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# Testing Appeals to Aspirational Identities

## Research Report

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# Summary of findings

## Aim

This report details two experiments aimed at understanding whether message framing can influence the likelihood of signing a petition to end factory farming. The experiments focused on appealing to individuals' positive self-identity, exploring how identity-based appeals can shape attitudes and behaviours towards social issues.

## Method

The experiments exposed participants to either written messages (Experiment one) or videos (Experiment two) designed to evoke empathy and align with values of compassion and justice. They were subsequently asked about their likelihood of signing a petition to ban factory farming and their attitudes towards animals. Participants were also asked about how they feel about the way animals are treated, and how it effects their diet (before seeing the message), and their future dietary intentions (after seeing the message).

## Results

Experiment one found a repulsive effect, in which some messages resulted in lower intentions to sign a petition than in the control condition. This effect occurred for three messages which appealed to people's 'vegan-hearted' nature, and one which appealed to their nature as an animal lover. In contrast, this effect was abolished in Experiment two.

Further analysis indicated a positive correlation between strong self-identification as an animal lover and the likelihood of signing the petition and future ethical purchasing habits. However, messages explicitly appealing to the animal lover identity did not significantly increase intentions, and perceiving oneself as an animal lover did not moderate receptivity to the messages.

## Implications for animal advocates

The findings from these experiments highlight several important considerations for animal advocates in crafting their messages. Firstly, the modality of message delivery plays a crucial role in how messages are received. Written messages, particularly those that explicitly label recipients with a specific identity such as 'vegan-hearted' or 'animal lover,' tended to provoke a repulsive effect, potentially causing recipients to distance themselves from the cause. This suggests that advocates should avoid messages that directly label recipients, especially if the label may not resonate with them.

Conversely, messages delivered through video formats did not encounter the same level of resistance. The use of emotive music and imagery likely contributed to a more positive reception, emphasising the importance of leveraging multimedia tools to enhance the emotional impact of advocacy messages. Advocates should consider incorporating videos in their campaigns to evoke empathy and align with values of compassion and justice.

Furthermore, while a strong self-identification as an animal lover correlated positively more compassionate attitudes towards animals, as well as supportive actions such as signing petitions and ethical purchasing, messages explicitly targeting this identity did not significantly boost intentions. This suggests that these individuals already have a high baseline of identification, and additional emphasis on this identity may not further increase their engagement. Instead, advocates may benefit from focusing on environments where animal lovers may naturally be found, such as animal shelters, veterinary clinics, and animal-friendly events, to engage with this audience more effectively.

# Introduction

Factory farming, or industrial agriculture, is a practice where animals are subjected to intense conditions, leading to profound suffering. This system prioritises efficiency and profit at the expense of the animals' well-being, often confining them to overcrowded cages or pens with scant access to natural light and fresh air. The inherent cruelty of factory farming starkly contrasts with the values of compassion and respect for life that are cherished by many.

This report describes two experiments which attempted to answer the question of whether message frames can influence the likelihood of intent to sign a petition in support of ending factory farming. The experiments had a specific focus on appealing to people's positive self-identity. Research on identity-based appeals in message framing reveals significant insights into how these strategies can influence attitudes and behaviours. Studies show that appealing to an individual's identity might be a powerful tool in shaping their responses to messages, but it must be executed carefully to avoid potential backlash. For example, McGowan et al. (2022) highlighted found that identity appeals could influence intended consumer habits, particularly when the message aligned with the audience's self-concept and social identity.

In this study, we conducted two experiments to assess the impact of various narrative frames. Participants were presented with messages crafted to evoke empathy, underscore ethical considerations, and align with the intrinsic values of compassion and justice. These messages were designed to appeal to positive-self-image, tapping into how individuals see themselves and their values, which previous research suggests can significantly influence behaviour and attitudes towards social issues.

The first experiment used written messages to test their effectiveness in a controlled, text-based format. However, finding that these messages did not significantly alter participant responses, we transitioned to a second experiment where the same messages were embedded within video vignettes. This shift aimed to increase engagement and ecological validity, reflecting a more realistic consumption context and potentially enhancing the emotional and cognitive impact of the narratives.

# Experiment one

## Method

### Participants

**Table 1.** Breakdown of participant demographics in both experiments.

	Age	
	Experiment 1	Experiment 2
18-24	214	106
25-34	501	331
35-44	438	253
45-54	276	183
55-64	189	118
65+	76	51
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,694</b>	<b>1052</b>
	Sex	
Female	906	754
Male	785	290
Prefer not to say	5	0

### Procedure

Participants were recruited through Prolific. After reading a consent form, they completed a demographic questionnaire, followed by one of the messages (Appendix one). After which, they were asked how likely they would be to sign a petition asking the government to ban factory farming, followed by the animal attitudes scale. At the end of the survey, they were given an open text box to provide any additional feedback and to expand on their position on factory farming.

### Stimuli

Participants were presented with the following survey items.

### Demographics

1. Age: How old are you? (Under 18, 18-24, 24-34, 34-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+).
2. Gender: What is your gender? (Male, Female, Other, Prefer not to say).

3. *Education*: What is your highest level of education (Secondary school/Some college/Bachelor's degree/Masters degree/Doctoral degree).
4. *Ethnicity*: What is your ethnicity (White/Black/Asian/mixed/other).
5. *Political ideology*: Do you consider yourself more liberal or more conservative (1 Extremely liberal, 2, 3, 4 Moderate, 5, 6, 7 Extremely conservative).
6. *Diet*: Which statement best describes how your feelings about the way animals are treated effects your purchasing habits?
  - a. I'm comfortable with how animals are treated and have no restrictions on what I eat or buy.
  - b. I'm uncomfortable about how animals are treated but don't have any restrictions on what I eat or buy.
  - c. I'm uncomfortable about the treatment of animals and make some changes to my diet and purchases.
  - d. I'm unhappy about how animals are treated and avoid animal products in my diet and purchases as far as possible.
  - e. I'm upset about how animals are treated and strictly avoid all animal products in all circumstances.
  - f. Other...please specify.

#### *Animal attitudes scale*

Listed below are a series of statements regarding the use of animals. Select the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement:

SA = Strongly agree (5)

A = Agree (4)

U = Undecided (3)

D = Disagree (2)

SD = Strongly disagree (1)

1. I think it is perfectly acceptable for cows and pigs to be raised for human consumption (Reverse coded).
2. Basically, humans have the right to use animals as we see fit (Reverse coded)
3. The slaughter of whales and dolphins should be immediately stopped, even if it means some

people will be put out of work.

