

Fishing for Solutions: Nomenclature of Cell-Cultivated Fish Products

Marlana Malerich (✉ marmalerich@gmail.com)

University of Edinburgh

Christopher Bryant

University of Bath

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Fishing for Solutions: Nomenclature of Cell-Cultivated Fish Products

Marlana Malerich¹ & Christopher Bryant²

¹School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

²Department of Psychology, University of Bath, United Kingdom

Abstract

In recent decades, marine resources have faced extreme environmental pressures due to growing global fish consumption. Both commercial fishing and aquaculture harm the environment, threaten public health, and entail morally dubious practices. While consumers have increasingly become aware of the implications of the global fishing industry, most still want to eat seafood. Recent advancements in food technology have resulted in the successful production of cell-cultivated fish. Grown from real fish cells, cell-cultivated seafood avoids many of the issues associated with conventional fish production. Although cell-cultivated seafood will soon be available to consumers, there is not yet consensus on a ‘common or usual name’, a requirement of the US Food and Drug Administration for novel foods. We present a public discourse analysis, and the results of two online US-based surveys (n=2,452 and n=1,839) analyzing consumer acceptance and understanding of key terms used to describe cultured fish. Adult participants were tested for knowledge and acceptability of multiple descriptive terms: Bio-crafted, Bio-Cultivated, Cell-based, Cultivated, Cultured, Molecular, and the coined term ‘Novari’. The Control was a description of the product coupled with realistic packaging a consumer may expect to find once the product is available for purchase. The discourse analysis indicated that there is no current consensus on terminology used to describe cell-cultivated meat, and that some of the most commonly-used terms currently tend to be used in a negative context. Our Phase I survey revealed that names such as ‘cell-based’ and ‘bio-crafted’ were more likely to be understood, but relatively unappealing, while names such as ‘cultivated’ and ‘Novari’ were more appealing, but less likely to be understood. Our Phase II survey further revealed that the term ‘cell-cultivated’ combined promising elements of these terms, and was subsequently more appealing than ‘cell-based’ and better-understood than both ‘cultivated’ and ‘cell-based’. That said, none of the names tested outperformed the control group in consumer ability to identify the product accurately.

36 **1. Introduction**

37

38 ***1.1 Commercial Fishing: Environmental Impact***

39

40 The environmental effects of commercial fishing are evident in biodiversity loss and oceanic
41 ecosystem disruption. Since the mid-1990s, marine populations have experienced a severe decline
42 (Pauly & Zeller, 2016, Pauly & Zeller, 2017). Harmful industrial fishing practices such as trawling
43 and overfishing are the primary driver of population decline, and since 1996, total global catches
44 have decreased at a rate of 1.2 million tons annually (Pauly & Zeller, 2017, Pauly et al., 2002).
45 Overexploitation of fish stocks affects biodiversity and population resilience, resulting in the
46 breakdown of ecosystems (Sala et al., 2021, Pauly & Zeller, 2016). The United Nations (U.N.)
47 reported in 2015 that 33% of marine fish stocks faced harvesting at unsustainable levels (United
48 Nations, 2018). Additionally, commercial fishing practices and associated fishing equipment are
49 responsible for catching unwanted, damaged, inedible, or unprofitable fish — these are ultimately
50 discarded. Consequently, an estimated 10.8% (9.1 million tonnes) of annual global catch is wasted
51 (Gilman et al., 2020, Zeller et al., 2017).

52

53 In addition to overfishing risks, warming oceans present an existential threat to ocean biodiversity.
54 Climate-related changes influence the ocean's ecology, physics, and chemistry, hindering marine
55 life resilience to overfishing (Sala et al., 2021, Rashid Sumaila & Tai, 2020, Free et al., 2019). . In
56 response to the negative externalities associated with commercial fishing, aquaculture has gained
57 popularity; however, this practice has problems of its own.

58

59 ***1.2 Aquaculture: Environmental Impact***

60

61 The aquaculture industry positions itself as a more sustainable alternative to commercial fishing.
62 By breeding fish in captivity, aquaculture-farmed fish reduces wild fish catch required to meet
63 consumer demands. In 2020 aquaculture accounted for 46% of total global fish production and
64 52% of consumption (FAO, 2020). The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) predicts that
65 annual aquaculture production will reach 109 million tonnes by 2030, and industry growth will
66 increase 30.1% between 2018 and 2027 (FAO, 2018a, FAO 2018b). Estimates suggest that by
67 2030, aquaculture will represent 60% of fish available for human consumption (Ghamkhar &
68 Hicks, 2020). However, aquaculture production presents its own set of environmental, social, and
69 animal welfare challenges

70

71 Aquaculture effluent may contribute to high levels of nitrogen and phosphorus in the local aquatic
72 environment. Effluent contamination results in harmful algae blooms and eutrophication (Herath
73 & Satoh, 2015, Mente et al., 2006). In addition to environmental contamination, farmed fish may
74 carry pathogens and contribute to disease spread and ecosystem disruption in documented escapes

75 from aquatic containment (Madhun et al., 2014, Lafferty et al., 2015) (see section 1.5).
76 Aquaculture feed (fishmeal) includes wild-caught fish ingredients associated with microplastic
77 contaminants (see section 1.5), presenting a pathway to pollution through fish excrement.

78

79 Aquaculture relies on the commercial fishing industry to provide protein-rich fishmeal and fish oil
80 for aquaculture feed, placing further stress on wild fish stock. Fishmeal consists primarily of oily
81 fish such as sardine, anchovy, capelin, and menhaden, historically susceptible to overfishing (Idyll,
82 1973, Barlow, 2003, Lindegren et al., 2013). Fishmeal is applied in both terrestrial animal farming
83 and aquaculture and provides protein, vitamins, minerals, and lipids for animal growth (Kok et al.,
84 2020). In turn, an average of 25% of commercial fishing annually is utilized for fishmeal and fish oil
85 (Cashion. et al., 2017). Of that 25%, ~90% is food-grade fish, resulting in ~18 million tons of
86 commercially caught fish utilized for other than direct human consumption (Cashion. et al.,
87 2017). The fishmeal supply chain has global implications. Overfishing of sardines has contributed
88 to fish stock collapse in Indonesia and India in the last five years — disrupting the livelihood of
89 thousands of small-scale fishers (Warren & Steenbergen, 2021, Kripa et al., 2018). The recent fish
90 stock collapses in India, Vietnam, and the Gambia are correlated with fishmeal demand for China,
91 Norway, and Scotland aquaculture (Changing Markets Foundation, 2019, Naylor et al., 2009).
92 Accordingly, aquaculture production (particularly fishmeal) further contributes to fish stock
93 decline and disruption of marine ecosystems (Changing Markets Foundation, 2019, Naylor et al.,
94 2009).

95

96 In response to pressures on declining fish stock exacerbated by aquaculture fishmeal demand,
97 terrestrial crops, such as soy, have contributed to aquaculture feed. However, with the addition of
98 plant protein sources, the lifecycle footprint of aquaculture extends beyond the marine border to
99 include terrene externalities such as pesticide use, soil erosion, and land-use change. Lifecycle
100 assessments have shown that 90% of cumulative environmental impact in aquaculture is attributed
101 to feed alone (both land and marine-based) (Little et al., 2018). Thus, some may conjecture that
102 aquaculture has failed to deliver a more sustainable fish. Additional problems linked with the
103 conventional fishing industry include health risks and moral implications associated with both
104 wild-caught and farm-produced fish.

105

106 ***1.3 Human Health Implications***

107

108 Fish consumption presents risks to human health. Microplastic contamination of fresh and
109 saltwater ecosystems poses hazards for both animal and human health. Mercury bioaccumulates
110 through marine trophic levels, magnifying the risk of mercury poisoning in humans. Finally, the
111 introduction of antibiotics to aquaculture systems poses a risk of antimicrobial resistance and
112 presents a global health crisis.

113

114 *1.3.1 Microplastics:*

115

116 Microplastics, identified as plastic particles under 5 millimeters in size, pose a threat to seafood
117 consumers. Microplastics are available to every level of the marine food web, from primary
118 producers to the highest trophic levels. However, plastic contamination of marine animals is
119 dependent on individual susceptibility and the severity of exposure (Smith et al., 2018, Lusher et
120 al., 2017, United Nations, 2016). Aquatic microplastic contamination in fish intended for human
121 consumption is well-documented in commercial and aquaculture fish (Lusher et al., 2017,
122 Rochman et al., 2015). Additionally, microplastics bioaccumulate via trophic levels in marine
123 environments, potentially increasing their potency in higher-trophic level fish intended for human
124 consumption (Costa et al., 2020, Farrell & Nelson, 2013, Mattsson et al., 2018). High trophic level
125 fish such as tuna are popular among consumers, increasing microplastic contamination risk
126 potential. Human exposure to ingested microplastics includes risks such as changes in gut microbe
127 composition (Salim et al., 2013), persorption through intestinal epithelium (Powell et al., 2007,
128 Volkheimer, 1977), inflammatory lesions, and increased risk of neoplasia (Prata et al., 2020).

129

130 The connection between microplastics and human health has gained attention in recent years.
131 Some research shows microplastic concentration remains in marine digestive tracts; thus, removing
132 gastrointestinal tracts before consumption may reduce human health risks (Duis & Coors, 2016).
133 Alternatively, fish traditionally consumed whole (with digestive tracts intact) may lead to greater
134 microplastic exposure in humans (Lusher et al., 2017, Van Cauwenberghe & Janssen, 2014).
135 Whole fish used in fishmeal production for aquaculture presents a similar dilemma, with a higher
136 potential of contamination due to processing fish with intact digestive tracts (Thiele et al., 2021).
137 Human health is thus put at risk through the transfer of contaminants from consumed fish.

138

139 The controlled environment and shortened lifespan of aquaculture-raised fish may conjecture
140 living conditions that limit microplastic contamination in humans. However, research intimates
141 that aquaculture activities, including feed, are correlated with microplastic contamination (Smith
142 et al., 2018, Lusher et al., 2017). A recent estimate suggested that over 300 million microplastic
143 particles may be released annually through aquaculture alone (Thiele et al., 2021).

144

145 *1.3.2 Mercury Exposure:*

146

147 Methylmercury (MeHg), a highly toxic organic form of mercury, is the primary source of human
148 mercury exposure. Between 80% and 90% of organic mercury in a human body is from fish and
149 shellfish consumption (Hong et al., 2012). MeHg is present in both saltwater and freshwater fish
150 (Dong et al., 2015). Toxic levels of MeHg are present in seafood globally in developed and
151 developing countries (Sheehan et al., 2014, Mahaffey et al., 2004). All fish and shellfish contain
152 some levels of MeHg, but these levels concentrate at each trophic level (Silbernagel et al., 2011).

153 Preferred fish, or prized fish such as tuna, have the highest levels of MeHg due to their location on
154 the trophic scale and bioaccumulation capacity (Murata et al., 2019). Seafood is the predominant
155 source of exposure for methylmercury (MeHg) in humans (Hong et al., 2012, Mergler et al., 2007).
156 Overexposure to MeHg presents neurotoxic, reproductive, and cardiovascular risk (Hong et al.,
157 2012, Grandjean et al., 2003, p. 22). Consequently, the continued consumption of fish increases
158 the chance of mercury-induced health risks in humans.

159

160 *1.3.3 Antimicrobial Resistance:*

161

162 Increasing demand for fish contributes to overcrowded conditions in aquaculture that present
163 breaches in animal welfare rights —and a grave threat to human health (see section 1.3.4).

