

2475/3953

MONASH UNIVERSITY  
THESIS ACCEPTED IN SATISFACTION OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ON..... 6 September 2002 .....

.....  
Sec. Research Graduate School Committee

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**BEASTS ABSTRACT NOT:  
A SOCIOLOGY OF ANIMAL PROTECTION**

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Political and Social Inquiry  
Faculty of Arts

Monash University  
Victoria 3800  
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February 2002

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## SUMMARY OF THESIS

*Beasts abstract not: A sociology of animal protection*

Why and how do people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own? The thesis seeks to address this question by showing how the animal protection movement constructs speciesism and its practices – vivisection, factory farming and bloodsports – as a social problem on a par with other societal ills such as racism and sexism. Methodologically, both qualitative and quantitative data are used to show how movement insiders in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States construct their campaigns and press their claims on behalf of non human animals. They do this both as grassroots activists “in the streets” and organisational advocates “in the suites”. In both contexts, it is the moral potency of cruelty which drives the animal movement in the case study countries.

The thesis contends that a social movement is as much about what it does as about why it does it. In the case of the animal movement and other new social movements, activists engage in social problems work in pressing their collective claims. The concept of social problems work is used to link social movement theory and the social constructionist approach to social problems. Like conventional work, social problems work has intellectual, practical and affective dimensions. The intellectual work of a movement involves the diagnosis of a social problem while the practical work is constituted by the movement’s strategies and tactics. Finally, in the case of the animal movement, its affective work is its call to action during which people’s emotions are mobilised to support the cause. Thus, caring work is conceptualised in the thesis as

social problems work, a form of work that is intensely political as it challenges cultural codes and a society's social values. In the case of the animal movement, a previously exotic, philosophical issue is problematised in a way which challenges people to rethink how animals should be treated, especially in the contexts of intensive farming, animal experimentation and recreational hunting.

While the focus of the thesis is on the animal protection movement and its defence of animals, the thesis suggests that social problems work will become a feature of social movement activism and advocacy in the twenty first century as new social movements are likely to provide people with increasing opportunities to do socially useful work in a variety of activist causes.

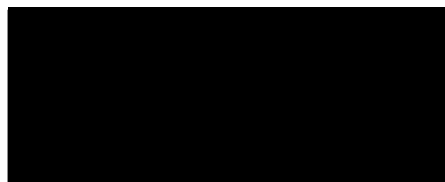
## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis. Some sections of the thesis – primarily some of the case studies - have been published by the author during the candidature as follows:

Sections of Chapter 6 on ANZFAS, Animal Aid and the Animal Welfare Institute come from Chapter 8 of my book (Munro, 2001c) *Compassionate Beasts: The Quest for Animal Rights*, Praeger, Westport, CT. Sections of Chapter 8 on BALE, FARM and MRAR are based on Chapter 7 in *Compassionate Beasts* while the case study of the Coalition Against Duck Shooting (CADS) in Chapter 9 is drawn from two related articles I published on CADS in Munro, (1997a) "Narratives of protest: Television's representation of an animal liberation campaign", *Media International Australia*, 83, 103-112 and Munro (1997b) "Framing cruelty: The construction of duck shooting as a social problem", *Society & Animals*, Vol 5, No 2, pp. 137-154.

Finally, this thesis has not been accepted or submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Signature:

A solid black rectangular box used to redact the author's signature.

Date:

15. 8.02

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people I wish to acknowledge for their help in the production of this thesis. The School of Humanities, Communications and Social Sciences (HUMCASS) has hosted several forums at which I have been able to present work in progress; I have benefited from the discussions and am grateful to the participants who took an interest in my ideas. Among these I would like to mention my former colleagues Peter Farago, Ian Hamilton and Mark Vitlin as well as my current colleagues Harry Ballis, Marion Collis, Simon Cooper, Vaughan Higgins, Steve Russell, John Schmuttermair, Darryn Snell and Sue Yell. Stephen Mennell and Naomi White were involved briefly as supervisors when I commenced my study of the animal movement. All of these individuals read and commented on chapters in the thesis or offered helpful comments on my work. Thanks also to the library staff at Monash University Gippsland – especially Xandria Hughes, Malcolm Home, Jane Purton, Gary Weston and the documentary delivery service – for their assistance in tracking down otherwise inaccessible sources. Gary Weston was a sceptical critic of the concept of animal rights but was willing to keep an eye out for the latest material on the topic, despite his reservations.

I also gratefully acknowledge Monash University for its support in providing release from teaching duties during the second semester of 1996 which allowed me to carry out interviews in England and the United States. HUMCASS also provided a number of small grants that paid for the services of expert typing assistance; here I would like to thank Heather Slater for typing so accurately hundreds of pages of interview transcripts. It goes without saying that I am grateful to the many survey

respondents and the 53 interviewees who provided the raw data for the thesis. In this connection I acknowledge the support of three animal protectors: Glenys Oogjes from Animals Australia, Joan Court of Animal Rights Cambridge and Adele Douglass of the American Humane Association, all of whom facilitated the survey and many of the interviews.

Finally, I am very grateful to my chief supervisor, Ray Jureidini and my associate supervisor, Maryanne Dever for their professional guidance. Ray continued to assist me after he left Monash University to take up a position at the American University of Beirut and stayed with the project until the end. Both Ray and Maryanne have been most helpful in seeing the thesis through to submission.



## INTRODUCTION

*Beasts abstract not* (John Locke)

According to Freud, people need love and work to give their lives meaning. Intuitively, the idea is sound and a moment's reflection should convince most people that love and work are central to most people's well being. If love and work help to make people's lives meaningful, then we can expect that people will seek every opportunity to maximise both in their everyday lives – even in their extracurricular activities encompassing such things as leisure and social and political pursuits. I was not consciously aware of the possibilities of the love/work couplet when I began the research for this study. Yet, on reflection, the questions I asked of my informants in the interviews could be seen as an exploration of the relationship between commitment and campaigning, which is a more formal description of the notion of love and work in social movement participation. The initial research proposal I drew up seeking approval from the University's Ethics Committee was called "Animal liberationists and their campaigns". From the outset, the focus was on the individual animal liberationists (their personal background, motives, involvement and commitment to the movement etc) and what they did in their campaigns (the actual work involved in being an activist or advocate). The research question which frames the thesis is "Why and how do people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own?" Questions used in the interview schedule focused on the meaning of animal activism and the nature of the key campaigns ; the *why* and *how* of social movement involvement are therefore central to

the thesis and corresponds to new social movement theory and resource mobilisation theory respectively.

