

Mapping the UK farmed animal advocacy movement

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Executive Summary

[Social Change Lab](#) has undertaken a survey of 17 organisations involved in the UK farmed animal movement. Collectively, these organisations account for over £13m of resources, which we believe is the vast majority of UK farmed animal funding. This report outlines the resource allocation within the sector, considering funding allocated to different strategies and stakeholders. **We hope that having the whole farmed animal landscape mapped in this way will help organisations evaluate the approaches they are using or considering, as well as identify gaps and new opportunities in the movement as a whole.**

Some key findings of the survey are:

- 39% of total funds are allocated to business-focused campaigns (e.g. welfare campaigns or institutional meat reduction), 26% of funds target the government, 26% focus on the public and 9% are movement-focused (see [page 10](#)).
- 72% of financial resources are currently allocated to ‘good-cop’ tactics - that is, approaches which involve working collaboratively with stakeholders in a high-trust setting (see [page 12](#))
- The single biggest area of spending is on ‘Welfare-related partnerships with food businesses’, which accounts for a spend of £2.59million (see [page 10](#)).
- The next biggest single spend area is on ‘Animal welfare policy advocacy via public pressure’, which accounts for £1.48 million in spending.
- Respondents identified gaps in the areas of coalition building and diversifying tactics within the movement by experimenting with a wider range of interventions and campaigns ([see page 15](#)).

Contents

Executive Summary	3
About Social Change Lab	3
Background	4
Budgets for UK farmed animal advocacy	5
Stakeholder focus across the sector	5
Breakdown of resource allocation by strategy	7
Inside-game vs outside-game strategies	11
High-level objectives	12
Potential new work in the pipeline	14
Perceived gaps in the UK farm animal advocacy movement	15
Our interpretation & insights	16
Insight #1. A relatively small proportion of overall resources goes towards ‘bad cop’ strategies	16
Insight #2: Business-focused plant-based campaigns might be a promising programmatic area	18
Insight #3: There is relatively little spent on movement-wide programs e.g. training, collaboration, education and research.	20

About Social Change Lab

[Social Change Lab](#) conducts and disseminates social movement research to help solve the world’s most pressing problems, focusing predominantly on animal advocacy and climate change.

We seek to inform advocates, decision-makers and philanthropists on the best ways to accelerate positive social change. You can see a list of previous research projects [here](#).

Background

Social Change Lab surveyed 17 organisations working on farmed animal advocacy in the UK. The goal of the survey was to understand the allocation of resources to different strategies and stakeholders. The 17 organisations who responded make up over £13 million in resources and include most of the key players in the UK animal advocacy movement. We modelled our research on this [2021 State of the Movement Report](#) by Farmed Animal Funders and will refer to it in several sections. The full list of survey questions we asked is in [this document](#). The full list of organisations that responded is:

- Animal Law Foundation
- Animal Equality UK
- Veganuary
- RSPCA
- Animal Think Tank
- Open Cages
- PETA UK
- Four Paws UK
- ProVeg UK
- The Vegan Society
- World Animal Protection
- Animal Aid
- The Humane League UK
- Humane Society International UK

We also answered the survey based on research or existing knowledge for the following organisations that did not complete the survey:

- Animal Rising
- CIWF UK
- CIWF Food Business

Some notable organisations who did not complete the survey (and about whom we had insufficient data to complete it on their behalf) include:

- GFI Europe
- Conservative Animal Welfare Foundation
- Viva!

As a result of these omissions and estimates, it is unlikely that our final results are completely accurate. However, we hope that they still represent a reasonably good estimate of the overall landscape.

In this report, we first present our descriptive results, without interpretation, that show the results from our survey. In the final section, we provide our own interpretation and recommendations based on our analysis.

This work was supported by [The Humane League UK](#) and we thank them for all the useful feedback and comments in drafting this report.

Budgets for UK farmed animal advocacy

The total budget of respondents was £13.1 million. For context, this is about 6.5% of the total global philanthropic spending focused on ending factory farming (see [Farmed Animal Funders report here](#)).

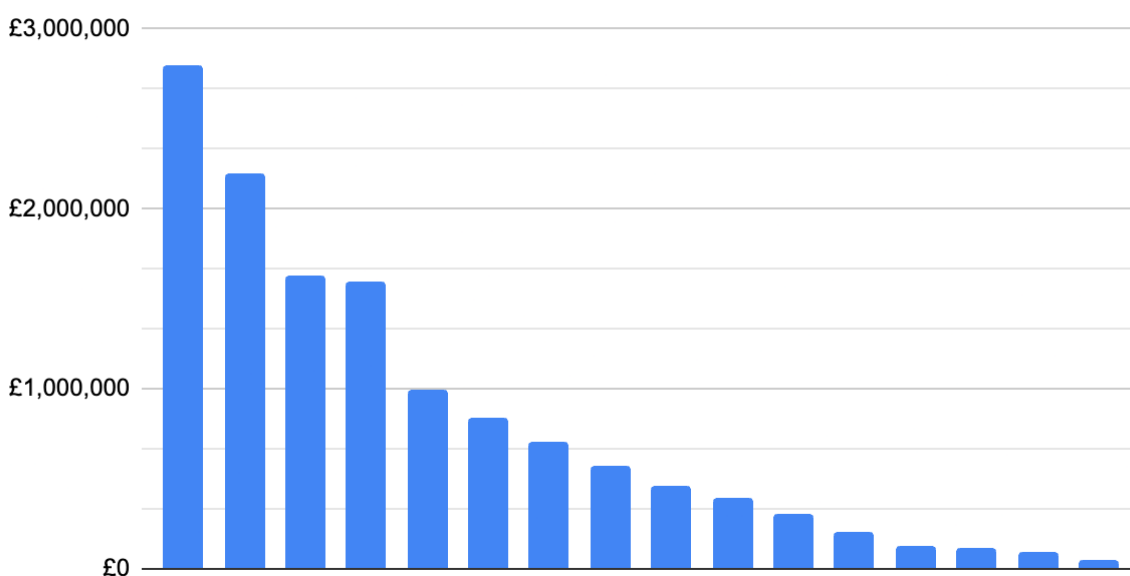


Figure 1: Overall budgets of the organisations surveyed, where each bar represents a different organisation.

