



Successful Campaigning

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What is success?

- **money, donations, members for groups**
- or**
- **advance of the cause for animals**

Is that compatible?



Organisation: small is beautiful

Small group at the beginning: idealistic, lots of activity, many volunteers, radical, honest, little money

Becomes larger: increased bureaucracy, proper appearance, less radical, fundraising becomes important to sustain level of organisation

Big organisation: ideas mainstream, working 9-5pm, no volunteers, campaigning goals decided on the basis how much funds it will raise, big staff turn-over

→ much money OR advances for animals



LARGE ORG

SMALL GROUP

honesty

less

more

**public
appearance**

mainstream

revolutionary

**inner
organisation**

hierarchical

equal: elections,
group decisions

idealism

little

a lot

dress code

proper

individualistic

planning

professional

spontaneous-creative

activity decision

top down

everybody included

fund raising

large part of activity

small part of activity

activity

little

lots



What is an advance for animals?

To better the situation nonhuman animals face at the moment in society

To what end?

**Animal Rights versus Animal Welfare
Abolitionism versus Reformism**

	ANIMAL WELFARE	ANIMAL RIGHTS
Basic idea	first in 18th century	first in 19th century
Groups	since early 19th century	since end 19th century
Laws	since early 19th century	none
Motivation	empathy	justice
Aim	minimize suffering	autonomy
Animal usage	ok in principle	wrong in principle
Activity	help for suffering animals	stop animal abuse
Societal changes (property, personhood)	unchanged	completely new
Human-Animal relation	stays the same	completely new
Self-definition	social	political
Killing	ok if painless	not ok
Ethics	act good	act just



Modern Animal Welfare

Animal usage:

- **§6 (2) TSG: dogs and cats not usable for meat or fur**
- **§25 (5) TSG: ban on fur farming in whatever way**
- **§27 (1) TSG: ban on wild animals in circuses**
- **§3 (6) TVG: ban on ape experiments**

Human-animal relationship:

- **§285a ABGB: animals are not things**
- **constitution: protection of life and wellbeing of animals**

Killing:

- **§6 (1) TSG: ban on killing animals for no good reason, even if completely painlessly**
- **§222 (3) StGB: ban on killing vertebrates for no good reason**
- **constitution: protection of life of animals**



Continuum Hypothesis from Animal Welfare to Animal Rights

Arbitrary use of animals

- indirect protection (not in public, not upsetting humans)
- direct minimal protection (don't beat your animals too much)
- relevant protection of economically irrelevant animals
- relevante restriction of economic usage of animals
- only free range farming allowed
- ban on killing
 - „weak rights“ according to Midgeley
 - rights to have animal welfare laws enacted
 - basic rights for some animals (GAP)
 - basic rights for all animals
 - equal value of life and suffering (animals+humans)



Stability Hypothesis

AW-AR continuum:

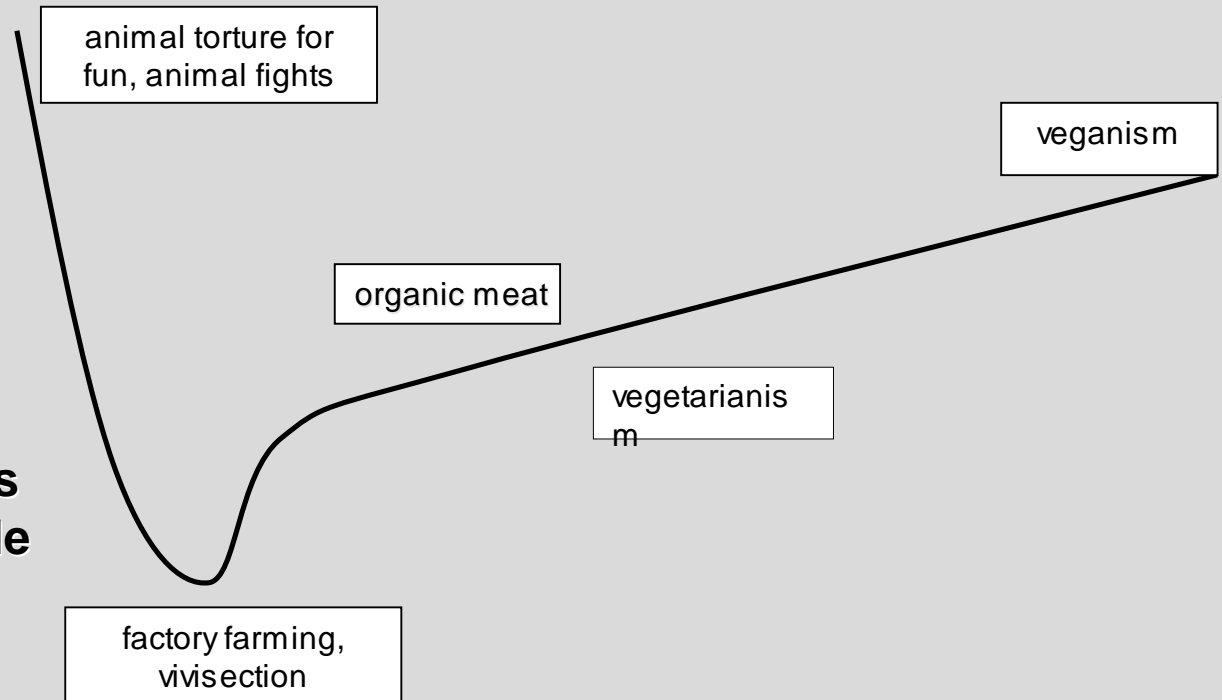
arbitrary usage

welfare

rights

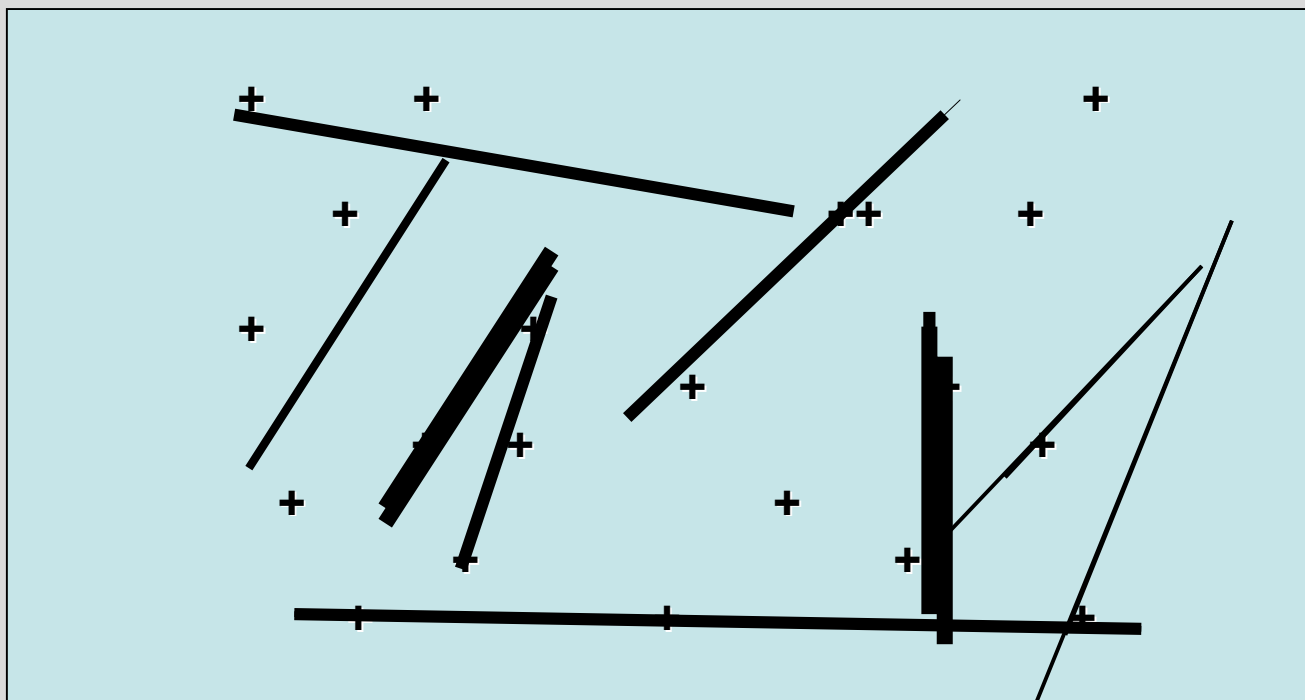
System (political, economic) changes line (through social pressure, easy availability, laws, ...):