The thesis contends that people support the animal movement because of their abhorrence of cruelty, of what the animal movement labels as speciesism. While speciesism comes in many forms, there are three main practices – vivisection, factory farming and bloodsports – which have been identified as the worst abuses and hence the seminal campaigns of animal rights activism. Animal movement supporters want people to see animal abuse in these contexts as a social problem not unlike child abuse, spouse abuse or elder abuse; that is, as morally objectionable because the victims are vulnerable populations of human and non human animals.

Eyerman and Jamieson (1991: 56) have pointed out that not every problem generates a social movement, and it is only those social problems that resonate with the public that give rise to social movements. For many people outside the animal movement, the idea that animal experimentation, intensive farming or recreational hunting constitutes a social problem is an alien idea. The core objective of the animal movement is to normalise this alien idea: "If there is a telos of social movement activity then it is the normalisation of previously exotic issues and groups" (Scott, 1990). The purpose of the animal movement and its campaigns is to deviantise the "legitimate" practices of animal researchers, farmers and hunters as social problems that require a social solution. By problematising activities that are taken for granted by most people, activists seek to change the way people think about animals and their treatment.

How social movements achieve their objectives constitutes the second theme in this study. Tilly (1985) contends that a movement is what it does rather than why it does it. The position taken in the present study is that both are important since one needs

to know why people act as they do if one is to have a deeper understanding of social movement activism. Even so, Tilly's point is well taken and there is more emphasis in the thesis on the "how" rather than the "why" of animal activism and advocacy. In the case of the animal movement (and other new social movements), activists and advocates engage in social problems work in pressing their collective claims. Social problems work, as conceived in the present study, is broadly defined to include the intellectual, practical and affective dimensions of conventional work. Eyerman and Jamieson (1991: 161) support the idea of new social movement activism as social problems work when they note that social movements provide "public spaces for thinking new thoughts, activating new actors, generating new ideas, in short, constructing new intellectual 'projects'". Similarly, Melucci (1989; 1996) shows how new social movements provide the space for challenging the values and cultural codes of a society. The animal movement does this by raising people's consciousness about cruelty to animals in its various campaigns. It firstly diagnoses speciesism as a social problem – the intellectual work of philosophers and animal advocates - and then sets out to find a solution . The movement's prognosis – its strategies and tactics – is to build single- and multi-issue social movement organisations to press these intellectual and moral claims. This constitutes the practical dimension of the movement's social problems work. Finally, the affective work of the movement is its call to action in which people's emotions are mobilised for the cause.

### **Scope and purpose of the research**

The thesis focuses on the grassroots activism and organisational advocacy of the animal movement in Australia, the UK and the USA. Why these three countries were chosen

needs some explanation. Although legislation to protect animals was first enacted in England, animal protection could be described as an Anglo-American tradition. According to Turner (1980), the Anglo-American world in the nineteenth century was a separate cultural entity within the larger European civilisation. Thus it is not surprising that animal protection in both countries followed a similar pattern. Worster also writes of a distinctive Anglo-American tradition in the ecology movement in the late twentieth century, which while "never wholly a consensus, but withal a single dialogue carried on in a single tongue" (1977:ix).

Australia's early efforts in animal protection were also part of this dialogue. An Australian RSPCA was established in 1891 and by the end of the nineteenth century each of the colonies had its own society modelled after the English parent organization. Like its Anglo-American counterparts, the Australian RSPCA consisted of predominantly middle-class urbanites, although in the Australian case, the RSPCA attracted affluent people from rural areas as well. Historically then, the animal movement has been strongest in the UK, the USA and Australia. The present study says little about the old, welfarist organisations like the RSPCA; instead the focus is on the newer animal rights/liberation groups which developed in the post World War 2 environment in the case study countries.

In concluding this section, I offer a brief explanation as to why I chose this topic for the dissertation. There are two reasons, one personal and the other academic. I begin with the academic.

One of the first full-length books on the sociology of animal rights was Keith Tester's (1991) *Animals and Society: The Humanity of Animal Rights* which was based on the author's doctoral dissertation in sociology. While the book stands out in the

sociological literature as refreshingly different in its approach to animal rights, it seemed to me to have seriously misrepresented the movement as experienced by activists, advocates and supporters. Tester argues that the animal rights movement is not about animal wellbeing at all and is only marginally concerned with animals. "More importantly, it is part of a social project to classify and define humanity. Animals are useful for humans to be able to think human" (Tester 1991:48). Tester claims, without any convincing evidence to support the idea, that "animal rights is not about animals, and as a fetish it is arguing that if we construct a selfhood which is divorced from animals, we will become better human beings" (1991:177). In short, in Tester's view, the animal rights movement is profoundly anthropocentric since its members are concerned only with constructing a more attractive identity and a sense of superiority over lesser humans who eat, hunt, wear and generally use other animals. While identity construction is part of the motivation for animal rights activism, it is not the main motive according to animal protectionists themselves. Insider perspectives are missing in Tester's abstract study; for example, he quotes a single source who evidently had a horror of the sentimental term "animal lover" as evidence of a fetish which permits people who do not necessarily like animals to campaign on their behalf. Had Tester widened his sample, he may have discovered a whole range of views among animal rights supporters. Tester's thesis is seriously flawed because it is too abstract and speculative and pays little attention to the experience of social movement participants. In another doctoral dissertation on animal liberation, Kew has criticised Tester and argues that his thesis on the movement "robs it of its sincerity, identity, ethics and politics" (1999: 147). *Animals and Society* encouraged me to take an entirely different

approach to the animal rights movement, one which is based on the insider accounts of movement supporters, advocates and activists.

On the personal front, I chose to write about the animal protection movement because of a life-long antipathy towards cruelty to animals. Perhaps my primary school education at St. Francis of Assisi's in Brisbane where I recall a picture and stories of the animal-friendly saint was the genesis for this interest in animal welfare. Also, one of my earliest memories was of the acronym RSPCA which no doubt inculcated in my young mind the idea of protecting vulnerable animals. While I have tried to maintain an appropriate level of academic detachment in writing this thesis, this has not always been successful. It will be apparent that my own view as to how we ought to treat other animals is on the side of the animal liberationists rather than on the side of the animal-user industries. Yet the thesis is *about* the animal protection movement, not an argument *for* it; nor has it been my purpose to give "both sides" of the argument on the controversial topics of animal experimentation, intensive farming, hunting and so on. The thesis is after all a study of the animal protection movement from the perspective of its supporters, advocates and activists, although from time to time, some of the views of the movement's critics are discussed. I hope then that my position will be read as somewhere between Stephen Clark, the self-confessed zoophile, and the sceptic Keith Tester; perhaps the designation "critical friend" of the movement best describes the balance I seek to achieve in the thesis.

