

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

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**A GUIDE TO MAXIMIZING FARMED-ANIMAL WELFARE
THROUGH EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE**



Institutional Change:

A guide to maximizing farmed-animal welfare through effective advocacy and institutional change methods

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Abstract:

It is of crucial importance for animal advocates to employ effective and strategic methods of campaigning in order to achieve animal welfare goals. In an attempt to maximize the impact of animal advocacy and meat reduction campaigns, behavioral and systemic change must be encouraged in both the public and private sectors. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that maximizing campaign effectiveness may require redirecting campaign efforts away from individuals and towards institutions. Through examples and case studies, this report will provide an overview of the different techniques and approaches to farmed animal advocacy campaigns within institutions. The methods of institutional change discussed in this report will include methods for corporate changemaking, community-based advocacy, and legislative changemaking. By surveying the benefits and drawbacks of these various approaches to institutional changemaking, this report intends to aid animal advocates in tailoring their target audiences and approaches specifically to their unique campaign goals.

Keywords and Topics: Effective Altruism, Campaigning, Institutional Change, Legislative Change, Animal Activism, Farmed Animal Welfare, Corporate Change, Advocacy, Resource Allocation, Community-Based Change

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BACKGROUND AND SUMMARY

1. Background and Summary

This report provides evidence-based guidelines for successful institutional changemaking. By surveying the benefits and drawbacks of various institutional-focused approaches to change, this report intends to help animal advocates maximize the impact of their efforts to improve the welfare of farmed animals around the world and reduce overall animal consumption levels. The term '*Institutional Change*' will be used in this report as an umbrella term that encompasses the three main avenues of changemaking we will discuss; legislative, corporate, and community-based change. Throughout this report, we will explore each of these three categories in depth using case studies to provide evidence-based recommendations to activists that will strengthen the impact of their efforts.

This report focuses on saving farmed animals specifically, and there is a good reason for this. Despite only being around since the 1960s, factory farming has caused insurmountable problems for animals, the environment and humans alike. Factory farming accounts for more than 99% of animals used and killed by humans, and globally, this figure encompasses *75 billion animals* being farmed and slaughtered each year for food. Despite these alarming figures, the problem of factory farming is incredibly neglected relative to its scale; less than 3% of all philanthropic funding goes towards animal welfare and of that 3%, only 1% goes towards factory farming.¹



¹Broad, Garrett M. "Effective animal advocacy: effective altruism, the social economy, and the animal protection movement." *Agriculture and Human Values* 35, no. 4 (2018): 777-789.

Furthermore, the consumer demand, and consequently, supply rates of factory farmed meat are predicted to continue rising.² Global meat consumption has an estimated increase of 15% by 2031, and 70% by 2050.³ In response to this increased consumption, livestock protein availability from poultry, pork, beef, and sheep meat is also projected to grow by 16%, 17%, 8%, and 16%, respectively by 2031.⁴ These increases in supply and demand ultimately require more animals to be farmed at faster rates, which inevitably results in decreased levels of individual animal welfare. The threat this growth poses to farmed animals⁵ is grave, but the additional threats it poses to the environment⁶ and public health⁷ are equally troubling.

In light of these concerns, it is of crucial importance for animal activists to employ effective and strategic methods of pro-animal lobbying in order to maximize the success of efforts aimed at improving overall animal welfare. To amplify the impact of animal advocacy campaigns we must remain calculated in our approach. This requires fostering behavioral and systemic change in both the public and private sectors, and, as we will explore, redesigning and redirecting campaign efforts towards institutions may be the best way to do so.

1.1. Method and Analytical Approach

Through examples and case studies drawn from existing research on effective animal advocacy, this report will provide an overview of various approaches to institutional-focused farmed animal welfare campaigns. Through this research, we will not only survey existing data on the effectiveness of campaign efforts, but will also critically consider the modifying factors that influenced their efficacy. We hope this will enable us to provide a comprehensive overview of the various ways animal advocates can utilize their valuable time and resources to the fullest, with the ultimate goal of saving as many animals as possible.

²Anthi, K. & Reese-Anthi, J. (2019, February 21). Global Farmed & Factory Farmed Animals Estimates. Sentience Institute. Available at Sentience Institute | Global Farmed & Factory Farmed Animals Estimates & Global Animal Slaughter Statistics & Charts: 2022 Update - Faunalytics

³Gerber, Pierre J., Henning Steinfeld, Benjamin Henderson, Anne Mottet, Carolyn Opio, Jeroen Dijkman, Allesandra Falcucci, and Giuseppe Tempio. Tackling climate change through livestock: a global assessment of emissions and mitigation opportunities. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), 2013.

⁴OECD, FAO. "OECD-FAO Agricultural Outlook 2022-2031." (2022).

⁵Anomaly, Jonathan. "What's wrong with factory farming?." Public Health Ethics 8, no. 3 (2015): 246-254.

⁶Richards, R. Jason, and Erica L. Richards. "Cheap meat: how factory farming is harming our health, the environment, and the economy." Ky. J. Equine Agric. & Nat. Resources L. 4 (2011): 31.

⁷Stathopoulos, Anastasia S. "You Are What Your Food Eats: How Regulation of Factory Farm Conditions Could Improve Human Health and Animal Welfare Alike." NYUJ Legis. & Pub. Pol'y 13 (2010): 407.

The arguments within this paper align with the priorities promoted by the ‘effective altruism’⁸ movement which holds animal welfare as an important cause area to support due to the scale and neglectedness of the issue as well as the abundance of cost-effective and high impact opportunities within the movement. The main goal for animal advocates aligned with the values of effective altruism is to do as much net good for animals as possible, using the most effective methods available to them.

In order to direct campaign efforts accordingly, and efficiently maximize the numbers of farmed animals saved, advocates may wish to consider the types of farmed animals most negatively affected by low-welfare standards, as well as the geographical locations in which those numbers are highest. The following table provides a global overview of the total number of common species of livestock slaughtered annually by the animal agriculture industry and the corresponding country with the largest market influence for each animal type;

Type of Animal	Number of Animals Slaughtered in 2020	World’s Leading Producer(s)
Chicken	70 billion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - United States - China - Brazil
Fish	91 million tons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - China - Indonesia - Peru
Cows	293 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - China - United States - Brazil
Sheep	590 million	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - China - Australia - New Zealand
Pigs	1.5 billion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - China - United States

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⁸MacAskill, William. "Effective altruism: introduction." *Essays in Philosophy* 18, no. 1 (2017): 1-5.

⁹Global Animal Slaughter Statistics & Charts: 2022 Update - Faunalytics

1.2. Rationale: Moving away from Individual Consumer Change

Animal advocates have historically focused heavily on influencing individual consumer behavior through educational outreach, protests/demonstrations, meat-free challenges, and other consumer-facing campaigns.¹⁰ There are some benefits to individually-focused campaigns as they can be very direct and effective in the short term. However, targeting the consumer directly may not be the best use of activists' time and resources. This is evidenced by the fact that despite a marked effort from the movement to target individuals for dietary change, rather than decreasing overtime, meat consumption is at its highest level ever in the United States.¹¹ Additionally, particularly in high-income countries like the US and the UK, consumers are rapidly increasing their chicken consumption.¹² This is a serious issue for advocates concerned about the number of animals being harmed. Due to the size of chickens, more animals are required to produce the same amount of food. Additionally, modern chicken farming is riddled with welfare problems, which means that this increase in chicken consumption is likely to cause more animal suffering than ever.¹³

There is also a concern that targeting the 'wrong' consumers for individual change could negatively impact the animal advocacy movement at large. A report from Faunalytics found that targeting certain groups of self-proclaimed 'meat-eaters' for dietary change can encourage compensatory and defensive behaviors amongst these individuals.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Sentience Institute argues that the animal welfare movement must redistribute resources away from individual change and towards institutional and community-based change in order to maximize impact.¹⁵ In light of these recommendations, it is crucial that we continue shifting targets away from consumers and towards governments and institutions.

Despite the report's overarching prioritization of institutional change, it is important to note that this report does not set out to eliminate the use of consumer-focused campaigns altogether. Rather, it intends to provide guidelines for those that may want to change or adapt their targets towards institutions. Individual consumer change can be effective when done strategically, and there is ample room for individual-focused activism that simultaneously raises public awareness of the

¹⁰ Reese, Jacy. "Institutional change and the limitations of consumer activism." Palgrave Communications 6, no. 1 (2020): 1-8.

¹¹ Caroline Christen, "Meat Consumption in the U.S. Is Growing at an Alarming Rate," Sentient Media, March 18, 2021. Data From: Statista. "Projected Meat Consumption in U.S. By Type, 2030 | Statista." Statista, 2021.

¹² Reese, Jacy. Institutional Change and the Limits of Consumer Activism. Palgrave Communications. 2020

¹³ Capriati, Marinella. "Cause Area Report: Corporate Campaigns for Animal Welfare." (2018).

¹⁴ Faunalytics, and Jamie Parry. 2022. "The Relative Effectiveness of Different Approaches to Animal Advocacy." OSF. May 4. osf.io/3aryn.

¹⁵ Harris, Jamie. Sentience Institute, "Which Institutional Tactics Can Animal Advocates Use?," Sentience Institute, 2020, & Reese, Jacy. "Institutional change and the limitations of consumer activism." Palgrave Communications 6, no. 1 (2020): 1-8.

ethical issues surrounding industrial animal agricultural practices. In fact, the consumer and the institution are so interconnected that it may be the case that institutional and governmental lobbying is a good way to indirectly get consumers to care about animal welfare. Additionally, pre-existing consumer support of pro-animal welfare initiatives can be used in institutional change campaigns to encourage welfare commitments. The intersections between individuals and institutional campaigns will be highlighted throughout this report because the success of institutional change approaches is inherently tied to individuals desires and behaviors.

1.3. Rationale: Sanctioned Ignorance and Consumer Misconceptions

The number of meat eaters would drop significantly if consumers had to slaughter their own animals for meat or, as Paul McCartney famously said, “if slaughterhouses had glass walls”.¹⁶ Simply put, industrial animal agriculture depends on the consumer being totally disconnected from the origins of their food. The meat industry perpetuates this dissociation between meat products and the harsh reality of industrial animal agriculture through various strategic means including placing slaughterhouses in rural areas, advertising meat products with images of ‘happy’ cows and chickens in pastures, and withholding information from consumers about the damaging effects of meat consumption on the environment and public health. Consumers are not given enough information to make informed dietary decisions, and the generations to come will suffer the consequences of this.

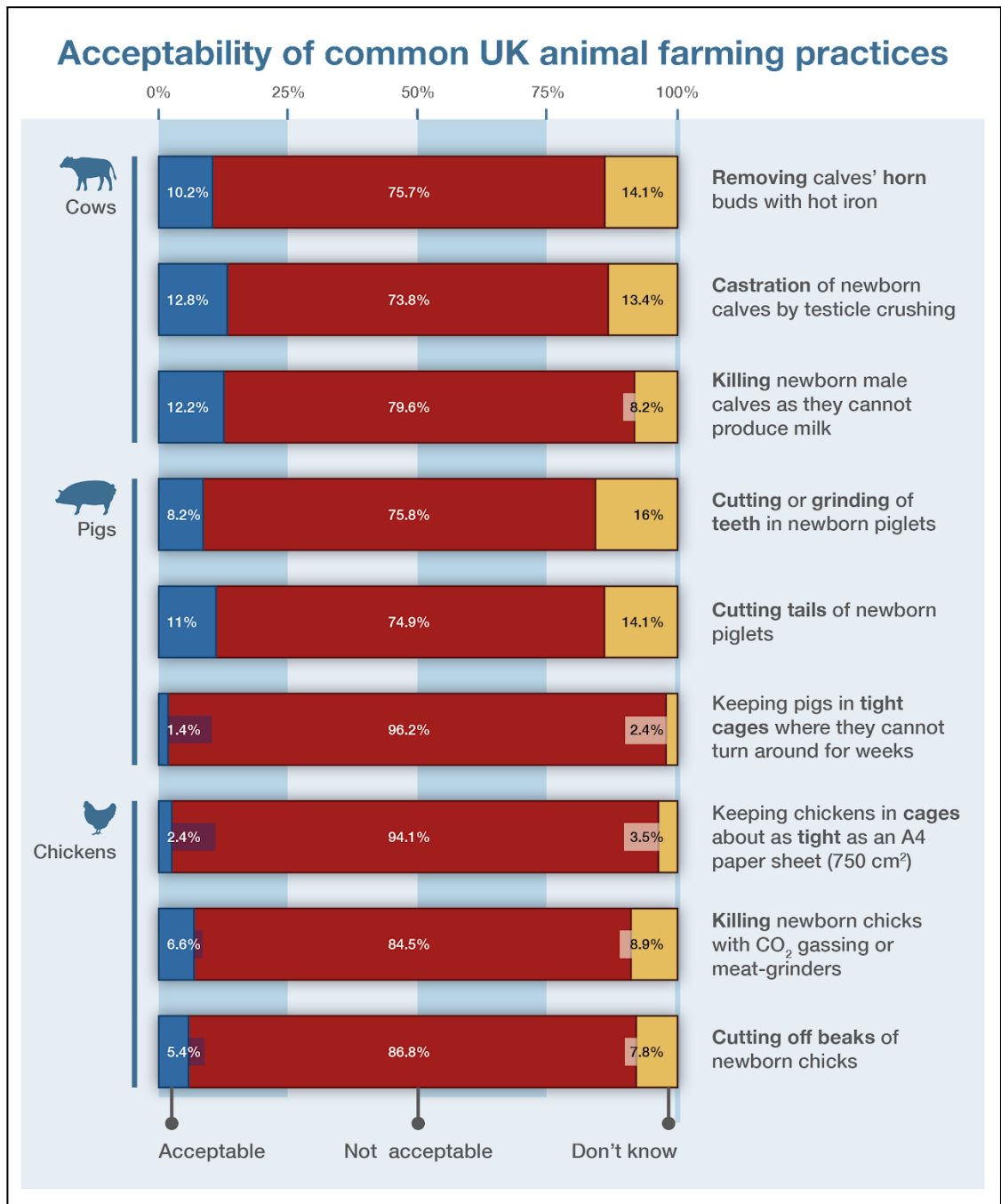
Public desires for cheap meat are fulfilled at the expense of animals and the environment, but consumers are kept strategically unaware of the realities of the industry. This is highlighted by the fact that despite 99% of meat in the US coming from factory farms which inherently hold little regard for animal welfare¹⁷, 58% of people in the US believe that most farmed animals are treated humanely¹⁸. Even more notably, when asked about the animals they personally consume, 75% of respondents believed the meat they eat comes from humane manufacturers.¹⁹ Taking a closer look at common animal farming practices within factory farms, it becomes clear that there is no humane way to industrially farm animals. The following graphic illustrates this by highlighting the consumer acceptability amongst the general population of *common* animal farming practices used in the UK;

¹⁶ Amy, “Sir Paul McCartney Narrates ‘Glass Walls.’” PETA UK, November 30, 2009. <https://www.peta.org.uk/blog/glass-walls/>.

