

CHAPTER 9

CAMPAIGNING

CONTENTS

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. Focusing Your Campaign**
 - a) Decide on the Issue
 - b) Set Campaign Position and Objective
 - c) Identify the Key Decision Maker
 - d) Campaign Message
- 3. Campaign Strategy**
- 4. Main Elements of a Campaign**
 - a) Research
 - b) Investigation
 - c) Campaign Materials
 - d) Tactics
 - e) Media and Communications
 - f) Lobbying
 - g) Timing
- 5. Managing Your Campaign**
 - a) Campaign Coordination
 - b) Commitment
 - c) Coalitions Between Groups
- 6. Importance of Evaluation**
- 7. Force Field Analysis**
- 8. Case Study**
- 9. Further Resources**



1 INTRODUCTION

COLLINS ENGLISH DICTIONARY DEFINES CAMPAIGNING AS: 'A SERIES OF CO-ORDINATED ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS PUBLIC SPEAKING AND DEMONSTRATING, DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE A SOCIAL, POLITICAL OR COMMERCIAL GOAL'.



Campaigning is not education, nor is it advertising. Campaigning is a motivational exercise. It narrows the focus of attention in order to get people to do something that leads to change.

Campaigning is an essential tool for tackling the root causes of animal cruelty; it is instrumental in persuading governments to introduce animal protection laws, urging companies to adopt ethical principles, or alerting consumers of products that have been cruelly produced.

Experience shows that for a campaign 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:

- 1. Ignorance:** Lack of awareness of the problem is the starting point for all.
- 2. Knowledge/Awareness:** Raise awareness of the problem and the solution.
- 3. Motivation/Stimulation:** Stimulate an emotional reaction to the problem, generating empathy and a personal desire to help.
- 4. Skills/Resources:** Empower people to act by providing them with the necessary skills. The best way to do this is to break the actions of a campaign down into simple steps and illustrate the ideas using pictures or diagrams. This will help people envisage what they could do. An action pack is a good way of doing this.
- 5. Optimism/Confidence:** Cultivate optimism and give people the belief that success is attainable.
- 6. Facilitation:** Make the actions as simple as possible and remember that the more help people receive along the way, the more likely it is for them to assist you.
- 7. Reinforcement:** Remember the importance of praise and thanks; they are vital to maintaining support.

Understanding this model is essential to the development of an effective campaign.

2 FOCUSING YOUR CAMPAIGN



The start of the campaign must involve defining the problem and focusing efforts towards its resolution.

Focus means gathering and using resources, including time and money, for the achievement of key targets. Focus is central to the success of any campaign.

To ensure focus, there are four key questions you should answer before starting any campaign:

- **What is the problem?** You should clearly define the problem you seek to resolve.
- **Who do you seek to influence?** Identifying the person or people who have the power to make the change you seek to implement is key to running a successful campaign. All too often campaigners carry on with a campaign without understanding who they need to influence in order to achieve the change they seek.
- **What is your message?** Your message should be simple and clear. Campaigns often try to pack a message with too much information. In a world where people are constantly being flooded with all kinds of communications, your message needs to be easy for people to remember and understand.
- **What is your pathway to change?** Before you begin, it is important to lay out a route you are going to take to implement the change you seek to make. Campaigners often make the mistake of leaving the route up to pure opportunity. It is very important to plan the path of your campaign, much as you would when driving to a new destination.



How to answer these questions will be elaborated upon in the sections that follow.

a) Decide on the Issue

This is not a simple choice, as it is based not only on the issues involved and their likelihood of success in terms of political or consumer campaigning, but also on a wide range of organisational factors for example people and resources and external factors (political, societal, economic, environmental, technological etc.).

The aim is to identify the issue that would make best use of your organisation's resources towards ensuring the maximum improvement for the plight of animals.

Some of the criteria that can be used for choosing a campaign include:

- Level of animal suffering; numbers, severity and duration of suffering
- Political campaign's likelihood of success
- Consumer campaign's likelihood of success
- Media success
- Fundraising potential
- Supporter recruitment or retention
- Whether other groups are already working on the issue.

It is of utmost importance to recognise that we simply cannot cover all areas of animal cruelty at the same time. You must decide what your PRIORITY issue will be.

