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# The impact of global dietary guidelines on climate change

## Abstract

The global food system faces an ambitious challenge in meeting nutritional demands whilst reducing sector greenhouse gas emissions. These challenges exemplify dietary inequalities—an issue countries have committed to ending in accord with the Sustainable Development Goals (by 2030). Achieving this will require a convergence of global diets towards healthy, sustainable guidelines. Here we have assessed the implications of dietary guidelines (the World Health Organization, USA, Australian, Canadian, German Chinese and Indian recommendations) on global greenhouse gas emissions. Our results show a wide disparity in the emissions intensity of recommended healthy diets, ranging from 687 kg of carbon dioxide equivalents (CO<sub>2</sub>e) capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> for the guideline Indian diet to the 1579 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> in the USA. Most of this variability is introduced in recommended dairy intake. Global convergence towards the recommended USA or Australian diet would result in increased greenhouse gas emissions relative to the average business-as-usual diet in 2050. The majority of current national guidelines are highly inconsistent with a 1.5°C target, and incompatible with a 2°C budget unless other sectors reach almost total decarbonisation by 2050. Effective decarbonisation will require a major shift in not only dietary preferences, but also a reframing of the recommendations which underpin this transition.

## Keywords

sustainable nutrition; dietary guidelines; food; climate; protein; livestock

## 30 **1. Introduction**

31 The global food system is currently failing to meet basic nutritional needs (Haddad et al.  
32 2016), and is placing increasing pressure on planetary boundaries and resources (Alexander  
33 et al. 2016; Foley et al. 2011). Agriculture and food production systems are estimated to  
34 contribute more than one-quarter of global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (Edenhofer  
35 2014; Tubiello et al. 2014)—a contribution which is projected to increase through population  
36 and economic pressures (Alexandratos & Bruinsma 2012). United Nations (UN) projections  
37 of global population growth to 9.8 billion by 2050 (United Nations: Department of Social and  
38 Economic Affairs 2017) will place increasing pressure on the intensification of agricultural  
39 systems. Economic growth is also expected to drive dietary change towards more GHG-  
40 intensive diets (Alexandratos & Bruinsma 2012). Business-as-usual (BAU) pathways are not  
41 only expected to exceed global climate targets for 2°C scenarios (Wellesley et al. 2015), but  
42 will also place unsustainable resource pressures on land (Alexander et al. 2016; Wirsenius  
43 et al. 2010), freshwater supplies (Mekonnen & Hoekstra 2016), and marine resources.

44

45 Despite continued improvements in agricultural output (Foley et al. 2011), poor nutritional  
46 health remains a widespread, and in some cases, a growing issue (FAO et al. 2015). More  
47 than 800 million people are defined as undernourished, an estimated two billion suffer from  
48 micronutrient deficiencies, and 40 percent of adults globally are classified as overweight or  
49 obese (with increasing links to the incidence of non-communicable diseases—NCDs—such  
50 as cancer, stroke and heart disease)(FAO 2017b). This ‘triple burden’ of malnutrition is  
51 reflective of the large dietary inequalities which exist both between and within countries.

52

53 To simultaneously meet the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), of ending  
54 malnutrition, and combating climate change (United Nations 2016) (in addition to meeting  
55 the international climate change mitigation target of 2°C (Wollenberg et al. 2016)), a

56 convergence of global diets towards more healthy and sustainable patterns is of pressing  
57 importance. The average diet across most high-income countries (FAO) is well in excess of  
58 WHO recommendations for caloric, meat and sugar consumption, with increased risk of  
59 NCDs and obesity (WHO 2015). Conversely, the typical diet across many low and middle-  
60 income nations (FAO) falls below quantity, quality and diversity requirements—increased  
61 intake of commodities such as meat, dairy, and fish are likely to improve health and social  
62 outcomes (FAO 2011; Rivera et al. 2003; Zotor et al. 2015). Agricultural production is also  
63 likely to become increasingly important for countries in meeting their climate change  
64 mitigation commitments (Elbehri, A. et al. 2017; The World Bank 2017)—a constructive  
65 means of defining and monitoring demand-side progress in the food sector will be essential  
66 for this. Convergence of national dietary patterns towards a healthy global recommended  
67 level may contribute to a significant reduction in the GHG emissions intensity and NCD risks  
68 of average high-income diets, and a healthy, sustainable improvement in low-income diets.

69

70 There are currently no internationally agreed guidelines for what a simultaneously nutritious  
71 and environmentally sustainable mainstream human diet constitutes. A number of studies  
72 have shown that a transition towards pescetarian, vegetarian or vegan diets would result in  
73 significant GHG savings relative to meat-intensive diets (Tilman & Clark 2014; Springmann,  
74 Godfray, et al. 2016; Van Dooren et al. 2014; Scarborough et al. 2014). While the incidence  
75 of vegetarianism has shown some increase in developed economies (Beverland 2014), the  
76 adoption of more flexitarian or meat-reduction based dietary transitions have shown greater  
77 uptake and social acceptance (Dagevos & Voordouw 2013; De Boer et al. 2014).

78 Convergence guidelines which recommend a reduction rather than elimination approach to  
79 meat may therefore be more effective in increasing dietary transition rates. Convergence  
80 towards a moderate mixed diet—rather than wholly plant-based diets—may also be  
81 important in balancing environmental concerns with health outcomes in low-income nations  
82 (where dietary diversity is often poor, and high-quality alternative protein products are often  
83 unavailable or expensive). Relative to sustainability-focussed dietary advice, dietary health

84 guidelines are better-established, with WHO global-level recommendations (WHO 2015),  
85 and national-level nutritional plans in more than 100 countries (Fischer & Garnett 2016).  
86 Despite international guidelines, significant variations in national recommendations remain  
87 (ibid).

88

89 Here, for the first time, we have attempted to assess the degree to which convergence of  
90 global average diets to a defined set of guideline levels could simultaneously achieve  
91 improved human health and significant reductions in GHG emissions from global agriculture.  
92 This analysis comprised several steps. First, all available country-level dietary guidelines  
93 (FAO 2017a) were reviewed to assess their clarity in providing clear, quantitative  
94 recommendations for an average healthy diet. Next, a range of representative national  
95 dietary guidelines were assessed for their resultant per capita GHG emissions using  
96 commodity-specific GHG-intensities derived through life-cycle (LCA) meta-analyses (Tilman  
97 & Clark 2014). National guidelines—including the USA, China, Germany, Australia, Canada  
98 and India—were compared relative to income-dependent dietary projections (Tilman & Clark  
99 2014) and WHO healthy diet guidelines (WHO 2015). This analysis revealed wide disparity  
100 in the GHG-intensity of national recommended diets—with some showing a minimal  
101 reduction in GHG emissions relative to the average projected income-dependent diet in  
102 2050. Global agricultural GHG emission pathways were then assessed based on the  
103 assumption that average diets converged on each of these global or national  
104 recommendations by 2050—such a convergence would allow for both nutritional and GHG  
105 mitigation targets to be addressed simultaneously.

106

107 Finally, we assessed the compatibility of current dietary trends with national and WHO  
108 guidelines, and the likelihood of their convergence in the near (2030, the end date of the  
109 SDGs) and longer (2050) term. Annual rates of change in food consumption were estimated  
110 for three exemplar countries which together cover a full range of dietary compositions—the

111 USA, China and India—based on extrapolation from current FAO consumption figures for  
112 the period 2000-2013 (the latest full dataset available). (FAO). This provides some indication  
113 of the magnitude of change in dietary patterns necessary for these and similar nations to  
114 meet dietary guidelines relative to current trends.