¹⁷ Kat Smith, “99% of All Animal Products in the U.S. Come from Factory Farms,” LIVEKINDLY, April 25, 2019, <https://www.livekindly.com/99-animal-products-factory-farms/>

¹⁸ Anthis, Jacy Reese. “Animals, Food, and Technology (AFT) Survey 2017.” Sentience Institute. Sentience Institute, November 20, 2017. <https://www.sentienceinstitute.org/animal-farming-attitudes-survey-2017>.

¹⁹ CIWF: “In Defence of Factory Farming How a Ruinous System Is Kept Afloat.”



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It is likely that these misguided consumers who currently believe their food is humanely sourced would be unnerved to find out about its real origins. Being as such, advocates can use dissonance-reducing techniques in order to increase consumer awareness and support of animal welfare concerns. Targeting institutions for change is a good way to expose these practices, as it reduces defensiveness from individual consumers by shifting blame away from them, and also encourages consumer participation in related dialogues.

²⁰Bryant Research, "Acceptability of Animal Farming Practices," Bryantresearch.co.uk. 2022.

1.4. Rationale: Consumer Support for Institutional and Policy Change

Consumers will always play an integral role in the advancement of pro-animal welfare advocacy, and their influence on the meat industry cannot and should not be ignored entirely. In fact, advocates may be in ample position to leverage consumer concerns in order to make institutional change. Luckily, there is, and has been for some time, a surprisingly high amount of global public support for animal welfare through institutional change.

One 2017 poll from the Sentience Institute found that 49%, 47%, and 33% of US adults say they support a ban on factory farming, slaughterhouses, and animal farming respectively.²¹ Even against other extremely important social issues such as poverty and the death penalty, ‘animal welfare and protection’ ranks high in public ratings of issue-importance.²² Furthermore, in a more recent study polling 2,000 US adults, it was found that the public’s desire for animal welfare improvements has further increased in recent years.²³ The study’s findings are displayed in the table below which illustrates the support of the different approaches to change surveyed.

²¹Sentience Institute. “A Summary of Evidence for Foundational Questions in Effective Animal Advocacy.” Sentience Institute, 2017. <https://www.sentienceinstitute.org/foundational-questions-summaries#ftnt100>

²²Sinclair, Michelle, and Clive JC Phillips. “The cross-cultural importance of animal protection and other world social issues.” *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 30, no. 3 (2017): 439-455.

²³ “Rethink Priorities.” Rethink Priorities, November 9, 2022. <https://rethinkpriorities.org/publications/us-support-for-action>. & Spain, C., Daisy Freund, Heather Mohan-Gibbons, Robert Meadow, and Laurie Beacham. “Are They Buying It? United States Consumers’ Changing Attitudes toward More Humanely Raised Meat, Eggs, and Dairy.” *Animals* 8, no. 8 (July 25, 2018): 128. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ani8080128>.

Type of Change	Example(s)	Levels of Support
Agricultural/ Manufacturing Changes	Limiting production line speeds, higher welfare standards	93% supported higher welfare standards for farmed animals
Governmental and Policy Reforms	Placing a moratorium on new concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs).	44%-46% of those polled were in support of bill
Corporate Welfare Commitments	Cage Free and Welfare commitments	88% of those polled were in support of cage free commitments; 90% find it important for corporations to follow through on their welfare commitments
Grocery Store/ Food Outlet Reforms	Increasing Meat Free Options	56% of Americans would like restaurants, grocery stores and cafeterias to offer more meat-free options.

In another study covering the concern for farmed animal welfare across 23 countries, encouraging findings were uncovered which suggest high levels of public support for animal welfare reforms and concern over existing practices.²⁴ Some of the findings from this study include;

- 1) Public concern for farmed animal welfare correlates with the strength of farmed animal welfare legislation across countries.
- 2) Participants in **86% of the 21 countries** for which data was available **underestimated** the rate of factory farming used to produce their food on average
- 3) All 23 countries surveyed scored >4 (out of 7) on the measure used to determine the overall support for farmed animal welfare. (This indicates that there are high levels of global support for farmed animal welfare amongst the general public).²⁵

²⁴Bryant, C., Hopwood, C., Graca, J., Nissen, A., Dillard, C. & Thomplins, A. (Forthcoming). Exploring public support for farmed animal welfare policy and advocacy across 23 countries.

²⁵Ibid.

It is clear that consumers are concerned about the harms of the meat industry on animals, and using this information to our advantage as advocates would be of great benefit to the animal welfare movement. Because most of the harmful agricultural practices within factory farms are kept behind closed doors, public outcry may substantially increase if consumers are made aware of the institutional problems at hand, meaning we can feed two birds with one stone by publically targeting institutions for change and simultaneously encouraging consumers to get involved in the fight for improved animal welfare through exposure.

1.5. Rationale: The Psychology behind Shifting Targets

Consumers' moral beliefs and values do not always align with their consumption habits, and moral considerations are often thwarted by cost and accessibility.²⁶ Shifting blame away from the consumer and towards institutions has proven successful in addressing cognitive barriers that arise in consumers as a result of the norm status of meat consumption. Targeting individual meat consumers (who make up over 80% of the global population)²⁷, requires the portrayal of the average consumer as doing something wrong, and most people do not respond well to being told they are doing something wrong.²⁸ This is partially why some consumers will respond with compensatory consumption behaviors and negative public reactions when vegetarian or vegan diets are proposed or encouraged individually.²⁹ In this sense, we are fighting against the consumer rather than utilizing their existing guilt and support of institutional animal welfare improvements to advocate alongside them, and this may not be the best way to go about changemaking. One of the ways animal advocates are implementing institutional campaign strategies is through the use of institutional messaging within consumer facing campaigns.³⁰ For example, rather than using individual messaging such as “*you should eat less meat*” or “*you should buy cage free eggs*”, say “*England should eat less meat*” or “*McDonalds should use cage free eggs*”. This small change can have a substantial impact on overall public reception to animal advocacy efforts while simultaneously bringing awareness to the issues at hand.

Target shifting has proven successful within other social change movements as well. In fact, it seems that few social movements have succeeded with a heavy

²⁶ Reese, Jacy. *Institutional Change and the Limits of Consumer Activism*. Palgrave Communications. 2020

²⁷ Katharina Buchholz, “Infographic: Eating Meat Is the Norm Almost Everywhere,” Statista Infographics (Statista, May 20, 2021).

²⁸ Reese, Jacy. *Institutional Change and the Limits of Consumer Activism*. Palgrave Communications. 2020

²⁹ Choi, Nak-Hwan, Jingyi Shi, and Li Wang. “Sources of inducing shame versus anger at in-group failure and consumption type.” *Journal of Distribution Science* 18, no. 2 (2020): 79-89.

³⁰ Jacy Reese Anthis, “The Animal-Free Food Movement Should Move towards an Institutional Message,” Medium (Medium, October 20, 2016).

focus on individual change. One example of this is the success of fair trade activism. The growing success of this movement has been correlated with their strong focus on portraying the corporations that own sweatshops as the enemy rather than targeting the consumers of sweatshop-made products.³¹ Within animal advocacy, the anti-fur movement has also found success replacing consumer focused advocacy with targeted campaigns against fur retailers.³² By making the consumer an ally in the fight for welfare reform we can widen public participation in the movement and encourage more public discourse on the drawbacks of the meat manufacturing industry.

Another issue with individual-focused dietary change is that conscious consumers are often overwhelmed by the vastness of the world's problems. This feeling is sometimes referred to as the '*collapse of compassion*' and the leading explanation for this feeling is that "*People expect the needs of large groups to be potentially overwhelming, and, as a result, they engage in emotion regulation to prevent themselves from experiencing overwhelming levels of emotion.*"³³ The issues surrounding animal welfare in factory farms are extremely vast and with animal-victim totals in the billions, even for seasoned advocates the fight for change can seem overwhelming and the strength of these agricultural institutions can be discouraging. Individuals may choose not to get involved in advocacy or make behavioral changes because they do not believe their individual choices can impact such a solid and established system. Institutional campaigns provide a solution to this. By making it clear to concerned consumers that these problems are solvable, and getting them involved in a network of animal advocates, we can help them to avoid the collapse of compassion by suggesting they "*can make headway on the issue beyond what [they] can achieve through their own diet*", and providing avenues through which to do so.³⁴

By shifting blame to institutions, governments, and corporations we avoid personal ego modifiers present in individuals, and encourage moral outrage among consumers that may otherwise feel uncomfortable or misplaced when engaging with animal advocacy. It is much easier to make dietary changes when consumers are supported in doing so and changes are more accessible, ergo, changes in public institutions may catalyze changes in private family units and individual consumers

³¹Bartley, Tim, and Curtis Child. "Shaming the corporation: The social production of targets and the anti-sweatshop movement." *American sociological review* 79, no. 4 (2014): 653-679.

³²Sentience Institute, "A Summary of Evidence for Foundational Questions in Effective Animal Advocacy," Sentience Institute, 2017.

³³ Cameron, C. D., & Payne, B. K. (2011). Escaping affect: how motivated emotion regulation creates insensitivity to mass suffering. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 100(1), 1.

³⁴ Spasser, Alison J. "Winning hearts and minds: Using "ag-gag" outrage and corporate rebranding to achieve a public image makeover for the animal rights movement." (2013).

which can fast-track overall welfare improvements. By targeting institutions we also indicate to the public that we want society as a whole to change rather than just the individual. This is crucial because, due to the communal nature of animal product consumption, without structural change in the systems supporting the factory farming industry there is a limit to the amount of animals that can be saved. By working towards successful institutional change we can indirectly influence consumer behavior and sentiments while simultaneously denouncing the problematic system of industrialized animal agriculture; a win-win for animals, advocates, and consumers alike.

COMMUNITY-BASED CHANGEMAKING

2. Community-Based Interventions in Public Institutions

In this section, we will survey the pros and cons of community based interventions. Some of the areas in which activists can most effectively lobby for institutional change include public institutions and community-organizations such as universities, schools, hospitals, and correctional facilities. In this section, we will closely survey case studies of successful and unsuccessful community-based animal advocacy campaigns. Campaigns in public institutions such as these will be referred to throughout the report as ‘[community-based interventions](#)’.

When targeting public institutions, there are typically two main approaches; [awareness initiatives](#), and [accessibility initiatives](#). Within the category of awareness initiatives we find things like internal meat reduction campaigns (such as Veganuary or Meatless Monday) and educational interventions (such as presentations on the harms of the meat and dairy industry) that aim to draw attention to issues and solutions. Accessibility initiatives on the other hand increase the availability of plant-based options or limit the availability of meat-based options in order to make it easier for individuals to reduce their meat consumption if desired.

While these tactics are somewhat individual-focused in that they aim to encourage institution members to think about reducing their individual meat consumption levels, they also provide the education and means to do so, creating opportunities for people to change their diet with minimal effort. In addition, they can be examples for other institutions that wish to follow suit by creating micro-environments that foster and enable individual change. Both educational and accessibility initiatives are useful in their own right but, as we will see, the best approach to institutional change may be a combination of both.

2.1. Case Study: Ineffective Institutional Change in a School

One school in Sweden attempted to introduce an optional month-long meat-free initiative which included opt-in educational discussions about animal consumption. Unfortunately, it did not go as planned and the organizers were faced with retaliatory student-led protests.³⁵ The protestors argued that attempts towards meat reduction cannot be separated from politics. They insisted that the school’s initiative, and plant based diets in general were political issues (particularly left-leaning political issues) and therefore were unfit for a school setting. Overall,

³⁵Lindgren, N. (2020). The political dimension of consuming animal products in education: An analysis of upper-secondary student responses when school lunch turns green and vegan. *Environmental Education Research*, 26(5), 684-700.

this intervention did not aid in encouraging meat reduction amongst students, and this may be due to the fact that the initiative provided the students with little information as to why one might choose a plant-based diet prior to the intervention.

The initiative itself consisted only of discussions between students about animal consumption and the importance of meat reduction but did not provide students with educational content on the environmental and welfare concerns surrounding animal farming nor the benefits of reducing meat consumption. Low levels of public knowledge on animal farming and meat related harms made it so that many students went into the conversation blind.³⁶ We must keep in mind that due to the 'norm status' of meat consumption public opinion on plant-based diets is generally quite poor.³⁷ Vegans and Vegetarians are part of an out group that is sometimes seen as 'radical'. Due to these pre-existing problems with the image of the plant-based movement, simply telling people that they should be concerned with their meat consumption levels does not necessarily mean they will take well to that recommendation.

In the context of this case study, had the school provided students with the tools needed to reflect on and criticize these issues before beginning the discussion, it is possible students would have been more receptive or at least more inclined to join in on the conversations, debates, and possibly sign up for the meat-free challenge. Additionally, the length of the initiative likely also played a role in limiting participation as people are generally more likely to commit to more gradual, shorter-term change requests. This propensity to agree to smaller asks makes it so that initiatives such as meatless Mondays are more likely to be successful than longer commitments.

2.2. Case Study: Effective Institutional Change in Universities

A similar study to the vegan initiative in Sweden proved to be more successful when conducted at a University in California.³⁸ The only main differences between the studies was that the California study, unlike the Sweden study, 1) provided educational interventions prior to the diet-change initiative and 2) targeted a population with a higher average age/education level. The California study first provided university students with material on the ethics of eating meat in three large

³⁶Thyl Moors, "Veganism at School: How Students Respond to a Vegan Month Initiative - Faunalytics," Faunalytics, March 4, 2021.

³⁷Broad, Garrett M. "Animal production, Ag-gag laws, and the social production of ignorance: Exploring the role of storytelling." *Environmental Communication* 10, no. 1 (2016): 43-61.