Some campaigns may not appear to be fundamental to the organisation's key aims, but may be winnable and effective in bringing attention and support to the wider issues. An example in the animal experimentation field is testing of cosmetics on animals, where a phased ban has now been won throughout Europe. This campaign was also vital as a gateway campaign, increasing awareness of animal experimentation issues in general.

b) Set Campaign Position and Objective

Once you have decided which campaign to pursue, the next step is to set the organisation's position on the matter and the campaign's objective.

A position is a statement of belief, such as:

WSPA advocates that methods used at all stages of farm animal husbandry must be developed so as to preclude avoidable suffering. Farmed animals must be provided with shelter, exercise, food, water and care in a manner appropriate to their physiological and behavioural needs. WSPA is opposed to any methods of husbandry, which do not fulfil these criteria.



Setting the position is important because it communicates clearly where the parameters of the campaign are when setting the objective. So in the case above, the campaign objective cannot be to turn people vegetarian, because this would not be in line with the position. It is important to set this from the beginning to avoid misunderstandings later on down the campaign.

The objective should be guided by the position.

Your campaign objective should also be SMART:

- **S**pecific
- **M**easurable
- **A**chievable
- **R**elevant
- **T**argeted

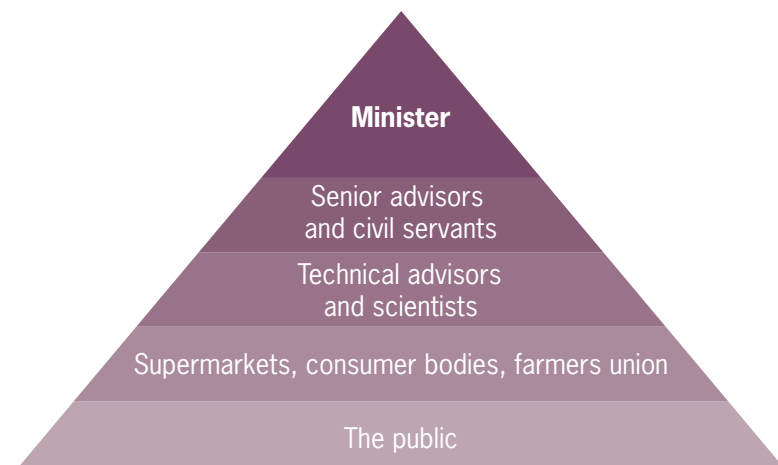
c) Identify the Key Decision Maker

The next, and possibly most important, step in a campaign is identifying **who has the power to implement the change you seek**. It's the campaigner's job to find out who makes the decision and what influences them. Research is critical to finding this out. You may need to look at the history of the subject, the political bills that have been passed on the matter and other general information to identify who has the power.

In understanding what influences that 'power person', you will need to look beyond just the issue you are campaigning on. What are his or her political interests? Is he or she seeking re-election and how can you use this to your advantage? It comes as a surprise to many campaigners that it is often middle managers that make many key political decisions, rather than heads. So for example, rather than targeting the head of state, you may find you actually need to influence his or her senior civil servants or advisors.

Additionally, you need to understand the legislative process in order to implement changes. How long does the process take? Are there key times when legislation is reviewed? How does passing new legislation work? Who is consulted when a political decision is made?

One of the key tools used for identifying the key decision maker and what influences him or her is the 'power pyramid'. At the top of the pyramid you place the person who has the power to make the change you are seeking to implement. Underneath you place all the people, usually in order of importance, that influence the person's decision making. Technical advisors, for instance, can be great allies; they are respected specialists that can prepare our arguments in a sound and reasonable manner, making it difficult for politicians to dismiss or overlook the campaign. At the bottom of each power pyramid is usually the public. An example is given below.



Beware of focusing too much energy and resources on the public. As stated earlier, campaigning is not education and it is not advertising. Many campaigners make the mistake of simply holding events targeted at the public, yet do not harness their contact with the public into a result that will reach the 'power person'.

Many campaigners also presume that by generating media coverage or having adverts aimed at the public that they are campaigning successfully. Campaigners must harness the public to influence key decision-making, not just make contact with the public.

Before conducting any public event for a campaign you should ask yourself, will this help to influence the person or body that has the power to make the change I am seeking? Will this help me achieve my objective?