Stakeholder focus across the sector

We asked respondents about the extent to which they focused on the following main stakeholders:

- Government
- Business
- Public
- Movement (e.g. coalition building, research, measurement & evaluation, training and education of staff).

Participants reported the percentage of the overall budget they spent on each of these main categories.

Spending breakdown by category

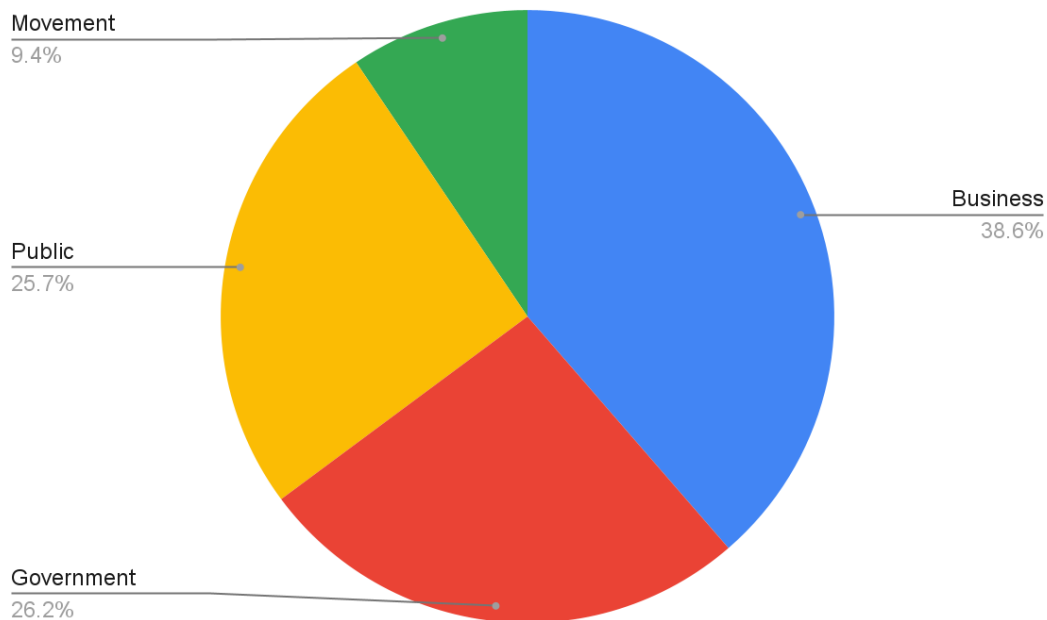


Figure 2: Spending breakdown by stakeholder.

This overall picture shows that business-focused work receives the highest proportion of funding, just under 39% of total funding, or just over £5.1 million. By contrast, movement spending receives the lowest proportion, accounting for less than 10% of overall spending, at a little over £1.2 million. Note that part of the explanation for this might lie in the fact we did not survey many 'meta' animal organisations, which are generally global in scope, such as Animal Advocacy Careers, Sentient Media, Vegan Hacktivists, Animal Ask and other similar organisations. Additionally, there is no good evidence for what the 'ideal' proportions of this different work **should** be, so it is plausible that this current allocation is reasonably optimal.

However, as a reference point, we can look at the global breakdown of animal advocacy resources by focus area from the [2021 State of the Movement Report](#) by Farmed Animal Funders below. The biggest difference seems to be that public-focused spending is the highest category on the global picture, whilst business-focused spending is highest for the UK. Additionally, spending on building the capacity or strength of the overall movement is higher in the global view, whilst government-targeted spending is lower.

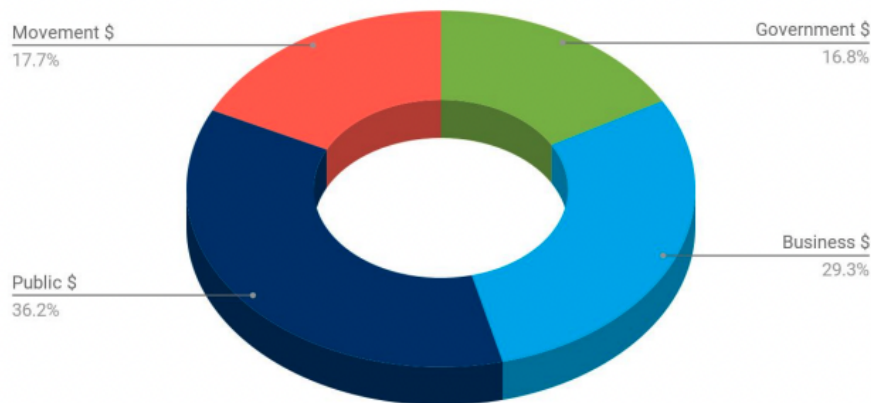


Figure 3: The breakdown of global animal advocacy funding, per work type. Source: [2021 State of the Movement Report](#) by Farmed Animal Funders

The figure below shows the breakdown of total spending per work type for each of the 17 different organisations we surveyed.