³⁸Schwitzgebel, Eric, Bradford Cokelet, and Peter Singer. "Students eat less meat after studying meat ethics." *Review of philosophy and psychology* (2021): 1-26.

philosophy classes and then the students discussed the class content in small groups. After the lecture, the students' agreement with the statement that “*eating the meat of factory farmed animals is unethical*” grew from 37% to 54%.³⁹ The study also tracked the students' food purchases post intervention against a control group and amongst the students exposed to the lecture material, total meat purchases fell by 7% overall and 9% in larger meal purchases of \$4.99 or more.

Importantly, "if even this modest decrease in consumption was replicated in all of the approximately 20 million college students in the U.S., it could save the lives of hundreds of millions of animals per year", a substantial figure for the animal advocacy movement.⁴⁰ The success of the second initiative in comparison with the first can be attributed to many factors including the educational content provided, the age group targeted, and the dietary freedom of the participants. Nonetheless, the difference of success between the two initiatives provides evidence that institutional campaigning is not one size fits all, and that we must make time to tailor our campaigns to our audiences.

2.3. Case Study: Effective Institutional Change in Schools

One of the most effective and low-cost approaches to community based change may be through the use of ‘*nudges*’⁴¹ which can impact individual food choices through small changes in the institutions themselves. These are changes that *encourage* rather than outright request individual consumer change. Nudges can be implemented in a variety of ways from reducing portion sizes of meat to repositioning plant-based alternative products in order to make them more prominent. In one Oakland school district, nudging provided the perfect method of reducing overall institutional meat consumption levels and simultaneously implementing what the district termed their ‘cost-effective climate mitigation strategy’.⁴² This was done by reducing the district's overall meat options and increasing the availability of plant-based options. In order to do this the district only had to replace a share (~30% in this case) of its meat and dairy purchases with plant-based proteins.

³⁹ Schwitzgebel, Eric, Bradford Cokelet, and Peter Singer. "Students eat less meat after studying meat ethics." *Review of philosophy and psychology* (2021): 1-26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Byerly, Hilary, Andrew Balmford, Paul J. Ferraro, Courtney Hammond Wagner, Elizabeth Palchak, Stephen Polasky, Taylor H. Ricketts, Aaron J. Schwartz, and Brendan Fisher. "Nudging pro-environmental behavior: evidence and opportunities." *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 16, no. 3 (2018): 159-168.

⁴² "Shrinking Carbon and Water Footprints of School Food," Friends of the Earth, February 2022, <https://foe.org/resources/shrinking-carbon-water-footprint-school-food/>.

Rather than encouraging full on dietary change initiatives, the school simply defaulted to plant-based options, making it easier for students to choose the plant based option over the meat option. Over the course of two years, this shift in menu provided the school district with significant climate benefits and financial savings, and ultimately the school district was able to achieve a 14% reduction in the carbon footprint of its food purchases and save a whopping \$42,000 in overall food costs.⁴³

The authors of the project's report suggest that an equivalent reduction in carbon footprint would not have been as cost-effective through other means. In fact, to offset the same amount of carbon would have cost the district \$2.1 million through solar panels and \$1.7 million through tree planting. They also estimated that "if every US school district took up the same reduction programs as OUSD, the environmental benefit would be similar to driving nearly 1.6 billion fewer miles or taking 150,000 cars off the road every year."⁴⁴ In light of this, activists should take into account the growing number of institutional commitments to sustainability and carbon neutrality. Many places that make these commitments are not necessarily prepared to meet them or are unsure how to approach the goal. Targeting institutions with pre-existing environmental commitments and presenting plant-forward dietary nudging as both a cost-effective and efficient way to promote sustainability may be a great way to increase the number of institutions defaulting to plant-based options.

2.4. Case Studies: Effective Institutional Change in Public Institutions

In recent years, the animal advocacy movement has also found success in targeting penitentiaries, care homes, hospitals, and/or workplaces for interventions. In these places, there are financial, health, and sustainability incentives for administrative support of institutional-based meat reduction campaigns.⁴⁵ One study conducted in a hospital setting aimed to reduce overall food waste and improve environmental sustainability by monitoring food waste levels at meal times and assessing the environmental impact of both meat-centric plates and vegetarian plates.⁴⁶ After a 7 day study of the food waste data from 471 hospital meals it was found that "vegetarian meals were preferable to meat-containing meals served at

⁴³Jamie Harris, "Fighting Climate Change through School Lunches - Faunalytics," Faunalytics, March 2018, <https://faunalytics.org/fighting-climate-change-school-lunches/>.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Carino, Stefanie, et al. "Environmental sustainability of hospital food services across the food supply chain: a systematic review." *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics* 120.5 (2020): 825-873.

⁴⁶Berardy, Andrew, Brianna Egan, Natasha Birchfield, Joan Sabaté, and Heidi Lynch. "Comparison of Plate Waste between Vegetarian and Meat-Containing Meals in a Hospital Setting: Environmental and Nutritional Considerations." *Nutrients* 14, no. 6 (2022): 1174.

LLUMC both in terms of minimizing [food waste] and lowering environmental impacts”.⁴⁷

Additionally, the study determined that serving vegetarian meals to patients by default for their first 24 hours in a hospital setting improves the hospital’s overall food waste and sustainability outcomes.⁴⁸ This study suggests that defaulting to vegetarian meals in hospital settings may decrease overall food waste as well as improve institutional sustainability levels. There are also reasons to believe that vegetarian meals are both healthier options for hospital patients and more cost-effective options for hospital administration; this information can be used to encourage administrative support of plant-based options.⁴⁹

Another example of successful institutional change that could be used to model change in other areas was pioneered by Mayor Eric Adams of New York City. Adams, who transitioned to plant based eating after being diagnosed with Diabetes, claims that a vegan diet saved his life and is positive about the health opportunities plant-forward eating could provide to NYC residents.⁵⁰ Since his election as mayor he has undertaken plenty of efforts to make the city healthier and more plant-based through dietary change initiatives in hospitals, schools *and* prisons. In NYC public schools, Adams implemented meatless Mondays and pushed to eliminate all processed meat in cafeterias.⁵¹ In NYC hospitals, Adams introduced the ‘Plant-Based Lifestyle Medicine Program’, an expansion to provide patients with the tools to make healthy lifestyle choices (including plant-based diet resources as well as professional medical advice).⁵² Additionally, NYC hospitals not only adopted Meatless Mondays but they also defaulted to serving plant based options in the kitchens throughout the week. Of course this doesn’t mean meaty meals are no longer available, it simply means that patients must specifically request them.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸Berardy, Andrew, Brianna Egan, Natasha Birchfield, Joan Sabaté, and Heidi Lynch. "Comparison of Plate Waste between Vegetarian and Meat-Containing Meals in a Hospital Setting: Environmental and Nutritional Considerations." *Nutrients* 14, no. 6 (2022): 1174.

⁴⁹ Physicians for responsible medicine is a great resource to find medically verified information on the nutritional value of plant-based eating

⁵⁰Goldenburg, Sally. POLITICO. "Meatless Mondays and the Evils of Olive Oil: Eric Adams Wants to Put New York on a Diet," December 15, 2021. <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/12/15/eric-adams-mayor-health-new-york-524802>.

⁵¹"New York’s Mayor Is Building an Agenda around Food. Will It Satisfy?," *The New York Times*, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/14/dining/eric-adams-vegan-nyc.html>.

⁵²Gabrielle Khalife, "California Passes Law Requiring Vegan Meals in Prisons and Hospitals," NYC Food Policy Center (Hunter College) (NYC Food Policy Center (Hunter College), October 2, 2018), <https://www.nycfoodpolicy.org/california-passes-law-requiring-vegan-meals-in-prisons-and-hospitals/>.

This program has proven to be a huge success; with a 95% satisfaction rate and plenty of self-referrals from NY residents.⁵³ In fact, a recent survey published by Bryant Research⁵⁴ confirmed this support. The survey found that 66% of NYC residents agreed or strongly agreed to being supportive of meatless Mondays in schools, and amongst parents with children in these schools, that support was even higher at 78%.⁵⁵ Adam's hospital initiatives were also well-received with 72% of NYC residents polled saying they were supportive or strongly supportive of the hospital initiatives.⁵⁶ The executive orders put forth by Mayor Adams have also received support from city officials including council members, health advisors, and medical officers. Adams also plans to expand the amount of plant-based options within the city's correctional facilities to ensure that all NYC residents have access to healthy food.⁵⁷

In prison settings, little research has been done to test the effectiveness of meat reduction campaigns. That being said, there is ample reason to believe it may be beneficial to increase the availability of plant-based options in these facilities or consider defaulting to vegetarian or vegan meals. The same environmental and financial⁵⁸ benefits these changes provide for schools and hospitals would also apply to prisons, and given that incidents of foodborne illnesses are six times more likely in the correctional population, there may be health benefits to reducing meat options as well.⁵⁹ Given the relatively low-levels of public concern for prison populations, advocates can also expect less resistance to implementing these changes in prisons compared to schools and hospitals. In fact, amongst Mayor Adam's plant-based initiatives, his correctional facility changes seem to have received the least amount of public attention. Finally, a series of studies found that improving the nutrition of prisoners reduces violent incidents by an average of 30%, providing a safety benefit of balanced, plant-based diets for prison administrators to consider.⁶⁰ This may be another benefit of targeting prison populations for dietary

⁵³ NYC Gov. "Mayor Adams, NYC H+H CEO Katz Announce Successful Rollout and Expansion of Plant-Based Meals as Default," The official website of the City of New York, September 2022, <https://www.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/705-22/mayor-adams-nyc-h-h-ceo-katz-successful-rollout-expansion-plant-based-meals-as>.

⁵⁴ Bryant Research, "Bryant Research - NYC Plant Based Initiatives," [Bryantresearch.co.uk](https://www.bryantresearch.co.uk/insights/nyc-plant-based-initiatives), 2022, <https://www.bryantresearch.co.uk/insights/nyc-plant-based-initiatives>.

⁵⁵ Bryant Research, "Bryant Research - NYC Plant Based Initiatives," [Bryantresearch.co.uk](https://www.bryantresearch.co.uk/insights/nyc-plant-based-initiatives), 2022, <https://www.bryantresearch.co.uk/insights/nyc-plant-based-initiatives>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Hailey Kanowsky, "NYC Mayor Eric Adams Keeps His Promise to Further City-Backed Plant-Based Initiatives," One Green Planet (One Green Planet, March 16, 2022), <https://www.onegreenplanet.org/natural-health/nyc-mayor-eric-adams-keeps-his-promise-to-further-city-backed-plant-based-initiatives/>.

⁵⁸ "Bill Analysis - SB-1138 Food Options: Plant-Based Meals.," [Ca.gov](https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billAnalysisClient.xhtml?bill_id=201720180SB1138), 2017, https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billAnalysisClient.xhtml?bill_id=201720180SB1138.

⁵⁹ Fassler, Joe, and Claire Brown. "Prison food is making US inmates disproportionately sick." *The Atlantic* 27 (2017).

⁶⁰ Kimberley Wilson, "How Small Changes to Prison Food Drastically Cut Inmate Violence," *Sciencefocus.com* (BBC Science Focus Magazine, April 16, 2022), <https://www.sciencefocus.com/the-human-body/prison-food-nutrition-violence-mental-health/>.

change interventions over schools or hospitals. There is ample reason to consider branching out to target prisons and penitentiaries for successful implementation of meat-reduction and nudging initiatives, especially considering that these institutions are usually looking for ways to save money on overhead costs.

2.5. Advantages of Community Based Change

As we have explored, behavioral changes tend to be easier for individuals to accomplish alongside others, and changes within the micro-environments created by schools, workplaces, and other public spaces can remove the external accessibility barriers and feelings of isolation. In addition, there are fewer obstacles to implement change in public institutions than there are within corporations or legislative bodies. This is because there are fewer restrictions on new policies in these institutions, since most administrative decisions are made internally. Importantly, incentives for administrative support of plant-forward change can be framed as one of the best economic and sustainable choices for individual institutions. Activists should use these benefits to push for administrative support of campaign efforts by framing nudging as the perfect way for institutions to overcome budgetary constraints and meet carbon neutrality targets.

2.6. Disadvantages of Community Based Change

Unsurprisingly, the drawbacks to community-based changes are mainly social. In certain contexts, institutional change can prompt social backlash and debate, which is why activists must strategically choose willing or amenable targets and strategies. This is particularly true when it comes to social/educational interventions in public settings. In addition, within institutions, accessibility initiatives do not always work on their own, especially when the foundational information needed to encourage dietary change is not made available. That being said, educational interventions that do not increase the accessibility of plant-based options can also be problematic. This is because, while they have been shown to affect consumer intentions to reduce meat consumption, educational interventions on their own do not necessarily prompt follow-through with those sustainable behavioral changes. If an institution encourages plant based eating but does not provide the infrastructure for individuals to do so, it is possible that no significant change will be made at all. This is why activists wishing to maximize change efforts should always deliver well-balanced campaigns that inform as well as better enable individuals to make choices that will improve animal welfare.

2.7. Recommendations for Effective Community-Based Change

- Target populations that are open to change or provide educational opportunities to increase receptiveness.
- Focus on populations that are more able to change or provide accessibility opportunities to increase their ability to do so.
- Begin with small, inexpensive changes like nudges that don't require a large campaign to maximize impact and minimize spending.
- Consider how plant-based products and diets are already perceived within your target population and frame messages accordingly.
- Promote the sustainability, nutritional, and financial benefits of public institutional dietary change to administrators.
- Target institutions that have not yet been widely targeted for dietary change, such as hospitals and prisons.
- Emphasize the environmental benefits of small institutional changes to institutions with existing carbon neutral goals.

CORPORATE CHANGEMAKING

3. Corporate Changemaking

Corporate change is another form of institutional change which focuses on private institutions such as food distributors, producers, and suppliers. Corporate campaigns focus their sights on food outlets, brands, grocery stores, agricultural institutions and other key players within meat and dairy production and distribution.

These corporations can be targeted in many ways including;

- Lobbying for animal welfare commitments
- Increasing vegetarian and vegan options
- Requesting corporate resources for research and development of meat-replacement technologies
- Advertising new meat-replacement technologies
- Implementing nudging tactics in advertising and food options
- Creating consumer-targeted "naming and shaming" campaigns
- Conducting undercover investigations to expose animal abuse in supply chains

Targeting individual private corporations can be useful in catalyzing industry change and increasing the public visibility of animal-welfare related issues. It is also one of the most efficient avenues through which to make change as it utilizes the catalyst of an institution's behavioral change in order to encourage individual consumer change. Similarly to community-based change, it is easier for consumers to get on board with corporate campaigns than individual change campaigns, which may improve and encourage public engagement.