**To live outside the trough costs energy, „roll back“ if you don't invest → needs lots of motivation; is not sustainable and stable on a long term.
→ system must change: attitudes in society, availability of vegan products, laws, ...!**



Goal: media attention?

Scandals (pig medication, avian flue, BSE) like media stunts have short lived effects!



→ we need supporting structures for interested people



How to build supporting structures?

We need to build a movement!

How?

Mahatma Gandhi + Martin Luther King:

The 3 most important things to do for a social justice movement are:

- 1. agitate**
- 2. agitate**
- 3. agitate**

→ be active, form groups, incorporate animal rights in your life, in all aspects of society: political, science, arts, social, radio, TV, press, university, hobby, sports, law, economy, trade ...



But: system change needed

Persuading one person after the other does not work, as long as the system is such that „living“ animal rights is hard, even with supporting structures

(e.g.: everyone is against battery eggs, but everyone is buying them!)

→ people are not evil, the system is; people will adapt

→ we need to achieve lasting system change!



Learning from the past: Circus campaign

Permanent confrontative demos outside all wild animal circuses at every show for years

→ not persuasion but nuisance factor made circuses bankrupt

→ without wild animal circuses no political force against a ban

and without a ban: new circuses form and foreign circuses visit

We learn:

- Confrontation not persuasion effective**
- We need a weak animal industry**



P&C campaign

Maximum confrontation with P&C:

- More than 1500 demos
- Disruptive actions: blockades, run-ins
- Nuisance: home demos, mail flooding

We learn again:

- Confrontation works!
- Watch the tipping point before the public turns against you (New church, HLS, ...)!



Battery farm campaign

Confrontation with: political party, farmers and supermarkets

Result: ban on all battery farms, no battery eggs in supermarkets, 35% fewer laying hens, eggs more expensive

We need:

- lots of very motivated activists**
 - the public being sympathetic**
 - your enemy is seen as bad**
- then even radical actions are accepted**



Ways to change the system

- **Stability and security of society must remain unchallenged (small incremental change, scientific basis, alternatives available)**
- **Direct social/economic pressure against animal industries is most effective**
- **Make sure the public sympathises with your aims and actions**
- **Direct electoral pressure against political parties to achieve law change is effective**
- **Help establishing alternatives**



And most importantly!

- **Build large movement support, animal rights as social identity, lots of motivated activists**
- **Contact to sympathetic politicians, cooperate with them, identify the political problem**
- **Stay pragmatic: aim for what can be done, not what is most revolting to you**
- **Establish personal contacts to media, be always informed, have quality information, develop ways to keep up the news story**
- **Seek support from science**



Summary

- **„Positive“ fluffy campaigns don't bring big changes**
- **Neither do scandals or singular media reports**
- **Change of awareness is not sufficient for real change in action**
- **Smart confrontative grassroots campaigns with a long breath make the difference**
- **Always keep the sympathy of the public: have a serious public voice and face, be factual, convincing, compromising where necessary and become more radical in your actions only if that can be justified in public**
- **Build a motivated and unified movement for support**



... in one word:

Run your campaign as confrontational as possible against the real enemy, without loosing public support and sympathy

The aim of your campaign should be to reduce the power and influence of animal industries; don't worry about ideological differences like animal welfare or animal rights, abolitionism or reformism