

X. Campaigning for Social Change

The animal protection movement is in dire need of a strong and forceful movement for social change. Campaigning is the engine for social change. Yet the animal protection movement often appears divided in its definition of campaigning and its approach to campaigns. Really effective international campaigns in the field have been 'few and far between', although new communications technology is set to revolutionise campaigning (and is already doing so in other NGO sectors). This chapter seeks to define and explain campaigning and to examine the key success factors for campaigns.

Definition

Campaigning is: -

'A series of co-ordinated activities, such as public speaking and demonstrating, designed to achieve a social, political or commercial goal.'

Collins English Dictionary

An animal protection campaign should not be confused with a supporter or donor acquisition campaigns (although these may be useful 'spin-offs'). The ultimate aim is to achieve a change in the status/rights and/or welfare of animals (either through legislation and/or a change in public awareness and actions. For any realistic chance of success, it is vital that a campaign is 'mission driven'.

What Type of Campaign?

There are two major categories of campaign: -

- Consumer
- Political

Consumer awareness campaigning is generally considered to be targeting the consumer i.e. to be consumption-based (e.g. in favour of a change from purchasing battery to free-range eggs). This could be considered as the 'free-market' approach to improving animal protection standards (i.e. making the market dictate the change). However, in some cases, consumers are used as means of reaching the final target, which may be a food producer or supplier, a local circus or zoo, or even a politician. The final target needs to be clear, as does the role for which the consumer/voter is being used.

A political campaign seeks to change the law and/or to ensure that existing laws are effectively enforced (see chapter on 'the Animal Protection Lobby'). This is the 'regulatory approach' to improving animal protection standards. For political campaigning, lobbying has to be an integral part of the campaigns strategy. Lobbying, of course, also involves the collaboration of public/voters.

Movement for Social Change?

The animal protection movement is in dire need of a strong and forceful movement for social change. Campaigning is the engine for social change. Education is vital but longer-term, and service provision is not tackling problems at their root cause, but akin to applying ‘sticking plaster’ to a wound. The animal protection policy environment is becoming increasingly ready for fundamental change, but this will not be achieved or sustained without a groundswell of pressure and support for reform. International organisations, governments and civil service departments are, by their very nature, cautious and favour maintenance of the status quo. The same could be said of consumers! All need strong reasons to act, which the movement has to provide – loud and strong!

A number of factors have hampered the effectiveness of the movement in providing the overdue strong and urgent movement for reform. These include: -

- Lack of clear strategy.
- Lack of focus and prioritisation (dissipation through too many issues being tackled).
- Lack of long-term, sustained campaigns.
- Failure to develop feasible alternatives to current paradigms and orthodoxies.
- Lack of professionalism and efficiency in many organisations.
- Lack of ‘fire in the belly’ from many of the movement’s leaders.
- Lack of collaboration and cohesion within the movement.
- Lack of collaboration and support from other social justice movements.
- Lack of funding (especially Trusts and Grants, favouring service delivery work).

These factors need to be redressed with urgency, if the movement is to succeed.

Service provision work often detracts from the movement’s time, capacity and political will to campaign forcefully for social change. If the world’s animal shelters had spent as much time and effort campaigning to change the plight of animals as they do picking up the sad end results that demonstrate so painfully the need for change, we would have seen a powerful (and probably successful) revolution! Of course, this is simplistic, as many animal shelters are better suited to service provision work, but the need for urgency and power is still relevant. Certainly every service provision animal protection society should also campaign to change the horrendous situation for animals they face daily. If they do not do so, they are simply supporting an unjust system – taking responsibility and thus perpetuating the situation.

We shall draw from the heart of suffering itself the means of inspiration and survival.

