

BRIEFING SERIES

A network diagram consisting of several white circles of varying sizes connected by white lines. The circles are arranged in a roughly circular pattern, with a larger central circle and several smaller ones around it. The lines connect the circles in a complex, interconnected manner, suggesting a network or a series of relationships. The background is a dark blue color with a horizontal band of a lighter blue shade across the top.

February, 2019
v1.0

TABLE OF CONTENTS

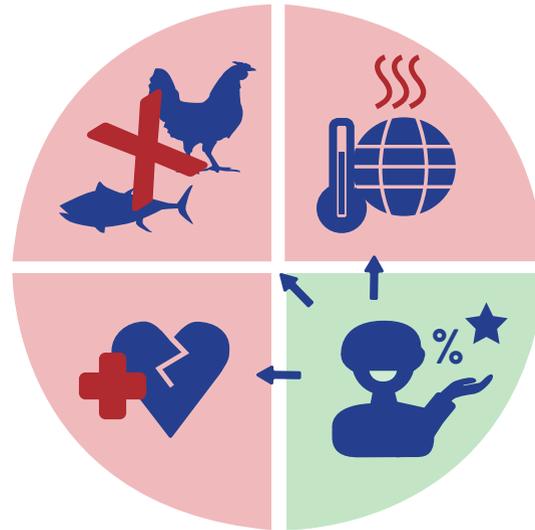
Smart Giving: Some Fundamentals	2
Supporting Alternative Foods To Farmed Animal Products	4
Veg Advocacy	7
Corporate Campaigns For Welfare Reforms	9
Fishes	12
Legal and Legislative Methods	13
A Global Perspective on Farmed Animal Advocacy	15
Shallow Review: Increasing Donations Through Your Donation	19

Smart Giving: Some Fundamentals

Why Give?

For the world: There are [over 100 hundred billion](#) farmed animals alive at any moment in conditions that cause [severe suffering](#), that number has been increasing over time and is projected to continue to do so. Consuming animal products [is associated](#) with many negative health outcomes and animal agriculture is a [chief cause](#) of environmental degradation—causing [approximately 15%](#) of global greenhouse gas emissions.

For you: Giving [activates the](#) brain's reward centers, resulting in increased [life satisfaction](#) and [happiness](#).



How To Give?

Effective giving is important because top giving options are plausibly many times more impactful than the average giving options.¹

How can you be effective? Make good choices about (in descending priority): (1) [which cause area](#), (2) intervention, (3) [charity](#), and (4) the specific way of donating.

How Can We Help Identify Cost-effective Funding Opportunities?

Farmed Animal Funders release briefings and research different promising areas. These briefings aim to highlight promising interventions and organizations by considering:

- ▶ The most relevant and up to date information
- ▶ Learning value
- ▶ Fungibility
- ▶ Room for more funding
- ▶ Marginal impact
- ▶ [Counterfactuals](#)

Help us help you. If we can do additional research to support your giving decisions, please let us know.

How Much To Give?

There are a number of approaches to how much to give, including:

-  Giving what you don't need
-  [Pledging](#) a set percentage
-  Giving to reach a personal best

[Some](#) people give everything above what is necessary to satisfy their needs, in part because of [evidence](#) that high levels of income have diminishing returns on wellbeing.

Thousands of people (including [some of the wealthiest](#)) publicly pledge some set percentage for giving. Pledging could [increase](#) your commitment to giving, further connect you with a [giving community](#), and [inspire](#) others.

[Giving to reach a personal best](#) involves goal setting, adequate planning and support networks, as well as being up to date with the charities you support. You might also consider the following when deciding how much to give: How rich am I? [What are my life aspirations?](#) How much do other high net worth's give?²

¹For instance, The Open Philanthropy Project [has estimated](#) that \$1 donated to cage-free reform campaigns spares about 120 hens one year of battery cage confinement. In contrast, Animal Charity Evaluators [estimated](#) that \$1 donated to leafleting spares roughly one thousandth of a year of farmed animal life.

²Many [high net worths](#) leave approximately 90% of wealth to heirs, 0.16% of their wealth towards animals and, on average, [a fraction](#) of that amount goes towards factory farming.

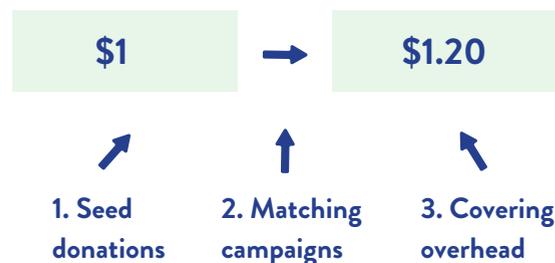
Impact Multipliers

Make the Most of Your Network

You have an incredible opportunity to multiply your impact through bringing another large donor into the movement. Please share Farmed Animal Funders material (including these briefs) with anyone who may be interested.

Some Specific Promising Ways to Donate to Groups

Three basic donation multiplier options are:



Which is best? The nascent literature on charitable giving most supports seed donations. A seed donation “seeds” a significant amount (e.g., 50%) of a charity’s fundraising goal. The [literature suggests that](#)³ **seed donations typically have a greater donation multiplier than matches** and **increasing the seed amount is associated with a significant increase in donations.**

A matching campaign uses one’s donations to “match” other donations. There are [several field studies](#) on donation matching, but unfortunately no peer reviewed meta-analysis of them. A (non-peer reviewed) [meta-analysis](#) suggests a donation multiplier effect of matching campaigns on the order of ~120% (with high uncertainty) and **another key takeaway: [diminishing returns to matching above 1:1.](#)**

Covering “overhead” costs such that other donors contribute to “programs” rather than “overhead” could be a promising donation multiplier. **“Overhead” ratios are a [poor](#), and [over-emphasized](#) indicator of effectiveness.** Most donors don’t want to pay for overhead costs but this unwillingness is not rational and

paying for the overhead may fix the bias. The evidence in favor of covering “overhead” as a donation multiplier relies primarily on experimental field evidence from [one study](#). It is a promising result but it doesn’t provide sufficient justification for thinking covering overhead costs are a better donation multiplier than seeding or matching.

Tax Efficient Giving

Definitely itemize, and consider:

- ▶ [Donating appreciated assets](#) ([avoids capital gains](#) but [still deductible](#))
- ▶ Efficiently maxing annual charitable deductions
- ▶ Using [donor advised funds](#) if you’re unsure of where to donate.

³Note that while this study suggested a seed donation raised more than a matching donation the difference wasn’t statistically significant.

Supporting Alternative Foods to Farmed Animal Products

Why Is This Area Promising?

Competitive alternative foods could massively decrease demand for farmed animal products.

What's Some Key Information That You Should Know About Alternatives?

Alternatives can be divided into:

1) Cell-based products

Cell-based companies report their products should be price-competitive in a decade. Although there are reasons to be skeptical of these timelines, the rate at which production costs have reportedly been falling means they may not be too unrealistic.