REMAIN FOCUSED ON THE PEAK OF YOUR POWER PYRAMID.

d) Campaign Message

The following are some general rules that should be kept in mind whilst developing a campaign message:

- Work out your target audiences and aim your message at them
- Keep your message clear and simple, but biting
- Place the important points first
- Ensure your message is consistent throughout the campaign
- Decide on the tone and style of the message at the beginning of the campaign and stick to it
- Use symbols where possible, as this will help people remember your campaign message
- Communicate in pictures, where possible. One picture is worth a thousand words
- Include an action component in the message.



You may also want to decide whether you will have an insider or outsider approach from the beginning, as this will influence your message. You will find that the approach will depend on both the issue and the culture you are working in:

- An **'insider approach'** means working with your target to influence change.
- An **'outsider approach'** means putting strong critical pressure on your target to influence change.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

3

"IF YOU DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU'RE GOING, YOU ARE SURE TO END UP SOMEWHERE ELSE."

Simply put, strategy is about deciding how to approach the 'power person'. It involves choosing a specific course of action, based on available information and resources, which will be the most effective in achieving identified aims.

Successful campaigns include both a strategically planned path and the ability to take advantage of key opportunities along the way. There is sometimes a tension between planning and opportunity taking; proactivity and reactivity. There are two main ways of helping the process:

- When charting the campaign course, ensure that time and resources are allocated for meeting any important opportunities along the way.
- Always have the big picture in mind and judge any emerging opportunities against this.





It is important for a campaign to have both a final goal and interim steps along the way. This helps to build towards the final goal and to provide motivational high points to inspire and maintain interest.

Milestones are important to set before you begin a campaign in order to help measure your progress and success. These may vary and may be of different natures such as:

- **Political:** significant bills passed, meetings secured or supportive letters from politicians received, having a declaration made by key decision makers
- **Public:** a shift in public opinion indicated by a poll, number of postcards or petition signatures
- **Media:** celebrity endorsement, number of articles/interviews, how many readers/viewers did you reach, how much would this have cost if you had had to pay for equivalent adverts
- **International development:** new partnerships gained
- **Fundraising:** significant money raised or set number of supporters increased

A campaign involves a deliberate series of revelations or communication exercises to take the audience from a state of ignorance, through interest and then concern (components of awareness), into anger and engagement (motivation), and finally into a state of satisfaction or reward. If that happens, the campaign participants or supporters will be ready for more.

Remember to take one step at a time. Stick at each stage until it is achieved. **Each stage is a target or objective in itself.** For example, you may need to get a critical level of awareness about the existence of a problem, or the buy-in of a certain number of decision makers, before you can move on.

For further information, please refer to the separate chapter on 'Strategy', which equally applies to a campaign strategy.

4

MAIN ELEMENTS OF A CAMPAIGN

The following are considered to be the main elements of a campaign:

- **Research:** the essential bedrock
- **Investigation:** exposing cruelty, it is vital to do this before the whistle is blown!
- **Materials:** leaflets, reports, videos etc.
- **Tactics:** developing a tool-kit of tactics, actions etc.
- **Media and communications:** mass media targeted for maximum impact and awareness, reaching the masses as well as the converted
- **Lobbying:** either political or corporate
- **Timing.**

Each topic will be elaborated upon in the sections that follow.

a) Research

“OPINION IS FREE, FACTS ARE SACRED.” ~ CP Scott

Research helps give campaigns credibility. It can do this in a variety of ways, from measuring how many supporters there are for a campaign, through an opinion poll for example, to deploying hard facts that can back up the campaign.

Quantitative research includes statistical techniques, surveys, market research and experimental techniques. This type of research can be useful to illustrate the scale of problem or when you want

to generalise about an issue or sector, such as consumers, voters and the public. Qualitative research includes views, opinions and beliefs. This is useful for softer aspects, which are difficult to quantify, such as focus groups.

Crucially, politicians can learn to trust an organisation if the organisation continually provides reliable information to help inform decisions. Equally important however is that if you provide incorrect information, a politician is unlikely to forget or forgive very soon, especially if you have made them look poorly informed in front of the media or with colleagues.

Research defined specifically for campaigns is often called 'action research'.