164 Overcrowding in terrestrial and aquaculture concentrated farming necessitates antibiotic use to
165 mitigate disease transmission facilitated by crowded conditions (Kirchhelle, 2018, Miranda et al.,
166 2018, Lee et al., 2013). The World Health Organization (WHO) has identified the over-utilization
167 of antibiotics in animal production as a contributor to growing global antimicrobial resistance —
168 and a global health risk (WHO, 2020, WHO, 2017). Antimicrobial resistance contributes to
169 human morbidity rates globally, and estimates suggest that antimicrobial resistance may be
170 responsible for up to ten million deaths by 2050 (MacFadden et al., 2018). Connections between
171 aquaculture consumption and the transfer of antimicrobial resistance in humans are well-
172 researched (Heuer et al., 2009, Akinbowale et al., 2006, Kruse & Sørsum, 1994). Antimicrobial
173 resistance originating in aquaculture may directly infect humans via antimicrobial-resistant
174 bacteria in fish or transferred through the environment or via horizontal gene transfer — where
175 human pathogens act as transfer agents of antimicrobial-resistant genes originating in aquaculture
176 (WHO et al., 2006).

177

178 The over-utilization of antibiotics in fish and corresponding antimicrobial-resistant bacteria
179 (AMR) is well documented (Cabello et al., 2016, Done & Halden, 2015). The antibiotics used in
180 aquaculture are primarily those used in human health and thus present a global health dilemma if
181 antimicrobial resistance occurs (Reverter et al., 2020, MacFadden et al., 2018, Done & Halden,
182 2015). Further exacerbating the overuse of antibiotics in aquaculture, climate change research
183 suggests that warming temperatures are associated with a higher likelihood of disease outbreak,
184 antibiotic use, and presence of AMR bacteria in aquaculture (Reverter et al., 2020, MacFadden et
185 al., 2018, Marcos-López et al., 2010) Recent review of AMR Bacterial research suggested that
186 highest AMR levels in Aquaculture were in LMIC that were economically vulnerable — especially
187 in Africa and Southeast Asia, further compounding risk in already-vulnerable populations
188 (Reverter et al., 2020).

189

190 The administration of antibiotics in aquaculture is released into the water via feed, direct
191 application, and fish waste. The presence of antibiotics facilitates opportunities for resistance

192 building, either in the aquatic environment or within fish digestive systems (Preena et al., 2020,
193 Reverter et al., 2020, Kemper, 2008). Intensive animal production, including aquaculture,
194 contributes to antimicrobial resistance. Aquaculture's contribution to the global health emergency
195 of escalating antimicrobial resistance is an externality associated with its goals to meet consumer
196 demands and support food security. The crisis of antimicrobial resistance must be urgently
197 addressed and mitigated.

198

199 ***1.4 Moral Implications:***

200

201 As well as the environmental and human health impacts of the fish industry, there are widespread
202 violations of human and animal rights.

203

204 Firstly, emerging research has exposed frequent human rights infringements in the aquaculture and
205 commercial fishing industries (Nakamura et al., 2018, Lewis et al., 2017). Workers are frequently
206 required to be at sea for weeks or months, isolated from friends, family, and law enforcement. This
207 is exacerbated by many fishing vessels sailing under 'flags of convenience' belonging to countries
208 with lax enforcement (Armstrong, 2020).

209

210 Secondly, the populations of many coastal communities worldwide depend on fish for sustenance,
211 and overfishing is decimating their primary food source (FAO, 2018a, Smith et al., 2011, FAO,
212 2005). Small local subsistence fishermen cannot compete with vast international trawlers, which
213 essentially leads to the dynamic of globally affluent consumers taking food from the mouths of
214 globally poor consumers.

215

216 Thirdly, although fish are less likely than other food animals to be perceived as emotional or
217 intelligent, research suggests that fish have the capacity for cognitive, behavioral, and pain-
218 reception abilities (Franks et al., 2021). Farmed fish are commonly affected by a litany of welfare
219 issues, including overcrowding, stressful conditions, and proliferation of diseases, including
220 viruses, sea lice, and chlamydia (Lafferty et al., 2015, Taranger et al., 2014, Kebbi-Beghdadi et al.,
221 2011).

222

223 ***1.5 Consumer Fish Consumption and Alternatives***

224

225 Alternatives to commercial fishing and aquaculture are needed to sustain global future
226 consumption demands and meet the UN sustainable development goals (SDGs) of ending hunger
227 globally (SDG #2) and achieving sustainable consumption and production (SDG #12) (United
228 Nations, 2015). Despite the environmental, ethical, and health issues attached to fish
229 consumption, global projections suggest rising fish demand (Free et al., 2019). In simulations of
230 future consumption trends, drivers of consumption are determined by population growth and

231 income. Accordingly, areas that anticipate rising income (in particular, China, India, and Southeast
232 Asia) expect escalating fish demand (The World Bank et al., 2013). By 2030, fish production will
233 increase by 23.6 percent compared to 2010 levels (Free et al., 2019).

234

235 While trends in vegetarianism and veganism are gaining traction, the rate of plant-based diet
236 adoption is not significant enough to combat rising meat demand from rapidly developing
237 countries. Additionally, meat consumption is ingrained in culture and conceptions of wealth and
238 prosperity, influencing consumer choices and willingness to transition to plant-based diets
239 (Happer & Wellesley, 2019, Bereznicka & Pawlonka, 2018). Moreover, fish has been historically
240 touted as a health food (Swanson et al., 2012) and for health-motivated fish consumers, fish
241 alternatives (e.g. tofu and seitan) may not contain EPA and DHA — drivers of health-related fish
242 consumption. Absence of EPA and DHA may limit health-motivated consumers' willingness to
243 transition to plant-based alternatives (Pieniak et al., 2008, Alcorta et al., 2021). Food choice
244 predictors greatly influence consumer diets. Analysis of food choice predictors revealed
245 convenience, price, and taste as most significant predictors in contrast to environmental concerns
246 (Fotopolous et al., 2009; Januszewska et al., 2011; Lennernäs et al., 1997). Consequently, fish
247 alternatives must be convenient, affordable, tasty, and contribute to human health to drive food
248 choice change.

249

250 Advancements in cell-cultivated seafood technologies present a pathway forward by introducing a
251 comparable product to conventional seafood with potentially lower environmental externalities
252 and health risks. Cell-cultivated meat, the practice of growing meat directly from cells, offers a
253 solution to the environmental, ethical, and health-related issues connected to traditional fish
254 consumption. Furthermore, by producing only the edible portions of a fish that are intended for
255 human consumption, cell-cultivated fish eliminates the wastage inherently linked to fish supply
256 chains. Current estimates suggest 10.8% of annual global catch is discarded and (Gilman et al.,
257 2020, Zeller et al., 2017). The controlled production environment eliminates microplastic and
258 mercury contamination and removes the need for antibiotic application. Cultivated fish is
259 organoleptically comparable to conventional meat, offering consumers, for the first time in
260 history, the choice to eat fish without contributing to an animal's death and the myriad of
261 environmental impacts associated with conventional fish production. Moreover, consumer
262 research suggests that the market is primed for cultivated fish. In a recent consumer study
263 produced by the Good Food Institute (GFI), 35% of respondents found cultivated seafood
264 appealing and 38% suggested they would consider purchasing it in the future (Good Food Institute
265 & Kelton Global Research, 2021).

266

267 ***1.6 Nomenclature Debate - Consumer and Regulatory Acceptability***

268

269 A current issue in the commercialization of cell-cultivated fish is the product's nomenclature and
270 product labeling. Precise labeling is a crucial aspect of commercializing novel foods as consumers
271 must feel comfortable with the product and understand its origins. 73% of consumers in the GFI
272 report cited they were concerned about food poisoning, indicating a misunderstanding of the
273 production of cultivated fish and its safety risks (Good Food Institute & Kelton Global Research,
274 2021). The nomenclature debate must take into account risk-adversity and consumer willingness
275 to try novel products.

276

277 The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) requires that all foods have labeling depicting a
278 "common or usual name." The regulation, 21CFR101.3, requires that the "common or usual
279 name" accurately identifies and describes the product in the most direct and straightforward terms
280 possible to ensure informed customer decisions (FDA, 2020a). In 2020, the FDA called for
281 labeling comments, encouraging discourse on cell-cultivated seafood labeling (FDA, 2020b).
282 Previous research on nomenclature has primarily focused on consumer acceptance, rather than
283 identifying a common or usual name that may be regulated by the FDA (Bryant & Barnett, 2019).
284 Currently, only one other research paper distinguishes nomenclature preference of cell-cultivated
285 fish in the U.S. response to the FDA. The research, produced by Hallman and Hallman (2020),
286 utilized an online between-subject experiment to test common or usual names using packages of
287 three types of seafood consumers may expect to encounter in the supermarket. In the study, 3,186
288 U.S. adults read the terms "cell-cultured seafood," "cultivated seafood," "cell-based seafood,"
289 "cultured seafood," as well as the phrase, "produced using cellular aquaculture" (Hallman &
290 Hallman, 2020). The study determined that "cell-based seafood" performed the highest out of the
291 names tested. This paper builds on Hallman and Hallman work, first by considering whether a
292 common and usual name already exists as evidenced by online usage, and second to consider a
293 broader range of potential labels on a range of criteria.

294 **2. Methods**

295

296 **2.1 Procedure**

297

298 *2.1.1 Brandwatch Public Discourse Analysis*

299

300 Before the experimental part of the study, we wanted to conduct an exploratory part to identify (a)
301 which names or terms for cell-cultivated seafood were most commonly used currently, and (b)
302 whether there was a term which was sufficiently widely-used to be considered ‘common and usual’.
303 To this end, the social listening platform Brandwatch was employed to measure the use and
304 sentiment of different terminology.

305

306 **Table 1:** Brandwatch Search Terms

Search terms included in the Brandwatch search
Cellular agriculture; cell-based seafood; lab-grown seafood; cellular aquaculture; clean seafood; cultured seafood; cultivated seafood; cell-cultured seafood; cellular seafood; manufactured seafood; artificial seafood; animal-free seafood; cell-grown seafood; slaughter-free seafood; cell-based/cultured seafood; synthetic seafood; test tube seafood

307

308 This process involved compiling content which discussed cell-cultivated seafood from online
309 sources including news sources, blogs, forums, and social media platforms including Twitter,
310 Reddit, and Tumblr. The search included a list of terms (see Table #1), searching for worldwide
311 content in the English language during the period 1 January 2019 - 14 December 2020.

312

313 Content was removed if it was identified by Brandwatch as an advertisement or as pornographic.
314 Content which was retained was classified as positive, negative, or neutral using Brandwatch’s
315 sentiment analysis, which gauges sentiment by analysing context, language, and emojis.

316

317 Based on learnings from Brandwatch data and previous nomenclature study, Hallman & Hallman,
318 two nationwide surveys took place in the United States in early 2021. In partnership with The Yale
319 Center for Customer Insights, two surveys were produced and conducted. The purpose of both
320 studies was to test consumer understanding of the product, willingness to purchase, and
321 willingness to consume products based on nomenclature. Test names were based on Hallman &
322 Hallman’s (2020) research.

323

324 2.1.2 Phase I Survey

325

326 The Phase I survey took place between January 7- 10, 2021. The survey was an experimental
327 between-subjects set-up whereby participants were randomly allocated to one of seven different
328 labels, plus a control group (see Table 2).

329

330 **Table 2:** Phase I Test Names

Nomenclature Terms
1. Bio-crafted; 2. Bio-Cultivated; 3.Cell-based; 4. Cultivated; 5.Cultured; 6. Molecular; 7. Novari ¹ ; 8. Control

331

332 In addition, we tested the eight terms with both salmon and tuna fillets, meaning that the
333 experiment consisted of sixteen (8 x 2) conditions. As an example of what a respondent would have
334 seen while taking the survey, Figure 1 shows one cell from the above study design: “bio-crafted” +
335 tuna. A “don’t know/unsure” option was included in the response options, allowing for a more
336 precise measure of consumer understanding by reducing guessing.

337

¹ *Novari is a coined term (derived from the Latin verb “novo” or “to make new”) and was added to the study to assess how a term with no previous obvious connection to seafood source (conventional or cultured) would fare in terms of consumer understanding and appeal.

338 **Figure 1:** An example of what a participant saw in one Phase I condition.

