-intensive processes could reduce sustainability goals, and there is little independent evidence on the effects of production. Long-term studies are needed to assess the health implications of eating meat alternatives, some of which are highly processed. However, it might not be appropriate or fair to

hold them to higher standards of healthiness than conventional meat, given their potential positive environmental and animal welfare profiles.

Concerns have been expressed about a lack of regulatory preparedness for meat alternatives more broadly, and there are calls for accurate and transparent labelling and marketing practices.

The potential for meat alternatives to contribute to sustainable food systems should be considered within broader contexts and alongside a range of other potential solutions for achieving food sustainability.

REFERENCES

- 1 Zaraska M (2016) Meathooked.
- 2 World Economic Forum (2019) Meat: the future series alternative proteins.
- 3 Ritchie H and Roser M (2017) Meat and seafood production & consumption

 Our World in Data.
- 4 Godfray CJ et al. (2018) Meat consumption, health, and the environment Science **361**: 6399.
- 5 Rodríguez-Ortega T et al. (2014) Applying the ecosystem services framework to pasture-based livestock farming systems in Europe Animal 8:1361–72; FCRN (2017) <u>Grazed and confused? Ruminating on cattle, grazing systems, methane, nitrous oxide, the soil carbon sequestration question</u>.
- 6 See Compassion in World Farming (2013) Strategic plan 2013-2017.
- 7 Harwatt H et al. (2019) Scientists call for renewed Paris pledges to transform agriculture The Lancet Planetary Health; FOE Europe (2014) Meat atlas.
- 8 Hemsworth et al. (2015) Scientific assessment of animal welfare New Zeal Vet J 63: 24-30; The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness (2012).
- 9 The WHO has declared antibiotic resistance a major threat to global health and food security: https://www.who.int/antimicrobial-resistance/en/. Antibiotic sales for use in UK farming have fallen and are one of the lowest in the EU, see RUMA (2018) Targets task force: one year on.
- 10 Bradbury KE et al. (2019) Diet and colorectal cancer in UK Biobank: a prospective study Int J Epidemiol dyz064, and Knuppel A et al. (2019) OP31 Meat intake and cancer risk: prospective analyses in UK biobank J Epidemiol Commun H 73: A15.
- 11 See, for example, World Resources Institute (2018) Creating a sustainable food future; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2019) <u>Climate change and land</u>; RSA (2019) <u>Our future in the land</u>; Willett W et al. (2019) Food in the Anthropocene: the EAT-Lancet commission on healthy diets from sustainable food systems *The Lancet Commissions* 393:447-92.
- 12 Chatham House (2019) Meat analogues considerations for the EU.
- 13 Stephens N et al. (2018) Bringing cultured meat to market: technical, socio-political, and regulatory challenges in cellular agriculture Trends Food Sci Tech 78:155-66, at page 157.
- 14 Ibid; Böhm I et al. (2018) Visions of in vitro meat among experts and stakeholders NanoEthics 12:211-24.
- 15 See https://ampsinnovationorg/resources/a-guide-to-terminology/ for a further discussion on the multiple names for cultured meat.
- 16 Sexton AE et al. (2019) Framing the future of food: the contested promises of alternative proteins Environ Plann E 2:47-72 for promissory and counternarratives for alternative proteins, and tensions over 'good' food.
- 17 Sexton AE (2018) Eating for the post-Anthropocene: alternative proteins and the biopolitics of edibility *T I Brit Geogr* 43:586-600; Stephens N et al. (2019) Making sense of making meat: key moments in the first 20 years of tissue engineering muscle to make food *Front Sustain Food Syst* 3:1-16.
- 18 FAO Agroecological farming systems; IDDRI (2018) *An agroecological Europe in 2050: multifunctional agriculture for healthy eating.*