Action research:

- Adds factual weight to an argument
- Enables a campaigner to monitor what is going on and provides intelligence about the opposition
- Builds confidence by establishing not just whether the campaign is right but why it is right
- Should have a scientific approach in order to survive scrutiny
- Should have results that are meaningful to the average person.

b) Investigation

Investigations should also be objective-led. You should know what you are seeking to expose and how it will help you further achieve your objective before you embark on the investigation. Some campaigners spend considerable time and money simply doing exposés and media splashes; however, if they are not linked to your objective, campaigners may find the problem they are trying to solve is unaffected by their investigative work.



Investigations can:

- Document, through video or photographic evidence and eyewitness accounts, precisely how animals are treated
- Uncover evidence that laws and regulations on animal welfare are being broken
- Provide investigative material to fuel campaigns
- Provide investigative material to be used as evidence to lobby for changes in legislation to improve animal welfare.

A good investigation requires a variety of skills:

- Understanding of how the investigation fits into the overall campaign strategy
- Filming and photography
- Interrogation (questioning)
- Compilation and assessment of data
- Good record keeping
- Familiarity with and understanding of the subject
- Knowledge and understanding of the relevant legislation
- Flexibility and clear-headedness.

Every investigation is unique but the following are some key points to consider:

Filming techniques:

- Keep the camera steady, this is the golden rule
- Be familiar with the controls and limitations of the camera
- Write and memorise a list of shots and sequences you require
- Never set the date option on the video
- Hold each shot for at least 20 seconds. This is difficult
- Try not to zoom in and out, it makes for uneasy viewing
- Try not to talk over your footage unless absolutely necessary
- Understand and use lighting.

CASE STUDY: ANIMALS AUSTRALIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST LIVE EXPORTS

Animals Australia and collaborating groups such as CIWF (Compassion in World Farming), PACAT (People Against Cruelty in Animal Transport) and Animal Liberation New South Wales developed a major campaign to step up the pressure against live exports from Australia. Investigations were to form a major part of this campaign in order to dispel industry claims that gave false confidence in the welfare record of live exports. Animals Australia's strategy began with collaboration on a major investigative documentary programme to expose the horrors of the trade. After this, it used a combination of excellent media work and further investigations to fuel the campaign. This included:

AUGUST 2003: THE CORMO EXPRESS

This sheep shipment was rejected by Saudi authorities who claimed that some of the animals were diseased. The ship floated around, with increasing casualties, until it was finally accepted by the East African nation of Eritrea as food aid from the Australian Government. After almost 11 weeks at sea the official death toll was 5,692 animals (9.8%). Reports reached CIWF that the sheep were being offloaded and taken to a holding area about 58 km from the port of Massawa. CIWF immediately sent two observers, one a veterinarian and both well experienced in regional animal welfare problems, to gauge the situation. The observers were denied permission to speak with veterinary personnel, but were able to observe the sheep unloading. They were reported to be very dirty looking and very stressed in the heat and humidity of the port. One who boarded the ship reported many animals dead on arrival and a foul smell, which he attributed to the dead animals. This report differed greatly from the official version, and Animals Australia was able to gain more media attention about the horrors of the trade and the disaster.

KUWAIT 2003

In November-December 2003 investigators from CIWF and Animals Australia followed the fate of more than 100,000 sheep recently exported from Fremantle (Western Australia) to the Middle East on board the livestock vessel Al Kuwait, from unloading to slaughter. They saw dead, dying, blind and sick sheep on board and being unloaded in Shuweikh Port, Kuwait City. According to a crew member, around 1,000 sheep had died prior to arrival and more dead animals were found in pens on the ship as unloading took place. The vessel still had to travel to two further ports to unload sheep so more animals were destined to die.

The investigation team also filmed the handling and slaughter of Australian sheep. This is extremely distressing and has not yet been made public.

Animals Australia has provided an extensive file of evidence to the Fremantle Police to support an investigation into an alleged breach of the new Western Australian Animal Welfare Act, and it continues to do so for other similar shipments.

Investigations have played a major part in the Animals Australia campaign and added enormously to media coverage, public awareness, and enforcement and prosecution possibilities.



Covert investigations follow the same principles with regard to filming techniques, but they can be much more difficult! In particular, remember:

- Covert cameras are prone to malfunctioning, practice as much as possible beforehand
- The lens is the size of a pinhead, so light is more critical
- Get close
- Check the camera position
- Do not show off your camera.