In this section, we will explore a multitude of approaches to make change within food distribution, food production, and food manufacturing institutions. Our hope is to highlight the opportunities available for advocates within the corporate sector as well as identify and mitigate important effectiveness modifiers to look out for within each corporate campaign approach.

3.1. Change in Food Outlets and Grocery Stores

Food outlets and grocery stores are ideal places to implement small and effective meat reduction techniques as they directly draw consumers on a regular basis, providing a captive audience for advocates. Fortunately, these changes can be

done in a variety of ways, many of which require little to no cost and effort from the targeted corporation. Here is a short overview of some common ways to encourage meat reduction through corporate change in food outlets and grocery stores:

Type of Change	Brief Overview	Benefits
Traffic Light Labels	A form of label nudging that uses (usually three) colors to indicate the products levels of sustainability, health, and/or welfare.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Easy for consumers to understand and engage with - Can be tailored to fit the concerns of the target audience - Generally cheap to implement and can be done through grocery store or brand collaborations
Repositioning of Veg options (menus and displays)	Placing plant based options in more visible and accessible places within stores or on restaurant menus.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low to no cost implementation - High visibility levels - Subtle form of ‘nudging’ that encourages consumers to acknowledge available PB options. - Can improve profit margins for grocery stores and restaurants
Dynamic Norm Labels	Messages placed on products or menus that regard something as becoming more widely adopted (ex.“the number of vegans has grown by x% in the last year”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourages public engagement by framing plant-based eating as a trend - Challenges the norm of meat-consumption - Easy and cost efficient to implement - Can be done in grocery stores and restaurants
Increasing Availability of Veg options	Encouraging grocery stores, food outlets and brands to increase the plant based options available	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improves the accessibility of vegetarian and vegan options for those with less access. - Increases visibility of plant-based eating. - Improves restaurant reputation and public receptivity by providing multiple options for varied tastes and diets.
Increasing the appeal of veg options	Changing wording or advertising in order to make plant-based options more appealing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subconscious nudging technique that can encourage positive associations with PB products - Provides an opportunity for innovating branding and advertising - Low cost and applicable to many different campaigns and marketing strategies.
Increasing the advertising of veg options	Advertising plant-based options more heavily or encouraging campaigns for new plant-based products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increases visibility of pre-existing PB options - Encourages public engagement with new innovative PB products - Challenges the norm of meat eating - Can be integrated into pre-existing advertising campaigns
Reducing the prices of veg options	Subsidizing vegetarian or vegan options and/or increasing the price of meat options	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greatly improves price related accessibility barriers - Encourages meat reduction through nudging and economic control - Encourages consumer engagement with PB products regardless of dietary choices.

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⁶¹ This list was compiled through the use of multiple sources that were consulted throughout the course of this review, many of which were found through the [Faunalytics](#) web page.

3.2. Case Study: Successful Corporate Change through Nudging

In a systematic review that reported on the effect of various meat reduction campaigns within food-distribution settings, authors surveyed 18 studies and their effects on meat demand and consumption.⁶² The interventions surveyed included techniques such as reducing portion sizes of meat, providing or promoting meat alternatives, repositioning meat products to make them less prominent, and altering product prices. Some of the findings were very encouraging in terms of highlighting the effectiveness of nudging campaigns. The review found that the most promising strategies to reduce meat demand were reducing portion sizes (which can also be framed as an economic decision for corporations), and offering appealing and well-positioned meat-free alternatives.⁶³

In one study included in the review, it was found that consumers increased their preference for plant based options if meat products were made less appealing (for instance by adding pictures of farmed animals next to their corresponding dishes). Other studies have suggested that changing the terminology used when advertising meat vs. plant based options, may also be effective in encouraging plant forward eating. For example, using the term ‘pig’ meat instead of ‘pork’ or ‘cow’ meat instead of ‘beef’, or not outwardly labeling plant-based options as vegetarian or vegan.⁶⁴

3.3. Case Study: Effective Corporate Change, Menu Placement and Wording

When it comes to restaurant menus, placement, wording, and descriptions of plant based foods are crucial to the market success of these products. Advocates can utilize the power of placement and marketing to their advantage in various ways. For example, some advocates have suggested changing menu layouts in restaurants to incorporate vegetarian options into the menu rather than putting them in a separate section.

When researchers set out to test this through a restaurant-based nudging experiment, they speculated that separating vegetarian dishes may cause consumers to ignore them and therefore may be a hindrance to encouraging meat-reduction in consumers.⁶⁵ When tested, their hypothesis was supported. Only 5.9% of diners who received a menu that had the plant-based dishes in a separate vegetarian section chose these items; the key finding of this study was that those

⁶² Bianchi, F., Garnett, E., Dorsel, C., Aveyard, P., & Jebb, S.A. (2018). Restructuring physical micro-environments to reduce the demand for meat: a systematic review and qualitative comparative analysis. *The Lancet: Planetary Health*, 2(9). 384-397.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Jo Anderson, “Pork or Pig? Beef or Cow? Implications for Advocacy and Research - Faunalytics,” Faunalytics, November 21, 2018, <https://faunalytics.org/pork-or-pig-beef-or-cow-implications-for-advocacy-and-research/>.

⁶⁵Jillian Holzer, “Don’t Put Vegetables in the Corner: Q&a with Behavioral Science Researcher Linda Bacon,” World Resources Institute, 2017, <https://www.wri.org/insights/dont-put-vegetables-corner-qa-behavioral-science-researcher-linda-bacon>.

who received a menu that singled out the ‘vegetarian’ dishes were 56% less likely to order the plant based option.⁶⁶

Advocates should get creative with the use of menus, ads, and other food-marketing platforms connected to food-distributors. Simple placement, wording, and advertising changes can and have proven cost-effective ways to drive demand within food-distribution institutions. Moreover, these unintrusive nudges do not impose a direct cost on consumers, and are therefore likely to be more acceptable to food businesses. Food distributors can be encouraged to use nudging tactics on the basis of financial gain. If nudging tactics are successfully implemented, restaurants and businesses will likely see an increase in plant-based product consumption amongst their customers who would otherwise not have bought plant-based products. This would make keeping or expanding their plant-based options a more practical business decision and help in the prevention of food waste.

Lobbying independent food venues or chain restaurants to implement some of these low-commitment techniques would be an effective way to make change in the industry and simultaneously increase the amount of consumers choosing plant-based options without them going out of their way to do so. Advocates should remember to stress the benefits restaurants themselves will get from experimenting with marketing techniques as most restaurant owners are more than happy to make small changes in exchange for increased profits, consumer support, and lower overall food costs.

3.4. Advantages of Corporate Change within the Food Distribution Market

As we have explored, lobbying food distributors and restaurants can be a cost-effective way to increase both public awareness of available plant-based options as well as reduce overall meat consumption. These institutions are accessible, easy to target, and generally make their own rules. In addition, these smaller nudges are able to indirectly affect dietary change without upsetting consumers or costing the company a lot of money. It is likely that consumers will not know plant based options are being increasingly advertised, and there is reason to believe that most people would not be opposed to having more plant based options in these stores and restaurants. Additionally, it may be advantageous to advocates that many of these corporate change techniques can be pitched to businesses as cost effective and sustainable, something of increasing concern to business owners and manufacturers in light of climate concerns.

⁶⁶Brenda Harriman, “Menu Layouts Affect Choices Made by Diners - Faunalytics,” Faunalytics, November 30, 2017, <https://faunalytics.org/menu-layouts-affect-choices-made-by-diners/>.

3.5. Disadvantages of Corporate Change within the Food Distribution Market

Because there has been less research done on the impacts of nudging campaigns within food distribution sites, there is the chance that new efforts and tactics for meat reduction within these contexts may be unsuccessful. That being said, this also means there is plenty of room for new research to be done into the effectiveness of various nudging techniques, something advocates may want to invest time in. One concern with corporate change is that these methods are highly dependent on the cooperation of the targeted institutions. When decision-makers and corporate leaders feel that the proposed change is not in the interests of their business, advocates are likely to face resistance in changing corporate policies. This is why advocates must be careful to highlight the benefits associated with plant-forward changes. Ultimately, these campaigns are consumer-facing, and heavily dependent on consumer responses, so they must be both widely acceptable and reliably influential in order to maximize effectiveness.

3.6. Recommendations for Successful Corporate Change in Grocery Stores and Restaurants

Here are a few recommendations for making successful corporate change in grocery stores and restaurants:

- Consider the existing attitudes towards meat consumption and plant-based eating in the target population when implementing or requesting meat-reduction techniques.
 - For example, in a meat-centric population, more subtle nudging such as repositioning plant-based options may be more effective than more direct nudging like dynamic norm labeling.
- Identify who has the power to implement nudges and changes, as well as their motivations.
 - For example, a prison or hospital may be more responsive to pitches related to the economic or health advantages of meat reduction, while an independent restaurant in a city may be more motivated by the opportunity to be seen as more sustainable or inclusive and to generate additional revenue through plant-based options.
- Use data about consumers' perceptions of various corporate and institutional change techniques to inform your campaigns and determine the most effective and accepted methods of meat reduction.

MARKET BASED CHANGEMAKING

4. Market-Based Changemaking

Changemaking can be immensely successful when conducted within the meat manufacturing and distribution markets. Campaigns focused on larger corporations and brands in particular can make use of globalization and supply networks in order to achieve incremental reform. On a macro level, large corporations, industrial agriculture institutions, and food brands can be targeted for individual reformative change and welfare commitments. This can be done in various ways, such as encouraging corporations to make welfare commitments, lobbying stakeholders, and/or conducting campaigns against companies refusing to make or follow through on welfare commitments.

While effectively making change in these powerful corporations is more difficult than in smaller businesses, if successful, one large corporation committing to *and following through on* animal welfare reforms can be extremely influential. In fact, one study suggests that “for every dollar spent on corporate cage-free and broiler commitment campaigns, 9 to 120 chicken years are affected”.⁶⁷ The same report claims that without previous corporate commitments to cage-free welfare standards, **160-210 million hens** would still be caged. The breakdown of the reports findings on the impact of corporate campaigns on broiler and hen welfare goals is summarized in the following table, which illustrates the mean estimations of total chickens affected by corporate commitments each year, given that companies follow through on their commitments. It also outlines the total number of chicken-years affected per dollar, given that the average lifespan of broiler chickens is **43 to 48 days**, and the average lifespan of caged hens is **1.1 to 1.5 years**.

	Broiler Welfare Campaigns	Cage-Free Welfare Campaigns
Number of chickens affected annually by corporate commitments	800 Million Chickens	310 Million Hens
Number of chickens affected per dollar spent on corporate welfare campaigns ⁶⁸	120 chickens	42 hens
Chicken years affected per dollar spent on corporate welfare campaigns	15 years	54 years

⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Šimčikas, Saulius. "Corporate campaigns affect 9 to 120 years of chicken life per dollar spent." (2019).

⁶⁸This was calculated using the following (chickens affected x predicted follow-through rate x mean years of impact/costs)

⁶⁹ Note that I have listed the means of each estimate in this table rather than the predicted ranges; the predicted ranges are available in the original source material

As depicted in the table above, corporate commitment campaigns can be extremely influential if followed-through upon.⁷⁰ Advocates should take this information and use it to their advantage. Of course, due to the number of chickens farmed being higher than that of some other farmed animals, these numbers may be different for campaigns focused on pig or cow welfare. Nonetheless, there is reason to believe that corporate commitments to various cross-species welfare standards may be an influential way to maximize our impact on animal welfare and maximize animal lives saved.

In addition to these advantages in efficacy, the competitive food market makes it so that one company's welfare commitments can cause a ripple effect in other organizations, allowing advocates to influence multiple companies indirectly without using additional resources.⁷¹ This is generally achieved through the use of public pressure which can be both **active public pressure** (such as people protesting against or boycotting a company directly), or through **perceived public pressure** (which can require as little as a company simply expecting to receive public backlash).

Fostering conditions that allow for increased public pressure is a good way to maximize the effectiveness of corporate welfare commitment campaigns. This is why shaming campaigns are likely to be more influential when they are in the public eye or respond to public concerns. Advocates can also use the names of competitors who have (or haven't) made broiler and cage-free commitments in welfare commitment pitches to other companies. In this section on corporate change, we will survey some examples of effective and ineffective approaches to targeting large corporations for meat reduction through case studies and provide guidelines for successful animal advocacy in corporate and market settings.

4.1. Market-based shaming tactics

The key to successfully targeting food giants for change lies in strategy, and one promising strategy this section will focus heavily on involves the use of social pressure and market-based shaming tactics to shame individual companies, brands, and stakeholders into demanding sustainable practices from their suppliers. This is all done in hopes that the management will be incentivised through economic and

⁷⁰ Tony Mcdougal, "Global Companies Failing to Deliver on Animal Welfare Commitments - Poultry World," Poultry World, April 5, 2022, <https://www.poultryworld.net/the-industrymarkets/market-trends-analysis-the-industrymarkets-2/global-companies-failing-to-deliver-on-animal-welfare-commitments/>.

⁷¹ Bloomfield, MJ 2014, 'Shame campaigns and environmental justice: corporate shaming as activist strategy', Environmental Politics, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 263-281.

social pressure to condemn these practices.⁷² Exposing unethical practices promoted by the companies, rallying consumer support for welfare commitments, and informing stakeholders of the welfare issues at hand are all good ways to launch shaming campaigns. By targeting the companies' reputation and sometimes, the inconsistency of their brands' values in light of their supply chain's practices, we appeal to the desires of consumers and stakeholders to have their names attached to higher-welfare products.

Consumers particularly concerned with sustainable and ethical consumption are also likely to respond well to campaigns that shame companies for unethical practices and may even get involved in the changemaking. Additionally, in the case of large corporations that dominate certain market sectors, there is a chance smaller independent companies would also join forces with advocacy organizations to attack these competitors. Some advocacy organizations have started ranking businesses and corporations based on their welfare standards and making that information public.⁷³ Recently, the organization Animal Aotearoa successfully used this tactic to convince HelloFresh, the largest meal kit service in the world, to sign a better chicken commitment. After meeting with them individually to negotiate welfare improvements and following up to no avail, the organization released a ranking report on food delivery businesses which did not look great for them, this quickly brought them back to the negotiation table.⁷⁴ Shaming campaigns are an effective way to leverage existing market inequalities in order to further animal welfare goals and achieve wider public engagement and visibility for animal-welfare related issues. They can also help bolster the successes of companies who *are* making efforts to be more ethical and sustainable in their practices.