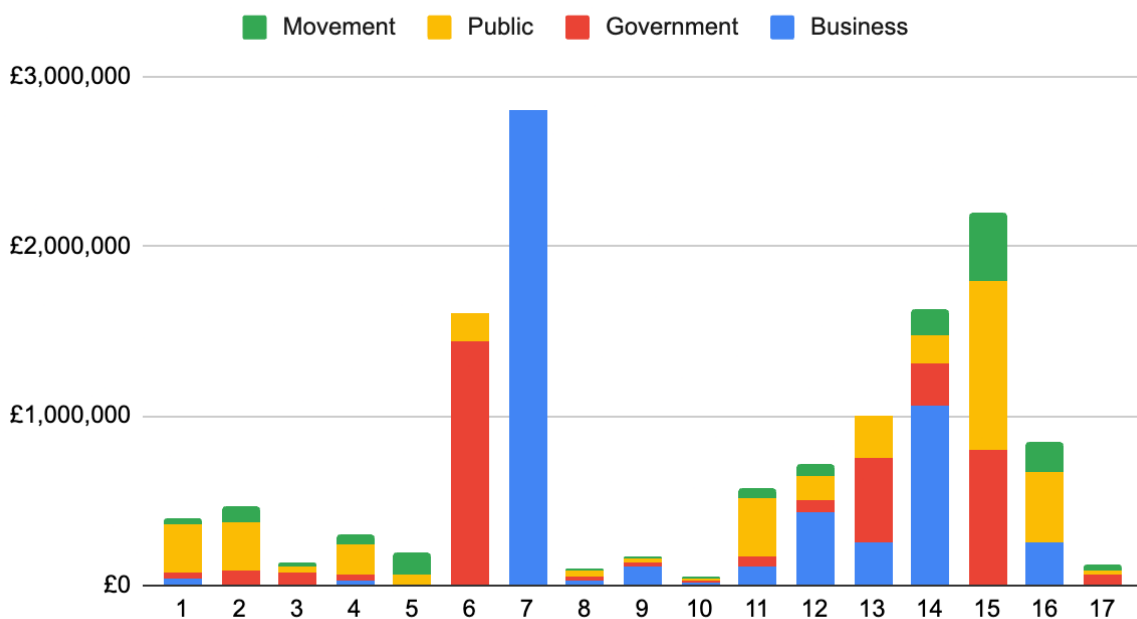


Figure 4: A stakeholder-focused breakdown of spending by the various organisations (labelled randomly as 1-17 for reasons of anonymity).

Breakdown of resource allocation by strategy

To give more detail about the work being carried out, we also asked each organisation about the allocation of their work on a range of subcategories within these headline categories. The full list of options was as follows:

Government

- Alternative protein policy advocacy (e.g. novel foods regulation, government R&D) via direct contact with legislators or government officials
- Animal welfare policy advocacy (e.g. slaughter regulations, welfare standards) via direct contact with legislators or government officials
- Animal welfare policy advocacy via public pressure (e.g. social media campaigns targeting MPs, petitions)
- Legal action (e.g. litigation, judicial reviews, prosecutions of farm animal cruelty)
- Other (specify)

Business

- Welfare-related campaigning (e.g. cage-free campaigns towards supermarkets, restaurants, etc)
- Welfare-related partnerships with food businesses (e.g. technical guidance, corporate awards, tailored support based on non-disclosure agreements)
- Institutional plant-based advocacy (e.g. Default veg, meat-free Mondays, etc.)
- Alternative proteins (e.g. increasing offerings of alternative proteins in businesses, plant-based supply chains, entrepreneurship, start-ups, venture capital)
- Other (specify)

Public

- Individual diet change (e.g. humane education in schools, outreach, events, etc)
- Mass communications (e.g. investigations, media, adverts, etc)
- Grassroots mobilisation (e.g. organising volunteer or local groups, protests)
- Other (specify)

Movement

- Coalition building (e.g. combined efforts and actions, opportunities for collaboration, information-sharing)
- Research (e.g. research, scholarly works, peer-reviewed articles, academic partnerships)
- Training and education (e.g. internal training programs, leadership, staff education)
- Monitoring and evaluation (e.g. evaluations of programs and analysis of impact)
- Meta (e.g. supporting other animal organisations via training, hiring, media or other services)
- Other (specify)

When we consider this more detailed breakdown for the sector as a whole, **the clearly dominant focus area is 'Animal welfare related partnerships with food businesses', with a total spend of £2.59 million** (see graph below). 'Animal welfare policy via public pressure' is another popular strategy, accounting for £1.48 million in spending. This number is surprisingly high (to the authors), with the majority of it being composed of one organisation.

Another area with a significant single spend is 'Mass communications towards the public' (£1.37m). Roughly half of these mass communications focus on veganism as a diet or ideology, with the other 50% of public communications being focused on animal welfare. It should be noted that there is potential overlap between some of the categories, e.g. welfare-related business campaigning and public communications, as the latter is often used in service to the former. **As a result, there is likely more spent on public communications than is represented** (e.g. one campaigning group put £0 for this category even though they definitely carry out public-facing communications). As an additional note, the 'Government: Other' category is primarily composed of institutional plant-based advocacy for government institutions e.g. schools, councils, and hospitals.

The breakdown by category is shown in the chart on the next page.