115

116 A number of publications have assessed the GHG intensity of dietary choices, as well as the  
117 reduction potential of dietary changes. Several such studies have looked at the global  
118 comparison between business-as-usual (or income-dependent) projected diets towards 2030  
119 and 2050 alongside the World Health Organization (WHO) healthy diet guidelines (Tilman &  
120 Clark 2014; Springmann, Godfray, et al. 2016). These studies attempt to address the diet-  
121 sustainability-health trilemma through GHG and health benefit quantification. Other analyses  
122 have looked more regionally or nationally at the potential mitigation impact of dietary  
123 change—either in terms of meat reduction, substitution, or adoption of Mediterranean,  
124 vegetarian or vegan diets (Berners-lee et al. 2012; Westhoek et al. 2014; Stehfest et al.  
125 2013; Scarborough et al. 2014). It is well-established within the literature that an overall  
126 reduction in meat (particularly red meat) products is synonymous with GHG reduction and  
127 health benefits.

128

129 However, no analysis to date has attempted to quantify the suitability or impact of adoption  
130 of current national dietary guidelines with respect to climate mitigation, and the more recently  
131 established SDG targets. Fischer & Garnett (2016), of the UN FAO, to our knowledge have  
132 produced the only large-scale assessment of sustainability within national dietary guidelines.  
133 However, this work, does not attempt any quantification of impacts of guideline adoption and  
134 instead focuses on a qualitative assessment of which countries have made reference to  
135 sustainability within their recommendations.

136

137 Our work therefore attempts to provide the first comparison of national dietary guidelines in  
138 terms of GHG emissions. This was carried out through the adoption of similar methods  
139 utilised in global-level assessments of diet-environment-health links by Tilman & Clark  
140 (2014) and Springmann et al. (2016), but applied within the context of national-level  
141 recommendations. Assessment of the relative impact of countries switching from their  
142 current average diet to nationally recommended intake across greenhouse gas,  
143 eutrophication and land use metrics has been previously assessed, with a focus on the  
144 impact of this transition rather than the comparison of national recommended diets or their  
145 compatibility with climate targets (Behrens et al. 2017).

146

## 147 **2. Methods**

148 National food-based dietary guidelines were reviewed based on those publicly available in  
149 FAO repositories. These cover 86 countries across all regions, with countries at all stages of  
150 development. A qualitative assessment of the suitability of national guidelines for  
151 sustainability has been previously published by the FAO (Fischer & Garnett 2016). We  
152 attempt to build upon this work through a quantitative assessment of the compatibility of  
153 these guidelines with climate targets.

154

### 155 **2.1 Quantifying emission footprints of recommended diets**

156 The average diets of six national guidelines—India, China, Germany, Canada, Australia and  
157 the USA, in addition to the WHO healthy (WHO 2015) and income-dependent 2050 diet  
158 (Tilman & Clark 2014)—were quantified in terms of annual GHG emissions per capita based  
159 on commodity-specific life-cycle analysis (LCA) meta-analyses carried out by Tilman & Clark  
160 (2014). This meta-analysis reviewed 555 LCAs across 82 food items. These LCAs were  
161 sourced based on a criteria of complete ‘cradle to farmgate’ boundary scope, including  
162 emissions from pre-farm activities such as fertilizer, feed production and infrastructure

163 construction. This footprint does not include post-farmgate activities such as transport,  
164 processing and consumer use. For reference, analysis suggests that this post-farmgate  
165 component of the overall footprint would approximately add a further 20% to total emissions  
166 (Weber & Matthews 2008; Tilman & Clark 2014). Due to the large uncertainties involved in  
167 calculating levels of land-use change (LUC), and the resultant GHG emissions, LUC has  
168 also not been included. This study therefore focuses only on emissions related to agricultural  
169 production.

170

171 Tilman & Clark (2014) derived their income-dependent 2050 diet based on eight economic  
172 groups – six groupings plus China and India independently (aggregated based on per capita  
173 gross domestic product; GDP); GDP-consumption relationships and modelled using the  
174 Gompertz 4p curve function. The income-dependent diet differs from recommended diets in  
175 terms of its total caloric content. Despite small variability in the energy composition of the  
176 average recommended diet between national and WHO guidelines, all fall within the range of  
177 2000 to 2500 kcal person<sup>-1</sup> day<sup>-1</sup>. Since the income-dependent diet is based on projected  
178 food demand rather than healthy, recommended intakes, average caloric supply across  
179 economic groups is notably higher (ranging from 2250 kcal in the lowest economic group to  
180 3590 kcal person<sup>-1</sup> day<sup>-1</sup> in the highest). Whilst this represents a large difference in caloric  
181 intake between the income-dependent and recommended diet scenarios, this gap provides  
182 an important indication of the level of dietary change required by 2050 to reduce average  
183 levels of consumption to match healthy dietary guidelines. The impact this has on resultant  
184 GHG-intensity of diets also provides an important comparison—the impact of caloric  
185 overconsumption relative to recommended consumption. We have therefore not adjusted the  
186 income-dependent diet to attempt to reach parity in caloric intake.

187

188 Average diets were quantified in terms of (gday<sup>-1</sup>, and subsequent kgyear<sup>-1</sup>) across nine key  
189 food groups: staples, pulses, sugar, oils, fruit and vegetables, dairy, fish, poultry and red



190 meat. Due to the nuances of dietary preferences both within and between countries, a finer-  
191 resolution breakdown of guidelines beyond these nine categorisations is not possible. Food  
192 consumption (in gday<sup>-1</sup>) across each of these food categories for each of the analysed diets  
193 are provided in Supplementary Table 1.

194

195 Whilst national dietary guidelines are based on recommendations of actual consumption (i.e.  
196 the quantity finally eaten), Tilman & Clark's 2050 income-dependent diet is based on final  
197 household food *demand* which refers to the quantity eaten, plus the amount wasted at the  
198 consumption level. The predominant aim of our analysis is to illustrate the differences in  
199 national guidelines – not the impact of actual waste and consumption patterns across the  
200 world. Including emissions related to food wastage may hide the key conclusions in relation  
201 to the suitability and comparability of national guidelines. In our results we therefore present  
202 the breakdown of emissions related to dietary guideline intakes (in the absence of waste),  
203 but additionally show the impact that correction for household waste would have on final  
204 emissions. This latter correction allows for direct comparison with the 2050 income-  
205 dependent diet.

206

207 Our adjustments for food wastage at the household level are based on the 'consumption'  
208 percentage figures published by the FAO (Gustavsson, J. et al. 2011). These estimate the  
209 percentage losses at each stage of the supply chain by commodity group (e.g. meat, milk,  
210 cereals) by region. For national guidelines, our waste figures reflect the regional figures of  
211 the given country (for example, North American figures have been used for the USA and  
212 Canada). Global average percentage figures have been used for the WHO Healthy Diet  
213 scenario.

214 The terminology of dietary guidelines can vary, especially between approaches for different  
215 food groups. For food groups, such as staples, where a range of values (in grams per day) is  
216 given, we have assumed the median intake of this range. Guidelines for dairy, fish, fruit and

217 vegetables tend to work on a minimum basis (e.g. “consume at least 1 portion of dairy per  
218 day”); for these groups we have assumed consumption meets (but does not exceed) this  
219 recommendation. Guidelines for meat, oils and sugars tend to work on a maximum  
220 ‘recommended’ limit (i.e. limit sugar consumption to 25 grams per day). For these food  
221 groups we have assumed that—since current intake in many high-income countries tends to  
222 greatly exceed these maximum guidelines—people would consume up to (but not exceed)  
223 this upper threshold.

