The Farmed Animal Protection Movement

COMMON STRATEGIES FOR IMPROVING AND PROTECTING THE LIVES OF FARMED ANIMALS

FARMFORWARD

SEPTEMBER 2020

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Cover Photo: Mishka Henner, Tascosa Feedyard, Bushland, TX (detail), 2013

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Common strategies for improving and protecting the lives of farmed animals

INTRODUCTION

This report describes and analyses 16 strategies employed by the Farmed Animal Protection Movement (FAPM). It is a portion of a larger Landscape Report on the FAPM that Farm Forward was commissioned to produce for a client in the funding community.

The aim of the larger Landscape Report was both *descriptive* (to provide helpful information for a funder seeking to learn about the FAPM to inform their grantmaking) and *prescriptive* (to help guide our client toward funding decisions that align with the values they articulated and with Farm Forward's own assessments of the funder's potential impact). This revised version is condensed and edited with the aim of being useful to a larger audience. In particular, we assume that readers already share certain values of the FAPM—a concern for the suffering of farmed animals, for example—and that readers are interested to learn more about the history, politics, structures, and ideologies that shape farmed animal protection. We hope this report will facilitate greater investment and participation in farmed animal protection work by helping readers identify entry points for engaging with the advocacy community.

To produce our Landscape Report we conducted more than 30 interviews with leaders, staff, and funders within the FAPM and related advocacy spaces, and reviewed scientific and expert research, publicly available financial information, and nonprofit websites extensively. We also drew upon the direct experience of our own team. At the end of this report we provide a list of people we interviewed for the report, but have redacted their names within the document to preserve confidentiality. We presented the Landscape Report to our client in January 2020 and have revised and adapted this portion for a wider audience.

The FAPM strategies included in this report include:

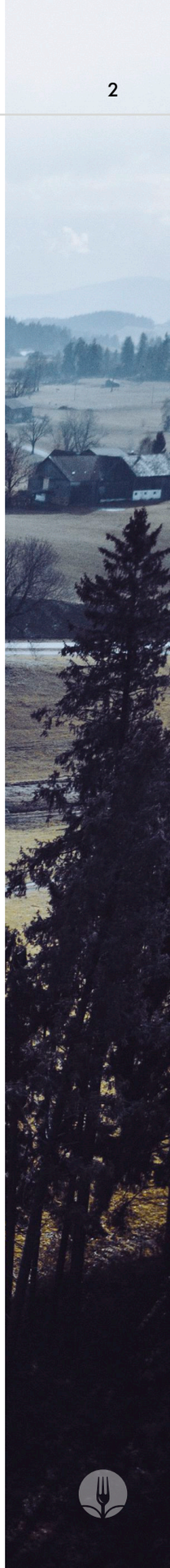
1. Corporate Advocacy
2. Legislation and Policy Advocacy
3. Institutional Food Policy
4. Food Technology
5. Veg Advocacy
6. Farm Sanctuaries
7. Humane Education
8. Undercover Investigations
9. Community-Focused Advocacy
10. Academic
11. International
12. Animal Welfare Certifications
13. Arts and Culture
14. Movement/Institution Building
15. Highest Welfare Farming
16. Farm Transformation

The Glossary of Terms at the end of this document defines "insider" terms, industry jargon, and technical terms that are used frequently in the FAPM. The definitions represent the ways these terms are understood *within the FAPM*.

ABOUT US

Farm Forward is a mission-driven nonprofit advocacy organization that conducts advocacy campaigns against factory farming *and* provides consultation to advocacy groups, funders, and businesses on a range of farmed animal protection issues. We do not claim to be neutral parties in the content of this report—rather, one of the strengths we bring to this project is our team's deep experience as insiders within the FAPM movement. As a result we have left out granular analysis and data that would be expected in a report claiming academic objectivity. We have attempted to be transparent when we are expressing Farm Forward's *informed opinions* as well as observations based on our own experience rather than outside research or interviews (usually through footnotes). This report is *not* meant to provide a comprehensive or encyclopedic overview of the FAPM. Such a report could be valuable, but would require more extensive research (possibly with academic partners) over a longer period of time.

We assume two core common values with our readers: that the welfare and well-being of farmed animals matters, and that advocacy work which *centers* farmed animals merits more robust funding and support.



WHY WE SELECTED THESE 16 STRATEGIES

The farmed animal protection movement is complex, encompassing a wide range of opinions and strategies. Our selection of these 16 strategies was based on several factors:

1. **Strategies that *center* farmed animals** in their missions, motivations, or impact.

2. **Their prominence in the FAPM**—strategies that receive a larger share of funding, staff support, attention in media, and/or interest by people engaged in the FAPM.

3. **Their strategic importance.** We've included some strategies that are less prominent but may be valuable for understanding the FAPM today.

4. **Their interest to our client.** While we did not *limit* this report to strategies requested by our client, we included strategies that our client requested.

WHAT IS *NOT* INCLUDED IN THIS REPORT

Certain strategies may be absent, or underrepresented, in this report, but that does not mean they are less important or less impactful. For example:

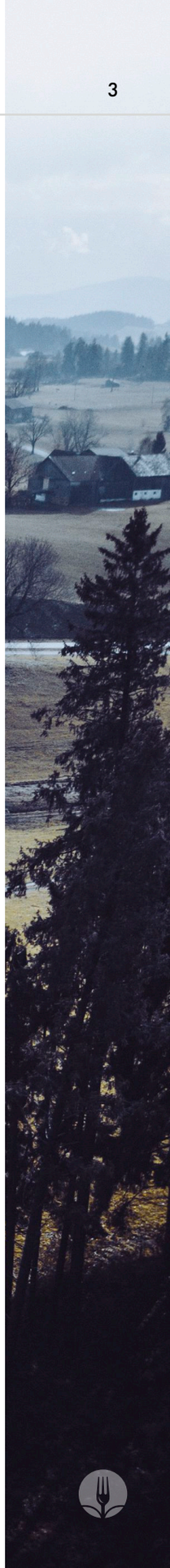
- **Work originating outside of the U.S.** There are hundreds of animal protection organizations in countries around the world doing important work, but we could not responsibly or feasibly attempt to analyze them in the scope of this project. However, we include the global strategies of several US-based groups under the "International" heading. Many of the most impactful arenas for efforts to protect farmed animals fall outside of the US and are led by local (non-US) groups.

- **For-profit business development and impact investing.** We limited the scope of this project to nonprofit advocacy work that is supported by philanthropic giving.

- **Strategies originating in *adjacent* movements** like environmentalism, public health, sustainable agriculture, and food justice that may benefit farmed animals (and may be important allies for the FAPM) but do not center farmed animals themselves. We have included a section on Related Advocacy Movements that explores ways in which advocacy work centering climate, environment, and antibiotic resistance, and consumer advocacy connects to work within the FAPM.

- **Online advocacy conducted by individuals.** Bloggers, YouTubers, and social media influencers may be having an important impact on promoting plant-based diets and raising consumer awareness of farmed animal issues. We have focused, however, on work conducted by nonprofit advocacy groups, rather than individuals.

This report does not include important topics that may help readers understand the context in which these 16 strategies operate. Some of these topics (e.g. philanthropic trends, values, evaluating impact, and understanding welfare) were part of our larger Landscape Report, and some will be published as separate



documents. We have also omitted much of the *prescriptive* content within our original report, which was tailored to our client's needs and values.

ONE MORE IMPORTANT NOTE

The research for this report was conducted prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has altered the landscape of advocacy work, and farmed animal protection specifically. The links between pandemic diseases and factory farming have increased the urgency and visibility of work to regulate or eliminate industrial animal agriculture. This may alter the impact calculus that drives philanthropic giving in strategies, like Legislation and Policy Advocacy, or Animal Welfare Certifications. It may also give rise to powerful new strategies.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 01

Corporate Advocacy

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 01

Corporate Advocacy

Projects that pressure companies to improve their welfare practices.

SUMMARY

Corporate advocacy campaigns, which began in the mid 2000s and have come to dominate the FAPM, seek improved conditions for farmed animals by focusing on welfare practices (e.g. eliminating cages for laying hens and gestation crates for sows) to reduce the acuity of suffering for large numbers of animals. The methods by which corporate campaigns are evaluated—quantifying the number of animals (or "animal years") impacted—leads to the prioritization of campaign "asks" that can be adopted relatively quickly by the largest conventional producers. New methods of evaluating corporate campaigns, particularly methods that consider the value of improving animals' quality of life in ways that go beyond simple suffering reduction, may be necessary in order to develop corporate campaigns that can achieve long-term improvements for farmed animals or that have the potential to disrupt or reduce the number of concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs) altogether.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Within farmed animal protection, the most common corporate campaigns have four parts:

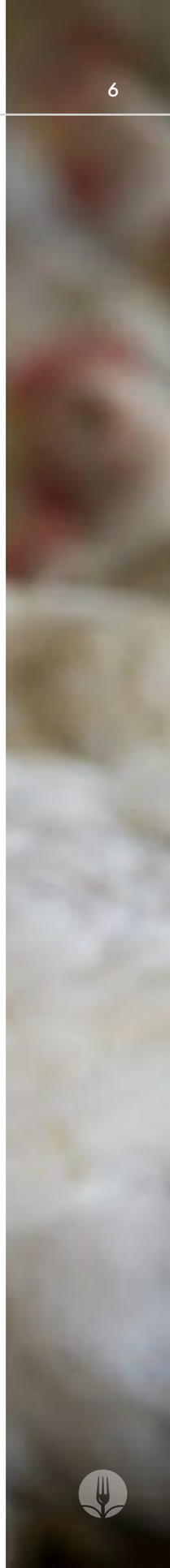
1. Specific welfare standards that advocates push companies to adopt—also known as "the ask."

2. Consumer-facing media campaigns which lead to negotiations in which advocates pressure companies to adopt the standards.

3. Once an agreement with a company is reached, public statements describing the commitment are issued by all parties involved.

4. Follow-up from advocates to ensure companies meet their commitments.

In short, advocates approach companies with an ask and, if ignored, seek broad consumer support to apply further pressure. In most cases the company eventually comes to the table to engage in negotiations. Once an agreement is reached,



companies announce their commitment to improving welfare practices and welfare groups issue statements praising them. Advocates typically keep in contact with companies to ensure progress is made.

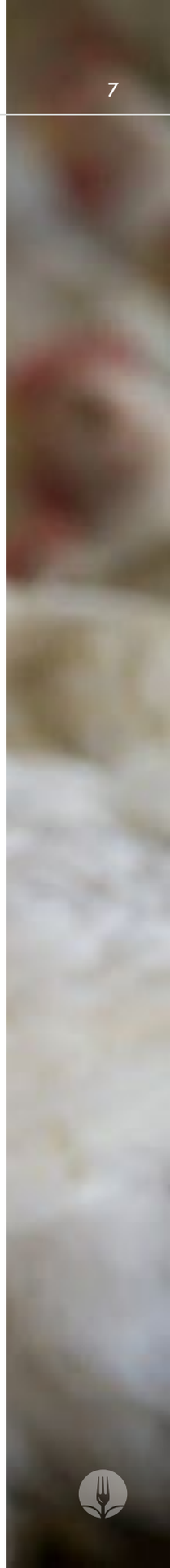
Typically, asks—advocates' demands—have three components: a set of specific animal husbandry or welfare standards, a deadline when companies will have to comply with the standards, and a mechanism for verifying that companies have met the standards. For example, "Our company commits to buy only eggs from hens who have access to vegetated pasture. We will achieve this goal by the end of 2024 and will submit to third-party audits to confirm that the standards are met."

The third component—a requirement for auditing or other mechanisms to ensure corporate compliance with commitments—has been incorporated into some of the newest corporate campaigns, but until recently has not been a standard feature of corporate campaigns. For example, one of the largest early corporate campaigns, the campaign for cage-free eggs launched in the mid and late 2000s, did not include mechanisms to ensure compliance, which makes it difficult for advocates to determine whether companies followed through with their commitments to source and produce cage-free eggs. Many of the commitments secured by these campaigns have not yet reached their deadline for implementation so the extent to which companies will follow through is not yet known. To create transparency and accountability around cage-free commitments, Compassion In World Farming launched "Egg Track" in 2017, which publishes information reported by companies on their progress. To our knowledge the information companies submit to Egg Track is not verified independently.

ANALYSIS

The model of corporate advocacy currently employed by the largest farmed animal groups was pioneered by PETA, which waged campaigns against several fast-food chains beginning with McDonald's in 1999.[01] This style of corporate advocacy has become the most popular (and best-funded) strategy deployed by farmed animal protection groups. Some groups, like the Humane League and Mercy for Animals, employ a more aggressive, adversarial approach to corporate campaigns, while other groups, like Compassion in World Farming USA and the Humane Society of the United States, tend to approach their campaign targets more cordially. Often there is a great deal of strategic collaboration between advocacy groups behind the scenes, even among groups with different approaches. When coordinated, these seemingly-incompatible tactics can be complementary: Corporate campaigns benefit from the grassroots protests and undercover investigations organized by groups with more radical reputations, and from the respectability of groups with mainstream branding and "professional" reputations.

While smaller groups continue to launch independent campaigns,[02] the largest groups have begun to align their corporate campaign strategies to push for specific incremental improvements collectively. In 2016, farmed animal protection groups created a unified set of welfare asks focused on broiler (meat) chickens. This joint ask, now known as the *Better Chicken*



Commitment (BCC), is promoted by nine organizations (at time of writing). In addition to typical housing and slaughter modifications, the BCC is a first-of-its-kind campaign insofar as it requires that producers alter broiler chickens' genetics to improve overall welfare.[03]

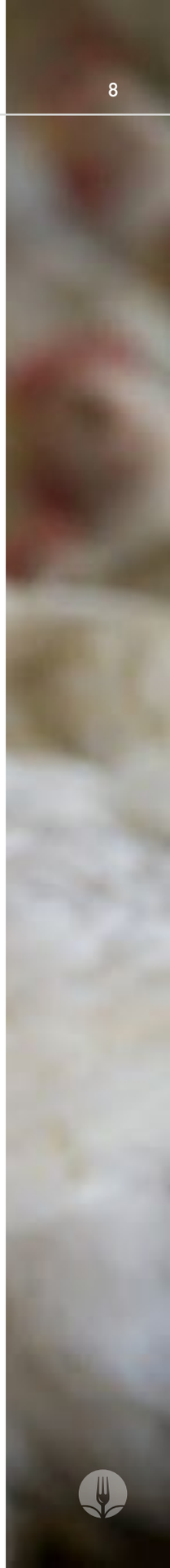
The campaigns of the early 2000s often ran for several years before achieving their objectives, and some ran unsuccessfully for several years only to be scaled down or ended. Today, however, advocates often reach agreements with their corporate targets in just days or weeks with only the occasional campaign lasting months or years. The ongoing BCC campaign targeting McDonald's, which began in 2017, is one notable exception.

The frequency with which groups have won campaigns in recent years has reinforced the sense among funders that the most valuable and cost-effective strategies within corporate campaigning are those that can be won quickly, and has likely to contributed to a sense among consumers that the leadership of most companies are proactive about improving welfare conditions when deficiencies are identified. As a result, when setting campaign asks advocates have been incentivized to pursue "low-hanging fruit" rather than more ambitious goals that can be resource-intensive.

Effective Altruist funders apply metrics for "animals impacted" or "animal years impacted" to measure campaign effectiveness. By this measure the BCC has indeed achieved impressive results—the number of animals impacted by the BCC is estimated to be in the hundreds of millions, even a billion. However, assessments of the BCC (and other major corporate campaigns) lack metrics that measure the improvement in the quality of life achieved for chickens who are raised to the standards it requires. Instead, the BCC and other major corporate campaigns target improvements that activists believe companies will be willing and able to implement on a large scale in the relatively near term, without considering carefully whether a more ambitious ask with a lower probability of success—one that, say, reduced stocking densities for broiler chickens significantly with additional genetic requirements—could be a bet worth taking. Evaluating the impact of corporate campaigns using metrics that account for both quantity of animals impacted and their quality of life may result in advocates taking a different approach to campaigns in the future.

A robust, shared metric that acknowledges differences in quality of life improvements (and other factors such as "systemic disruption") would help the movement make better decisions in its targets and tactics for corporate campaigns.[04]

In addition to the need for more nuanced metrics, another concern with conventional corporate campaigns strategy is that its focus on achieving incremental improvements often appears to be divorced

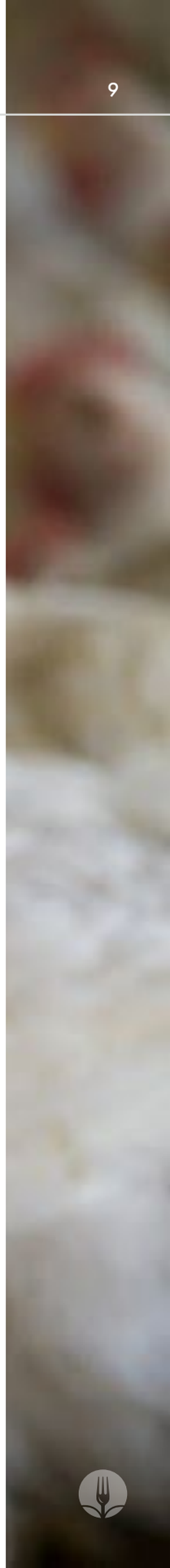


from any long-term strategy to transform or disrupt factory farming. This means that while corporate campaigns reduce suffering for a great many animals in the short term, they might have adverse long-term consequences. For example, it is possible that the positive reputation that companies attain by complying with modest animal welfare asks allows them to retain their (still low welfare) practices longer than they could have otherwise. The need for a long-term strategy in corporate campaigns may be especially important in international campaigns in lower- and middle-income countries where factory farming is spreading rapidly and displacing traditional agriculture models. What impact does this animal welfare "stamp of approval" on industrial farms have in economies where much or most farming is done by small-scale family farmers with animals who generally experience much higher welfare than they would on an industrial farm?

This lack of long-term strategy is not merely an oversight of the animal groups themselves; rather, it is incentivized and enforced by funders, particularly those from the Effective Altruism and animal rights communities. First, Effective Altruists' long-term funding strategy focuses largely on the promise that food technology (plant-based and cultivated meat) will replace traditional animal agriculture. Funders and advocates who hold more optimistic views of food technology tend to see higher welfare, non-industrial farming either as unlikely to gain more than niche market (because products are more expensive) or as being in competition with the companies they have invested in and believe will be the main drivers of dietary change.

Second, some animal rights funders (and also movement leaders at organizations driving corporate campaign strategy such as the Humane League and Mercy for Animals) oppose a long-term strategy of promoting higher welfare farming on principle because they believe that higher welfare farms justify and validate diets that include animal products. While it may seem paradoxical to people outside of the FAPM, animal rights ideology makes some groups and funders unable to consider long-term strategies that have the potential to disrupt the factory farm system because many such strategies require cooperation with movements engaged in animal farming or the consumption of animal products. For example, alliances with higher welfare farmers in the regenerative agriculture and food sovereignty movements seeking to break up large factory farms into smaller, higher welfare farming units would require a shared vision of the future that includes animal agriculture. Likewise, coalitional campaigns to help companies source products from small, regenerative or non-factory farms could build alliances with labor, food justice, health, and environmental advocates, but such partnerships would involve animal products as part of the solution to problems like unemployment, malnutrition, land stewardship, and inequality. As a result, campaigns led and funded by people with an animal rights ideology tend to focus on incremental suffering reduction in the short term while placing long-term hope in the promise of dietary change (through animal product reduction, veganism, and new food technologies).

Effective Altruists like Open Philanthropy Project (OPP) have championed corporate campaigns in the US and globally. Corporate campaigns appeal to funders who prioritize



quantifiable suffering reduction because they address suffering on a large scale and appear to be the simplest to measure. Over the last several years OPP has provided tens of millions of dollars to organizations working on corporate poultry campaigns internationally. It is too early to assess the effectiveness of these investments; some projects were terminated, while others are still in their early stages. Corporate campaigns are also supported by major funders who identify more closely with animal rights goals, although in the past two years several leading funders have scaled back their funding, citing either concerns about the campaigns' effectiveness or management problems within the leading organizations. Still, corporate campaigns remain the most prominent and best-funded strategy within the FAPM.

While corporate campaigns that seek to mitigate the worst practices on factory farms are relatively well-funded, few if any resources are devoted to supporting highest welfare farming as an alternative to factory farming.

Endnotes

01 Disclosure: Farm Forward's leadership was involved in these early campaigns.

02 Crate-Free Illinois, for example, has campaigned for retailers including Trader Joe's and Aldi to eliminate gestation crates from their supply chains.

03 Disclosure: Farm Forward has a long history focusing on poultry genetics and encouraged the BCC to include genetic welfare. Read more about Farm Forward's role here.

04 Some interventions have the potential to more broadly impact the underlying conditions operating in the food system: for example, a campaign that had a small chance of making it desirable for food companies to leapfrog incremental improvements and adopt significantly higher welfare standards.

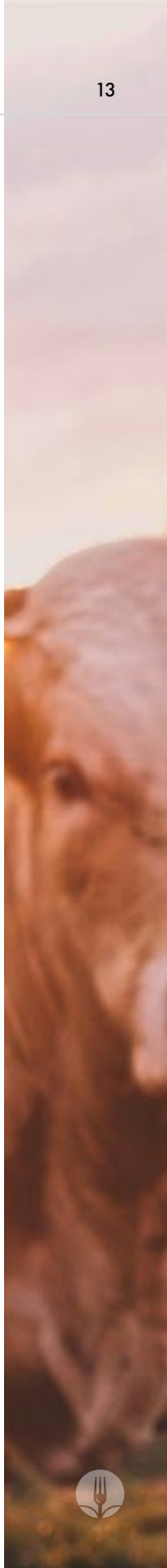
FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 02

Legislation and Policy Advocacy

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 02

Legislation and Policy Advocacy

Creating legal protections for farmed animals and plant-based and cultivated products.



SUMMARY

When surveyed, the public strongly supports legal protections for farmed animals, but corporate influence within U.S. state and federal legislatures makes it extremely difficult to pass legal protections for farmed animals. As a result, consumers in at least nine states have succeeded in passing ballot initiatives that address farmed animal welfare. Advocates have also found success overturning "ag-gag" laws in court, and the creation of three centers for animal law at prestigious law schools (Harvard, Yale, and Lewis and Clark) may generate a variety of novel legal strategies to challenge industrial animal agriculture in coming decades.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Legislative and policy advocacy have three components, usually pursued independently:

1. Mobilizing consumers to support state ballot initiatives that address the worst conditions for farmed animals.

2. Lobbying state and federal governments to defeat, adopt, or modify legislation, policies, and rules, and

3. Suing state or federal governments to challenge laws and rules.

Just two laws apply to the transport and slaughter of farmed animals: the 28-Hour Law, and the Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act. In addition to being weakly enforced, these laws exclude poultry, who, both by their sheer numbers and their living conditions, are the animals most in need of protection. USDA Organic Standards include limited protections for farmed animals, but the provisions related to animal welfare are voluntary (and are thus in effect nonexistent), and the Trump administration has rolled back what little progress has been made within USDA Organic Standards.[01]

All 50 states have felony animal cruelty laws on the books that prohibit unnecessary suffering of farmed animals at human hands, but these laws exempt all "customary farming practices," so the industry gets to determine which practices are commonplace (and therefore legal).

Existing federal legal protections for farmed animals stop far short of preventing the worst abuses of factory farming, and prospects for passing new legislation, or tightening existing requirements, are bleak. No federal laws protect animals on farms.

BALLOT INITIATIVES

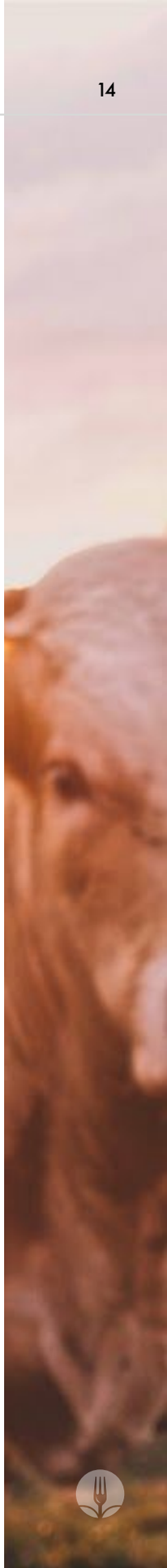
Beginning in the early 2000s, animal advocates have had great success improving legal protections for farmed animals at the state level. Ballot initiatives—mechanisms for citizens to circumvent legislatures to enact state laws—have been particularly effective.