Sir Winston Churchill

Engaging and Changing

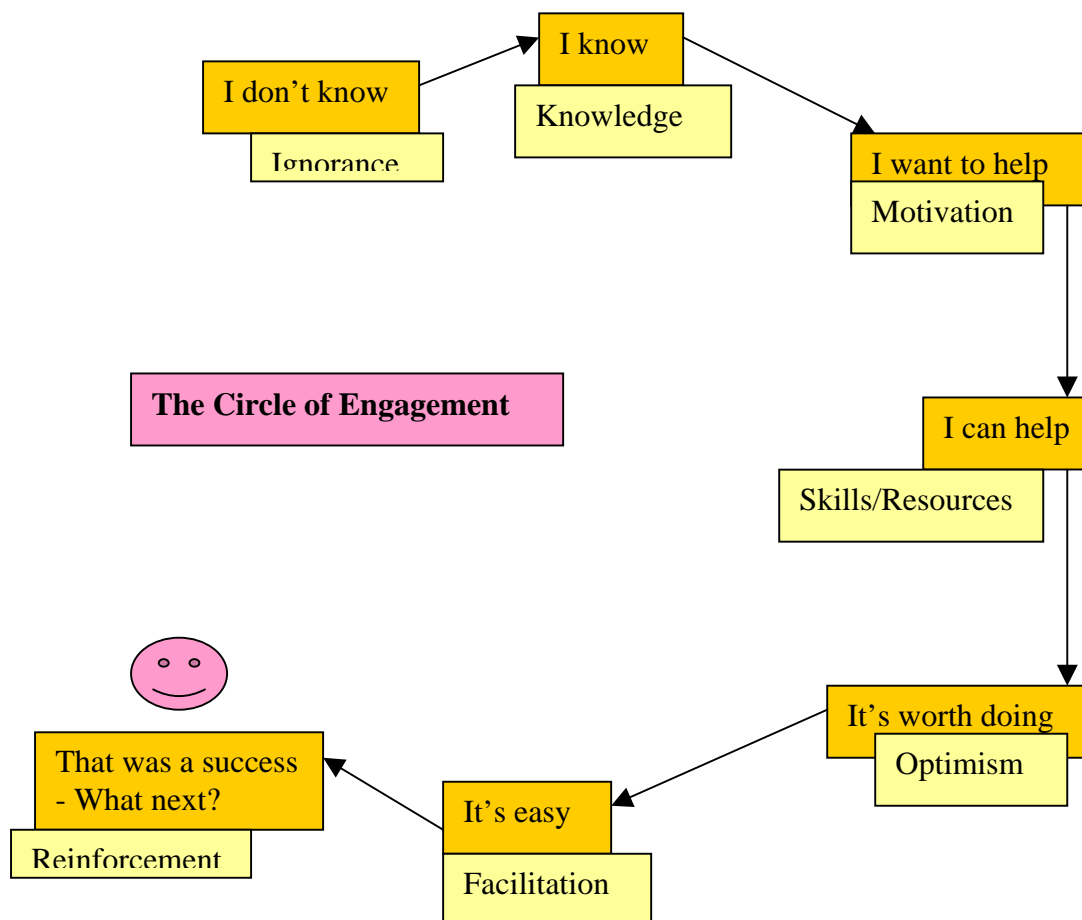
Awareness is not enough. Although some people are totally unaware of animal protection problems, most people do know. But they do not want to be confronted or

to change. In fact, there is research that shows that the general population have levels of environmental concern and knowledge that are way above that of regulators and politicians. So it appears that there is already plenty of appropriate 'awareness'. But the movement is still lacking the movement towards personal and political change that it needs. Why is this?

In fact, experience shows that for a campaign or educational strategy to really make an impact on people's lives, much more is needed than simple media and communication techniques. You have to take people beyond 'awareness', to create a sense of urgency and need for change, and to help them to visualise a new future and to feel empowered to play a part in the movement for change. In short, you need to engage them.

The seven-stage model for engagement is -

- Ignorance
- Knowledge
- Motivation
- Skills/Resources
- Optimism
- Facilitation
- Reinforcement



➤ **1. Ignorance**

Lack of awareness of the problem is the starting point for all. In fact, many pass this stage in the early stages of their lives.

➤ **2. Knowledge/Awareness**

Make people aware of the problem and the solution. People will simply switch off if they are made aware of a problem with no simple, understandable solution presented (they cannot face the awfulness or their own impotence).

➤ **3. Motivation/Stimulation**

Next, people need to be motivated or stimulated to act. People's natural inertia needs to be rattled. This means they need an emotional reaction to the knowledge, and a personal desire to help. Marketing agencies understand this well - they stimulate raw emotions like lust, fear, envy and greed in order to create desire. Campaign Managers need to harness their own emotions and creativity in order to achieve this. The work of some NGOs is easier in this regard, as some deal with issues that personally affect – or could affect – their target audience (for example, disability, health, discrimination, poverty etc.) and so empathy is triggered more easily and with it the desire to help. In the case of animal protection issues, companion animal issues are the easiest to approach, as they hit 'nearer to home' (as people can identify suffering with their own loved and cherished companions). Skilful campaigns generate empathy, for example by building pictures of animal suffering and emotions and/or relating this to human or companion animal suffering (e.g. asking how a pregnant woman would feel to be kept in a close metal stall throughout her pregnancy or showing pig suffering and comparing it favourably in terms of intelligence/emotions to the family dog).

The motivation to change also requires the ability to visualise and feel an alternative and better future. People need to understand the benefits of their action and feel the urgent need to do so.

Another force often comes into play to assist this stage – that is the positive inspiration of a collective movement. An inspirational, communally shared event is a great spur to action – especially if its leaders are an inspirational, mission-driven team.