2) Plant-based products

Plant-based options are now (fairly) cost-competitive, (fairly) taste-competitive, better environmentally than animal-based foods (but not necessarily cell-based foods), stocked in large supermarkets, on the menu (and even selling out) in some large fast-food chains, and overall are making encouraging market share gains.

Is Impact Investing Impactful? Is It Making Things Better Than They Would Otherwise Be?

If philanthropy's goal is to make things better than they would otherwise be, the counterfactual (what would happen otherwise if not for your donation) is critical. For impact investing then, it's worth noting there's already strong investor interest in alternative companies:

- I. Since ~2013 alternative companies have raised more than \$1 billion in funding.¹
- II. The ~30 cell-based companies and ~70 plant-based companies have received investment from several large funders, ~60 VC firms, and ~24 large corporate partners.
- III. There's significant impact investor interest in the food and agriculture sector: more than \$10 billion in impact investments have been made. It's one of the most (if not the most) popular sectors for impact investing with around half of impact investors reporting planning to increase their allocations to food and agriculture.



¹This is based off an internal back of the envelope estimate, please let us know if you would like the details. The annualized average of the total of the investments in alternative companies in the past 5 years is approximately double the global amount of charitable donations to farmed animal advocacy in 2017.

This leads to the following **key questions for further consideration:**

Will your impact investing crowd out investing from others or increase the amount invested by others impactfully? Does accounting for the potential replaceability (if you didn't invest someone else would) mean your impact investing actually adds limited value overall?

How would you otherwise use that money if you didn't invest? How would the (likely) displaced prospective investor otherwise spend theirs? If you would otherwise spend it impactfully elsewhere but they wouldn't, does your impact investing cause less impact overall because of your greater opportunity cost?

What Are The Funding Options In This Area?

Intervention

A Preliminary List Of The Funding Options

A Rough Estimate Of The Amount Of Funding Those Groups Could Use

Providing Strategic Support for Companies or the Industry (e.g., fostering start-ups and helping them acquire funding)

Good Food Institute (GFI), Plant Based Foods Association (PBFA), Proveg International, Lever Foundation, Modern Agriculture Foundation, The Protein Cluster, Future Food Institute, Food Frontier, Danish Food Cluster, HSUS Farm Animal Protection, Proteines France, Terres Univia, Eating Better, and Berkeley University.

\$500k - \$7.5 million

Completing Publicly Available Consumer Acceptance and/or Development Research

GFI, Faunalytics, Animal Charity Evaluators, New Harvest, Modern Agriculture Foundation, Cellular Agriculture Society, CNTA, and Food HQ.

\$2m - \$8.5 million

Preventing Unfavorable Regulation of Alternatives

GFI, PBFA, Animal Legal Defense Fund, and The European Vegetarian Union.

\$500k - \$7.5 million

Campaigning to Stock Plant-Based Options in Accessible Fashion at Major Selling Points

GFI, PBFA, Proveg International, Animal Equality, Green Monday, Mercy For Animals, and The Albert Schweitzer Foundation

\$1 million - \$6 million

All of the above

> \$15 million

> Veg Advocacy

What's Veg Advocacy?

Communicating information that attempts to cause individuals to act in ways that are better for farmed animals, usually with specific emphasis on changing diets to eliminate or reduce animal products.

	Key Costs: 	Total Annual Expenditure And Associated Output: 	Some Initial Evidence Regarding Effectiveness: 
Leafleting	It costs <u>approximately \$0.10-\$0.50</u> per <u>veg advocacy leaflet</u> distributed.	Roughly speaking, <u>a few million dollars</u> are spent on leaflets annually, resulting in <u>millions</u> of leaflets being distributed each year.	<u>Six studies</u> (with large limitations) seem to mostly <u>suggest</u> leaflets either don't impact or slightly increase short-term animal product consumption.
Online ads	These online ads can be <u>\$0.20</u> per 1000 times shown and <u>3-4 cents</u> per click. ¹	Approximately <u>a few million</u> dollars spent, resulting in ads shown <u>perhaps</u> a billion times and reportedly clicked <u>tens of</u> millions of times.	<u>One study</u> (with large limitations) seems to mostly suggest these ads likely don't effect or slightly increase total animal product consumption but that they also likely don't effect or slightly increase the percentage of people who are vegetarian.
Social Media	<u>Per dollar</u> spent on social media, large farmed animal advocacy organizations report receiving several hundred "engagements" ² with the posts on their social media pages.	Roughly speaking, <u>several million dollars</u> are spent annually on social media, resulting in perhaps billions of social media "engagements." ³	<u>No direct studies of impact</u> , though <u>some studies</u> have examined which posts perform best on the different types of social media "engagements."
Virtual Reality	It costs approximately <u>several dollars</u> (e.g. <u>~\$5</u>) per virtual reality (VR) view.	Most notably, VR is used by Animal Equality and Vegan Outreach. Combined, they seem to annually spend <u>\$200,000 - \$400,000</u> , resulting in roughly 50,000 views annually.	<u>One study suggests</u> VR video focused on pig farming decreased pork consumption and caused favorable attitude changes a month after viewing ⁴ , though it also implied normal video outreach performed indistinguishably well.
Humane Education	Approximately <u>\$15</u> on average (with possibly significant variance for different groups) per US student viewing a presentation that is focused on factory farming. ⁵	Perhaps close to <u>\$1 million</u> spent in the US, resulting in tens of thousands of students receiving a presentation focused on factory farming.	<u>One study (with large limitations) suggests</u> humane education doesn't appear highly cost-effective via only its effects on the diet of viewers.
Books	Mainly author's time, if we assume that's valued at <u>\$40/hour</u> and a book takes close to a year to write then a very approximate estimate would <u>\$70,000</u> per book.	Using that above estimate then very roughly <u>\$1 million</u> was spent on writing the 15 farmed animal advocacy books published in the last 12 months. ⁶	<u>Some reports⁷ suggest</u> a book was the most common influence on animal advocacy leaders joining the movement and <u>one survey</u> indicates a large portion of people who reduce or eliminate animal products report being influenced to do so as a result of a book.
Documentaries	A rough estimate of approximately <u>\$240,000</u> per an average documentary film, however cost can vary very significantly depending on film quality and length. ⁸	For higher-profile veg advocacy documentaries, roughly <u>\$15 million</u> spent on making the five released in the past 12 months. ⁹	<u>One survey suggests</u> a large portion of people who reduce or eliminate animal products report being influenced to do so by a documentary.

Some Important Considerations That Apply To The Information in This Brief

I.

Estimates are imprecise because it's often unclear how donations are spent, and what the results of spending is.

II.

There are few, if any, studies or surveys regarding the effectiveness of veg advocacy methods, and all the available ones have quite significant limitations.

III.

Limited evidence of effectiveness is not necessarily evidence of relative ineffectiveness. These methods could well be just incredibly cost-effective and very much still worth donating to.