When a state is determined to be a candidate for a ballot initiative, advocates commission polling, identify resonant issues, draft the initiative, mobilize paid and volunteer signature gatherers, raise money, develop and distribute advertising, and work to increase public support and ensure that the initiative passes at the ballot box.

The first successful ballot initiative related to meat did not involve farmed animals at all: California's Proposition 6 in 1998 banned the slaughter and sale of horse meat for human consumption (which was rare at the time and almost always for export). Over time, ballot initiatives became more aggressive, taking aim at targets more central to farmed animal industries: pig gestation crates (FL, 2002), gestation crates and calf hutches (AZ, 2006), gestation crates, calf hutches, and battery cages for laying hens (CA, 2008), and all of the above plus prohibiting the sale of eggs and uncooked veal and pork from animals kept in those conditions (MA, 2016; CA, 2018). In response, farmed animal industries have put forward ballot initiatives of their own, often termed "right to farm" by those industries and "right to harm" by advocates. Such measures amending state constitutions to protect confined animal feeding operations (CAFOs) have been adopted in North Dakota (2012), Missouri (2014), and Oklahoma (2016).

LEGISLATION AND LOBBYING

Advocates also lobby state and federal governments to defeat, adopt, or modify a variety of legislation, policies, and rules. 501(c)3 nonprofit organizations are permitted to lobby government officials directly (through contact with officials and their staff), as well as mobilize their constituents to lobby, though certain limits apply.[02] Often lobbying efforts target legislators, but relationships are also cultivated with members of the executive branch and other administrative bodies. While farmed animal advocacy organizations rarely employ full-time lobbyists directly, they sometimes hire contract lobbyists who lobby on behalf of multiple employers. More commonly, animal protection organizations tap existing staff to handle direct government communications, or more commonly still, to lobby indirectly through grassroots mobilization of members and allies who communicate with government officials via phone, letters, and social media.



Since 2007, animal advocates have also used state legislatures to develop and enact statutes that advance farmed animal welfare. That year, the Oregon legislature passed a law prohibiting gestation crates. Other state legislatures that have enacted laws prohibiting gestation crates, calf hutches, and battery cages include Colorado, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Washington, with California and Michigan passing laws banning in-state *sales* of eggs from hens kept in cages. Advocates continue to monitor state legislatures for similar opportunities and to block unfriendly legislation.

The past few years have seen a sharp increase in animal-use industries seeking to restrict legislatively the use of terms like "milk" and "burger" for plant-based or cultured products, with groups including the ACLU joining animal advocates working toward legal protections for plant-based and cultured products' use of such terms.

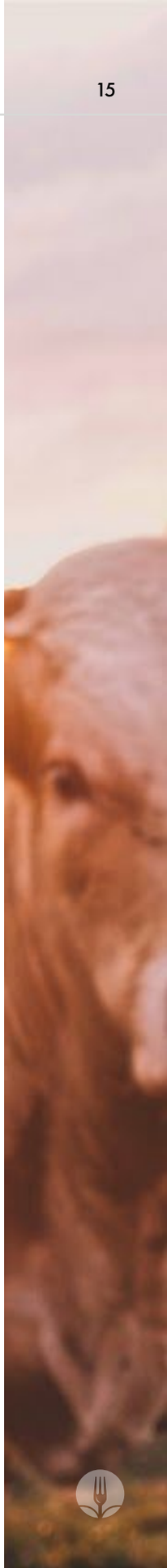
Policy advocacy is not limited to legislative advocacy. For example, in 2018 the USDA proposed a rule to deregulate the speed at which slaughter lines are operated, meaning that meat companies would have no limit on the number of pigs who could be slaughtered per minute. A cross-sector coalition of more than 35 organizations organized public comments to oppose the rule.[03] The USDA (and any such administrative agency) is required by statute to publish proposed rules, invite public comments, and consider and respond to every unique argument that it receives prior to the publication of a final rule. Such advocacy can delay a rule's implementation, or result in revisions or repeal.

LITIGATION

Advocates also use litigation to challenge laws that facilitate cruelty to farmed animals. For example, advocates have sued in several states to prevent or overturn the implementation of so-called "ag-gag" laws, which punish anyone—including employees, journalists, and members of the public—who documents conditions for farmed animals without formal permission. Advocates have successfully overturned ag-gag laws on First Amendment grounds in Idaho, Iowa, and Utah, and challenges are currently underway in several other states.

ANALYSIS

Ballot initiatives have been widely successful and provide farmed animal advocates an opportunity to work in cross-sector coalitions. For example, California's 2008 Prop 2 coalition was spearheaded by two animal protection groups (HSUS and Farm Sanctuary) and supported by a number of others, but also included the Sierra Club, the California Democratic Party, the Center for Food Safety, the United Farm Workers, the California Council of Churches, and others. Public sentiment had shifted so far in favor of farmed animals ten years later that California's 2018 Prop 12 was supported by a coalition including not two but 17 animal protection organizations, including three local humane societies. Notably, Prop 12 was opposed by PETA and two other animal protection organizations, which argued that improving the conditions of animal exploitation perpetuates cruelty in the name of humane reform, and falsely reassures consumers that after the regulations' implementation, animal products can be purchased ethically.



The FAPM has fallen short when it comes to "administrative advocacy," that is, monitoring the implementation of policies once they are enacted. In other social justice fields, administrative advocacy has received more attention in recent years as advocates have recognized that what matters are not only the laws that are passed but the ways in which laws are enforced. For example, anti-hunger advocates might force the creation of a unit within an agency to assist seniors with food stamp applications, or anti-poverty advocates might work with an agency to increase the percentage of Medicaid applications determined eligible in real time.[04] In the same way, FAPM advocates could work with state governments to spot-check compliance with successful ballot initiatives, or work to influence the USDA to dedicate more resources to enforcing the Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act. Overlooking implementation is particularly concerning in the farmed animal protection movement because CAFOs receive little if any public oversight.

Policy and legislative advocacy will be bolstered by an infusion of trained legal experts in the coming decades. New institutions like the Harvard Animal Law and Policy Center, the Yale Law Animals and Ethics Program, and the Lewis & Clark Center for Animal Law Studies are beginning to turn out legal scholars and practitioners whose vocational aim is to strengthen and expand animal law. Several organizations have teams dedicated to advancing policy work, including the Animal Legal Defense Fund, the Humane Society of the United States (which has state-level policymakers focused on local and regional policy issues), and the Good Food Institute (which focuses on policy issues pertaining to the plant-based and cultivated meat industries).

Given widespread public support for farmed animal welfare, the dearth of federal protections for farmed animals, and the movement's successful track record so far, continued work on ballot initiatives, legislation, rules, policies, and court cases is justified and could be expanded.

In 2020, several Democratic presidential candidates advocated for a national moratorium on new CAFOs, which may be an indication of how widespread support is for new legislative or legal protections for farmed animals.[05]

The growing concern about the role of CAFOs in increasing the risk of pandemic diseases could make the next few years particularly ripe for advancing legislation that regulates animal agriculture.

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Humane Society of the United States, and Open Philanthropy Project have all provided significant funding for state ballot initiatives. Academic animal law programs have received significant funding from individual funders and foundations.

Endnotes

01 Nicole Goodkind, "Trump Administration Eliminates Animal Welfare Rule," *Newsweek*, March 12, 2018. Accessible here. See also Lynne Curry, "Years in the Making, Organic Animal Welfare Rules Killed by Trump's USDA," *Civil Eats*, last updated May 6, 2019. Accessible here.

02 For more about the limits, see Bolder Advocacy's "Worry-Free Lobbying for Nonprofits," June 13, 2018. Accessible here.

03 Farm Forward was a member of the coalition opposing the deregulation of slaughter line speeds. See Erin Eberle, "USDA Publishes Egregious Final Hog Slaughter Inspection Rule," Farm Forward, September 17, 2019. Accessible here.

04 Suzanne Wilke, "Using Administrative Advocacy to Improve Access to Public Benefits," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, November 30, 2018. Accessible here.

05 H. Claire Brown, "Do Factory Farm Bans Have a Political Future?," *New Food Economy*, December 10, 2019. Accessible here. For our view of this legislation, see John Millspaugh, "Calls for Factory Farm Moratorium Go Mainstream," Farm Forward, August 11, 2020. Accessible here.

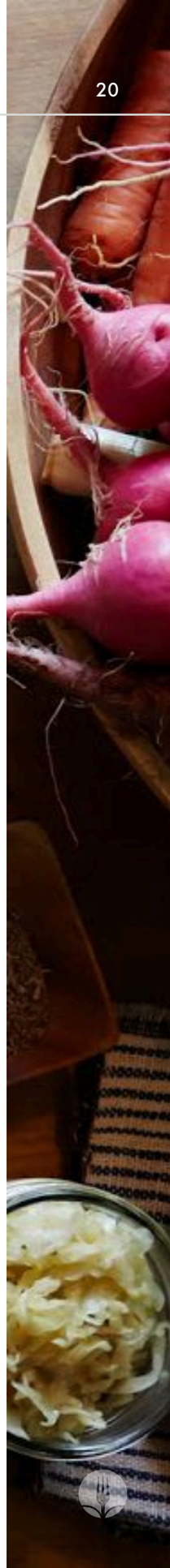
FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 03

Institutional Food Policy

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 03

Institutional Food Policy

Projects that pressure or persuade institutions (universities, businesses, public agencies) to change how they source and serve food.



SUMMARY

Institutional food policies provide an effective avenue for promoting "less and better" food sourcing on a much larger scale than strategies that target individual consumers. Food policies have the potential to mobilize broad support and adoption when they are advanced by coalitions that include support, for example, for the fair treatment of workers, local economies, and environmental concerns, in addition to farmed animal welfare.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Institutional food policies (IFPs) aim to leverage the purchasing power of institutions (schools, universities, businesses, hospitals, city governments, etc.) to support more humane and sustainable methods of food production. IFPs typically have two components: a commitment to specific sourcing standards, and a timeline for when those standards must be achieved. For example, a university may create a policy to source 20 percent of its food from "sustainable" sources by 2021. IFPs are similar in some ways to corporate advocacy (both seek institutional commitments to improve farmed animal welfare), but differ in that IFPs focus primarily on institutions that serve their communities (schools, hospitals, universities) rather that food businesses that sell food to the public (restaurants, grocery stores). Sometimes these campaigns overlap —for example, the Better Chicken Initiative targeted food service companies like Compass Group, which serves institutional clients.

IFPs often serve as values statement and are typically written to demonstrate that an institution is concerned about the environment, animals, climate change, and/or workers. The best food policies also articulate institutional goals: for example, the policy of a university with the goal of sourcing 20 percent of food sustainably by 2021 should state explicitly what qualifies food sources as "sustainable."

Since defining values like "sustainable" and "humane" can be a complex task requiring a significant amount of technical knowledge, many food policies rely on existing definitions from third party certifications; for example, an institution's policy might define "higher welfare" as products that bear specific third party certifications like Global Animal Partnership or Certified Humane.

Pegging institutional values and goals to third party certifications allows institutions to leverage the vast technical knowledge of certifiers, and certifications that require rigorous audits can provide some assurance that standards are followed. Finally, using certifications to define values also makes it simpler for institutions to identify suppliers offering suitable products.

Structurally, IFPs can take a variety of forms. Universities and businesses typically draft formal policies and publish them for public comments.[01] Policies adopted by school districts and public agencies are often codified in formal legislation: Boston's City Council adopted a resolution to follow the Good Food Purchasing Policy (GFPP), and the Cook County Board of Commissioners passed a similar policy.

ANALYSIS

IFP initiatives have been popular vehicles for changing agricultural practices for at least twenty years, with early campaigns emerging from the local food and Fair Trade coffee[02] movements. These initiatives expanded in the 2000s with the formation of groups like the National Farm to School Network, a group of hundreds of K-12 schools working to purchase local food. Within the past decade, IFPs have been established as one of the primary tools for advocates in the farmed animal protection space.

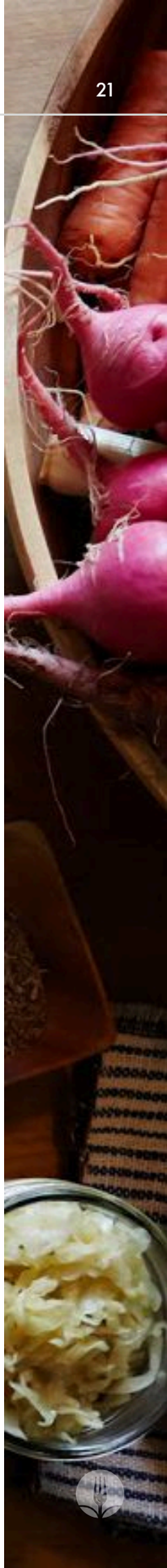
IFPs create significant opportunities to improve farmed animal welfare by compelling institutions to shift purchasing both to higher welfare animal products and to more plant-based menus. The foodservice market in the US alone has estimated worth of $72B annually.[03] Shifting even a relatively small percentage of institutional purchasing to higher welfare and plant-based products would likely impact hundreds of millions of animals per year.

IFPs have the potential to play an important role in growing the market for products sourced from higher welfare farms.

Today only a handful of medium- to large-scale farms and ranches offer higher welfare products. Increasing the demand for products from this "missing middle" is critical for reaching economies of scale which can reduce cost and lower prices, removing a significant barrier to entry for institutions as they consider sourcing higher welfare products.

Producers' access to institutional markets may play an important role in building a stable base of consumers that would help these farms grow their market share.

Additional barriers beyond price exist as well: regulatory challenges that limit the products that schools are permitted to buy ("lowest-cost bidder" requirements, for example); corporate consolidation (three companies control roughly 50 percent of the



foodservice market); the business models of foodservice management companies ("rebates" paid to foodservice companies by meat companies for selling their products[04] create a financial incentives to sell commodity animal products); and logistical and distribution challenges for higher welfare and plant-based products. Despite these challenges, there are encouraging signs[05] that IFPs have been successful in influencing what foods are served in university, business, and government settings. These and future shifts in consumption can contribute to the maturation and cost-competitiveness of the markets for higher welfare and plant-based products.

Most IFPs address a single issue, like Fair Trade coffee, local food, Meatless Monday, etc., and these single-issue policies have achieved moderate adoption—for example, roughly 150 colleges and universities have committed to Fair Trade products[06]—but single-issue IFPs are limited by a lack of broad appeal and narrow bases of support. Institutional foodservice providers have to balance a wide variety of interests, and single-issue IFPs may have to compete with a variety of other values and institutional priorities (composting, food waste, etc.).

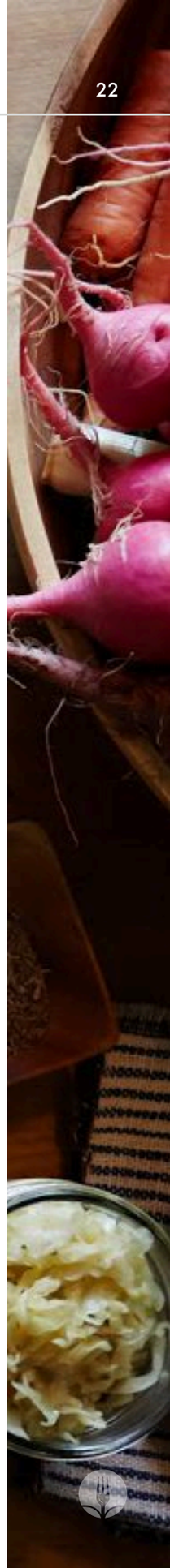
IFPs may have broader appeal and reach wider adoption when structured holistically, addressing more than one social value (animal welfare, worker welfare, etc.).

Iterations of increasingly multi-issue IFPs have begun to emerge, merging institutional values surrounding issues like nutrition, soil health, local economies, the treatment of workers, environmental sustainability, and the treatment of farmed animals. Two notable programs include the Real Food Commitment, a policy which has been adopted by more than 80 universities, and the Good Food Purchasing Policy, which as of fall 2020 has been adopted or is being considered by more than 40 K-12 school districts and city governments. These more "intersectional" food policies have begun to achieve mainstream adoption. The success of the Good Food Purchasing Policy in particular demonstrates the potential for intersectional IFPs to build broad support, including with the organized labor movement, which has given IFPs more political power.[07] Sustainable food advocates in dozens of cities have rallied around the Good Food Purchasing Policy as a framework for advocating for a more fair, sustainable, and humane food system.

Farmed animal advocacy groups tend to frame their "asks" of institutions in one of two ways: pushing either for the adoption of "less meat"/ "go veg" policies, or for the elimination of specific husbandry practices, like battery cages. Advocacy campaigns that employ these different asks include:

LESS AND BETTER

These campaigns ask institutions to reduce the overall use of animal products while switching their animal product sourcing to certified higher welfare animal products.



Strengths: The topic of "buying certified" has been an effective entry point for engaging institutions that have been resistant to the prospect of "removing animal products."

Weaknesses: Due to poor understanding of welfare standards and lack of access to higher welfare supply chains (not to mention the deceptive nature of most welfare certifications), institutions require significant training and support to implement "less and better" policies effectively.

For example, see:

GOOD FOOD

LEADERSHIP CIRCLE ANIMAL WELFARE

CREATURE KIND

REDUCTION

These campaigns focus on reducing the quantity of animal products that institutions serve—either reducing consumption overall or reducing the consumption of specific animal products.

Strengths: These campaigns often frame the policy using simple messaging that institutions and consumers understand ("vegan before dinner," "Meatless Monday," "milk-free mornings," etc.), and can be adopted by individuals as well as institutions.

Weaknesses: Reduction campaigns may have unintended consequences; institutions that adopt Meatless Mondays may, for example, serve more dairy products,[08] and beef-reduction campaigns can lead to increases in chicken consumption. Reduction campaigns can also generate pushback from consumers who don't want to feel *deprived* of animal products, and can reinforce the notion that consuming animal products at every meal is the *norm*.[09]

For example, see:

MEATLESS MONDAY

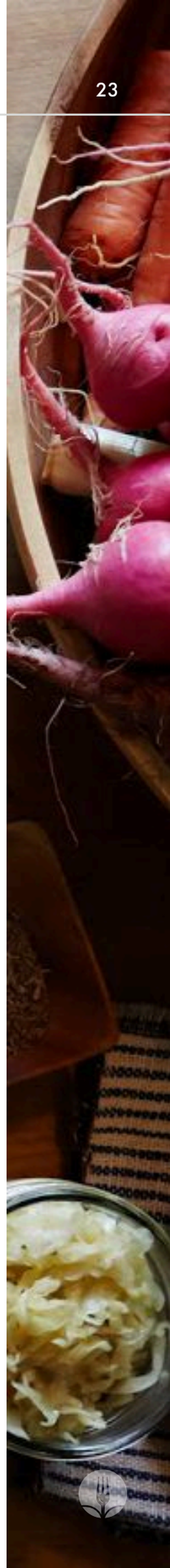
COOL FOOD
DELICIOUS CLIMATE ACTION

VEGAN/VEGETARIAN:

These campaigns seek institutional commitments to all-vegetarian or all-plant-based food policies.

Strengths: If implemented comprehensively, these campaigns could lead to greater reductions of animal product consumption than campaigns seeking mere reductions. They have the potential to shape the *identities* of institutions and thus may accelerate culture change, particularly when implemented in conjunction with programs that educate and generate buy-in from members of the institution.

Weaknesses: These campaigns generate the most pushback due to concerns about depriving consumers, particularly at institutions that do not have existing cultures around ethical eating.



For example see:

CHOOSEVEG

The Synagogue Vegan Challenge

GUIDING CONSUMER CHOICES:

These campaigns help institutions encourage consumers to choose more plant-based options through menu design, presentation, signage, and education.

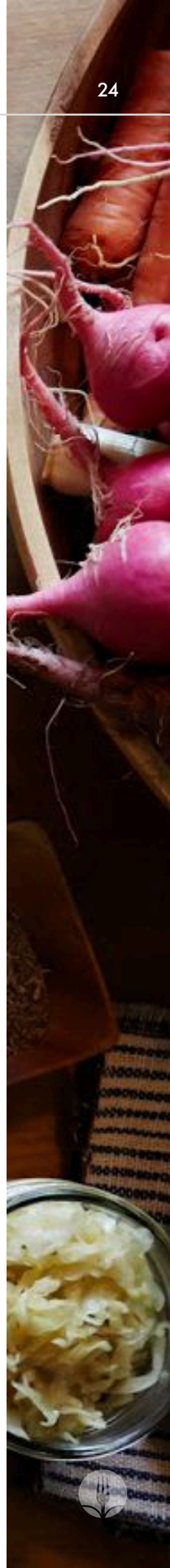
Strengths: Behavioral "nudges" have been shown to drive much more change in consumption than reduction-oriented policies. They have the potential to shape food culture in ways that are more conducive to veg meals while minimizing backlash.[10]

Weaknesses: The message is not as simple as veg and reduction campaigns (*DefaultVeg* is less intuitive than *go-veg* and *Meatless Monday*). It can be more challenging to evaluate the effectiveness of behavioral nudges than campaigns which reduce consumers' choices, because advocates can't *assume* a specific volume of meat reduction (Meatless Monday campaigns in which institutions do not serve meat on Mondays are assumed to lead to reductions in meat consumption of roughly 14 to 20 percent, depending on how many days per week food is served).

For example see:

DEFAULTVEG FORWARDFOOD

Funders who are more aligned with Effective Altruism have not invested significantly in IFP, opting instead to target the largest foodservice management companies with corporate campaigns. Multi-issue coalitional food policies (like the Good Food Purchasing Program) have been more successful in attracting mainstream philanthropic support.



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05 In 2019, school districts in four cities (DC, Boston, Austin, and Cincinnati) adopted the Good Food Purchasing standards, doubling the number of districts that had adopted the policy since the program launched in 2012.

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FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 04

Food Technology

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 04

Food Technology

Projects that promote the development and growth of plant-based and cultivated animal products.

SUMMARY

It is too soon to tell what impact, if any, plant-based and cultivated "meat" products will have on industrial animal agriculture. Despite significant mainstream attention to plant-based meat in recent years, and the steady growth of the demand for plant-based milk and meat, we have yet to see clear evidence that these products have reduced demand for factory farmed animal products. The broader acceptance of plant-based food technologies may signal deeper shifts in attitudes and dietary behaviors that will have positive impact for farmed animals in the long term, but those impacts are not yet known.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Organizations that focus on supporting plant-based (PB) and cultivated animal (CA) products pursue several strategies: engaging in institutional outreach, legal and regulatory advocacy, promoting PB and CA food in the media, funding studies for research and development, and providing support and connections for investors interested in funding PB and CA businesses. Organizations in this space play a variety of roles in the growth of the PB and CA markets, including:

FUNDING

Groups serve as conduits between entrepreneurs interested in starting PB and CA businesses and potential investors. Groups provide investor education in the form of market research and informal advice. The rapid growth of PB food companies and the PB food market was likely accelerated by advocacy groups.

LEGAL SUPPORT

Groups have coordinated or mounted direct legal challenges to state laws aimed at restricting PB food companies from labeling their products as "meat," "cheese," etc. Groups working in this space have collaborated with the ACLU, and won a case in Mississippi. Legal challenges are pending in at least two other states (at time of writing).

REGULATORY

Groups coordinated with CA companies as they negotiated with the FDA and USDA on a shared regulatory framework. The establishment of a clear regulatory path has likely reduced the uncertainty in the sector and made it easier for companies to attract investment.

ANALYSIS

It is assumed by PB and CA businesses and much of the advocacy community that food technology products will displace animal products once they are sufficiently similar to animal products and become cost-competitive. Proponents observe that consumers choose what to eat based primarily on price, convenience, and taste. Food technology advocates are skeptical that the current trajectory of cultural and economic conditions will lead a significant number of consumers to choose higher welfare animal products or adopt more whole-food and plant-based diets.