4. I sometimes get upset when I see wild animals in cages at zoos.
5. Breeding animals for their skins is a legitimate use of animals (Reverse coded).
6. Some aspects of biology can only be learned through dissecting preserved animals such as cats (Reverse coded).
7. It is unethical to breed pure-bred dogs for pets when millions of dogs are killed in animal shelters each year.
8. The use of animals, such as rabbits, for testing the safety of cosmetics and household products is unnecessary and should be stopped.

### *Petition request*

How interested would you be in signing this petition, asking the government to ban factory farming?

After the survey has finished, you will be given the opportunity to sign the petition.

If you decide to do so, you will be redirected to sign the petition, which will take a couple of minutes to complete. [Very unlikely, Unlikely, somewhat unlikely, Neither likely or unlikely, somewhat likely, Likely, very likely]

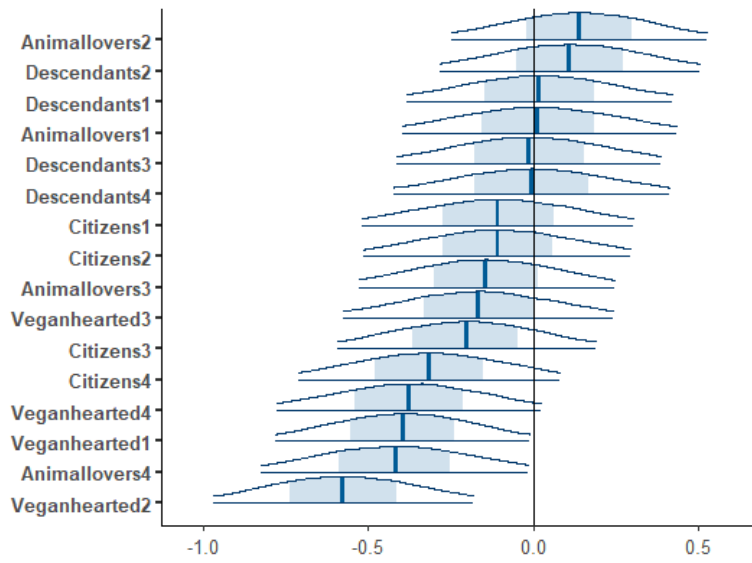
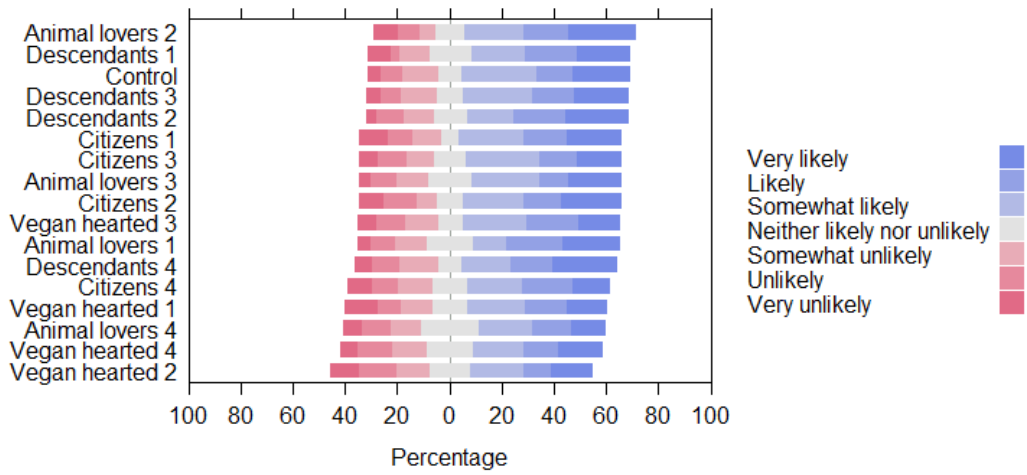


## Results

We analysed the data using a Bayesian ordinal logistic regression, using the BRMS package in R, with likelihood of signing the petition as the dependant variable, and message as the independent variable. We used the standard priors defined by the BRMS package. The model was fit with 4 chains, with 500 burn-in samples, and 10,000 posterior samples. First, we analysed the differences between the five control conditions. The no control condition was used as the referent condition. Control 2 (Factory farming image, with factory farming text) was used as the referent condition - so that any differences could be attributed to the framing of the message. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of responses to the petition question, split by message type (top panel). The bottom panel displays the posterior probability distributions of the log-odds for the coefficients corresponding to each message type.

We found that, compared to the baseline condition, most messages did not influence intentions to sign the petition. However, two of the vegan-hearted messages, and one of the animal-lovers messages had a statistically significant (>95% of the posterior probability distribution below 0) repulsive effect - in which intentions were lower than in the baseline condition. In the control condition, 63% responded at least 'somewhat likely' to sign the petition, compared with 46-52% by those who saw the vegan-hearted messages 1, 2, and 4, and the animal lovers 4 messages. The remaining two non-significant vegan-hearted messages numerically lower, but non-significant lower intentions - with 74.83% and 94% of the posterior probability distribution below 0, respectively. In fact, 12 out of 16 of the messages had at least 50% of the posterior distribution below 0, indicating a general trend towards a repulsive effect.

**Figure 1.** Top panel: Response distributions to the question of how likely they would be to sign a petition in support of banning factory farming, split by the message the participants received. Bottom panel: 95% probability mass of the posterior distributions of the log-odds for a difference between the control condition and each message.



# Experiment two

## Method

### *Procedure*

This experiment was a conceptual replication of Experiment one with some changes. First, the written messages were replaced with video vignettes. We also replaced some of the attitude scales, and included improved attention check questions. Due to time constraints, we did not include any demographic questions, but were able to retrieve some of this information from Prolific. After reading an information sheet, participants were asked how their comfort level affects their purchasing habits. They then watched one of the videos (Appendix two), followed by a question about how likely they would be to sign a petition to end factory farming. They were then asked the same question about their purchasing habits, but in a future context, followed by three attention check questions. Next, they completed a human superiority scale, a speciesism scale, and an animal use acceptability scale. Finally, they filled in an open response box answering a question about how they view our relationship with other animals.

In this experiment, we included five control conditions: The first was a no-information condition, where participants did not see a video. The remaining four were videos, which varied in both the text: either a description of the conditions on factory farms or a list of facts about animals, and the imagery: either imagery of animals on factory farms, or wildlife imagery.

### *Stimuli*

Participants were presented with the following survey items.

#### *Current purchasing habits*

1. Which statement best describes how your feelings about the way animals are treated affects your purchasing habits?
  - a. I'm comfortable with how animals are treated and have no restrictions on what I eat or buy.