1. An ad click usually then leads to a landing page such as [Chooseveg.com](#). These reported numbers are for online ads in low and middle income countries, ads in high income countries may have higher costs.
2. "Engagements" is the total of all the likes, comments, video views, and clicks on the post or on links in the post.
3. For instance, in this past year Animal Equality spent an estimated \$930,000 on online outreach for a rough estimate of around half a billion social media engagements.
4. This study used video that focused on pigs in factory farms and used pork consumption, attitudes towards that consumption, and the suffering of pigs as outcome measures.
5. My understanding is that in the past 12 months, the US the Factory Farming Awareness Coalition reached about 40,000 students (from email communication), Vegan Outreach reached [1200](#) students, and The Humane League roughly [5500](#) students in the US. I am unsure how many students were reached through the Ethical Choices Program.
6. I reached this estimate by counting which [here](#) that seemed to qualify as mainly farmed animal advocacy and by consulting [this list](#).
7. [For example](#), "Lewis [Bollard] asked roughly 40 current leaders in the animal welfare movement (e.g. Nathan Runkle, Paul Shapiro) what had originally influenced them to get involved, and over half mentioned Animal Liberation."
8. This is based on conversations with the makers of Speciesism and Dominion as well as research on the costs of documentaries such as Blackfish, What The Health, and Pig Business, and [ballpark estimates](#) of the cost per minute of documentary film.
9. Dominion, Eating You Alive, The Game Changers, Eating Animals, and Vegan 2018.

> Corporate Campaigns For Welfare Reforms

What Is A Corporate Campaign For A Welfare Reform?

Corporate campaigns for welfare reforms are organized efforts to encourage companies to make commitments to change farming practices such that farmed animal welfare will be increased.

What Changes To Farming Practices Do Corporate Campaigns Attempt To Cause?

1990-2005	2005-2012	2013-present	2017 and onwards	2017 and onwards	In the early 2020's
Campaigns mainly focused on slaughter reform and eliminating veal crates for calves.	Campaigns mainly focused on eliminating gestation crates for pigs.	<p>Main focus was eliminating battery cages for egg laying chickens. Cage-free alternatives would mean egg laying chickens¹:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Receive quite significant increases (seems likely >100% increase) in space per bird. b. Greater opportunity for important behaviours (e.g., nesting, dust bathing, perching, etc.). c. Plausibly would have slightly higher mortality rates (perhaps a few percent increase). 	<p>Internationally an increasing focus on cage-free campaigns. Over 1,400 companies around the globe have now pledged to stop using eggs from caged hens. Most of them have a deadline before 2026.</p>	<p>In the US there's an increasing focus on campaigns to improve broiler welfare, with at least 131 companies already committed to improve broiler welfare through²:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Adding environment enrichments (e.g., > 20% increases in space per broiler chicken, improved lighting, and litter). b. Improved slaughter practices (move to controlled atmosphere stunning). c. Move to higher welfare breeds (e.g., slower growth to avoid skeletal problems).³ 	<p>Some charities may focus on corporate campaigns to improve farmed fish welfare. Some candidates for what aspects of fish farming to change include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Changing slaughter practices (e.g., increase proportion of fish stunned prior to slaughter) b. Improving water quality (e.g., increase the amount of oxygen in the water) c. Decreasing the number of fish per unit of water.

¹ For a summary of some of the literature on the welfare implications of cage-free systems see p.19-21 of this [Founders Pledge report](#).

² See, for instance, the "Our Approach" section of The Humane League's [88% campaign](#).

³ Higher welfare breeds of broiler currently grow more slowly, this has led to some discussion regarding whether greater numbers of broilers would be raised in order to meet the same demand for their meat.

How Are The Corporate Commitments For Welfare Changes Obtained?



Will Companies Meet Their Welfare Commitments?

There is some reason to be concerned about whether companies will maintain their welfare commitments:

- ▶ So far, most animal welfare commitments were kept but there is also some precedent of breaking them. For example, [Marriott](#), [Burger King](#), [Smithfield Foods](#)⁴ and [Woolworths](#) have pushed back the date of their commitments, and Sainsbury's [broke](#) their broiler commitment.
- ▶ [Some industry sources](#) doubt whether U.S. cage-free commitments will be met because the apparent rate of change in the industry seems insufficient.⁵
- ▶ In the past, some companies gave themselves “wobble room” due to the soft phrasing of their commitments, which they may also use to support their not meeting these commitments.⁶

[EggTrack](#) currently monitors progress towards European and American cage-free commitments and [ChickenTrack](#) plans to track boiler welfare commitment progress.

Some Other Important Considerations

- ▶ These reforms seem to increase the costs of animal farming which will likely decrease consumption of these animals products.⁷
- ▶ [Perhaps](#) instead of “issue specific” campaigns, we should more directly challenge speciesism?
- ▶ Might welfare reforms decrease either vegetarianism rates or public opposition to animal farming? There's some initial limited survey evidence which weakly contradicts this hypothesis.⁸

Some Estimates Suggest A High Degree Of Cost-Effectiveness

Note that corporate campaigns could be very cost-effective even if commitments are only partially met, or if significant resources are required to ensure compliance.

Currently no other intervention seems to have comparable levels of evidence suggesting such high cost-effectiveness. How such high cost-effectiveness was achieved is analysed in further detail by the Open Philanthropy Project [here](#).

Available estimates (that have significant limitations) suggest corporate campaigns appear very cost-effective:

- ▶ In 2018, [Founders Pledge](#) estimated that The Humane League's work brought about benefits “equivalent to roughly 10 hen-years shift from battery cages to aviaries per dollar spent.”
- ▶ In 2016, the Open Philanthropy Project [estimated](#) that corporate campaigns in the U.S. spared 38 to 250 hens a year of cage confinement per dollar spent.

⁴ It's also [unclear](#) whether Smithfield Foods fully met their [commitment](#), even though they [announced](#) that they did.

⁵ Note that the U.S. cage-free flock has already increased from just under [17 million](#) (7%) hens at the beginning of 2016 to more than [57 million](#) (18%) hens in 2019. However, to meet the commitments, the number of cage-free hens has to increase to around [223 million](#) (72%) by 2025 which would cost industry producers more than [\\$10 billion](#).

⁶ For example, [Walmart's corporate policy](#) is: “By 2025, our goal is to transition to a 100% cage-free egg supply chain, subject to regulatory changes and based on available supply, affordability and customer demand.” Farm Bureau [claims](#) that so far consumer demand is lower than expected which Walmart could use to break their commitment.

⁷ See, for instance, [Mullally & Lusk 2017](#).

⁸ To give one example, [a study](#) by Mercy For Animals suggested respondents who read about welfare reforms were more likely to report they would reduce their consumption of animal products than a control group.

⁹ The numbers should be interpreted with some caution, because of the various sources of uncertainty that are explained in the Founders Pledge report.

¹⁰ The estimate takes into account the probability that the promises will be kept (which ranges from 30% to 60%), and by how much THL's work sped up policy changes (which ranges from 0.5 to 1.5 years).

> Fishes

The Numbers of Fishes Farmed And/Or Used Annually

- ▶ 52–167 billion farmed fishes.¹
- ▶ [Several hundred billion farmed crustaceans](#).
- ▶ In the U.S., [5–13 farmed fish consumed per person](#).
- ▶ [On the order of a trillion fishes](#) from the wild caught for human consumption.
- ▶ [Several hundred billion](#) fishes from the wild caught to feed the fish we farm.
- ▶ [Billions](#) of bait fish farmed and [tens of billions](#) of fish farmed for stocking purposes.²



¹ A forthcoming ACE report provides further details for this calculation and further information on most of the points listed in this brief.