224

225 Per capita dietary emissions were calculated using average emission factors (EFs) derived  
226 based the LCA meta-analyses explained above. The EFs applied in this study are detailed in  
227 Supplementary Table 3. Dietary guidelines are typically defined based on recommended  
228 levels of total red meat consumption—this incorporates bovine, pig, and mutton meat, for  
229 which there are significant differences in EFs. To account for this, we have assumed a  
230 dietary consumption ratio between red meat products in line with 2013 global FAO  
231 production figures—58% of red meat production was in the form of pigmeat (108Mt), 35%  
232 bovine (66Mt), and 7% mutton meat (13Mt)(FAO n.d.). EFs for red meat consumption have  
233 therefore been weighted based on this ratio of consumption. An obvious limitation of this  
234 methodology therefore lies in its assumption that future red meat consumption preferences  
235 are in line with current trends.

236

237 This analysis is primarily focused on demand-side (rather than supply-side) mitigation. The  
238 EFs applied in this study make no assumptions on changes in the GHG-intensity of  
239 production. Our income-dependent and WHO healthy diet results are therefore closely in line  
240 with the results of Tilman & Clark (Tilman & Clark 2014). *Springmann et al. (2016)*, who  
241 assess the impact of constant reductions in GHG-intensity through to 2050 on the footprint of  
242 WHO, Mediterranean, vegetarian and vegan dietary preferences (Springmann, Godfray, et

243 al. 2016), therefore present slightly different results. Fish and other seafood is also excluded  
244 from *Springmann et al. (2016)*'s analysis.

245

246

## 247 **2.2 Quantifying global agricultural emissions by national diet** 248 **adoption**

249 Scenarios of total global agricultural emissions through dietary convergence were mapped  
250 based on calculated dietary per capita footprints, and UN population projections (United  
251 Nations: Department of Social and Economic Affairs 2017) from 2013 to 2050. These  
252 scenarios were mapped based on the assumption that the global average diet would  
253 converge on each respective dietary guideline. The nutritional requirements of individuals  
254 depends on a range of factors including age, gender, physiology and activity levels—in this  
255 analysis we assume that the distribution of intakes around the average dietary intake follows  
256 an approximate log-normal distribution.

257

258 To account for the impact of food wastage in the household (i.e. corrected for food demand  
259 rather than direct consumption), we assume that under each dietary guideline scenario the  
260 commodity-specific household wastage percentage figures are the same, based on global  
261 average FAO figures (Gustavsson, J. et al. 2011). Our results present these pathways both  
262 with and without correction for food wastage to show this impact. We assume food wastage  
263 percentage figures remain constant throughout the assessed period (although future  
264 modelling of the impact of food waste scenarios would be a useful addition).

265

266

267

## 268 **2.3 Assessing pathways for convergence on recommended diets**

269 In comparing required transition pathways which would be necessary to converge national  
270 consumption patterns on WHO or national dietary guidelines by 2030 or 2050, current (2013)  
271 and recent trends in red meat, poultry and dairy consumption were assessed in the USA,  
272 China and India using FAO Food Balance Sheet (FBS) data. Current consumption profiles  
273 were mapped from 2013 average per capita levels, with an annual change in intake defined  
274 based on the historic annual rates of change from 2000-2013. These profiles map the dietary  
275 pathways which would result if this rate of change was maintained through to 2030/50.  
276 Convergence pathways for WHO and national guidelines were mapped based the annual  
277 rate of change needed to meet recommendations by 2030/50 from 2013 consumption levels.  
278 This analysis can be easily replicated at any level and for any country to assess the level of  
279 dietary shift which would be required to reach healthy and sustainable dietary intakes, and  
280 could be further utilised as an approach for tracking progress in this transition.

281

282 Since FAO FBS data is based on food demand (which equates to food intake plus  
283 consumption waste), WHO and national guidelines have been adapted to reflect regional  
284 household waste percentage figures by commodity as derived from Gustavsson et al.  
285 (2011).

286

## 287 **2.4 Study limitations**

288 This study aims to assess the food-based GHG-intensity and sectoral emissions which  
289 would result from the adherence of average diets to a range of global and national dietary  
290 guidelines. This has the obvious limitation in its assumption that such dietary advice would  
291 be followed. As evidenced in our results, actual consumption trends in many countries lie far  
292 from recommended values. For this reason, we have provided some examples of dietary  
293 transition requirements to meet these guidelines by 2030/50.

294

295 In the calculation of dietary GHG-intensity, we have applied EFs based on global average  
296 commodity-specific LCA figures. Actual emissions-intensity of agricultural production will  
297 have significant regional variations—appropriate weighting of these values would strongly  
298 depend on future global trade scenarios which have not been accounted for in this analysis.

299

300 The LCAs included in this study, as explained, have been defined based on a ‘cradle-to-  
301 farmgate’ scope, which excluded post-farmgate and land-use change emissions. Depending  
302 on future trade and land-use scenarios, emissions from these components (LUC, in  
303 particular) could form a significant portion of this sector’s emissions. The measurement of  
304 emissions from agricultural production alone does not therefore capture the full impact of the  
305 global food system. It does, however, incorporate CO<sub>2</sub> and the majority of non-CO<sub>2</sub>  
306 (methane and nitrous oxide) emissions, which typically dominate the sector’s total GHG  
307 impact. The EFs related to such LCAs will likely change over time if progress is made on  
308 SDG7 of transitioning towards lower-carbon energy sources; decarbonisation of the energy  
309 and transport sectors would reduce the GHG-intensity of some components of LCAs  
310 including agricultural inputs, on-farm machinery and transport.

311

### 312 **3. Results**

#### 313 **3.1 Global and national dietary guidelines**

314 We reviewed the 86 countries which have published food-based dietary guidelines within the  
315 FAO repository (FAO 2017a). While most national guidelines are based around the general  
316 recommendations published by the WHO (WHO 2015), there are notable differences  
317 between countries, not only with respect to advised dietary patterns, but also in terms of  
318 clarity, comprehensibility and quantification. Since national guidelines are typically adapted  
319 to the nutritional status, eating habits and food availability of a given country, some variation

320 in the average recommended diet is to be expected. However, many national guidelines  
321 appear to lack the level of quantitative detail or guidance necessary for stakeholders (e.g.  
322 health workers and members of the public) to clearly know and understand the need for the  
323 levels of intake they should be targeting. In Supplementary Table 2 we provide the  
324 breakdown of recommendations in grams per person per day across the nine commodity  
325 groups for a range of countries where national guidelines are insufficient. These data  
326 highlight for which commodities guidance is clear, and others where it is not quantifiable. For  
327 example, the UK guidelines clearly recommend consumption of “at least five portions of fruit  
328 and vegetables per day” (which provides a quantifiable amount), but states only to “eat less  
329 red and processed meat” (which provides no quantifiable guidance on safe or healthy  
330 intake).

331

332 To assess country-to-country variations in terms of GHG-intensity of the average  
333 recommended diet, we quantified the footprint of six national guidelines which cover a range  
334 of dietary patterns—USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, China and India. This covers the  
335 spectrum from typically higher GHG-intensity nations (USA, Canada, and Australia), to one  
336 of the lowest expected dietary GHG footprints—India. Germany has been included as one of  
337 only four countries identified by the FAO as overtly including environmental considerations  
338 (which are typically oriented towards climate change impacts) within its dietary  
339 recommendations (Fischer & Garnett 2016).