In the past three years, attention to PB foods has exploded, led by the launch of the Impossible Whopper at Burger King and Beyond Meat's hugely successful initial public offering (IPO). *Forbes* named plant-based foods one of the "Ten Macro Trends Impacting Food and Beverage Innovation in 2019," and the United Nations named Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat the 2018 "Champions of the Earth." As reported by Forbes, estimates suggest that the PB food market will reach $4.63 billion in 2019 and will increase to $6.43 billion by 2023.[01] With the high-profile success of PB food companies like Beyond Meat and investment from traditional capital, it is not clear to us how much additional value advocacy groups or impact investors bring to the PB food market.

Despite the growth of PB and CA companies, we do not yet know what impact these products will have on industrial animal production.

Complex dynamics between consumers, corporate food businesses, and retailers make it difficult to predict and understand what relationships may exist between, say, increased sales of Beyond Meat and sales of commodity feedlot beef.

The sales of PB products like Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat burgers would arguably impact the cattle market more than any other industry. In the last twenty years the number of pounds of beef produced in the US has remained roughly stable—27 billion pounds in 2000 compared to 27.3 billion pounds in 2019.[02] In the past five years the number of cattle raised in the US for beef has increased slightly, from 98.4 million in 2015 to 104 million in July of 2019. According to the USDA, between 2000 and 2015 the amount of beef consumed per person domestically (compared to what was exported) decreased by 4.5 percent (0.3 percent annually). In 2018 the agency anticipated a roughly 3.7 percent *increase* in per person consumption during the period in which we expected to see at least some impact from sales of Impossible Foods and Beyond Beef burgers.[03]

The growth of PB food companies may be too recent for the beef market to register changes, or for analysts to determine whether such changes are the result of meat alternatives. It is possible, for example, that PB meat has slowed the growth of per person beef consumption even though overall beef consumption appears stable. It is also possible that the PB meat market is not in direct competition with beef, or that the connection between the two is

After the much-lauded launch of the Impossible Whopper at Burger King in 2019, analysts from Cowen estimated that Burger King increased same-store sales by 6 percent, much of which was from new customers attracted by the Impossible Burger.

complex enough that, as early research seems to suggest, we cannot assume that for every unit of PB burger there will be a corresponding drop in the number of beef burgers.

At the same time, analysts saw sales of traditional beef Whoppers *increase*.[04] It appears that the Impossible Whopper may be attracting new customers to Burger King, some of whom may be vegetarians or vegans who now have an attractive food choice, or omnivores curious to try a novel product. Either way it's possible that, at least so far, the introduction of the Impossible Whopper has had the unintended effect of helping Burger King sell more beef.

Analysis of the trends in the dairy and PB milk market is similarly mixed. Although PB milks are a fast-growing segment of the market — now 12 percent of the liquid milk market — over the last ten years the number of cows raised for milk has remained unchanged. [05] [06]

It is possible that the growth of PB milks have reduced demand for liquid milk and slowed growth in the dairy industry, but it appears more likely that the meta trends in the dairy market are due to changing consumer preferences—namely consumers eating less breakfast cereal and eating more cheese, yogurt, and full-fat dairy products.[07]

Dairy farming has also consolidated rapidly over the last decade —between 2018 and 2019 (the latest period for which figures are available) the number of farms raising cows for dairy declined by more than 3,200 farms, or 9 percent,[08] while overall milk production increased slightly.[09] Operations with 10,000–50,000 cows, unheard of 20 years ago, are now common and growing in size and number. This is due in part to large retailers, including Walmart, vertically integrating their dairy supply chains, which puts pressure on other farms to scale. Consolidation in the dairy industry leads to poorer welfare outcomes for dairy cows. The largest dairy operations have structural issues that make them much worse for animals than the smaller-scale dairies they've replaced (the recent Fairlife investigation is one example among many).

Milk Sales 2016 – 2019

Sales of dairy and plant based milk grow simultaneously.

Number of dairy farms decreases while the number of cows remains the same, resulting in fewer, much larger farms.

The potential impact of CA products on animal agriculture is even more speculative. Despite significant press attention and growth in investment (approximately $300M[10] in venture capital and investments since 2015, including from meat giants like Tyson Foods[11]), these products are promissory. Most CA companies say that they are several years away from having products in the market and will focus on small niche markets (like high-end restaurants) once products are available. Most advocates agree that the promise of CA can only be realized when they are produced and sold at prices below commodity animal products. It's difficult to estimate when that may happen; even leaders in the space, like Uma Valeti, CEO and founder of Memphis Meats, haven't made predictions about when CA products could be price competitive. As of 2020, one company, Perfect Day, which makes dairy protein using engineered bacteria, has launched ice cream in retail grocery stores.[12] The introduction of Perfect Day products is a good opportunity to evaluate consumer response to a CA product. A regulatory path for CA products is taking shape, but remains unclear.

Nonprofit advocacy groups that promote the development of plant-based and CA products and businesses through research, fundraising, policy and regulatory work, and consumer education include the Good Food Institute and the Plant Based Foods Association, which receive significant funding from funders aligned with Effective Altruism.

Endnotes

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02 "Total beef production in the United States from 2000 to 2018," Statista. Accessible here.

03 "Per Capita Red Meat and Poultry Disappearance: Insights Into Its Steady Growth," USDA, Economic Research Service, June 4, 2018. Accessible here.

04 Kate Taylor, "Burger King's bet on faux meat is paying off as the Impossible Whopper convinces customers to spend more and buy more beef Whoppers," *Business Insider*, August 31, 2019. Accessible here.

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FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 05

Veg Advocacy

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 05

Veg Advocacy

Education and marketing campaigns encouraging consumers to forgo, or eat fewer, animal products.

SUMMARY

Veg advocacy has been one of the most common strategies employed by the animal protection movement since its inception. Veg advocacy has likely contributed to shifting consumers' attitudes to be more supportive of farmed animal welfare,[01] though the impact is difficult to quantify.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Historically, veg advocacy has defined the animal rights movement. The conventional thinking is that as more consumers adopt vegan diets, fewer animals will suffer. It is worth noting that the negative correlation between veg diets and the number of farmed animals who are suffering has not been closely examined —it is assumed to be self-evident.

While many of the strategies described in other parts of this report could be considered "veg advocacy," this report defines this phrase more narrowly. Groups like PETA and Vegan Outreach have an extensive array of literature, videos, culinary resources, etc. that advocate for vegan diets explicitly. These *overt* strategies comprise what is typically called "veg advocacy" or "veg outreach." This report distinguishes this type of overt veg advocacy from other efforts, like farm sanctuaries and undercover investigations, even though they can be considered tactics of veg advocacy.

Contemporary manifestations of veg advocacy include projects like iAnimal from Animal Equality, which provides a virtual reality experience of common scenes within food animal production, and various iterations of PETA's signature public demonstrations, like their recent meat tray and Thanksgiving demonstrations. Also noteworthy is PETA2, PETA's youth outreach division, which has used celebrity partnerships, robust social media outreach, a mobile app, and other youth-focused initiatives to reach millions of teens and tweens each year with trendy vegan messaging.[02] While PETA's decades-old *Veg Starter Kit*[03] and Vegan Outreach's *Why Vegan* pamphlet continue to be updated for print distribution, outreach efforts have largely moved to social media where groups like PETA, Mercy for Animals, and others have attracted large followings by investing heavily. When PETA was chosen by PR News for a 2018 Social Media award, PETA boasted a combined 7.2 million followers. Mercy For Animals receives millions of social media impressions each week, largely for content with explicit vegan imagery and messaging.

ANALYSIS

A great deal of anecdotal evidence suggests that direct veg advocacy has been an effective means for producing adherents to vegetarian and vegan lifestyles. Many if not most of the individuals who comprise the animal rights movement were introduced to veg-anism through direct veg advocacy. In the past, large grants have been given to groups that maximize the per-dollar production and distribution of vegan messaging, but little research appears to confirm its effectiveness (because of limited evidence to support its efficacy groups like ACE have revised their position on leafletting).[04] Still, no large or longitudinal (or otherwise persuasive) study suggests that direct vegan advocacy can reduce the suffering of farmed animals as or more effectively than other approaches.

On the other hand, vegan advocacy may decrease suffering in other ways.

For example, the existence of groups like PETA may make other suffering reduction efforts seem more reasonable to mass audiences.

Historically, groups like HSUS have drawn attention to groups like PETA when pressuring corporations to engage with them. The threat of attack from PETA or, more recently, the Humane League, could be motivating as executives deliberate whether to invest in welfare improvements within their supply chains.

MEAT REDUCTION CAMPAIGNS

A growing number of organizations push for reductions in the consumption of animal products while avoiding association with veganism and animal rights. These include the Reducetarian brand, which includes books and an annual conference, and 50by40, which takes a "big tent" approach to meat reduction by bringing together environmental, health, and animal welfare organizations around a shared commitment to meat reduction while avoiding potentially-divisive terms like "veganism." An older meat-reduction campaign, Meatless Monday, has achieved global reach and serves as both a model and benchmark for many of the newer reduction campaigns.

The explosion of interest in meat reduction among climate and health organizations in just the past several years seems to have spurred the growth of new reduction campaigns, though there are challenges. See more about the opportunities and challenges involved in working with broad-based coalitions in the Climate and Environmental Advocacy section of this report. See also examples under *Institutional Food Policy* for additional campaigns that promote vegan diets or meat reduction among institutions, as opposed to individuals.

The majority of funding for veg advocacy initiatives, and new reduction-oriented campaigns, comes from individual donors and their foundations, and from large numbers of smaller contributions.

Endnotes

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FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 06

Farm Sanctuaries

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 06

Farm Sanctuaries

Groups that provide rescued farmed animals shelter, offer tours promoting improved human-animal relations, and educate the public about the treatment of animals raised for food.

SUMMARY

Farmed animal sanctuaries illuminate the public's inconsistent attitudes toward farmed animals — people love and create strong bonds with individual farmed animals, but many still purchase factory farmed products. Visits to farm sanctuaries frequently lead to "conversion" experiences among guests, but sanctuaries remain relatively expensive vehicles for fostering emotional connections with animals.

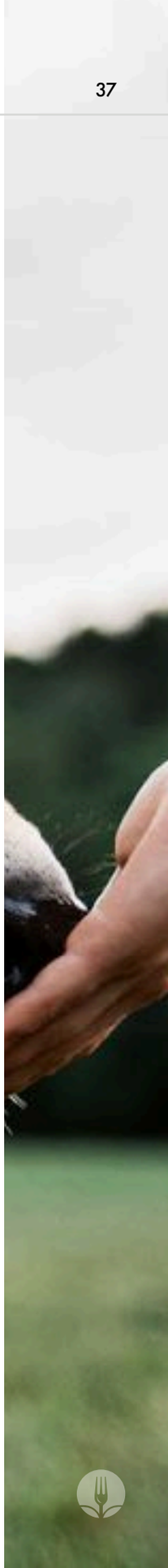
STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Farm sanctuaries are shelters for farmed animals who have been rescued from adverse conditions. In addition to providing homes for rescued animals, farm sanctuaries host guests and volunteers to increase the visibility of — and increase sympathy for — animals bred and kept for human use.

ANALYSIS

Founded in 1986, Farm Sanctuary remains the largest and best-known organization in this space, and is popular among celebrities. Jon Stewart, whose wife Tracey McShane is a long-time animal protection advocate, is well known for becoming heavily involved with farm sanctuaries since leaving *The Daily Show*; the couple recently converted a 45-acre farm into a dedicated farm sanctuary. Though most are not well known, there are dozens of farm sanctuaries across the US. Some, like Poplar Spring Animal Sanctuary in Maryland, have robust volunteer and public education programs, and some, like Vine Sanctuary in Vermont, incorporate multiple social justice concerns into their missions.

After visiting farm sanctuaries people often report experiences of meaningful and even profound connections with individual farmed animals,



and anecdotal evidence supports the claim that farm sanctuaries can be ideal entry points for people to become concerned about the plight of farmed animals. From this perspective, farm sanctuaries can be a valuable tool for motivating and maintaining dietary change, though to our knowledge the correlation between farm sanctuary experiences and longitudinal dietary change has not been studied.

Farm sanctuaries are often criticized for being extremely costly to operate considering the relatively few animals they impact directly. From the perspective of Effective Altruists, a donation of $1,000 to an organization like the Humane League (HL) for corporate advocacy could impact the lives of tens of thousands of animals,[01] while the same donation made to Farm Sanctuary feeds just three cows per year.[41] In terms of measurable impact, farm sanctuaries would not be comparable to groups like HL even if half of all visitors adopted vegan diets for life (because so few people visit them).

Another concern is that the success of farm sanctuaries and social media celebrities like *Esther the Wonder Pig* and *Juniper the Fox* can make it difficult for well-intentioned people to distinguish between legitimate sanctuaries and collector-hoarders,[03] and the popularity and near universal appeal of "rescued exotics" like Juniper could drive demand for pet foxes, so-called "micro" pigs, and other animals with complex needs beyond what most lay households can provide.

Most of the funding for farm sanctuaries comes from individual donors and their foundations, and from earned income. Sanctuaries with wealthy founders are sometimes self-funded.

Endnotes

01 "Our use of cost effectiveness estimates," Animal Charity Evaluators, April, 2018. Accessible here.

02 Assuming the cost to feed a single cow is ~$350 per year.

03 There are thousands of makeshift farms—often simply converted backyards—across the US where opportunistic if well-intentioned animal lovers keep a variety of "rescued" animals. Many solicit contributions from their local communities to support their operations. Sadly, these animals are typically obtained from breeders or dealers for the enjoyment of their buyers, and their alleged "sanctuary" status simply justifies outside financial assistance. Like more typical animal hoarders, these buyers often think of themselves as rescuing these animals from potentially worse conditions even if they don't have the space or resources to care for them. Big cats and unusual breeds of farmed animals are common targets. Astonishingly, it's estimated that there are more tigers in American backyards than in the wild globally.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 07

Humane Education

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 07

Humane Education

Groups focused on educating young people about caring for all animals, and specifically those raised for food.

SUMMARY

Humane education, especially when integrated into the curricula of K-12 education, could play an important role in changing the attitudes and behaviors of consumers longitudinally. Currently, humane education efforts are not funded at a large enough scale to assess their cultural outcomes, and the impact of existing programs has not been evaluated sufficiently.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Humane education reaches children and youth with information about animal welfare, environmental stewardship, and human rights, with the aim of developing compassion and empathy and ultimately changing behavior. The field of humane education is a professional track in which individuals can be trained and certified, with graduate degrees and certificates provided by the Institute for Humane Education, founded in 1996 by Zoe Weil. In the mainstream field of education, humane education is considered a kind of "character education" alongside outdoor and environmental education. More than a dozen states require humane education in schools by law,[01] and 30 states and the District of Columbia have statutes or regulations that encourage character education or social and emotional learning (SEL) in schools.[02] A subset of humane educators focus on farmed animal issues exclusively.

ANALYSIS

Public education in the US exists in part to instill civic values and establish social norms across generations, so it is a natural fit for content that promotes animal welfare into K-12 curriculum.

Cultivating empathy in youth and teens has the potential to influence life-long attitudes and behavior,[03] and because children are drawn to animals from a young age they are uniquely receptive to messaging that centers compassion for animals.

That said, we have not found any rigorous studies that have attempted to establish correlations between humane education and behavior change later in life. How many of the young people involved in today's Youth Climate Activism movement were influenced by humane education they experienced as children? How has the recent vegan dining trend been influenced by young people who grew up with humane education? These and other questions should be explored. Perhaps the best analogue comes from the environmental education movement which, beginning in the 1970s, succeeded in making environmental curricula a regular feature of K-12 public education. The beliefs and actions of children who were exposed to environmental education have been more comprehensively studied; Stanford's metastudy of 119 peer-reviewed studies of environmental education over 20 years found that environmental education results in positive environmental behaviors and increased civil engagement.[04]

Persuading schools—particularly public schools — to adopt humane education can be a challenge. Some humane education organizations promote veganism, and a 2018 study interviewing primary and secondary teachers found that while humane education tended to be effective at fostering student engagement because of the interest that most children have in animals, educators faced pushback from parents around the topic of veganism.[05] [06]

Nonprofit groups that conduct educational programs for K-12 students that address farmed animal protection issues include HEART, the Factory Farming Awareness Coalition, and Educated Choices Program (previously Ethical Choices Program). Peta2—which until recently was a separate nonprofit, but has been incorporated into PETA—also created a wide range of online education and advocacy content for youth.

Combining humane education programs with institutional food policy strategies targeting school systems may be a promising avenue for increasing the impact of humane education.

The Factory Farming Awareness Coalition, for example, leverages relationships with partner organizations such as Green Monday, Balanced, and the Better Food Foundation to empower student activists to implement food policy changes in their schools. Programs at the university level, such as NetImpact's Plant-Based Fellowship, coordinate college and graduate students to advocate for plant-based dining policies and practices in their universities while helping build a school-to-career pipeline for the FAPM.

The modest funding for humane education comes from individual donors and their foundations, though the Latham Foundation for Humane Education, which was founded in 1918, provides grants for programs that incorporate live animals in humane education. A new foundation, WellBeings,[07] supports programs that "strengthen the human-animal bond."

See also Farm Sanctuaries and Veg Advocacy.

Endnotes

01 HEART, "State Laws Related to Humane Education." Accessible here.

02 Alexander Gabriel et al., "State laws promoting social, emotional, and academic development leave room for improvement," Child Trends, January 15, 2019. Accessible here.

03 HEART, "State Laws Related to Humane Education." Accessible here.

04 "Experts at Stanford University searched the academic literature and analyzed 119 peer-reviewed studies published over a 20-year period that measured the impacts of environmental education on K-12 students. The review found clear evidence that environmental education programs provide a variety of benefits ... [and] increased civil engagement, including feelings of civic responsibility, feelings of empowerment, and ability to take action ... and positive environmental behaviors." From "The Benefits of Environmental Education for K-12 Students," North American Association for Environmental Action. Accessible here.

05 "I argued that private schools provide the academic freedom necessary for teachers to deliver humane education lessons in a more expansive way. In public schools, the principal plays an important role, either supporting or working against humane education curricula. I discovered that parents are most motivated to complain about the topic of veganism: nearly half of the teachers in the study noted negative parent feedback on discussions of meat. Interestingly, veganism was the only topic to receive such feedback. However, all of the teachers felt that the motivational power of humane education outweighs these challenges." Excerpt from Julie Bolkin O'Connor, "A Qualitative Case Study of Teacher Perceptions of the Motivations of Students in Humane Education," dissertation manuscript, submitted to Northcentral University School of Education, January, 2018. Accessible here.

06 Julie O'Connor, "How Can Humane Education Motivate Students?," Faunalytics. Accessible here.

07 Farm Forward's Executive Director, Andrew deCoriolis, serves on the board of WellBeings.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 08

Undercover Investigations

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 08

Undercover Investigations

Activists capture undercover footage of farmed animals on farms and in transport and slaughterhouses to expose cruel conditions and create public pressure for reform.

SUMMARY

Undercover investigations of farmed animal operations expose the public to the abusive conditions within factory farming. Investigations have been used to push food companies to phase out specific practices (like nose "boning" of broiler breeding birds,[01] for example). Undercover investigations have begun to receive less sustained press attention than they have in the past, and have not been effective in securing systemic changes in the absence of sustained corporate campaigns. Because undercover investigations are expensive and have significant risks, they are most effective when used sparingly and in conjunction with campaigns targeting specific industries, brands, or practices.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Undercover investigations are a central component of the modern farmed animal advocacy movement. Their primary objective is threefold:

1. To end practices within a particular facility and, by extension, all similar facilities.
2. To raise public awareness about those practices and garner public support for their regulation or abolition.
3. To deter consumers from purchasing specific animal products, and by extension, animal products in general.

Some undercover investigations seek to document particularly egregious (though often routine) cruelty within specific facilities,[02] often in response to reports of abuse by current or former employees and industry insiders. Following investigations into egregious abuse, animal protection groups tend to call on specific companies and their industries as a whole to oppose and prevent similar practices, while also pursuing criminal charges against the perpetrators of the abuse.[03] Other undercover investigations seek to document the routine treatment of animals within specific industries.[04] Animal protection groups tend to publicize these findings and call on specific companies and the industry as a whole to eliminate the practice(s) documented. In the months and years following an investigation, the footage captured is typically

used by the animal protection community to advocate broadly for the adoption of plant-based diets.

ANALYSIS

Undercover investigations are extremely powerful: they have unparalleled impact on the public and historically have received huge amounts of media exposure.Because they can be so explosive in generating backlash for specific industries and particular businesses, they are also among the most effective tools for creating tangible change. Undercover investigations are used heavily within the FAPM, often playing a central role in vegan advocacy, culture change, corporate campaigns, and legislation and policy. When talking about the power of undercover investigations, Temple Grandin is fond of saying, "Heat softens steel."[05]

Because undercover investigations can be so effective, the industry has gone to great lengths to criminalize them.

Legislators in 28 states have introduced "ag-gag" laws making it illegal to capture images and videos of farms without written permission.

Of the bills that have passed, only some have been ruled unconstitutional by federal courts; the remaining laws have made undercover investigations more hazardous because investigations now carry additional legal exposure in states with ag-gag laws.

Undercover investigations are riskier and more costly than most other strategies employed by the contemporary FAPM. Investigative work requires complete immersion within the communities and culture in which investigations are conducted, and if an investigator is discovered they could face significant backlash and even violence. While undercover, investigators live alone in remote areas without much contact with friends or family (who may not know where the investigator is or, in many cases, what they do), and are routinely traumatized by their experiences within farmed animal operations. Because it can take six months or more to complete an investigation, maintaining cover is taxing and costly. A single investigation can cost well over half a million dollars and take over a year to complete. Most news is short lived in today's media environment, and recent undercover investigations have often received limited coverage.

Producers have developed effective public relations strategies for responding to undercover exposure. First, food companies characterize footage taken during the undercover investigation as misleading, deceptive, or manipulated. When footage is damning, as in cases where workers are seen hitting or kicking animals, companies blame individual workers as "bad apples," and fire them. These responses typically mollify the media, and journalists do not follow up to find out if companies change their practices in light of the abuse documented, or even to seek proof that the abuse documented has stopped. For example, the undercover investigation of Fairlife led retailers to pull their products from shelves, but only for a short period of time, and retailers put their products back on shelves without Fairlife agreeing to end some of

the cruelest practices documented by the investigation, such as the widespread use of calf hutches.[06]

Groups that conduct undercover investigations include Animal Recovery Mission (ARM), Animal Outlook (formerly Compassion Over Killing), Direct Action Everywhere (DxE), and Mercy for Animals (MFA).

Endnotes

01 Erica Meier, "How a barbaric, unknown chicken industry practice got exposed and nearly eliminated in weeks," *Huffpost*, May 3, 2017. Accessible here.

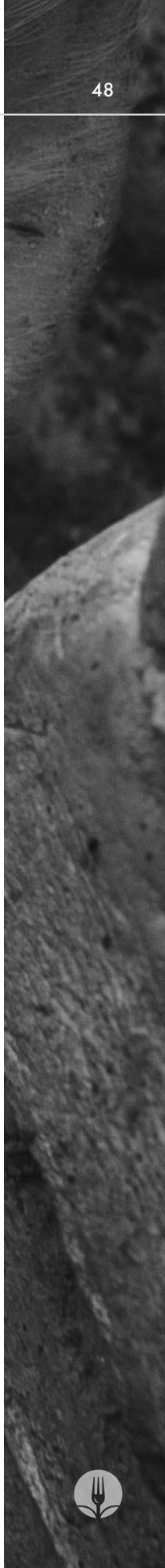
02 For example, Agriprocessors slaughterhouse in Iowa. Julia Preston, "Kosher Plant is Accused of Inhumane Slaughter," *The New York Times*, September 4, 2008. Accessible here.

03 It is our opinion that the underpaid and poorly-trained—often minority—workers who become scapegoats of companies that are guilty of systematic cruelty should not face criminal charges for doing their jobs, except in egregious cases of sadistic violence.

04 For example, various routine practices within pig transport, the "boning" of breeder chickens, or the maceration of day-old chicks within the egg industry.

05 Temple Grandin, "Avoid Being Abstract When Making Policies on the Welfare of Animals," in Marianne DeKoven and Michael Lundblad, eds, *Species Matters* (New York: Columbia University Press), 2010, pp 195-217. Accessible here.