You should always try to film openly. However, if you will not be allowed to film openly, then covert filming may be the only way, in which case plan it meticulously, practice and remember to:

- Cover your identity; become familiar with your new persona and practice beforehand
- Stick to your cover story
- Structure your questions to build a picture
- Keep a diary
- Remember rules of evidence
- Put safety first
- Check privacy and data protection legislation.

Assessing evidence:

- Determine what your evidence actually proves
- Don't release material until you have proved your point
- Don't simply release material just because you have it
- If the investigation is unsuccessful, consider repeating it
- Establish how the evidence can best be used to change the situation for animals: in negotiation, prosecution, lobbying, campaigning or for media purposes.

Video footage can be used in the following ways:

- Supplied to local, national and international media
- For videos, photographs, publications, news, or magazine articles etc.
- For legal or advocacy purposes e.g. lawmakers, enforcement authorities, courts etc.

c) Campaign Materials

Various campaign materials can be used, depending on the desired outcome.

These could include:

Action packs: to enable activists to play an active part in the campaign

Educational packs

Reports: fully researched, with all the background facts

Campaign leaflets

Campaign videos

Flyers: listing all campaign resources

Fact sheets

FAQs: answers to most frequently asked questions

Posters

Postcards

Petitions

Stickers for cars, lorries, windows etc.

Campaign badges

Campaign calendars

Campaign T-shirts

Campaign merchandise, a symbolic toy for example

Campaign mouse mats

Campaign mugs





Campaign tea towels
Educational packs
Photos, for magazines, newspapers etc. (photo CD for example).

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 out-reach of the campaign.

d) Tactics

Devising your tactics tool-kit

TACTICS ARE THE EVENTS, ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNICATIONS USED TO INFLUENCE THE KEY DECISION MAKER.

In devising the tool-kit of tactics for the campaign, always bear in mind:

- The target audience: the tool-kit must be appropriate
- Your opponents: they will often give the best clues on what activities are needed, by highlighting the main objections, enabling you to devise arguments and activities that counter these objections
- Whether the campaign is to use an insider or outsider approach
- Accompanying lobbying tactics: understanding power politics and planning a path of greatest influence.

Example of a tactics tool-kit:

- Meetings with the relevant Minister
- Lobbying letters
- Staged events with humans depicting the animal issue
- Demonstrations
- National opinion polls
- Protest marches
- Public meetings
- Media stunts
- Picketing: effective where consumers are made aware
- Sit-ins: passive resistance
- Displays and exhibitions e.g. at trade fairs for controversy and media exposure
- Street information stalls
- Product dump: a good example was fur coat burning, 'throw out your dead'
- Advertising: posters, magazines, newspapers etc.
- Leafleting
- Banners and placards.



Bear in mind that you do not have to 'reinvent the wheel'. You can study other campaigns for ideas and adapt the appropriate ones to your own campaign.

e) Media and Communications

Using the media is the most effective way to spread your message. Media planning should be an integral part of any campaign, please refer to the separate chapter on 'Using the Media'.

New communications technology is set to revolutionise campaigning, and is already doing so in other NGO sectors. E-mail lists are widely used to activate collaborators and supporters. Programmes are available that enable lobbying to be conducted easily, and even personalised, using the internet. This aspect of campaigning should never be neglected, and should constantly be reviewed and updated.

f) Lobbying

There is a separate chapter on lobbying, but below are some guidelines for campaign lobbying. As a rule, lobbying is an integral part of campaigning and fundamental to achieving your objective. The four points below are taken from a useful book called *How to Win Friends and Influence People* and can be applied for lobbying purposes:

1. Don't complain or condemn, be respectful

- People, and especially some politicians, are motivated by pride and vanity
- Speak before you shout.

2. Make them feel important

- Make the person you are seeking to influence feel like they are receiving privileged information to help build a bond
- Use their name.

3. Think about what they want

- Make it sound like what you want is what they want.

4. Inspire, lay down a challenge

Here are some **general rules for attending lobbying meetings:**

Before a meeting: Set your objective: what is my 'ask'?

- Set your key message
- Research the person
- Think about the opposition
- Prepare a pack of key information: but don't overdo it!