340

341 The estimated per capita annual GHG footprints of nationally recommended diets are shown  
342 in Figure 1, presented alongside the WHO’s healthy diet guidelines (WHO 2015), and global  
343 average income-dependent diet in 2050. The income-dependent diet was based on  
344 projected regional economic growth trends and its relationship to dietary transitions (both in  
345 quantity and composition).

346

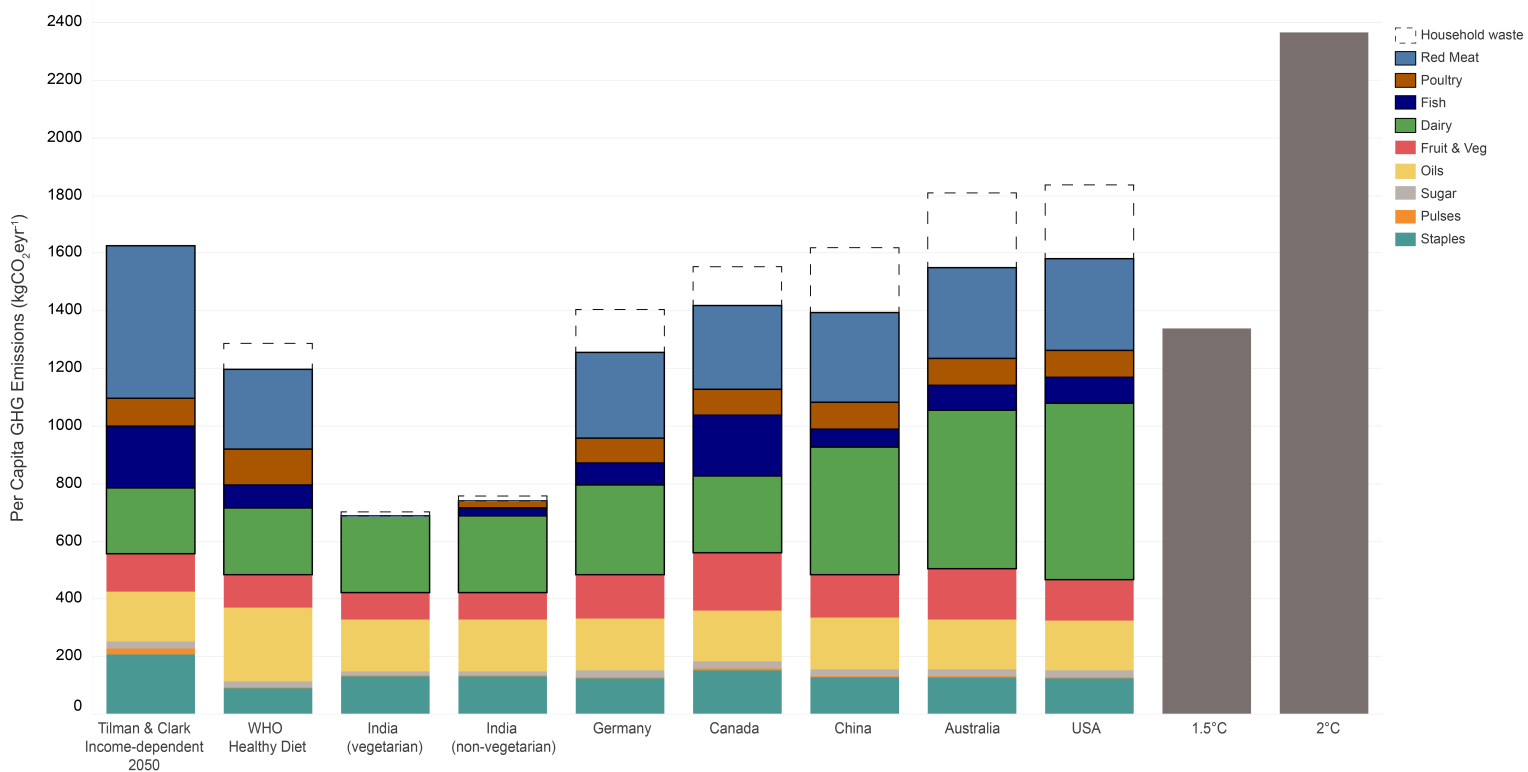
347 Climate change mitigation targets and indicators as established within the SDG framework  
348 reflect those agreed upon within the United Nations Framework on Climate Change  
349 (UNFCCC) and 2015 Paris Agreement (United Nations 2017). Within the Paris Agreement,  
350 UN parties have committed to “holding the increase in the global average temperature to  
351 well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature  
352 increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels” (UNFCCC 2015). To meet a global target of  
353 2°C under median emissions pathways would require a reduction of GHG emissions to 23  
354 GtCO<sub>2e</sub> per year in 2050 (Climate Action Tracker 2017). To maintain a 66% chance of  
355 keeping temperatures below 1.5°C, annual emissions are likely to have to reduce to 13  
356 GtCO<sub>2e</sub> per year by 2050. Currently the sum of proposed national targets (Nationally  
357 Determined Contributions; NDCs)—if fulfilled—are estimated to take us well beyond both  
358 targets to a median temperature rise of 3.2°C (Climate Action Tracker 2017).

359

360 Sectoral breakdown of how current NDCs will be increased at global or national levels to  
361 meet these targets is currently not clear. However, it’s clear that business-as-usual (BAU)  
362 projected emissions from agricultural production are incompatible with the level of reduction  
363 needed to keep temperatures below 1.5°C or 2°C. Published estimates of BAU emissions  
364 from agriculture range from 15.5 to 20 GtCO<sub>2e</sub> in 2050 (Tilman & Clark 2014; Wellesley et  
365 al. 2015)—either exceeding the total global budget for 1.5°C or consuming the majority (67-  
366 87%) of a 2°C budget of 23 GtCO<sub>2e</sub>. This lack of determination of necessary GHG emissions  
367 reductions (on a total or per capita basis) makes it challenging to benchmark food-specific  
368 reduction scenarios relative to targets within the Paris Agreement (or the SDGs, by default)  
369 since its required contribution is dependent on mitigation progress within other sectors.  
370 However, here we benchmark per capita dietary food footprints relative to total economy-  
371 wide average per capita emissions in 2050 to meet a 2°C budget of 23 GtCO<sub>2e</sub> (2365  
372 kgCO<sub>2e</sub> capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>) or a 1.5°C budget of 13 GtCO<sub>2e</sub> (1337 kgCO<sub>2e</sub> capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>).

373

374 Our results, shown as the average per capita food-related GHG emissions resultant from  
 375 income-dependent, WHO healthy diet and national dietary guidelines are seen in Figure 1.  
 376 These figures are also summarised in Table 1, with and without adjustment for household-  
 377 level waste. In line with previous studies (Tilman & Clark 2014; Springmann, Godfray, et al.  
 378 2016), our results indicate that a transition from the average income-dependent diet in 2050  
 379 to the WHO's global recommended healthy diet would reduce per capita dietary GHG  
 380 emissions. At the national level, there is significant variability between dietary GHG  
 381 intensities; this range extends from the recommended vegetarian Indian diet (at 687 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e  
 382 capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>) to the USA diet guidelines (at 1579 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>). Once food wastage  
 383 estimates are included, this difference increases to 702 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> in India, relative  
 384 to 1837 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> in the USA.