GRILLED TUNA
BIO-CRAFTED SEAFOOD

Nutrition Facts
3 servings per container
Serving size 4 oz (113g)
Calories per serving **120**

Amount per serving	% Daily Value*	Amount per serving	% Daily Value*
Total Fat 21g	42%	Total Carbohydrate 0g	0%
Saturated Fat 9g	18%	Dietary Fiber 0g	0%
Trans Fat 0g	0%	Total Sugars 0g	0%
Cholesterol 45mg	90%	Includes 0g Added Sugars	0%
Sodium 50mg	10%	Protein 27g	54%
Vitamin D 20mcg	40%	Iron 1.08mg	22%
Potassium 470mg	94%		

CONTAINS TUNA • PERISHABLE • KEEP FROZEN • COOK THOROUGHLY
NET WT 12 OZ(340g)

Based on the information shown above, what does it communicate about this tuna?

- It is a fillet of a fish that has been caught wild
- It is a fillet of a fish that has been farm raised
- It is a fillet of a fish produced by growing fish cells in a food facility
- It is a plant-based fillet of fish
- Don't know/Unsure

339
340

341 The control included an image of a plain package of either salmon or tuna, the word “salmon
342 fillet” or “grilled tuna” depending on which treatment the respondent was given, a short
343 description of the technology, and a nutrition label associated with conventional salmon or tuna
344 (Figure #1).

345

346 **Figure 2:** What participants saw in the control condition (Salmon, Phase I).

SALMON FILLETS

To make this product, salmon cells were raised in a food facility.

This is a new way of producing just the salmon meat, rather than fishing or farming salmon.

Nutrition Facts
3 servings per container
Serving size 1 Fillet (113g)
Calories per serving **190**

Amount per serving	% Daily Value*	Amount per serving	% Daily Value*
Total Fat 12g	24%	Total Carbohydrate 0g	0%
Saturated Fat 3g	6%	Dietary Fiber 0g	0%
Trans Fat 0g	0%	Total Sugars 0g	0%
Cholesterol 45mg	90%	Includes 0g Added Sugars	0%
Sodium 50mg	10%	Protein 27g	54%
Vitamin D 10mcg	20%	Iron 0mg	0%
Potassium 376mg	75%		

CONTAINS SALMON • PERISHABLE • KEEP FROZEN • COOK THOROUGHLY
NET WT 12 OZ(340g)

Based on the information shown above, what does it communicate about this tuna?

- It is a fillet of a fish that has been caught wild
- It is a fillet of a fish that has been farm raised
- It is a fillet of a fish produced by growing fish cells in a food facility
- It is a plant-based fillet of fish
- Don't know/Unsure

347

348 During the survey, participants first read information about the study and gave their informed
349 consent to take part. Participants then indicated which groceries they had bought in the last 3
350 months, and if they had bought fish, they indicated which types of fish they had bought. Based on
351 this information, participants were then allocated to a condition which corresponded to fish they
352 had recently bought so that they would be potentially interested. Salmon buyers were assigned to a
353 salmon condition, and tuna buyers to a tuna condition. Respondents who indicated that they
354 purchased both were randomly assigned one of the two fish.

355

356 After being exposed to their corresponding condition, participants answered five questions about
357 cultivated fish: (1) which, from a list, was the correct description of the fish, (2) how appealing
358 they found the fish, (3) how likely they were to purchase the fish, (4) whether it was safe to eat for
359 someone who is allergic to fish, and (5) why it would/not be safe to eat for someone who is allergic
360 to fish.

361

362 In the final part of the survey, participants answered demographic questions including their age,
363 gender, income, and region. They also answered some quality control questions so that we could
364 remove illegitimate responses; responses were removed if they were incomplete, under 18, failed
365 one of two basic attention check questions, indicated that they do not eat salmon or tuna, or
366 indicated that they or their family work in fish production, advertising or marketing.

367

368 *2.1.3 Phase II Survey*

369

370 The Phase II survey was very similar in structure to the Phase I survey; the aim here was to get more
371 detailed insights about promising names identified in Phase I. The only difference from the
372 procedure for Phase I was having different (and fewer) names (Table 3).

373

374 **Table 3:** Phase II Test Names

Nomenclature Terms
1. Bio-crafted; 2. Cell-based; 3. Cell-cultivated; 4. Novari; 5. Control

375

376 *2.2 Participants*

377

378 Given the large number of different name conditions tested, our stringent filtering criteria, and our
379 desire to be able to detect small-to-medium differences between conditions, we recruited a large
380 sample. In Phase I, we recorded a total of 5,165 responses, of which 2,452 were included in the
381 final sample. In Phase II, we recorded a total of 3,859 responses, of which 1,839 were included in
382 the final sample. For both Phases, this large sample size allowed for approximately 150-170

383 respondents per cell for each fish, giving the survey adequate statistical power to detect a small-to-
384 medium effect (Cohen, 1992).

385

386 Participants were recruited from Prolific, and were each paid \$0.48 USD for their participation.
387 Further information on participant demographics is given in the relevant results sections.

388

389 ***2.3 Analysis***

390

391 Analysis of the Brandwatch data used simple descriptive statistics. In particular, the number of
392 mentions, percentage of the total mentions, and the percentage of each term that was mentioned in
393 a positive, negative, or neutral context was reported.

394

395 Each empirical study was monadic, meaning that participants could not take part in both Phase I
396 and Phase II. Within each study, each name was tested on two different types of fish. We treated
397 the results as two sets of experiments, applying analyses independently to each type of fish within
398 each study.

399

400 We used between-subjects one-way ANOVAs to compare mean appeal scores and mean purchase
401 intent scores between the different experimental conditions. Additionally, we used chi square
402 analyses to compare the proportion of respondents in each condition who correctly identified the
403 product, and who thought that it was not safe for consumption given a fish allergy. Alongside the
404 inferential statistical analyses, we present graphs so that the findings can be intuitively accessed by
405 non-scientists.

406

407 **3. Results**

408

409 ***3.1 Brandwatch Public Discourse Analysis***

410

411 The results of the Brandwatch analysis of common and usual terms are represented in Table 4, and
412 Figure 3.

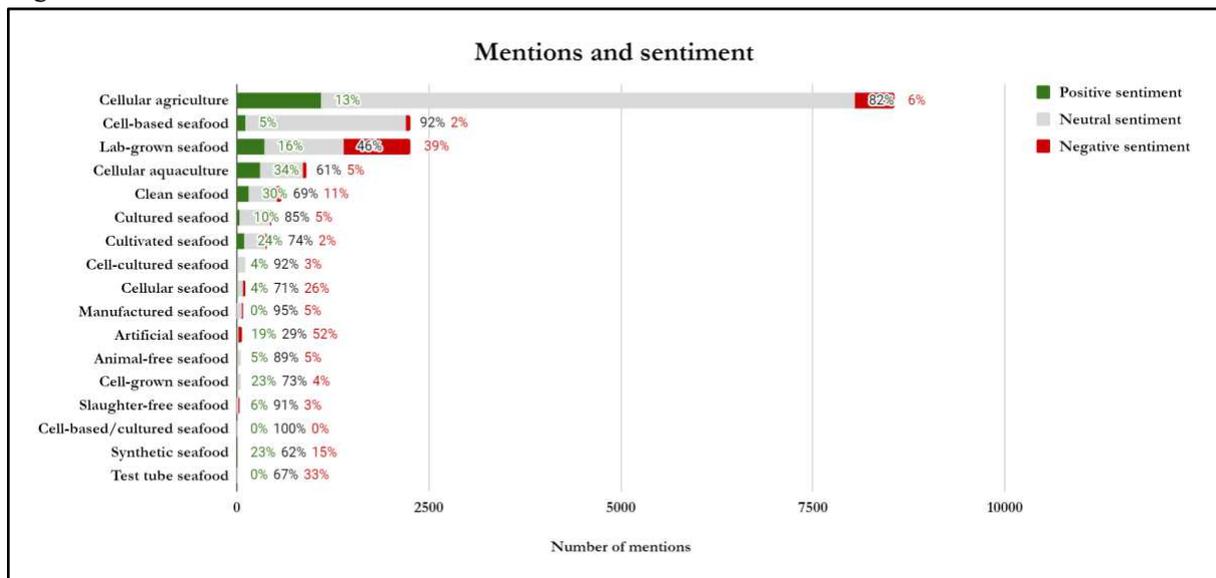
413

414 **Table 4:** Brandwatch Mentions and Sentiment

Term	Number of mentions	Percentage of total mentions	Positive sentiment	Neutral sentiment	Negative sentiment
Cellular agriculture	8,474	54%	13%	82%	6%
Cell-based seafood	2,277	14%	5%	92%	2%
Lab-grown seafood	2,240	14%	16%	46%	39%
Cellular aquaculture	904	6%	34%	61%	5%
Clean seafood	527	3%	30%	69%	11%
Cultured seafood	458	3%	10%	85%	5%
Cultivated seafood	386	2%	24%	74%	2%
Cell-cultured seafood	118	0.7%	4%	92%	3%
Cellular seafood	112	0.7%	4%	71%	26%
Manufactured seafood	78	0.5%	0%	95%	5%
Artificial seafood	65	0.4%	19%	29%	52%
Animal-free seafood	56	0.4%	5%	89%	5%
Cell-grown seafood	55	0.3%	23%	73%	4%
Slaughter-free seafood	32	0.2%	6%	91%	3%
Cell-based/cultured seafood	16	0.1%	0%	100%	0%
Synthetic seafood	13	0.1%	23%	62%	15%
Test tube seafood	3	<0.1%	0%	67%	33%

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418 **Figure 3: Brandwatch Mention and Sentiment Distribution**



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420

421 As shown, cellular agriculture was by far the most commonly-used term of those searched, but this
422 is a broad term which encompasses all cell-cultivated products (including meat and poultry) and
423 thus cannot be used as a proxy for classifying sentiments of cell-cultivated fish. Of the terms which
424 referred to cell-cultivated fish in particular, the most common were ‘cell-based seafood’, ‘lab-grown
425 seafood’, ‘cellular aquaculture’, ‘clean seafood’, ‘cultured seafood’ and ‘cultivated seafood’. All
426 other terms searched represented less than 1% of the total mentions and are included as reference,
427 but not critically examined further.

428

429 The analysis identified "lab-grown seafood" as a carrier of most negative sentiments (39%), and can
430 therefore be taken to be alarming or off-putting to consumers. This coincides with previous
431 research, which found that consumers were significantly less likely to eat ‘lab grown meat’
432 compared to ‘clean meat’ (Bryant & Barnett, 2019). The term ‘clean seafood’, although presenting
433 relatively high, is problematic as it does not meet the FDA’s "common and usual" labeling
434 guidelines of accurately identifying and describing the product. Using "clean" as a modifier may
435 falsely lead customers to assume it is cleaned conventional fish (prepared for sale), and may cause
436 friction with would-be collaborators in the incumbent industry by implying that conventional fish
437 is 'dirty' (Greene & Angadjivand, 2018). Finally, ‘cellular aquaculture’, a term which refers to the
438 seafood products encompassed within cellular agriculture, is trademarked and may not be used as a
439 common or usual name (Hallman & Hallman, 2020). Consequently, the Brandwatch analysis
440 suggested that there is currently no predominant positively-associated term for cell-cultivated fish.
441 To our knowledge, Hallman & Hallman represents the only other nomenclature analysis for cell-
442 cultivated fish through the regulatory lens of the FDA. Analysis of Survey I and Survey II is
443 intended to further inform the selection of terms suitable for name or statement of identity for cell-
444 cultivated seafood.