#### *A Note on Terminology*

It is appropriate at this point to clarify some of the terminology used in the study. Throughout the thesis, the designation "animal movement" will be used as an umbrella term for the more specific terms - animal protection movement, animal welfare

movement, animal liberation movement and animal rights movement, terms which will be used whenever the specific designation is appropriate. The umbrella term is justified for two reasons: firstly to avoid the ideological and definitional quibbles which these specific terms have generated (see for example Francione, 1996) and secondly, the term animal movement is frequently the preferred designation of movement insiders. They prefer this term as they hope to avoid these internal disputes as well as to remind outside observers that the animal movement, as an umbrella term for the specific forms mentioned above, is united in its opposition to cruelty.

The term animal protectionist - which is also a widely accepted umbrella term within the movement - encompasses anyone who supports the animal movement on a continuum from animal welfare through to animal rights. I have taken a slightly different perspective to the continuum as depicted by Jasper and Nelkin (1992:178), who categorise American animal protectionists as welfarists at one end, fundamentalists at the other, and pragmatists in the middle. My study of animal protectionists in the three main sites of animal movement activity in the USA, the UK and Australia broadly agrees with the Jasper and Nelkin typology with one or two modifications. Their pragmatists at mid point on the continuum correspond to the animal liberationists in my study; they are more moderate than the fundamentalists or abolitionists and more radical than the welfarists. I use the term abolitionist in preference to Jasper and Nelkin's term "fundamentalist" since it is a more accurate designation for the adherents of the animal rights philosophy espoused by Tom Regan (1984; 1987). All of these animal protectionists - welfarists, liberationists and abolitionists - follow a non-violent philosophy of animal advocacy and activism which should not be confused with

extremists such as the Animal Liberation Front whose use of violent and illegal tactics places them outside the mainstream movement.

There are a number of ways of defining activists in the social movement literature ranging from generic social movement activism to specific animal rights activism. Oliver and Marwell provide a generic definition in their description of social movement activists as "people who care enough about some issues that they are prepared to incur significant costs and act to achieve their goals" (1992: 252). This generic definition has the advantage of breadth and inclusiveness and incorporates Shapiro's (1994) ingredients of care, action and costs or "tensions" in his terminology. Shapiro's definition has the advantage of specificity but suffers from being overly individualistic and prescriptive. Nonetheless, it is an accurate statement of how his activists experienced activism at a psychological level since 'caring, seeing and seeking' were evidently part of their daily lives. The notion of "the caring sleuth" is also close to what many people inside and outside the movement perceive as the prototype animal rights activist, namely an individual who is prepared to *do* something, no matter what the cost, about animal suffering.

However, the Animals and Social Issues Survey (ASIS) data described in Chapter 3 revealed a further distinction relevant to animal activism. When asked to describe themselves as an activist, an advocate or supporter in the animal movement, 46 percent chose supporter, 33 percent advocate, and only 16 percent activist; some 5 percent described themselves as animal lover, activist and advocate or activist/supporter or some similar combination of these designations. Thus one-third of the ASIS sample saw themselves as advocates compared to one half of the interviewees who used the designation "advocate" rather than "activist" to describe their involvement in the



movement. However, with the exception of the one "supporter" in the sample, all of the interviewees saw themselves as animal protectionists, either in an activist or advocate role.

### **Overview of the thesis**

In what follows I provide a thematic overview of the thesis. Chapter 1 outlines the research question – how and why people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own. An understanding of the "why" and "how" of social movement activism is important in any study of new social movements such as the animal rights movement. The chapter outlines the social constructionist perspective on social problems and the conceptual framework for the thesis. A key concept is the notion of social problems work which is broadly defined to incorporate the main features of social movement activism and advocacy. The epigraph to Chapter 2 notes that modern literature treats animals as a genuine problem and the chapter attempts to show how animals feature in the mainly sociological literature of academic writing. The chapter begins with a discussion of the relevance of social movement theory to the animal problem and how this problem is framed by the movement. The three main approaches to social movement activism – welfarist, liberationist and rightist – are then discussed. Chapter 3 explains the methodology used in writing the thesis. Here I outline the methods used for collecting the relevant data on the movement in the three case study countries.

The remaining chapters are the substantive chapters in the thesis. Chapter 4 paints a broad picture of the role of cruelty and its opposite compassion in what Margalit (1996) calls "a decent society". This chapter explains the origins and nature of speciesism and the structures of dominancy of which it is a part. The chapter also

introduces the concept of caring in the context of animal welfare and rights/liberation. Animal protection as social problems work is one of the key themes to be developed in the thesis and is introduced in this chapter. Chapter 5 describes the movement's diagnosis of cruelty in the three seminal campaigns against vivisection, bloodsports and factory farming. The chapter seeks to explain what activists find objectionable in these socially sanctioned practices. The role of women, particularly in the campaigns against vivisection and factory farming is analysed. Coincidentally, men seem to feature in the anti-hunting campaign described in this chapter and elsewhere in the thesis. This chapter links up with Chapter 6 on the movement's intellectual work or cognitive praxis. Henry Salt's dictum in the epigraph to the chapter – *It was no battle of words in which we were engaged but one of ethical conduct* – serves as a guide to the chapter's themes. The chapter examines animal protection as a calling and activist commitment to the cause. The intellectual work of three multi-issue, national organisations in the three case study countries is analysed in the context of the caring and commitment outlined earlier in the chapter. Chapters 7 and 8 are related chapters on animal protection praxis. Chapter 7 describes the strategies and tactics of animal protection work while Chapter 8 focuses on case studies in the politics of movement relations with the electronic and print media. The affective work of animal protection is the focus of the last substantive chapter. Chapter 9 explains the animal movement's call to action and how it seeks to mobilise support by emotional appeals, dramatic animal images and advertising stories. A case study involving the protection of wildlife is used to illustrate the power of television images for mobilising people's emotions. The conclusion summarises the main themes in the thesis and offers some suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

*I am sure that as long as our movement continues to grow in this way, there will be a world in which the killing and eating of animals is considered as much a sin as theft, pollution or rape (Christine Townend)*

This chapter outlines the research question and the theoretical and conceptual approaches taken in the thesis. The chapter begins with a discussion of some of the possible alternatives to the social construction of social problems/ social movements approach taken in the thesis. Next, the chapter discusses social movement theory and locates the animal rights movement within that theory. The animal movement is described as a kindred spirit of the environmental movement with similar strategies, tactics and arguments. Animal rights, more than most causes, is a social construction. Speciesism is constructed as a social problem by the animal movement in the way that sexism and racism are constructed by the women's and civil rights movements. The chapter explains the approach known as the social construction of social problems and draws a distinction between strict and contextual constructionism. Perhaps controversially, comparisons are made between the linguistic disadvantage of very cognitively disabled people and the plight of non human animals. The comparison is useful for highlighting the virtual invisibility of speciesism or cruelty to animals in the sociological literature. Finally, the chapter outlines the conceptual framework for the thesis and explains the key concept of animal protection as social problems work.