385 **Figure 1: Per capita greenhouse gas emissions across income-dependent, WHO and national dietary guidelines.**  
 386 Annual breakdown of per capita food production (cradle-to-farmgate) emissions across the average income-dependent diet in  
 387 2050, WHO healthy diet, and national dietary guidelines by commodity group. Dashed lines are used to represent the additional  
 388 GHG emissions resultant from food wasted at the household level, where the income-dependent diet has already been  
 389 corrected to food demand (rather than intake). Animal-based products have been highlighted by black outline shading. Also  
 390 shown are the average per capita GHG emissions (across all sectors) for 1.5°C and 2°C pathways.



391 Our results (Figure 1) demonstrate the need for dietary transition when compared to average  
 392 per capita GHG budgets for 1.5°C or 2°C in 2050. With the exception of the recommended  
 393 Indian diets, the average dietary footprint exceeds the total per capita 1.5°C budget under all  
 394 national dietary scenarios, as indicated by the grey bar in Figure 1 which includes per capita  
 395 GHG emissions from all sources. The WHO Healthy diet falls slightly below the 1.5°C  
 396 budget, but would require almost total decarbonisation from all other sectors – relying on  
 397 attainment of other SDGs, including SDG7 for which progress is tracked based on the share  
 398 of renewables in the energy mix. All dietary footprints fall within the per capita budget of the  
 399 average 2365 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> budget for 2°C, however most of this budget would be  
 400 consumed by agricultural production leaving little room for other sectors including energy  
 401 and transport.

<b>Dietary scenario</b>	<b>Per capita GHG emissions (prior to correct for household waste) (kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>)</b>	<b>Per capita GHG emissions (including household waste) (kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>)</b>
Income-dependent 2050 diet	-	1626
WHO Healthy Diet	1197	1288
India (vegetarian)	687	702
India (non-vegetarian)	740	757
Germany	1256	1403
Canada	1395	1620
China	1419	1552
Australia	1551	1807
USA	1579	1837

402

403 **Table 1: Per capita greenhouse gas emissions across income-dependent, WHO and national dietary**  
 404 **guidelines.** Annual per capita food production (cradle-to-farmgate) emissions across the average income-  
 405 dependent diet in 2050, WHO healthy diet, and national dietary guidelines by commodity group. Figures are  
 406 provided as those with and without correction for regional household-level waste estimates. Tilman & Clark's  
 407 (2014) 2050 income-dependent diet is based on food 'demand' rather than 'intake' and therefore already includes  
 408 food wastage estimates.

409 In Figure 1, animal-based commodities are highlighted by a black outline around the upper  
410 part of each bar. Note that while there is some degree of variation in the GHG-intensity of  
411 the plant-based component of the modelled diets, this deviation is typically small (ranging  
412 from 421kgCO<sub>2</sub>e to 560 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>). This is true across income-dependent, WHO  
413 and nationally recommended diets. The inter-dietary variability in GHG footprint is primarily  
414 introduced in the consumption of animal-based products. This ranges from 266 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e to  
415 1112 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>, a four- to five-fold difference. We may therefore approximate that  
416 the global average per capita GHG emissions associated with the plant-based component of  
417 both dietary trends and recommendations account for 490±70 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup>, with the  
418 remaining variability introduced through the consumption of animal-based products.

419

420 Of note in this analysis is the relatively low GHG emissions footprint of recommended diets  
421 in India – stemming from the unique nature of India’s guidelines. Most nations detail meat  
422 and fish products as a core pillar of their dietary guides, with a smaller subset of countries  
423 providing an optional substitution of pulses. This is an important distinction compared to  
424 Indian recommendations, which are predominantly vegetarian; here, a side-note is provided  
425 for non-vegetarians to replace one portion of pulses daily with either meat, fish or egg. As a  
426 result, even its non-vegetarian recommended diet has a comparably low carbon footprint.  
427 India’s recommended diet has an almost identical GHG-intensity to vegetarian diets  
428 analysed in previous studies (at 650-700 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>) (Tilman & Clark 2014;  
429 Springmann, Godfray, et al. 2016).

430

431 In contrast, the currently recommended diet in the USA has a high GHG emissions footprint,  
432 being of the same magnitude as that of the income-dependent diet in 2050 prior to  
433 adjustment for wastage. With correction for household food wastage – which is significant in  
434 high-income countries – emissions exceed that of the income-dependent diet by greater than  
435 200 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>. Australian guidelines produce a similar result. Food sustainability

436 issues, especially within such higher-income nations, are often discussed in relation to  
437 dietary overconsumption (Blair & Sobal 2006). However, while excess consumption  
438 undoubtedly adds to resource pressures, our results suggest that the GHG-intensity of the  
439 average USA diet would still be very high even were it to converge with national nutritional  
440 guidelines (which are not excessive in caloric terms, suggesting dietary composition is more  
441 important than total energy intake). This means our evaluations of future income-dependent  
442 dietary pathways need to assess both dietary composition and excessive intake as sources  
443 of GHG emissions (and potential mitigation areas). As shown in Figure 1, the largest GHG  
444 contributor to this footprint is its recommendation of three dairy portions per day. This is  
445 three times that recommended in the WHO healthy diet, while the USA's guidelines on other  
446 animal-based components - red meat, poultry and fish - are closely in line with WHO  
447 recommendations.