445 **3.2 Phase I Survey**

446

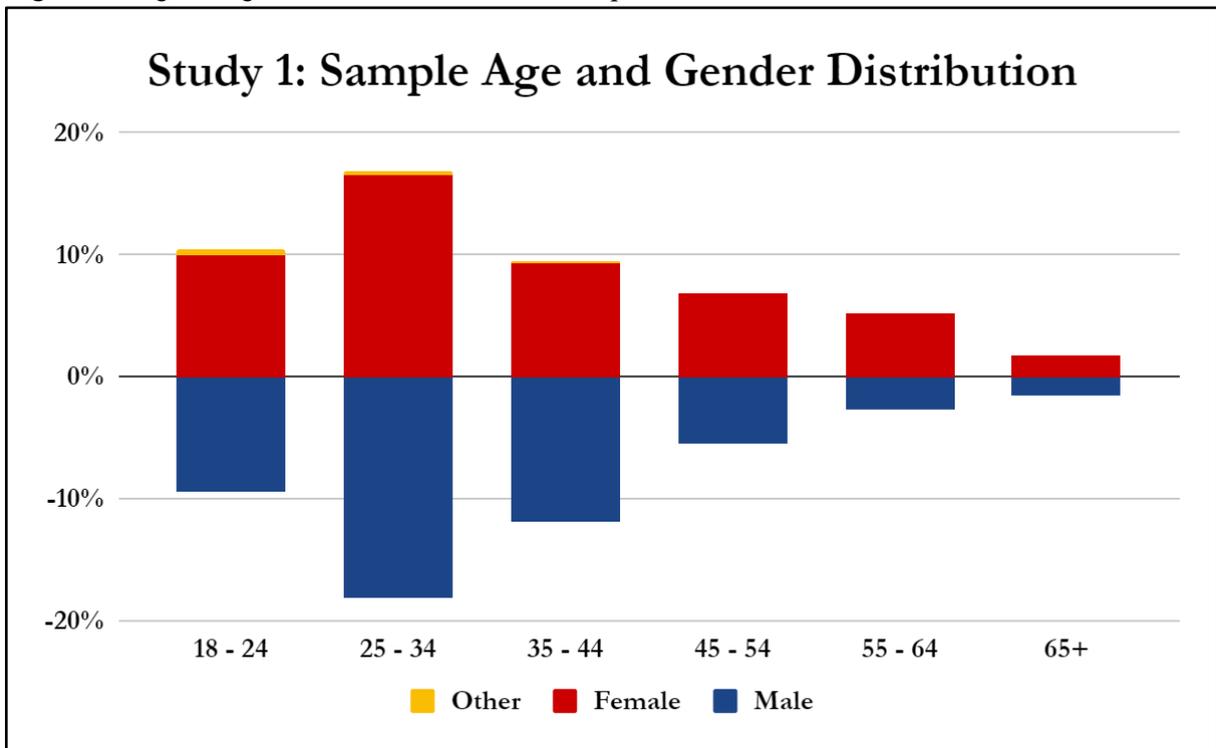
447 **3.2.1 Demographics**

448

449 The age and gender distribution for Phase I study is shown in Figure 4.

450

451 **Figure 4:** Age and gender distribution in the sample of Phase I.



452

453

454 Participants were evenly split with 49% females and 49% males. An additional 2% self-reported
455 other/preferred not to answer. 46% of participants had purchased both tuna and salmon in the
456 previous three months. 36% bought salmon only, and 18% purchased tuna only.

457

458 **3.2.2 Salmon**

459

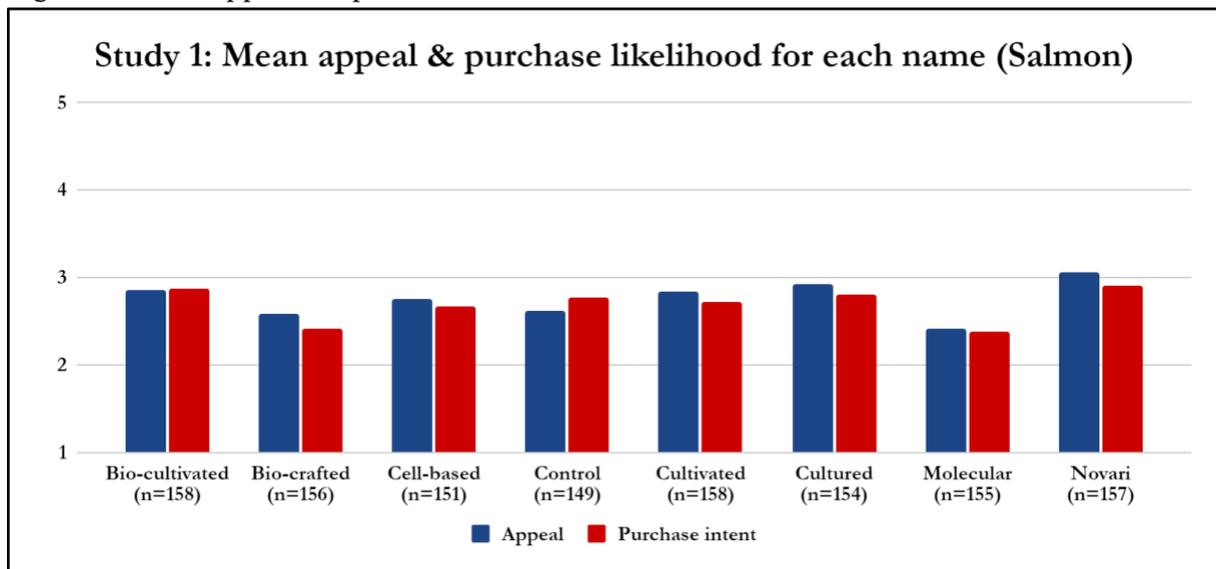
460 In Phase I, seven different cell-cultivated fish terms were comparatively analysed for appeal,
461 purchase intent, understanding of allergies and safety, and correct identification of description
462 (Table 5).

Table 5: Acceptance and understanding measures for each name in Phase I (salmon).

Phase I (Salmon)		Bio-cultivated (n=158) ^a	Bio-crafted (n=156) ^b	Cell-based (n=151) ^c	Control (n=149) ^d	Cultivated (n=158) ^e	Cultured (n=154) ^f	Molecular (n=155) ^g	Novari (n=157) ^h
Appeal	Mean	2.86 ^g	2.58 ^h	2.76	2.61 ^h	2.84 ^g	2.93 ^g	2.41 ^{aefh}	3.06 ^{bdg}
	SD	(1.10)	(1.22)	(1.26)	(1.31)	(1.32)	(1.21)	(1.18)	(1.18)
Purchase intent	Mean	2.88 ^{bg}	2.42 ^{ah}	2.67	2.77	2.72	2.81	2.38 ^{ah}	2.91 ^{bg}
	SD	(1.21)	(1.26)	(1.30)	(1.36)	(1.38)	(1.26)	(1.19)	(1.24)
Safe to eat if allergic	Yes	5.7%	7.7%	7.9%	4.7%	5.1%	3.2%	5.8%	7.0%
	No	54.4%	46.2%	47.7%	59.7%	68.4%	66.2%	52.9%	51.6%
	Don't Know	39.9%	46.2%	44.4%	35.6%	26.6%	30.5%	41.3%	41.4%
Choose description	Correct	50.6%	66.7%	72.8%	97.3%	22.2%	33.1%	54.2%	24.2%
	Incorrect	24.8%	11.5%	7.3%	2.0%	58.3%	39.6%	7.7%	22.2%
	Don't Know	24.7%	21.8%	19.9%	0.7%	19.6%	27.3%	38.1%	53.5%

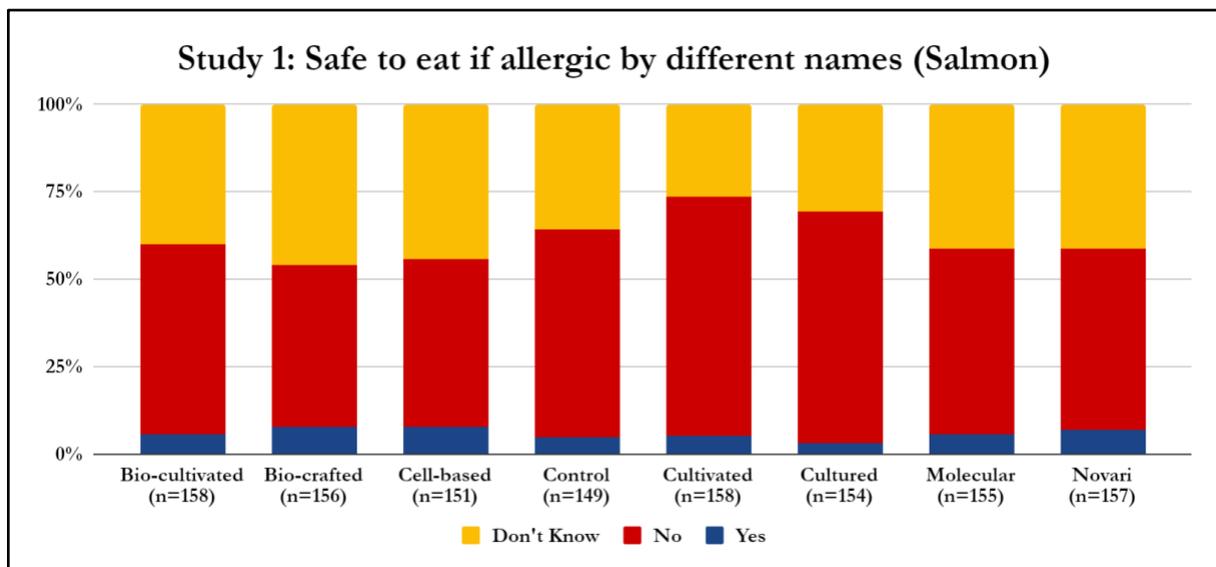
Superscript letters represent significant differences from other conditions, as labelled in the first row.

Figure 5: Mean appeal and purchase likelihood scores for each name in Phase I (salmon).



As Figure 5 shows, Novari salmon was scored the highest in terms of mean appeal and mean purchase intent. Cultured, cultivated, and bio-cultivated also scored reasonably high in terms of appeal and purchase intent, while ‘molecular’ scored the lowest. A one-way ANOVA revealed that the differences between groups were statistically significant for both subjective appeal ($F(7,1230)=4.630, p<0.001 \mid \eta^2=0.02$) and purchase intent ($F(7,1230)=3.755, p<0.001 \mid \eta^2=0.01$). See Table X for pairwise comparisons.

Figure 6: Percentage who thought it was safe for somebody with a salmon allergy to eat cell-cultivated salmon for each name in Phase I.



As shown in Figure 6, a small minority (<8%) in all names thought that cell-cultivated salmon was safe to eat for somebody who is allergic to salmon. Some terms, such as ‘cultivated’, produced a

relatively high proportion believing that it is not safe for somebody with a salmon allergy, whereas others such as ‘cell-based’ and ‘bio-crafted’ resulted in a relatively high proportion being unsure whether it would be safe. A chi square analysis indicated that these proportions differed significantly between conditions ($\chi^2(14)=30.919, p=0.006 \mid V=0.112$).

Figure 7: Percentage who selected the correct definition of cell-cultivated salmon for each name in Phase I.