New social movements, writes Burgmann, "champion the interests of those who experience social, political and cultural oppression, whatever their economic circumstances – a black person, a woman, a gay man – or the interests of the human

race, irrespective of class" (1993: 5). The animal protection movement is unique as a new social movement in that its supporters go beyond the species barrier in seeking to promote the interests of non human animals. The research question posed in the thesis is why do people take up the cause of a species that is not their own and how do they prosecute their campaigns on behalf of nonhuman animals. Social problems theory and social movement theory will be drawn upon in addressing these issues. It will be argued that although individuals have different motives for supporting the cause of animals, opposition to speciesism is the thread which unites supporters in the three strands of animal protection, namely animal welfare, animal liberation and animal rights. Collectively, the animal movement's diagnostic frame is to construct speciesism as a social problem on a par with societal ills such as sexism and racism or as expressed in the above epigraph. This means that the animal movement seeks to gain social problems status for its concerns about our (mis)treatment of nonhuman animals in the culturally sanctioned contexts of animal experimentation, intensive farming and recreational hunting.

While much of the movement's diagnostic work is associated with philosophical argumentation by movement entrepreneurs such as Peter Singer and Tom Regan, it is the social problems work of animal activists and advocates which transforms moral ideas into social action. Movement insiders discover, name and frame putative abuses - primarily vivisection, factory farming and bloodsports - as social injustices to be outlawed. How this is achieved is largely determined by the intellectual, practical and affective work of movement actors. Social problems work in these domains - the diagnosis of the problem and the attendant intellectual work - intersect with social movement theory. The practical work of animal activism and advocacy is the

movement's prognostic frame, that is, how it addresses the issue of agency. Mobilising structures in the iconic form of social movement organisations have been developed to organise various grassroots campaigns. Social movement organisations across the animal protection spectrum seek to develop animal-friendly identities and to mobilise emotions and moral capital on behalf of individual animals.

The social construction of social problems/social movements approach which utilises the notion of social problems work therefore informs the present study. Gergen (1999) has mounted a strong defence of constructionism. He argues that in conflicts over domination of the weak by the powerful – whites over blacks, men over women and humans over animals – the science establishment has invariably favoured the dominant group by supplying the technologies of domination, control and exploitation. Gergen claims that constructionist ideas provided “the intellectual ammunition for piercing the armor of scientific neutrality – objectivity beyond neutrality” (1999: 231).

Thus it seems to me that social constructionism is the most promising way to address the research question of how and why people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own. The theoretical approach taken in the thesis will be described in more detail shortly, but first some of the major alternatives are outlined. I argue that while some of these alternatives to social constructionism provide many valuable insights about animal rights issues, they do not address the research question as well or resonate as well with the testimonies of the informants in the study. The alternative perspectives include Eliasian theory (Van Krieken, 2001), Marxist realism (Dickens, 1992; Benton, 1993), feminism and ecofeminism (Vance, 1993), critical theory (Vogel, 1996) and Actor-Network Theory (Michael, 1996). A brief account of these perspectives is given below.

Eliasian theory is most promising in explaining long-term processes such as changing attitudes to animals over the past several centuries. Elias emphasises the importance of shame and changing thresholds of repugnance towards violence during the "civilising process" (Elias, 1978). Elias shows how cruelty and violence to animals including the display of animal bodies at table has come to be seen as repugnant by most people in the West. His theory gives general grounds for finding evidence of a long-term trend associated with "the civilizing of appetite" (Mennell, 1991) and the increasing popularity of vegetarian and vegan diets. Thus meat is purchased in increasingly disguised forms and vegetarian diets become more popular along with demands for the more humane treatment of farmed animals (Fiddes, 1991: 232). Eliasian theory therefore is useful in explaining changes in "the civilising process" as well as being "an analysis of the extent to which we have come to treat each other (and other animals) more humanely..." (Van Krieken, 2001: 365 parenthesis added). However, although as Tester (1991) and Franklin (1996) suggest, Eliasian theory has only limited application to animal rights, it is nonetheless a useful resource for the animal movement, especially for what it has to say about meat eating and vegetarianism.

Marxist realism as espoused by Dickens (1992) and Benton (1993) is another perspective relevant to the issue of animal rights. Both Dickens and Benton discuss the ecological credentials of the early Marx, but neither is convincing to the extent that Marxist realism could serve as the theoretical starting point for an analysis of animal-human relations. Dickens advocates a more dialectical conception of society-nature relations as suggested by the early Marx and in doing so shows that nature has real independent properties which are socially mediated (Martell, 1994: 178). One thinks here of the dialectical effects of the recent outbreak of mad cow disease in the UK and

elsewhere and how nature (animals) rebounded on society when herbivore cows were fed meat products. Unlike Dickens, Benton (1988, 1993, 1995) specifically analyses human-animal relations in a number of articles and books. Benton insists that humans are bound to non human animals in a variety of social relationships such as in nature parks, zoos and circuses, in petkeeping, animal experimentation and intensive farming (1995: 165). In each of these contexts, he argues, animals suffer as property "in ways which parallel (and indeed, are often intertwined with) the effects of relatively powerless humans"(1995: 167). Benton also suggests parallels between "privately" abused pets and humans - usually women and children - abused in domestic contexts. Similarly, he draws parallels between factory farming and the conditions of workers in slaughterhouses and in intensive plants. He seems to hope for the emergence of "affective ties of trust, loyalty, compassion and responsibility" (1995: 175) or a sense of solidarity between workers and animals. Benton however acknowledges that this is not likely to develop given that it is against the interests of workers to exhibit feelings of repugnance or moral disquiet about the condition of animals. Like the perspective outlined above, Marxist realism as espoused by Dickens and Benton provides only a partial understanding of the animal rights controversy as described in the present study.