- b. I'm uncomfortable about how animals are treated but don't have any restrictions on what I eat or buy.
- c. I'm uncomfortable about the treatment of animals and make some changes to my diet and purchases.
- d. I'm unhappy about how animals are treated and avoid animal products in my diet and purchases as far as possible.
- e. I'm upset about how animals are treated and strictly avoid all animal products in all circumstances.

This question was used both at pre- and post-test, and the tense was changed appropriately.

### *Animal lover*

To what extent do you agree with the statement "I am an animal lover."?

### *Petition*

After the survey has finished, you will be given the opportunity to sign a petition which asks the government to end factory farming.

How interested would you be in signing a petition which asks the government to ban factory farming?

If you decide to do so, you will be redirected to sign the petition, which will take a couple of minutes to complete. [Very unlikely, Unlikely, somewhat unlikely, Neither likely or unlikely, somewhat likely, Likely, very likely]

### *Attention checks*

1. In the previous video, which of the following animals were shown.
  - a. Pigs
  - b. Rabbits
  - c. Dogs

- d. Cats
2. At the end of the video, you were asked to do which action?
    - a. I was not asked to do anything.
    - b. Eat more plant-based options or go vegan.
    - c. Sign a petition to end factory farming
    - d. Sign a petition to end testing on animals.
  3. During the middle of the video, you saw some information about animals. Select the sentence which corresponds to the information you saw.
    - a. From the tiniest insects to the largest mammals, animals play an important role in maintaining the balance of nature. They are essential for pollination, seed dispersal, and regulation of the food chain.
    - b. Animals used in experiments often endure pain, suffering, and sometimes even death. With the capacity to experience fear, pain, and distress, deserve ethical consideration and respect. Subjecting them to invasive procedures and potentially harmful substances is morally objectionable.
    - c. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, lack of access to natural light and fresh air, and the routine overuse of drugs and hormones.
    - d. None of the above.

#### *Human superiority scale*

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements from “1 - Strongly disagree” to “7 - Strongly agree”.

1. The life of an animal is just not of equal value as the life of a human being.
2. Animals are inferior to humans.
3. There is nothing unusual at all in the fact that humans dominate other animal species.
4. We should strive for more equality between humans and animals.
5. In an ideal world, humans and animals would be treated on an equal basis.
6. It is important that we treat other animal species more equally.

#### *Speciesism scale*

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements from “1 - Strongly disagree” to “7 - Strongly agree”.

1. Morally, animals always count for less than humans.
2. Humans have the right to use animals however they want to.
3. It is morally acceptable to keep animals in circuses for human entertainment.
4. It is morally acceptable to trade animals like possessions.
5. Chimpanzees should have basic legal rights such as a right to life or a prohibition of torture.

6. It is morally acceptable to perform medical experiments on animals that we would not perform on any human.

*Animal use acceptability scale*

Listed below are a series of statements regarding the use of animals. Select the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

SA = Strongly agree (5)

A = Agree (4)

U = Undecided (3)

D = Disagree (2)

SD = Strongly disagree (1)

1. I think it is perfectly acceptable for cows and pigs to be raised for human consumption (Reverse coded).
2. Basically, humans have the right to use animals as we see fit (Reverse coded).
3. The slaughter of whales and dolphins should be immediately stopped, even if it means some people will be put out of work.
4. I sometimes get upset when I see wild animals in cages at zoos.
5. Breeding animals for their skins is a legitimate use of animals (Reverse coded).
6. Some aspects of biology can only be learned through dissecting preserved animals such as cats (Reverse coded).
7. It is unethical to breed pure-bred dogs for pets when millions of dogs are killed in animal shelters each year.
8. The use of animals, such as rabbits, for testing the safety of cosmetics and household products is unnecessary and should be stopped.

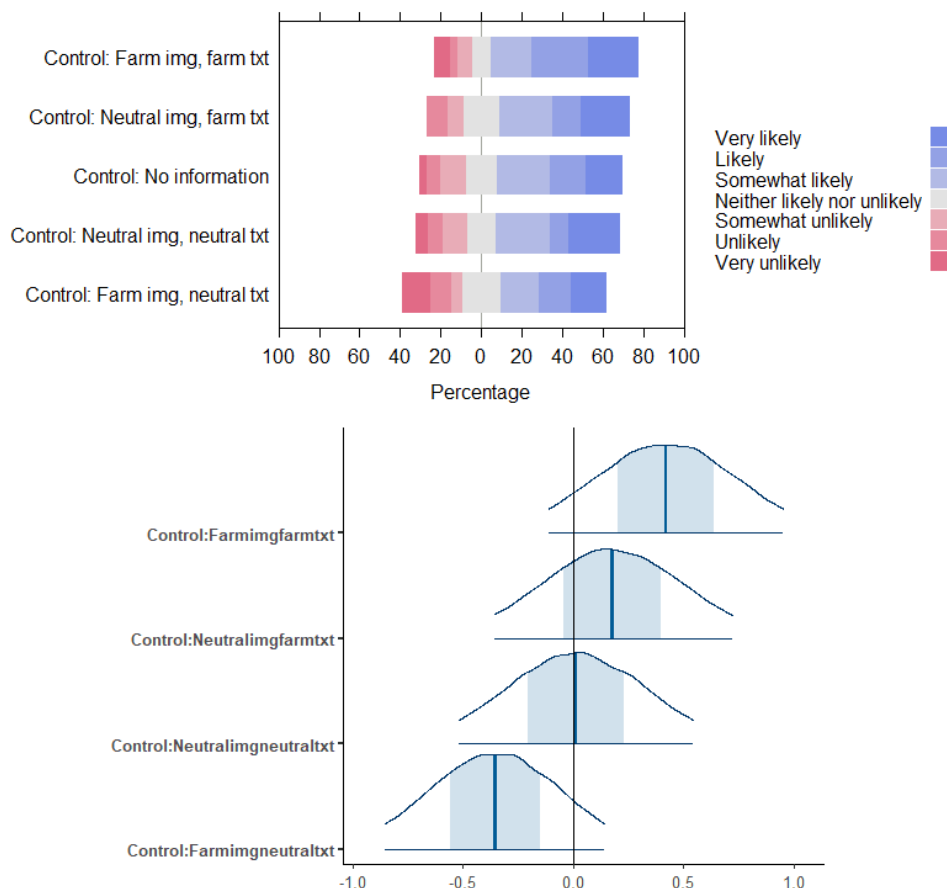
*Open question*

Thinking especially of those animals we use for our own ends, such as for food, scientific testing, clothes, or in sport: How do you feel about the relationship between humans and other animals?

## Results

The first analysis was to compare whether there were any baseline differences between the five control conditions. We ran the same Bayesian ordinal logistic regression as in Experiment one, with petition signature likelihood as the dependant variable, and control condition as the predictor. The no information control condition as the referent. Based on an inspection of the posterior probability distributions (Figure 2), there were no statistically significant differences between the five control conditions.