➤ **4. Skills/Resources**

In order to commit to help, people need to remain in their comfort zone. This means they need to be sure that they have the skills and/or resources to help. They need to be able to visualise the steps required to reach the goal. Unlike the 'engagement' stage (see above), this is not about emotion - it is purely rational. People learn skills best by *seeing* someone else do them. The best way to do this is to break the actions down into simple steps and use illustrations to make visualisation easy. It's amazing how many animal protection campaigns forget this element. A simple method is to ask potential activists to send for an 'action pack'. But this should include the visual

element too. The same is true of international contact groups and/or local groups – a picture tells a thousand stories, and ideas set out in pictures or diagrams will really help them to envisage what they could do. Of course, some people will simply not have the skills needed for the task. In this case, it is helpful to offer the option of sending a donation towards the campaign – and to explain clearly what this will be used for. In this way, potential allies will not become disenfranchised if they do not feel able to help personally.

➤ **5. Optimism/Confidence**

People also need to be given the belief that success is truly winnable. Strongly motivated leadership is probably an important ingredient of optimism. Nobody will waste their efforts if they feel they are backing a 'lost cause'.

➤ **6. Facilitation**

People are busy with limited resources and few choices. They often need information or education to help them to carry out the required action (e.g. compassionate shopping guides and/or labelling advice). The easier their action is, and the more help they receive along the way, then the more likely it is that they'll act. Training and guidance in important areas e.g. lobbying, (local) media work, setting up an information stall, giving presentations/talks, targeting local businesses as part of a national campaign etc. may also be very useful for keen activists.

➤ **7. Feedback/Reinforcement**

People often need reassurance and reinforcement. Praise, thanks and feedback are vital aspects of keeping support alive. Social marketing is about continuous recruitment and reinforcement of messages - with regular communications that report back to people on the success of their efforts and the next steps that are expected of them. Many NGOs (CAA, Amnesty, Greenpeace etc) have learnt this lesson and devote considerable resources to continuously feeding success stories and updates to their contributors, as well as new calls for support and action. Some animal protection societies are also becoming adept at this, with differentiated databases for activists and personal contacts (even with a regional coordination system of decentralised leadership and guidance). However, others are less well organised and resourced and tend to leap from one action to the next, omitting this vital stage. This will not help supporter loyalty and the generation of increased activism.

How to Campaign

The advice in the chapter 'Devising a Strategy for Success' applies equally to campaigning. A good campaign strategy is essential. The same is true for operational management of the campaign (see relevant chapter).

In the case of a campaign, strategic analysis should include thorough analysis of both the issue and potential targets (e.g. companies, supermarkets, laboratories, zoos, circuses etc.). In particular, driving forces and vulnerabilities (i.e. the key factors that spur them to act or trade in this manner, and the potential weak areas that the

campaign could target). For Example, in the case of the SHAC campaign (see below), the Company's finances were identified and successfully targeted (shareholders, backers, customers etc.).

It is vital for a campaign to have both a final goal and interim steps along the way – both to build towards the final goal and to provide motivational 'high points' to inspire and maintain interest. The major elements of a campaign are: -

- Research – the essential bedrock
- Investigations – exposing cruelty (vital to do before the whistle is blown!)
- Materials – leaflets, reports, videos etc.
- Tactics – developing a 'toolkit' of tactics, actions etc.
- Media and communication – mass media targeted for maximum impact and awareness: reaching the masses as well as the 'converted'
- Lobbying - either political or corporate
- Timings

Everyone is trying to accomplish something big, not realizing that life is made up of little things.
Frank A. Clark

Research

Two different types of research are needed: -

Internal (information held within your organisation)

External (is not available from inside your organisation)

External is also known as '***secondary data***'.

Some ***useful sources*** are: -

- Libraries
- Internet (range of information ever-increasing – Google is recommended search engine)
- Directories
- National and local agencies
- Databases
- Government information and statistics
- Legislation and precedents (e.g. court cases)
- Trade associations/trade journals/trade e-mail lists/conferences
- Other NGOs, including animal protection societies
- Exhibitions and conferences
- News media

A national library (or large public library) is probably the widest ranging source of published information.

There are different levels of information gathering ranging from the broader political environment to that related directly to the campaign.

Tips for Campaign Research

- Target within agreed campaign strategy
- Start wide; decide focus; narrow search

Follow-up

After the above research, the following could be considered: -

- Depth interviews
- Computer conferences
- Consultations/focus groups/working groups
- Opinion polls/surveys
- ***Field visits and investigations (see below)***

"An investment in knowledge always pays the best interest."
Ben Franklin

Investigations*Purpose of a specific investigation****The strategy should always be established before any investigation takes place***

Investigations should not stand alone, but be part of a co-ordinated strategy of the particular animal protection organisation

Investigations can be costly, time consuming and physically & emotionally draining. They should only be undertaken if there is a specific aim in using the anticipated results.