Feminist writing is particularly relevant to animal rights issues, especially the strand known as ecofeminism. There is now a large ecofeminist literature on animals and the environment (see Vance, 1993 for an outline) which provides an important resource for animal and environmental activists. Cuomo argues that ecofeminism is grounded in the belief "that values, notions of reality, and social practices are related, and that forms of oppression and domination, however historically and culturally distinct, are interlocked and enmeshed" (1998: 1). Feminist environmentalism, she

suggests, begins with noticing similarities and connections between different kinds of oppressions, such as the oppression of women, of animals and of nature more generally. The present study is sympathetic to the ecofeminist critique and explicitly utilises it at various points in the discussion particularly in relation to animal experimentation and intensive farming. However, it did not use feminist theory as the dominant perspective partly because there already existed a large number of studies on animal issues from the feminist standpoint; the approach taken in the present study, while utilising much of the feminist literature, followed a different path. Nonetheless, the feminist critique offers a corrective to mainstream animal rights philosophy. For example, Ruddick (1980) has argued that male animal liberation/rights philosophers such as Peter Singer and Tom Regan rely too much on reason or rationalism and need to consider what she calls a "maternal epistemology" based on an ethic of care and humility.

Critical theory's critique of the domination of nature would seem to offer a possible starting point for an analysis of animal rights. However, critical theory as espoused recently by Juergen Habermas is singularly indifferent to the plight of animals. His theorising is profoundly anthropocentric in that there is no place for non human animals in his analysis. He argues that humans possess a distinctive moral status as the subjects of normative discourse (Vogel, 1996:10). In doing so, he asserts a strong dualism between the natural and the social which environmentalists and animal liberationists challenge. Habermas's *Theory of Communicative Action* advocates a new philosophical paradigm which focuses on the linguistically mediated relations among subjects which by definition can not include animals or other entities. According to Vogel, Habermas trivialises concern for animals as sentimentality about pets and dismisses vegetarianism as an irrational taboo (1996: 153). Habermasian critical theory,



as the most dominant perspective within this tradition, is therefore an inappropriate guide to the study of the animal movement.

Vogel, however, in criticising Habermas, seems to be advocating an approach similar to Actor-Network Theory (ANT) when he argues that it is not that language users have value in themselves, but rather without language there would be no value at all. Or more precisely: "To assert that value can be determined only by humans is not to assert that only humans have value" (1996: 164). Vogel quite clearly believes that it is important to include non human entities such as animals, lakes, mountains and even things – national parks and highways, petri dishes, refrigerators and the like – in sociological theorising.

Perhaps the strongest advocate of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in relation to non human animals is Mike Michael (1996) who with his colleague Lynda Birke has sought to highlight the networks involved in the animal experimentation debate. These networks include scientists, animal technicians, politicians, funding agencies, philosophers, lobbyists, the lay public and of course the laboratory animals ( Michael and Birke, 1994 a,b). Elsewhere, Michael (1996) uses ANT to theorise the construction of human identities in which animals play a relatively autonomous part. He utilises the concept of "the core set" which scientists use to disqualify "unreasonable" others from participation in it, that is, those who do not conform to the norms of "rationality, non-violence, civility and so on" (1996: 97). Thus Michael shows how in interviews with scientists in the animal experimentation debate the public is ascribed identities which disqualify them from offering effective resistance to animal experiments. This is an interesting and important insight which could also be applicable to the debates over intensive farming and recreational hunting. However, as the countermovements against

animal rights are not addressed in the present study, this remains a topic for future research.

The most promising aspect of ANT however lies in its anti-anthropocentric stance. ANT problematises the human/ nonhuman division and opens up a space for including animals in theories about human-animal relations. According to Murdoch (1997: 743), ANT theorists have sought to develop nondualistic accounts of human-non human relations so that society and nature are seen as a couplet or "emergent effects (which) are only stabilised once the network configurations have settled into place" (1997: 743-4). This is a profound challenge to anthropocentric sociology and to the speciesist views advocated by Alan Wolfe (1993) in his *The Human Difference* which is discussed in the next chapter. Murdoch's assessment of ANT is that it forces us to rethink the nature/society couplet by recognising the non human world (1997: 753). For the present study, it offers an additional resource to those who would want to challenge Wolfe's speciesist thesis although this can surely be undermined by the claims of decency alone. The next section looks at the theoretical approach which I believe resonates most with the testimonies and practices of the respondents in this study.

#### **ANIMAL RIGHTS: SOCIAL PROBLEM AND SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM**

This thesis takes an action-oriented, social constructionist approach based on concepts derived from both social movement theory and social problems theory. The thesis is not about "animals" or "rights" per se, but rather about a social movement which seeks to change the way human beings treat other animals. The research question the thesis seeks to answer is - *how* and *why* do people campaign against cruelty to animals? The thesis emphasises the "how" of social movement participation and the "why" or the

motivations for social movement activism since the two questions are invariably intertwined in the everyday activities of activist/advocacy campaigns. To understand how individuals choose their campaign strategies and tactics, one needs to know what motivates their participation in one cause rather than another. In the literature, on the other hand, these issues of strategy and identity tend to be treated as separate by resource mobilisation theorists and proponents of new social movement theory respectively, despite some attempts at integration (eg Eyerman and Jamison, 1991; Canel, 1992; Ingalsbee, 1993-4).

There is considerable debate in the literature about the "newness" of the new social movements of which the peace, women's and environmental movements are the main ones (Canel, 1992). Adam (1993) suggests that a good case can be made for tracing the genealogy of several of these contemporary movements to the decades following the French Revolution and later in the twentieth century when they continued to flourish. The animal movement can be traced back at least to the humane and antivivisection movements of the nineteenth century. Johnston, Larana and Gusfield succinctly describe how old movements take on their contemporary identities: "Even movements with old histories have emerged in new forms with more diffuse goals and different modes of mobilisation and conversion" (1994: 9). The modern day animal movement for example, unlike its predecessors, has a more diverse range of electronic media at its disposal for the purpose of mobilising supporters and converting bystanders to the cause.

Since the 1970s, research on social movements has been dominated by two perspectives – resource mobilisation theory (RMT) and new social movement theory (NSM). The RMT approach focuses on organisational aspects of social movements such

as the role of social movement organisations (SMOs) and the importance of movement entrepreneurs, leaders and activists (Pakulski, 1991: 13). In other words, the theory is concerned with "how" social movements mobilise to achieve their objectives. In the present study, RMT is used because it focuses on issues of strategy which is one of the above research questions. According to Pakulski, RMT studies "stress the normalcy and rationality of movements, discern their instrumental and rational nature, and, above all, point to their ubiquity and symbiotic relations with conventional politics" (1991: 14).