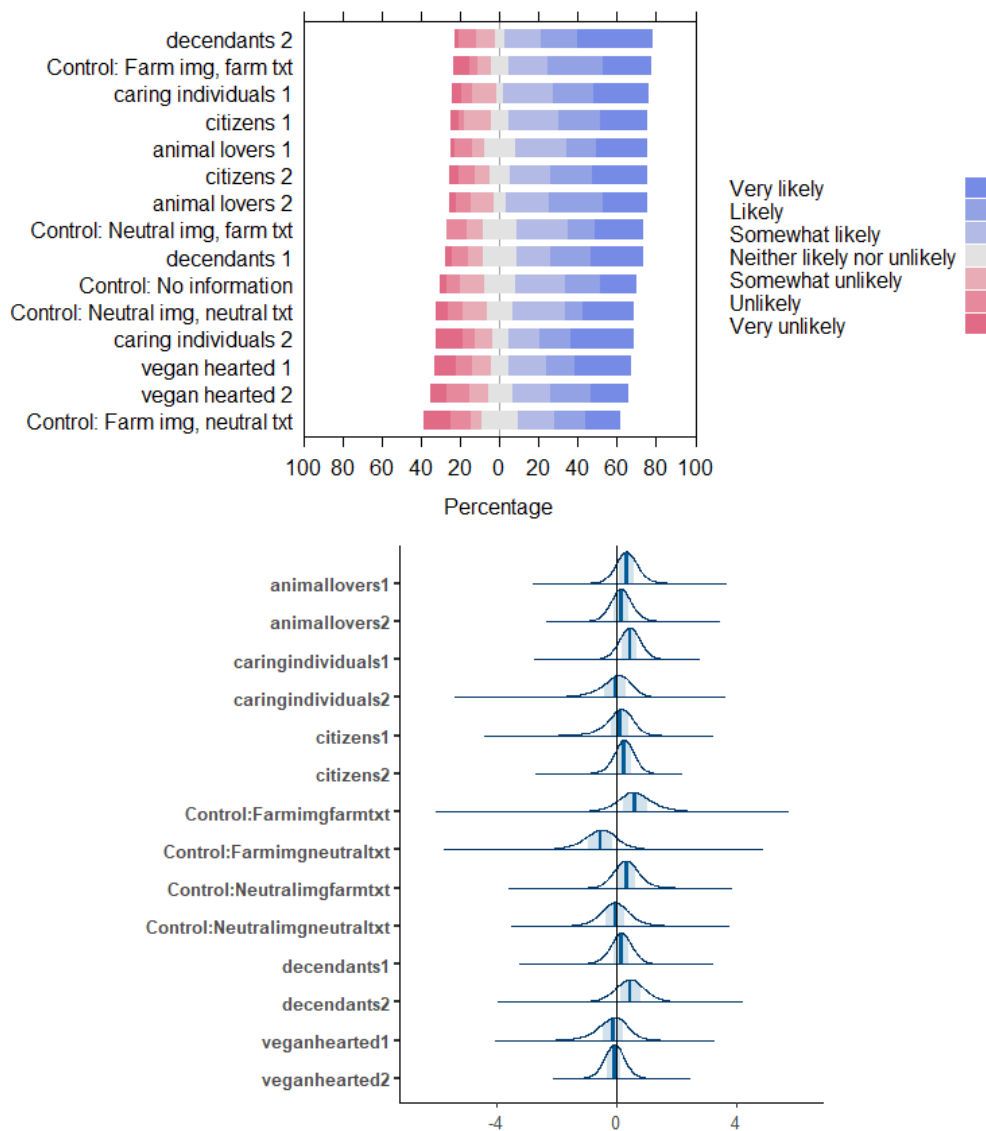
**Figure 2.** Top panel: Response distributions to the question of how likely they would be to sign a petition in support of banning factory farming in Experiment two, split by control condition. Bottom panel: 95% probability mass of the posterior distributions of the log-odds of a difference between each control condition and the referent (no information control).



Next, we analysed the effect of the message received, compared to the no information control using the same statistical method, by fitting a model where the response depends on the fixed effect of

message, with random slopes and intercepts depending on levels of self-reported identity as an animal lover. This analysis revealed no effect of the message on petition response, and no moderation by levels of identity as an animal lover. The response distributions, split by message, and posterior distributions of the fixed effects log-odds are presented in Figure 3.

**Figure 3.** Top panel: Response distributions to the question of how likely they would be to sign a petition in support of banning factory farming in Experiment two, split by message. Bottom panel: 95% probability mass of the posterior distributions of the fixed effects log-odds of a difference between each message condition and the referent (no information control).

