consumer responses—such as reducing or eliminating meat consumption, or choosing local or organic meat. While such individual-level responses are important, they ultimately have difficulty adding up to viable and adequate solutions, given the larger forces behind the global meat industry. To that end, they note how organizations, governments, and even corporations can help to ameliorate some of the negative consequences of the global meat industry and begin to take steps toward alternative and more sustainable approaches.

The expansion of the global meat industry has important implications for our lives, including for the environment, people's access to food and other resources, economic control and power, the lives of animals, and even for our individual health. Understanding the expansion of the global meat industry over the past several decades is of paramount importance. And this expansion—in terms of the amount of production, the geographic reach, and the increase in trade—rests on the changes in the market structure. More specifically, the increased market concentration in the meat industry and the increased size of meat corporations over the past few decades have provided the foundation for the global expansion of the meat industry. So, we turn first to the role of governments and corporations in supporting this transformation.

Notes

1. Data on the value of global meat production comes from FAO 2019.

2. Denmark's declining per capita meat consumption was tied to that country's drive to decrease the use of antibiotics in pig farming in the 1990s. In just a matter of a couple of years, per capita pork consumption plummeted, from 68.5 kg in 1998 to 23.1 kg in 1999.

3. Beef in India comes primarily from buffalo rather than from cows, and its primary export markets are regional, including Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, and the Philippines. See www.beefcentral.com/trade/export/where-does-indias-buffalo-meat-exports-go/.

4. Calculated from FAO 2019. "Russia" refers to the USSR from 1961 to 1991, and then the Russian Federation from 1992 to 2014.

5. Some of the corn that is produced is, of course, consumed directly as food, and some of it is also used for biofuel production, especially since 2008. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the doubling of production of corn production

since 1990 and the three-fold increase of soybean production was driven by expanding demand for livestock feed.

6. For example, chicken meat imports in Russia increased substantially after the fall of communism in 1991, from 0.2 MMT to 1.1 MMT in just a few short years, from 1993 to 1996.

7. For example, the EU had banned both the production and import of genetically engineered seeds until 2004, when it allowed the import of GE corn. Then, in 2008, it began to allow the import of GE soybeans (Winders 2017, 123–125). Almost all of the feed grains imported by the EU today are genetically engineered.