Dalton's model of Ideologically Structured Action (ISA) was used to analyse how animal SMOs promote the cause of animal rights in the case study countries. This model made it possible to analyse the animal advocacy of key SMOs as distinct from "the possibly amorphous nature of the underlying social movement" (Dalton, 1994: 7). The model facilitated the study of how the organisational wing of the animal movement performed in terms of mobilising support, developing strategies and tactics and influencing policy. "The existence of a full-time professional staff makes a crucial threshold for an organisation, providing a continuity that enables the group to compete in the long process of policy formation" (Dalton, 1994: 97). There is a danger however in emphasising an organisational focus of social movements which Pakulski (1991: 14) sees as RMT's tendency to "domesticate" and "over-instrumentalise" social movements. Furthermore, as Melucci (1984: 821) has pointed out, RMT fails to address the "why" question in the study of social movements. This issue is the focus of new social movement theory.

New social movement theory is concerned with the role of ideas and cultural processes in the emergence of social movements. These cultural processes include framing processes and the availability of master frames which a movement can use to

mobilise support for its cause. In the case of the animal movement, a "civil rights" master frame has been used since the 1970s to press the movement's claims, specifically in terms of animals' rights. Melucci (1989) has argued that the *raison d'être* of a social movement is to challenge the dominant values and cultural codes of a society. As a new social movement, the animal rights movement challenges the meanings people attribute to non human animals as well as the moral orthodoxy that animals matter but not as much as humans. It is a basic premise in this thesis that it does this via the collective action of organisations along with the grassroots politics of activists who are intent on changing people's attitudes and consciousness with regard to our treatment of non human animals. Byrne makes a related point concerning the identity-oriented (NSM theory) and strategy-oriented (RMT) dimensions of social movements:

From the European perspective, a social movement does not have to be particularly active (in the sense of mounting public campaigns, demonstrations, direct action etc.) to be important; even when apparently dormant, movements can have an impact on what is termed "cultural production", that is they can be influencing the way their own adherents and those opposed to them think about how society should be organised (1997: 38).

In periods of relatively subdued movement activity, a social movement's submerged networks carry on the movement's work in abeyance. "Latency", writes Melucci, "does not mean inactivity. Rather the potential for resistance or opposition is sewn into the very fabric of everyday life" (1989: 70-1). Thus the campaign against duck shooting peaks during the duck hunting season after which the campaign disappears from public view. Between seasons, however, the campaign continues in the submerged networks of everyday life; activists in the Coalition Against Duck Shooting (CADS) continue their work of studying video footage to improve their tactics, lobbying politicians, fundraising and the like. Whether the issue is saving ducks, whales, farm or laboratory animals, the work goes on even in periods when the issue is invisible in the public

domain. As Johnston et al point out, grievances such as saving whales "are so distant from everyday life that they can only remain immediate through their ongoing social construction and reassertion in the group context" (1994: 24). Moreover, as one particular issue lies dormant, others invariably take their place, for as Scott argues, NSMs are not single-issue movements. "Rather, these movements tend to be organised around a range of issues linked to a single broad theme or a broad interest" (1994: 26). Thus the broad issue of animal protection embodies numerous campaigns of which the protests against vivisection, factory farming and bloodsports are the most prominent.

Phillips (1994: 80) has summarised some of the key writers on new social movements in concluding that NSMs are different from other types of movements in three essential ways. The animal movement is clearly characterised by these distinguishing features : First NSMs are post-modern and predominantly post-materialist in orientation; the animal movement seeks to change our cultural sensibilities about animals and is more concerned with changing values than are the older materialist movements. Second, NSMs are made up by the new middle class although they are not driven by class issues; as explained in Chapter 3, the constituency for the animal movement comes predominantly from the new middle class made up of especially well-educated, urban-based women. Finally, the *repertoires* are in the main expressive, unconventional tactics; here the animal movement as described in the present study tends to be a little different to the conventional NSM in that it consists of both an expressive wing which utilises non-conventional tactics and an organisational wing which favours conventional tactics. For most of the time, it is the latter which carries out the social problems work of animal advocacy.

As a social movement, the animal movement is relatively understudied compared to other movements which developed in the West in the second half of this century. According to Marsh (1994:258), there were nine major issue movements that emerged since the 1960s- the women's, peace, environment, consumer, gay rights, animal liberation, ethnic, racial minority, and the "New Right" movements. With the exception of animal liberation, there is a large, sociological literature on all of these movements which suggests that the issue of animal rights has been neglected by sociologists. On a broader front, it is only in the last twenty years that issues associated with nature and the environment have been addressed by sociologists (Buttel, 1987; Laska, 1993). Nonetheless, the animal movement qualifies as a social movement as defined in the sociological literature.

Definitions of social movements abound. An early definition defines a social movement as "a group of people who are organised for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change, who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others, and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated" (Gerlach and Hine, 1970: xvi). According to these criteria, the animal movement is a social movement in that it (a) consists of many grassroots and more formally organised groups which are organised to run specific campaigns; (b) there is a strong ideological consensus in the movement on what constitutes the worst features of speciesism; (c) the animal movement is a way of life and often defines the identity of many of its members; (d) participants are motivated to change their own lifestyles (eg via vegetarianism) and are committed to changing the ways humans treat other animals; (e) movement insiders seek to recruit

others via personal networks; and (f) activists tend to see themselves as targets of established industries (eg agribusiness) and various countermovements. (see Note 1)

The animal movement is sometimes seen as a new social movement (NSM) and as part of the environmental movement (Eckersley, 1992:54) or eco-pax movements (Pakulski, 1991:205). Sutherland and Nash (1994) describe animal rights as "a new environmental cosmology" which Smelser (1996) labels as "neoprimalism" while Eder (1990:31) includes vegetarianism and animal rights as movements against modernity. Sztompka (1993: 281) is more circumspect and includes animal rights demands for bans on experimentation in his list of reform movements, as opposed to radical movements for social change. Castells places the animal movement among the counter-cultural, environmental groups which promote deep ecology and "the green self". He suggests that in the last decade of the twentieth century, the most militant wing of ecological fundamentalism was Animal Liberation in its stance against animal experimentation (Castells, 1997: 117). Similarly, Alan Wolfe (1993:16), a strong critic of animal rights, argues that the defence of nature represents the most striking political development of the latter half of the twentieth century. He nominates ecological and animal rights issues as the fastest-growing political movements in the West. Peter Singer (1992b:vii), whose philosophical position is diametrically opposed to Wolfe's, suggests that animal rights and environmentalism are distinct but related issues. All of these writers agree, then, that the animal movement is a significant movement for change and one deserving serious social-scientific study.