Detailed breakdown of focus areas

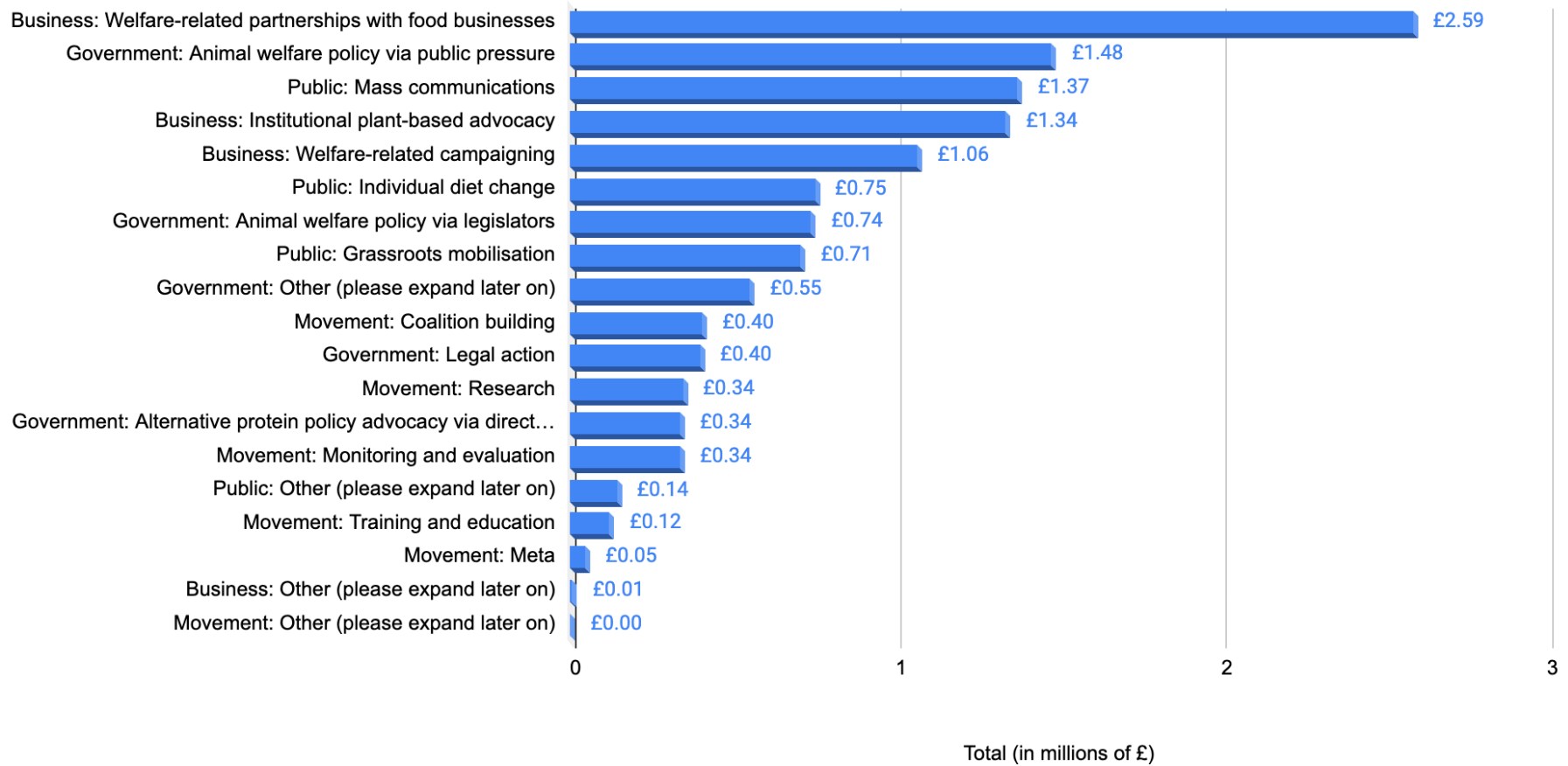


Figure 5: Overall sector spending by subcategory

Inside-game vs outside-game strategies

We asked respondents, “To what extent do you work using an “inside game” approach e.g. working collaboratively with stakeholders you want to influence vs an “outside game” approach e.g. applying pressure to stakeholders using more confrontational tactics?” (Where 0 = Extremely collaborative and 100 = Extremely confrontational). Respondents answered with a single-point answer (e.g. 22 or 67) for their work as a whole. We aggregated their answers into 5 buckets, as represented in the graph in Figure 6. It’s important to note that in reality, this answer would be likely to differ based on the particular program. For example, some groups might conduct campaigns against businesses that might score an 80 but also work collaboratively with the government which might score 25. We asked in the way we did in order not to make the survey too onerous for organisations to complete. As a result, our categorisation is a somewhat simplistic average estimate.

For more context on inside-outside game strategies, see [this blog post](#) which summarises the work of movement scholars Mark and Paul Engler. As a note, in this report and in the slides, we interchangeably refer to this dynamic as either “inside-game” or “outside-game” organisations and as “good cops” or “bad cops”.

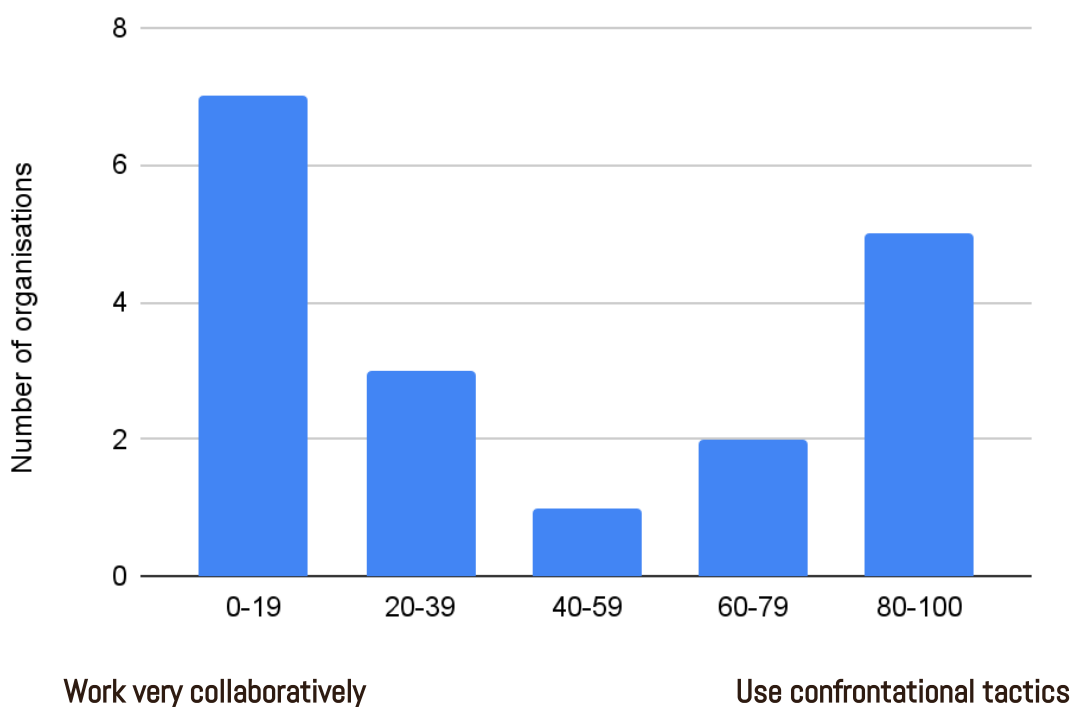


Figure 6: Balance of ‘good cop’ / ‘bad cop’ tactics within the sector overall.