After a meeting:

- Be sure to follow up immediately
- Keep in touch.

g) Timing

Campaigning is all about timing! Timing can mean the difference between success and failure. For this reason, your campaign activities should be planned and timed to take advantage of certain events happening in the climate you are working in. You can also use published media calendars to ensure your events and activities don't clash with activities you can't compete with, such as elections or royal weddings. You can also match your activities to appropriate national or international celebrations or events to accentuate your message. Equally however, you need to be flexible. If an opportunity arises you need to be able to react.



MANAGING YOUR CAMPAIGN

5

Remember to:

- Stay flexible and maximise opportunities
- Listen to the opposition
- Never take 'No' for an answer
- Be prepared for the long haul.

a) Campaign Coordination

Effective campaign coordination is vital to success. Campaign management should take overall responsibility for coordination rather like the conductor of an orchestra, translating the overall plan (equivalent to the musical score) into different fragments of work (investigation, lobby, press,

scientific news for example) making up a structured campaign that all could participate in together, coming together to form a cohesive whole. A Campaign Team, which meets regularly to review strategy and operational progress, is an excellent way of ensuring that all are singing from the same hymn sheet. In this case, it is useful to allocate a team chair and a team secretary, responsible for all regular communication and monitoring.

Campaign managers should be:

- Creative
- Artistically imaginative
- Good at analysing and seeing the big picture
- Excellent planners and organisers
- Good with people; mobilising and managing
- Good under pressure
- Flexible.

b) Commitment

Commitment and energy are vital components of any successful campaign:

- Believing you will win
- Dedication
- Being in for the 'long haul.'

“NEVER DOUBT THAT A SMALL GROUP OF DEDICATED CITIZENS CAN CHANGE THE WORLD. INDEED, IT’S THE ONLY THING THAT EVER HAS.”

~ **Margaret Mead**

c) Coalitions Between Groups

Major campaigns may benefit from coalition effort. However, it is important that coalitions are only used for practical focus, so they do not become endless talkingshops, with no real results. Other factors to consider are:

- Coalitions are always fragile, but have potential for enormous power to influence.
- Coalition leadership must build trust, openness and honesty.
- Every coalition must have a clearing house; secretariat.
- The critical function of secretariat is to spread information quickly.
- Coalition action can be cumbersome so plan well ahead.
- When coalition succeeds – spread the glory!



6

IMPORTANCE OF EVALUATION

Evaluation is all too often forgotten in busy organisations. But it is vital to improving performance and effectiveness. It facilitates learning and building on experience and enables experiences to be shared between groups so others can benefit and learn too. Evaluations can also be used to extract useful feedback for funders, members and supporters.

Aspects of planning, methods used and outcomes should all be evaluated. In order to carry out meaningful evaluations, it is necessary to establish criteria against which results can be evaluated.

Evaluations should always make recommendations for the future. This is first and foremost a learning opportunity and should never be used as a tool for apportioning blame.

Successful campaigners work very much in a cycle, where evaluation and adjustments are always being made in order to achieve the original objective.

FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

7

Force field analysis is a management tool developed by social scientist Kurt Lewin for diagnosing situations. It is also an excellent tool to use in assessing the driving and restraining forces of a campaign issue. This is necessary in order to concentrate campaign resources to best effect.

Driving forces are those factors pushing the situation forward, whereas restraining factors are the forces that stop or hamper its progress.

Force field analysis involves mapping out the forces for and against what you want to happen. You draw a simple map of the problem, the people involved, the organisations, the institutions, to work out exactly what the mechanisms are for the problem you want to change.

From this, you map potential allies and opponents. Then, from that, you can work out who your target audience is for each step of the campaign.



You need to consider how you will change the balance of forces for and against the campaign issue in order to overcome obstacles. If you do not know the answers to this, you will not be able to specify an objective to be achieved. By carrying out the analysis you can plan to strengthen the forces supporting a change and reduce the impact of opposition to it.

A force field analysis can also be useful in deciding whether your campaign is viable.

For example, if the forces against change are all-powerful and impervious to pressure, it may not be a battle you can win.

Where you have already decided to carry out a project, a force field analysis can help you to work out how to improve its probability of success. This could be by modifying the forces in one of the following ways:

- Reducing the strength of the forces opposing change; or
- Increasing the forces pushing for change; or
- Changing the direction of the forces.