06 Disclosure: Farm Forward consulted with a major retailer to try to work with Fairlife to improve their practices. For more about the Fairlife investigation, see "Retailers pull Fairlife products as authorities investigate alleged animal abuse at famous farm," ABC 7 WWSB, June 7, 2019. Accessible here.



FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 09

Community Focused Advocacy

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 09

Community Focused Advocacy

Groups that focus their advocacy efforts on specific communities, regions, or shared identities and demographics.

SUMMARY

Community-specific advocacy is an effective alternative to "one-size-fits all" advocacy because it can tap into the unique cultural insights, trust, and social networks of leaders who are already embedded in the communities they serve. This under-resourced strategy has great potential for transforming diets and mobilizing people to support farmed animal protection within demographics that have been underserved by the FAPM, and can improve the effectiveness of the FAPM even beyond the specific communities served.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Community-focused advocacy advances farmed animal protection within specific demographic groups by empowering advocates who are members of the groups themselves. As such, the objectives of community-focused advocacy vary (e.g. promoting vegan diets, mobilizing people for political action), as do their tactics, which are often tailored to the unique cultural, political, economic and overlapping social justice concerns specific to the communities being engaged.

Community-specific advocacy is a welcome alternative to "one-size-fits all" campaigning because of its ability to tap into the unique cultural insights, trust, and social networks of leaders who are already embedded in the communities they serve.

Community-focused advocacy often seeks to serve the interests of farmed animals while simultaneously serving the needs of community members. Some groups, like Food Empowerment Project, conduct animal advocacy within a broader anti-oppression framework such as *food justice*.

This strategy is distinct from campaigns run by national organizations in which mainstream advocates target particular

demographics with the aim of mobilizing that demographic to support the agenda of the greater movement, although advocacy groups sometimes do participate in and support such campaigns.[01] It is also distinct from efforts to promote Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) among the staff and boards of national organizations, or among leadership of the FAPM overall (DEI is discussed further in the "Movement/Institution Building" strategy section).

Community-focused advocacy focuses its efforts within a specific demographic group, and is led by members of that demographic group. Examples of community-focused advocacy include (but are not limited to):

ADVOCACY WITHIN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Several farmed animal protection organizations work within specific religious communities. CreatureKind, for example, engages Christian churches and institutions in the US and the UK around Christian theology and animals while offering practical guidance to help Christian institutions adopt food policies that benefit farmed animals. The Jewish Initiative for Animals, Shamayim, and JewishVeg each have different approaches to engaging Jewish communities around farmed animal ethics, community food practices, and veganism. A strength of advocacy within religious communities is that animal protection can be an authentic outgrowth of religious values, and adherents are already deeply engaged in questions of morality and in aligning their lifestyles with their values. Religious leaders can have outsized influence not only with community members but also in the public sphere when speaking out about farmed animal protection issues. Religious institutions often serve food in large quantities (e.g. religious schools, summer camps, and conference centers), so commitments from religious institutions to source food differently can impact large numbers of animals. CreatureKind, for example, is leading a project in the UK to engage denominational leaders around food policies. These include denominations like the Church of England that operates 4,700 schools.

POC-FOCUSED ADVOCACY AND BLACK VEGANISM

Several organizations and unaffiliated projects conduct vegan or farmed animal protection advocacy among people of color (POC) generally, and specifically among Black or other minority communities in the US. The (former) Vegan Advocacy Initiative hosted a series of conferences for vegan POC in Southern California; these helped to spread information about vegan activism led by POC and built a stronger sense of community and mutual support among vegan POC. The Afro-Vegan Society supports an online community with resources and virtual events promoting vegan diets for Black people. The city of Baltimore is home to several groups advancing animal protection and veganism in the Black community, including the Black Vegetarian Society of Maryland and Thrive Baltimore, leaders of which organize Baltimore's annual Vegan SoulFest, a food festival that has drawn crowds of close to 12,000 people in a single day. The Food Empowerment Project, while not focused exclusively on any particular demographic, has multiple projects that engage Latinx communities around veganism, worker justice and food access.

Rather than focus on animal protection exclusively, all of these groups share a commitment to multiple overlapping social justice

issues. For example, the mission statement of the Food Empowerment Project states:

> We encourage healthy food choices that reflect a more compassionate society by spotlighting the abuse of animals on farms, the depletion of natural resources, unfair working conditions for produce workers, and the unavailability of healthy foods in low-income areas. By making informed choices, we can prevent injustices against animals, people, and the environment. We also work to discourage negligent corporations from pushing unhealthy foods into low-income areas and empower people to make healthier choices by growing their own fruits and vegetables. In all of our work, Food Empowerment Project seeks specifically to empower those with the fewest resources.

Black veganism is a movement worth noting in connection with the growth of veganism among Black people in the US. This intellectual movement (distinguished from individual Black people who are vegan) merges vegan thought with critical race theory. It has been growing steadily among activists and scholars since the term was coined by authors Aph Ko and Syl Ko in their book, *Aphro-ism*.[02] An excellent and succinct explanation of the Ko sisters' writing on Black veganism is available on the website of the Black Youth Project, by Sincere Kirabo.[03]

Black veganism not only has power to reframe and inform the FAPM's advocacy work, but to extend the FAPM's legitimacy in the academy and academic spaces—Black veganism has been received with great interest and enthusiasm by leading scholars across multiple fields. Whereas scholars and activists who identify their work with veganism are still sometimes taken less seriously by academic colleagues, Black veganism has been able to demonstrate how vegan ideas (like questioning assumptions about the human-animal relationship or the human right to dominance) can better prepare social scientists and intellectuals to address problems like racism, inequality, and injustice.

Black veganism, as an intellectual movement, is connected to and strengthens advocacy work that promotes veganism in Black communities in a variety of ways, with many such advocates embracing its ideas.

GEOGRAPHICALLY-FOCUSED ADVOCACY

Some cities and geographic regions have become hotbeds for vegan food culture and animal protection advocacy due to sustained efforts by activists and local groups. Restricting the focus of advocacy efforts geographically can increase their effectiveness in several ways. Groups that focus their efforts locally are able to respond to local needs and cultivate relationships with businesses, politicians, and other important allies over time. Campaigns seeking to transform consumer behavior

can achieve greater market penetration with fewer resources by focusing on a smaller region.

As mentioned above, the city of Baltimore, for example, has grown a vibrant vegan culture in its Black community due to the efforts of groups like Thrive Baltimore and the Black Vegetarian Society of Maryland. Grand Rapids, MI is another city where vegan and animal welfare advocacy efforts and plant-based food culture have proliferated due to the efforts of groups including Vegan Grand Rapids, Grand Rapids VegFest, and student and faculty at Calvin College.

Rethink your Food—a new organization in South Florida led by Liz Ross, the former co-director of the Vegan Advocacy Initiative's conference for vegan POC—is another recent success story. Rethink your Food is designed to meet the unique health and social justice needs of people of Caribbean origin in South Florida, and is planning programming at healthcare and assisted living institutions where healthy diets are paramount.

> **"There's a built-in level of trust people in your community have for you that they wouldn't have for outsiders coming in to advocate."**
> – *Brenda Sanders, speaking at the 2016 Vegan Advocacy Initiative Conference*

ANALYSIS

The most obvious benefit of community-focused advocacy is its ability to achieve results in demographics that have been underserved by the larger FAPM. This has inherent benefits, and can also increase the effectiveness of the FAPM as a whole. Communities served by local advocacy efforts have the potential to drive or complement national cultural change, as is happening with vegan advocacy in Black communities. They can also provide valuable forms of support to national organizations, such as helping to mobilize local support for broad-based policy campaigns. Community-focused advocates bring valuable knowledge and skills to the FAPM that may be lacking in national organizations.

Community-focused efforts can make farmed animal advocacy issues more relevant to the lived experiences of a wider variety of people than more mainstream advocacy can. Community-focused advocacy campaigns often provide vivid counterexamples to claims that farmed animal protection work is elitist, inaccessible, or out-of-touch with the needs of ordinary people.

It becomes harder to dismiss veganism as an elite diet trend, for example, when it is being embraced by many POC in lower income communities who tie it to issues like food sovereignty and health.

Despite these benefits, local efforts remain highly under-resourced. There is a widespread perception that community-focused efforts do not reach as many people as mainstream advocacy, that local organizations are less efficient than large organizations that target multiple constituencies, or that its work simply is not relevant or important. These old assumptions, which have been given new life by the Effective Altruist community, do not withstand scrutiny and may stem from implicit biases against communities of color. For example, Baltimore's Vegan SoulFest is among the highest attended VegFests in the country despite its "narrow" focus on the Black community. Recent Gallup and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention surveys have found that POC in the US are disproportionately more likely to self-identify as vegetarian, vegan, or to have reduced their animal product consumption than white people, and a Washington Post article states that African Americans are the fastest-growing segment of the plant-based or vegan population in America. In the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES), 46 percent of self-identified vegetarians identify as an ethnicity other than "white non-Hispanic" even though these ethnicities make up only 34 percent of the US population.

Another challenge community-focused advocacy groups face when soliciting funds is that their attention to overlapping justice issues can be off-putting to philanthropists and the leaders of national organizations with a narrow farmed animal focus. Community-focused advocacy that addresses multiple social justice issues simultaneously (like improving health outcomes through plant-based diets, or creating community gardens to improve food access in neighborhoods lacking affordable produce) is critiqued by members of the FAPM who view it as failing to center farmed animals adequately, and thus is viewed as falling outside the realm of animal protection. For example, community-focused advocacy groups might tailor their language to be more culturally accessible to the communities they serve, which can mean avoiding worlds like "veganism," or focusing on the issues that resonate most within their community, like health. The Jewish Initiative for Animals, for example, uses the Hebrew phrase *tzaar baalei chayim* (roughly translated as "compassion for animals") rather than "animal rights" because the Hebrew phrase is used widely across multiple Jewish denominations, whereas the latter is alienating to some.

Few funders come from the communities served by community-focused advocacy efforts, and the lack of cultural knowledge about these communities, combined with cultural differences between funders and the leaders of these organizations, is another barrier that must be overcome by community-based organizers. Funders may feel less confident in their own ability to identify good leadership, evaluate proposals, or assess the impact of projects centered in communities that funders are not familiar with themselves.

New mechanisms for funding community-focused advocacy are necessary.

These may include participatory grantmaking structures and the creation of new funding streams designated for community-focused work, among others.

Community-focused advocacy is underfunded in the FAPM. The paid staff of each of the groups cited in this section number three or fewer, and most rely on significant volunteer labor to sustain their operations. As a result, they are limited in their ability to scale their work and sustain their efforts over time (further compounding perceptions that community-focused work is inefficient and poorly organized). Funding for community-focused advocacy with multi-year general operating support for paid staff, including capacity-building staff like administrators and fundraisers, is likely to lead to the further proliferation of successful animal protection advocacy in communities and regions that are currently underserved by the national FAPM.

Endnotes

01 Seeking endorsements from religious leaders for national initiatives led by the FAPM, for example, does not constitute community-focused advocacy because it does not empower religious leaders to create their own community-specific initiatives.

02 Aph Ko and Syl Ko, Aphro-ism: Essays on Pop Culture, Feminism, and Black Veganism from Two Sisters (Herndon, VA: Lantern Books), 2017.

03 Sincere Kirabo, "Three Ways Black Veganism Challenges White Supremacy (Unlike Conventional Veganism)," Black Youth Project, October 23, 2017. Accessible here.

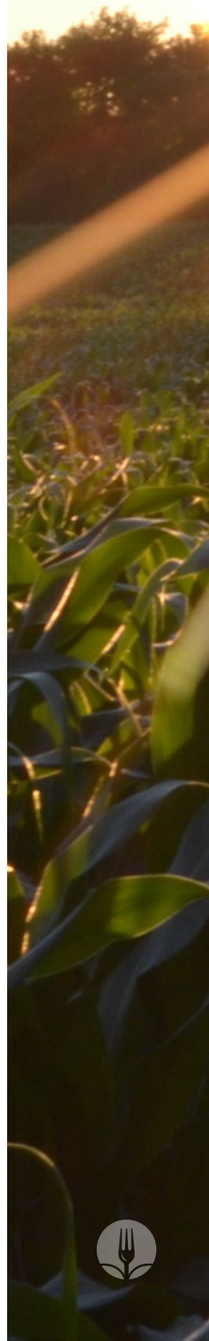
FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 10

Academic

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 10

Academic

Strategies advancing farmed animal protection through academic vehicles.



SUMMARY

Academic institutions shape the values and norms of generations of future leaders. Increasing the visibility of farmed animals and food ethics in undergraduate and graduate education via programs such as like Food Studies[01] and Animal Studies[02] will contribute to the long-term success of the FAPM in ways that may be difficult to anticipate and measure in the near term.

> **"If you're thinking about what you can achieve in one lifetime, you're thinking too narrowly."**
> – *Wes Jackson, founder of the Land Institute*

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

While very few institutions exist for longer than one generation, the academy is a vehicle for longevity—it is a way to influence the world beyond one's lifetime. If history is any guide, the world's largest corporations are unlikely to exist (at least with the same business models) 100 years from now. However, most of America's elite universities likely will, and unlike most philanthropy there are legal protections for donations made to universities to ensure that they are used for the donor's intentions long after their deaths. The endowed Chairs and Centers created today may continue to produce research on their intended topics several generations from now. Some philanthropists, most famously the Koch brothers, are well known for having invested tens of millions of dollars per year in the creation of academic institutions and programs that are, today, powerful vehicles for advancing conservative ideas globally.[03]

There are different ways to consider investing in academia as a strategy to promote farmed animal welfare. They include, but are not limited to:

GROWING UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING OF FOOD AND ANIMAL STUDIES

A great many college professors and graduate students across the liberal arts would *like* to include the topics of animal welfare, factory farming, and dietary change in their teaching. However, many have been discouraged from teaching these topics due to lack of mentoring, few jobs in these categories, and ideological biases against animal issues within academic departments.

Attitudes are changing, and the new interdisciplinary fields of Food Studies and Animal Studies are becoming popular topics for undergraduate minors and majors. Often, the financial barriers preventing a professor from focusing on these topics are relatively minor.[04] Targeted donations that empower professors to teach about farmed animal welfare in their classrooms impact the education of hundreds of students every year and can lead to more profound contributions to public ethics.[05]

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Investing in graduate training in particular professional fields is another way that some funders are strategically advancing farmed animal welfare issues. Harvard Law School's Center for Animals and Public Policy, for example, is training a cohort of elite lawyers to fight regressive laws and advance animal welfare through public policy. Training people to work in the animal protection movement, and building professional pipelines that funnel these talented students into jobs in the animal protection sector, is also a growing but underfunded field. Over a decade ago, Tufts University created its Animals and Public Policy program in its veterinary college, which remains one of the only graduate programs available in the animal protection profession. See the "Movement-Building" section for more about the professional development needs of the animal protection movement.

FUNDING TO INFLUENCE WHAT IS TAUGHT AT AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

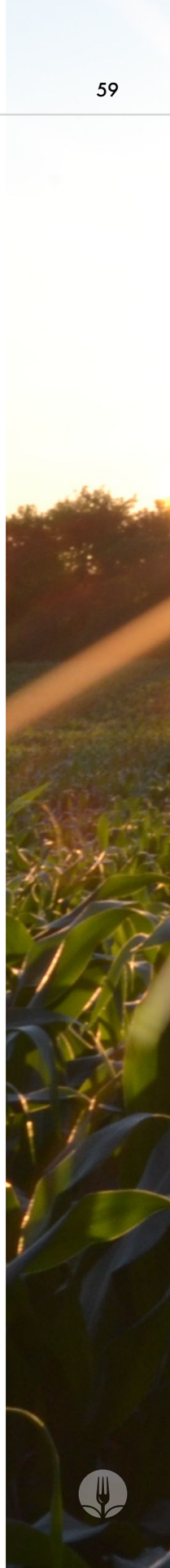
Universities have been, and continue to be, the leading source of training and guidance shaping developments in American agriculture.

The shift to factory farming as the dominant model of American agriculture from the 1940s to the 1960s was facilitated by agricultural universities that promoted "modern" farming methods.

Currently, such institutions rely upon funding from the meat and dairy industries, which likely has an effect on the scope of what they teach and research.[06] These institutions also have tremendous reach into farming communities, particularly through mechanisms like Extension Services. These channels are one way to engage with and impact farmers.

DEVELOPING ALTERNATIVE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND CENTERS

While land grant universities are highly committed to conventional agricultural models, *new* academic institutions can be created to promote alternative models without the ideological restrictions of land grant universities.



Creating a new academic program that focuses on high welfare or regenerative forms of farming—not as a boutique industry, but as viable alternatives to existing industries—could have profound effects over a generational timeframe.

Smaller and mid-tier regional colleges are likely to be very receptive to gifts for the creation of a new Center for alternative agriculture, and they have the benefit of attracting students who are more likely to come from—and stay in—the region. Some programs that could serve as models or potential partners include the Wendell Berry Center at Sterling College and University of Santa Cruz Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems.

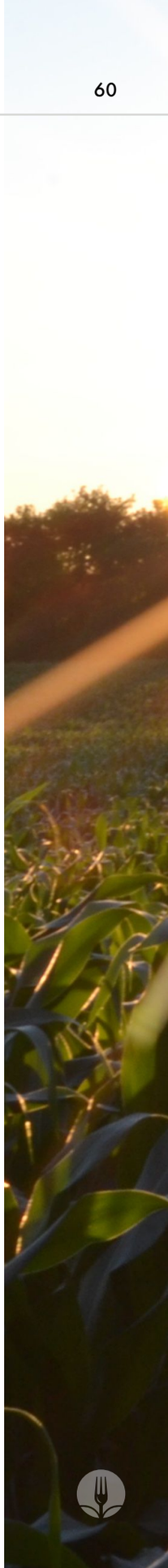
ANALYSIS

Advantages of working through academic institutions to promote animal welfare include:

- Impact is long-lasting. Colleges and universities are the most stable kinds of institutions in the US, and Centers and endowed Chairs provide a means for ensuring that a topic is studied and taught over several generations.
- Academic institutions have been the most important shapers of agricultural policy in the US. The shift toward industrialized farming in the 1940s-60s could not have taken place without the role of land grant universities; such colleges continue to train generations of farmers and agricultural professionals.
- There are few more impactful ways to influence people's attitudes and behaviors than engaging them in the transformative space of undergraduate education.
- Individual educators who are allied with farmed animal protection goals can have significant influence in their classrooms and publications over generations, and often only need modest funding to be able to leverage the prestige of their institutions to advance animal protection projects.

Challenges of working through academic institutions:

- Patience is required. Academia works more slowly and cautiously than the nonprofit sector, and investments made in academia may take years or even decades to result in visible social impact.
- Agricultural colleges in the US today are strongly committed to the industrial model of animal agriculture and resist changes that might challenge that model.
- Funding an academic program—whether it is a Center, a professorship, or another kind of donation—requires relinquishing control over the knowledge produced by that



program, due to academic independence. There are ways to design gifts to increase the likelihood that they will be used in ways that advance farmed animal welfare broadly, but donors cannot *guarantee* control over what is taught and studied at the institution.

Examples of colleges and universities that have created programs that address farmed animal protection issues include the Harvard Animal Law and Public Policy Program, the Yale University Law Ethics and Animals Program, the Duke World Food Policy Center, the Wendell Berry Center at Sterling College, the University of Santa Cruz Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems, and New York University's Animal Studies Program. Other nonprofits, such as the Animals & Society Institute, provide services that support teaching and scholarship on animal welfare issues. There may be significant funds yet to be tapped for farmed animal protection work in academia from research grants, fellowships, and other academic-oriented funding pools.

Endnotes

01 See for example Emma Cosgrove, "The Rise of Food-Studies Programs," the *Atlantic*, June 1, 2015. Accessible here.

02 See for example "Human-Animal Studies," Animals & Society Institute. Accessible here.

03 Valerie Strauss, "The Koch Brother Influence on College Campus is Spreading," *Washington Post*, March 28, 2014. Accessible here.

04 Six years ago Farm Forward gave a grant of $5,000 to a British religious studies professor, Dr. David Clough, who wanted to spend more of his time on farmed animal issues; the grant allowed him to attend an American conference that had a group working on "Animals and Religion." Since then Dr. Clough has become Chair of that group, has founded a nonprofit called CreatureKind, and recently received a grant from the UK government of £500K to lead an interreligious project in the UK aimed at influencing public policy around animal welfare. That initial grant is, of course, one of many contributing factors to Dr. Clough's phenomenal accomplishments but it is clear that the ability to offer modest funding to an academic in the early stages of their career has had an outsized impact on shaping education and public policy.

05 For example, Farm Forward recently assisted two professors at the University of San Diego—Dr. Aaron Gross and Dr. Christopher Carter—to successfully apply for university funds to launch a series of events, ultimately aimed at the creation of a new Food Studies minor at the University of San Diego. If successful, the project would include transformations to dining services and encourage professors across the undergraduate colleges to incorporate teaching about the ethics of our food system into their existing classes.

06 The 2012 report "Public Research, Private Gain" by Food and Water Watch details the influence of private-sector donations on US agricultural colleges and universities. Accessible here.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 11

International

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 11

International

Strategies that are multinational in scope, or that aim to launch campaigns and programs outside of the U.S.

SUMMARY

Efforts to slow the spread of industrial animal agriculture in South America and Asia are central to the global fight against factory farming. Consumers in India and China are eating increasingly more meat, and industrial animal farming is growing rapidly in both countries. Many countries outside of the US and Europe, including India, still practice traditional models of agriculture on a large scale. If supported, those traditional methods could play a role in slowing the global expansion of industrial agriculture. Most of the strategies used by farmed animal protection groups working in Asia and South America are similar in structure to campaigns run in North America and Europe (for example, corporate campaigns aimed at incremental improvements to industrial farms); new FAPM strategies better tailored to the demographics and cultures of regions where traditional or non-industrial models of animal agriculture predominate need to be developed further.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

The US-centric nature of this report is evident in its coverage of "International Strategies" as just one strategy, while the vast majority of farmed animals and efforts to help them exist outside of the US. People all over the world are helping animals in innumerable ways that may look very different from American-style advocacy, but detailing those efforts is beyond the scope of this project.

Here, we focus on strategies undertaken by organizations based in (or funded from) the US (and in a few cases, Europe) aimed at impacts outside of the US and Europe. These "multinational" nonprofit organizations use funding from primarily American and European donors to launch campaigns in other parts of the world to promote animal rights, reduce animal product consumption, or achieve welfare improvements on farms.

ANALYSIS

Most of these multinational efforts take place in China, India, and Brazil, which are among the world's largest population centers and economies and are major producers and exporters of animal products.[01]

US-based organizations and funders increasingly target their efforts internationally for a variety of reasons:

1. **They can impact more animals (and more people):** As mentioned above, most of the animals raised for food in the world are outside of the US. CAFOs are expanding most rapidly abroad. Welfare and dietary practices that only apply to US-based farms and communities only impact a small sliver of the world's farmed animal population.[02]

2. **Political, economic and societal structures may be more easily influenced:** Shaping agricultural policy in the US is extremely difficult. Institutions like the USDA, as well as academic institutions that train farmers, are supported by the agriculture industry and are highly resistant to change. Meat and dairy producers wield considerable economic and political power and in certain states it has been extremely difficult to pass legislation that benefits farmed animals. However, in many other countries, the influence of businesses on government policy is weaker compared to the influence of NGOs and academic institutions.[03] [04]

3. **"Getting ahead" of the global spread of factory farming:** According to Lewis Bollard of the Open Philanthropy Project, "on current trends, factory farms a decade from now will confine 4.2 billion more land animals and 18.5 billion more fish than they do today," and most of this growth will take place outside of the US. Whereas in the US more than 99 percent of animal farming uses CAFO model,[05] there are regions of the world where other, higher welfare models predominate, despite facing pressure from multinational agriculture companies to transition to more intensive operations.

Funding efforts to redirect "development" toward higher welfare models of farming instead of western-style CAFOs could have long-term impact on reducing the suffering of farmed animals.