Overall spending on the inside vs outside game

To get a sense of the overall division of resources between these approaches, we roughly calculated the spending for inside and outside game by looking at where organisations put themselves on the collaboration/confrontation continuum and finding the sum of their organisational budgets. **The responses show that most resources are currently spent on the 'inside game'. Just over 58% of UK farmed animal resources go towards working with stakeholders in a 'very collaborative' way** (bucket 0-19 on the graph), or 72% of total resources if we include buckets 0-39 (working 'collaboratively'). As above, it's likely that this would change for the organisation based on specific programs.

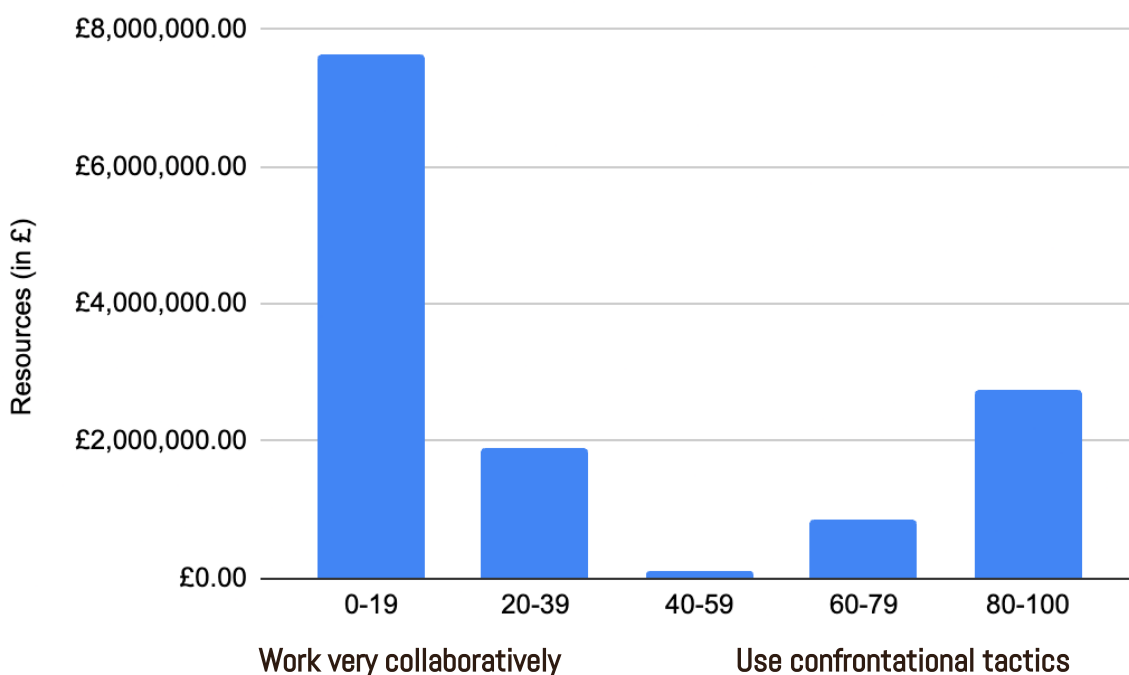


Figure 7: Overall spending relative to the different ways of interacting with stakeholders (e.g. food businesses or the government)

High-level objectives

We asked organisations to respond on a 5-point Likert scale (from 'not at all' to 'exclusively') to tell us the extent to which they were focused on some specific animal-aligned objectives, namely:

- Promoting and growing veganism
- Promoting meat reduction (or increased consumption of plant-based products)
- Working towards the abolition of farmed animals
- Working towards the improved welfare of farmed animals

We chose the above categories as a rough way to understand the underlying objectives and goals driving animal advocacy organisations. Whilst our categorisation isn't perfect, and there are plenty of overlaps, we see the category of "Promoting and growing veganism" to refer to work done promoting veganism as a lifestyle or ideology, as by groups like The Vegan Society or Veganuary. Whilst this would approximately equate to "the abolition of farmed animals", we separated this category to see who was tackling the issues from an animal welfare perspective rather than a vegan perspective.

Figure 8 shows the distribution of results, unadjusted for the organisational budgets. These overall results suggest that most organisations are working on improved welfare or abolition of farmed animals. Fewer are focused on veganism and meat reduction.