Basic Objectives for Investigations

- To document, through video/photographic evidence and eyewitness accounts, precisely how animals are treated
- To uncover evidence that laws & regulations surrounding animal welfare are being broken
- To provide investigative material to fuel campaigns
- To provide investigative material to be used as evidence to lobby for changes in legislation to improve animal welfare

Type of Investigation

Investigations can be undercover or open. Animals in entertainment can often be investigated quite openly, as these allow public access (e.g. zoos, circuses, races etc.). However, in many cases, animal use (and abuse) takes place behind closed doors or 'out of sight', so that is not possible. In such cases, an undercover investigation may be necessary. This can be done using an individual not known to be connected to the animal protection movement, or through the use of aliases and cover stories. The type

of equipment used will also depend on the type of investigation. For example, covert cameras can be used for undercover investigations, although these should be avoided wherever it is possible to film openly as they are difficult to use, technically temperamental and the footage quality can sometimes be poor.

Materials

Various campaign materials can be used, depending on the desired outcome. These could include: -

- Reports – fully researched, with all the background facts making your campaign
- Campaign leaflets
- Campaign video
- Flyers – listing all campaign resources
- Factsheets
- FAQs - Answers to most frequently asked questions
- Posters
- Postcards
- Petition
- Stickers (car/lorry/window etc.)
- Campaign badges
- Action Pack – to enable activists to play an active part in the campaign
- Campaign calendar
- Campaign T-shirt
- Campaign merchandise (e.g. symbolic toy)
- Campaign mouse mat
- Campaign mug
- Campaign T-towel
- Educational pack – educational pack on the campaign issue
- Photos (for magazines, newspapers etc.) e.g. photo CD

International organisations can help collaborating societies and contacts by making generic versions for translation and use in various countries. Campaign materials bearing the logos of a large collection of collaborating societies can be most effective (showing the strength and outreach of the campaign).

Tactics

Devising your 'Tactics Toolkit'

In devising the 'toolkit' of tactics for the campaign, always bear in mind: -

- The target audience – the toolkit must be appropriate
- Whether the campaign is to be 'hard' or 'soft' (see below)
- Accompanying lobbying tactics

'Tactics Toolkit' – CIWF Battery Campaign Example

- Meeting with Minister
- Lobbying letters
- Vigil
- Human sized cage events
- Demonstration in Paris

- National opinion poll
- Embassy tour – free-range cake
- Send-a-hen campaign
- Report on economic impacts of a ban
- Newspaper advertising

Other Possible Tactics

- Protest marches (make merry, have noise/music)
- Public meetings
- Media stunts/events/photo-calls
- Picketing (effective where consumers made aware)
- Sit-ins (passive resistance)
- Displays and exhibitions (e.g. at trade fairs for controversy/media)
- Poster design and advertising contest
- Disruption of high media meetings or appropriate corporate events
- Well planned use of campaign mascots
- Street information stalls
- Product ‘dump’ (good example was fur coat burning – ‘throw out your dead’)
- Advertising (posters, magazines/papers etc.)
- Leafleting
- Don’t forget banners/placards
- Don’t forget the use of celebrities for impact

Old and New Methods

International grassroots advocacy is becoming better-organised and more vocal, thanks to new communication technologies. For example, groups were highly organised for the anti-globalisation protests at Seattle – mainly thanks to Internet coordination. Greenpeace make use of this technology through the ‘Cyber Activism’ centre on its Web Site. New technology can also assist with mass lobbying, through software programmes such as GetActive or Convio (membership software, which includes an automatic lobbying facility).

In fact, conventional campaigning methods such as small-scale demonstrations with home made placards and campaign mascots are becoming increasingly outdated and useless for all but local animal rights events. So many NGOs are active and using compelling new methods and images, ensuring that the ‘routine and boring’ quite simply fails to make an impact nowadays.

The targets for campaigns are also changing with the changing political landscape, and it is vital that campaigns groups refocus for maximum impact. To do this, an understanding of the political and external environment is vital. In particular, campaign targets are changing with the move from regulatory to market-orientated environments – from government and voters towards business targets and consumers. There is more about this in the chapter on ‘The International Animal Protection Lobby’.

Media and Communications

Messages

Focus on no more than three key messages. A main campaign slogan (catchy and memorable) can be helpful for communications.

Media

There is no doubt that the media – press, radio and television (TV) – shapes public opinion. In a movement for social change, such as the animal protection movement, it is probably the single most effective vehicle for spreading the message. Without the media, the movement is reduced to the role of a static membership club for like-minded individuals.

"Public opinion is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail. Without it, nothing can succeed."

— *Abraham Lincoln*

It is important to establish a media strategy as an integral part of any campaign. This will enable the organisation to work the media proactively, as well as reactively. Effective forward planning can ensure that you use the media for your own mission purposes, rather than be used by media to fit their own agenda.