⁷²Bloomfield, MJ 2014, 'Shame campaigns and environmental justice: corporate shaming as activist strategy', *Environmental Politics*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 263-281.

⁷³Delivering Better. "Delivering Better | Animals Aotearoa," 2015. <https://www.delivering-better.com/>.

⁷⁴Betterchickencommitment.com. "The Better Chicken Commitment Policy," 2022. <https://betterchickencommitment.com/en-NZ/policy/>.

For reference, advocates can campaign against companies for various welfare-violations within their supply chains including but not limited to;

- Extreme confinement
- 'Unnatural living conditions'
- Tissue removal without adequate pain relief (e.g. castration)
- Euthanasia of unwanted animals (particularly newborns)
- Hunger and low body reserves
- Early separation of offspring from mothers
- Uncomfortable transport conditions (especially over long distances)
- Health issues such as lameness and disease (which may be due to genetic modification and unethical breeding for market purposes)
- Inadequate protection of animals from adverse climates
- High number of animals per stock person in processing plants⁷⁵

It may be useful when formulating a campaign to choose one of these issues in relation to one type of farmed animal (for example; target companies for their castration practices for farmed pigs or for the separation of lambs from their mothers). Reducing the scope of a campaign's goals can help in its potential for influence, smaller changes are generally easier for companies and consumers to accept than big overhauls. 10 small campaigns with species-specific goals can impact the same number of animals as one campaign that covers 10 species of farmed animals, and may do so more efficiently.

4.2. Case Study: Consumer Facing Market-Based Shame Campaign - Plofkip

One successful example of a consumer facing shame campaign was the 'Plofkip' campaign conducted by an animal welfare NGO *Wakker Dier*. This Netherlands-based campaign used persuasion and consumer empathy in order to educate the public as well as negatively impact the reputations of corporations. It specifically used the well known marketing formula '*naming, shaming, faming*' which involved exposing low welfare standards in company supply chains (naming), publicly shaming companies that used these practices (shaming), and praising companies that did change their practices (faming). It aimed to target food retailers and producers to change their practices surrounding their suppliers' use of broiler chickens.

⁷⁵This list was adapted from an informal survey of websites of lobby groups which had them list the farming practices that are most concerning to them; Matthews, L. R., and P. H. Hemsworth. "Drivers of change: Law, international markets, and policy." *Animal Frontiers* 2, no. 3 (2012): 40-45.

The campaign started with the sending of letters to purveyors of factory farm chickens and requesting they use broilers that meet the standards of the 'Better Life' certification scheme.⁷⁶ In addition to directly contacting these distributors, Wakker Dier also started a public shaming campaign which illuminated the conditions of broiler chickens used in these institutions. This publicity campaign consisted of "64 press releases, 10 radio commercials, one TV ad, a newspaper campaign and 70 e-mail letters" in 2012, and "50 press-releases, 4 radio commercials, 3 TV commercials and 74 email-letters" in 2013. The organization used the CHAMP (Charity Assessment Method of Performance)⁷⁷ method to assess their campaign impacts. This method measures five different aspects of a charity's campaigns; 1) impact on animals and society, 2) impact on target groups, 3) output 4) activities, and 5) input.

Particularly in terms of the publicity campaign, they saw success. Dutch consumers ate 2 kg less meat in 2012 compared to 2013 and the share of meat with animal welfare labeling rose from 8 to 10 percent.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, despite commitments from smaller companies, the letters sent to suppliers did not result in welfare commitments from any of the large corporations targeted, and they did not affect imported meat products. This caused some issues due to the sustained availability of cheaply produced low-welfare meat, which many consumers will choose out of cost or convenience considerations. This may be an indicator to advocates that, while targeting smaller companies is more likely to yield commitments, it is necessary to target large influential corporations to maximize the long-term effectiveness of campaigns in the competitive market sector.

4.3. Case Study: Shareholder Facing Market-Based Shame Campaigns - Tyson Foods

One example of a shareholder-facing campaign that also successfully used naming and shaming techniques was the US Humane Society's (HSUS) targeted campaign against Tyson Foods, specifically condemning their supplier's use of gestation crates. Tyson foods, the largest meat supplier in the United States at the time,⁷⁹ was one of the companies that the HSUS struggled to get to commit to eliminating gestation crates through other methods. Tyson's refusal to commit to the elimination of gestation crates created an issue in the market for smaller companies

⁷⁶Lelieveldt, Herman. "Lobbying Governments or Corporations? A Comparative Case Study of Old and New Tactics to Improve Factory Farming in the Netherlands." A Comparative Case Study of Old and New Tactics to Improve Factory Farming in the Netherlands.(August 20, 2014) (2014).

⁷⁷ Maas, Karen, and Kellie Liket. "Social impact measurement: Classification of methods." In Environmental management accounting and supply chain management, pp. 171-202. Springer, Dordrecht, 2011.

⁷⁸Lelieveldt, Herman. "Lobbying Governments or Corporations? (2014).

⁷⁹"Tyson Foods to Audit Suppliers' Farms (Published 2012)," The New York Times, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/13/business/tyson-foods-to-audit-animal-treatment-at-its-suppliers-farms.html>.

who *had* made these commitments and were now disadvantaged by Tyson's cheap, low-welfare meat that was incessantly enticing consumers.

In order to get around this obstacle, the HSUS decided to use Tyson's shareholders to their advantage. First, they decided to submit a shareholder resolution to Tyson. Shareholder resolutions are proposals submitted to company shareholders to enact a vote at the company's annual meeting on some issue. Unfortunately, the resolution didn't put enough pressure on the company, which prompted HSUS to release graphic undercover footage of one of Tyson's supply farms which later aired on NBC news. This publicity allowed them to then submit another complaint to the SEC pointing out that Tyson hadn't been fully transparent with shareholders about the living conditions on their suppliers' farms. Shortly after this, Tyson reported a 61% decrease in quarterly profits, which the HSUS directly related to the public acknowledgment of their use of gestation crates. That same month the HSUS purchased shares in four companies that own stock with Tyson in order to have a stronger say in the companies practices. Shortly thereafter, Tyson announced it would audit farm suppliers to have their welfare standards assessed, and after a month or so of continued battle, Tyson agreed to ask suppliers to purchase larger cages and utilize more 'humane' ways of slaughter.

Notably, throughout this back-and-forth between HSUS and Tyson, many of Tyson's competitors *did* make commitments to phase out their use of gestation crates and "it is likely that shareholder proposals against large corporations (like Tyson) motivated smaller corporations to also agree to phase out gestation crates".⁸⁰ This suggests that the HSUS's use of shareholder proposals against one high-profile company was influential enough to change corporate policies of other companies indirectly without the need to submit individual proposals for each corporation.

The success of HSUS's campaign can be attributed to multiple strategic details that they got right. Firstly, they chose a topic that was already in the public eye. In the years leading up to this campaign there had been some large companies and even state governments making commitments and legislation to eradicate the use of gestation crates.⁸¹ This allowed the HSUS to capitalize on existing public awareness and concern surrounding the issue. Secondly, in an attempt to appeal to companies, the HSUS were able to put forward financial advantages of abolishing gestation crates through the use of pre-existing research done by Iowa State University. This gave the campaign an edge as financial benefits intuitively appeal to

⁸⁰ Summer Hallaj, A Decent Proposal: How Animal Welfare Organizations Have Utilized Shareholder Proposals to Achieve Greater Protection for Animals, 47 J. Marshall L. Rev. 795 (2013)

⁸¹ By the time of the 2009 Tyson shareholder proposal, six states had already banned the use of gestation crates.

company management, and showed that HSUS had a good awareness of, and consideration for incentives of decision-makers within the target corporation. Lastly, the decision by HSUS to target a high-profile meat distributor was also a key to success. This allowed their efforts to gain media attention and influence smaller corporations wishing to compete with Tyson Foods. Although the battle between HSUS and Tyson foods was long, advocates should take note of their techniques and consider utilizing the power of stakeholders and competitor companies to encourage corporate welfare commitments.

4.4. Case Study: Successful Consumer-Facing Undercover Investigation

One recent example of a successful consumer-facing initiative is PETAs recent undercover investigation of GAP certified Turkey Farms (The Global Animal Partnership is responsible for labeling high welfare animal products). This investigation uncovered upsetting and unnecessary instances of the torture and abuse of turkeys both living and on the verge of death.⁸² Footage was taken of workers punching, slapping, kicking, and stomping on the birds, hitting them with metal rods, and even one instance of a worker ‘jokingly’ pretending to masturbate with a dying turkey after breaking its neck.⁸³ Aside from abuse, hypocrisy and deception on behalf of the meat industry was exposed during this investigation. Plainville Farms, a large supplier of Whole Foods and Publix, and the site of PETAs investigation, writes on its website that its turkeys are “raised by dedicated family farmers” and that its flock is kept in “a stress free environment in accordance with our highest standards”.⁸⁴ This investigation revealed hypocrisy and the failure of what is meant to be meaningful welfare labeling. It resulted in the removal of Plainville farm’s GAP label, the termination of the workers involved as well as the filing of a total of 141 criminal charges against six men who participated.

Unfortunately, while this level of cruelty is appalling, it is not uncommon in factory farms. This callous oversight on behalf of the GAP is almost certainly occurring in other farms across the country and the world. Amplifying these hypocrisies and bringing light to issues consumers should be aware of is an admirable effort that can be extremely effective in saving animals and exposing the cruelty of the animal agriculture industry.

⁸² “Turkeys Kicked, Beaten, and Killed at ‘Humane’ Farms | PETA,” PETA Exposeds and Undercover Investigations, November 15, 2022, <https://investigations.peta.org/turkey-abuse-humane-farms/>.

⁸³ Jemima Webber, “New Footage Reveals ‘Horrific’ Animal Cruelty at ‘Humane’ Turkey Farms,” Plant Based News (Plant Based News, August 16, 2021), <https://plantbasednews.org/culture/ethics/footage-animal-cruelty-turkey-farm/>.

⁸⁴ Jemima Webber, “New Footage Reveals ‘Horrific’ Animal Cruelty at ‘Humane’ Turkey Farms,” Plant Based News (Plant Based News, August 16, 2021), <https://plantbasednews.org/culture/ethics/footage-animal-cruelty-turkey-farm/>.

4.5. The Role of Consumers

Public sentiments and consumer support are absolutely crucial to any company's success, and in light of high public endorsement rates of animal welfare reforms, consumer facing market campaigns may be a great way to influence corporations. These types of approaches can be extremely effective in situations where the target corporation has branded themselves as 'compassionate', 'ethical' or 'sustainable'. This is because conscious consumers are more likely to be contributing to those markets and are also more likely to expect higher welfare and care standards from these corporations. Involving these conscious consumers increases the likelihood of public engagement with the campaign and subsequently, the overall social pressure applied against the company. When considering corporate targets, it's important to also consider the benefits that may come from making the campaign public and increasing consumer awareness of the companies underlying welfare issues.

4.6. The Role of Shareholders

The value companies place on shareholders' opinions and their financial contributions can influence the success of shareholder-facing market campaigns. Shareholder-facing campaigns allow educational opportunities for advocates to inform shareholders of the cruel practices their companies endorse. One resource for advocates interested in corporate changemaking are the Securities and Exchange Committee (SEC) and equivalents that already exist in most countries.

These regulatory agencies are tasked with protecting the interests of investors and ensuring that shareholders opinions and concerns are heard and investigated. In the US, the SEC allows shareholders to submit proposals for changes in company policies and requires companies to consider them. Animal advocates can participate in the market by either becoming shareholders or influencing shareholders. Corporations place high market value on shareholder opinions and proposals, and shareholder proposals also act as indicators of consumer opinions which can heavily influence corporate changemaking. This method of making corporate change allows animal advocates to negotiate with companies that otherwise might not engage with them ensuring reformative proposals are at least considered.

4.7. Advantages of Market-Based Corporate Campaigning

Changes in animal handling standards and practices are initiated more quickly when done through the private domain which is one advantage of

market-based corporate campaigning.⁸⁵ By targeting corporations, particularly those in the public eye, activists can indirectly influence public dialogue and opinions on animal welfare issues which allows for maximum influence for minimal resource input. Companies have power, money, and reputations to uphold. The best corporate target would be one that is high-profile, competitive, wealthy, and has branded themselves as an 'ethical' or 'compassionate' company.

There is also strong reason to believe that the public would get on board with corporate lobbying for animal welfare as consumer support for the improvement of animal welfare standards is high. Notably, this is despite the increased consumer costs that result from improving welfare standards. One survey conducted in the United States found that 70% of those surveyed said they would be willing to pay more for higher welfare products and 60% were willing to pay ~\$5 more for entrees at restaurants from higher welfare sources.⁸⁶ Corporate campaigns can be relatively affordable and, if successful, can influence policies across the market domain. Finally, by targeting big corporations, opportunities are provided to smaller companies that wish to compete with these corporations. To summarize, corporate targeting can be an extremely beneficial way to;

- 1) Raise the public profile of animal welfare related issues
- 2) Allow consumers and stakeholders to get involved in debates they may not have otherwise been able to, and
- 3) Implement substantial changes in the animal farming industry.

4.8. Disadvantages of Market-Based Corporate Campaigning

One of the biggest downfalls of market-based corporate campaigns lies in companies oftentimes not following through on their welfare commitments. While many companies may *intend* to change their welfare standards, data shows that follow-through on these commitments is hit or miss. Only 27% of U.S. companies included in CIWF's EggTrack report disclosed progress towards their cage-free commitments. Additionally, Sainsbury's broke their broiler commitments, Marriott, Burger King, Smithfield Foods and Woolworths pushed back the date of their commitments and Bennet, Dussman, Au Bon Pain, Hilton Hotels & Resorts, and The Walt Disney Company never reported progress to CIWF for cage-free commitments that have already passed their due date.⁸⁷ One analysis on the success rates of

⁸⁵Owen Rogers, "Welfare Changes Are Great, but Are Consumers Buying It? - Faunalytics," Faunalytics, March 26, 2020, <https://faunalytics.org/welfare-changes-are-great-but-are-consumers-buying-it/>. & Spain, C. Victor, Daisy Freund, Heather Mohan-Gibbons, Robert G. Meadow, and Laurie Beacham. "Are they buying it? United States consumers' changing attitudes toward more humanely raised meat, eggs, and dairy." *Animals* 8, no. 8 (2018): 128.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷Saulius, "Will Companies Meet Their Animal Welfare Commitments?," *Effectivealtruism.org*, 2021, <https://forum.effectivealtruism.org/posts/XdekdWJWkkhur9gvr/will-companies-meet-their-animal-welfare-commitments>.

corporate cage-free and broiler commitments predicted the follow-through rates of welfare-commitments are ~24% for broiler welfare campaigns and ~64% on cage-free campaigns.⁸⁸

Corporate commitments can be affected by the disappearance of companies making the commitments (particularly smaller companies), management changes, and/or backsliding due to economic incentives. Because of the risk of companies making false promises and getting good publicity for doing so, if going the corporate commitment route, activists should ensure they continue to put pressure on companies to follow through with commitments. Pressure can be put on these companies through some of the naming and shaming tactics discussed previously, and backsliding can sometimes be prevented by strategically choosing corporate targets with the means to follow through on commitments and/or a public image of sustainability and welfare to uphold. Naming and shaming can be done iteratively: arguably, companies who break commitments are able to be shamed more effectively for dishonesty, as well as animal abuse.