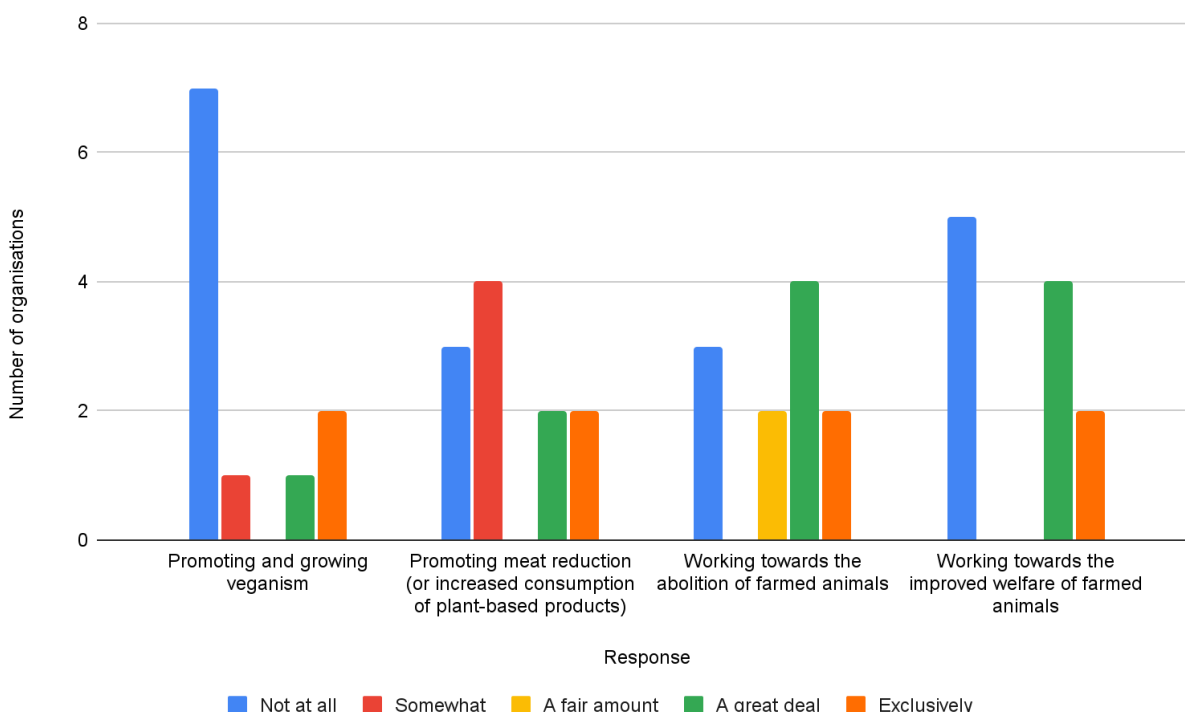


Figure 8: The extent to which organisations are pursuing different high-level objectives to help animals

To get a sense of the spending distribution on different goals - and we emphasise that this is speculative - we subjectively translated qualitative answers (e.g. 'somewhat', 'a fair amount', 'a great deal') into rough proportions which we then multiplied by

organisational budget size.¹ This calculation shows that most resources (45% of total spending, £5.9 million) go towards welfare improvements of farmed animals. Approximately £2.3 million, or 17% of the total, goes to each of 'promoting and growing veganism' and 'promoting meat reduction' (or increased consumption of plant-based products). Working towards the abolition of farmed animals makes up the final 21%, at £2.8 million. Again, it is not clear what the optimal spending distribution is. However, plant-based advocacy seems to be relatively weak relative to animal-welfare-specific work. The results are shown in Figure 9 below. Again, we reiterate that this extrapolation gives only a rough, speculative estimate of spending.

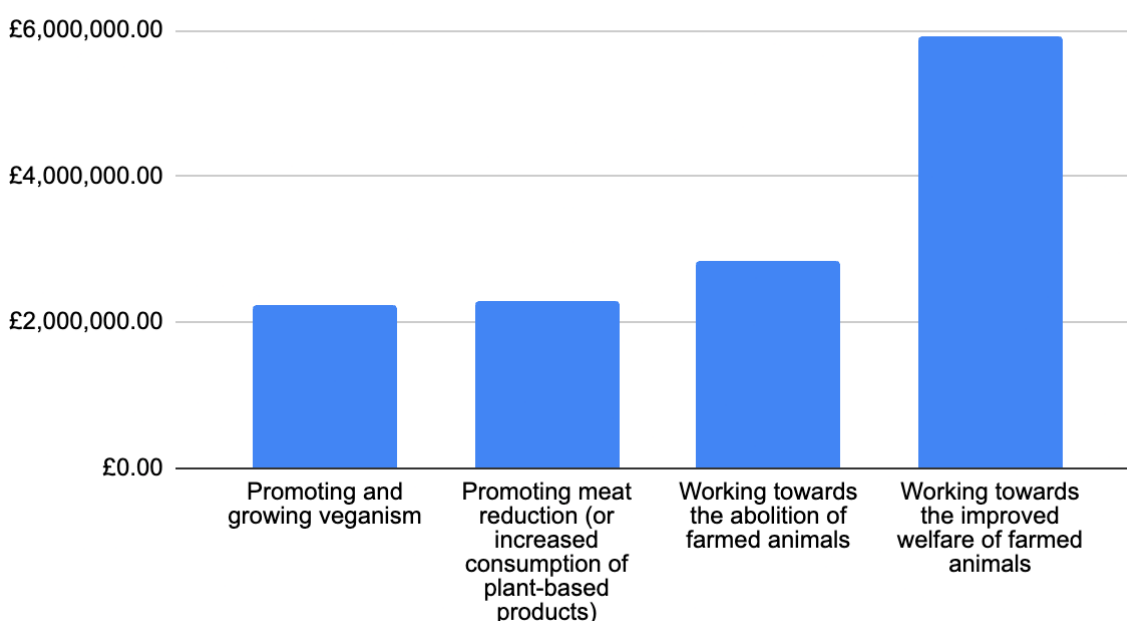


Figure 9: The financial allocations of how the UK farmed animal movement is pursuing different high-level objectives to help animals

Potential new work in the pipeline

We asked respondents whether there were specific areas of work they were not currently involved in but had plans to start. Only 8 (of 17) answered this question. Their responses included:

¹ Our qualitative scale had the following answers: 'Not at all', 'somewhat', 'a fair amount', 'a great deal' and 'exclusively'. We assigned these an ordinal scale such that 'Not at all' = 0, 'somewhat' = 1, 'a fair amount' = 2, 'a great deal' = 3 and 'exclusively' = 5. We then found the relative proportions of these to weight the total budget per objective e.g. if they noted 'somewhat' and 'exclusively' for two objectives then we would assign those objectives 1/6 and 5/6 of the total budget respectively.