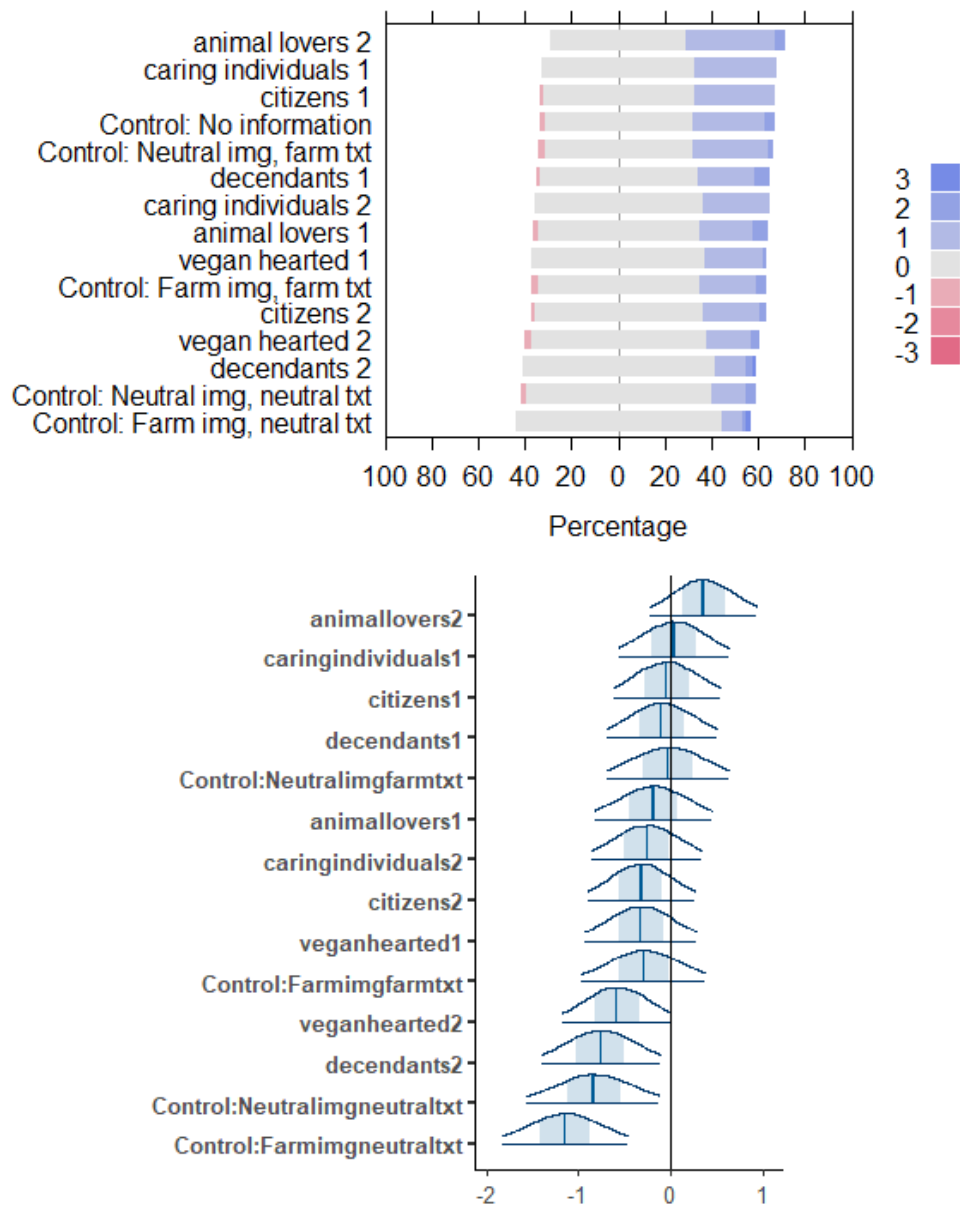


Next, we analysed the effect of the message framing intervention on the pre-post change in self-



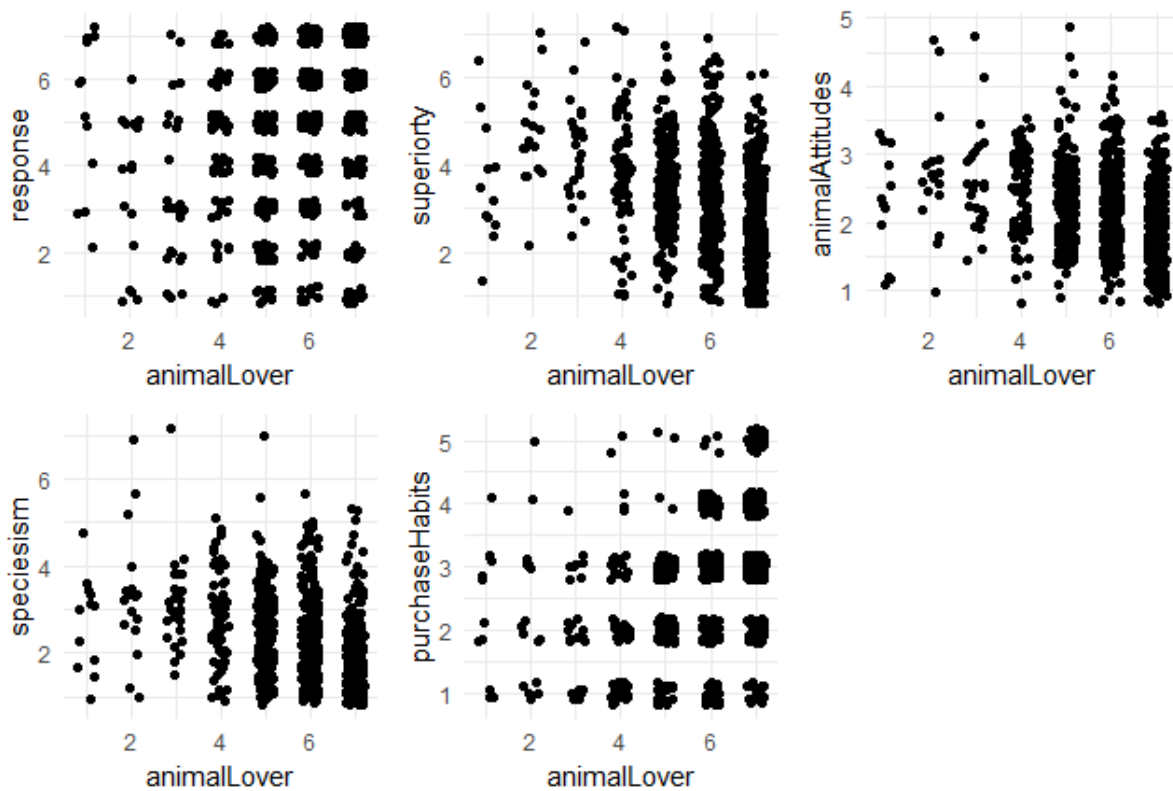
reported ethical purchasing habits. We found no differences between conditions in pre-test measures of food purchasing habits. We found that overall, there was an increase in future ethical consumption intentions - including within the control conditions. Although intentions increased across all groups, the analysis revealed that this increase was attenuated amongst those who saw the descendants 2 message and the two control videos which contained neutral text.

**Figure 4.** Top panel: Pre/post change in intended ethical purchasing habits, split by message. Bottom panel: 95% probability mass of the posterior distributions of the log-odds of a pre/post change in intended ethical purchasing habits between each message condition and the referent (no information control).



Finally, we analysed the correlation between self-reports of how strongly they identify as an animal lover, and the likelihood of signing the petition, as well as a number of other animal-attitude scales: the human superiority scale (Dhont & Hodson, 2014), the animal use acceptability scale (Herzog, Grayson & McCord, 2015), the speciesism scale (Caviola, Everett & Faber, 2018), and intended future purchasing habits.

**Figure 5.** Scatter plots between self-ratings of being an animal lover (x-axes) and petition response, perceptions of human superiority, animal attitudes, speciesism, and purchasing habits. For the purposes of visualisation, the data points have been jittered by 0.2 along both axes.



**Table 2.** Spearman's rank correlation between five dependent variables and self-reported identity as an animal lover.

Test	Correlation coefficient (P)	p value
Petition response	0.38	5.3e-30
Human superiority	-0.42	9.1e-37

Animal attitudes	-0.34	2.6e-24
Speciesism	-0.39	7.0e-31
Purchasing habits	0.32	1.1e-20

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# Discussion

## Experiment one

### *Message framing effects*

In experiment one, we found that the framing of messages significantly impacted the likelihood of individuals signing the petition. Despite our anticipation that messages highlighting animal suffering would increase support for the petition, the data indicated a contrary trend. Notably, certain messages, particularly those from the vegan-hearted and animal-lovers categories, appeared to have a counterproductive effect, reducing the likelihood of individuals committing to signing the petition.