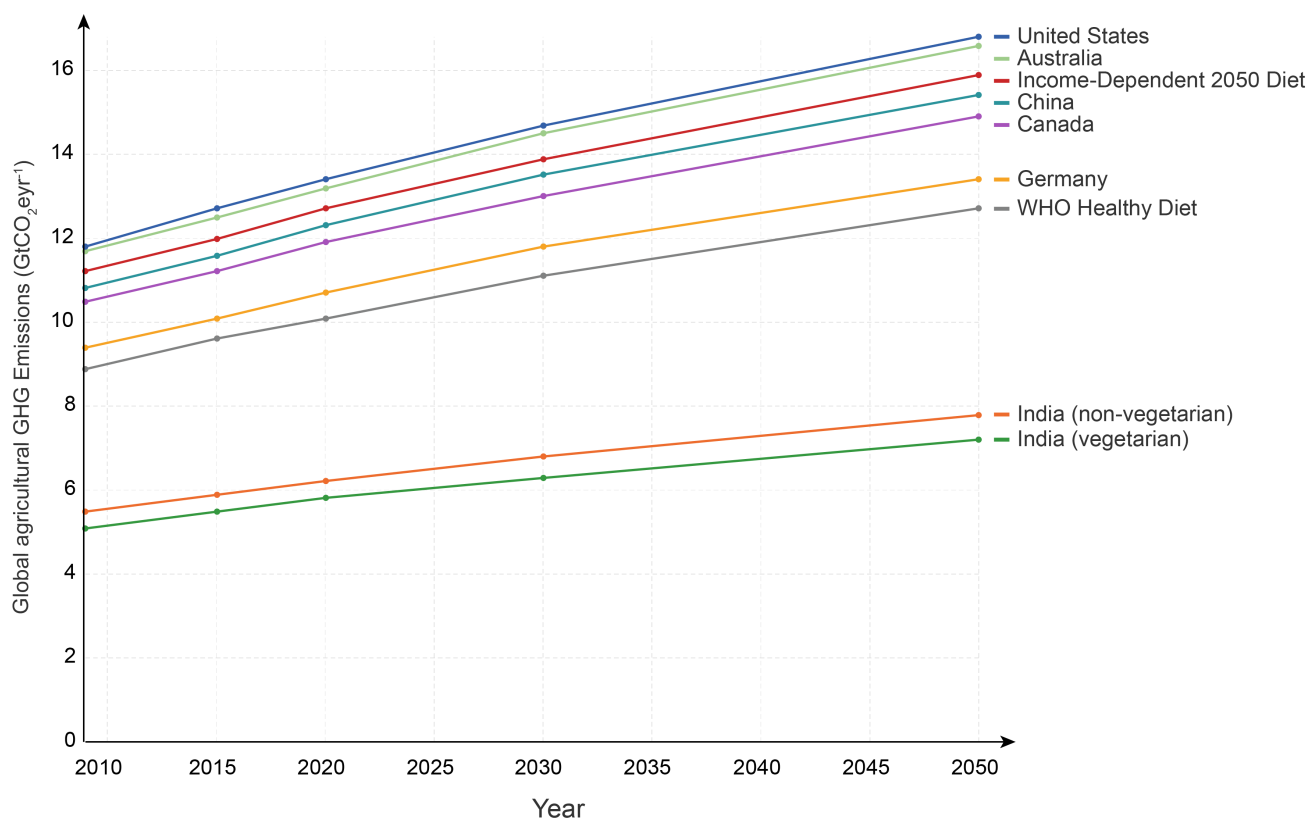
448

449 The recommended intake of dairy products is a key differentiator across all modelled diets.  
450 This is in contrast to red meat, poultry and fish guidelines which (with the exception of India)  
451 typically reflect WHO advice. The upper limits on recommended meat intake result from the  
452 strong relationships between excessive red meat consumption and risk of Non-  
453 Communicable Diseases (NCDs), including heart disease, stroke and cancer (Chen et al.  
454 2013; Micha et al. 2010; Lozano et al. 2012). In contrast, milk and dairy intake has been  
455 typically discussed in global nutritional guidance in terms of under-consumption and calcium  
456 deficiency (Legius et al. 1989; Kumssa et al. 2015). Therefore, while upper limits are often  
457 defined for meat (especially red and processed meat), recommendations for dairy products  
458 are based on minimum thresholds. This may be a sensible approach for health guidelines,  
459 however the lack of commonality on recommended dairy intakes (and the impact this has on  
460 GHG emissions) suggests that a redefinition of advice which meets climate change  
461 mitigation objectives as well as those for health could be important.

462

### 3.2 Converging global diets for health and sustainability

**guidelines** If we are simultaneously to address SDG2 in ending all forms of malnutrition (including undernutrition, micronutrient deficiencies, and overconsumption), and SDG13 of mitigating climate change, a convergence of global diets towards a healthy, low carbon confluence will be necessary. To assess the level of GHG emissions which would result from global convergence to each of the recommended diets through 2030 to 2050, we have combined average per capita footprints shown in Figure 1, with UN population projections (United Nations: Department of Social and Economic Affairs 2017). These global emissions convergence scenarios from 2009 to 2050 are presented in Figure 2. These assume household food wastage percentages in line with global average figures to allow for comparability with the income-dependent 2050 scenario, which is given as food demand rather than intake. We provide these figures both prior to and after correction for household



waste for comparison in our Supplementary Data.

**Figure 2: Global greenhouse gas emissions from food production if the global population adopted the average income-dependent, WHO healthy or national recommended diets.** Global greenhouse gas emissions from 2009-2050 if

478 global diets converged on the WHO healthy or national recommended diets of exemplar countries, in comparison to the  
479 projected average income-dependent diet in 2050.

480

481 As shown, business-as-usual income-dependent consumption would result in the highest  
482 level of global emissions, at 15.5-16 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup>. Our results are in line with published  
483 estimates from Tilman & Clark (2014) of between 15-16 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup> in 2050. Convergence  
484 towards the WHO healthy diet would result in significant GHG reductions, reducing  
485 emissions in 2050 by approximately 4 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup> relative to the income-dependent  
486 scenario. As expected from per capita GHG footprint results, global emissions deriving from  
487 convergence on each of the national recommended diets vary significantly. Maximum GHG  
488 reductions in the agriculture sector would be realised if global diets were to converge  
489 towards Indian recommendations (totalling only 6.7 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup>). The Indian diet  
490 recommendations strongly match the modelled results by Tilman & Clark (2014) of adoption  
491 of a vegetarian diet; they estimate global emissions of 6.5 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup> with global adoption  
492 of this diet. The large differentiation between the emissions intensity of a vegetarian-  
493 oriented Indian diet and higher meat iterations in income-dependent and national guidelines  
494 reiterates previous results which show large differences between meat-eater, Mediterranean,  
495 vegetarian and vegan diets (Berners-lee et al. 2012; Scarborough et al. 2014; Van Dooren  
496 et al. 2014; Westhoek et al. 2014).

497

498 With the exception of India, GHG emissions from each of the national guidelines examined  
499 here exceed the WHO healthy diet. If global diets were to converge on the recommended  
500 USA or Australian diet, emissions would exceed that of a business-as-usual (income-  
501 dependent) pathway when allowing for household wastage. Canadian guidelines would  
502 result in almost no emission savings relative to the income-dependent scenario. This result  
503 further suggests that dietary guidelines for these nations in particular—despite meeting  
504 health criteria—are wholly inadequate in terms of addressing climate change.

505 Our analysis has focused on demand-side impacts on production-phase GHG emissions  
506 only. These results may therefore be considered upper estimates of emissions in each  
507 scenario, assuming that supply-side measures will further reduce the GHG emissions  
508 intensity of global food production in the future. To contextualise supply-side mitigation  
509 potential, estimates suggest that a halving of food losses and waste could result in global  
510 reductions up to 1.8 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup> (Tilman & Clark 2014); and improved livestock management  
511 in the form of enhanced feed digestibility, use of feed additives, animal and manure  
512 management could mitigate a further 1.2 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup> (totalling 3 GtCO<sub>2</sub>e yr<sup>-1</sup>)(Herrero et al.  
513 2016).

514

### 515 **3.3 National requirements for convergent pathways**

516 While discussion of the suitability of national guidelines and exploration of dietary  
517 convergence points is timely, it is important to note that current (and projected) food  
518 consumption patterns lie far from both WHO and national recommendations (Alexandratos &  
519 Bruinsma 2012). Global inequalities in food intake mean that both under- and  
520 overconsumption with respect to guideline averages is widespread.

521

522 To assess how rates of dietary transition across nations would have to change in order to  
523 reach WHO or national guidelines, we have mapped the convergence pathways of the USA,  
524 China and India, and compared these to recent (2000-2013) trends in average consumption.

525

526 Defining a target convergence date by nation is difficult as no overt targets of this type have  
527 been set by governments. Here we have mapped pathways based on convergence by 2030  
528 (the end date of the SDGs), and 2050 (likely to be deemed as more realistic given the scale  
529 of change necessary). Our analysis indicates that the major variability in dietary climate  
530 impact lies in the consumption of animal-based products; we have therefore focused on

531 potential pathways in red meat, poultry and dairy consumption. Actual national trends (as  
532 opposed to convergence scenarios) have been extrapolated from 2013 per capita  
533 commodity-specific supply data as provided in the FAO's Food Balance Sheet (FBS) (FAO).  
534 Current rates of transition are here defined as the annual average change (in kilograms per  
535 capita) from 2000-2013 reported for each nation.

536

537 Table 2 presents results for the USA, China and India, summarising current food supply,  
538 WHO and national guideline figures and the annual rates of change needed to reach these  
539 guidelines by 2030 or 2050, assuming linear change. Actual rates of change are also shown  
540 for context.