- “Working with companies on more longer-term corporate commitments towards veganism”
- “Alternative protein”
- From one (smaller) organisation:
 - “Potentially looking at corporate meat reduction campaigns
 - Looking at insect welfare which is also a possible future for us in the UK
 - We would also consider working on wild-caught fish slaughter”
- “Planning more campaigns to balance our topic focus and expand the idea of veganism as a lifestyle rather than solely food focus”
- “No new focuses of work” (two respondents)

The small number of responses to this question, as well as our own sense of organisational priorities and inertia, lead us to think that the balance of organisational focus will remain largely unchanged in the immediate future (e.g. the next year).

Perceived gaps in the UK farm animal advocacy movement

We asked respondents where they thought the biggest gaps in the UK-farmed animal movement currently are. We asked them to consider where they would deploy five additional staff if they could work on any strategy or approach. Nine respondents answered this question, giving the following suggestions:

- “Public affairs/lobbying capacity”
- “Convening other groups in the space to ensure alignment, prevent duplication and share resources”
- “Consolidation of the UK civil society sector so that we're aligned in our asks.”
- “More resources and energy being put into pressuring corporates to sign the BCC.”
- “Exposing the 'institutionalised cruelty' of standard practices”
- “Our tactics and goals tend to be quite similar. What could be most useful would be to have more effective groups willing to try untested and risky approaches.”
- “Providing food businesses with technical support and expertise in shifting their supply chains to higher welfare”
- “I would love to see more work being done on 'the enforcement problem', utilising different skill sets and strategies.”
- “Community organising, cultural change and strategic litigation”

Two of the comments suggest organisations are interested in greater alignment between UK animal advocacy organisations. **Otherwise, there was no clear consensus of where the main gaps are, perhaps an indication of across-the-board resource constraints facing the UK animal advocacy sector.** That is, given the relatively small amount of funding in the UK farmed animal ecosystem as a whole, perhaps there are many good opportunities to do more work.

Our interpretation & insights

This section strays from the previous work of simply describing the results from our survey. Instead, here, we provide our own interpretation and insights that may (or may not) be useful to actors within the UK farmed animal ecosystem.

Insight #1. A relatively small proportion of overall resources goes towards ‘bad cop’ strategies

We think ‘bad cop’ campaigning organisations should maintain their focus on these strategies, rather than mostly or all moving towards much more collaborative approaches.

Why?

This is a useful dynamic for the farmed animal ecosystem. Having heard from ‘inside game’ animal NGOs, and based on research into other social movements (see below), this ‘good-cop-bad-cop’ dynamic is often a helpful tool for changemakers. Specifically, it allows bad-cop organisations to apply pressure to organisations whilst good-cop organisations can capitalise on this pressure by offering to support a corporate or legislative change. Without this external pressure, the target might not have sufficient incentives to implement change on its own.

An estimated 72% of the current financial resources are currently allocated towards good-cop tactics (that is, organisations saying they are at least mostly collaborative rather than using confrontational approaches), so this approach seems relatively well-funded relative to bad-cop tactics. One organisation makes up 45% of the resources going to “bad-cop” or “outside-game” tactics (buckets 60-100). **If this organisation were to significantly change its current approach away from ‘bad cop’ tactics; this could have a significant, and we believe negative, impact on the UK farmed animal ecosystem.** Additionally, this same organisation comprises the vast majority of spending on welfare-related business campaigning, which likely opens the door for other groups to benefit from this pressure. While it is not clear what the

optimal allocation of good cop vs bad cop resources should be in the UK farmed animal movement, 30% for bad-cop tactics seems like a reasonable lower bound (i.e. we think if it's much lower than 30% of total funding, that could mean we are less impactful in achieving our goals, based on the evidence below).

Other evidence of the importance of 'bad cops'

To briefly cover some additional evidence of why we think having both a 'bad cop' and 'good cop' role is likely to be beneficial within social movements:

- In an [experimental study on the public](#), Simpson et al. (2022) find that **having a radical flank that uses radical tactics results in a more favourable impression of a more moderate flank**, whereas a radical flank that *has a radical ideology* (but does not use more radical tactics) has no impact on the perception of the more moderate group. This seems to suggest that a radical flank with radical tactics may lead to more moderate groups being perceived more favourably, whereas a radical flank that merely has a radical agenda will have little or no impact on a more moderate group. Having a moderate group perceived as more reasonable is likely to lead to increased support for that group's goals, greater identification with the movement and resulting [increased mobilisation](#) for that issue. This study is particularly useful as it tests this in the specific example of animal advocacy groups, one of the few studies to do so.
- Social Change Lab then corroborated the above findings in [public opinion polling](#) for the climate movement. We found a positive radical flank effect, whereby increased awareness of Just Stop Oil (the 'bad cop') resulted in increased support for and identification with Friends of the Earth (the 'good cop').
- In our [interviews with UK civil servants](#), one DEFRA civil servant noted that 'bad cop' tactics, like protest, were influential in raising awareness and political salience around live export, which led to it having much more importance on the political agenda. They noted that this was a significant factor in the commitment to ban live exports, although this was recently dropped by the government.
- The failure of important US climate legislation, cap-and-trade, was attributed (in some part) to a lack of outside-game strategies in the US climate movement, in a [lengthy 142-page report](#) released by Harvard Professor of Sociology, Theda Skocpol. Specifically, she states "Big, society-shifting reforms are not achieved in the United States principally through insider bargains. They depend on the inspiration and extra oomph that comes from the widely ramified organization and broad democratic mobilization."
- Social Change Lab [polled over 120 expert academics](#) who study social movements and 54% thought it was quite important or very important that social movements have both a radical and moderate flank, to increase their chances of success.