Advocates should build into their campaign budget some room for follow-up with corporate targets as well as seek out those companies that have made commitments to ensure they are currently making efforts to follow through on them. It would also be of interest to make use of the *Commitment Tracker Database*⁸⁹ which lists corporations that have made cage-free, broiler or other welfare commitments and their status and progress towards those commitments. There is also a page on this site that lists the existing cage-free laws and policies in various US States as well as states that have deadlines to reach their welfare commitments. There are other commitment trackers available for advocates as well, including Chicken Watch⁹⁰, Egg Track⁹¹ and the Cage Free Tracker.⁹²

⁸⁸ Mendez, Samara, and Jacob Peacock. "The Impact of Corporate Social Responsibility on Animal Welfare Standards: Evidence from the Cage-free Egg Industry." Available at SSRN 4219976 (2022).

⁸⁹Welfarecommitments.com. "Commitment Tracker," 2023. <https://welfarecommitments.com/>.

⁹⁰ Chickenwatch.org. "Chicken Watch," 2018. <https://chickenwatch.org/progress-tracker/>.

⁹¹Eggtrack.com. "EggTrack," 2018. <https://www.eggtrack.com/en/>.

⁹²Cage Free Tracker. "REPORT | Cage Free Tracker," 2015. <https://www.cagefreetracker.com/report>.

4.9. Recommendations for Effective Corporate and Market Change

- Utilize shareholders and consumers in campaign design by combining consumer-facing campaigns with corporate commitment requests. Wherever possible, make sure your campaign is in the public eye.
- Target high-profile, competitive corporations with the resources and means to change their welfare standards, or companies with pre-existing commitments to ethical practices, sustainability, compassion, etc.
- Lobby for change in specific areas of public interest, such as gestation crates, broiler chickens, and culling, to ensure wider public participation and acceptance and increase the likelihood of corporations following through with commitments.
- Keep pressure on companies to follow through with commitments after making them.

GOVERNMENTAL AND LEGISLATIVE CHANGE

5. Governmental and Legislative Change

5.1. Overview

Lobbying in the legislative sector has to do with the development and revision of legislation standards for animal welfare through local/state, national, and international governmental agencies. Legislative and governmental change, if successful, may be the most noteworthy way to realize animal welfare reforms. This is because the government and courts hold ultimate authority over citizens, as well as most corporations and public institutions. In addition, legislative reform does not only help animals directly but it also shines a light on the practices that are usually well-hidden from the public eye and can play a role in influencing corporate decisions. Public opinion, although not a substitute for legislative change, is ultimately what makes the creation of laws and the observance of said laws possible.

Unfortunately, for years animals have been seen in most legal jurisdictions as ‘property’ of humans rather than subjects of a life which halted welfare reform progress and forced advocates to explore other avenues of change. In many areas of the world this is still the case and the first step towards effecting change for animals may be establishing them as sentient in the eyes of the law. This is something that was recently done in the United Kingdom thanks to the collective efforts of 45 of the most well-respected animal welfare organizations who all united in calling for this bill.⁹³ The harms done to farmed animals are generally kept ‘out of sight’ so they are ‘out of mind’ for consumers. This is partly why companion and wild animal welfare laws have been more effectively enacted than those protecting farmed animals. In this section, we will explore the multitude of ways animal advocates can enact legislation that protects farmed animals and the best ways to maximize campaign success in the legislative sector.

5.2. Avenues to Legislative Change

In regards to welfare reforms for farmed animals, there are a multitude of ways advocates can attempt to influence legislation on local, state, federal, and even international levels. Too often, however, political and legislative changes are seen as one and the same. In certain state structures politics and legislation are closely intertwined, but in others, they may be disconnected in a way that allows them to be individually targeted for separate welfare goals. Specific policy levers for animal welfare will be discussed in the next section, but a few examples of common ways

⁹³DEFRA. “Animals to Be Formally Recognised as Sentient Beings in Domestic Law,” GOV.UK, May 13, 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/animals-to-be-formally-recognised-as-sentient-beings-in-domestic-law>.

governments and legislative bodies can be lobbied to enact legislative/ governmental change include; drafting new legislation or adopting constitutional provisions, reviewing and reforming existing legislation, creating standardized welfare indicators, funding research for the development of legislation, and enacting economic and other alternative policies that can indirectly improve animal welfare.

5.3. Tools for Advocates

5.3.1. Basic Animal Welfare Principles

Over the years advocates have made improvements to animal welfare through the establishment of principles and guidelines that can be used as references for legislators or inspiration for new policy proposals. One of the most significant of these is the “Five Freedoms” which was established by the British government and has since been widely accepted as a statement of the fundamental principles of animal welfare. The five freedoms⁹⁴, which have been expanded on since their conception in 2009 are:

- 1) Freedom from hunger and thirst – by ready access to freshwater and a diet designed to maintain full health and vigor;
- 2) Freedom from discomfort – by the provision of an appropriate environment including shelter and a comfortable resting area;
- 3) Freedom from pain, injury or disease – by prevention or through rapid diagnosis and treatment;
- 4) Freedom to express normal behavior – by the provision of sufficient space, proper facilities and company of the animal's own kind; and
- 5) Freedom from fear and distress – by the assurance of conditions that avoid mental suffering.

This list serves as a useful framework for determining whether the basic needs of animals are being met on farms, during transport, during slaughter, and in food markets. Notably, they have also been used in the creation of national animal welfare legislation in New Zealand⁹⁵ and Costa Rica⁹⁶. Advocates can use existing guidelines and frameworks to determine those areas in need of welfare reforms; the five freedoms, as well as the subsequent Welfare Quality Project (WQP)⁹⁷ guidelines are useful examples of these pre-existing tools that advocates can put to use in their work.

⁹⁴Farm Animal Welfare Council. (2009) Five Freedoms. Available at www.fawc.org.uk.

⁹⁵New Zealand's Animal Welfare Act (1999); where the five freedoms were used as part of the definition for an animals physical, health, and behavioral needs. (sec.4)

⁹⁶Costa Rican Animal Welfare Act (1994); where the five freedoms are considered the “basic conditions” for animal welfare.

⁹⁷Canali, Elisabetta, and Linda Keeling. "Welfare Quality® project: from scientific research to on farm assessment of animal welfare." *Italian Journal of Animal Science* 8, no. sup2 (2009): 900-903.

It is crucial not to discount the option of expanding existing guidelines that do not include farmed animals to cover their interests. For example, existing guidelines for the treatment of companion animals⁹⁸, wild animals⁹⁹, or animals used in science¹⁰⁰ can possibly be adapted and amended to fight for the inclusion of farmed animals. This method of using previously-successful welfare proposals to sculpt new farmed-animal welfare proposals may fast track the success of welfare campaigns aimed at legislative change by using pre-accepted anti-cruelty and pro-welfare standards. Currently, there are two new ballot measure efforts in the US seeking to expand cruelty statues to cover farmed animals, one of which is currently in the process of getting sufficient support in Oregon.¹⁰¹

This specific approach of expanding existing animal protections rather than drafting new ones plays a crucial role in highlighting the double standards in place for the treatment of farmed vs. companion and kept animals. Importantly, this method challenges policymakers to justify having different standards for different animals, a feat that is hard to accomplish without being hypocritical. For example, the ballot measure currently being put forth in Oregon would criminalize the injuring, killing, forced impregnation and masturbation of mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, and fish in the state of Oregon and would require all animals under human care to be provided with adequate food, water, bedding, and shelter/space. While these protections are already indisputably awarded to companion animals, the same practices prohibited for cats and dogs are the backbone of the animal farming industry. By bringing this to the forefront of legislators and citizens' minds, they are forced to consider the logic behind many common practices and determine whether anything actually makes the forceful impregnation of dairy cows more justifiable than the forceful impregnation of female dogs or the abuse of pigs in factory farms more acceptable than the abuse of domestic cats.

The utilization of scientific evidence surrounding animal sentience and cognition can be used to advocate for the eradication of hierarchical speciesism in legislation. For example, in the UK, approved humane methods for pig slaughter would be illegal if done to a dog, but scientifically, Pigs are very much like dogs in all the ways that count: they are intelligent, social beings, with very strong bonds to

⁹⁸ Odendaal, J. S. J. "Science-based assessment of animal welfare: companion animals." *Revue Scientifique Et Technique-Office International Des Epizooties* 24, no. 2 (2005): 493.

⁹⁹ Kirkwood, James K. "Wild animal welfare." In *Report of the Whale Welfare and Ethics Workshop*, vol. 66. 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Prescott, Mark J., and Katie Lidster. "Improving quality of science through better animal welfare: the NC3Rs strategy." *Lab Animal* 46, no. 4 (2017): 152-156.

¹⁰¹ Oregon Cruelty Statues About | Yes On IP3 , Oregon: Petitions Circulating for "Animal Cruelty" Ballot Measure – Do Not Sign!, State of Oregon: Elections - 2024 Initiatives, Referendums and Referrals

others, and have been said to be ‘more intelligent’ than the average dog.¹⁰² Unfortunately, this information is not always readily available to the public, which is why advocates should use it to raise awareness of the inconsistencies of our welfare standards and practices.

5.3.2. The World Animal Protection Index

In addition to the principles and tactics outlined above, there is another useful tool that advocates can use to identify areas in need of change; the **World Animal Protection Index**¹⁰³. This website contains a database of global animal welfare legislation and policy commitments in over 50 nations. The index ranks countries according to their welfare standards and identifies areas in which countries need reform in order to move up in welfare rankings. For advocates interested in determining which issues are most ripe for reform, this website is extremely useful and easy to navigate.

5.3.3. The Universal Declaration of Animal Welfare

After being lobbied by a number of NGOs under the umbrella of the World Society for the Protection of Animals (WSPA), a declaration of universal animal welfare principles was agreed upon by 21 delegations and one regional organization in the UN.¹⁰⁴ The agreed upon principles are another useful tool for advocates and are as follows:

- The welfare of animals shall be a common objective for all states.
- The standards of animal welfare attained by each state shall be promoted, recognized and observed by improved measures nationally and internationally.
- All appropriate steps shall be taken by states to prevent cruelty to animals and to reduce their suffering
- Appropriate standards on animal welfare shall be developed and elaborated on such topics as the use and management of farm animals, companion animals, animals in scientific research, draught animals, wild animals, and animals used for recreation.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Marino, L. and Colvin C. M., (2015). Thinking pigs: A comparative review of cognition, emotion and personality in *Sus domesticus*. *International Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 28(1). & Viegas, P. (2015). IQ Tests suggests pigs are as smart as dogs, chimps. *Seeker*.

¹⁰³ [Worldanimalprotection.org Animal Protection Index](https://api.worldanimalprotection.org/). . “World Animal Protection | Animal Protection Index,” 2023.

¹⁰⁴ Vapnek, Jessica, and Megan S. Chapman. "Legislative and regulatory options for animal welfare." *FAO legislative study 104* (2010).

¹⁰⁵ Butterworth, Andy. "Animal welfare indicators and their use in society." *Welfare of production animals: assessment and management of risks. Food Safety Assurance and Veterinary Public Health Series 5* (2009): 371-389.

Those nations which agreed to recognize the universal declaration of animal welfare are called upon to support animal welfare reforms and acknowledge the importance of animal welfare on national and international levels. Pressuring these governments to follow through on this agreement may be an effective way to enact legislative changes. Pointing out inconsistencies between the nations practices and this agreement's standards, is also a useful way to pressure legislators for change.

5.3.4. Stepping Stones for Animal Welfare and Policy

In a book written by Webster in 2008¹⁰⁶ a clear series of steps for animal welfare advocates to maximize change is proposed. Each of the steps are targets that can be adapted to fit the context of the current state of the animal welfare movement. Advocates can use these steps to choose new campaign targets, gauge campaign impact, and create plans for long-term change. Webster's stepping stones towards animal welfare are as follows;

- 1) A clear definition of animal welfare and a systemic approach to its evaluation.
- 2) A sound ethical framework that affords proper respect for the value of animals within the broader context of our duties as citizens to the welfare of society and the living environment.
- 3) Comprehensive and robust protocols for assessing animal welfare and the provisions that constitute good husbandry.
- 4) An honest policy of education that can convert human desire for improved welfare standards into human demand for them.
- 5) Realistic practical step-by-step strategies for improving animal welfare within the context of other equally valid aspirations of society

5.4. Political and Legal Opportunity Structures

Paying close attention to the political opportunity structure¹⁰⁷ of your target legislative body is crucial for successful changemaking. Opportunity structures gauge the openness/closedness of governments to be influenced by social movements. This concept is linked to a political/sociological position that asserts that "the success or failure of social movements is affected primarily by prevalence or lack of political opportunity".¹⁰⁸ In other words, an answer to why social movements do not develop and act in the same way in every country is because the

¹⁰⁶ Webster, John. *Animal Welfare: limping towards eden: A practical approach to redressing the problem of our dominion over the animals.* John Wiley & Sons, 2008.

¹⁰⁷ (POS; Flam, 1994; Kitschelt, 1986; van der Heijden, 1997); Princen, Sebastiaan, and Bart Kerremans. "Opportunity structures in the EU multi-level system." *West European Politics* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1129-1146.

¹⁰⁸ DBpedia. "Political Opportunity," 2022. https://dbpedia.org/page/Political_opportunity.

political conditions in their respective countries determine the success of these movements.