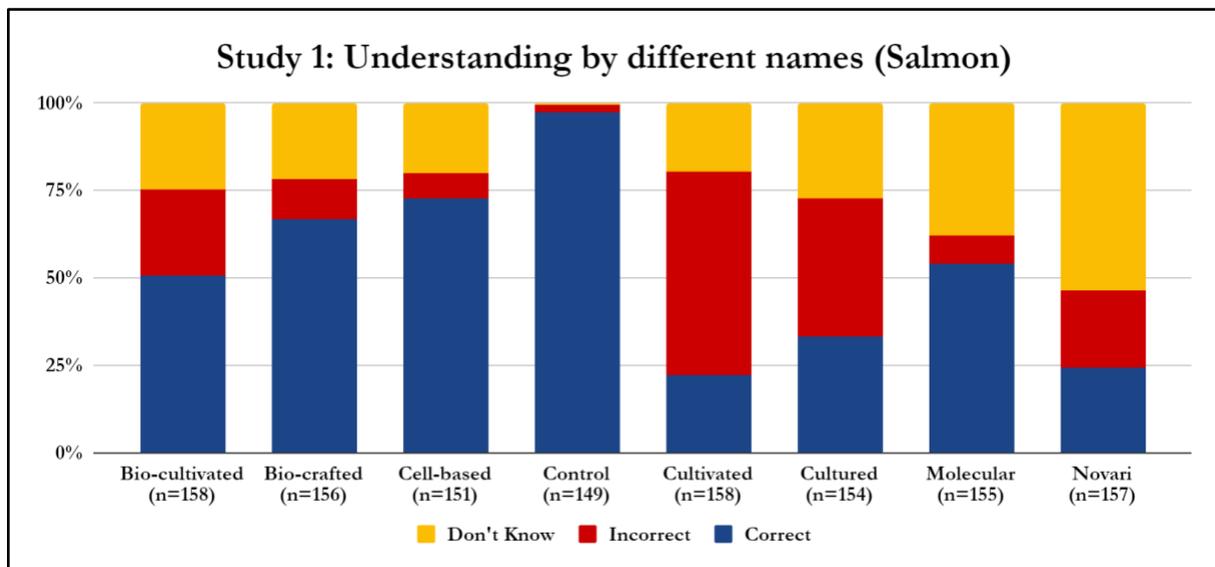


Figure 7 shows the proportion of people who selected the correct definition of cell-cultivated salmon under each different name tested. As shown, the control condition (i.e. the explanation of cell-cultivated salmon) with no specific label resulted in the highest proportion of people selecting the correct definition (>97%), followed by ‘cell-based’ and ‘bio-crafted’ where 73% and 67% selected the correct definition respectively. ‘Cultured’, ‘cultivated’, and ‘Novari’ salmon were associated with a low proportion of people selecting the correct definition (33%, 22%, and 24% respectively), but unlike ‘cultured’ and ‘cultivated’, which lead to a high proportion of people guessing the incorrect definition, ‘Novari’ lead to more people saying they did not know. ‘Novari’ is a coined term and was included in the survey as an experimental condition. In particular, those who read about ‘cultured’ and ‘cultivated’ salmon frequently mistook the product for one produced in aquaculture. A chi square analysis indicated that the proportions differed significantly between conditions ($\chi^2(14)=426.303, p<0.001 \mid V=0.396$).

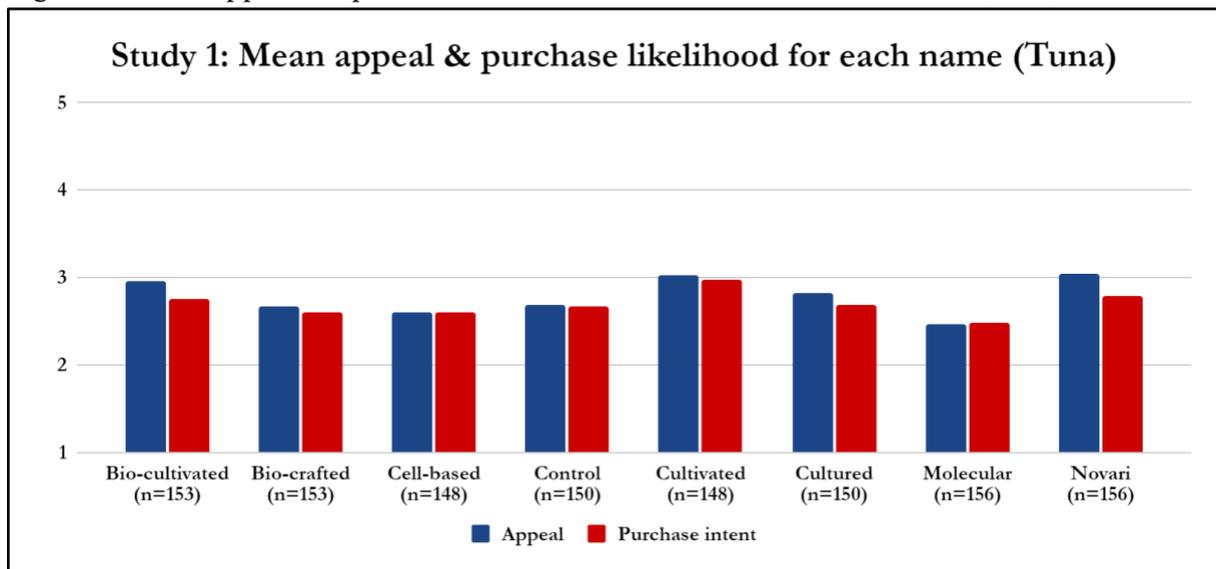
3.2.3 Tuna

Table 6: Acceptance and understanding measures for each name in Phase I (tuna).

Phase I (Tuna)		Bio-cultivated (n=153) ^a	Bio-crafted (n=153) ^b	Cell-based (n=148) ^c	Control (n=150) ^d	Cultivated (n=148) ^e	Cultured (n=150) ^f	Molecular (n=156) ^g	Novari (n=156) ^h
Appeal	Mean	2.95 ^g	2.67	2.6	2.68	3.02 ^g	2.83	2.47 ^{ach}	3.04 ^g
	SD	(1.24)	(1.40)	(1.27)	(1.34)	(1.19)	(1.30)	(1.34)	(1.13)
Purchase intent	Mean	2.75	2.6	2.6	2.67	2.97 ^g	2.68	2.49 ^e	2.79
	SD	(1.22)	(1.43)	(1.33)	(1.32)	(1.32)	(1.30)	(1.35)	(1.17)
Safe to eat if allergic	Yes	8.5%	9.8%	7.4%	7.3%	7.4%	4.7%	9.0%	2.6%
	No	54.9%	49.0%	51.4%	53.3%	62.2%	60.0%	46.2%	50.0%
	Don't Know	36.6%	41.2%	41.2%	39.3%	30.4%	35.3%	44.9%	47.4%
Choose description	Correct	48.4%	58.2%	73.6%	92.7%	25.0%	30.7%	57.1%	24.4%
	Incorrect	22.8%	22.2%	8.2%	7.4%	53.4%	30.7%	8.9%	24.3%
	Don't Know	28.8%	19.6%	18.2%	0.0%	21.6%	38.7%	34.0%	51.3%

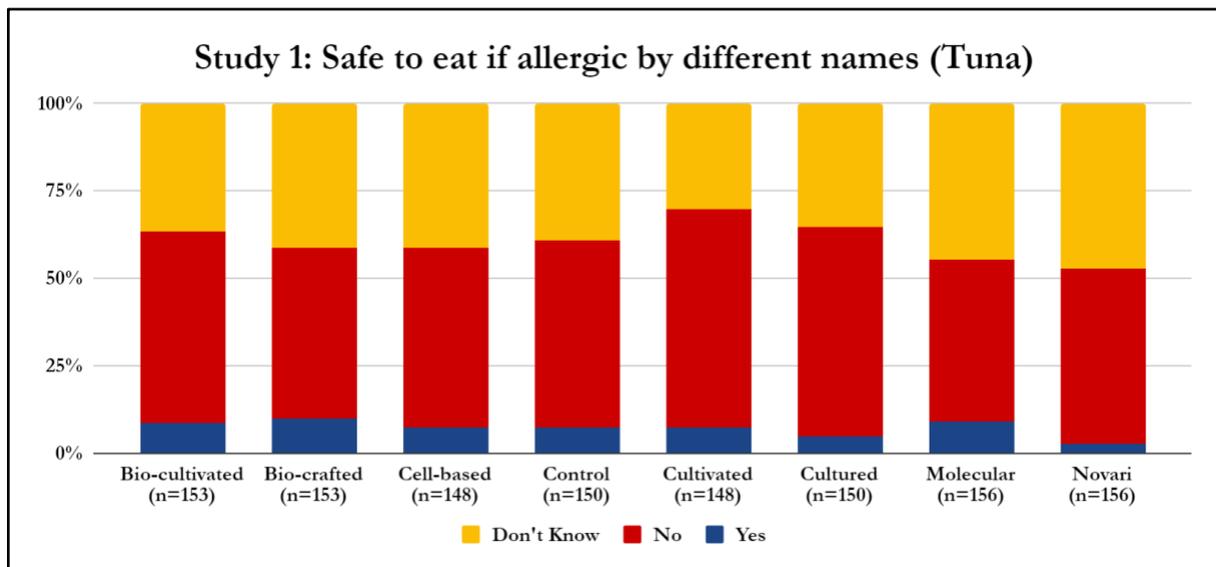
Superscript letters represent significant differences from other conditions, as labelled in the first row.

Figure 8: Mean appeal and purchase likelihood scores for each name in Phase I (tuna).



As shown in Figure 8, the pattern of results for tuna was similar to that of salmon. One-way ANOVAs indicated that there were significant differences between conditions in mean appeal ($F(7,1206)=4.140, p<0.001 \mid \eta^2=0.02$) and a marginally significant difference between conditions in mean purchase intent ($F(7,1206)=1.884, p=0.069 \mid \eta^2=0.01$). See Table X for pairwise comparisons.

Figure 9: Percentage who thought it was safe for somebody with a tuna allergy to eat cell-cultivated tuna for each name in Phase I.



Again, Figure 9 shows a similar pattern for tuna as we observed for salmon; less than 10% in each condition said that it was safe for somebody with a tuna allergy, and a higher proportion thought that it was not safe in the ‘cultivated’ and ‘cultured’ conditions, while higher proportions were not

sure in the ‘Novari’ and ‘molecular’ conditions. A chi square analysis indicated that there was a marginally significant difference in proportions between the groups ($\chi^2(14)=22.481, p=0.069$ | $V=0.096$).

Figure 10: Percentage who selected the correct definition of cell-cultivated tuna for each name in Phase I.

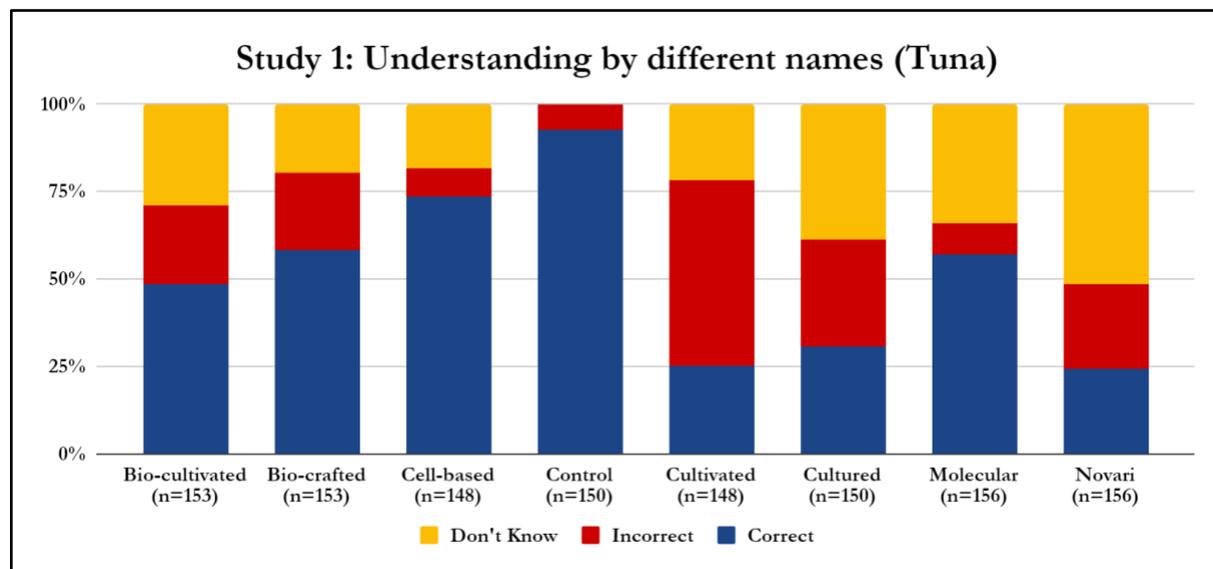


Figure 10 again shows a similar pattern for tuna as we see for salmon: the control condition (full explanation with no label) lead to the highest proportion selecting the correct definition (93%) whereas ‘cultured’, ‘cultivated’, and ‘Novari’ lead to the lowest proportions (25%, 30%, and 24% respectively). Again, ‘cultivated’ and ‘cultured’ tuna were frequently mistaken for aquaculture, whereas ‘Novari’ tuna had the highest rate of uncertainty. A chi square analysis indicated that the proportions differed significantly between conditions ($\chi^2(14)=351.091, p<0.001$ | $V=0.362$).