4. **Higher per-dollar impact:** Philanthropic dollars go further in countries where labor is cheaper than in the US. Building a large team in India or Mexico is less costly than in the US, making it possible to scale up advocacy efforts quickly.[06]

5. **Altering globalized industry requires a globalized strategy:** The largest poultry, pork, and beef producers in the world all have global strategies, and their fastest-growing markets are outside of the US. Consumer campaigns focused on the US may not significantly hurt the profits of multinational companies that can focus their growth strategies abroad. Campaigns that target multiple countries simultaneously may be necessary in order to be effective.[07]

6. **Learning from other models of farming:** There is a great deal of experimentation taking place around the world to produce models of farming that promote sustainability, health, economic autonomy, and animal welfare. Much of the knowledge required for more holistic models of farming to succeed has been lost in the US, and the experts needed to reeducate a new generation of sustainable farmers in the US may need to come from other parts of the world.

That said, there are major challenges inherent to pursuing farmed animal advocacy abroad. They include:

1. **Understanding the local context:** Culture, politics, economic structures, and farming traditions vary widely from region to region. Campaign strategies that works in the US may not make sense in different contexts. Building relationships and trust with local allies who can provide that necessary context takes time.

2. **Trusting and empowering local advocates:** Typically, the people best able to develop and lead successful campaigns within a community are community members themselves. However, international campaign funding tends to be channeled through American and European nonprofits that ultimately control and constrain how those funds are spent, rather than empowering local leaders to make financial and programmatic decisions themselves. Supporting local leaders often requires accepting greater uncertainty and less control, and the informal economic systems that advocacy must sometimes work through in some countries can seem less transparent to US funders.

3. **Differences in values:** When working in other countries, American animal protection advocates sometimes face challenges because the dominant values articulated by animal rights and animal welfare advocates in the US can be unintelligible internationally, and values in foreign countries can feel uncomfortable to Americans.[08]

Being effective in other countries may require funders to be less attached to the ideologies (or certain articulations of those ideologies) that guide their funding in the US.

4. **Conflict with non-animal advocacy groups:** Currently, there is a strong push within the global environmental and anti-hunger movements to promote the growth of industrial-scale (or semi-industrial) poultry farms in countries that are part of the "Global South." This has been spurred by data from the climate movement showing that chicken production has a lower carbon footprint than cattle production, as well as a trend in seeking technological solutions (such as intensive farming techniques) to produce protein more efficiently for

people in impoverished regions. There is transparent collusion (whether funders realize it or not) between, on the one hand, multinational agricultural companies seeking to expand their reach into new markets and, on the other, governmental and NGO efforts to feed populations in need.[09]

The number of nonprofit groups that do campaign work internationally is growing, in part due to funding from the effective altruist movement for corporate campaigns in specific regions of the world. Some of these newer groups are based in the countries in which they operate. US and European nonprofits that have campaign and advocacy programs in multiple countries around the world include Animal Equality, Humane Society International, Mercy for Animals, World Animal Protection, and ProVeg.

Effective Altruist funders have contributed large sums to multinational animal protection advocacy, with the Open Philanthropy Project (OPP) contributing tens of millions in funding for projects taking place outside of the US and Europe.

Given the scale of animal agriculture abroad, international advocacy remains underfunded. The funding provided by OPP has been concentrated on cage-free poultry campaigns, and many other strategies receive little or no funding from US funders. Areas with the greatest need for funding include:

- Research into local drivers of industrial agriculture to inform the work of US and European NGOs working in those regions;
- Research to produce replicable models of *alternatives* to factory farms that can be promoted by global development efforts in regions like East Africa and South India;
- Participation by animal advocates in globally-focused institutions connected to health and the environment;
- Incubating and funding new organizations led by local leaders to help launch (and scale) advocacy organizations locally.

In addition to direct funding, foundations could enhance animal welfare strategies internationally by influencing large US foundations that fund international agricultural efforts, such as the Gates and Bloomberg Foundations.

Endnotes

01 Farm Forward has deep experience working in India, so many of our examples in this section are drawn from the Indian context.

02 "Global Animal Slaughter Statistics and Charts." Faunalytics, October 10, 2018. Accessible here.

03 In South India, for example, the practices of small-scale farmers are heavily influenced by training and funding provided by the government in order to promote "rural welfare" and many of these government-supported programs promote practices that are sustainable, higher welfare, and supportive of independent farmers. Indian researchers report finding government agencies responsive to agricultural research that addresses concerns including public health, environmental concerns, and supporting jobs and livelihoods for small farmers.

04 A 2019 e-newsletter from Lewis Bollard of the Open Philanthropy Project commented on successes in China's public policy: "A decade ago there was almost no mention of farm[ed] animal welfare in China. Since then, China's largest chicken producing state issued humane slaughter rules (something the US still lacks for chickens); China's Ministry of Education added animal welfare to the veterinary curriculum; China's Vice Minister of Agriculture endorsed farm[ed] animal welfare; a Chinese deputy spoke for farm[ed] animal welfare in the People's Congress; and a government-affiliated entity issued China's first (voluntary) farm[ed] animal welfare standards. Compassion in World Farming awarded 99 Chinese pig, egg, and chicken farmers for improving the welfare of over 280M Chinese animals, and two pork producers committed to phasing out crates after working with World Animal Protection."

05 Jacy Reese, "US Factory Farming Estimates, Sentience Institute, April 11, 2019. Accessible here.

06 For example, with a grant of just $150K, the new Mexican nonprofit Liberum launched with a team of four highly-skilled staff members and multiple public campaigns in their first year.

07 A lynchpin of the global poultry industry is breeding, which is currently concentrated in just two global corporations that have tremendous reach into local farming communities around the world. Targeting these breeding companies could be extremely disruptive of the global poultry industry, but doing so would require an approach that takes into account their global business models.

Endnotes

08 For example, Farm Forward's work in South India has found that village-level veterinarians and farmers can be vocal local advocates for more plant-forward diets and for resisting factory farms, but have had difficulty convincing American funders that they are truly aligned with the values of animal protection because the US-based movement has found few strong allies for plant-based diets among farmers and veterinarians.

09 Tony McDougal, "Gates Foundation grant for poultry breeding in Africa," *Poultry World*, November 7, 2018. Accessible here.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 12

Animal Welfare Certifications

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 12

Animal Welfare Certifications

Farmed animal welfare certification programs develop standards, audit farms, track compliance, and market certified products.

SUMMARY

Animal welfare certifications purport to help consumers identify higher welfare animal products and help institutions that have adopted food policies differentiate among products and track compliance internally. There are significant differences in the level of rigor, transparency, and accountability provided by different animal welfare certifications, and bad actors capitalize on the growing demand for higher welfare products by "humane-washing"—inflating claims about their animal welfare standards—to attract consumers. This report finds that while certifications are in some cases able to inform consumers about meaningful welfare differences between commercially available animal products, certifications have limited ability to catalyze systemic change; they more commonly codify, institutionalize, and signal changes that producers and consumers are already willing to accept.[01]

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Three principal entities are required for animal welfare certification, though the same entity may function in one or more roles:

1. **Standards Setting Bodies** produce animal welfare standards and protocols for auditors to interpret and apply (specific husbandry requirements, how frequently audits must be performed, how the auditor evaluates whether the standards have been met, etc.).

2. **Auditors** use the standards produced by standards setting bodies to conduct audits and determine whether an operation conforms to the standards (typically pass/fail).

3. **Certifying Bodies** grant or deny certification to the entity that has been audited (typically a farm, integrator, or slaughterhouse). Certified operations may place labels provided by the certifier on their products. Certifying bodies oversee the regulation and use of the certification mark. Certifying bodies seek brand recognition among consumers for their mark, which incentivizes producers to seek the certification.

Examples:

The National Chicken Council (NCC) is a trade organization that produces the Animal Welfare Guidelines Certification for broiler and broiler-breeder operations. NCC serves as a *standards setting body* for the Animal Welfare Guidelines Certification, which has no formal *certifying body*—producers can simply opt into the program by committing to follow NCC's guidelines, and NCC permits producers either to *self-audit* or *hire third parties* to evaluate compliance to NCC standards.

Global Animal Partnership (G.A.P.) is a standards setting body and takes pride in being a true third-party standard, playing no role in the process of auditing and certifying producers, apart from training the third-party auditors and managing the G.A.P. brand. G.A.P. requires that third-party auditing companies—approved and trained by G.A.P.—audit producers to G.A.P.'s standards. Upon successful audit to G.A.P. standards, a determination of the auditor without input from G.A.P., the auditing firm grants the producer their G.A.P. certification. This is, in our view, the most trustworthy arrangement. Unfortunately, producers who fail or fear they will fail their audit to G.A.P. standards can appeal to G.A.P. for a "derogation," granting them the ability to pass their audit provisionally provided they have a plan to correct the problem that would otherwise disqualify them.[02]

Animal Welfare Approved (AWA) is a standards setting and certification body that employs the auditors who audit to its standards and denies or grants certification.

WELFARE STANDARDS (CREATED BY STANDARDS-SETTING BODIES)

Husbandry standards that describe in detail how animals must be raised are the foundation of farmed animal welfare certification. Robust certification standards mandate the treatment of animals throughout their lives—from the day they are born until the day they die. To ensure the integrity of these programs, all certification standards should be accessible to the public and to farmers. There are two broad approaches to creating animal welfare standards: "engineering standards" and "outcome-based standards."

Engineering standards specify *quantifiable measures* that can be evaluated. For example: "The population density of chickens raised for meat *cannot exceed 6 lbs. of live chickens per square foot* of floor space."

Outcome-based standards describe *physical or behavioral outcomes* that can be evaluated, regardless of the husbandry practices employed to achieve them. For example, a certification may limit the size and number of lesions that chickens develop on their feet at various points throughout their lives. If a farm exceeds the number or severity of foot lesions specified by the standard, the producer would be required to change their husbandry practices (for example by changing the litter on the floor of the barn more frequently, or by reducing stocking density).

Certifications often use both engineering and outcome-based standards within the same program.

AUDITING FREQUENCY AND PREDICTABILITY

The frequency with which audits are performed, and whether the audits are performed on an announced or unannounced basis, plays a role in the extent to which a set of standards is likely to be followed.

Certified Humane audits only a portion of farms in a producer group (a group of farms that produce products for the same brand). For example, 100 farmers may raise animals for a specific brand but only ~15 are required to be audited annually under the Certified Humane program. This method has the benefit of reducing the cost of the certification for producers with many farms. Some companies, such as Niman Ranch, have chosen to use Certified Humane as their primary certifier, in part because they have some very small farms in their network (the minimum number to raise pigs for Niman is just five pigs per shipment); requiring that all of the smallest farms be audited can make the certification more costly than it may be worth to the producer. The downside of this auditing strategy is that only a small subset of farms are ever audited, and we suspect that this form of auditing leads to poorer welfare outcomes. Farmers who know that they are unlikely to be audited may pay less attention to important husbandry issues or may cut corners.

G.A.P. requires every farm that raises animals under their label to be audited at least once every 16 months.

ANALYSIS

Certifications serve a variety of important strategic roles in the FAPM, but certification is not without limitations and drawbacks.

CONSUMER DEMAND AND CERTIFICATIONS

Certifications may help consumers who are sufficiently motivated to look for higher welfare animal products identify them, though some evidence suggests that consumers do not understand the differences between certifications and may believe standards are more stringent than they are. Surveys by Consumer Reports found that 80 percent of consumers think it is “important” or “very important” that animals be given better living conditions, and more than 1/3 of consumers say that they look for “humane” labels on products.[03] More than 2/3 of consumers say they would be willing to pay more for products from animals raised under improved welfare conditions.[04] The degree to which these stated preferences translate into actual buying practices remains unclear, but considering that only one animal protection group, the ASPCA, has launched a national campaign encouraging consumers to look for certified products,[05] more data is necessary to determine whether campaigns to generate consumer demand for higher welfare products could be effective.

HUMANEWASHING

The growing demand for high welfare products incentivizes unethical companies to make inflated claims about the welfare of animals within their supply chains for the sake of attracting consumers. The act of inflating welfare claims is often referred to as “humanewashing.” Humanewashing takes a variety of forms. Subtle examples include Krogers’ decision to brand their private

label chicken "Heritage Farms." Whether intentional or not, some consumers wrongly believe that "Heritage Farms" brand chicken comes from heritage breed animals.[06] More overt examples include "cage-free" egg companies' use of images of chickens on pasture on their egg cartons despite the fact that cage-free hens almost never go outdoors (Figure A). This kind of humanewashing is widespread, including at grocery stores that carry legitimately higher welfare products. For example, under their "365" brand, Whole Foods Market sells cage-free eggs using images of pasture on their cartons (Figure B). In a survey conducted by a leading pasture-raised egg company, 92 percent of consumers believed that the phrase *cage-free* means hens are *raised on pasture*.

A

B

In addition to deceptive marketing from egg companies, campaigns run by animal protection groups may contribute to consumers' misconceptions. For the past decade, animal protection groups have pushed food companies and state legislators to ban battery cages and other forms of confinement.

It is possible that cage-free campaigns have unintentionally given consumers the impression that products like cage-free eggs are *sufficiently* humane, rather than simply a first step toward giving egg-laying hens marginally better lives. [07]

More research into consumer beliefs and behavior is necessary to understand these impacts.

CERTIFICATIONS, CORPORATE CAMPAIGNS, AND INSTITUTIONAL FOOD POLICIES

Certifications play an important role in other animal protection strategies, specifically in corporate campaigns and institutional food policies. For example, the Better Chicken Commitment (BCC) asks companies to commit to Global Animal Partnership (G.A.P.) Step 1 or equivalent standards. G.A.P. has committed to phase out the use of the fastest-growing strains of chickens. In partnership with the University of Guelph, G.A.P. is conducting the most comprehensive study comparing the welfare outcomes of twenty different strains and breeds of chickens.[08] We estimate that the 100+ companies committed to the BCC purchase enough chicken to impact roughly 1 billion birds per year, roughly 10 percent of the meat chickens raised in the US annually.[09] The BCC is a significant achievement, not just because of the possible reduction

in suffering if the commitments are honored, but also because it acknowledges genetics as one of the most important aspects of animal welfare.

The BCC is also the first corporate campaign run by animal protection groups calling on companies to commit to holistic welfare improvements. Historically, corporate campaigns have focused on single issues like cages and gestation crates. While those changes improve the lives of farmed animals, significantly improving conditions for animals raised in CAFOs requires holistic changes to husbandry, housing, transportation, slaughter, and genetics. Certifications make it much easier for animal protection groups to campaign for holistic improvements because they offer a single, professionalized platform addressing a range of welfare issues, and methods for tracking compliance (since farms are audited in perpetuity).

Well-established certifications like G.A.P. are an important part of institutional food policies as well since they can make it simpler—logistically and politically—for institutions to include holistic farmed animal standards within their dining programs. It is simpler for institutions to leverage the expertise of welfare certifications than it would be to attempt to draft standards requiring far more technical knowledge than sustainability and food management staff possess. In other words, for institutions that are committed to continuing to serve animals products but wish to source from higher welfare suppliers, certifications allow dining directors to outsource their animal welfare compliance to knowledgeable and trained professionals.

COST OF CERTIFICATION

There is a tradeoff between high standards (improved welfare) and mass adoption of certification by farmers and retailers. As standards get stricter, fewer producers are willing to comply (due to additional cost and hassle), and fewer retailers are willing to carry the products (due to higher prices making products less attractive to customers).

Today, meaningfully higher welfare certifications have been adopted by a relatively small group of farmers (hundreds) who raise a very small number of animals (hundreds of thousands). Because the market for certified highest welfare products is fairly small, these products also face logistical and supply challenges that keep their cost relatively high compared to conventional and lower welfare certified products.

FUTURE OF CERTIFICATIONS

Certifications are constrained both by the changes producers are willing to make and the price consumers are willing to pay for certified products. If the majority of producers are unwilling to change specific practices, like addressing poultry genetics, certifications are forced to choose between having fewer producers (and therefore products) and accommodating them. Another force working against certifications is that stricter standards tend to increase production costs, which can result in fewer retailers accepting them. As a result, certifications tend to codify only the practices that producers and retailers are ready to accept, and consumers by and large are unaware that standards may not be as stringent as they believe them to be. There is very little incentive to create aspirational welfare standards since, even

if producers and retailers were willing to accept them, consumers would struggle to differentiate meaningfully better products from everything else.

Despite their limitations, and perhaps in part because they do not challenge the business models of producers and retailers, welfare certifications are more popular and powerful than ever before.

For example, G.A.P. has secured the cooperation of some of the largest US poultry companies, which are now working with G.A.P. to address genetic welfare of the most popular strains in the industry. This is the first time that leaders from the poultry industry have been willing to collaborate with a certification to improve genetic welfare. Still, collaboration comes with a cost: the more the poultry industry collaborates with G.A.P., the more influence the industry is likely to exert over G.A.P.'s standards. For example, if G.A.P. interprets the results of the Guelph study (which has yet to be published) to mean that chickens who grow to maturity in less than 80 days do not have sufficiently high welfare, the producers with seats on G.A.P.'s board, and the companies that have committed to the Better Chicken Commitment, are likely to balk, and may even abandon their commitments. That pressure—the pressure to set standards high, but not so high that they will be rejected by the industry—is part of the fundamental compromises inherent to the business of animal welfare certification.

Even as retailers and producers move to exert more control over certifications, animal protection groups continue to have opportunities to make progress on specific welfare issues. For example, once the animal protection community decided to make genetics a central part of the BCC, farmed animal protection groups on G.A.P.'s board pushed G.A.P. to address genetics at each level of their certification (1-5+).[10] As animal protection groups find ways to pressure certifications, either internally as stakeholders or externally using campaigns, certifications may succeed in improving animal welfare in ways that the industry may not have otherwise been willing to make.

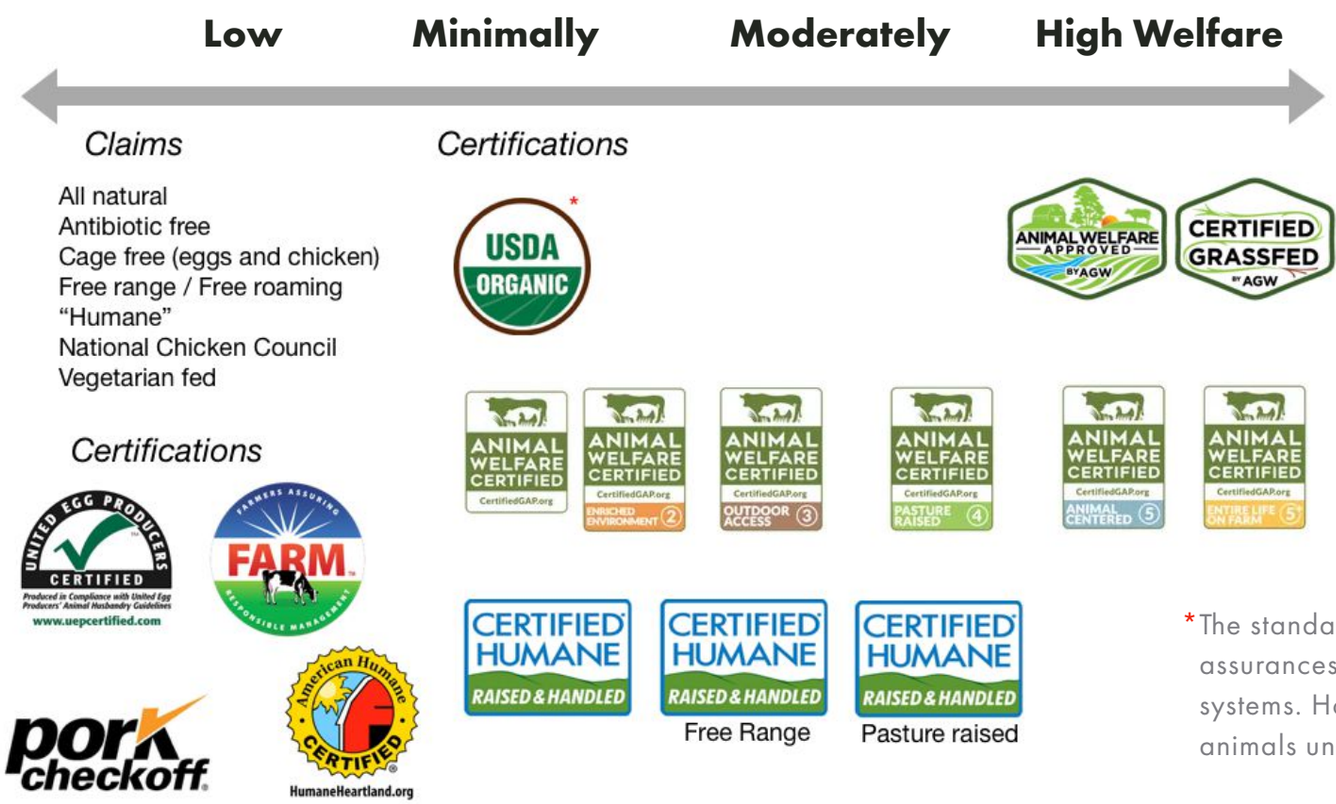
The diagram at the end of this section maps certifications on a welfare scale based on their standards.

Financial support for certifications has come primarily from the private sector in the form of fees paid by producers to use certification labels on their products, and a few specific philanthropic funders. G.A.P. has received several grants from Open Philanthropy Project, which in 2019 funded roughly 50 percent of G.A.P.'s operating budget. Additional funding for G.A.P. comes from Whole Foods Market in the form of staff support and a commitment to require the use of the certification in their stores.

Certified Humane has been supported by the fees paid by producers and has received some financial support from the

ASPCA. Animal Welfare Approved is almost entirely funded by the Grace Communications Foundation, making it the only animal welfare certification that does not depend on funding from the industry it seeks to regulate.

Certifications Mapped onto a Welfare Scale



*The standards for the USDA organic program do not provide sufficient assurances to ensure that farmed animals are raised in higher welfare systems. However, in practice, many certified organic farms do raise animals under minimally to moderately higher welfare conditions.

Endnotes

01 Farm Forward has played a significant role, as a consultant and board member, for one of the world's largest animal welfare certifications, Global Animal Partnership (G.A.P.), and has been a proponent welfare certifications as a mechanism for raising standards on industrial farms, as well as recommending certified higher welfare products in its institutional food policy work. Farm Forward left the G.A.P. board in early 2020 and is undertaking its own evaluation of the progress and impact that welfare certifications, as a strategy for suffering reduction, have had over the past 15 years.

02 Though we see value in G.A.P.'s ability to grant this sort of flexibility, particularly to small farms, G.A.P.'s derogation process is opaque, which raises questions about G.A.P.'s certification process as a whole. While we do not believe that this process is being abused as a matter of practice, we fear that some derogations granted by G.A.P. could change consumers' minds about whether or not they feel comfortable purchasing specific products or brands.

03 "Food Labels Survey, 2014 Nationally-Representative Phone Survey," *Consumer Reports*, 2014. Accessible here.

04 V. Spain, et. al, "Are they buying it? United States Consumers' Changing Attitudes toward More Humanely Raised Meat, Eggs, and Dairy," *Animals (Basel)*, August 2018, 8(8): 128. Accessible here.

05 ASPCA's Shop With Your Heart program. Accessible here.

06 Farm Forward has received several calls from people inquiring about Heritage Farms chicken after finding information about the products on BuyingPoultry.com.

07 Private research from Vital Farms suggests that more than 70 percent of consumers believe that "cage free" means hens have access to pasture.

08 "G.A.P. Provides Funding for University of Guelph Study in Support of Better Chicken Welfare Initiative," Global Animal Partnership, June 17, 2017. Accessible here.

09 This estimate comes from a presentation made by Bruce Stewart-Brown, Senior Vice President of Food Safety and Quality Live Operations for Perdue Inc., at the Perdue Annual Animal Care Summit, July 2019.

10 Disclosure: Farm Forward was on G.A.P.'s board at the time this commitment was made.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 13

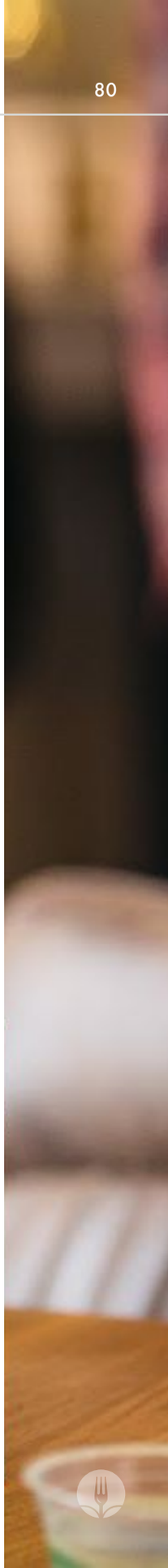
Arts and Culture

Photo: Abbie Livesay Photography

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 13

Arts and Culture

The production of art and cultural content in order to shift perceptions of farmed animals and plant-based eating.