Barrington Moore highlights the significance of movements campaigning against unjust relationships and in doing so, accurately describes the animal movement:

Any political movement against oppression has to develop a new diagnosis as a remedy for existing forms of suffering, a diagnosis and remedy by which this



suffering stands morally condemned. These new moral standards of condemnation constitute the core identity of any oppositional movement (Moore, 1978:88 cited in Gamson, 1985:616).

Although the animal movement is seen by some social scientists as a political movement (eg. Garner, 1993a,b; Wolfe, 1993) and by others as a social and moral movement (eg Richards, 1990; Jasper and Nelkin, 1992), the position I take in the thesis is that the animal movement, broadly defined, is a movement for social change that incorporates both of these dimensions. Rochon (1998: 31) neatly sums up the animal movement when he argues that social movements spread new values throughout society while political movements seek authoritative sanctioning of these values in the form of binding laws and regulations.

As I point out in Chapter 2, however, it is possible to associate these dimensions with different strands of the movement - animal welfare (political orientation), animal rights (moral orientation) and animal liberation (social problems orientation). In practice, animal protectionists use both interest group advocacy and grassroots social movement activism to promote their cause. Animal protection advocates "in the suites" are more inclined to engage in the institutional lobbying associated with party politics, pressure groups and the like while the grassroots animal activists typically confine their activities primarily to the dissemination of values in civil society. According to Rochon, a movement is either political or social depending on whether the legislative route or the strategy of cultural change takes precedence, although in practice "social movements generally have a political agenda and political movements always require manifestations of societal support" (1998: 31). Evidence in the present study reinforces this notion.

As I suggest in the literature review in Chapter 2, movement watchers tend to see various strands in the movement as representing different, but overlapping

orientations to collective behaviour: animal welfare (political movement), animal liberation (social movement) and animal rights (moral crusade). It is argued in the thesis that the animal movement during the past two centuries has been all of these things and that a social problems discourse or orientation – one that includes these distinctive strands of the movement – has characterised animal protection advocacy in its various guises. Kew has argued that from the time of Henry Salt in the late nineteenth century up to the 1960s, animal exploitation has been identified as a social problem and as “part of a soulless, technocratic ethos against which many more, especially younger, people were protesting from different platforms” (1999: 88-9). Melucci sees these struggles in new social movements as struggles over identity which “push others to recognize something they themselves recognize; (in doing so) they struggle to affirm what others deny” (1989: 46). This is what constitutes the social problems work in animal protection that I describe in the substantive chapters which follow.

The study includes the perspectives of individuals and groups represented on the animal protection continuum. Animal welfarists from organisations such as the RSPCA in the UK and Australia and the SPCA in the USA oppose cruelty to animals but are not against using animals for food, in research, for hunting or recreation as long as the treatment of animals in these contexts is humane and the animals do not suffer unnecessarily. Animal liberationists espouse Peter Singer’s (1975) utilitarian philosophy in seeking a balance between the interests of humans and other animals by advocating the abolition of the most inhumane forms of animal exploitation. Thus factory farming is seen as morally repugnant, but not traditional farming; recreational hunting is condemned but not subsistence hunting by say, indigenous peoples; and in the vexed issue of animal research, animal liberationists seek a compromise with anima!

experimentalists based on the 3 Rs - reducing, refining and replacing the use of animals with alternatives. Following Regan (1984,1987), animal rightists reject the pragmatism of animal liberation and argue instead for the abolition of all practices in which humans use other animals, including pet-keeping. Regan's agenda is absolute and abolitionist and calls for "total abolition of the use of animals in science; the total dissolution of commercial animal agriculture; the total elimination of commercial and sport hunting and trapping" (Regan, 1985: 13).

In this thesis the term animal liberation will be used to designate a political and social movement "to abolish the major Western institutions of animal exploitation, namely animal farming, vivisection and sport hunting" (Luke, 1995: 203). These are the main abuses identified by movement insiders such as Ryder (1996: 169) on which the thesis focuses. However I would qualify Luke's description by inserting "the worst abuses" after "abolish" to distinguish animal liberation activism from the more radical abolitionist stance of the animal rightists. Furthermore, animal "liberation" is seen as a more accurate term than "rights" by at least one critic of the movement (Leahy in Leahy and Cohn-Sherbok, 1996) for reasons that are explained in the next chapter.

The main campaigns of the animal liberation movement have been directed against the excesses of animal experimentation, intensive farming and recreational hunting rather than demanding their total abolition. Unlike other practices which the animal movement opposes such as animals in zoos and circuses, in steeple jumping and so on, the triad of laboratory animals, farm animals and hunted animals are the animal liberation movement's most important beneficiaries since these animals suffer and die as a consequence of human intervention. According to Flynn (2001), it is the death and suffering of animals which makes animal exploitation a serious social problem. This is a

claim that was supported by the vast majority of movement insiders interviewed in the present study.

Elsewhere I describe how the animal movement emerged in the 1970s after several decades of virtual dormancy. (see Note 2) According to Magel (1989:x) the term "rights" was first used in English in relation to animals as far back as 1683. The origins of the modern animal movement can be traced back to changing attitudes toward nonhuman nature since the sixteenth century (see Thomas, 1983) through to the Anglo-American antivivisection and anti-cruelty movements of the nineteenth century. Animal advocacy was transplanted via the RSPCA in Australia during the latter part of the nineteenth century when animal protectionists and conservationists enjoyed a marriage of mutual convenience (MacCulloch, 1993). Grassroots animal activism had to wait until the publication of Singer's (1975) *Animal Liberation* for the launching of the modern animal movement (Jasper and Nelkin, 1992). In the thesis, then, the discussion of the animal movement is confined to what are generally held to be the three main sites of animal rights advocacy and activism, namely the UK, the USA and Australia.

According to Turner and Killian, a social movement is inconceivable without a grievance concerning some practice or idea which is thought to be wrong and ought to be remedied: "The common element in the norms of most, and probably all, movements is the conviction that existing conditions are unjust" (1987:242). They note that the task for social movement scholars is to explain why one deserving case may be seen as unjust and another not and why the sense of injustice, which may have always existed, emerges when it does. Turner and Killian's (1987) conception of the sense of injustice as an emergent norm in social movements is supported by Gamson, who points out that the injustice frame involves a sense of moral indignation from movement adherents,

"one that is laden with emotion", "the righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul" (1992a:7,32). Gamson could be thinking of the animal movement when he writes: "At the other extreme, if one attributes undeserved suffering to malicious or selfish acts by clearly identifiable persons or groups, the emotional component of an injustice frame will almost certainly be there" (1992a:32). Gamson acknowledges that injustice is so widespread that it may lack explanatory power unless there is an analysis of how "grievances and discontent (are) defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organisations" (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1215).