3.2.4. Summary

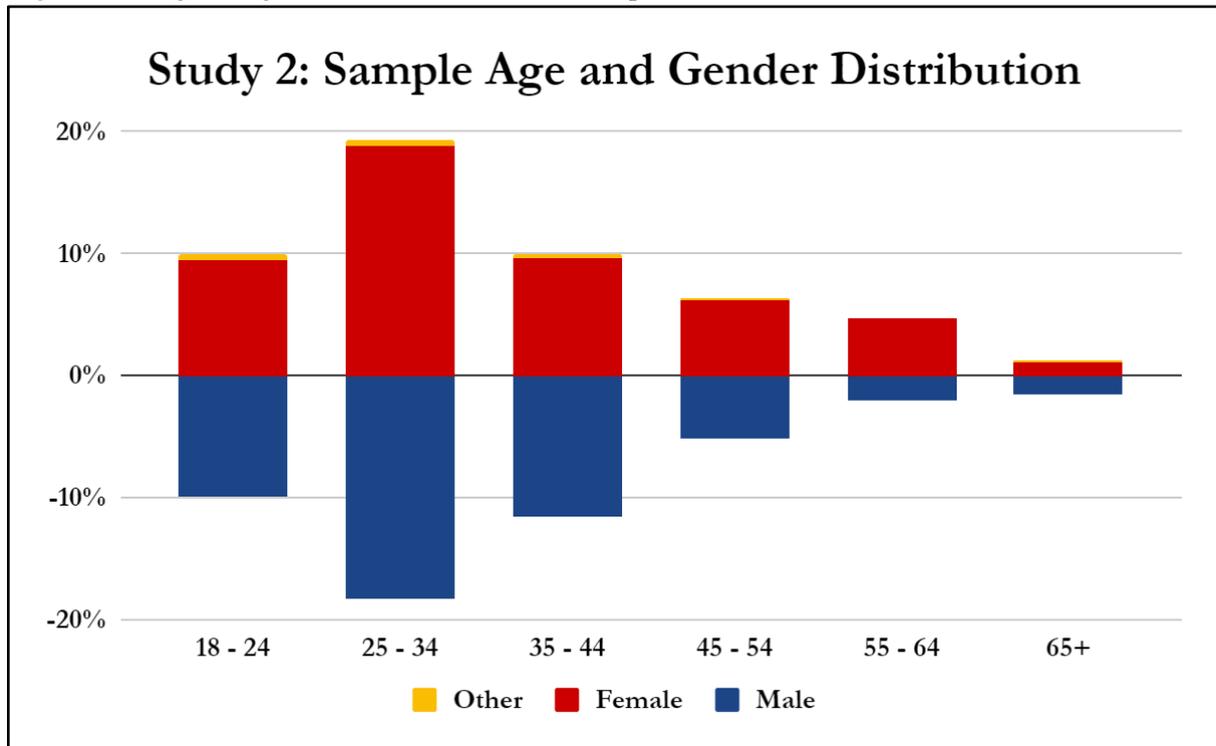
The most significant insight from Survey I is the consumer’s ability to identify the product origin via the control phrase accurately — a crucial standard for establishing a ‘common or usual name,’ according to FDA requirements.. The addition of a short description (control) was significantly more successful in enabling consumers to accurately identify the source of the product in both the salmon (>97%) and tuna (93%) cohorts. Conversely, ‘cultured,’ ‘cultivated,’ and ‘Novari’ showed higher uncertainties in both salmon and tuna groups. Two hypotheses emerged from Survey I. Firstly, the addition of “cell” in the name may increase understanding of product origin (73.6% and 72.8% accuracy in tuna and salmon, respectively). Second, many respondents (30.7% for tuna and 39.6% for salmon) inaccurately identified the origin of ‘cultured seafood’ —likely due to the overlap with aquaculture. Accordingly, we selected four names for Study II (plus control), based on findings from Study I: Bio-crafted, Cell-based, Novari, Cell-Cultured.

3.3 Phase II survey

3.3.1 Demographics

The age and gender distribution of the sample in Phase II is shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Age and gender distribution in the sample of Phase II.



Phase II had the same gender stratification as in Phase 1 (49% Female, 49% Male, 2 other/preferred not to say). 47% of participants had purchased both tuna and salmon in the previous three months. 35.7% bought salmon only, and 17.2% purchased tuna only.

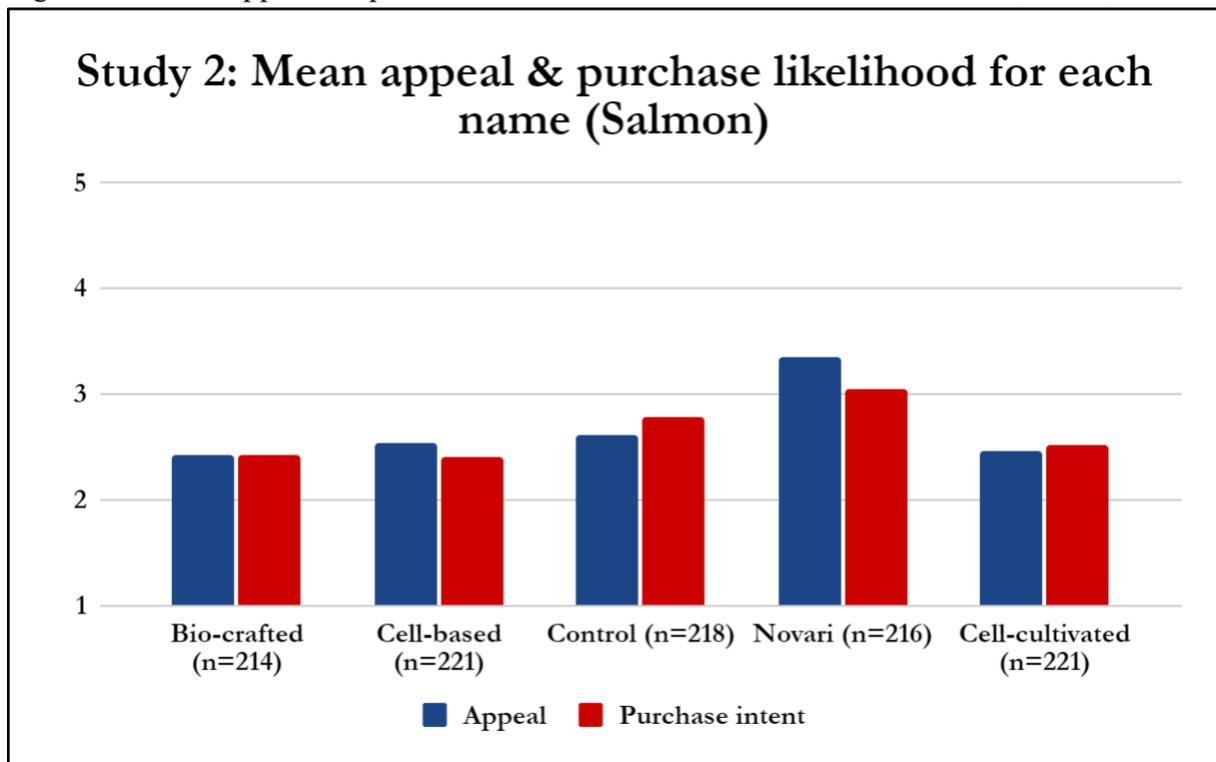
3.3.2 Salmon

Table 7: Acceptance and understanding measures for each name in Phase II (salmon).

Phase II (Salmon)		Bio-crafted (n=214) ^a	Cell-based (n=221) ^b	Control (n=218) ^c	Novari (n=216) ^d	Cell-cultivated (n=221) ^e
Appeal	Appeal	2.43 ^d	2.54 ^d	2.62 ^d	3.34 ^{abce}	2.46 ^d
	SD	(1.12)	(1.24)	(1.29)	(1.04)	(1.22)
Purchase intent	Purchase intent	2.43 ^{cd}	2.40 ^{cd}	2.78 ^{ab}	3.05 ^{abe}	2.52 ^d
	SD	(1.18)	(1.25)	(1.40)	(1.16)	(1.22)
Safe to eat if allergic	Yes	1.9%	2.3%	3.2%	2.3%	7.2%
	No	65.0%	66.1%	75.2%	88.4%	67.4%
	Don't Know	33.2%	31.7%	21.6%	9.3%	25.3%
Chose description	Correct	67.8%	71.5%	97.2%	5.1%	85.1%
	Incorrect	7.9%	8.6%	2.3%	20.3%	3.2%
	Don't Know	24.3%	19.9%	0.5%	74.5%	11.8%

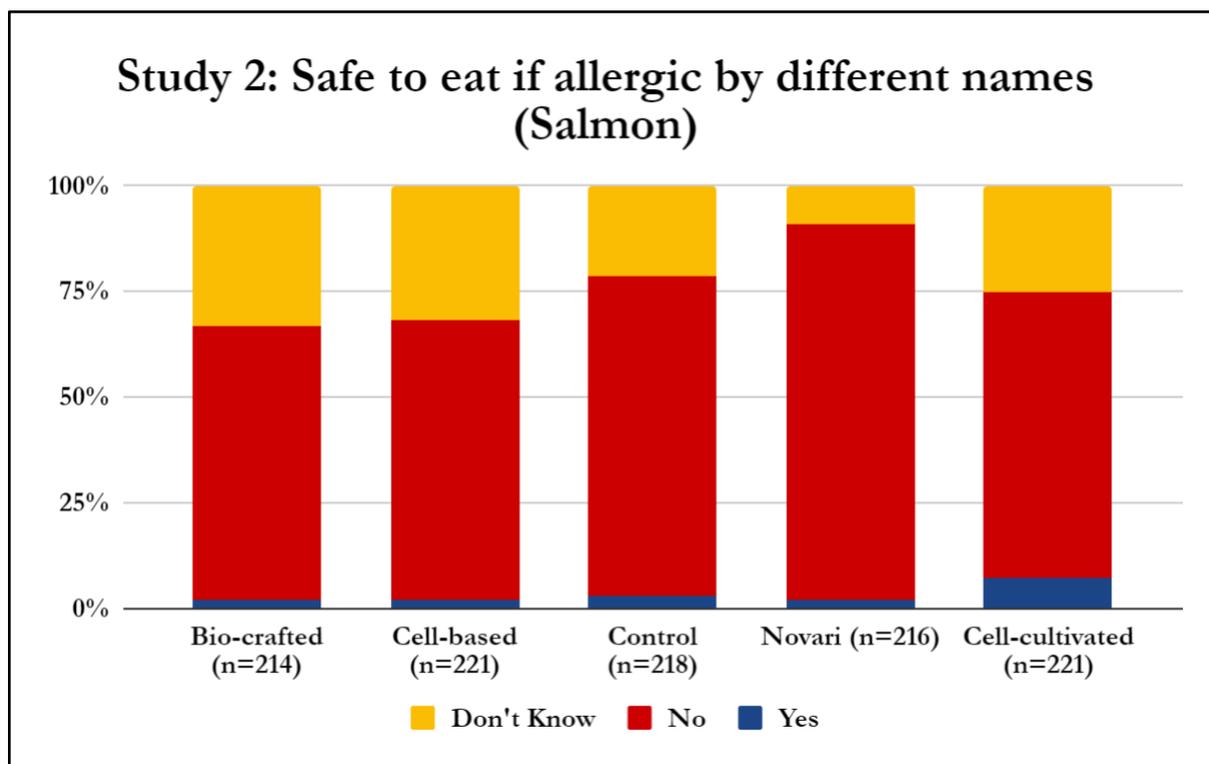
Superscript letters represent significant differences from other conditions, as labelled in the first row.