SUMMARY

Unlike most other FAPM strategies, art and cultural content lend themselves to making lasting emotional connections that can shift our understanding of food, farmed animals, and ourselves. One survey found that "Exposure to documentaries and books are two of the biggest catalysts inspiring people to reduce or eliminate animal product consumption." Work is still needed to develop methods for evaluating the impact of art and cultural works on specific demographics, and to explore the elements that contributed to their success. Investments in art and cultural content are less reliable for reaching large numbers of consumers, but can have a huge impact when successful.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

The category "Arts and Culture" refers, here, to the production of cultural content like books, films, and visual arts. These mediums can increase awareness of farmed animal protection issues and shape people's beliefs about farmed animals or plant-based diets.[01]

Culture change is something of a holy grail for social justice movements. Once a culture embraces a worldview favorable to a particular cause, culture itself becomes an engine for progress; in other words, consumers become motivated to take action without an advocates expending resources to influence them. Culture change is also among the most challenging to achieve. Producing culturally resonant work is extremely difficult, requiring an almost fateful confluence of rare talent, execution, timing, and skill. The reception of cultural work is difficult to predict, and when done poorly it is possible that content could do more harm than good.[02] While to some extent it is possible to purchase superficial visibility and penetration, it becomes extremely costly to keep the work visible if it fails to gain organic traction. Even when cultural content penetrates organically, it is almost impossible to predict whether it will have staying power. Most cultural trends are fleeting.

Still, over the last 20 years there is no question that American culture has shifted to be more educated about and accepting of veganism, and more broadly concerned about farmed animal welfare. Evidence of this trend is abundant: for example,

legislative victories at the state level, the rise and increasing ubiquity of veg alternatives, and the animal protection movement receiving vastly more money than ever before. Particularly in urban areas, for a wide range of demographics veganism has gone from being laughable to trendy.

A huge range of factors have driven this culture change, including the success of artistic and creative projects. A survey conducted by The Humane League with more than 3,000 respondents concluded that

"Exposure to documentaries and books are two of the biggest catalysts inspiring people to reduce or eliminate animal product consumption." [03]

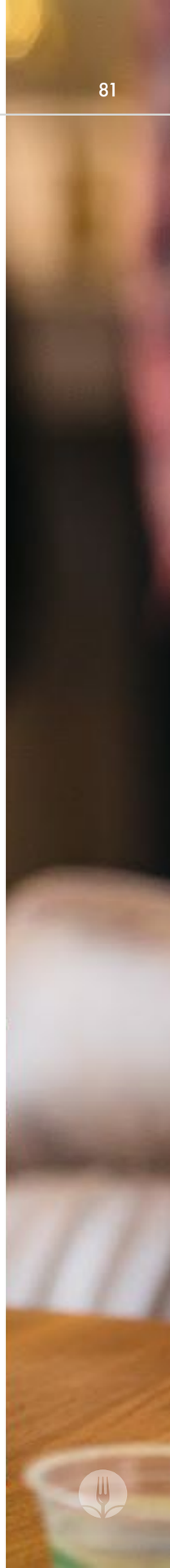
Nonprofit advocacy often becomes more or less narrowly focused on content delivery, but books and documentaries are potentially transformative in that—unlike other vehicles—they lend themselves to making enduring emotional connections.

"Jonathan Safran Foer's book *Eating Animals* changed me from a twenty-year vegetarian to a vegan activist."
– Natalie Portman [04]

ANALYSIS

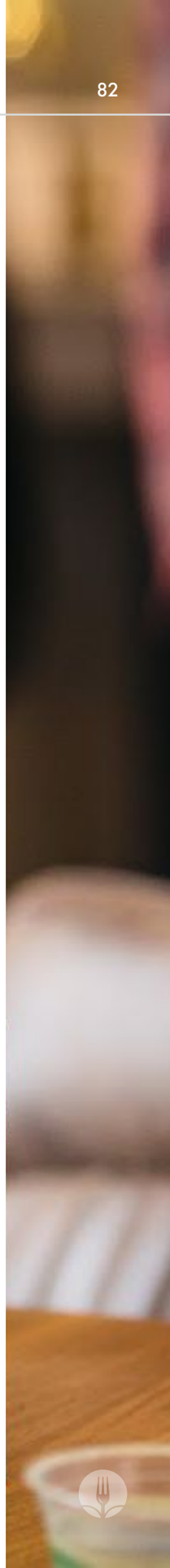
It is difficult to measure the impact of a book or film. Typically, such works are considered successful if they get large numbers of readers or viewers, or if they receive critical acclaim. However, there is no agreed-upon method for evaluating the success of cultural content, and a wide range of factors influence whether readers and audiences change their behavior based on what they read or see. For example, strong anecdotal evidence suggests that students who read books in the context of their college classroom, or in advocacy spaces where they discuss and engage with the content, are especially likely to change attitudes and behaviors as a result.[05]

The movement has not evaluated the significance of art and cultural products in creating lasting change. No tangible, definitive measure indicates whether a work has achieved deep significance as opposed to being, say, briefly popular. Movements must develop methods for evaluating the cultural traction and impact of various works on specific demographics (religious communities, media discourse, specific industries, or the animal protection movement itself), and explore the elements that contributed to their success.



One factor that funders interested in investing in advocacy books and films should consider is the role that for-profit companies involved in their promotion will play in extending their social impact—book publishers and film distributors, for example. *The Game Changers* was a high-budget documentary, raising at least seven million dollars, largely from individuals within the animal rights movement (*Eating Animals*, in comparison, was considered expensive for a documentary but cost close to two million dollars to produce). Rather than selling *The Game Changers* to a Hollywood distribution agency, its creators chose to keep the film's marketing and distribution in-house. Normally, a film would have little chance of reaching mainstream audiences without a Hollywood distribution agency promoting it, but *The Game Changers* had the benefit of a deep war chest and big-name producers—including James Cameron—invested in its success. By maintaining control over the marketing, *The Game Changers'* creators could be much more creative and collaborative in the film's outreach, which has facilitated film screenings on military bases, tie-ins with chefs, a website to foster deeper learning, and far-reaching athletic endorsements. Many films that rely on distribution companies to fund their marketing and dissemination are, in contrast, limited by the kinds of outreach and marketing which those companies are willing to undertake.

Other films that have been influenced by FAPM advocacy work, or that have been a stimulus for further animal advocacy include The Cove, *Cowspiracy/What the Health*, and *Forks Over Knives*. Lantern Books is a book publisher focusing on animal advocacy issues. Books, films, and art have been able, in some cases, to attract funding from individuals who do not otherwise fund the FAPM, often due to the respect or prestige of the artists involved.



Endnotes

01 Farm Forward has been engaged in this strategy as a production collaborator and outreach partner for Jonathan Safran Foer's internationally bestselling book *Eating Animals*, and a consultant and contributor to the documentary film of the same name. We have also provided some outreach assistance to *The Game Changers* documentary film.

02 If, say, a film makes inaccurate or difficult to substantiate claims, it may invalidate other accurate claims made about the same subject. For example, claims made in the film "What the Health" that eggs are as bad as cigarettes led to skepticism that undermined, for some viewers, the credibility of the rest of the film, as well as perhaps veg advocates in general.

03 "Diet Change and Demographic Characteristics of Vegans, Vegetarians, Semi-Vegetarians, and Omnivores." The Humane League Labs, April, 2014. Article with highlights accessible here; full report accessible here.

04 Natalie Portman, "Jonathan Safran Foer's Eating Animals Turned Me Vegan," *Huffpost*, March 18, 2010. Accessible here.

05 Based on feedback received on Farm Forward's Virtual Visits, in which more than 19,000 students and others have participated. More information available here.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 14

Movement and Institution Building

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 14

Movement and Institution Building

Strategies that strengthen the farmed animal protection movement by growing its capacity and by addressing problems within the movement.

SUMMARY

The proliferation of organizations that serve other organizations in the farmed animal protection movement is a relatively new phenomenon. These organizations fall into four main categories: data-driven, social justice, funding/incubation, and umbrella/networking. The need for movement and institution building is clear (for example, to provide training and professional development, incubate new nonprofits, and help the movement develop better metrics for measuring animal welfare), yet movement and institution building remains greatly underfunded, despite recent growth.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Over the last ten years, a growing segment of nonprofit organizations have devoted themselves to serving the animal protection movement broadly, rather than seeking direct impact through their own advocacy. Until recently, organized efforts to grow the movement were limited, focusing on events like the Animal Rights National Conference, which has taken place since 1981, and by informal networks of organizational leaders.

Services that support movement building, like quantitative research, professional development, nonprofit management, and new leadership pipelines are still underdeveloped compared to other sectors (like the environmental movement and within public health).

Limited funding for animal advocacy has meant that nonprofits typically do not have much leeway in their budgets to pay for professional services to improve their management, evaluate their internal and public-facing strategies, or train their employees.

The small number of academic programs that train animal protection professionals (such as the program at Tufts Veterinary) offer few scholarships and little support to help graduates succeed in building careers. While incubation programs exist for growing food technology projects,[01] and networking events for plant-based entrepreneurs also abound, including events hosted by the Good Food Institute, there are no large grant programs for incubating new animal protection nonprofits.

ANALYSIS

The current trend in high-impact- per-dollar philanthropy has, unsurprisingly, failed to provide much funding to support movement building (except with respect to services that help funders use data to evaluate nonprofit effectiveness), but the need for movement- and institution-building support is clear.Problems are emerging in organizations that have grown rapidly in their funding and staff but without corresponding investments in professionalization and good management practices

Additionally, both the #MeToo and anti-racism movements have led to more vocal demands that animal protection groups address problems with sexual harassment and discrimination, and new organizations and private consultants have emerged to meet this demand.

Movement-building as an advocacy strategy is greatly underfunded. In particular, it would be valuable to fund work to:

- **Develop more sophisticated and holistic metrics** for understanding and evaluating animal welfare.[02]
- **Provide training and leadership development** opportunities for farmed animal advocates, both at the level of undergraduate and postgraduate education, and ongoing skills training for professionals.
- **Provide incubation support for new nonprofits,** particularly those outside of the technology/business space and in communities of color.

During the last three years, two organizations, Reducetarian and 50by40, have grown rapidly. Both share a strategy of building relationships that go beyond the vegan community by engaging professionals in the health and environmental movements. Meanwhile, movement-building that promotes, and is funded by, the for-profit plant-based business sector seems to be flourishing as well, with a variety of formal and informal networking spaces emerging for plant-based entrepreneurs and investors.

Endnotes

01 See Food Future Co, "World's first scale-up accelerator in food, agriculture, social, and environmental entrepreneurship," which lists "plant-based food technology" as an example of the inventions they fund. Good Food Institute publishes a map of accelerator and incubator programs for food, which includes more than 300 different programs.

02 This recommendation requires more explanation. A separate report by Farm Forward will be published in this series on "Evaluation Methodologies in the Farmed Animal Protection Movement" that will analyze the impact that particular kinds of metrics and evaluation methodologies have on the scope and impact of funding for farmed animal protection strategies. Our interviews and research found large investment by Effective Altruists supporting the use of certain kinds of evaluation methods, while other methods remain underdeveloped.

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 15

Highest Welfare Farming

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 15

Highest Welfare Farming

Projects that promote the existence and growth of farms which raise animals without using factory farming techniques and allow for optimal quality of life for farmed animals.

SUMMARY

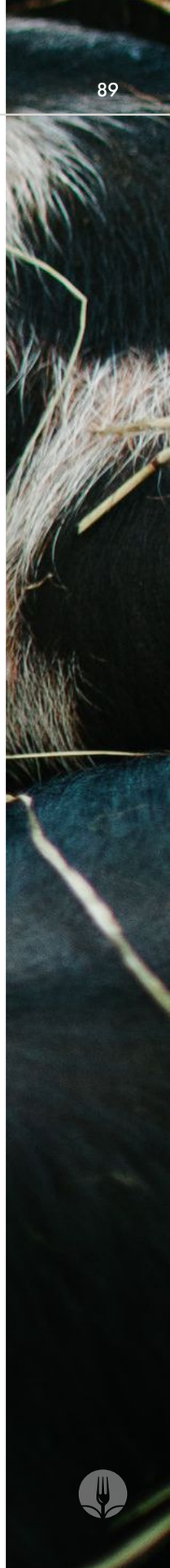
Advocates of highest welfare farming accept that for the foreseeable future animals will continue to be raised for food, and given that baseline, believe that models of animal farming that serve as meaningful alternatives to industrial animal farming must be developed and promoted.[01] Distinct from incremental farming reforms that merely reduce the suffering of animals, highest welfare farms seek to give animals opportunities to thrive. For ideological reasons, most organizations and funders in the farmed animal protection movement do not directly support highest welfare farming. Efforts to support highest welfare farming take a variety of forms, from supporting research to investing in agricultural infrastructure. Strategies to support highest welfare farming provide an opportunity to ally with farmers, ranchers, and rural communities in ways that may be leveraged to achieve goals that they share with the farmed animal protection movement.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

As used in this report, the term, "highest welfare farming" does not refer to incremental improvements on factory farms (the kinds of improvements sought by corporate campaigns). The incremental strategy—"raising the floor" to eliminate the worst practices while maintaining current levels of production—will not lead to highest welfare outcomes for animals in any foreseeable future, even if it improves conditions for a great number of animals.

Highest welfare farming involves the preservation and promotion of models of farming that *center* animal welfare, and which present a radical *alternative* to factory farming.

These are farms where animals not only live, but *flourish*. These farms make up a tiny percentage of animal farms in the US, and are almost entirely absent from commercial retailers. Most certified products come from modified CAFO operations, but products certified by Animal Welfare Approved and the top two tiers of



Global Animal Partnership likely come from meaningfully better farms (see Certifications mapped onto a welfare scale diagram).

There is no consensus about what practices and standards must exist on highest welfare farms, but some features that might distinguish a highest welfare farm from a factory farm include:

- Farmed animals are able to express instinctual behaviors specific to their species, such as grazing on pasture, mothering their young, mating without artificial insemination, and socialization with other animals.

- Farmed animals are bred with healthy genetics that optimize their comfort and vigor, rather than optimizing fast growth at the expense of health.[02]

- Farms limit the number of animals they raise to a size that can sustain optimal welfare conditions.

Efforts to support highest welfare farming take a wide variety of forms. The central goal of this work is promoting *alternative models* to conventional factory farms, providing animals with lives worth living and often producing social and environmental benefits as well. Support for highest welfare farming includes ensuring that highest welfare operations can sustain themselves, and growing the number of farmers raising animals in highest welfare systems. Models being practiced in the US include but are not limited to *heritage*[03] farming and some instances of *regenerative* farming.[04]

Because highest welfare farmers face a variety of hurdles, advocates and funders supporting this work as a strategy of farmed animal protection have many opportunities.

Direct forms of support include:

- helping farmers preserve and pass on knowledge about methods for raising animals in higher welfare systems;

- preserving genetic breeds that are well suited to being raised in high welfare systems;

- assisting farmers in connecting with investors and philanthropists who can help them build the infrastructure necessary to expand their businesses;

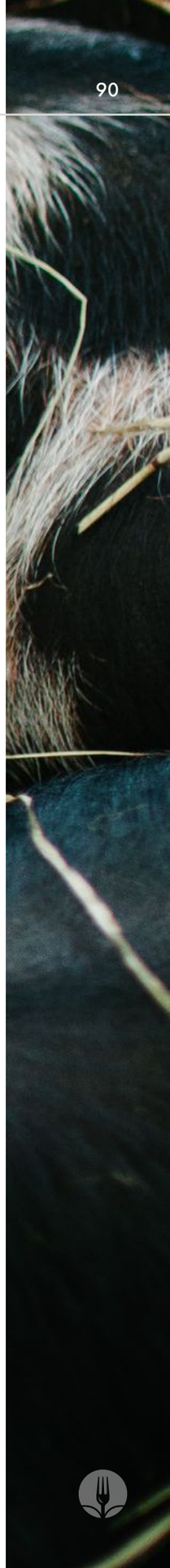
- connecting farmers to institutional buyers that can help them create a stable market for their products; and

- providing business advising and consulting services to help them make their businesses more financially sustainable.

Indirect support includes:

- agricultural and market research aimed at highest welfare farming;

- university extension programs targeting highest welfare farmers and practices;



- consumer education about the benefits of highest welfare farming (e.g. ASPCA's Shop With Your Heart campaign);

- state and federal agriculture policies that provide financial support for highest welfare farms and farm practices (e.g. USDA's Farmers Market Promotion Program, and the USDA Conservation Stewardship Program).

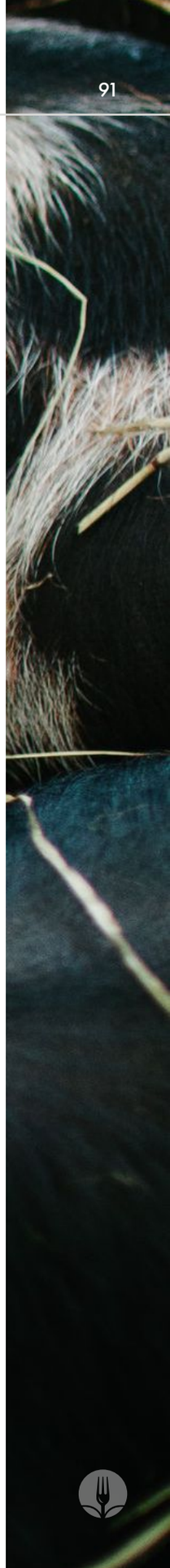
Another important aspect of this strategy leverages highest welfare farms as models to help change narratives about what may be possible within animal agriculture. So-called "humane" industrial-scale farms appear less attractive to consumers when compared to the significantly better welfare seen on optimal farms. Holding up models of highest welfare farming can also help advocates push for more progressive incremental improvements within industrial-scale farming; food companies and integrators find it harder to argue that a given change is impossible or impractical if other successful farms are already using that practice.

ANALYSIS

Many Americans believe that factory farming is the inevitable result of a slow evolution of farming practices toward greater and greater efficiency, but this is not the case. The factory farming system predominant in the US and many other parts of the world today is the result of a *rapid revolution* in agriculture implemented in the US through aggressive government policies and economic investments starting in the 1940s through the 1960s, which are just now being aggressively implemented in other parts of the world. Talk to an American farmer who was alive during that era and they will tell you about a mass displacement of a rural way of life—changes individual farmers had little control over and rarely benefited from.[05]

Factory farms may have been "efficient" in a narrow sense of "calories of feed in" to "calories of meat out," or in terms of profits for the largest meat companies, but all other costs have been externalized. There is broad consensus that factory farming is unsustainable.

Transforming our industrial system into something that is better for all lives in the food chain will require a broad-based movement in which representatives of multiple advocacy communities work together to pressure governments and companies to create radically new forms of agriculture—much closer to the vast networks of small farms that fed this country for centuries. It will require the participation of academic institutions, culture-makers, and religions. It will require talented and well-resourced leaders skilled in collaboration and negotiation. It may be helped along by new technologies and strategic investments, but it will be *sustained* by deeper adaptations in our culture, institutions, and economy.

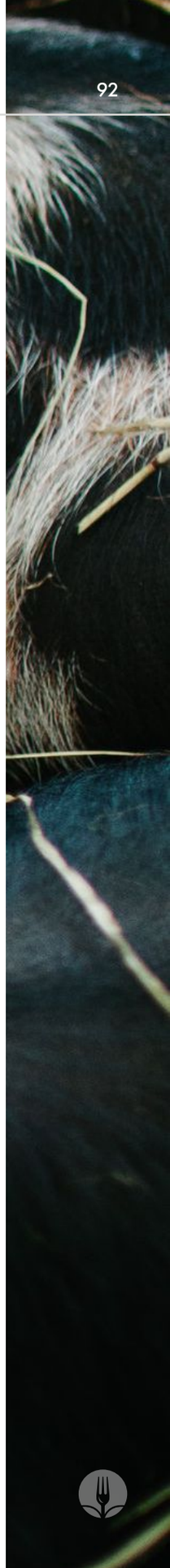


Most farmed animal advocates believe that the best of all possible futures is one in which animals are not raised and killed for food at all, but thus far, decades of experience in building alliances with farmers, environmentalists, human rights and labor advocates has demonstrated that the vision of an exclusively vegan world is too polarizing to unite the movements that together are capable of ending factory farming in the near term. Similarly, on the international front, replacing traditional small-scale subsistence animal farming with farm systems dominated by corporate food companies producing plant-based "animal" products will not necessarily provide net welfare improvement for animals (human and nonhuman).

If, for the foreseeable future, animals will continue to be raised and killed for food, models of animal farming that serve as meaningful alternatives to industrial animal farming can be tools for not incrementally but *radically* improving the conditions of farmed animals' lives.

To participate in this strategy, animal advocates must offer a vision for the future that other stakeholders find inspiring too. Thus, it must uplift rural communities, treat humans with dignity, protect and regenerate the environment, and feed communities. One such vision—but by no means the only one—is a world that produces its food on smaller, more diverse farms, farms rooted in local communities, practicing ecologically-sound methods, where farmed animals are allowed lives worth living. Americans would need to modify their dietary habits considerably for this system to work. Such a system would necessarily include far fewer animals than today's system, and diets would have to become more plant-heavy—like they were historically.

Nonprofit groups whose farmed animal advocacy has engaged farmers and the highest welfare farming movement as allies include Compassion in World Farming US and UK, and Farm Forward. A small but active group of funders supports highest welfare farmers directly, or support work that benefits highest welfare farming. There is also an emerging group called Funders for Regenerative Agriculture which aims to organize and coordinate funders in this space.



Endnotes

01 Farm Forward takes a position that is unusual among farmed animal protection groups. In addition to supporting efforts to reduce suffering on farms and to reduce animal product consumption, we also work to help some of the highest welfare forms of farming succeed, both in the US and globally. For a deep understanding of our seemingly contradictory approach, we suggest reading the book *Eating Animals*, which our founder, Dr. Aaron Gross, helped to produce with author and Farm Forward board member Jonathan Safran Foer —in particular, the chapter entitled "The Vegan who Builds Slaughterhouses."

02 The Farm Forward blog post "What is Hybrid Poultry" describes the role that genetics plays in the poultry industry, and illustrates why "hybrid" genetics have become a key feature of the industrial poultry model.

03 Andrew deCoriolis, "Understanding Modern Poultry Breeding," Farm Forward, May 15th, 2020. Available here.

04 To read more about regenerative farming and its relationship to farmed animal welfare, see Farm Forward's report "TK," accessible here.

05 For example, the United Nations released "Livestock's Long Shadow" in 2006; the Union of Concerned Scientists wrote "The Hidden Costs of Industrial Agriculture" in 2008; by 2016, even *World Finance* had written "Why Factory Farming is No Longer Sustainable." Accessible here, here, and here.

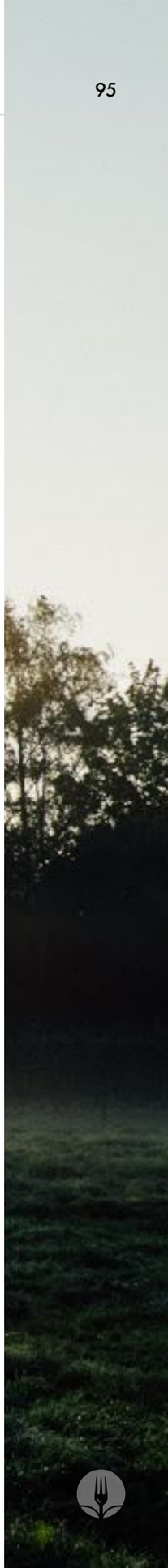
FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 16

Farm Transformation

FARMED ANIMAL PROTECTION STRATEGY 16

Farm Transformation

Efforts to transition farmers from raising animals on factory farms to alternative forms of income, such as growing crops or using land for sustainable energy.