541

542 In the United States, the reduction pathways which would be necessary for convergence  
543 towards the WHO and USA recommended diet are closely matched for red meat and poultry  
544 intake. In the case of red meat, average per capita demand would have to consistently  
545 decrease by 3 kg $\text{yr}^{-1}$  to converge with current guidelines by 2030, or 1.4 kg $\text{yr}^{-1}$  by 2050.  
546 Average per capita demand for red meat in the USA has been declining since 2000, but at a  
547 much slower rate (0.3 kg $\text{yr}^{-1}$ ). A more than ten-fold increase in reduction rates would  
548 therefore be necessary to reach the guideline levels by 2030, or a five-fold acceleration by  
549 2050. In contrast to red meat consumption, poultry demand has been slowly increasing over  
550 the last decade (at an average rate of 0.2 kg $\text{yr}^{-1}$ ). This highlights a potential trade-off in  
551 dietary transition: the substitution of red meat with poultry is often recommended for both  
552 ecological and health reasons (Springmann, Mason-D'Croz, et al. 2016), however, to  
553 converge on a healthy and sustainable diet, *total* average meat consumption must be  
554 decreased in such nations. To maximise GHG mitigation and health impacts, the pathways  
555 of high meat-consuming nations may therefore follow a two-stage reduction process, firstly  
556 with a substitution of poultry for red meat (which will temporarily increase poultry  
557 consumption), before a subsequent reduction in poultry also.

558 Unlike meat recommendations, the convergence pathways for dairy consumption vary  
559 significantly between WHO and USA guidelines. Average dairy consumption in 2013 in the  
560 USA was 255 kg<sub>yr</sub><sup>-1</sup>, approximately in line with the USA's recommendations. Consumption  
561 has remained almost constant over the last decade (with a small average increase of 0.03  
562 kg<sub>yr</sub><sup>-1</sup>). Therefore, no change in average intakes would be necessary to meet USA  
563 guidelines. This is strongly divergent from WHO recommendations; meeting these guidelines  
564 would require a consistent reduction rate of 8.6 kg<sub>yr</sub><sup>-1</sup> by 2030, or 3.9 kg<sub>yr</sub><sup>-1</sup> by 2050.

	Food supply 2013 (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	WHO guideline (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	National guideline (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	Current consumption trend (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	Annual change to WHO guideline by 2030 (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	Annual change to national guideline by 2030 (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	Annual change to WHO guideline by 2050 (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )	Annual change to national guideline by 2050 (kg <sub>yr</sub> <sup>-1</sup> )
<b>USA (Red Meat)</b>	64.3	13.4	15.3	-0.3	-3.0	-2.9	-1.4	-1.3
<b>China (Red Meat)</b>	36	13	13.8	-0.01	-1.4	-1.3	-0.6	-0.6
<b>India (Red Meat)</b>	1.7	12.5	-	-0.03	+0.6	-	+0.3	-
<b>USA (Poultry)</b>	50.0	20.3	15.3	+0.2	-1.8	-2.0	-0.8	-0.9
<b>China (Poultry)</b>	38.6	19.7	13.8	+0.9	-1.1	-1.5	-0.5	-0.7
<b>India (Poultry)</b>	1.9	19.0	3.8	+0.08	+1.0	+0.1	+0.5	+0.1
<b>USA (Milk<sub>eq</sub>)</b>	255	109	290	+0.03	-8.6	+2.1	-3.9	+0.9
<b>China (Milk<sub>eq</sub>)</b>	33.2	99.6	115	+1.8	+3.9	+4.8	+1.8	+2.2
<b>India (Milk<sub>eq</sub>)</b>	84.5	95.8	111	+1.5	+0.7	+1.5	+0.3	+0.7

565 **Table 2: Dietary convergence trends from current food demand towards WHO or national dietary guidelines by 2030**  
566 **and 2050.** Convergence pathways in red meat, poultry; and milk<sub>eq</sub> for the average USA, Chinese and Indian dietary supply in  
567 2013 to reach WHO healthy and national recommended diets by 2030, or 2050. Since food supply metrics are based on food  
568 demand (which equates to food intake plus household waste), WHO and national guidelines have been adjusted to reflect  
569 current regional household waste percentages from Gustavsson et al. (2011). Convergence patterns are given as the annual  
570 rate of change needed to reach guideline diets by the target year. The current (average trend since 2000) rate of change in  
571 intakes is also shown for comparison.



572 Similarly to the USA, China's recent reduction in recommendations for red meat  
573 consumption now aligns its guidelines closely with the WHO healthy diet. Over the past  
574 decade, China's average demand for red meat has approximately stabilised. However, to  
575 reach recommended levels, this would have to reduce at approximately  $1.4 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$  to  
576 converge by 2030, or a reduced rate of  $0.6 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$  for 2050. In contrast, its average poultry  
577 demand has been increasing at approximately  $0.9 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$ . To converge on recommended  
578 levels, its annual rate of reduction would have to be between  $1.1$  and  $1.5 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$  for 2030, and  
579  $0.5$  and  $0.7 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$  for 2050 (depending on whether convergence is set by WHO or Chinese  
580 guidelines). China's per capita dairy demand is particularly low relative to other transitioning  
581 and high-income nations at only  $33 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$  in 2013. Intake has, however, been growing at an  
582 average rate of  $1.8 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$ . This rate of growth is well below 'target-meeting' growth rates of  
583  $3.9$  and  $4.8 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$  which could be sustained to reach dairy recommendations by 2030. To  
584 converge on the healthy diet guideline by 2050, China's average demand could increase at  
585 a rate of  $1.8$  and  $2.2 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$ . In other words, China could maintain its recent growth in dairy  
586 consumption and only just meet dietary guidelines by 2050.

587

588 India's pathways are notably different from those of the USA and China. Here, we have  
589 mapped the guidelines of India's non-vegetarian diet (where one daily portion of pulses is  
590 replaced with a source of animal-based protein). Even in this case, a clear divergence  
591 between Indian and WHO recommended pathways in red meat and poultry consumption is  
592 overt. It should be noted that average per capita demand of all meats is very low, at only  $3.5$   
593  $\text{kg yr}^{-1}$ . Further still, average red meat demand has shown a slow downward trend over the  
594 last decade. Poultry consumption has been growing very slowly at an average of  $0.08 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$ ;  
595 this growth could be maintained through to 2050 and still fall under WHO recommendations.  
596 In contrast, India's growth in milk demand ( $1.5 \text{ kg yr}^{-1}$ ) is higher than both WHO and national  
597 guidelines for convergence by 2030 or 2050. This is an important trade-off in India's  
598 lactovegetarian preferences, with milk forming the key source of high-quality protein. Whilst  
599 this may raise concern over its ability to meet dietary GHG targets, even in the case that milk

600 consumption continued to grow to 140 kgyr<sup>-1</sup>, and poultry consumption accelerated to WHO  
601 recommendations of 18 kgyr<sup>-1</sup>, India's per capita footprint would equate to 912 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e  
602 capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup>. This is still well below the 1200 kgCO<sub>2</sub>e capita<sup>-1</sup>yr<sup>-1</sup> footprint of the WHO healthy  
603 diet. In other words, if we were to define an equitable per capita dietary budget at WHO  
604 healthy diet levels, India's average diet is unlikely to exceed this, even under growth to 2050.