Figure 12: Mean appeal and purchase likelihood scores for each name in Phase II (salmon).



As Figure 12 shows, Novari salmon scored the highest in terms of mean appeal and mean purchase intent, while each of the other names scored lower than the control. A one-way ANOVA revealed that the differences between groups were statistically significant for both subjective appeal ($F(4,1085)=22.137, p<0.001 \mid \eta^2=0.07$) and purchase intent ($F(4,1085)=10.457, p<0.001 \mid \eta^2=0.04$). See Table 7 for pairwise comparisons.

Figure 13: Percentage who thought it was safe for somebody with a salmon allergy to eat cell-cultivated salmon for each name in Phase II.



As shown in Figure 13, a small minority (<8%) in all names thought that cell-cultivated salmon was safe to eat for somebody who is allergic to salmon. Some terms, such as ‘Novari’, produced a relatively high proportion believing that it is not safe for somebody with a salmon allergy, whereas others such as ‘cell-based’ and ‘bio-crafted’ resulted in a relatively high proportion being unsure whether it would be safe. A chi square analysis indicated that these proportions differed significantly between conditions ($\chi^2(8)=57.091, p<0.001 | V=0.162$).

Figure 14: Percentage who selected the correct definition of cell-cultivated salmon for each name in Phase II.

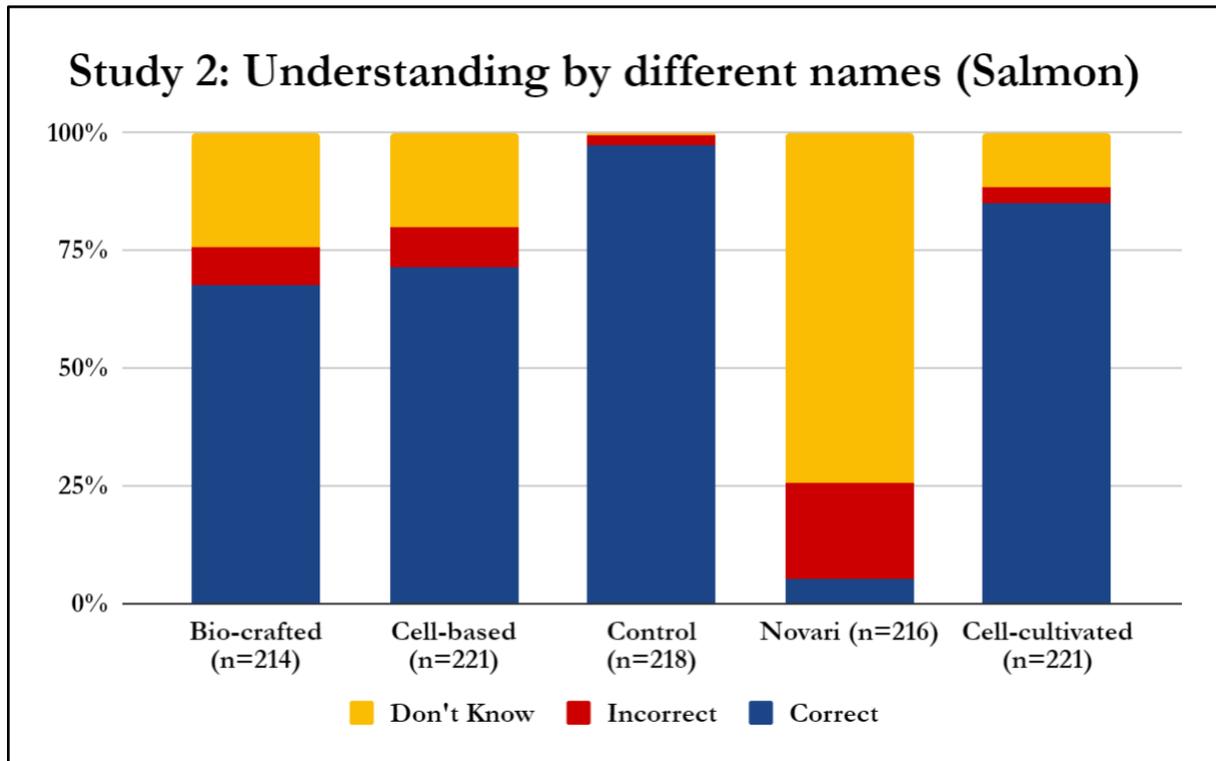


Figure 14 shows the proportion of people who selected the correct definition of cell-cultivated salmon under each different name tested. As shown, the control condition (i.e. the explanation of cell-cultivated salmon) with no specific label resulted in the highest proportion of people selecting the correct definition (>97%), followed by ‘cell-cultivated’ 85% selecting the correct definition. ‘Novari’ was associated with the lowest proportion of people selecting the correct definition (5%). A chi square analysis indicated that the proportions differed significantly between conditions ($\chi^2(8)=512.333, p<0.001 | V=0.463$).

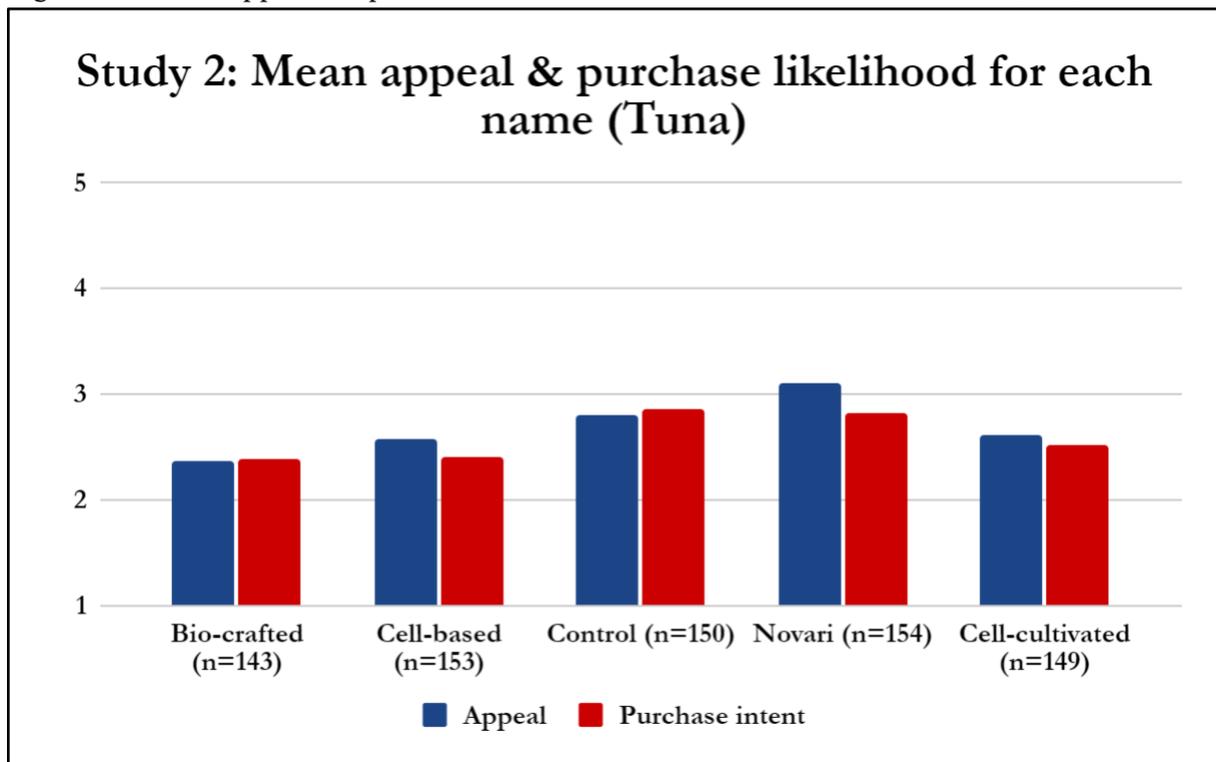
3.3.3 Tuna

Table 8: Acceptance and understanding measures for each name in Phase II (tuna).

Phase II (Tuna)		Bio-crafted (n=143) ^a	Cell-based (n=153) ^b	Control (n=150) ^c	Novari (n=154) ^d	Cell-cultivated (n=149) ^e
Appeal	Appeal	2.36 ^{cd}	2.58 ^d	2.81 ^a	3.1 ^{abc}	2.61 ^d
	SD	(1.30)	(1.32)	(1.31)	(1.06)	(1.21)
Purchase intent	Purchase intent	2.39 ^{cd}	2.40 ^{cd}	2.85 ^{ab}	2.82 ^{ab}	2.52
	SD	(1.34)	(1.37)	(1.41)	(1.19)	(1.26)
Safe to eat if allergic	Yes	3.5%	5.2%	4.7%	1.3%	4.0%
	No	65.7%	67.3%	75.3%	86.4%	63.1%
	Don't Know	30.8%	27.5%	20.0%	12.3%	32.9%
Chose description	Correct	67.1%	69.9%	98.7%	2.6%	78.5%
	Incorrect	7.7%	7.2%	1.4%	20.1%	6.7%
	Don't Know	25.2%	22.9%	0.0%	77.3%	14.8%

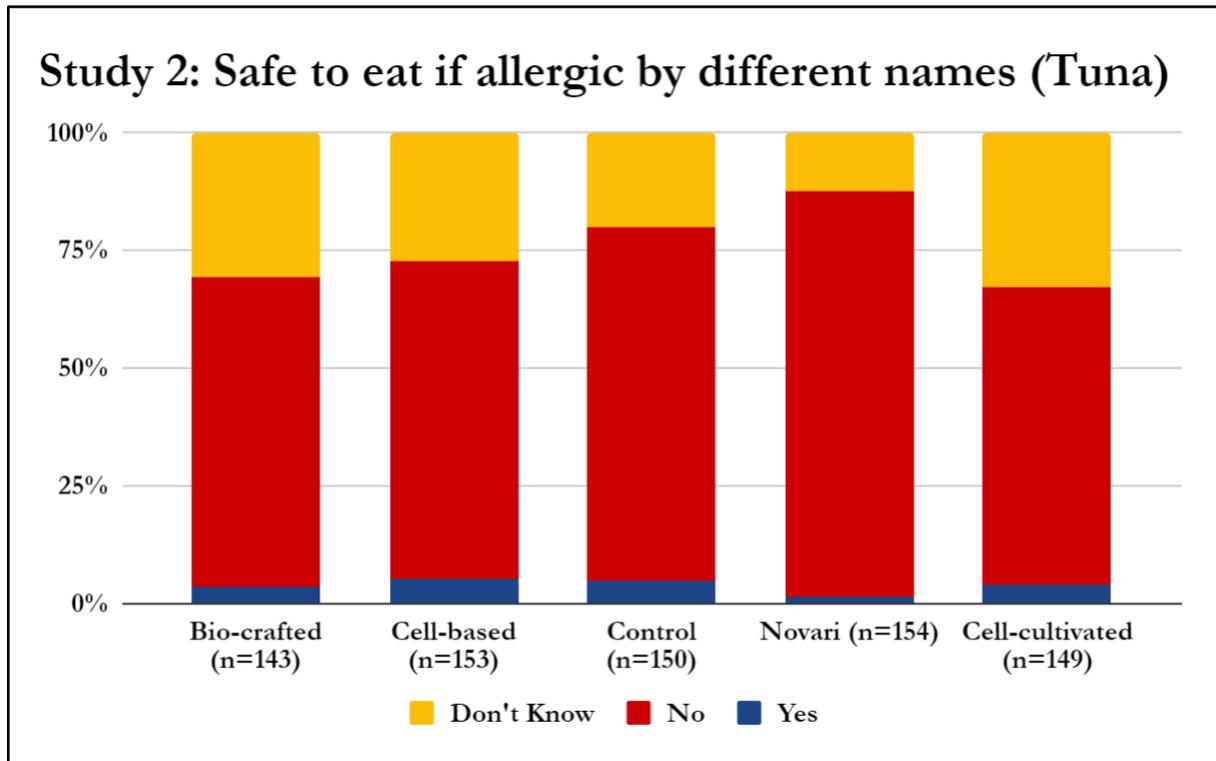
Superscript letters represent significant differences from other conditions, as labelled in the first row.