In general to gauge political opportunity one must look at “the set of characteristics of a given institution that determines the relative ability of outside groups to influence decision-making within that institution”.¹⁰⁹ The characteristics that help us do this, however, are somewhat subjective and there are multiple theories on what constitutes an ‘open’ or ‘closed’ political opportunity structure. For example, one prominent writer within the PO movement, Kitschelt, distinguishes between two dimensions of the political opportunity structure: 1) the openness of the government to challenges from outsiders (NGOs, other nations, charities, citizens) and 2) the capacity of the government to deliver the policy changes asked for by these groups.¹¹⁰ Others have more complex accounts of what influences political opportunity and may also choose to consider things like power relations within party systems, other important political events, or public discontent with leadership.¹¹¹

While Kitschelt stresses the governmental differences between different nations, another political opportunity thinker, Tarrow¹¹², emphasizes the importance of paying attention to temporary changes that give social movements the opportunity to act. One of the most cited versions of political opportunity structure typology came from Kriesi¹¹³ and it focuses on the relationships between formal state institutions and informal political strategies of elites. Advocates can adapt these opportunity indicators to match their campaign needs or refer to different typologies within the literature. It may be beneficial for advocacy organizations that work internationally to develop a uniform way to detect the political opportunity indicators for animal welfare and meat reduction campaigns specifically. No matter which theory you choose to follow, acknowledging the political opportunity structure of a governing body before launching campaigns can reduce the unnecessary use of resources and help to strategically time efforts in accordance with public support and other factors that influence their opportunity to make change.

¹⁰⁹Sebastiaan Princen & Bart Kerremans (2008) Opportunity Structures in the EU Multi-Level System, *West European Politics*, 31:6, 1129-1146, DOI: 10.1080/01402380802370484

¹¹⁰ Kitschelt, Herbert P. "Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti-nuclear movements in four democracies." *British journal of political science* 16, no. 1 (1986): 57-85.

¹¹¹ Bloom, Jack M. "Political opportunity structure, contentious social movements, and state-based organizations: The fight against solidarity inside the Polish United Workers Party." *Social Science History* 38, no. 3-4 (2014): 359-388.

¹¹² Tarrow, Sidney. "Social movements in Europe: movement society or Europeanization of conflict?." (1994).

¹¹³ Kriesi, Hanspeter. "Political context and opportunity." *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (2004): 67-90.

The Legal Opportunity Structure of a given legislative body is similar in scope but differs in the targeted institutions. It is important to take into account the political and legal opportunity structures separately as it can be the case that legislation is subject to change where political structures are not and vice-versa. In a nation where political opportunity is low, advocates may wish to try lobbying markets or local legislators for change rather than national governments.

	Low influenceability	High influenceability
High capacity to govern	Not very influenceable, able to enforce policies	Highly influenceable, able to enforce policies
Low capacity to govern	Not very influenceable, not able to enforce policies	Highly influenceable, not able to enforce policies

Importantly, the presence (or lack) of political and legal opportunity is dependent on many dynamic factors related to the structure of the state. The **governance capacity** of the given government body over the market is important to consider when gauging legislative opportunities. Governance capacity is best described as “the formal and factual capability of public and private actors to define the content of public goods and to shape the social economic and political processes by which these goods are provided”.¹¹⁴ In determining domestic governance capacity levels it is important to take into account the overarching democratic structure of the government, as well as the degree to which corporations and institutions can choose to self-govern.

¹¹⁴ Knill, Christoph, and Dirk Lehmkuhl. "Conceptualizing the Role of Public and Private Actors." *Common Goods. Reinventing European and International Governance* (2002): 85-104.

The concept of governance capacity challenges the idea that the government and the market are not intertwined by pointing out the power dynamics between governments and corporations and considering the impacts they may have on attempts at policy reform. For example, in countries like the United States, there are certain corporations that lie outside the jurisdiction of the federal government or have special exceptions made due to their company status or contrasting state and national legislation.¹¹⁵ These nations may not be best suited for nationwide changemaking through political channels, and therefore it may be better to target local governments or corporations for change rather than federal governments. On the other hand, there are some countries in Europe with more stringent lobbying rules that make it difficult for corporations to access excessive power. These places may create a better context for changemaking through political channels.

Additionally, on international levels there may be pre-existing trade laws that bind certain countries to standard production practices. It is of utmost importance to consider looking into these things prior to launching campaigns, as it is very possible that resources and time may be wasted on campaigns that may be unable to overcome legislative obstacles without reforming the pre-existing policies that are halting progress. One tool to help animal advocates determine political opportunity and more effectively allocate resources is the [Farmed Animal Opportunity Index](#), created by Mercy for Animals which ranks 60 countries on their potential for effective interventions using 19 relevant socio-economic indicators.¹¹⁶

5.5. Case Study: International Legislative Change; The EU and the WTO

The World Trade Organization is an international trade system put in place to create and enforce market access rules that can eradicate trade barriers between nation-states. The cornerstone of this organization is non-discrimination in international trade standards. Unfortunately, this can create barriers for the implementation of animal welfare legislation. This is because without restricting imports from other countries based on welfare standards national changes can unfairly disadvantage domestic producers without reducing animal suffering overall. Increased commitments to free trade have historically damaged the capacity for nations to adopt legislation that may help improve global animal welfare.

¹¹⁵Monks, Robert, and Robert Monks. "The Corporate Capture of the United States." The Harvard Law School Forum on Corporate Governance. The Harvard Law School Forum on Corporate Governance, January 5, 2012. <https://corpgov.law.harvard.edu/2012/01/05/the-corporate-capture-of-the-united-states/>.

¹¹⁶Mercy For Animals Data. "FAOI - Mercy for Animals Data," January 22, 2021. <https://data.mercyforanimals.org/>.

For example, in the early 2000s, trade guidelines proved to be a problem for the EU, which has more stringent regulations on animal welfare than other WTO member nations and therefore higher domestic production costs than some of its trading partners. In response to this discrepancy, the EU expressed concerns about the negative trade effects that could arise if greater international efforts were not made to improve international welfare standards. The EU suggested a number of solutions including establishing a multilateral agreement on animal welfare standards, creating a welfare-labeling system for imported foods, and enacting a compensation scheme that could enable producers to meet welfare standards by subsidizing additional costs.

Unfortunately, despite these suggestions and efforts, the EU's welfare concerns did not receive favorable responses from other WTO member states who cited concerns about being pushed out of the market. In some nations, trade commitments and restrictions remain a stark barrier for welfare standards in international trade. It is important that advocates keep these possible trade restrictions in mind when proposing new legislative changes because enacting domestic legislation on animal welfare without import restrictions could damage domestic production rates and costs.

5.6. Case Study: Successful International Legislative Change EU Seal Ban

While the WTO had a history of not encouraging or allowing trade restrictions on imports on the basis of animal welfare related issues, there are now ways they can be convinced to act upon nation requests for trade restrictions. One of the groundbreaking instances in which the WTO ruled that animal welfare was a legitimate reason to restrict trade was in the EC-Seal Products case. The case began when the EU decided to ban sales and imports of all seal products, citing cruelty concerns. Two of the nations most affected by this ban (Canada and Norway) then challenged this ban as an illegal restriction on international trade. In 2013, the WTO body ruled on the case and confirmed that “concerns about animal welfare can be a legitimate reason to restrict trade under the ‘public morals’ safe harbor in WTO law”.¹¹⁷ This was a huge win for the animal welfare movement and the public morals law now states that trade-restricting measures can be exempted from WTO rules including measures “necessary to protect human, animal, or plant health”.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷“The WTO Says Animal Welfare Is a ‘Globally Recognized Issue.’ How Does That Change International Protection for Animals?,” ElgarBlog from Edward Elgar Publishing, June 29, 2021.

¹¹⁸“WTO | Understanding the Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures Agreement,” Wto.org, 2022, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/sps_e/spsund_e.htm.

Advocates should use this amendment to WTO law as a way to encourage the implementation of nationwide welfare measures that also apply to imported products. With enough trade restrictions put into place, countries may soon decide to adopt welfare standards in order to participate in the international market, this is why it is hugely important to rally legislators for trade restrictions on countries with low-welfare standards. That being said, it is important to keep in mind that there are exceptions that allow for the preferential treatment of developing countries in order to make trade more equitable, so, wherever possible, countries and advocates should focus trade restriction campaigns on more developed nations that can afford to implement welfare changes or redirect their low-welfare exports.

5.7. Cultural Knowledge, Sensitivity, and Considerations in International Animal-Welfare Reform Efforts

One lesser discussed but increasingly important issue surrounding international animal welfare reform efforts is the attention paid to cultural practices and differences in animal farming practices and views on the value of animals. Advocates who wish to make international change must be cognizant of a few things. Firstly, the concept of animal welfare does not always translate properly across borders and languages. For example, the word for ‘animal’ in Chinese (动物) directly translates to ‘moving object’ when broken down into the two words the term is comprised of; 动 (move) and 物 (object). These language barriers, to no fault of native speakers, can make communicating across borders difficult and tedious. Conceptually, the idea of ‘animal welfare’ can also be difficult to properly explain in the face of language and cultural barriers.¹¹⁹ Close attention should be paid to these language and cultural barriers as they can greatly affect the success of certain campaigns, understanding the audience you are addressing is immensely important.

Secondly, attitudes and views towards animals and politics in general can also affect campaign effectiveness. In lower-income countries with more human rights issues for example, a campaign framed as aiming to ‘improve the rights of animals’ may not be as well-received as one that is framed as aiming to ‘increase the love and care of animals’,¹²⁰ although they can both have the exact same aims and outputs. This is one example of how paying attention to smaller details and cultural/national differences in perspective is essential to success. Attacking the cultural identity of a nation or unnecessarily interfering in the affairs of other countries when there is important work to be done domestically through campaigns

¹¹⁹ Sinclair Michelle and Phillips Clive. Key Tenets of Operational Success in Animal Welfare Initiatives. (2018). Center for Animal Welfare and Ethics, Queensland. Pg. 8.

¹²⁰ The IFAW was concerned with this issue due to its international scope and changed its name from the ‘international animal welfare fund’ to the ‘international fund for the love and care of animals’ which was the inspiration for this example.

is also a concern and can be the cause of failed international welfare initiatives. Advocates should avoid attacking cultural practices without first understanding the practice and being sympathetic about how their counter-points are presented. Additionally, we should encourage campaign efforts to be led from inside the country rather than launching campaigns in overseas communities, as this increased cultural familiarity and ability to communicate will increase the chance of success and avoid the perception of animal organizations as imperialistic. That said, this does not mean that animal organizations should restrict all of their efforts to domestic issues: it is not inherently immoral to try to improve animal welfare overseas, it just needs to be done strategically and with care.

5.8. Case Studies: Successful National Legislative Change

On a national level, it can be a bit easier to enact legislation that improves farmed animal welfare standards than doing so internationally. However, advocates taking this route may still face some trade barriers depending on the structure of the nation state. For example, in the United States, individual states are generally enabled to make their own laws for their citizens that may not align with those of other states. In November of 2008, California passed Proposition 2, which enabled the first statewide standards of livestock care in US history. This Proposition required the prohibition of confining three ‘covered animals’¹²¹ “for all or the majority of the day”.¹²² Specifically, the bill required that animals not be prevented from laying down, standing up, fully extending their limbs, and turning around freely.¹²³ Those who did not follow these rules could be criminally punished for non-compliance.¹²⁴ The bill passed with a majority vote, which was a big win for animals across the state. Unfortunately however, the results of Proposition 2’s implementation on interstate commerce were not cut and dry.

Soon after the bill was passed, California realized they needed to amend the bill to extend the cage-free welfare standards to not only egg producers in California, but also those outside the state who import their products to be sold there. After this extension, the Missouri Attorney General, alongside 5 other states with welfare standards that did not meet California standards, filed a complaint against the bill’s amendment on the basis that it unfairly burdened interstate commerce. Despite efforts, these states failed to prove that California’s new welfare

¹²¹ Pigs during pregnancy, veal calves and egg-laying hens

¹²²“California Proposition 2, Farm Animal Confinement Initiative (2008),” Ballotpedia, 2021, [https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_2,_Farm_Animal_Confinement_Initiative_\(2008\)](https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_2,_Farm_Animal_Confinement_Initiative_(2008)).

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴Thapar, Neil. "Taking (Live) Stock of Animal Welfare in Agriculture: Comparing Two Ballot Initiatives." *Hastings Women's LJ* 22 (2011): 317.

standards negatively impacted states and residents and the appeal was dismissed by the California courts. Soon thereafter, Missouri attempted to appeal the case to the Supreme Court, who declined to hear the case.

Proposition 2 ended up being a huge win for animals within and outside California’s jurisdiction. The bill put the issues of gestation crates, broiler chickens, and other welfare concerns in the public eye. It also provided a template for other states to follow. In fact, since the bill passed, many other states have followed suit and improved their welfare standards, causing a ripple effect on the wider production network within the United States.¹²⁵ Post the successful approval of Proposition 2, California voters passed another welfare proposition in 2018 (Proposition 12).¹²⁶ This proposition was meant to fill the gaps left in proposition 2, particularly, proposition 12 aimed to provide strict guidance as to the minimum space requirements for cows, pigs, and chickens in confinement. Those requirements are as follows;

Animal Type	Previous Minimum Requirements	Proposition 12 requirements
Egg Laying Hens	67 sq inches/hen (about the size of an A4 sheet of paper)/ 4 hens - in other words, not enough space to turn around.	1.0-1.5 sq feet/hen of usable floor space (144–216 sq inches)
Pregnant Sows	About 7 feet by 2 feet/pig (14 sq feet) (not enough space to turn around)	24 sq feet/pig
Veal Calves	typically 2.6 by 5.9 feet (15.3 sq feet) (not enough space to turn around)	43 sq feet of usable floor space/calf

¹²⁷

This law would also require businesses to not sell certain products from animals (veal, pork, and eggs) that were not raised according to the new space

¹²⁵ Carter, C.A., Schaefer, K.A., & Scheitrum, D. (2020). Piecemeal Farm Regulation and the U.S. Commerce Clause. *Amer. J. Agr. Econ.* <https://doi:10.1111/ajae.12104>

¹²⁶We Animals Media. “US Pig Industry Fights to Keep Gestation Crates.” We Animals Media, October 7, 2022. <https://weanimalsmedia.org/2022/10/07/us-pig-industry-fights-to-keep-gestation-crates/>.