- Whilst not always true, bad cop tactics are more likely to result in high levels of media coverage, which in turn are more likely to result in media coverage and public awareness of the issue. This is important as media coverage is likely to affect policymakers' conceptions of public opinion, boost issues up the political agenda and result in [agenda-setting](#).

Do bad cops have to be exclusively bad?

We don't think it's essential that organisations solely use 'bad cop' tactics, and it's reasonable that you might want to use 'good cop' tactics with certain stakeholders (e.g. when you're starting a campaign) which might turn to 'bad cop' tactics over time if there is a lack of meaningful progress. Additionally, it might also vary based on the campaigns you do e.g. 'bad cop' for welfare commitments but 'good cop' for plant-based advocacy. Despite this, very few organisations tend to straddle both the 'good cop' and 'bad cop' fields, as seen by our data. One explanation for this is that external stakeholders will likely perceive you as a 'bad cop' if you use any confrontational tactics, which may harm your ability to enter high-trust collaborative relationships in the future. As such, a division of strategies between different organisations might be a more productive split.

Collaboration between the inside game and outside game

As discussed in [this article](#), both the 'good cops' and 'bad cops' are likely to benefit when there is clear and regular communication between the various parties. This communication enables both parties to be aware of potentially winnable opportunities and synchronise their efforts, leading to higher chances of securing various corporate or legislative victories. Additionally, it can mean that organisations can coordinate their efforts such that there are sustained periods of high pressure on targets, which can also increase the likelihood of success. In the worst case, it can mitigate duplication of work, stepping on each other's toes and negatively impacting another organisation's campaign (for example, by reducing the trust that a particularly sensitive business has in working with animal advocacy organisations).

Insight #2: Business-focused plant-based campaigns might be a promising programmatic area

Of the new areas to explore, pressuring food companies to make plant-based commitments seem promising. We haven't examined this deeply but think it might be worth further investigation by the interested nonprofits.

Why business-focused plant-based campaigns?

- Large food service providers in the US (e.g. Sodexo and Aramark) have made [significant new commitments](#) to offering more plant-based options. The scale of these businesses is very considerable, as is the size of the commitment they are making: around 40-50% of their menu becoming plant-based by 2025. This constitutes a significant quantity of animal products replaced.
- An obvious sell for the food service providers is that increasing plant-based offerings would help them meet their climate goals, as well as meet the changing demands of younger generations who are more likely to consume less meat.
- However, to our knowledge, most of this work is being done via a 'good cop' approach by organisations like [CIWF Food Business](#) or [HSI Food Forward](#). It's possible (but we're not certain) that a 'bad cop' might be useful to further pressure food service providers and other similar businesses.
- There is also some work being done by [WWF](#), which might be worrying as they often recommend less carbon-intensive animals (e.g. fish or insects) at the cost of higher numbers of animals killed. As such, offering more animal-friendly recommendations to food service providers might significantly help animals if it avoids a switch from large carbon-intensive animals like cows to smaller ones like chickens or fish.
- However, we don't have a good sense of this space and would definitely recommend further investigation and discussion with existing organisations.

Some brief research on the size of these organisations indicates that even modest corporate commitments might have wide-ranging impacts. For example, when just considering Sodexo UK:

- Sodexo Health & Care [provides](#) some 5.2 million meals a year across 53 hospitals.
- [Sodexo Schools](#) works with 100 schools and serves thousands of meals per day
- [Sodexo Restorative Justice & Prison Management](#) manages all food for 6,000 prisoners (so 18,000 meals per day, 6.6 million per year)
- [Sodexo College & University](#) works with 30 universities on 50 sites.

Overall, Sodexo serves over [one million meals per day](#) (365 million meals per year) in the UK and Aramark UK serves [250,000 meals per day](#) (90 million per year).

Insight #3: There is relatively little spent on movement-wide programs e.g. training, collaboration, education and research.

Less than 10% of overall funding is spent on the animal advocacy 'Movement' (e.g. coalition building, research, measurement & evaluation, training and education of staff). Some of the comments from survey participants also alluded to gaps in this area (responses included, for example, the need for "Convening other groups in the space to ensure alignment, prevent duplication and share resources" and "Consolidation of the UK civil society sector so that we're aligned in our asks."). We think this evidence points to the possibility that more could be done in terms of creating and growing movement-wide programs and that this, in turn, could improve the effectiveness of the movement in various ways, including:

- Allowing groups with different tactics to work together on a shared goal (for example, exploiting any possible radical flank effects)
- Giving a stronger sense to the wider public that groups are not 'niches' but part of a large and growing movement towards the better treatment of animals
- Better intelligence and knowledge-sharing
- Increasing motivation and a sense of shared mission

In terms of how this could practically happen, options (that may already be happening) include:

- A regular UK-wide in-person retreat of all major organisations worked on farmed animals or veganism
- Similar to the above, there might be shorter and more focused events where all the UK organisations working on (for example) broiler chickens come together, to discuss their strategies and work out if there is any space for collaboration
- At the beginning of each year, charities share their yearly strategy and plans (as fleshed out as possible, given this may be hard with reactive groups) with other groups campaigning on the same issue
- All major organisations share a [theory of change](#) that highlights how their organisations expect to achieve change, to understand the relative differences in assumptions and strategy of different organisations
- Specific working groups, that meet on a regular basis, for organisations campaigning towards the same goal (e.g. changing school food legislation)

Whilst some of the above require trust and commitment, we believe they would lead to significant positive impacts in achieving our collective goal. **Additionally, they often require one or two organisations to step up and lead the way**, such as by being the first to share their theory of change or by organising a small working group. **If anyone**

is interested in leading or starting some of this collaboration, please reach out to us as we would be happy to support you in doing so.