Proactive approaches would include: -

- Using research and investigations to encourage and cooperate with in-depth investigative programmes
- Writing and trying to place a feature article
- Planning Press Conferences, demonstrations, events, campaign actions, photo-calls, celebrity occasions etc.
- Planned attacks on government or business targets

Reactive media work can also be useful, and approach and extent need to be planned. As with any other area of the organisation's work, priorities need to be established and resource constraints considered. But media work should be a leading priority for a campaigning organisation. However, this should not be 'media for media's sake', but should form part of a campaign for social change – otherwise the organisation will experience 'mission drift' as it attempts to fit its work and priorities around those of the media (instead of using the media for its own agenda).

Advertising

- If this can be afforded
- Can be magazines, newspapers, direct mail, inserts in other publications or mailings, billboards, in hotels etc.
- Creative visual impact needed (stunning designs may gain free placements)
- Repeat advertising needed for impact (recognition and awareness)
- A banned advertisement often gains more publicity and impact than a placed one!

New Technology

Newer communication technologies for mobilising support: -

- E-mail
- Web Sites and micro-sites (for campaigns)
- Fax and telephone (not so new!)
- Written (campaign leaflets, flyers, updates, letters etc.)

Managing your Campaign

- Stay flexible & maximise opportunities
- Listen to the opposition!
- Stay abreast of political opportunities
- Never take 'No' for an answer!!
- Be prepared for the long haul

Campaign Managers

Campaign managers should be: -

- Creative
- Artistically imaginative
- Excellent planners and organisers
- Good with people – mobilising and managing
- Good under pressure
- Flexible

Hard or Soft Campaigns?

One very important consideration is whether to make the campaign hard-hitting or soft and appealing. The choice will depend on both the type of organisation and the campaign goals and targets.

Sometimes the urgency of the issue and the ghastliness of it demand a hard-hitting approach. For example, after many years, the UK's RSPCA turned to a spectacular campaign focussed on 'Crufts' – the leading UK dog show – launching shocking images showing piles of dead dogs. This clearly and starkly drew out the connection between breeding and overpopulation, and led to massive media coverage of the issue. On this occasion, playing 'hard-ball' won the day.

Another successful campaign was WSPA's first international campaign – the 'No Fur' campaign. Thorough research and consideration before the launch led to a decision to make the campaign image soft and appealing. The baby red fox picture and slogan: "Does your mother have a fur coat – my mother lost hers" were universally used and accepted. Some countries adopting the campaign had little or no history of campaigning, but this soft image was used. Also, it was judged to make fur wearers reflect, without alienating instantly as happened with more graphic and confrontational anti-fur images.

Another associated issue is whether to use nakedness or sexuality to 'sell' a campaign. Clearly the media are attracted by this approach, and many animal protection organisations have taken advantage of this. It can be considered more widely acceptable if it is not demeaning and discriminatory. After all, there is nothing wrong with nudity per se. But some images can be considered exploitative and therefore alienate potential targets and even allies.

Coalitions and Networking

An important aspect of campaigning is the building of coalitions and networks to add strength and weight to the issue. This can strengthen the campaign in practical terms, as partners can bring various resources to the table and the campaign can more easily be spread geographically. It also gives the campaign greater political and popular support. NGOs are often challenged on the grounds of legitimacy: whom do they represent, and to whom are they accountable? Coalitions and networks can be used to indicate a broad constituency of a significant combined individual membership.

Federations, such as WSPA, gain political acceptance and representation opportunities by virtue of their society membership. Similarly, coalitions of societies, such the European Coalition for Farm Animals and the European Coalition to End Animal Experiments (ECEAE),

However, major campaigns may need a significant input in terms of coalition effort: -

- Every coalition must have a 'clearing house' (secretariat).
- Coalition leadership must build trust, openness, and honesty.
- Coalition action can be cumbersome – so plan well ahead!
- A critical function of the secretariat is rapid information spread.
- Coalitions are always fragile, but have potential for enormous power to influence.
- When coalition success – spread glory!
- Motivation keeps coalitions going, and this is only found through progress towards animal protection goals.

"We may have all come on different ships, but we're in the same boat now."

Martin Luther King

Effective Campaigning

Battery Cage Campaign – European Coalition for Farm Animals

<http://www.ciwf.org.uk/>



Compassion in World Farming (CIWF)'s battery cage campaign is a good example of a well-organised and effective campaign. It was devised and managed by Philip Lymbery, formerly CIWF Campaigns Director, with the support of other colleagues in the organisation.

Aims

The main aim of the Battery Hens Campaign was to end the keeping of laying hens in battery cages. This was based on the ethical standpoint that it is unacceptable to continue to use such intensive poultry husbandry systems, which cause suffering to vast numbers of birds, when different systems are available (and have, indeed, been used in the past), which offer a better prospect of providing for the birds' welfare.