- 19 The Nuffield Council on Bioethics is conducting an in-depth project on genome editing in farmed animals, which is due to be published in 2020.
- 20 Zaraska M (2016) Meathooked.
- 21 Horgan GW et al. (2019) Social, temporal and situational influences on meat consumption in the UK population Appetite 138:1-9.
- 22 Ritchie H and Roser M (2017) See reference 3; FAO UN (2018) FAOSTAT.
- 23 Derbyshire E J (2017) Flexitarian diets and health: a review of the evidence-based literature Front Nutr 3:1-8.
- 24 See YouGov (2018) Is the future of food flexitarian?; Waitrose & Partners (2018) Food and drink report 2018-2019; The Economist (12 October 2019) Plant-based meat could create a radically different food chain; FoodNavigator-USA (12 January 2018) An estimated 70% of Beyond Burger fans are meat eaters, not vegans/vegetarians, says Beyond Meat.
- 25 See British Takeaway Campaign (2019) <u>Cooking up growth, serving up talent in the takeaway sector.</u>
- 26 YouGov (26 March 2019) Is flexitarianism the diet of the future?
- 27 Malek L et al. (2019) Committed vs. uncommitted meat eaters: understanding willingness to change protein consumption Appetite 138:115-26.
- 28 University of Hohenheim (12 February 2018) <u>Meat substitutes and lentil pasta: Legume products on the rise in Europe</u>.
- 29 The Good Food Institute (GFI) (2019) <u>State of the industry report: plant-based meat</u>, at page 30.
- 30 Ibid. As of the end of 2019, virtually every global meat industry leader has either announced or already commercialised launched products in this category, see, GFI (24 October 2019) <u>Plant-based meat is transforming the food industry from the inside</u>.
- 31 The Financial Times (23 October 2019) Impossible meat sets sight on European expansion; US FDA (31 July 2019) FDA In Brief: FDA approves soy leghemoglobin as a color additive; Fraser RZ et al. (2018) Safety Evaluation of soy leghemoglobin protein preparation derived from Pichia pastoris, intended for use as a flavor catalyst in plant-based meat Int J Toxicol 37: 241-62.
- 32 GFI (16 July 2019) Wenger Manufacturing helps food producers turn plants into plant-based meat. See, for example, https://www.beyondmeat.com/.
- 33 See https://www.novameat.com/.
- 34 World Economic Forum (2019) Meat: the future series alternative proteins.
- 35 GFI (2019) Plant-based meat for a growing world; Beyond Meat commissioned an LCA, see Center for Sustainable Systems (2018) Beyond Meat's Beyond Burger life cycle assessment: a detailed comparison between a plant-based and an animal-based protein source. The LCA comparison for beef was taken from A-Hiablie et al. (2019) A life cycle assessment of the environmental impacts of a beef system in the USA. Int J Life Cycle Ass 24:441-55.
- 36 Fresán U et al. (2019) Water footprint of meat analogs: selected indicators