² E.g., to be released into a river, lake, or the ocean

³ The general scientific opinion is in favor of fishes having the capacity to feel pain. For example, see this [article thread](#) for a list of responses to “[Why Fish Do Not Feel Pain](#)” (Key, 2016).

⁴ H/t Lewis Bollard’s newsletter on fish. Please do read [that excellent resource!](#)

Key Information About Food Fish Farming

- ▶ While humans farm [several hundred species](#) of fishes for food, it is [mostly carps](#) that are farmed.
- ▶ The [largest producer of carps and farmed fish](#) is China—making up [~56% of fish farmed by volume](#).

▶ **Fish farming certified by any standard accounted for just over 6% of global production in 2015.**

- ▶ The most common methods of slaughtering fishes are asphyxiation and live chilling (placement in/on ice), and it can take [minutes](#) to [hours](#) for fishes to die from these methods.
- ▶ In total, the animal welfare movement currently directs a relatively small amount of resources to fish. For instance, so far [only four charities have](#) conducted undercover investigations on fish farms.
- ▶ Fish can live for months to a few years on farms before they are slaughtered.
- ▶ Pre-slaughter mortality rates for most farmed fish are between [15%](#) and [80%](#).

What Can Be Done To Advocate For Fish?

- ▶ Educate the public about fish sentience³ and highlight reasons to abstain from fish consumption.
- ▶ Reduce food waste: [roughly half](#) of U.S. and [a third](#) of seafood elsewhere is never consumed.⁴
- ▶ Complete further research to investigate farmed fish welfare.
- ▶ In future, campaign to implement “humane” slaughter with either electrical or percussive stunning and improve the water quality for farmed fish (e.g., higher levels of dissolved oxygen).
- ▶ Generously support groups who are working on this problem.

Fair Fish compiles research relevant to farmed fish welfare.

Humane Slaughter Association completes research to identify slaughter reforms.

Albert Schweitzer Foundation helps German retailers to develop fish welfare policies.

Mercy For Animals also conducts research and advocates against consuming fish.

Eurogroup for Animals lobbies mainly E.U. governments and coordinates campaign work.

Compassion in World Farming lobbies to increase fish welfare concern in Europe.

Norwegian Animal Protection Alliance aims to better farmed fish conditions in Norway.

▶ **Some Groups Advocating for Fish are**

> Legal and Legislative Methods



What are The Key Legal and Legislative Methods?

Ballot initiatives, lobbying, helping elect supportive candidates, and prosecuting people and organizations who break animal protection laws.

¹For example, while the early ballot initiatives in Florida (2002) and Arizona (2006) did not affect many animals directly, they helped create the momentum for a phase out veal crates across the U.S. industry. Proposition 2 is also credited with setting the stage to kick off the modern round of corporate campaigning that has led to dozens of companies pledging to go cage-free. It also set off a wave of additional compromises in Colorado, Michigan, Washington, Oregon, and Ohio as the animal industry had to now head off a threat of a ballot initiative (see [conversation with Lewis Bollard, 2017](#)).

	For example	Why this goal?	Some charities:
Increase Protections for Farmed Animals	Prohibiting veal crates, barren battery cages and gestation stalls.	These laws help animals directly, decrease meat consumption by increasing its price, and create leverage for campaigning and lobbying elsewhere. ¹	Animal Equality, HSUS FAPC, and the Albert Schweitzer Foundation
Increase Enforcement of Existing Animal Protection Laws	Private prosecutions, lobbying for changes to enforcement practices. In many countries animals already have some legal protection (e.g., conditions of transport), but this protection is not enforced.	Improving enforcement can be much easier to achieve than trying to add new requirements, and it will deter others from breaking these laws.	Mercy For Animals, Compassion Over Killing, and L214
Prevent Unfavorable Regulations	Opposing efforts to (i) ban using words such as “sausage”, “steak”, and “milk” when advertising plant-based alternatives, (ii) use the word “meat” to advertise products that don’t contain the flesh of a slaughtered animal, (iii) “ag-gag” laws, and (iv) right to farm legislation.	For instance, unfavourable nomenclature could make alternative products much less popular.	Good Food Institute, Plant-Based Foods Association, and Animal Legal Defense Fund
Securing Legal Personhood and Rights For Some Animals	Securing these for primates, elephants , dolphins, or whales.	Could significantly help in achieving rights for farmed animals. The changes might be slow, but the effects large and long-lasting.	The Nonhuman Rights Project and Sentience Politics

Some Quickfire Information About Important Jurisdictions

International:²

- ▶ The EU has [legislation](#) banning barren battery cages³, and largely prohibiting sow stalls and veal crates. However, whilst there's been [little progress](#) on the EU legislative front since the early 2000s, a growing movement sporting significant corporate victories perhaps means the EU could soon resume its position strongly leading the way on farmed animal protection.
- ▶ Generally, Latin American countries have [little](#) or [no](#) statutory protection for farmed animals yet there are [signs](#) of promising progress in some countries there.
- ▶ UK's legislation [could](#) be severely hit by Brexit.
- ▶ India has some fairly [favorable](#) laws already but they're not sufficiently enforced.⁴ A number of charities are lobbying for greater enforcement (e.g., Federation of Indian Animal Protection Organizations, Humane Society International, and Help Animals India).
- ▶ One recent survey reports [more than 50%](#) of respondents in Brazil, Russia, India, and China support greater farmed animal protection laws.
- ▶ In most Sub-Saharan countries, for the time being, there's likely going to be a lack of capacity to enforce any animal protection laws that are passed.

Domestic:⁵

▶ **Unfortunately, at the federal level for multiple decades congress hasn't passed a law protecting factory farmed animals and the chances of them doing so in the near future could be slim.**

Instead, [they contemplated](#) restrictions on cell-based meat and [nearly passed](#) an Amendment that would've nullified important gains made at the state level.⁶

▶ **At the state level, we have seen significant progress. After more than a decade of campaigning, there are now laws that prohibit veal crates, barren battery cages, and gestation stalls in 12 U.S. states. These were mostly achieved through tens of millions of dollars being spent⁷ on ballot initiatives and subsequent negotiations with the industry and legislature.**

Also please be aware of lobbyists [trying](#) to criminalize undercover investigations, shield industrial farms from lawsuits, and [force](#) the sale of caged eggs.

²World Animal Protection's Index can be helpful for understanding the animal protection laws in many countries

³The term "battery cages" refers to cages that are so small that the egg-laying hens cannot even stretch their wings. Unfortunately, EU directives still allow 'enriched' cages which are slightly bigger and include objects that often bear a distant resemblance to the things that matter to hens, such as a place to nest, a perch and a place to dust-bathe. The consensus amongst animal organisations is that despite the modifications, 'enriched' cages are unacceptable.