Additional aims were: -

- *To ensure satisfactory protection for laying hens kept in any production system (both legislative protection and effective control and enforcement mechanisms);
- *To ensure transparent and coherent consumer information in respect of hen eggs (labelling, advertising etc.) through strict legislative requirements and effective control and enforcement; and
- *To increase consumer awareness and influence buying habits in terms of animal welfare criteria.

A Two-Pronged Strategy

The campaign had a two-pronged strategy: -

Voluntary - seeking to influence consumers to stop buying eggs produced in intensive systems (and improve consumer awareness of egg laying systems and practices generally). (Click link for more information.)

Legislative - seeking to achieve a legislative ban on the keeping of laying hens in battery cages (and the introduction of legislative provisions to improve welfare in alternative systems and improve consumer information/labelling).

The legislative campaign increased public awareness of the issue, heightening calls for change and changing consumers' buying habits (decreasing battery egg consumption). The resultant change in consumer buying habits included giving up egg consumption entirely, the eating of fewer eggs and/or the boycott of battery eggs (taking eggs from alternative systems, such as free range, instead). As the market share of battery eggs declined, resistance to a legislative ban would have decreased. There would also be an increase in calls for better consumer information in relation to egg sales (accurate labelling and advertising to enable informed consumer choice). In turn, accurate labelling was likely to increase moves away from battery egg consumption.

A Timed Action Plan

The CIWF battery hen campaign was started in 1998.

Its major steps included: -

Countdown to Freedom

1. Cruelty report launched
2. Supermarket egg sales survey
3. MP's outdoor breakfast (MPs eating free-range breakfast on the lawn outside the House of Commons)
4. Mass lobby of the UK Parliament
5. Hetty's postcard & Polaroid tour
6. Undercover investigation and exposé
7. Launch of a report on brittle bones

Coalition Building in Action

The European Coalition for Farm Animals (ECFA) was formed in 1993 in anticipation of the EU review of the Battery Cages Directive due that year. ECFA was a coalition of like-minded groups campaigning together throughout Europe.

In 1994, ECFA mounted a highly successful campaign tour of Europe against battery cages. When proposals to amend the Battery Cages Directive finally emerged in early 1998, the Coalition came into its own. It provided effective co-ordination of a sustained campaign, which culminated in the phased out EU ban.

Campaign Images

The investigation provided graphic and media worthy images of the suffering of battery hens.

As regards photographs, the most frequently used campaign image is simple - photographs of 'hen pecked' battery hens in cramped conditions. In the case of battery hens, the reality is probably more horrific and stunning than any invented campaign image.

The use of celebrities in mock battery cages was another powerful and media-friendly image.

The MP's outdoor breakfast (MPs eating free-range breakfast on the lawn outside the House of Commons) was an excellent photo-call, using the House of Commons as a backdrop to a picture of Members of Parliament sitting at a long breakfast table being served by CIWF staff wearing chef's outfits (it could equally well have been celebrities).

Forceful facts are also be used, such as the fact that a battery hen is given less space than an A4 (usual office size) piece of paper - something everyone can imagine.

Actions and Demonstrations

Various demonstrations and street campaign actions were also used to keep the campaign in the public eye. These included the use of scaled-up versions of the battery cage, containing either the hen mascot or a famous person/celebrity.

The mass lobby of the UK Parliament was a way to engage supporters and activists, as well as ensuring that all politicians were aware of the strength of feeling about this issue. After a march upon the Parliament, supporters made appointments to discuss this issue with their own Member of Parliament.

Publications

CIWF produced a wide range of publications on battery cage issues in support of the campaign, including educational resources: -

Beyond the Battery - A Welfare Charter for Laying Hens

The Welfare Argument

Includes booklet on 'The Welfare of Laying Hens'

Farm Facts

Include fact sheets on factory farming and laying hens

Campaigning Against Cruelty

Teaching resource pack, containing forty colour slides (all aspects of farm animal welfare, including laying hens) with script and activities.

Do Hens Suffer in Battery Cages?

Report by Michael C Appleby, leading UK poultry expert

For Their Own Good

By Peter Stevenson - A study of mutilations on farm animals, including debeaking of hens.

Lobby

An integral part of the campaign was intensive and authoritative lobbying, both at UK and EU level. As well as the march upon the UK parliament, there were actions at EU level, petitions and letter-writing campaigns. CIWF and ECFA partner lobbyists were also active meeting politicians and civil servants at national and European level.

Hunger Strike

Adolfo Sansolini, ECFA's Italian partner, even staged a hunger strike to persuade the EU to pass the battery cage ban.

Results

The major triumph of the campaign was the EU's 1999 ban on conventional battery cages (from 2012).