- according to life cycle assessment Water 11: 728; Fresán U et al. (2019) Meat analogs from different protein sources; a comparison of their sustainability and nutritional content Sustainability 11: 3231; Smetana S et al. (2015). Meat alternatives: life cycle assessment of most known meat substitutes Int J Life Cycle Ass 20:1254.
- 37 Van der Weele C et al. (2019) Meat alternatives: an integrative comparison Trends Food Sci Tech 88: 502-12.
- 38 FCRN (2018) Are modern plant-based diets and foods actually sustainable?
- 39 Mendelson L et al. (2019) Demystifying sustainable soy in Brazil Land Use Policy 82: 349-52; Altieri M (2009) The ecological impacts of large-scale agrofuel monoculture production systems in the Americas B Sci Technol Soc 29: 236-44.
- 40 See Beyond Meat (2019) Ingredients and nutrition facts; Impossible Foods (2019) What are the nutrition facts?; New Scientist (2 May 2018) The fake burger test: Could meat made of plants ever fool you?
- 41 See, for examples, Action on Salt (2018) Meat alternatives survey 2018; The George Institute (2019) Salt levels in meat alternatives in Australia (2010-2019); Curtain F and Grafenauer S (2019) Plant-based meat substitutes in the flexitarian age: an audit of products on supermarket shelves Nutrients 11:1-14.
- 42 Hu FB et al. (2019) Can plant-based meat alternatives be part of a healthy and sustainable diet? JAMA. For a nutritional comparison of meat and meat alternatives, see WEF (2019) Meat: the future series - alternative proteins.
- 43 Swartz H and Laestadius L (2019) Beyond halos and technofixes considering meat alternatives and their potential for meaningful food systems change, in Plant-based diets for succulence and sustainability, Kevany KM (Editor).
- 44 Hu FB et al. (2019) See reference 42.
- 45 GFI (2019) State of the industry report: cell-based meat; A bit of Science (30 May 2019) Money raised.
- 46 Stephens N et al. (2019) See reference 17.
- 47 Specht EA et al. (2018) Opportunities for applying biomedical production and manufacturing methods to the development of the clean meat industry Biochem Eng J 132:161-8.
- 48 A bit of Science (31 May 2019) How it's made: the science behind cultured, clean, and cell-based meat.
- 49 Bhat Z et al. (2019) Technological, regulatory, and ethical aspects of in vitro meat: a future slaughter-free harvest Compr Rev Food Sci F 18:1192-208; Gaydhane MK et al. (2018) Cultured meat: state of the art and future Biomanuf Rev 3:1-10.
- 50 Companies state that eliminating fetal bovine serum is a requirement for them: see, https://www.mosameat.com/faq.
- 51 Tuomisto HL and Teixeira de Mattos MJ (2011) Environmental impacts of cultured meat production Environ Sci Technol 45: 6117-23.
- 52 Lynch J and Pierrehumbert R (2019) Climate impacts of cultured meat and beef cattle Front Sustain Food Syst 3:5.
- 53 Ibid and see reference 51.
- 54 Mattick C et al. (2015) Anticipatory life cycle analysis of in vitro biomass cultivation for cultured meat production in the United States Environ Sci Technol 49:11941-9.
- 55 Bhat Z et al. (2019) See reference 49.
- 56 Stephens N et al. (2018) See reference 13.
- 57 GFI (2018) Growing meat sustainably: the clean meat revolution.
- 58 Stephens N et al. (2018) See reference 13.
- 59 Ben-Arye T and Levenberg S (2019) Tissue engineering for clean meat production Front Sustain Food Syst 3:45.
- 60 Adam Smith Institute (2018) Don't have a cow man.
- 61 The use of animal growth hormones and the import of animals produced with growth hormones are banned in the UK. See Defra (29 August 2012) Guidance Beef cattle and dairy cows: health regulations. Comparative data is not available to indicate whether the concentrations of these hormones and growth factors in cultured meat will be higher, lower or the same as found naturally in animal tissue.
- 62 Food Ethics Council (2015) A steak in the future.
- 63 Ibid and Chatham House (2019) See reference 12.