Other Considerations Regarding Legislative Reforms

- ▶ Like many areas in farmed animal advocacy, there's little information about what methods are the most effective and more research would probably help reduce our uncertainty.
- ▶ Please be on the lookout for opportunities to reduce meat consumption through legal methods. For instance, by introducing a meat tax, or [requiring](#) vegan options at state facilities.⁸
- ▶ Initiatives outlawing cruel animal practices have caused **infighting between animal advocates.**⁹
- ▶ Legal and legislative methods **go hand in hand with other strategies.** For instance, corporate campaigns help pass laws, and laws help ensure companies keep their commitments.

⁴ For instance, battery cages are [common](#) even though most states [agreed](#) that they are unlawful.

⁵ Animal Legal Defense Fund's [Ranking of US States](#) could be helpful for understanding animal protection laws across US states.

⁶ Lewis Bollard [suggests](#) that instead of seeking to build legislative majorities, we may want to focus on supporting the few strong allies who can reliably block bad bills, ⁷ [\\$10.5 million](#) for California's Prop 2 (which was approved in 2008), [\\$4.7 million](#) for Ohio (2009), [\\$3.1 million](#) for Massachusetts (2016), and [\\$13.3 million](#) for California's Prop 12 (2018). This does not include the costs required to prepare ballot initiatives and to collect signatures. According to ballotpedia.org, the collection of signatures cost [\\$2.2 million](#) for California's Prop 12, [\\$0.4 million](#) for California's Prop 2, and [\\$0.1 million](#) for Massachusetts Question 3.

⁸ Another example could be repealing U.S. crop insurance subsidies [might](#) only raise animal protein costs at retail by 0.1 to 1% which suggests this is not promising.

⁹ For example, [PETA opposed](#) California's Prop 12 and the opposition to Prop 12 ^{was} entirely funded by a nominally farm-animal protection organization ([HFA](#)) who [claimed](#) that Prop 12 is bad for animals. HSUS [accused](#) HFA of misinformation.

> A Global Perspective on Farmed Animal Advocacy

This brief provides some key information about regions other than the U.S. and Europe.

Why?

As a movement our efforts have thus far mainly focused on the U.S. and the E.U. but most animals are farmed and consumed elsewhere.

While there certainly are other relevant considerations, the number of animals farmed and the degree to which they're consumed in different regions can be helpful to consider when deciding how best to allocate funding.¹

► For the farming and consuming of animals, China leads the world—by a large margin.

- Chinese meat consumption has [quadrupled](#) since ~1985, partly from increasing income levels.
- The proportion of animals farmed in China that are factory farmed has quickly increased.²
- China is the [world leader](#) in exporting fish products.

¹ The two following graphs are based on this [Open Philanthropy Project spreadsheet](#) using 2016 FAO data and adjusted totals from the [2010 Fishcount Estimates](#) for that 2016 FAO data.

² Noted in [an Open Phil newsletter](#): "As recently as 2000, ~75% of Chinese pigs were produced by "backyard farmers," producing fewer than 50 pigs/year, and ~65% of chicken production came from "non-intensive farms" producing fewer than 2,000 chickens/year. By 2010, those numbers had fallen to ~35% of pigs and ~30% of chickens respectively, as large-scale intensive farms took over the majority of production."

³ Animal Charity Evaluators has a report on China that is available on request which further outlines these and other issues.

Relatively few organizations are active in China and little funding goes towards farmed animal advocacy there—at present likely not more than a few million dollars annually. Some contributing factors to this are:³

1. In China, organizations are required to obtain authorization by affiliating with a political institution.
2. Many Western tactics aren't currently viable in China.
3. It can be challenging and may be illegal to support organizations in China as a non-Chinese funder.

However, China also shows some promising signs:

- In 2017, the Ministry of Agriculture [publicly](#) acknowledged farmed animal welfare for the first time.
- In 2016, the new dietary guidelines recommended a halving of China's meat consumption.
- Many organizations are looking to expand and increase activities in China (e.g., Mercy For Animals, Compassion in World Farming, ProVeg International, and the Lever Foundation).

2016 Total Number of Animals Farmed (Billions) In Different Regions



Asia, excluding India and China:

- ▶ Is home to (~24%) of the human population.
- ▶ In addition to China and India, three Southeast-Asian countries (Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Vietnam) round out the top five countries leading the world in the number of farmed animals. Six Southeast Asian countries (Myanmar, Philippines, and Thailand in addition) are in the top 15 countries for the number of farmed animals.

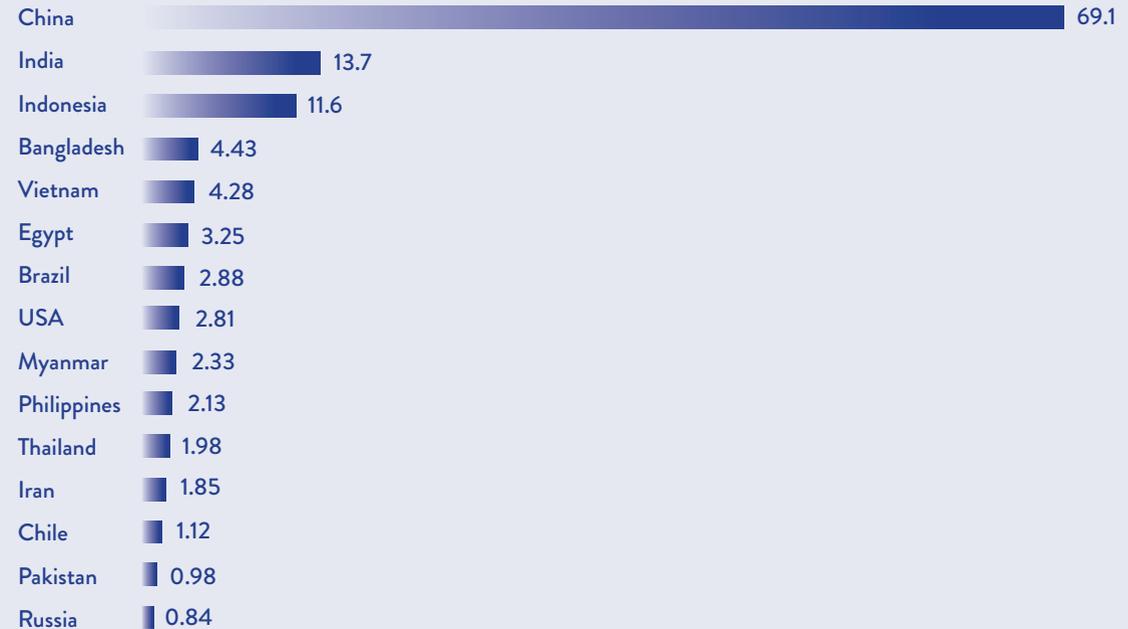
▶ **Asian countries tend to be relatively large consumers and producers of fish products but often significantly export these products to richer countries.**⁴

- ▶ Exporting can cause the number of animals farmed in a country and the number of animals consumed there to significantly differ.
- ▶ As in a number of countries associated with increased population and increased income levels, there's been [an increasing demand for animal products](#) in many Asian countries and as a consequence, a fairly rapid development of [animal agriculture](#).
- ▶ Given key Asian countries tend to be net exporters, an important driver for policy change [could be](#) consumer preferences in the countries they export to.