The EU subsequently amended its egg labelling legislation to include set definitions and standards for given categories of eggs (including free-range, barn and battery) and introduced a new requirement to give a statement on the both the label and every individual battery egg: eggs from caged hens.

An increase in the availability of free-range eggs, and an increase in the numbers of consumers purchasing non-battery eggs. Some supermarkets in Europe stopped all sales of battery eggs in Europe.

The main reasons for the success of this campaign appear to be: -

- ✓Excellent strategic and operational management
- ✓The existence of a small (and non-bureaucratic) but active campaigning coalition
- ✓across Europe
- ✓Major leadership and input from CIWF (who focussed on this campaign)
- ✓The breakdown of the campaign into hits and successes along the way to the final goal
- ✓The excellent research and investigation groundwork
- ✓The use of scientific research and sympathetic scientists
- ✓The range and variety of tactics employed
- ✓The campaign was running for the 'long-term', with sustained pressure

For further detail on the legislative side of the campaign, please see: -

http://www.ari-online.org/pages/europe_8_batteryhens.html

Other Examples of Effective Campaigning: -

Jubilee 2000

<http://www.jubilee2000uk.org/>

Jubilee is a hugely successful single-issue campaign. Jubilee is building on the work of the Jubilee 2000 debt cancellation campaign. It has a reputation for providing up-to-date, accurate research, analyses, news and data on international debt and finance. Furthermore, it has a tradition of distilling, analysing and de-mystifying economic concepts and information; and communicating in ways easily understood by campaigners. Its success is an indication of the importance of sound research.

Jubilee 2000 grew from small beginnings to become an international campaign that brought great pressure to bear on G7 leaders to "cancel the unpayable debts of the poorest countries by the year 2000, under a fair and transparent process". By the end of the campaign, Jubilee had gathered 24 million signatures for the Jubilee 2000 global petition. There were Jubilee 2000 campaigns in more than 60 countries around the world. G7 leaders had committed to writing off \$100bn of poor country debts, and debt had been pushed on to the global political agenda.

Another factor in its success is that Jubilee is not just an economic think-tank. It is a think-and-do tank. Jubilee supporters are encouraged to undertake advocacy and campaign action. When they began this campaign, there was widespread scepticism that they could educate and brief a mass campaign on the complexities of debt – and maintain accuracy and integrity. There was doubt that they could alert people to the way in which poor countries are forced to divert precious scarce resources from clean water, health and sanitation, and into debt repayment to rich creditors. Back in 1996, many of the policy experts who had worked long in this field declared the Jubilee 2000 project impossible. Elites in Washington smugly assumed that they could remain cocooned in their own exclusive (and dogmatic) intellectual club – and never be challenged. But they were wrong.

Jubilee 2000 had supreme confidence in people, believing that all can understand and grapple with supposedly complex financial matters. Greater knowledge and understanding means greater people power – to challenge powerful and secretive elites. This empowerment of millions of people is one of Jubilee 2000's greatest achievements. It was only possible because hundreds and thousands of supporters were prepared to translate briefings into accessible language; churn out leaflets; write letters; call, organise and address meetings. They were willing to go to enormous and expensive trouble to hire halls, prepare lunches, organise teas and run teach-ins – for students, clerics, trades unionists, women and schoolchildren.

Jubilee 2000 supporters were the first to raise a mass challenge to the world's most powerful leaders at their annual meetings. They surrounded them with human chains of tens of thousands of people; they followed them from Birmingham to Washington, Paris, Cologne, Seattle, Tokyo, Okinawa, Prague and New York. The Japanese government spent more than £500m trying to avoid them in Okinawa – all in vain. Around the world campaigners from Madras to Madrid, from Osaka to Oslo, from Durban to Denver formed human chains, and shone a light on their meetings. By linking campaigns at a local, regional, national and international level – and by bold and innovative use of the Internet's powers of communication – Jubilee 2000 supporters worldwide were able to create massive pressure on world leaders. Campaigners from 'the South' had fought against debt for years. But the international movement gave the political force needed to spur change.

The repercussions of Jubilee 2000's campaign will echo down the new century. They now have millions of supporters, and have achieved profound change in just four years

We Built a Big Tent

“When you get this many people from this many different backgrounds pointing in the same direction, you can be pretty sure it's the right direction,” said President Clinton of Jubilee 2000. Clinton also pointed to another major success of Jubilee 2000 – the building of a ‘big tent’: broad coalitions at local, regional, national and international level.

Fathers4Justice

<http://www.fathers-4-justice.org/>

Fathers4Justice is a smaller-scale national movement. It is a new civil rights movement campaigning for a child's right to see both parents and grandparents. Fathers4Justice advocates peaceful non-violent direct action based on the Greenpeace model with a dash of humour thrown in for good measure. Fathers4Justice is already raising awareness in a unique and sometimes provocative approach designed to challenge the government to respond to the crisis in Family Law.