The repulsive effect observed in some of the vegan-hearted and animal-lovers messages indicates that certain narratives may inadvertently alienate the audience rather than garnering support. The explanation for these repulsive effects may be explained by identity threat. Identity threat arises when individuals perceive that their self-concept is being questioned or criticised. This threat can provoke a defensive response as individuals strive to protect their identity (Petriglieri, 2011). Messages that label individuals as "compassionate people who identify as animal lovers" may inadvertently challenge their self-perception, especially if they do not fully embrace these identities. This challenge can lead to a defensive reaction, causing them to reject the message to reaffirm their autonomy and self-integrity.

This explanation seems plausible when we assess the content of the messages. The statistically significant animal lovers message referred to the readers "As compassionate people who identify as animal lovers", whereas the other versions talked about the nation in more general terms, rather than the specific reader, for example: "Britain prides itself for being a compassionate and caring nation of animal lovers."

Similarly, the vegan-hearted messages with the most repulsive effects referred to the reader themselves as vegan-hearted, for example: "...you are already vegan-hearted", or "...As a vegan-hearted individual". In contrast, the vegan-hearted message which showed no evidence of a repulsive effect referred to the approach as vegan-hearted ("Take action and support a ban on factory farming with a vegan-hearted approach"), rather than the individual themselves.

This finding has implications for how advocates should tailor their messages. When messages explicitly appeal to one's compassion or vegan-hearted nature, they may inadvertently signal an expectation or demand for a specific identity. For those who do not identify strongly with these labels, the message can be perceived as an external imposition, prompting a defensive reaction. This response is consistent with research by Cohen, Aronson, and Steele (2000), who found that identity-threatening messages can lead to resistance and decreased acceptance of the advocated behaviour.

## Experiment two

### *Comparing controls*

Our initial analysis aimed to determine if there were any baseline differences between the five control conditions. The Bayesian ordinal logistic regression revealed no statistically significant differences between these conditions, indicating that the control conditions were effectively comparable. This finding suggests that any observed effects in subsequent analyses can be attributed to the message interventions rather than pre-existing differences between groups.

### *Message framing effects*

When examining the impact of different message framings on the likelihood of signing a petition to ban factory farming, none of the messages were more effective than the control at increasing petition signing intentions. Interestingly, the repulsive effect identified in Experiment one was abolished in Experiment two, suggesting that the modality of message delivery plays a crucial role in how messages are received. One possible reason for this is the use of emotive imagery and music in the video format of Experiment two. These elements can enhance the emotional resonance of the message, making it more engaging and compelling for the audience. Emotive imagery can vividly portray the plight of animals, evoking empathy and compassion, while music can amplify these emotions, creating a more immersive and impactful experience.

### *Self-reported diet intentions*

Our analysis of the message framing intervention on pre-post changes in self-reported ethical purchasing habits showed an overall increase in future ethical consumption intentions across all groups, including the control conditions. This indicates a general positive shift in consumer habits, which may be influenced by increased awareness or the context of the study itself. Interestingly, the increase was attenuated in groups exposed to the Descendants 2 message and two neutral control videos. This attenuation could suggest that while these messages might be effective in the context of petition signing, they do not necessarily translate into changes in broader ethical consumer behaviour.

### *Correlations with identity as an animal lover*

Further analysis explored the relationship between self-identification as an animal lover and various attitudes and behaviours. Stronger identification as an animal lover was positively correlated with the likelihood of signing the petition and intended future ethical purchasing habits. Additionally, there were significant negative correlations with human superiority beliefs, animal use acceptability, and speciesism. Despite this, appeals to the animal lover identity did not increase intentions.

One possible explanation for why appeals to the animal lover identity did not increase intentions is that the messages may have been ineffective at activating the identity in a meaningful way. If the identity as an animal lover is already salient for individuals, simply reminding them of this identity may not add any additional motivational force. In other words, these individuals might already consider themselves animal lovers, and the messages do not make this identity any more prominent or influential than it already is.

This finding implies that in crafting effective messages in animal advocacy, the specific content of the message may matter less than the audience. The implication is that animal advocates should focus their efforts on reaching individuals who already have a strong identification as animal lovers. This could be achieved by engaging with communities and environments where animal lovers are likely to be found, such as animal shelters, veterinary clinics, animal-friendly events, and online forums dedicated to animal protection. By targeting these groups, advocates can ensure their messages resonate with an audience that is already inclined to support animal rights initiatives.

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# Appendix one:

## Messages used in Experiment One

All participants saw:

Please read the following information carefully. You will be asked questions about the text on the next page.

Factory farming, also known as industrial agriculture, is a system of animal agriculture that prioritises efficiency and profit over the welfare of animals. It is a system of rearing animals using highly intensive methods, by which chickens, turkeys, pigs, or cows are confined indoors under strictly controlled conditions.

...Followed by one of...

*Control:* We are asking members of the public to sign a petition asking the government to ban factory farming.

*Animal lovers 1:* As a country who takes pride in being a nation of animal lovers, we share a deep sense of compassion and respect for all living beings. It is not in our nature to want to cause harm to animals, and we should be striving to ensure that their lives are as free from suffering as possible. Factory farming goes against our natural instincts to care for and protect animals, as it causes them immense pain and suffering, and it is time for us as a society to reflect that in our laws and policies. By banning factory farming, we can show the world that we truly are a nation of animal lovers.

*Animal lovers 2:* When we think about the values that define us as a nation, one of the first things that comes to mind is our compassion for animals. We see this in the way that we care for our animal companions and in the way that we advocate for the protection of wildlife. Our inherent love for animals should be reflected in our laws and policies, and factory farming is a clear violation of this principle. Factory farming goes against these values, and it is time for us to take a stand against it. By ending factory farming, we can ensure that our laws and policies reflect the compassion and empathy that we hold for animals.

*Animal lovers 3:* Britain prides itself for being a compassionate and caring nation of animal lovers. But we cannot claim to be a nation of animal lovers while we allow the cruel practices of factory farming to continue. The evidence of animal suffering in factory farms is overwhelming. As a society, we must take responsibility for the harm that is being caused to animals on factory farms. By speaking out against factory farming, we can create a country that we can be truly proud of - one that upholds the values of compassion, justice, and respect for all animals.