⁴For instance, while several Southeast Asian countries in the region are leaders in fish farming, the region then exports [tens of billions of dollars](#) of fish products annually.

⁵For instance, over [90% of broilers are sold live](#).

2016 Total Number of Animals Farmed (Billions) In The 15 Leading Countries



Regarding India, third in our list of regions and second largest producing country

On the one hand:

Indian censuses report [around 25%](#) of the population identifies as vegetarian (with significant variation for different states), a figure similar to [that of 15 years ago](#).

There are some [constitutional protections](#) for animals, and broad legal protections. For instance, cow slaughter [is banned](#) in most states.

On the other one hand:

India alone is responsible for around [10%](#) of the world's fish consumption, the second highest global share behind China.

India's total chicken consumption is rising quickly, [up 7%](#) from 2016 to 2017.

Slaughter reforms for chickens or fish may be difficult to achieve because most are sold alive⁵ rather than slaughtered in facilities.

The Middle East and North Africa are mainly majority-Muslim countries that have a high demand for (i) halal meat (which seems to prevent stunning of an animal prior to slaughter) and (ii) [sheep and goat](#) meat. The region is a significant [importer of live animals](#), especially from [India](#) and [Europe](#).⁶

Treatment of animals is currently mainly being [determined by religious precepts](#), rather than state regulation and, as in most regions except North America, India, and Europe, there can be [limited](#) awareness of animal protection issues (and some may dismiss it as [a 'Western' concern](#)).

Regarding marine animals, fish capture and aquaculture are [relatively small and underdeveloped](#). Production from the region amounts to [only a few percent](#) of world production. However, Egypt is an [important](#) global producer and it is also the [largest importer](#) in the region as well.

Latin America is the [greatest global exporter](#) of cow and chicken. Brazil:

1. Leads exports of [cow and chicken meat](#) and is one of the leading exporters of pig meat.
2. Is among the countries with the [highest levels](#) of meat (not including fish) consumption.
3. Hosts two of the biggest meat corporations in the world ([JBS](#) and [BRF](#)).

Generally, Latin American countries have [little](#) or [no](#) statutory protection for farmed animals. Recently, after pressure from [animal advocacy organizations](#), various corporations in the region have adopted some welfare policies.

There are a number of smaller local charities doing important work in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Chile (e.g. Fórum Animal, Sociedade Vegetariana Brasileira, Sinergia Animal), as well as larger international organizations that are conducting an increasing amount of work in the region (e.g. Mercy for Animals, The Humane Society International, and Animal Equality).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, some countries consume as little as [10 kilograms](#) of meat per person (around half of the regional average), while higher-income nations such as South Africa consume [between 60-70](#) kilograms of meat per person. On average, Sub-Saharan Africa is currently the region with the [lowest](#) per capita levels of animal product consumption in the world. However:

- ▶ Increases in animal product consumption are projected to be quite high. This is mainly due to this region having [the fastest](#) population growth of the world, and increasing income levels. Some reports suggest Sub-Saharan Africa's increase in the volume

of meat consumed is expected to be [on par](#) with that of the developed world and Latin America.

- ▶ Most African nations are importers of animal products and increasing demand (rising population with increasing income) seems unlikely to change this. In fact, it's anticipated they'll increasingly be net [importers of animal products](#).
- ▶ [Perhaps the majority](#) of animal farms in this region are still extensive (i.e., pastoral lands and low stocking densities). Also, though data on this is hard to come by, in the past decade [perhaps the majority](#) of rural populations in some Sub-Saharan African owned at least one farmed animal.
- ▶ Chicken meat consumption is relatively high and is expected to largely [remain concentrated in](#) Southern and Western African countries.

Some Sub-Saharan African countries may rank as having the lowest concern for animals globally.⁷ In general, some factors affecting animal treatment are poverty, [lack of institutional capacities](#), and [lack of skills](#) in animal management. There are relatively few animal protection groups in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁸

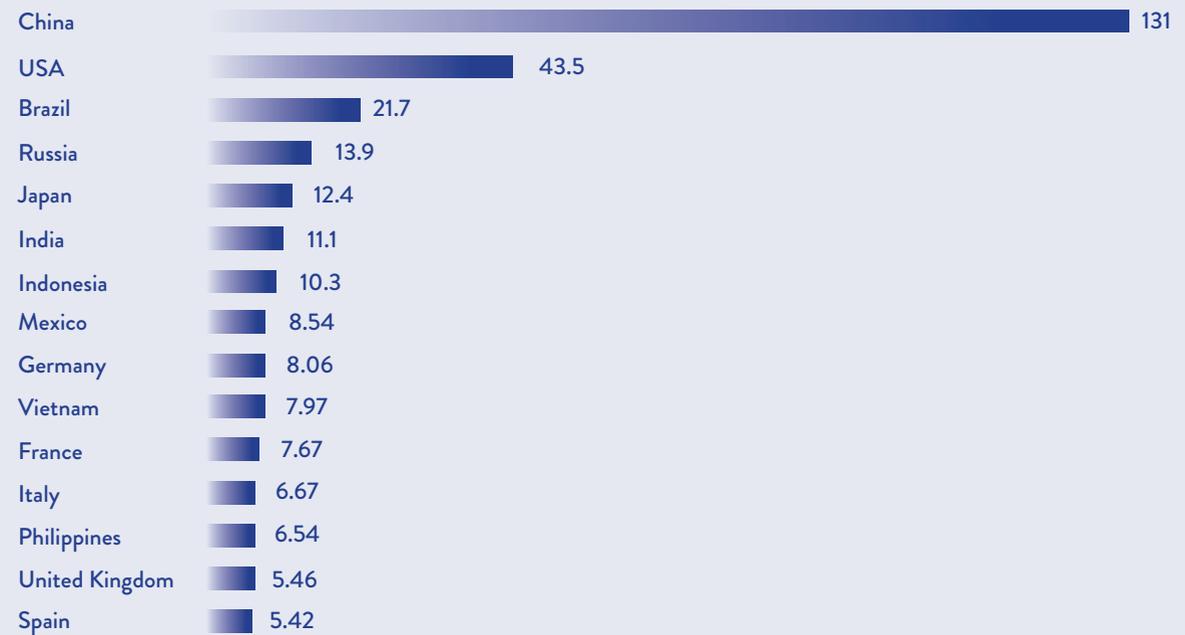
⁶ When European animals are exported outside of the EU, they are no longer protected by European laws. [It has been documented](#) how live animals exported to countries in the Middle East and North Africa face poor and cruel housing conditions, brutal handling, and painful slaughtering methods that are not allowed in the EU.

⁸ See for instance, the World Animal Protection profiles of [Niger](#), [Nigeria](#) and [Ethiopia](#).⁸ The two below graphs are from data provided by FAO 2013. This data was downloaded via the charts linked [here](#). Note that these graphs include consumption of wild-caught marine animals whereas the two previous graphs concerned only farmed animals.