Its recent actions have included a visual media stunt where naked fathers stood across a large suspension bridge with placards protesting the unfairness of the court family systems and an incident involving the throwing of purple powder at the UK's Prime Minister in the House of Commons. They have also stormed the family courts. They even scaled the walls of Buckingham Palace to protest! Both the House of Commons protest and the Buckingham Palace incident were seen across all major television channels and newspapers in the country, and led to a string of debates about the fathers' genuine grievances – and subsequent moves to amend relevant legislation.

Although this is a relatively new campaign, it has quickly succeeded in making its issues high profile and frequently debated. The need for change has been acknowledged. The reasons for this include: -

- Clear campaign objectives
- Well documented evidence (including personalised case studies)
- Press and media
- Harnessing anger and outrage – the angry fathers whose rights society denies fight back – civil rights march.

However, it is recognised that it is easier to mobilise individuals if the movement in question has personally affected members.

Animals Australia Live Export Campaign

<http://www.animalsaustralia.org/>

Animals Australia is the Australian arm of the Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animals Societies (ANZFAS). It currently represents more than 40 member groups throughout Australia. It has been campaigning against the live export of farm animals from Australia for many years, but has recently stepped up this campaign to great effect. The main reasons for this success are probably: -

- Animals Australia decision to make live exports their priority campaign, and to renew their efforts in this direction.
- The strength of the federation's network
- A focussed plan
- Through research and info (including 'Death Files')
- Excellent investigative work, in collaboration with CIWF
- High emphasis on media work, with focussed media strategy
- Use of regular disaster shipments to keep the trade in the spotlight
- Use of economic arguments in favour of their case

The campaign is attracting strong public support, and gaining momentum – despite appalling intransigence from the Australian veterinary community and the government (including a government enquiry 'whitewash' – the Keniry Enquiry).

The tactics employed have – in addition to the usual demos, actions and protests included the following from member groups: -

- Skilful lobbying and political work (including standing in marginal seats on a 'anti live exports ticket' in order to persuade the opposition party to take up this issue).
- Excellent investigations exposes.

There was also a case where an individual (working alone, outside Animals Australia) placed pork into the feed for sheep destined for Middle Eastern markets. This caused the shipment to be aborted and court action was taken. It did, however, arouse renewed media interest and demonstrated the passions that the cruel trade arises.

WSPA

<http://www.wspa-international.org/>

As regards campaigning, WSPA ran the first real international animal protection campaign – No Fur – its global anti-fur campaign. This involved the production and distribution campaign resources around the world – with wealthier groups funding the campaign materials from the less well resourced. A range of materials were also produced with a variety of names/logos of cooperating societies. Information was a key element of the campaign, both full background information and regular updates. Collaborating societies could keep abreast of campaign actions and successes, as well as fur trade information. The campaign had an enormous outreach and impact, with fur sales dropping markedly in many countries. However, it was noticed that fur sales started creeping up again after the campaign was ended, albeit not to the previous level. The new use of fur as garment trimming has also pushed up sales, even in countries where fur coats remain socially unacceptable.

PETA

<http://www.peta.org/>

<http://www.furisdead.com/>

PETA has carried out a variety of highly effective media campaigns. One of the longest running and most widely spread is their 'Fur is Dead' campaign. Their classic media action was the 'I'd rather go naked than wear fur event', which was spread across the world (both by PETA and other groups). Groups collaborating with WSPA's 'No Fur' campaign would also adopt this event! This is an excellent example of the power of creativity and media awareness.

PETAs more recent 'Fur is Dead' actions include: -

- Naked coffin demos
- 'Takeovers' – ice rink, shop window etc.
- Fur give away to homeless
- Leopard lady demos

Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC)

<http://www.shac.net/>

The Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) campaign was formed in November 1999 by a small group of activists, with the single aim of closing down Europe's largest animal testing lab Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS). The SHAC campaign has used a wide variety of tactics against HLS and all the companies supporting them with devastating success. HLS has seen one company after another stop funding or supplying HLS, rather than putting their reputation, and their employees, at risk through their association with HLS. From the beginning the campaign has focused on Huntingdon's finances and those who financially support them. Key aspects of the campaign include: -

- Analysis
- Investigations
- Targeting suppliers, customers, contractors, accountants/auditors, funders/financiers, shareholders, colleges recruiting for HLS etc. etc.
- Targeting politicians, local politicians, government department (Home Office)

In short, this is a radical but well researched and targeted campaign. It has not only brought HLS to the brink of closure more than once (and has every likelihood of achieving its primary goal), but it has also had important 'spin-off' effects in making researchers wary of starting new operations in the UK.