*Animal lovers 4:* As compassionate people who identify as animal lovers, we have a responsibility to extend our love and compassion to all animals, including those who are confined in factory farms. Many of us share our homes with animals, respect and help the wild animals in our neighbourhoods, and support animal charities. However, how can we call ourselves true animal lovers, while we turn a blind eye to the immense suffering endured by animals in factory farms? We must take action to demand an end to this cruel industry and support kinder and more sustainable farming practices. By doing so, we can live up to our identity as animal lovers and create a world that is truly fair and compassionate for all beings.

*Descendants 1:* Many of us are grateful to the previous generations who stood up for women's rights and civil rights, and helped create the fairer, more tolerant society we enjoy today. We have to ask ourselves the question - how do we want to be remembered by future generations? Let us be remembered as a society that recognized the importance of treating all beings with respect and dignity, and took action to create a fairer and more sustainable world. We have a responsibility to our descendants to create a world that is better than the one we inherited, and that means taking action to end the cruel and unsustainable practice of factory farming. We need to work together to create a world that future generations will be proud of.

*Descendants 2:* Many of us are grateful to the previous generations who stood up for women's rights and civil rights, and helped create the fairer, more tolerant society we enjoy today. We have the power to shape the legacy we leave for future generations, and that starts with taking action to end the suffering of animals in factory farms. By working together to demand systemic change, we can create a world that our descendants will be proud of, and that honours the lives and interests of all beings.

*Descendants 3:* How do we want to be remembered by our descendants? Let's be remembered as a society that recognized the importance of treating all beings with kindness and compassion. We have the opportunity to create a better world for all beings, and that starts with ending the cruel and

unsustainable practice of factory farming. By working together to demand systemic change, we can create a world that our descendants will be proud of, and that honours the lives and interests of all beings.

*Descendants 4:* As good ancestors, we have a responsibility to leave behind a world that is better than the one we inherited. One way we can do this is by working to end the cruel and unsustainable practices of factory farming. By transitioning to more compassionate and sustainable farming practices, we can ensure that future generations inherit a world that is fairer, more compassionate, and environmentally sustainable. Let's show future generations that we were a generation that cared about the well-being of all beings, including animals who are farmed. Together, we can create a brighter future for our descendants.

*Vegan hearted 1:* "Be Vegan-Hearted" - Are you someone who doesn't want animals to suffer, yet feels overwhelmed by the idea of going fully plant-based? Then deep down, you are already vegan-hearted. More and more people are embracing their natural care for animals that most of us already feel. Extend this care by joining us in supporting a ban on factory farming. It's time to align our values with our actions. If you don't want animals to suffer, please take action with us and support a ban on factory farming today.

*Vegan hearted 2:* "Join the Vegan-Hearted Movement" - If you believe in compassion for animals, but struggle with the all-or-nothing message of "go vegan", join the vegan-hearted movement. As a vegan-hearted individual, you prioritise the ethical treatment of animals and strive to reduce harm in practical and achievable ways. Support a ban on factory farming and be part of a community that shares your values. It's time to take action and create a better world for animals and ourselves.

*Vegan hearted 3:* "Protect Animals with a Vegan-Hearted Approach" - Do you feel a connection to animals and believe in their right to live free from harm, but feel that "going vegan" is too radical or extreme? Take action and support a ban on factory farming with a vegan-hearted approach. Being vegan-hearted means focusing on the ethics and values that drive our choices, rather than strict dietary rules. Join us in protecting animals and promoting compassionate practices in all aspects of life.

*Vegan hearted 4:* "Choose Compassion, Choose Vegan-Hearted" - Make a choice for compassion and support a ban on factory farming. Do you care about the wellbeing of other animals, but feel that going vegan would be too much of a lifestyle change? As a vegan-hearted individual, you prioritise

the welfare of animals and take practical steps towards reducing harm. Recognize that being vegan-hearted doesn't mean a radical lifestyle change, it means showing care and compassion for other animals. Join us in choosing compassion and creating a world where animals are treated with respect and kindness. Please sign our petition asking the government to ban factory farming.

*Citizens 1:* As active, caring citizens, we are using our democratic rights to make our voices heard and take action on important issues. By signing this petition to ban factory farming, we are participating in the democratic process and urging our elected officials to take action to protect the well-being of animals, the environment, and public health. This is what democracy is all about: citizens coming together to advocate for change and hold industries who cause harm accountable.

*Citizens 2:* Many people around the world are standing up for what they believe in, making society more tolerant and fairer all the time. Our ability to participate in the democratic process and hold our elected officials accountable is one of the cornerstones of our society. By signing and sharing this petition to ban factory farming, we are exercising our right to participate in the democratic process and calling on our government to take action on an issue that we believe is critically important. We are using our voices to advocate for change and to push for a fairer and more sustainable world for all.

*Citizens 3:* Many people around the world are standing up for what they believe in, making society more tolerant and fairer all the time. As active, caring citizens, we have a responsibility to advocate for the issues we care about. Banning factory farming is not only important for animal welfare, but also for the sustainability of our food systems, the health of our communities and the health of the planet. By signing this petition, we are demonstrating our commitment to being responsible and engaged citizens who are willing to take action on issues that matter to us. We believe that by working together, we can create a better world for ourselves and future generations.

*Citizens 4:* As voters and citizens, we have the power to make a difference in the world around us. By signing this petition to ban factory farming, we are using our collective power to push for meaningful policy changes that reflect our values and priorities. We know that change doesn't happen overnight, but by working together and raising our voices, we can push for the kind of change that we want to see in the world. We are proud to be active and caring citizens who are working to create a fairer and more sustainable world for all.

## Appendix two:

### Messages used in Experiment Two

The sentences within each message are numbered, indicating where the sentence appears in the video.

A playlist of all of the videos tested can be found here:

[https://www.youtube.com/embed/dn7h5o\\_kjxg](https://www.youtube.com/embed/dn7h5o_kjxg)

#### *Control 1 (No mention of factory farming)*

1. Animals are a diverse group of multicellular organisms that belong to the biological kingdom Animalia.
2. They are known to consume organic material for energy, breathe oxygen, move, and reproduce sexually.
3. From the tiniest insects to the largest mammals, animals play an important role in maintaining the balance of nature.
4. They are essential for pollination, seed dispersal, and regulation of the food chain.
5. Currently, more than 1.5 million animal species have been identified, with insects making up the majority at around 1 million species.
6. However, scientists believe that there are over 7 million animal species in total, with many yet to be discovered.
7. Animals have a wide variety of survival mechanisms that help them flourish in their niche.
8. For example, many animal species undertake long-distance migrations as part of their life cycles.
9. Animals have evolved fascinating adaptations for camouflage and mimicry.