Figure 15: Mean appeal and purchase likelihood scores for each name in Phase II (tuna).



As shown in Figure 15, the pattern of results for tuna was similar to that of salmon: again, ‘Novari’ was associated with the highest appeal score, whereas the control condition was associated with the highest purchase intent. One-way ANOVAs indicated that there were significant differences between conditions in mean appeal ($F(4,744)=7.562, p<0.001 \mid \eta^2=0.04$) and in mean purchase intent ($F(4,744)=4.287, p=0.002 \mid \eta^2=0.02$). See Table 8 for pairwise comparisons.

Figure 16: Percentage who thought it was safe for somebody with a tuna allergy to eat cell-cultivated tuna for each name in Phase II.



Again, Figure 16 shows a similar pattern for tuna as we observed for salmon; less than 5% in each condition said that it was safe for somebody with a tuna allergy, and a higher proportion thought that it was not safe in the 'Novari' condition, while a higher proportion were unsure in the 'bio-crafted' and 'cell-cultivated' conditions. A chi square analysis indicated that there was a marginally significant difference in proportions between the groups ($\chi^2(8)=28.922, p<0.001 | V=0.139$).

Figure 17: Percentage who selected the correct definition of cell-cultivated tuna for each name in Phase II.

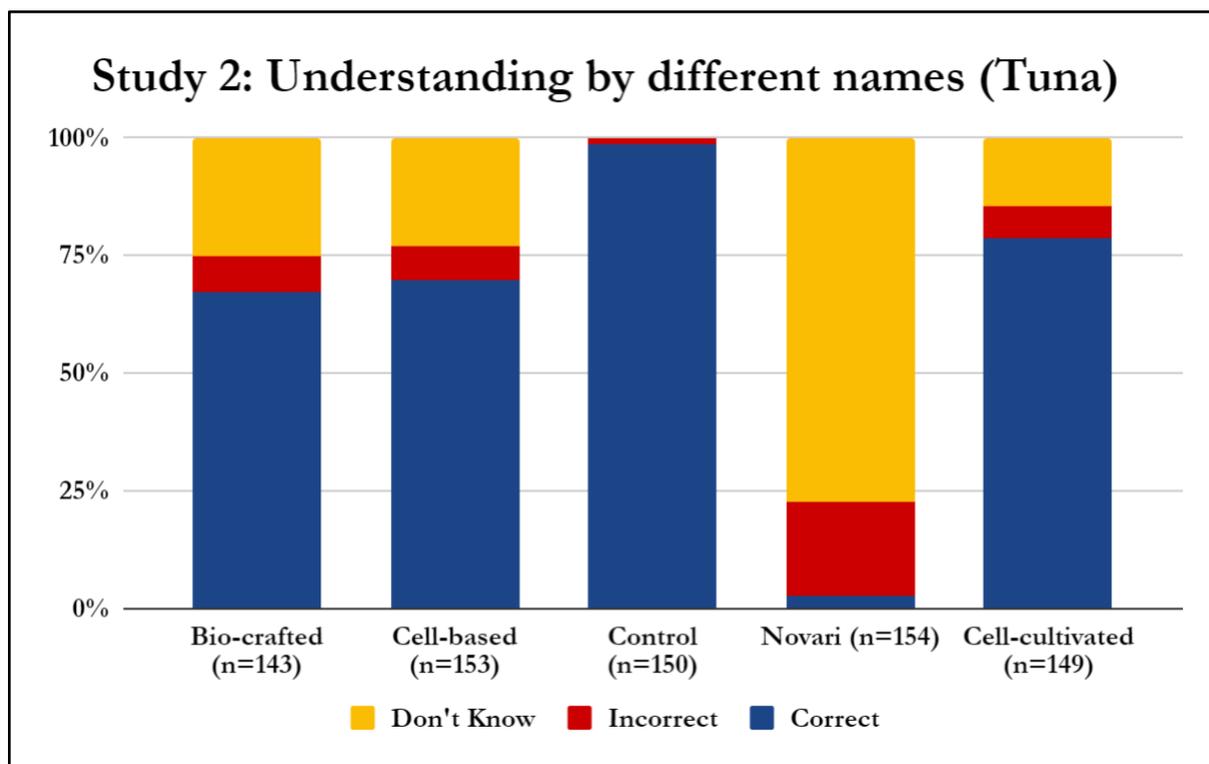


Figure 17 again shows a similar pattern for tuna as we see for salmon: the control condition (full explanation with no label) led to the highest proportion selecting the correct definition (99%) whereas ‘Novari’ led to the lowest proportion (3%), with over 75% unsure of the meaning. A chi square analysis indicated that the proportions differed significantly between conditions ($\chi^2(8)=361.916, p<0.001 | V=0.468$).

3.3.4. Summary

Aligned with Survey I results, the control in Survey II significantly outperformed the other terms concerning consumer understanding of product description with salmon and tuna at 97.2% and 98.7% accuracy, respectively. However, we did find that the new term ‘cell-cultivated’ fish was both more clear and more appealing compared to ‘cell-based’ and ‘bio-crafted’. The term ‘Novari’ performed highest in the accurate identification of the presence of allergens.

4. Discussion

4.1 *There is currently no common and usual term*

There are a few pertinent results from the above to be interpreted. Seafood labeling guidance from the FDA suggests that a name that has been recognized nationally in the U.S. and is commonly used by consumers to identify a product may be an acceptable market name (FDA, 2020c). However, the Brandwatch assessment indicated that there is currently no consensus on the terminology used to refer to cell-cultivated seafood in the public discourse. Several different terms were used, including cell-based and lab-grown; of the most commonly used terms, 'lab-grown' was associated with the most negative sentiment and should be avoided.

The lack of a commonly used name is an issue as FDA regulation for the naming of novel foods 21CFR102.5 states:

"The common or usual name of a food, which may be a coined term, shall accurately identify or describe, in as simple and direct terms as possible, the basic nature of the food or its characterizing properties or ingredients. The name shall be uniform among all identical or similar products and may not be confusingly similar to the name of any other food that is not reasonably encompassed within the same name. Each class or subclass of food shall be given its own common or usual name that states, in clear terms, what it is in a way that distinguishes it from different foods (FDA, 2020)."

Cell-cultivated fish is comparable in most respects to conventionally produced fish. Thus the 'distinguishing factor' required in the descriptive terminology is the production method and should be evident in the nomenclature. Nomenclature guidelines also require identification of 'characterizing properties or ingredients' — which may include allergens. Notwithstanding, the FDA requires labeling all allergen-containing foods (such as fish), including single-ingredient products (such as canned fish). The addition of the required phrasing "contains fish" on packaging may reduce the necessity for the common or usual name to explicate the presence of fish (Klein, 2021, FDA, 2020).

Adopting a standard or usual name for novel cell-cultivated seafood products requires detailed analysis and discussion among regulators, consumers, and industry leaders. However, consumer awareness building is perhaps the most crucial aspect to establishing a common and usual name. Greater consumer awareness of cell-cultivated fish, its allergen content, and its origin may inform the adoption of a common or usual name, per FDA seafood labeling requirements (FDA 2020c). Industry leaders should consider informational campaigns focused on product description coupled with environmental, social, and health benefits.

4.2 Cell-cultivated seafood: achieving accuracy and appeal

Phase I findings indicated that some terms, including 'cultivated', 'cultured', and 'Novari', were associated with the highest appeal and purchase intent but with the lowest understanding of what the product actually is. Many people incorrectly understood 'cultured' and 'cultivated' to refer to aquaculture in the context of seafood (a problem not encountered for cultivated meat where no such confusion exists), while over 50% of respondents indicated that they did not know what Novari was.

On the other hand, terms such as 'cell-based' and 'bio-crafted' were more well-understood, although they still performed more poorly than the control (a description of cell-cultivated seafood with no particular name). Moreover, they tended to be the lowest ratings in terms of consumer appeal and purchase intent; previous research has indicated that invoking science and technology imagery is likely to be unappealing in this context (Bryant & Barnett, 2019). Interestingly, these terms were also associated with the highest number of people being uncertain about the allergenicity of these products.

Phase II tested a term that combined some of the components of the promising names from Phase I - 'cell-cultivated' aimed to increase clarity compared to 'cultivated' and increase appeal compared to 'cell-based'. In fact, Phase II findings indicated that 'cell-cultivated' was associated with an even greater understanding of the product than 'bio-crafted' or 'cell-based', as well as slightly higher purchase intent (though the latter was not statistically significant). 'Cell-cultivated' was the only term tested which achieved more than 75% understanding.

Previous research has indicated that the imagery of cultivation is a positive one in this context (Szejda et al., 2019), and the similarity of 'cell-cultivated seafood' to the commonly used term 'cultivated meat' is likely to increase consumer understanding further by making it clear that they belong to the same category of products.

This research adds to the discussion of Hallman and Hallman (2020), who assessed common or usual names for cell-cultivated seafood. Though they did not test the term 'cell-cultivated', they did find that the term 'cell-cultured' and the phrase 'cultivated from the cells of' were both seen as relatively clear and appropriate, yet relatively unappealing. The use of 'cell-cultivated' appears to solve this problem by using the relatively appealing and consistent 'cultivation' terminology while making it clear that the cultivation is from cells, not conventional aquaculture.

That said, our analysis indicated that there is no consensus on a commonly-used name currently, and that all of the names tested were not as successful at describing the product as a short

description (i.e. the control group). As cell-cultivated products gain market prominence, consumer awareness is likely to rise — leading to a better understanding of the products and the emergence of a distinct common or usual name that allows consumers to distinguish between cell-cultivated and conventionally produced seafood. In the interim, our research has shown that a single or compound word is inadequate, and we recommend adopting a short, descriptive phrase (such as that found in control).

4.3 Limitations

One limitation of this study is simply the nature of online surveys as imperfect. We are relying on participants' self-reported attitudes and intentions, which may not translate into real action, particularly because the context of an online survey is very different from buying groceries. That said, we attempted to bridge this gap by using images of product packaging to make the experience seem more situation-relevant. We also had a large nationally-representative sample and a robust series of quality and attention checks, so the data quality here is likely relatively high.

4.4 Future research

Future research could investigate the possibility of an as-yet-undiscovered term for cell-cultivated fish, which is both appealing and intuitive. We tested the novel term 'Novari' in this study and found that it achieved the former but not the latter. Research could also explore which specific forms of regulatory approval and on-package labels would be most reassuring to consumers who are considering trying cell-cultivated seafood. Social research could also explore the types of cell-cultivated seafood dishes consumers will find most appealing, in order to guide product development.

5. Conclusion

As we have argued in this paper, widespread adoption of these products could yield significant benefits for the planet. Cell-cultivated fish offers a substitute for conventional fish consumption, potentially mitigating many negative impacts of the conventional fish industry. Consumers are more aware than ever of food choice implications and have expressed a willingness to transition to more sustainable options, including cell-cultivated fish (Good Food Institute & Kelton Global Research, 2021). Cellular aquaculture companies in the United States, Hong Kong and Singapore have successfully produced salmon, tuna, and shrimp products — pending regulatory approval (Mellon, 2020). Industry leaders, investors, and policymakers suggest a 1-5 year timeline for wide-scale market availability (Mellon et al., 2021). Thus, there is an urgency to address regulatory issues (such as adopting a common or usual name) as regulations may lag behind consumer demand and

industry innovation. If we achieve the necessary advancements in technology and regulation, cell-cultivated seafood can secure great improvements in animal treatment, environmental outcomes, and public health.

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