605

## 606 **4. Conclusion**

### 607 **4.1 National dietary guidelines are incompatible with climate**

#### 608 **mitigation targets**

609 Our analysis highlights the incompatibility of current national dietary guidelines for long-term  
610 climate change commitments and our nearer-term SDG targets. This inadequacy occurs for  
611 multiple reasons. Firstly, many national guidelines are vague or difficult to follow in their  
612 recommendations—a lack of quantification in terms of numbers of portions and portion sizes  
613 (especially for animal-based products) makes it challenging for individuals to adopt. If, at a  
614 global level, we are to promote dietary habits which are both nutritious and sustainable,  
615 clearer and more explicit guidance on dietary choices, quantities and substitutions need to  
616 be adopted at national levels.

617

618 Secondly, there is a clear lack of harmonisation in guidelines for both health and  
619 environmental sustainability outcomes. As previously reported, only a few contain any  
620 explicit mention of environmental considerations (Fischer & Garnett 2016). Upon  
621 quantification, we have shown that the national guidelines of several countries—the USA  
622 and Australia, in particular—are poorly aligned with GHG mitigation requirements. Global  
623 convergence on the USA's recommended diet, for instance, while potentially meeting health  
624 criteria, would result in a large increase in global GHG emissions. In fact, the adoption of this  
625 recommended diet would provide minimal GHG savings relative to the high emissions  
626 scenario of our BAU pathway.

627 With the exception of Indian and WHO healthy diet recommendations, all per capita  
628 emissions resultant from dietary guidelines exceed the average per capita budget (for all  
629 sectors, including energy and transport) necessary to meet a 1.5°C target. All guidelines fall  
630 within the total per capita GHG budget for a 2°C target, but would leave little room for  
631 emissions from other GHG-emitting sectors. As such, we conclude that the majority of  
632 current national guidelines are highly inconsistent with a 1.5°C target, and incompatible with  
633 a 2°C budget unless other sectors reach almost total decarbonisation by 2050. Global  
634 convergence (which is necessary to meet SDG2 of ending malnutrition—inclusive of  
635 undernourishment, micronutrient deficiency, and overconsumption) on current national  
636 guidelines would therefore fail to meet requirements within the Paris Agreement, and SDG13  
637 of meeting these climate mitigation targets. If these are to be achievable, guidelines will have  
638 to be reframed to incorporate environmental and climate considerations.

639

640 Whilst national guidelines are inadequate in providing clear guidance on nutritious, climate-  
641 compatible diets, there may also be evidence that current WHO guidelines may need to be  
642 re-evaluated within context on their compatibility with health and climate targets. From a  
643 climate mitigation perspective, emissions from convergence on the WHO healthy diet would  
644 consume almost all of a global 1.5°C GHG budget. Under this dietary scenario agricultural  
645 and food production would dominate total GHG emissions within a global 2°C budget. Such  
646 guidelines are therefore only consistent with our climate commitments if rapid  
647 decarbonisation is achieved across other economic sectors.

648

649 There may also be evidence that an adaptation of current WHO recommendations would  
650 achieve health benefits. The World Health Organization currently set guidelines for red meat  
651 consumption on a maximum threshold basis as a result of strong links to non-communicable  
652 disease prevalence and mortality. However, recent long-term cohort studies show links  
653 between both unprocessed and processed red meat consumption (increasing with intake,

654 but with no lower threshold) and cause-specific mortality from nitrate/nitrite and heme iron  
655 intake (Etemadi et al. 2017; Potter 2017; Pan et al. 2012). Etemadi et al. (2017) show that  
656 even when maintaining similar levels of total meat intake, the substitution of red with white  
657 (particularly unprocessed) meat shows notable reductions in mortality risk from cause-  
658 specific factors. Pan et al. (2012) also show the link between red meat consumption and an  
659 increased risk of cardiovascular disease (CVD), and cancer mortality, and the ability of  
660 substitution with other high-quality protein sources to reduce mortality risk. Such results raise  
661 further contention on the optimality of current WHO guidance—further reduction of their  
662 current maximum guidelines for red meat intake could further improve health and nutritional  
663 outcomes whilst also promoting dietary habits with greater climate mitigation potential.

664

## 665 **4.2 Culture, social norms and drivers of change**

666 Despite the incompatibility of current dietary guidance with climate and SDG targets, our  
667 analysis shows that for many countries current consumption patterns still greatly exceed  
668 these recommendations—particularly in terms of red and processed meat intake. Although  
669 slowly decreasing across many Western countries in particular, our results suggest that  
670 rates of decline would have to increase between five- and ten-fold to reach recommended  
671 levels by 2030 or 2050. A dramatic shift in consumer attitudes to meat consumption would  
672 therefore be required.

673

674 There are a number of important contributing factors to consumer food and meat choices  
675 (Bakker & Dagevos 2012). There is a strong positive relationship between income and meat  
676 consumption, which explains many of the large global inequalities in consumption (Kearney  
677 2010). However, even when corrected for income, we see differing patterns of meat  
678 consumption (ibid).

679

680 Culture has historically played, and continues to play, a crucial role in food and dietary  
681 patterns. Meat consumption in particular has strong cultural links to a number of values  
682 including prosperity, masculinity, health and indulgence (Ruby & Heine 2011; Boer et al.  
683 2008). Religion has also had a large impact on meat trends; India's largely lactovegetarian  
684 preferences (reflected in its national dietary guidelines presented in this paper) are strongly  
685 linked to cultural and religious values (Bonne, Karijn et al. 2007; Devi et al. 2014).

686 The rise of "flexitarians" (or meat-reducers) across a number of countries provides a positive  
687 signal of cultural and social change with respect to meat consumption (Dagevos & Voordouw  
688 2013). Nonetheless, this cultural and social transition with regards to meat consumption in  
689 recent years—as profiles of current consumption show in our analyses—are proving too  
690 slow to achieve the rate of change needed to meet our climate mitigation targets. Such  
691 significant change will have to be achieved through the adoption of a range of economic and  
692 behavioural strategies.

693

694 There have been a number of options proposed to accelerate reductions in meat (particularly  
695 red and processed meat) consumption. There continues to be a strong case for consumer  
696 education, not only with respect to the environmental impacts of meat, but combining these  
697 with education on health and nutrition. Consumer surveys have shown that a substantial  
698 obstacle for meat reduction with a high number of consumers is the image of meat as a  
699 healthy food product; many admit they are reluctant to substitute meat out of their diet  
700 through concerns of protein and nutritional imbalance (Bakker & Dagevos 2012). Consumer  
701 messaging strategies are likely to be more influential when they extend beyond the GHG  
702 benefits of reduced meat consumption, and instead focus on important co-benefits such as  
703 health and wellbeing (Wellesley et al. 2015).

704

705 Economic drivers of change could also play a role in shifting diets. Springmann et al. (2016)  
706 show that substantial GHG reductions could be achieved through taxation and commodity

707 pricing based on carbon intensity of food products (Springmann, Mason-D’Croz, et al. 2016).  
708 If effectively designed, they show that both GHG reduction and health benefits can be  
709 achieved across high-income and most middle and low-income countries—however, this  
710 could require significant political backing. Meat substitute (such as mycoprotein, in-vitro  
711 meat, and soya-based) products could also play a role in shifting towards lower-carbon diets  
712 (Joshi & Kumar 2016; Smetana et al. 2015). To prove competitive to meat products, these  
713 substitutes will likely have to achieve notable price reductions, either through subsidy  
714 mechanisms, taxation or technologically-driven efficiency and cost cuts (Ritchie et al. 2017).

715

716 We conclude that nutritional and climate goals are currently incompatible. Aligning nutritional  
717 goals and internationally agreed climate change targets will therefore require major  
718 reframing of social norms towards dietary preferences and consumption patterns, but also  
719 further evaluation of global and national-level guidance on recommended dietary intakes.

720

721

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