- 64 Stephens N et al. (2018) See reference 13.
- 65 Sentience Politics (2016) Cultured meat; Chatham House (2019) See ref 12.
- 66 Chatham House (2019) See reference 12.
- 67 Wilks M and Philips CJ (2017) Attitudes to in vitro meat: A survey of potential consumers in the United States PLoS One 12:1-14; Good Food Institute (2016) Will people eat clean meat?
- 68 Bryant C & Barnett J (2018) Consumer acceptance of cultured meat: a systematic review Meat Sci 143:8-17; Slade P (2018) If you build it, will they eat it? Consumer preferences for plant-based and cultured meat burgers Appetite 125:428-37; Apostolidis C and McLeay F (2016) Should we stop meating like this? Reducing meat consumption through substitution Food Policy 65: 74-89.
- 69 Bryant CJ et al. (2019) A survey of consumer perceptions of plant-based and clean meat in the USA. India. and China Front Sustain Food Syst 3:1-11.
- 70 GFI (2019) State of the industry report: plant-based meat.
- 71 Peschel AO et al. (2019) Consumers' associative networks of plant-based food product communications Food Qual Prefer 75:145-56; Weinrich R (2019) Opportunities for the adoption of health-based sustainable dietary patterns: a review on consumer research of meat substitutes Sustainability 11:4028.
- 72 Bekker GA et al. (2017) Explicit and implicit attitude toward an emerging food technology: the case of cultured meat Appetite 108: 245-54; Verbeke W et al. (2015) Challenges and prospects for consumer acceptance of cultured meat J Integr Agr 14: 285-94; Van der Weele C and Driessen C (2019) How normal meat becomes stranger as cultured meat becomes more normal; ambivalence and ambiguity below the surface of behavior Front Sustain Food Syst 3:1-12.
- 73 Verbeke W et al. (2015) Would you eat cultured meat?: Consumers' reactions and attitude formation in Belgium, Portugal and the UK Meat Sci 102:49-58.
- 74 Siegrist M et al. (2018) Perceived naturalness and evoked disgust influence acceptance of cultured meat Meat Sci 139:213-9. See Nuffield Council report on ideas on naturalness (2015).
- 75 Food Standards Agency (2016) Our Food Future.
- 76 Van der Weele C et al. (2019) See reference 37.
- 77 Bhat Z et al. (2019) see reference 49; BMJ (29 May 2019) New evidence links ultraprocessed foods with a range of health risks.
- 78 Stephens N et al. (2018) See reference 13.
- 79 Adam Smith Institute (2018) See ref 60; Chatham House (2019) See ref 12.
- 80 Plant Based Foods Association (9 December 2019) Plant-based meat labeling standards released; Food Safety News (8 October 2019) Federal judge allows Missouri to enforce meat labeling law.
- 81 Van der Weele C et al. (2019) See reference 37.
- 82 Seehafer A and Bartels M (2019) Meat 2.0 the regulatory environment of plantbased and cultured meat Eur Food Feed Law Rev 14:323-31.
- 83 Chatham House (2019) Meat analogues considerations for the EU
- 84 Springmann M et al. (2018) Options for keeping the food system within environmental limits Nature 562: 519-25 (2018).
- 85 Broad GM (2019) Plant-based and cell-based animal product alternatives: an assessment and agenda for food tech justice Geoforum 107: 223-6.
- 86 World Economic Forum (2019) Meat: the future series alternative proteins.
- 87 Hocquette JF (2016) Is in vitro meat the solution for the future? Meat Sci 120: 167-
- 88 See Brighter Green (2019) Beyond the Impossible: the futures of plant-based and cellular meat and dairy.
- 89 Kim B et al. (2015) The importance of reducing animal product consumption and wasted food in mitigating catastrophic climate change; John Hopkins Center for a Liveable Future; The EAT-Lancet report suggests diets with smaller portions of meat and minimally processed foods to improve human health and the environment; A report by the RSA Food, Farming and Countryside Commission proposes 'regenerative agriculture' for more sustainable meat consumption: The Food Ethics Council advises caution in viewing meat alternatives as a 'silver bullet' for the world's food security problems.

Acknowledgements: Thank you to Matt Ball, Richard Parr and others (The Good Food Institute); Carrie Bewick (Global Food Security); Dan Crossley (Food Ethics Council); Illtud Dunsford (CEO, Cellular Agriculture Ltd); Honor Eldridge (Sustainable Food Trust); Julie Guthman (University of California); Mariana Petronela Hanga (Aston University); Susan Jebb (University of Oxford); Mark Post (CSO, Mosa Meat); Neil Stephens (Brunel University London); Cor van der Weele (Wageningen University) and others for critically-reviewing an earlier draft of this briefing note.

Published by Nuffield Council on Bioethics, 28 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3JS © Nuffield Council on Bioethics 2019, December 2019