2013 Total Animal Product Consumption (Billions of Kg) In Different Regions



2013 Total Animal Product Consumption (Billions of Kg) In The 15 Leading Countries



Shallow Review: Increasing Donations Through Your Donation

Why?

Encouraging others to donate more is a powerful way to multiply the impact of your donation.

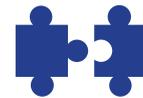
How?

Direct methods: Methods of donating to the same charity you wish to encourage donations towards.

Indirect methods: Methods of donating to an organisation or charity, in order to encourage donations towards other charities.

Direct Methods

Some of the main ways to donate directly to a charity, so as to encourage others to do the same, are:



1. Matching Donations

Matching means offering to use your donations to 'match' other donations made to a charity (usually up to a certain total). Matching can encourage donors to give to a particular charity fairly straightforwardly, through increasing (doubling in a \$1:\$1 match) the amount of money that the donors sees would go to the charity if they donate. Matching could encourage others to donate by:

- ▶ Creating a sense of urgency and scarcity to donate before the matching challenge ends or funds run out. Incentivising donors to donate, in order to avoid your potential donations being 'lost.'¹
- ▶ Decreasing the apparent 'price' of donating, that is prospective donors can now 'buy' say \$2 of donations by only spending \$1.
- ▶ Act as a [signal of quality](#) and value of the charity, particularly if the matching donor is well known.²



2. Seed Donation

Seeding "seeds" a significant amount (e.g., 50%) of a charity's fundraising goal. This could encourage others to donate by:

- ▶ Serving as a signal of quality: If a major funder chooses to make a large donation to a charity at the outset, this suggests they have been convinced of its importance and quality; conversely if no-one appears to have donated to a charity, this may make other donors wary.
- ▶ Helping fulfill donors' desire to feel their personal donation has an impact and that if their donation may make the difference in a charity reaching its target, then they are having more of an impact.³
- ▶ Helping donors not feel like their donation would just be a '[drop in the ocean](#)' and be less fearful of donations being wasted if the charity falls far short of its fundraising target.

¹ The [threat of a 'loss'](#) may be more motivational than the possibility of an added 'gain.' Though savvier or more sceptical donors may suspect that 'matching funds' would be [donated to the charity anyway](#).

² Indeed, the mere fact that a large donation is being made, may suggest to other donors that a donor has some positive information about the charity, which may increase their own confidence.

³ This is supported by [some evidence](#) that as a charity comes closer to reaching its fundraising goal donors become more likely to donate to that charity. own confidence.

3. Covering Overhead

A [great deal of research](#) demonstrates that donors deeply dislike their donations being spent by a charity on ‘overhead’ (e.g. administration, office costs, advertising etc.) rather than ‘directly’ helping those in need (e.g. being spent on directly related program expenses such as leaflets). Ultimately, this preference may make little sense—spending on overhead are necessary and may help the charity run [more efficiently](#).

Still, the fear that their donation will be ‘wasted’ on such costs appears to [strongly influence donors](#), (though [some more than others](#), and it seems, [particularly](#) animal donors) means that this is worth paying attention to. To overcome this fear of overhead one donor could make a donation to specifically cover a charity’s overhead costs. This allows the charity to advertise to donors that anything they donate will be spent exclusively on the charity’s core work and none will be spent on overhead costs, potentially resulting in greater total donations.

How Effective Are Each of These Methods?

Though there has been a fair amount of research on these methods, including large ‘field studies’ using real fundraising campaigns, the magnitude of the effectiveness of the campaigns and which are most effective is not entirely clear. The evidence broadly suggests that:

- ▶ Each of these methods work (to increase donations) within a given campaign.
- ▶ A [host of other factors](#) will influence the effectiveness of the fundraising campaign.
- ▶ The effects will probably be quite different on [different types of donors](#).

Matching campaigns are the most studied of these methods and while certain cases report [doubling or tripling levels of donations](#), results in more rigorous and relevant experiments are typically much lower—ranging from [20-50% increases in total donations](#).

Also of note:

- ▶ There seem to be [diminishing returns to matching above 1:1](#).
- ▶ There’s a lack of evidence on other matching variants so the effectiveness of other promising variants on matching campaigns seems unclear. The [only field experiment](#) we are aware of on a matching variant seems to report conflicting results for “threshold matching.”

There have been a smaller number of studies examining seed funding than there have been studying matching campaigns.

However, in the [three studies that](#)⁴ compared seed donations to matching donations, each time seed donations resulted in greater total donations than matching campaigns (ranging from around 45%-70% in total donations from seed donations).

Also of note:

- ▶ Increasing seed amounts [are associated with a significant increase in donations](#).
- ▶ Evidence has shown that donating is something of a habit and once donors begin to donate to a charity, [they often continue](#). Therefore, it may be [beneficial](#) for encouraging long term donors to balance leaving some room for more funding though not so much that other donors lose motivation in order to allow the charity to cultivate a diverse funding base.

Now, there’s only been [one large field experiment](#) using a real fundraising campaign on the effectiveness of covering overhead and it reports that covering overheads massively increased donations (by 188%). The study in question’s results are certainly quite promising but alone they seem to still leave much room for doubt about whether covering overhead costs is better than seeding or matching.

⁴Note that while this study suggested a seed donation raised more than a matching donation the difference wasn’t statistically significant.

What About Restricting Your Donation To Fundraising?

Despite the [reliable gains](#) from fundraising, charities are often reluctant to spend more on these activities (or even to broach the subject with donors), due to [misguided criticisms](#) of charities spending money on fundraising, even though it would ultimately generate more money for them to spend on their work.

For instance, the return on investment in fundraising (in terms of donations generated per dollar spent on fundraising) may be several hundred percent.

So perhaps fundraising should be directly funded if the goal is to increase the number of donations. Restricting may not work that well in cases where a charity has a large amount of unrestricted funding. If you restrict to one program this frees up unrestricted funding for the charity's other activities. So while "your" money pays for the restricted program, the likely partial effect of that donation is that [other programs](#) are also funded to a greater extent.

Indirect Methods

In addition to donating to a charity directly, another option is to support fundraisers or meta-charities that aim to increase donations toward the best charities. A meta-charity is an organization that doesn't seek to help directly, but seeks to help increase the impact of other charity's work. Such methods may be significantly more effective at multiplying the impact of donations.

Moreover, some other meta-charities, which exclusively seek to direct funds to other, highly effective charities, may offer a significantly higher 'multiplier' ratio on funds donated to them (e.g. being able to raise several times more money for effective charities, for each \$ donated to them).

One example is [Raising for Effective Giving](#), who specifically work to encourage donations to highly effective charity, and who raise [more than \\$15](#) for every \$1 they spend.

One potential downside (as a donor) of donating to such organisations is that you cannot control which charities the funds raised by the intermediary are donated to. Rather, they will likely go to a selection of charities judged to be effective by the meta-charity. This is only an attractive option therefore, if you highly value all or most of the charities being supported by that meta-charity. Furthermore, while many meta-charities of this kind have a [track record](#) of raising many times more funds for charity than they spend every year, there is necessarily some increased risk that your donation will not, in fact, lead to more donations going to other charities when donating via this route.