SUMMARY

Helping farmers transition from raising animals in industrial systems to alternative forms of agriculture is a new strategy in the farmed animal protection movement. Current projects focus on helping farmers transition to raising plant-based food and fiber, and sustainable energy. Many animal farmers are locked in a cycle of debt that makes it financially challenging to transition out of their existing industries. Efforts have not yet been made—but should be—to help farmers to leverage their existing infrastructure to transition to different forms of farming or income generation. While efforts to help farmers transition to plant-based products are well meaning, some farmers view them as derisive. This new model is promising but requires additional analysis to explore its potential more fully.

STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGY

Compassion in World Farming was an early proponent of moving animal farmers to alternative ventures, a strategy now being pursued by Mercy for Animals (MFA). As modeled by MFA, the idea is to help farmers who raise animals transition to solar and wind farming, as well as to producing plant-based foods like peas, legumes, mushrooms, and industrial hemp. In theory, fewer animals are raised for food for every farm that transitions from animal- to plant-based products.

Helping farmers make this transition is not simple, even when farmers are willing. Farm transformation work must develop viable models for farmers to earn sustainable income with new business models. This may involve the creation of new financing structures, researching and developing new agricultural methods, providing legal resources, and creating institutions for education and training, as well as transforming consumer demand and building supply chains for new products.

ANALYSIS

It is too soon to say whether this new strategy could become a viable model for converting large numbers of existing commodity animal farmers to new forms of agriculture. Significant hurdles within this strategy include: 1) the amount of debt currently held by farmers raising animals for integrators, 2) the lack of ready-made,

viable, alternative business models for these farms, and 3) lack of consumer demand for alternative products.

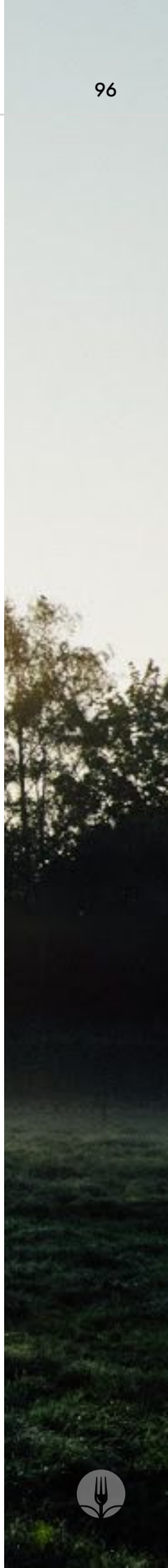
Large meat and poultry companies rely on farmers taking on significant debt to finance the construction, maintenance, and upgrades of their farms, and integrators reduce their financial risk by keeping farmers as independent contractors. If, for example, a chicken farmer receives an unhealthy flock of chickens from an integrator and 50 percent of the birds die from disease, 100 percent of the financial liability is borne by the farmer (not the integrator).

A report by the Office of Inspector General (OIG) of the Small Business Administration (SBA) suggested that poultry farmers should not be classified as independent businesses since chicken integrators control virtually everything about how the farms operate. If the SBA were to reclassify chicken farmers as employees of the integrators, chicken farmers would be ineligible for SBA-backed loans. Between 2012 and 2016, the SBA made $1.8 billion worth of loans to contract chicken farmers alone.[01] The OIG report found that loans made to chicken farmers lost over 90 percent of their value without a contract from an integrator, meaning that these farms are not viable as independent businesses. In all, chicken farmers in the US hold an estimated $5.2 billion in debt,[02] and most are locked into a cycle of raising animals for integrators to pay down the loans on their existing infrastructure. Debt held by animal farmers is likely the biggest hurdle to transforming existing animal farms on a large scale. MFA's Transfarmation Project has started with farmers who own their operations without debt, which gives them much more flexibility to experiment with new business models.

Creating business models to which farmers can transition poses another challenge. Multiple business models will be necessary; not every farm will have enough land or soil suitable to grow, say, legume row crops, and not every farm will have enough barn space to raise industrial hemp for CBD oil production or legal marijuana. Different models of producing food and agricultural products could be created to complement a variety of geographies, assets (land and equipment), and skills of farmers.

Anecdotal evidence[03] suggests that many farmers raising animals for integrators (like Tyson, Pilgrim's Pride, etc.) are unhappy and would be open to transitioning their businesses, but there are very few alternatives due to the overwhelming consolidation within farmed animal agriculture. With so few options, farmers have little or no leverage when negotiating their contracts. If farmers had alternatives to raising animals for the largest integrators, especially alternatives that offered better pay and more security, it would likely be harder for integrators to recruit new farmers, potentially forcing them to either pay farmers better wages (likely impacting their profit or the price of their products) or shift their operations to other production models (which is costly).

One opportunity (not currently being explored within the FAPM) for farmers raising animals for integrators would be to transition to raising animals under higher welfare conditions. Several higher welfare farming companies have a waiting lists of farmers who are ready to raise animals for their product lines.



There are fewer barriers to transitioning farmers from raising animals for integrators to raising animals for higher welfare brands—similar equipment, skills, and experience can be leveraged to raise animals in different ways.

Transitioning farmers from conventional animal farming to higher welfare practices also requires addressing farm debt, some of which could be defrayed if infrastructure can be reused, but debt will likely remain a hurdle. Political solutions, for example the Farm System Reform Act, which would provide billions of dollars to retire farmer's debt, are likely necessary to address this issue systemically.[04]

U.S. Contract Chicken Farm Debt

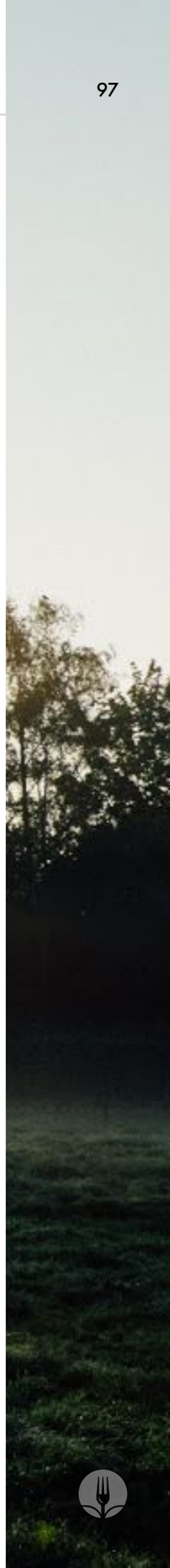
AMOUNT CONTRACT CHICKEN FARMERS ARE WORKING OFF IN DEBT AS OF 2011.

Source: Anne Lowry, "The Human Cost of Chicken Farming," *The Atlantic*, November 2019

The farm transformation strategy is promising, though it is new and has not been widely funded. Additional analysis will be required to explore its potential more fully.

Any effort to transition commodity animal farmers *en masse* will require debt forgiveness or other tools that give farmers viable paths to move away from the integrator model.

Advocacy may also be necessary to push for reforms at the SBA and USDA that would make it more difficult for contract farmers to get government-backed loans to raise animals for integrators. Requiring integrators to internalize more of the risks of their business could ultimately improve conditions for animals, since meat companies may be more concerned about the care of animals if they had more financial stake in their health and wellbeing. Nonprofit programs that work specifically on transitioning animal farms include the Transformation Program of Mercy for Animals, the Rancher Advocacy Program of Rowdy Girls Sanctuary, and the Farm Transformation Institute.



Endnotes

01 "Evaluation of Loans Made to Chicken Farms," Small Business Administration, Office of Inspector General, 2018. Accessible here.

02 Annie Lowery, "The Human Cost of Chicken Farming," the *Atlantic*, November 11, 2019. Accessible here.

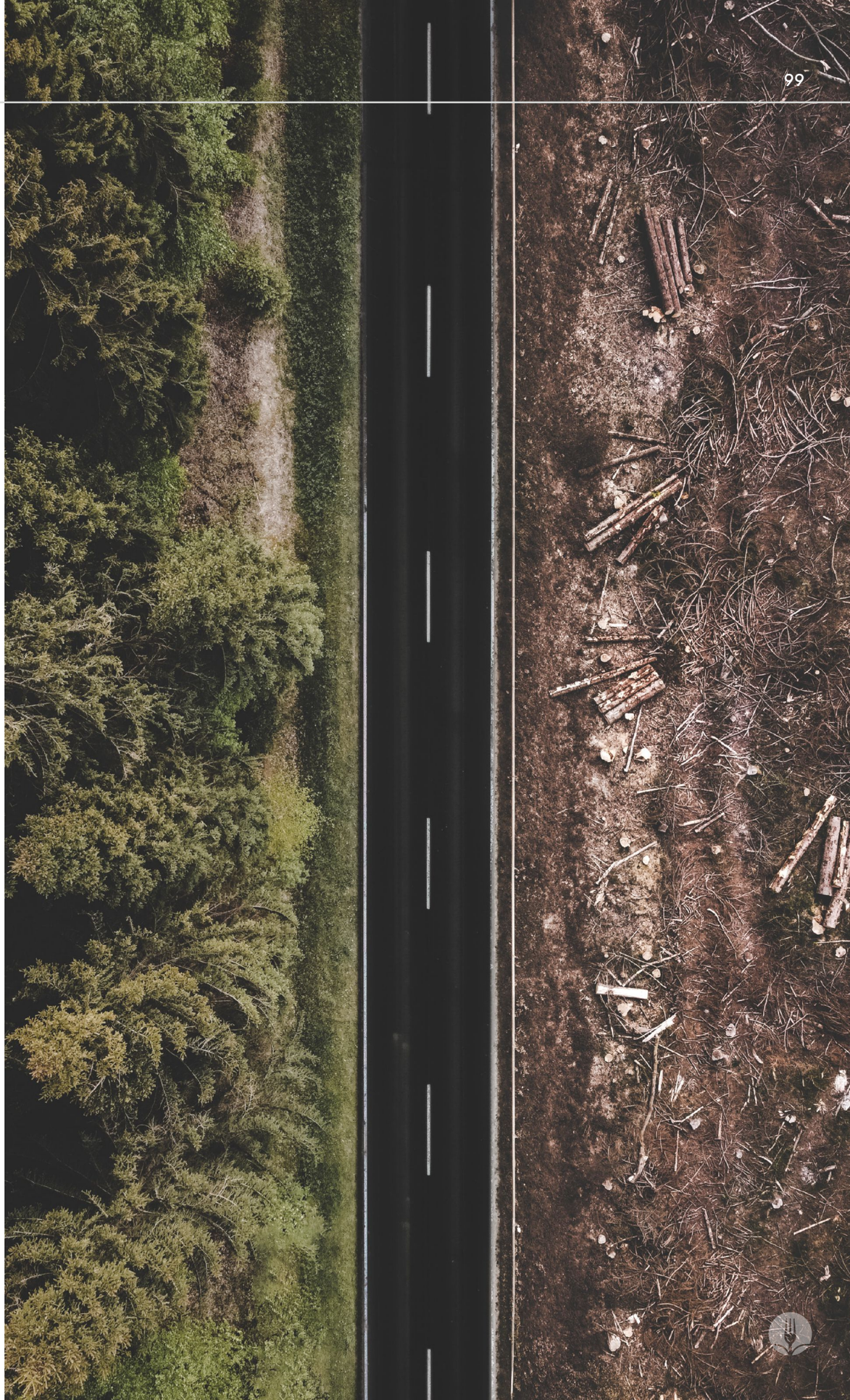
03 "Craig Watts, Whistleblower of the Year," FarmAid. Accessible here.

04 Brian German, "Farm System Reform Act to Phase Out Large Factory Farms by 2040," *AgNet West*, May 14, 2020. Accessible here.

Related Advocacy Movements

OVERVIEW

While the farmed animal protection movement is grounded in concern for animals and their suffering, individuals and organizations in other movements also employ strategies that could reduce farmed animal suffering, promote higher welfare models of farming, or promote a reduction in animal product consumption. In this section we highlight opportunities within two movements—climate and environmental advocacy, and public health and consumer protection—to advance work that benefits farmed animals. A challenge of working through these vehicles to promote animal welfare is that protecting farmed animals is not central to their agenda, and part of advocates' aim in engaging these communities may be to ensure that farmed animals are treated as essential stakeholders in coalitions shaping the future of our food system.



RELATED ADVOCACY MOVEMENTS

Climate and Environmental Advocacy

The movement to address the impact of animal agriculture on climate change and on local environmental pollution.

SUMMARY

The climate and environmental movements are broadly aligned with the FAPM, although inconsistently. The environmental movement has historically shied away from issues of animal agriculture, likely out of concern for alienating supporters, but the increasing focus on climate change has demanded that the movement more vocally advocate for meat reduction. Tensions exist between some environmentalist efforts to reduce meat consumption and efforts to promote regenerative agriculture as a climate solution, and new campaigns and messages need to be developed to align these interests.

ANALYSIS

The environmental movement of the late 1960's was founded in part over concern with the increasing industrialization of meat production. In her seminal 1971 book, *Diet for a Small Planet,* Frances Moore Lappé argues that the rise of industrially-produced meat was a symptom of America's embrace of unsustainable forms of consumption.

We got hooked on grain-fed meat just as we got hooked on gas-guzzling automobiles. Big cars "made sense" only when oil was cheap; grain-fed meat "makes sense" only because the true costs of producing it are not counted.[01]

In the wake of *Diet for a Small Planet,* concerns about industrialized agriculture continued to grow among environmentalists, and those concerns contributed to the "local food" and organic movements that gained traction in the 1990s. Environmental concerns about the impact of industrial meat production were codified in 2006 with the release of a report published by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) called "Livestock's Long Shadow." The report, which was the most comprehensive analysis of the global environmental footprint of industrial animal production to that point, attributed 14.5 percent of global climate emissions to industrial animal agriculture.[02] In the wake of the report, and alongside growing public concern about climate change and air and water pollution caused by animal agriculture, animal agriculture has become a more prominent focus of environmental activism.

Still, the attention that animal agriculture receives in the environmental movement is not commensurate with animal agriculture's sizable impact on the planet.

Typically, the environmental movement advocates for one or more of the following five strategies to positively impact the environment:

1. Eating more plant-based foods and reducing meat consumption.
2. Switching from eating beef and pork to chicken and fish.
3. Making Big Ag "more sustainable."
4. Shifting production methods from industrial animal agriculture to regenerative agriculture.
5. Leveraging the law to penalize CAFOs.

Below we briefly discuss each of these strategies and evaluate how well they align with animal protection goals.

1. REDUCING MEAT CONSUMPTION

Meat reduction is, of course, a central focus of advocacy within farmed animal protection.[03] Since virtually all meat, eggs, and dairy produced in the US and Western Europe come from animals raised on industrial farms,[04] any reduction in animal products consumed should result in fewer animals being raised in the poorest welfare conditions.[05] It is also clear that the adoption of diets heavy in whole, plant-based foods can have a significant impact on mitigating climate change. Project Drawdown, the most comprehensive evaluation of climate solutions conducted to date, lists the top 100 actions that governments and consumers can take to address climate change, with "plant rich diets" as the fourth most effective solution. They estimate that the equivalent of 65 Gigatons of CO2 gasses can be reduced by switching to plant rich diets. Unlike many other climate solutions, a switch to plant-based diets requires no technology or infrastructure, but significant hurdles remain to changing diets and cultural norms around the consumption of animal products.[06]

Meat consumption continues to rise both in the US and abroad.[07] The World Resources Institute estimates that without a shift in diets, "global meat consumption is set to rise 70 percent, with global beef consumption set to rise 80 percent."[08] With an increase of meat consumption that large, "agriculture alone could account for the majority of the emissions" pushing global warming past the 2°C that scientists have warned about.[09]

The environmental toll of industrial animal agriculture goes beyond climate change:

- Animal agriculture is a leading driver of biodiversity loss, freshwater use, chemical pollution, and interference with nitrogen and phosphorus cycles.[10]
- Globally, an estimated 27 percent of the water "footprint" of humanity is attributable to meat and dairy production.[11]
- 30 percent of our planet's total ice-free land is devoted to feeding or raising chickens, pigs and cattle.[12]

Without meat and dairy consumption, global farmland use could be reduced by more than 75 percent—an area equivalent to Australia, China, the US, and the European Union combined—and still feed the world.[13]

Whether measured per unit of weight, per serving, per unit of energy, or per protein weight, plant-based foods cause fewer adverse environmental effects than animal-source foods.[14]

While medical and public health advocates have advocated for reductions in meat consumption for decades,[15] the environmental movement has done conspicuously little to encourage the public to eat less meat. Of the mainstream US environmental groups, including Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), and the Sierra Club, none have significant programs advocating for meat reduction. One explanation for this disconnect is that environmentalists are concerned about consumers' reaction to meat-reduction messages, fearing perhaps that their cause could be seen as more extreme and less appealing if dietary change were to become a focus.

A 2014 study found that of 34 leading environmental nonprofits based in the US, Canada, and Sweden, the majority of staff agreed that meat consumption was a major contributor to climate change, yet admitted that meat reduction efforts were not a significant priority within their organizations. The authors write,

> Reduced meat consumption was also seen as an issue with limited social and political appeal. Further, many environmental NGOs appeared reluctant to mount campaigns that explicitly encourage personal behavior change of any kind. With a few notable exceptions, environmental NGOs in particular have encouraged only small changes to meat consumption and have only promoted those changes in minor ways rather than establishing dedicated campaigns on the issue.[16]

There are encouraging signs that this is changing. Greenpeace's Less Meat More Plants campaign is one recent example. The 2019 Amazon fires implicated industrial meat production in ways that

create opportunities for other environmental NGOs to advocate for meat reduction more directly.

There may also be practical and strategic downsides to advocating for "less meat" from the environmentalist perspective. A practical consideration for environmentalists is whether consumers who reduce their meat consumption replace those foods with others that are as bad, or worse, for the environment. For example, if consumers who eat less meat also eat more processed foods that drive up demand for products like palm oil, much of which is produced in ways that have negative implications for the climate and animals,[17] a "less meat" message may not be an indisputable net environmental good. A shift from diets high in industrially produced chicken to more plant-based foods is very likely to be a net good for the climate and environment, but this is an area that may warrant further research to understand potential unintended consequences.

Switching to Chicken

Another strategy employed by the environmental movement related to farmed animals is encouraging consumers to shift from beef and pork to foods with lower carbon footprints, including chicken and fish.[18] Conventional lamb, beef, dairy, and pork from animals fed on grain diets have the highest per-calorie carbon footprint of any animal product; chicken, eggs, and fish are estimated to have the lowest. While environmental organizations advocating for less beef and indicating that chicken has a smaller carbon footprint sometimes point to plant-forward dining as a good option, that message is often interpreted as "eat less beef, more chicken." The most comprehensive article published by the *New York Times* summarizing the climate impact of food put it this way:

> Modern agriculture inevitably contributes to climate change, but some foods have a bigger impact than others. Beef, lamb and cheese tend to do the most climate damage. Pork, chicken and eggs are in the middle. Plants of all kinds typically have the lowest impact.

The article went on to address chicken specifically, saying:

> A number of studies have found that chicken and other poultry have a lesser climate impact than other livestock. Modern-day chickens are bred to be extremely efficient at converting feed into meat. That's not to say chicken is perfect: Industrial-scale poultry operations still create water pollution, and have prompted major concerns about animal welfare. But if you're solely focused on climate change, chicken usually produces far fewer emissions than beef and a bit fewer than pork.[19]

While the article notes the broader social and animal welfare impacts of chicken production it also encourages readers who are focused solely on climate to switch from beef or pork to chicken. But those who focus solely on the suffering of farmed animals view any shift from beef to chicken as a negative. Cattle raised for beef have, on average, better lives than most industrially raised chickens, and because cattle are much larger animals, hundreds of additional chickens would have to be raised and killed to replace a single steer. In other words, when a consumer switches from beef to chicken, hundreds more animals suffer more acutely.

2. MAKING BIG AG "MORE SUSTAINABLE"

There are additional cases in which the work of environmental groups conflicts with efforts to advance animal welfare. Environmental groups have helped meat and poultry companies reduce their carbon footprints without reducing the number of animals raised for food or improving the conditions for animals on farms. For example, the Environmental Defense Fund works with Tyson Foods to apply fertilizer to feed crops more efficiently. While this effort may reduce emissions within Tyson's supply chain, it may also make meat products more profitable. Efforts to increase the financial performance of industrial meat companies may be bad for farmed animal protection as they can further entrench the CAFO model of meat production.

Another example is the promotion of biodigesters as a clean energy solution. Biodigesters capture and concentrate the methane from animal manure and turn it into natural gas that can either be burned onsite to generate heat and electricity or can be piped to large electric power plants. Regulations in states like California classify biomethane as a "renewable" resource, and thus utilities pay a premium for the electricity it generates. This additional source of revenue gives CAFOs additional financial incentives to concentrate animals and keep them housed indoors, where their waste can be collected. Promotion of biodigesters makes CAFOs more profitable, further entrenches low welfare conditions, and ultimately works against the interests of both climate and welfare advocates alike.

The use of these "green" technologies also provides political cover for meat companies looking to counter claims that their operations are unsustainable, potentially stalling regulations that may require them to internalize the cost of their environmental impacts. For example, Smithfield touts their work installing biodigesters prominently as part of their broader efforts to reduce their carbon footprint.

Praising (and even enriching) industrial agriculture for mitigating a fraction of the environmental harm it causes is a bit like praising a bully for punching a peer instead of kicking them. Responding to global warming will require the biggest contributors to shift their business models fundamentally, and technologies like biodigesters delay our collective reckoning with the fundamental unsustainability of global meat consumption.

3. REGENERATIVE GRAZING

A growing movement of farmers, ranchers, sustainability experts, and even some animal protection groups (including Animal Welfare Approved and Compassion In World Farming UK) have advocated for regenerative grazing as a climate solution. Regenerative grazing—the practice of slowly and systematically moving ruminants around vegetated pasture—can be practiced independent of other regenerative or "conservation" agricultural practices, like no-till farming, cover crops, and crop rotations, which are widely considered to be important solutions to climate change.[20] Many regenerative farmers practice both regenerative grazing and regenerative crop systems in conjunction, though farmers can adopt regenerative practices for growing crops without using animals.

Leaders within the regenerative grazing movement, like Allan Savory (Savory Institute), promote the climate benefits of holistic grazing: "Properly-managed livestock can be a net positive for grassland ecosystems, carbon drawdown, wildlife habitat, and rural communities."[21] Regenerative advocates point to the broad environmental benefits of grazing livestock, with significant ecosystem benefits including water retention and improved soil microbial activity, each of which support carbon sequestration in soil.

The body of peer-reviewed research focused on the carbon impact of regenerative grazing is small, though some credible anecdotal evidence and private research seems to indicate that regenerative grazing can be a net *negative* for carbon emissions —meaning that the carbon sequestered in soil is greater than the amount of carbon-equivalent gasses emitted by cattle.[22] Many advocates point to a study by Michigan State University and the Union of Concerned Scientists that found cattle on rotated pasture can be net-negative in the short term and carbon neutral in the long term.[23] However, this study may not be replicable or broadly applicable because it evaluated one grazing method in one geographic location (upper Michigan). Carbon neutral grazing may be limited to certain climates, soil types, and extensive forms of grazing (meaning few animals on a large amount of land), which may not be commercially viable.

More research into regenerative grazing is necessary to understand the range of outcomes possible in various soil types and climates before it is promoted as a climate solution. Although ranchers can be encouraged to adopt regenerative grazing techniques, ensuring that all achieve a net carbon neutral goal poses a significant challenge.

From an animal welfare perspective, animals suffer even on higher welfare farms because of trade-offs that are made between welfare and market realities, so important questions remain as to whether, in practice, individual animals are offered lives worth living. While pigs and poultry can be incorporated into regenerative systems, regenerative farms produce vastly less meat than confinement systems. For this reason alone, it is appropriate for climate advocates to promote certain types of meat reduction.

4. LEVERAGING THE LAW

As noted, in addition to their contribution to climate change, CAFOs are also responsible for a tremendous amount of air and water pollution. For decades, groups like the Waterkeeper Alliance have worked in North Carolina, Maryland, and other states with high densities of animal farms to document damage and push for legislation which prevents future damage. Some of these efforts have been successful. In 2018 a group of North Carolina residents sued Smithfield for polluting their air with noxious smells. Smithfield lost the case and the plaintiffs were awarded $50 million dollars. In response to the judgement, the North Carolina legislature, which is friendly to industrial agricultural interests, passed a law limiting the ability of citizens to file "nuisance suits" against meat companies.