#### *Control 2 (Same text about factory farming)*

1. Animals are a diverse group of multicellular organisms that belong to the biological kingdom Animalia.
2. They are known to consume organic material for energy, breathe oxygen, move, and

reproduce sexually.

3. The practice of factory farming is widespread
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions,
5. such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, lack of access to natural light and fresh air,
6. and the routine overuse of drugs and hormones.
7. From the tiniest insects to the largest mammals, animals play an important role in maintaining the balance of nature.
8. They are essential for pollination, seed dispersal, and regulation of the food chain.
9. Currently, more than 1.5 million animal species have been identified, with insects making up the majority at around 1 million species.

#### *Animal lovers 1*

1. Compassion, empathy, and respect for all animals are shared values that define us as a nation.
2. This country believes that animals deserve to be treated with kindness and care, and that unnecessary cruelty and suffering should not be tolerated.
3. Despite our national values of compassion and empathy towards animals, the widespread practice of factory farming goes against these values.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions,
5. such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, lack of access to natural light and fresh air,
6. and the routine overuse of drugs and hormones.
7. By ending factory farming, we can truly demonstrate the compassion and empathy that we hold for all animals.
8. In a future where factory farming is no longer tolerated, we will create a society that truly values, respects, and shows compassion for all animals.
9. Join us in showing the world that we truly are a nation of animal lovers by signing our petition to end factory farming.

#### *Animal lovers 2*

1. Britain prides itself on being a compassionate and caring nation of animal lovers.
2. As a nation, we believe that animals deserve to be treated with kindness and respect, and that their wellbeing should be a top priority.
3. Despite our pride for being a nation of animal lovers, factory farming is widespread, and the evidence of animal suffering on these farms is overwhelming.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and

overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.

5. By ending factory farming, we can create a country that we can be truly proud of - one that upholds the values of compassion, justice, and respect for all animals.
6. Imagine a future where Britain can proudly call itself a nation of animal lovers, where the suffering these animals undergo is no longer tolerated by society.
7. Join us in showing the world that we truly are a nation of animal lovers by signing our petition to end factory farming.

#### *Descendants 1*

1. We live in a fairer and more inclusive society today thanks to previous generations who fought for issues like civil rights.
2. Many of us believe we should follow in the footsteps of our ancestors by continuing to push for greater equality and justice for the next generation.
3. And many of us are asking the question: how will our society be remembered while the practice of factory farming remains widespread?
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. We have the power to shape the legacy we leave for future generations, and that starts with taking action to end the suffering of animals in factory farms.
6. Let's leave a world for our descendants, where animals are respected as individuals with their own inherent value and worth.
7. Please help us create a better world for future generations by signing our petition to ban factory farming today.

#### *Descendants 2*

1. How do we want to be remembered by the generations who come after us?
2. Do we want to be remembered as the generation who recognised the importance of treating all beings with kindness and compassion?
3. Or as the generation who allowed the cruel practice of factory farming to continue?
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. As a society, we have the power to shape the future and create a better world for our descendants, as well as all beings, by ending factory farming.
6. Imagine a future where all life is valued, where animals are viewed as unique individuals deserving of kindness, respect, and protection.

7. Please sign our petition to end factory farming and show our future generations that we are a society that values the lives of all beings.

#### *Vegan-hearted 1*

1. Are you someone who cares for animals and doesn't want them to suffer?
2. Even if we don't follow a vegan diet, deep down most of us are vegan-hearted.
3. Yet despite our vegan-hearted nature, billions of animals suffer on factory farms every year.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. You don't need to be vegan to know that we should, and can, end factory farming.
6. Imagine a world where animals are treated with compassion and respect, and their well-being is prioritised.
7. By signing this petition, join a growing movement of compassionate individuals who believe in creating a better world for all of us - animals included.

#### *Vegan-hearted 2*

1. Do you feel a connection to animals and believe in their right to live free from harm?
2. If so, you're not alone. While many people feel overwhelmed by the idea of completely changing their diet and lifestyle, most of us still want animals to live free and happy lives.
3. Yet despite our vegan-hearted nature, billions of animals suffer on factory farms every year.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. However, we can live in alignment with our "vegan-hearted" values by asking the government to end this cruel practice.
6. Imagine living in a world that respects the lives and dignity of all of us, animals included, allowing us to live the values we hold in our heart.
7. Please take a moment to sign this petition asking the government to end factory farming today and make this vision a reality.

#### *Citizens 1*

1. As active, caring citizens, we have the freedom to make our voices heard and take action on important issues.
2. Many people around the world are coming together to make real changes about important issues we all care about.
3. Many of us are concerned about how our food system works, and the animal cruelty it



causes on a massive scale.

4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. It is our duty to speak up against practices that cause harm and holding destructive industries accountable.
6. Imagine a future where we are all treated with compassion and respect - animals included.
7. We urge you use your democratic rights by signing this petition to end factory farming and making this future vision a reality.

#### *Citizens 2*

1. Many people around the world are standing up for what they believe in, making society more inclusive and fairer all the time.
2. Our ability to express what matters most to us and hold elected officials and harmful industries accountable is one of the cornerstones of our society.
3. Yet currently our government allows harmful industries, like factory farming, to continue to expand on a huge scale.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. It is our responsibility to speak up against practices that cause harm and demand change.
6. Imagine a future where animals are treated with compassion and respect, and our democratic voices are truly heard.
7. By signing this petition to end factory farming, we are exercising our right to call on our government to take action on this critically important issue.

#### *Caring individuals 1*

1. As compassionate people, many of us share a deep concern for the wellbeing of all animals.
2. Many of us believe that every living being deserves to be treated with respect and compassion, and we strive to live our lives in accordance with these values.
3. Unfortunately, the practice of factory farming is still widespread, causing immense suffering to many animals.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. However, we can make a difference by taking action together. We can call on the government to take the crucial steps to protect animals.
6. Imagine a world where we respect the dignity of all animals, where they are treated with the

compassion they deserve.

7. We urge you to sign this petition to end factory farming. By ending factory farming, we can show the world how compassionate we truly are.

#### *Caring individuals 2*

1. As caring people, most of us share a deep concern for the well-being of all animals.
2. Many of us believe that every living being deserves to be treated with respect and compassion, and we strive to live our lives in accordance with these values.
3. Unfortunately, the reality of factory farming is far from caring.
4. On factory farms, animals are often subjected to cruel living conditions, such as cramped and overcrowded cages or pens, and lack of access to natural light and fresh air.
5. But, as caring and compassionate individuals, we can make a difference.
6. Imagine a world where we respect the dignity of all animals, where they are treated with the compassion and kindness, and freedom they deserve.
7. If you also care for animals and creating a more caring society, please sign this petition to end factory farming today.