Key Points

Key points from this shallow review are:

- ▶ The most effective way to make your donation will depend on a host of factors to do with the particular needs and current fundraising of the charity or charities in question.
- ▶ The effectiveness of any fundraising campaign will likely be influenced by many factors alongside whether matching or seed funding is available, including how well the campaign is framed and advertised.
- ▶ Donations in the form of seed funding or (1:1) match funding are likely to generate more donations to the charity and therefore create more impact than simply donating to the charity.
- ▶ Matching campaigns at a ratio of 1:1 are generally an effective way for donors to increase donations by approximately 20-50% (note that estimated return is still quite uncertain).
- ▶ Offering higher ratios of matching does not seem to significantly further increase donations.
- ▶ There's a lack of evidence on other matching variants so the effectiveness of other promising variants on matching campaigns seems unclear.
- ▶ There is some (limited) evidence which suggests that seed funding may be even more effective than offering a match, and that it increases donations by approximately 45-70% with high uncertainty.
- ▶ Increasing the seed amount seems associated with a significant increase in donations. However, you should probably try to balance leaving some room for more funding but not so much that other donors will lose motivation.
- ▶ There is some very limited evidence which suggests that covering overhead may be much more effective than offering a match or seed funding, increasing donations by approximately 190%.
- ▶ Restricting funding to fundraising may actually be the most effective direct way of using your donation to increase the amount of donations from others, leading to increases in total donations by several hundred percent over a longer time period.
- ▶ Funding meta-charities who will then help raise funds for other charities also seems that it may have returns of several hundred percent over a longer time period.

If you are interested in pursuing any of these options, please contact Natalie or Kieran or contact the charity or charities in question directly.

Appendix

What evidence is there regarding the recidivism rate of monthly donors compared to that of those who just give one big amount every year?

Data from the [2018 Fundraising Effectiveness Survey](#) suggests that the average donor retention rate in 2017 was 45.5%. Over the last ten years, donor retention rates have averaged below 50%. Monthly recurring donations seem to be the best way to boost overall donor retention rates: [90% of monthly givers renew](#). This compares [with](#) 32% of first-time single gift donors and 60% of ongoing single gift donors. Moreover, statistics from the Non-Profit Source [‘Online Fundraising Statistics for Nonprofits’](#) report that the average monthly online donation is \$52 (\$624 per year) compared to the average one-time gift of \$128. Donors that set up recurring donations online give 42% more annually, compared to one-time donations. Therefore, presenting donors with more frequent opportunities to donate means that, on average, they may donate larger amounts.

What evidence is there on the effectiveness of funding charities conditional on them achieving some goal (e.g., conditional on them achieving 500 new donors they then receive \$50,000)?

Initial research provided limited evidence on the effectiveness of conditional funding such as this. One study into a crowdfunding system, Codo, which allows donors to contribute to a campaign but hold off on their contribution until certain specific conditions are met (e.g. specific members or groups contribute a certain amount) provides preliminary evidence. [The study](#) found that roughly 1 in 3 donors make conditional donations and that, on average, conditional donors donate more than direct donors. Other than that, no studies directly addressing this question were found.

Selected References

- Lasby and Barr, Talking About Charities 2013: Canadians’ Opinions on Charities and Issues Affecting Charities, (2013)
- Karlan and Wood, The effect of effectiveness: Donor response to aid effectiveness in a direct mail fundraising experiment, *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, Volume 66, February 2017, Pages 1-8
- Park, Nam, Lee, Charitable giving, suggestion, and learning from others: Pay-What-You-Want experiments at a coffee shop, *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics* Volume 66, February 2017, Pages 16-22
- Jacobs and Marudas, The combined effect of donation price and administrative inefficiency on donations to US nonprofit organizations, *Financial Accountability and Management*, Volume 25, Issue 1 February 2009 Pages 33-53
- Altmann, Falk, Heidhues, Jayaraman and Teirlinck, Defaults and Donations: Evidence from a Field Experiment, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, (seen in draft)
- Gleasure and Feller, Does Heart or Head Rule Donor Behaviors in Charitable Crowdfunding Markets?, *International Journal of Electronic Commerce*, 20:4, 499-524

Meier, Do Subsidies Increase Charitable Giving in the Long Run? Matching Donations in a Field Experiment, *Journal of the European Economic Association*, Volume 5, Issue 6, December 2007 Pages 1203-1222

Martin and Randal, How Sunday, price, and social norms influence donation behaviour, *The Journal of Socio-Economics* Volume 38, Issue 5, October 2009, Pages 722-727

Rondeau and List, Matching and challenge gifts to charity: evidence from laboratory and natural field experiments, *Experimental Economics*, September 2008, Volume 11, Issue 3, pp 253-267

List and Lucking Reiley, The Effects of Seed Money and Refunds on Charitable Giving: Experimental Evidence from a University Capital Campaign, *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 110, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 215-233

Verhaet and van den Poel, The Role of Seed Money and Threshold Size in Optimizing Fundraising Campaigns: Past Behavior Matters!, *Expert Systems with Applications* Volume 39, Issue 18, 15 December 2012, Pages 13075-13084

Bekkers and Wiepking, A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Vol 40, Issue 5, 2011

Chang and Lee, Effects of message framing, vividness congruency and statistical framing on responses to charity advertising, *International Journal of Advertising*, *The Review of Marketing Communications*, Volume 29, 2010 - Issue 2

Null, Warm glow, information, and inefficient charitable giving, *Journal of Public Economics* Volume 95, Issues 5-6, June 2011, Pages 455-465

Karlan, List and Shafir, Small matches and charitable giving: Evidence from a natural field experiment, *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 95, Issues 5-6, June 2011, Pages 344-350

Newman, Shniderman, Cain and Sevel, Do the Ends Justify the Means? The Relative Focus on Overhead Versus Outcomes in Charitable Fundraising, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, (Online First, 2018)

Kuhn, Does Donation Matching Work? (2015) accessed online at: <https://www.benkuhn.net/matching>

Peloza and Steel, The Price Elasticities of Charitable Contributions: A Meta-Analysis, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, September 2005, 24 (2) 260-272

Huck, Rasul and Shephard, Comparing charitable fundraising schemes: Evidence from a field experiment and a structural model, *Discussion Papers, Research Unit: Economics of Change SP II 2012-303*, WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Gneezy, Keenan and Gneezy, Avoiding Overhead Aversion in Charity, *Science*, 31 Oct 2014: Vol. 346, Issue 6209, pp. 632-635

Cryder, Loewenstein and Seltman, Goal gradient in helping behavior, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2013, Pages 1078-1083

Whillans, A Brief Introduction to the Science of Fundraising, CASE whitepaper, 2016

Gneezy, Rau, Samek, Zhurakhovska, Do I care if you are paid? A field experiment on charitable donations, *Discussion Papers, Center for European, Governance and Economic Development Research*, No. 307 (2017)