¹²⁷Ballotpedia. “California Proposition 12, Farm Animal Confinement Initiative (2018),” 2018. [https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_12,_Farm_Animal_Confinement_Initiative_\(2018\)](https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_12,_Farm_Animal_Confinement_Initiative_(2018)). & Kim, Hemi. “What Is Prop 12 and What Are the California Prop 12 Regulations?” Sentient Media, June 8, 2022.

<https://sentientmedia.org/what-is-prop-12/>.

minimums. Proposition 12 passed with a majority vote from the public in 2018 and was set to be implemented this year (2022), but was halted as the regulations for pork production have not yet been finalized. Unfortunately, the enforcement of this bill has not come without criticism. There have been several challenges to Prop 12 on behalf of meat processors and retail stores making claims about Prop 12 violating commerce clauses, many of which are set to be heard by the Supreme Court in the coming year.

5.9. Lobbying Different Levels of Government

While the case study examples provided in this section focus mainly on national changes, it is important not to neglect the value of starting political campaigns locally. Local laws and resolutions can often lead to meaningful statewide laws and can be used as examples for other governmental agencies. Research from Faunalytics¹²⁸ found that, at least across the US, when multiple municipalities adopt similar local laws, the chances of passing related state legislation increases. Although not directly related to farmed animals, one example of this occurred when over 400 municipalities passed ordinances banning puppy mill sales which eventually led to five states passing statewide bans on puppy mills within the past 6 years.¹²⁹

Of course, when directing efforts locally, advocates must be cognizant of the barriers caused by preemptions. Preemption happens when a higher level government does not allow lower level governments to make laws on a certain subject matter. It can also be used to prevent governments from passing laws that are different from or stricter than their overarching state laws. Making sure there are no preventative measures in place that may hinder progress towards local changemaking is crucial to targeting lower-level governments. As is building relationships with local and state legislators to better understand the change opportunities available within various government structures.

5.10. Common Barriers to Legislative Change

As we have explored, enacting legislative change, although extremely influential, can be a long and difficult process. Some of the main disadvantages to

¹²⁸Precious Hose, "Local Action for Animals as a Stepping Stone to State Protections - Faunalytics," Faunalytics, November 16, 2022, <https://faunalytics.org/local-action-as-stepping-stone/>.

¹²⁹Charlotte Pointing, "New York Lawmakers Pass Bill to Ban Puppy Mills," Plant Based News (Plant Based News, June 8, 2022), <https://plantbasednews.org/culture/law/new-york-lawmakers-bill-ban-puppy-mills/>. & Blog Editor, "Big Win! 400 Communities across the U.S. Now Stand up against Puppy Mills," A Humane World, November 2, 2021, <https://blog.humanesociety.org/2021/11/hsus-passes-400-pet-store-ordinances-campaign-against-puppy-mills.html>.

going a legislative route include; global and national economic and trade barriers, and low government capacity for market control. That said, a lack of scientific evidence needed to back legislative change can also cause problems for advocates. A campaign conducted by Compassion in World Farming in effort to ban the use of sow stalls (so narrow that the pregnant sow cannot turn around) faced these problems directly. In this case, CIWF was tasked with supplying scientific proof that *a sow may wish to have the space to turn around* while the pig sector was never required to prove that confining sows in such small spaces is acceptable.

Of course, there is reason for policy and legislation to be based on scientific research, but when basic welfare standards for living creatures are being determined, oftentimes things like ‘desire to live’ or ‘desire to have space’ are not easily scientifically measured. Additionally, funding for animal behavior research is not always readily available hence why only “the smallest fraction of animals have been investigated for cognitive abilities”.¹³⁰ Requiring scientific evidence of a desire not to be put in uncomfortable and harmful conditions is unreasonable, especially when such evidence is not easily attainable through scientific methods that often rely on human standards of worth. In any case, desires to avoid harm and discomfort are almost tautologically present.

Advocates must strongly consider these modifiers when planning campaigns. Identifying areas ripe for change and incrementally changing specific welfare standards individually may be a good approach to changemaking in the government sector. Additionally, rallying public support for welfare changes (or using existing public support to your advantage), may be a great way to increase the rate of policy changes. California Proposition 2 was proposed in response to public concerns surrounding animal cruelty footage that had leaked from a factory farm. Increasing public awareness of the issues going on behind the scenes in factory farms may be the first step to influential campaigns that lead to effective legislative change.

5.11. New Political Opportunities and Directions

In some areas, the political and legal fields are ripe for change, and utilizing new approaches and opportunities for changemaking is a promising way to increase the effectiveness of advocacy techniques.

Science is a crucial part of policy change as it provides evidence for welfare measures. One underexplored method of improving the likelihood of policy change

¹³⁰Rogers, Lesley, and Gisela Kaplan. "All animals are not equal: the interface between scientific knowledge and legislation for animal rights." In *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Direction*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

is the development and application of scientific animal based measures (ABMs) which are necessary for most animal welfare legislation. One project aimed to make information on ABMs available via the animal welfare hub¹³¹. Unfortunately, however, this tool seems to have disappeared from public access. Nonetheless, new scientific developments in animal sentience and behavior can drive policy change and provide necessary tools for policy implementation. Animal activists should not shy away from partnering with scientists and animal behavior researchers to gather intel that will aid in policy development.

Utilizing the current political climate which is increasingly becoming concerned with environmentalism and sustainability may also be a valuable approach to gaining political support for welfare improvements. With growing public worry about the state of our environment and the rapid warming of our planet, framing animal welfare as the pro-environmental goal it is may get politicians and consumers on board that may otherwise not engage in animal welfare debates.

This can often most effectively be done not only through welfare commitment methods but rather through food system and diet changes. Eating and producing more plant based food (and less animal-derived food) is inherently better for environmental sustainability and reduction of greenhouse gasses. As it currently stands, all of the worlds cows contribute more to greenhouse gas emissions than all of the worlds cars,¹³² and land use, water use, and deforestation in the animal farming industry is a serious sustainability concern. That being said, plenty of countries around the world have commitments to sustainable development and net zero carbon emissions. Utilizing these commitments and goals to further welfare changes in the name of sustainability may be a promising way to get governments on board with policy changes when they may not be motivated by animal welfare concerns per se.

Notably, one common but misguided response to mitigating the environmental issues caused by dairy and cattle farming specifically is to simply eat more white (chicken) meat. While it's true that beef is responsible for more greenhouse gas emissions than any other animal product, CO₂ is not the only environmental problem we should be concerned with. Chicken farming produces large amounts of toxic waste that can deplete oxygen in the water and harm aquatic animals miles away from the production site.¹³³ The poultry industry also uses most

¹³¹“CORDIS | European Commission,” Europa.eu, 2022, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/266213/reporting>.

¹³² Steinfeld, Henning, Pierre Gerber, Tom D. Wassenaar, Vincent Castel, Mauricio Rosales, Mauricio Rosales, and Cees de Haan. Livestock's long shadow: environmental issues and options. Food & Agriculture Org., 2006.

¹³³Leah Garces, “Replacing Beef with Chicken Isn't as Good for the Planet as You Think,” Vox (Vox, December 4, 2019), <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/12/4/20993654/chicken-beef-climate-environment-factory-farms>.

of the world's feed crops and arable land that could be more efficiently used to feed humans which also results in lots of unnecessary water usage.¹³⁴ Finally, the industry must slaughter 200 chickens to get the same amount of meat one cow would provide, which results in far more suffering. Swapping beef for chicken “is akin to swapping a Hummer with a Ford F-150” when there's a Prius available.¹³⁵

Finally, rallying governments to fund meat alternative technological development and welfare-related research is another avenue to change. With emerging technologies that can create cultivated meat from animal cells, the need for animal-derived meat products could be eradicated with proper efforts. Importantly, a shift in protein sources requires governmental support, infrastructure development, and funding. Promoting these technologies and using opportunities to request governmental support is one way to further animal welfare standards indirectly and make consumers and governments aware of the solutions available to them.

5.12. Recommendations for Successful Legislative and Governmental Changemaking

- Pay close attention to political and legal opportunity structures and take into account barriers that may be caused by free trade laws.
- Utilize public support for animal welfare improvements as fuel for legislative change.
- Explore new avenues of changemaking that include acquiring knowledge and technology to aid in policy development.
- Narrow the scope of campaigns to increase the chances of success. Multiple small changes are easier to implement than one big one, as there is less that can be done to undermine efforts when the scope is narrow.
- Consider lobbying courts or politicians individually. Depending on the situation, legislative and policy changes are not always one and the same.
- Tailor approaches to your audience and consider using existing welfare standards and databases to build cases and draft policy proposals. Remember that efficacy matters more than stated motivation, as long as the same goals are being met.

¹³⁴“How Much of the World’s Land Would We Need in Order to Feed the Global Population with the Average Diet of a given Country?,” Our World in Data, 2017, <https://ourworldindata.org/agricultural-land-by-global-diets>.

¹³⁵Kelsey Piper, “A No-Beef Diet Is Great, but Don’t Replace It with Chicken,” Vox (Vox, May 22, 2021), <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/22430749/beef-chicken-climate-diet-vegetarian>.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

6. Conclusions

This report has hopefully evidenced the importance of using strategic and effective methods of animal advocacy in campaigns targeting institutions. By presenting various techniques and approaches within the target groups: corporate changemaking, community-based advocacy, and legislative changemaking, this report has provided evidence-based guidelines for maximizing the impact of farmed animal welfare and meat-reduction campaigns. The graphics on the following pages summarize the do's and don'ts of lobbying the three main institutional targets for change in a digestible and shareable way. Through close examination of the case studies and examples explored in this report, it is our hope that animal advocates will be better equipped tailoring their target audiences and lobbying approaches specifically to their unique campaign goals. We hope the recommendations we have made will ultimately lead to more effective attempts at making behavioral and systemic change in both the public and private sectors. It is our hope that this report will serve as a useful resource for animal advocates in their efforts to promote the welfare of farmed animals and reduce meat consumption worldwide.

COMMUNITY-FOCUSED CHANGEMAKING

DO'S

- DO** target communities that are receptive to change or provide educational opportunities to increase receptivity before launching campaigns.
- DO** start small by promoting simple and cost-effective changes, such as nudges, in local businesses and public institutions.
- DO** be mindful of how plant-based diets and products are introduced and framed to the public.
- DO** understand the perception of plant-based eating and related issues within the target community to effectively communicate the message and goals.
- DO** highlight the sustainability, nutrition, and financial benefits of campaigns when proposing changes to public administrators to emphasize the mutual benefit.
- DO** consider targeting underrepresented institutions such as hospitals or prisons for dietary change initiatives.
- DO** focus on institutions with existing carbon neutral goals and propose ways to collaborate and achieve them.
- DO** make community change a collective effort by involving multiple institutions or organizations in the campaign.

DONT'S

- DON'T** underestimate the impact of combining accessibility and awareness campaigns when implementing institutional change.
- DON'T** make demands without providing reasons and benefits of the proposed change.
- DON'T** skip the research and planning stage by understanding the motivations and barriers of the target community before designing the campaign.
- DON'T** neglect institutions such as penitentiaries and hospitals for dietary change and accessibility initiatives.
- DON'T** attempt to change everything at once, gradual changes are more likely to be accepted by the public.
- DON'T** make it difficult for institutions and individuals to get involved. Expand the change-making opportunities and making the changes accessible to all.
- DON'T** forget about the individuals within institutions, gather their support and use it as a catalyst for change within the institution.

CORPORATE CHANGEMAKING

DO'S

DO Target companies with strong commitments to "compassion," "sustainability," and/or "ethical practices" in order to focus on their reputation and consistency.

DO Hold companies accountable for following through with their welfare commitments and build time and resources to do so into corporate commitment campaign plans.

DO Use public-facing naming and shaming campaigns to engage consumers in the fight for animal welfare.

DO Use strategic framing to appeal to corporate administrators. For example, emphasize the sustainability and economic benefits of participation and commitments.

DO Appeal to shareholders and utilize shareholder proposals to change corporate policies.
Lobby for change and welfare commitments in specific areas of public interest.

DO Narrow the scope of campaigns to increase the likelihood of corporate follow through and public support.

DO Publicly target high-profile companies for commitments and changes in order to maximize the chances of causing a ripple effect and inciting positive changes among competitors.

DONT'S

DON'T waste time and money on corporate commitment campaigns targeting companies that are small enough to be overtaken by cheaper prices and welfare standards from larger competitors.

DON'T forget to think about the public when campaigning. Consumers are just as important for corporate/market change-making as the corporations themselves.

DON'T forget to follow through on companies' commitments or hesitate to call out companies that fail to make progress towards their goals.

DON'T ignore the importance of existing market inequalities as leverage for wider visibility and public engagement.

DON'T back off after promises or agreements are made, and don't take the first "no" for an answer.

DON'T forget the numbers. For example, chickens are killed in extremely high numbers and therefore resources put towards effective broiler or cage-free campaigns may have more impact on animal lives.

LEGISLATIVE CHANGEMAKING

DO'S

DO look for "open" legal and political opportunity structures, such as governments with high market-governance capabilities and/or those who are especially vulnerable to outside/public influence.

DO consider any barriers that may be caused by free trade restrictions or intergovernmental organization requirements before beginning international campaigns.

DO utilize existing public support for animal welfare improvements (or other related initiatives) as fuel for fostering legislative change through public pressure.

DO Explore new avenues of acquiring funding to promote the acquisition of necessary knowledge and enable related technological development goals - or better yet, lobby governments to fund this important through R&D Funds.

DO Narrow the scope of campaigns to increase chances of policy change. Multiple small changes are easier to implement and gain support for overtime than one big overhaul.

DO Tailor approaches and focus points to your audience. Some policymakers are more open to hearing about environmental or health and diet focused campaigns than welfare campaigns and vice-versa.

DO Use existing welfare standards and databases to build cases and draft policy proposals more efficiently and effectively.

DONT'S

DON'T attack cultural practices without first making effort to understand their history and frame your message accordingly.

DON'T overlook cultural and national differences when formulating country-specific campaigns; be careful of terms that may get lost in translation.

DON'T forget about the public! Positive public support is not sufficient for legislative change, but it is often necessary.

DON'T ignore the benefits that scientific research and evidence can provide to a policy draft. Partner with universities and researchers to maximize your chances of legislative change-making.

DON'T try to fix everything at once! When it comes to legislative change, sometimes a narrow scope will foster the most public support.

DON'T neglect the legal system. When policy changes cannot be made, oftentimes cases can still be brought against certain legislations to make change.

DON'T waste resources on governments without the means to implement requested changes. Focus on governmental bodies that can afford to implement welfare changes and re-evaluate their low-welfare imports.

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