Often the most likely solution is the first: just trying to force change through may cause its own problems. People can be uncooperative if change is forced on them. If you can make them weaken or drop their opposition, rather than just barging through change, there will be less likelihood of further battles in the future, as so often happens with polarised campaigns.



Campaigning is a creative and a technical process; an art and a science. It's all too easy to get too close to the subject and to lose perspective. Sometimes it is good to step back and reconsider, to try a different tack, to go round an obstacle instead of through it, and even, when you're winning, to remember that running the current campaign is not an end in itself.

8

EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGNING: A CASE STUDY

The following is a case study example of an effective campaign:

Battery Cage Campaign – European Coalition for Farm Animals

www.ciwf.org/

Compassion in World Farming (CIWF)'s battery cage campaign is a good example of a well-organised and effective campaign.

Aims: The objective 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, have been used in the past, and 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; and
- 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.

The campaign had a **two-pronged strategy**:

Voluntary: seeking to influence consumers to stop buying eggs produced in intensive systems and to improve consumer awareness of egg laying systems and practices generally.

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 and 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.

Major steps included:

- Cruelty report launched
- Supermarket egg sales survey
- MPs' outdoor breakfast – MPs eating free-range breakfast on the lawn outside the House of Commons
- Mass lobby of the UK Parliament
- Hetty's postcard and Polaroid tour
- Undercover investigation and exposé
- 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 coordination 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 campaign image.

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

The MPs' 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 were also 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.

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 Members 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 a booklet on 'The Welfare of Laying Hens'.

Farm Facts

Includes fact sheets on factory farming and laying hens.

Campaigning Against Cruelty

Teaching resource pack, containing 40 colour slides covering 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 of 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 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 focused 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.



Hetty the hen meets MEPs at Brussels and Westminster

© Copyright: CIWF

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

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

FURTHER RESOURCES

Websites

Amnesty International – Online Campaigning Manual

<http://web.amnesty.org/pages/campaigning-manual-eng>

ASPCA Workshops on Cruelty Investigations

www.asPCA.org/site/PageServer?pagename=pro_so_workshopsCruelty

Campaign Planning Web Site

www.campaignstrategy.org/

Data Center – Campaign Research

www.datacenter.org/research/camp_res.htm

Environmental Activism – Strategies

www.oneworld.net/guides/environmentalactivism/strategies

Friends of the Earth (includes various campaign issues)

http://community.foe.co.uk/resource/how_tos/

HSUS Investigative Services

www.hsus.org/ace/11665

List of free resources for methods in evaluation and social research

gsociology.icaap.org/methods/

Mercy for Animals – Undercover Investigations

www.mercyforanimals.org/undercover_investigations.asp

Mind Tools – Force Field Analysis

www.mindtools.com/forcefld.html

National Cruelty Investigations School

<http://web.missouri.edu/~letiwwww/animal3.htm>

PETA's guide to becoming an activist

www.animalactivist.com/actguide1.asp

SHARK (Showing Animals Respect and Kindness) – Investigation Methods

www.sharkonline.org/ourmethods.mv

Books

The Animal Welfare Handbook

Caroline Clough and Barry Kew

Publisher: Fourth Estate, London

ISBN: 1857020472

A good basic introduction to animal protection issues.



**The Art of Strategy:****A New Translation of Sun Tzu's 'The Art of War'**

Wing

Publisher: Bantam Doubleday

ISBN: 0385237847

Campaign Against Cruelty: An Activist's Handbook

Alex Bourke and Ronny Worsey

Publisher: Scamp Media

ISBN: 189846202X

Available from: Vegetarian Guides, PO Box 2284, London W1A 5UH.

A local (UK-based) animal rights approach.

Campaigning: The A to Z of Public Advocacy

Des Wilson, Leighton Andrews

Publisher: Hawksmere Ltd

ISBN: 1854180363

The Campaigning Handbook

Mark Lattimer

Publisher: Directory of Social Change

ISBN: 1900360632

How to Win Campaigns: 100 Steps to Success

Chris Rose

Publisher: Earthscan

ISBN: 1853839620

How to Win Friends and Influence People

Dale Carnegie

Publisher: Pocket

ISBN: 0671027034

The Young Person's Guide to Animal Rights

Barbara James

Publisher: Virago Press

ISBN: 1853814695