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RELATED ADVOCACY MOVEMENTS

Antibiotic Resistance and Consumer Protection

The movement to address the human health impacts of antibiotic resistance.

SUMMARY

Efforts to restrict the use of antibiotics on farms have an indirect, and likely positive, impact on conditions for animals—especially poultry. The growing public health crises caused by antibiotic resistance will likely increase regulations of their use on farms, and animal advocates can use that pressure to push for improved conditions for animals.

ANTIBIOTICS RESISTANCE—ANALYSIS

Factory farming grew, in part, out of a discovery in the 1950's that feeding low doses of antibiotics to farmed animals allowed farmers to raise them in higher densities and greater numbers.[01] Animals fed antibiotics tend to gain weight more quickly and survive longer than those raised without them, so their broad use remains extremely attractive to farmers. Antibiotics can be administered therapeutically to treat disease, infections, and injuries within entire flocks and herds, or in individual animals. They can also be administered sub-therapeutically to promote growth. As a result of filthy conditions and poor genetics, animals raised in confinement have suppressed immune systems. Sick and suffering animals may eat less than healthy animals, and sub-therapeutic use of antibiotics can prevent or reduce the severity of infection and illness. Because sub-therapeutic doses of antibiotics may not kill the bacteria they inhibit, the bacteria have a chance to adapt to them.

In the late 1960s, scientists began warning that the overuse of antibiotics on farms could contribute to antibiotic resistance, which poses a grave threat to human health. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA), tasked with regulating the use of drugs for humans and nonhuman animals, has been extremely slow to regulate the use of antibiotics on farms.

Since the 1970s, the FDA has possessed clear evidence that the use of antibiotics on farms increases the risk of bacteria developing resistance to antibiotics.[02]

The pharmaceutical and animal agriculture industries—two of the most politically powerful industries on Earth—share an interest in the continued overuse of these drugs on farms.

In 2012 the FDA introduced *voluntary* regulations to track the use of antibiotics on farms and limit the agricultural use of antibiotics for "growth promotion." In response, meat companies simply reclassified their use of antibiotic as "preventative treatment" without altering their practices.[03]

Today 80 percent of all antibiotics are used in farmed animal production. 2.8 million people are sickened and 35,000 people die per year from antibiotic-resistant infections, and the numbers are rising. [04] [05]

In response to this growing crisis, groups like the National Public Health Association (NPHA) have called for a national moratorium on CAFO expansions, citing the connections between CAFOs and the spread of antibiotic-resistant infections.

In general, groups whose primary concern is the overuse of antibiotics advocate for immediate steps to reduce or eliminate their use on farms regardless of the resulting welfare outcomes. Because antibiotics suppress health problems caused by filthy conditions and poor genetics, eliminating antibiotics could lead to further suffering unless husbandry practices are modified to fill the gap. For example, studies have shown that antibiotic-free poultry farms can see a 25 percent or more increase in foot burns, lesions, and mortality.[06] Anecdotally, poultry farmers say it is not uncommon to lose half of a flock after removing antibiotics. This is not surprising considering that these industries have been built from the ground up to rely on antibiotics.

Conversely, reducing quantities of antibiotics administered on farms can also improve welfare outcomes. After pressure from consumers and advocacy groups like, the National Resources Defense Council (NRDC), restaurant chains including Burger King and Panera Bread committed to buy only antibiotic-free chicken. As a result of those commitments, several poultry companies responded by launching antibiotic-free poultry lines; Perdue, the fourth largest poultry company, committed to phase out the use of antibiotics on all of their farms. Since eliminating antibiotics Perdue has made some minor husbandry changes, like giving birds slightly more space, focusing on improving litter quality, and adding natural light to their barns. Even more significant changes

to husbandry and genetics will likely be necessary to reduce illness and mortality following reductions in the administration of antibiotics.[07]

Some antibiotic advocates have included animal protection messaging in their communications by drawing the connection between antibiotics and the conditions in which animals are raised. For example, the NRDC writes, "In the United States, livestock antibiotic use continues to account for nearly two-thirds of the sales of medically important antibiotics—often fed to animals [who] are not sick to help them survive crowded and unsanitary conditions on industrial farms."[08]

Drawing the connection between the overuse of antibiotics and poor conditions on farms creates space for animal protection advocates to push meat and poultry companies to improve conditions as part of their shift to reducing antibiotic use.

Antibiotic resistance is a growing crisis and public health experts have called for major reforms, and the COVID-19 pandemic has brought additional scrutiny to the implications of CAFOs for public health. With fewer new antibiotics being developed[09] it seems inevitable that pressure will grow for the FDA to regulate agricultural uses of antibiotics more strictly. Significant reform from the FDA may put pressure on meat and poultry companies to change their practices in ways that could force improved conditions for animals. Similarly, growing consumer awareness of antibiotic use on farms may push meat companies to reduce their use voluntarily. Animal advocates may be able to leverage the pressure to remove antibiotics and push meat producers to adopt changes to housing and genetic welfare that would also reduce suffering.

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RELATED ADVOCACY MOVEMENTS

Food Safety

The movement to address the human health impacts of industrial animal agriculture.

FOOD SAFETY ANALYSIS

Over the past decade, the public has begun to pay new attention to the consumer safety risks of industrially produced animal products, especially poultry. Research by the Centers for Disease Control has attributed more than a million illnesses each year to chicken, making it the most common food to cause food poisoning.[01]

Consumer Reports investigated the safety of chicken and found that half of chicken bought in grocery stores tested positive for at least one multi-drug-resistant bacteria, like E. coli or Campylobacter, including chicken labeled "organic." [02]

Research is needed to evaluate whether increasing consumer awareness of the dangers of chicken alters consumers' attitudes about industrial farming and their food choices. It's possible that growing consumer distrust of poultry products could lead consumers to seek alternatives, including plant-based products. The increased food safety risk of chicken may be useful in marketing plant-based chicken products.

Focusing on the food safety risks of industrially produced animal products may also help pave the way for broader consumer acceptance of cultivated meat (sometimes known as "clean meat"). If and when cultivated meat is available to consumers, improved food safety could be a strong selling point and may help cultivated meat to overcome consumer skepticism. Advocates for cultivated meat, including the Good Food Institute (GFI), highlight the food safety aspect of those products prominently—GFI says they "focus on clean meat and plant-based alternatives to animal products—foods that are more delicious, safer to eat, and better for the planet than their outdated counterparts."

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APPENDIX

Glossary of Terms

Ag-Gag: Legislation designed specifically to hinder undercover investigations by, among other things, criminalizing unauthorized video recording on farm operations. Since ag-gag's inception in the early 1990s, 27 states have introduced bills banning or restricting undercover investigations surrounding the abuse of farmed animals and six states have ag-gag laws still in effect (several states have had ag-gag legislation defeated or struck down). See the Animal Legal Defense Fund's map and timeline of ag-gag legislation.

Animal activist: Literally, someone who employs any of a very broad array of activist strategies on behalf of animals. The phrase is colored in public perception by the actions of a smaller subset of animal activists who have employed strategies that are confrontational, controversial—and in a tiny number of cases, illegal—as well as by PR campaigns funded by animal product industries to discredit successful animal activism.

Animal advocate: A term used to refer to people and groups ("animal advocacy organizations") engaged in activities that benefit animals. Sometimes used by those engaging in activist methods to avoid the stigma associated with animal activism, particularly.

Animal rights: A philosophy that posits that nonhuman animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on, or use for our entertainment; also, the community of activists that espouses this philosophy as represented by gatherings like the annual Animal Rights Conference; Sometimes people will use "animal rights" more loosely to refer to the entire movement for farmed animal protection and veg advocacy.

Animal protection: An umbrella term used to describe people and groups engaged in work to promote animal welfare or to end the exploitation of animals. This includes groups that espouse an animal rights ideology and groups that promote animal well-being but believe it can be appropriate for animals to be raised for food.

Animal welfare: As defined by the American Veterinary Medical Association, animal welfare is "a human responsibility that encompasses all aspects of animal well-being, including proper housing, management, disease prevention and treatment,

responsible care, humane handling, and, when necessary, humane euthanasia." Within the farmed animal protection movement, animal welfare often refers to strategies for incremental improvements to practices in industrial animal agriculture (e.g. corporate and public policy campaigns to eliminate cages); advocacy groups that support incremental improvements are colloquially (and sometimes derogatorily) referred to as "welfarist."

Anti-CAFO activism: Community organizing to prevent the construction or expansion of CAFOs in rural communities, or to remove or regulate existing CAFOs; may or may not include activists working on behalf of farmed animals; often addresses issues like water and air pollution, environmental racism, and health hazards to nearby residents.

Better Chicken Commitment: A corporate campaign targeting improved welfare for chickens raised for meat (broilers). Details about the campaign are available here.

Black veganism: Black veganism is a critical theory (distinguished from the phenomenon of Black people who are vegan) that has been advanced by philosopher-activists uncovering connections between the logics of domination in forms of oppression (particularly racism and speciesism). Recently, Syl and Aph Ko in their book *Aphro-ism* put forward a Black veganism that has been embraced by some in the academy. It differs from uncritical (i.e., ontologically white) adoptions of a vegan diet and decenters whiteness and white supremacy in three ways. First, it investigates the root and scope of colonial thought by making explicit the connection between the logic of racism and the colonial use of the term "animal." Second, it forces us to explore how white supremacist race-thinking extends beyond Black bodies and is inclusive of nonhuman animals and the biotic community. Lastly, it forces us to examine how the language of animality and "animal characteristics" has been a tool used to justify the oppression of any being who deviates, by species, race, or behavior, from Western Christian theological anthropology norm where the white heterosexual male is considered the ideal being.

Blended: A strategy for lowering animal ingredient volume in a product by blending it with plant-based ingredients; for example, "The Harvest Table 'blended smash burger' combines ground beef with fresh roasted mushrooms."

CAFO: In farmed animal production, a concentrated animal feeding operation (CAFO), as defined by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), is an intensive animal feeding operation (AFO) in which over 1,000 "animal units" are confined for over 45 days a year. CAFOs are opposed by animal protection advocates as well as by groups concerned with air and water pollution, public health, and other harms CAFOs cause for their rural neighbors. Sometimes the term is used interchangeably with *factory farm*, but there are nuanced differences.

Carnism: A term used within animal rights to refer to the human cultural tendency to classify some animals as edible (normal, natural, necessary, and nice to eat), and others as abnormal, unnatural, unnecessary, and disgusting to eat. Different cultures

classify different animals differently, for example some forbidding the consumption of pigs or cows and some accepting the consumption of bugs or dogs. These classifications may have historical roots but are today non-rational. Carnism, as introduced by Dr. Melanie Joy, is a sub-ideology of *speciesism*.

Clean/Cultured meat: "Clean" and "cultured" are terms used to describe efforts to grow flesh from cells, rather than from live animals. Both of these terms are new and debate continues about what terms to use for the industry that may emerge from these new technologies. *Cellular Agriculture* is another popular term for this emerging industry.

Conscious carnivore: A phrase sometimes used to describe people who attempt to purchase animal products from more ethical sources, such as companies with animal welfare and sustainability certifications. From The New Food Economy: "...conscious carnivores...accept the raising and killing of farm animals for food from the perspective of 'least harm'—an ethical theory that guides decision-making when there is no ideal choice. So long as livestock is treated compassionately, that is to say, a good life free from confinement and illness with a quick and stress-free death, the meat is ethical." Note the linguistic similarity with *Conscious Capitalism*, an organization founded by Whole Foods CEO (and former Farm Forward board member) John Mackey, a founder of the Global Animal Partnership animal welfare certification program.

Corporate campaigns: Within the animal protection movement, this refers to strategies for influencing companies that sell animal products to improve their internal animal welfare practices or to reduce or eliminate the use of animal products in their supply chains. Modern corporate campaigns originated in the late 90s with a victory by PETA against McDonalds. Today corporate campaigns are the most prevalent strategy employed by the largest farm animal protection organizations.

Cultured meat: See Clean meat/cultured meat.

Ecofeminism: A political and philosophical movement that uncovers connections between ecological and feminist concerns, citing both as arising from patriarchy; many ecofeminisms promote veganism. See the works of Carol Adams, who writes, "male dominance and animals' oppression are linked by the way that both women and animals function as absent referents in meat eating and dairy production, and that feminist theory logically contains a vegan critique...just as veganism covertly challenges patriarchal society." In practice, some feminist vegans highlight the common "logic of domination" used to oppress women and animals, or the ways that animal agriculture particularly violates the bodies of female animals, such as in the dairy and egg industries; also, *humane education* sometimes addresses the ways in which patriarchal masculinity teaches children to suppress compassion for animals.

Effective altruism: A philosophy and social movement that uses evidence and reasoning to determine the most effective ways to benefit others. Effective altruism encourages individuals to consider all causes and actions and to act in the way that brings

about the greatest positive impact, based upon their values. It is the broad, evidence-based and cause-neutral approach that distinguishes effective altruism from traditional altruism or charity. Within the animal protection movement, *Effective Altruist* organizations currently provide or direct more than half of all funding, a recent shift that has rapidly taken place during the last five years, with the Open Philanthropy Project as the largest contributor. Critics note that effective altruism leads to funding projects with more easily-measured impacts (such as corporate campaigns) at the expense of projects with results that are more difficult to quantify (such as long-term cultural change).

Ethical eating: Literally (from Wikipedia), eating with concern for "the moral consequences of food choices, both those made by humans for themselves and those made for food animals." In animal advocacy, ethical eating is a phrase sometimes used when talking to communities about adopting food policies that include animal welfare objectives, but that may also include other objectives like lowering carbon footprint, reducing food waste, supporting farmers and workers, etc.

Factory farming: Can be defined narrowly (see *CAFOs*), or more broadly, i.e.: systems for raising animals for food in which animal well-being is decoupled from profitability, or the application of technologies for extracting maximum profit from the bodies of animals. Often factory farms engage in multiple forms of harm including exploitation of animals, of workers, of local ecosystems, and of nearby communities. For a comprehensive understanding of factory farming, see the book *Eating Animals*.

Farmed animals: Used to define animals who are commonly raised for food. Farmed animals are differentiated from "farm animals" to imply that animals do not exist for the sole purpose of being consumed by humans.

Five Freedoms: An *animal welfare* term originating with a 1965 UK government report on farmed animal husbandry, referring to the most basic conditions that people must provide animals in their care to be considered humane: 1) freedom from hunger and thirst, 2) freedom from discomfort, 3) freedom from pain, injury or disease, 4) freedom to express normal behavior, and 5) freedom from fear and distress.

Flexitarian: A diet that encourages mostly plant-based eating while allowing meat and animal products in some circumstances.

Food justice: A grassroots movement emerging from communities in response to food insecurity and economic pressures that prevent access to healthy, nutritious, and culturally appropriate foods (food should fit the cultural background of the people consuming it). Several vegan or animal protection advocates center their work on behalf of animals within multifaceted food justice efforts, often focused on a particular neighborhood or region. For example, see the Food Empowerment Project in Berkeley. Less formally, a more general meaning of "food justice" can refer to the host of moral concerns involved in ethical eating.

Food policy: A formal commitment made by an institution that serves food to shift to practices that are better for animals, the

environment, or health. *Meatless Mondays* is an example of one popular food policy.

Heritage: Heritage birds, for example, are standard poultry breeds (as opposed to hybrid genetic lines) that had their particular traits established before the mid-twentieth century. As defined by the Livestock Conservancy, heritage poultry must come from standard-bred parent and grandparent birds, mate naturally, have a healthy growth rate, and be genetically capable of living long, productive lives outdoors. Crucially, heritage birds are capable of the highest levels of welfare. Heritage poultry is the only commercially available poultry that avoids what are arguably some of the cruelest practices in all of factory farming, including starving parent birds and genetic modification through industrial "hybrid" breeding techniques that lead to painful deformities and diseases. With the exception of heritage, all commercially available poultry products—even if they are labeled kosher, organic, cage-free, free-range, or pastured—are produced in a system that requires that birds suffer on factory farms. "Heritage" is not currently a regulated term, so companies may use this term on packages without referent to any particular standard. The term conveys the same meaning when applied to breeds of cows and pigs.

Higher welfare: A more nuanced alternative to "humane" that indicates a farming practice is better than average. Advocates may take the position that there is no way to slaughter an animal "humanely."

Highest welfare: Describes the very small number of farms that employ today's optimal welfare practices (typically, small farms outside of the factory farm system).

Humane: A term used in both advocacy and industry to refer to better treatment of farmed animals. Some groups will not use the term to describe any form of animal farming, because, even under the best circumstances, animals are slaughtered.

Humane education: Projects to provide education to children about animal welfare and other issues, with the aim of developing compassion and kindness. From HEART: "Teaching children about social justice, animal protection, and environmental ethics develops more compassionate youth and creates a more humane, sustainable world for all life on earth."

Humanewashing: Similar to the term "greenwashing." Describes companies' use of descriptors like *humane* in their marketing (often while charging premiums) while employing conventional (or only minimally better-than-conventional) farming practices that cause unacceptable levels of animal suffering. There is controversy in the animal protection movement about whether the endorsement of certain companies and farms by nonprofit groups and animal welfare certifications as being *humane* contributes to humanewashing.

Incrementalism: Strategies for helping farmed animals by promoting gradual improvements to conventional low-welfare farming practices. The farmed animal protection movement can sometimes seem divided between so-called incrementalists and

animal rights advocates, a tension that is common in many social justice movements between those advocating reform and those advocating abolition of unjust systems. This tension, while sometimes divisive, can also be strategic and constructive.

Institutional outreach: Within the animal protection movement, this refers to strategies for influencing institutions that serve food (i.e., university cafeterias) to serve *less and better* animal products or to eliminate animal products altogether, sometimes by adopting *food policies*. This is a popular strategy for impacting many animals and many diners at once through efforts with relatively little cost.

"Less and Better": A phrase popularized first by Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future, used in efforts to get institutions to commit both to sourcing higher welfare animal products with trusted certifications and to reducing their overall use of animal products. Because higher welfare products tend to cost more, reduction is one strategy to make these changes net cost-neutral or cost-saving.

Plant-based: A term describing vegan food or vegan diets. The term does not prescribe an animal rights ideology and was coined in order to avoid the negative feelings some people have about the term "vegan."

Plant-forward: Describes a diet or a menu that includes more plants and fewer animal products. This term is used by food businesses to describe their approach to menuing, e.g. "Aramark strives to serve a plant-forward menu." The term is intentionally vague and can be misused or used to obfuscate. For example, a company might may say something like, "20 percent of our meals will be plant-forward," which makes it difficult to know what food is being served or whether the commitment constitutes a change from the food they already serve.

"Raise/Push the ceiling": A phrase used by Farm Forward in its advocacy work to describe a strategy of focusing on welfare improvements at *higher welfare* commercial farms; raising the entire standard of what optimal animal welfare on farms looks like and giving producers ever-higher standards to reach for. When applied to welfare certifications in some cases it can mean having the highest certification tiers be aspirational, even if few or no farms currently meet those standards; e.g., advocating for *heritage* poultry and *regenerative* ranching.

"Raise the floor": A phrase borrowed from the labor movement, and often used by *Effective Altruists* to describe a strategy of focusing on improving the worst practices experienced by the greatest number of animals at the lowest welfare (and most numerous) farms, e.g. banning the use of battery cages for hens or gestation crates for pigs.

Reducetarian: A diet that implies a reduction of the quantity of animal products consumed. Promoted most notably by the Reducetarian Foundation, founded by Brian Kateman, which holds an annual gathering of nonprofits and businesses that promote plant-based foods and diets, and has published several books.

Regenerative agriculture: A system of farming focused on improving soil quality, promoting biodiversity, and enhancing ecosystem services (water reclamation, carbon sequestration, etc.). In the context of animal agriculture, regenerative farming often refers to practices that rotate ruminant grazing animals in a way that mimics natural systems. Animals raised in regenerative systems likely achieve a higher level of welfare than animals raised in conventional systems because they are able to more fully express natural behaviors such as grazing, rooting, dust bathing, etc. There is currently no set standard for regenerative agriculture, though several certifications are under development, including from the Savory Institute and the Regenerative Organic Certification.

Speciesism: As coined by Richard Ryder, a prejudice or discrimination based on species, analogous to *racism* and *sexism*, which exploit based on group membership and morally irrelevant physical differences. This ideology is used to justify the exploitation or mistreatment of nonhuman animals. More precisely, speciesism is the failure to consider interests of equal strength because of the species to which the individuals have been classified as belonging. For example, imagine that a dog and a pig must have their tails surgically removed. The belief that a dog and a pig have equivalent interests (such as freedom from pain), but that the dog should receive anesthetic and the pig should not because he or she is "just a pig," is speciesist. Even if the dog is to believed to be more intelligent than the pig, why is this relevant, when the most intense forms of experience (such as pain) are regulated by their similar limbic systems? An anti-speciesist position may or may not consider humans superior to other animals, and would still allow for distinctions to be made, but would consider humans a part of the family of animals, and take the interests of all other animals seriously.

Suffering reduction: In the farmed animal protection movement, suffering reduction refers to strategies for improving conditions experienced by animals on farms, as opposed to strategies that focus on *abolition* of animal farming (by promoting veganism).

Vegan: Refers to an exclusively plant-based diet and/or lifestyle. This is usually a diet/lifestyle adopted by people who hold an animal rights ideology, though it can also be adopted for reasons of health or environmentalism. Also, an identity, philosophy or worldview rooted in the non-exploitation of animals in all areas of life (see "Black veganism" as an extension of veganism as a philosophy). In mainstream culture "vegan" is sometimes treated as simply a *health diet*, along the lines of "keto" or "Atkins," obfuscating its ethical dimensions, which is why some people refer to themselves as "ethical vegans."

Utilitarianism: A moral philosophy that advocates for actions that result in the greatest utility (most good and least harm) for the greatest number. A philosophy popular with *animal rights* activists and often espoused by *effective altruists*, usually citing the work of Peter Singer, author of *Animal Liberation*. The influential role of Peter Singer to this movement may explain why we see so much overlap between *effective altruism* and the ideology of *animal rights* (see Animal Charity Evaluators as exemplary of these overlapping commitments put into practice).

OTHER RESOURCES

Compassion in World Farming has created a useful glossary of farmed animal welfare terms for specific industry practices, for example, “Barren Battery Cage,” “Enriched cages,” etc.

Farm Forward’s guide to understanding welfare terms and certifications found on food labels, for example “Free Range,” “American Humane Approved,” etc.

The ASPCA also has a guide to welfare labels.

Authors

Farm Forward was founded in 2007 as the nation's first nonprofit devoted exclusively to end factory farming and our work improves the lives of 400,000,000 farmed animals annually. More information about Farm Forward's work and our other publications can be found at www.farmforward.com.

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Acknowledgements

We are thankful to the many individuals who agreed to be interviewed or consulted in the process of researching this report. We have attempted, to the best of our ability, to convey what they have shared with us as accurately as possible, while protecting the privacy of those who wished to remain anonymous. Their participation in these interviews does not mean that they endorse the views and recommendations put forward in this report. They include:

Jamie Ager, Leslie Barcus, Stacey Barsema, Aryenish Birdie, Nikki Bollaert, Alex Bury, Alan Darer, Marcus A. Davis, Farhad Ebrahimi, Hope Ferdowsian, Carolyn Gahn, Kieran Greig, Aaron Gross, Nicollette Hahn Niman, Matthew Halteman, Susan Halteman, Maia Hardy, Ryan Fletcher, Diane Halverson, Marlene Halverson, Wayne Martin, Katheryn McKeon, Emily Moose, Unny Nambudiripad, Meghan O'Brien Lowery, David Pederson, Alicia Robb, Liz Ross, Mikaela Saccoccio, Dave Stender, Lauri Torgenson, Wilhemina Waldman, and Jim Wallace.

We are also thankful to our client for asking challenging questions, being an excellent conversation partner, entrusting this work to a mission-driven advocacy organization, and casting a bold vision of a just food system through which humans and animals can thrive.