One of the two main themes in this thesis is to show how issue entrepreneurs are engaged in constructing cruelty to animals as a social problem. It will be argued that despite the ubiquity of social injustice in the world, few social movements encapsulate the sentiments raised by Turner and Killian (1986) and Gamson (1992a) more than the contemporary animal movement. Activists and advocates invariably perceive nonhuman animals as "innocents" and their campaigns are driven by a desire to end what they see as massive injustices perpetrated by human beings against other animals. Clearly, the idea of extending rights or social justice to nonhuman animals is not accepted in some quarters (see Note 3)

Animal protectionists and environmentalists engage in campaigns to defend nature against the claims of human exceptionalism, that humans are *above* nature, neither responsible to it nor for it. The animal movement seeks to construct institutional violence against individual animals as a social problem that is linked to the environmentalists' grievance against the abuse and exploitation of nature as measured by the destruction of species and habitats. Ideological differences between the environmental and animal liberation movements turn on this individual animal versus

species focus. For environmentalists, the animal liberationists' defence of the interests of an individual animal, is disparaged as "sentimental anthropomorphism". Animal liberationists maintain that environmentalists concerned only with the survival of a species, demonstrate an indifference to "the faces in the mob" which borders of ecofascism. Occasionally, these conflicts surface in the media and in popular literature. (see Note 4 ).

Yet despite these differences, animal protectionists and environmentalists are really different shades of green rather than different colors of the spectrum. For as Benton and Redfearn point out

...the new 'green sensibilities' do converge with the politics of animal welfare in their shared rejection of the hitherto hegemonic conception of humans as set apart from and above the rest of nature" (Benton and Redfearn, 1996: 48).

The defence of nature provides both movements with a common goal; animal liberationists and environmentalists use similar strategies, tactics and arguments in pressing their claims. The animal liberation movement claims that speciesism in its various forms constitutes a social problem in the same way that environmental problems such as pollution, toxic wastes or species extinction are theorised as social problems (Yearley, 1992; Hannigan, 1995). In short, the animal liberation movement is firmly grounded within a sociological paradigm, the chief features of which I take up in the rest of the chapter.

### **A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE**

Given the widespread use of social constructionism in the social sciences, it is not surprising that there are variations in the way term is used; "constructionism" or "constructivism" sometimes stands alone or is preceded by the adjective "social"

without any indication of what the differences might mean ; more often than not, as in the present thesis, the terms are used to mean the same thing. According to Burningham and Cooper (1999: 313), there is no clear rationale for these variations.

In the social constructionist perspective, social problems are understood as being formed by the power of certain groups to define a particular issue as a problem that needs to be remedied. "The social constructionist branch of social movement theory emphasises that all social problems are socially constructed rather than being objective phenomena" (Stevenson and Greenberg, 2000: 656). A social constructionist approach which draws on social problems theory and social movement theory provides the most sociologically promising way to analyse the animal movement. For Mauss (1989) social problems and social movements are one and the same thing or "alternative features of the same reality" (Bash, 1995: 248) while for Troyer (1989), they are distinct phenomena ; and, according to Troyer, it is the differences that enhance their usefulness to sociologists. Troyer's is the more plausible argument, since the units of analysis in social problems and social movement research are sufficiently different to effectively question Mauss's assertion to the contrary. However, McCright and Dunlap (2000) have recently shown that both traditions have much in common and can be used to complement one another. Jenness (1995) also convincingly argues that "it is beyond dispute that the social constructionist approach to social problems is (at least) compatible with the study of social movements". To paraphrase Jenness, using both theoretical traditions leads to an analysis of how a movement defines reality, forms interest groups, mobilises resources, public opinion and other processes which are crucial to the study of both social problems and social movements. In the present study,

I show how both traditions can be combined using the concept of social problems work to describe the everyday praxis of movement insiders.

The uniqueness of animal rights as a social movement, the focus of which is the liberation of nonhuman animals, calls for an approach which addresses the question of how and why people in the movement engage in what some see as a utopian, if not impossible project. Social movement theory in combination with concepts drawn from social problems theory will be used to address these questions. The advantage of social movement theory is succinctly stated by Stevenson and Greenberg : "Social movement theories avoid the problem of structural determinism by emphasising the actions of those with relatively little power initially who band together... to engage in strategies to accomplish goals" (2000: 654). Issue entrepreneurs in the animal movement construct speciesism as a social injustice and as morally reprehensible as intraspecies abuse; while racism, sexism and the related phenomenon of hate crimes as well as child abuse and so on are now acknowledged as serious social problems, the death, exploitation and suffering of animals in bloodsports, vivisection and factory farming are not. The task for animal liberationists is to convince people outside the movement that animals are sentient beings deserving moral consideration rather than commodification as sporting trophies, "test tubes on legs", or meat. Put differently, the task is to define this commodification process as deviant and to challenge the countermovements which seek to preserve these culturally sanctioned uses of animals. This thesis focuses on the animal movement's challenge to speciesism; for reasons of space, it does not address the countermovement backlash to its campaigns. (see Note 5).

Social movement organisations are the mobilising structures used by animal liberationists in pressing their claims on behalf of nonhuman animals. This thesis will



show how the success of the animal liberation movement in challenging anthropocentric and speciesist beliefs and practices depends on how effective movement entrepreneurs are in constructing speciesism (primarily in sport hunting, animal experimentation and intensive farming) as a social problem within the context of social movement organisations. This approach is based on contextual constructionism which I argue is much more useful than the strict constructionism of, for example, Tester's (1991) *Animals and Society* which I discuss in Chapter 2. Even so, objective conditions alone do not constitute social problems. "The basic point of constructivism is that it tries to demonstrate that social problems are not objectively given" (Hjelmar, 1996: 176). Animal exploitation must be identified and demonstrated as a social problem by issue entrepreneurs in much the same way that environmental problems are increasingly seen as social problems (Yearley, 1992; Hannigan, 1995). For example, the philosopher John Passmore argues that an ecological problem is a special type of social problem, which like more conventional social problems - "alcoholism, crime, deaths on the road - we believe that our society would be better off without" (1980: 43). Like other forms of abuse that cause suffering and pain to their victims - such as child abuse, elder abuse, and hate crimes against minorities - the abuse of animals has to be constructed as a social problem by issue entrepreneurs before the abusive condition is accepted as such.

#### *The social construction of social problems*

Social constructionism came to prominence in sociology when Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that social reality is constructed when individuals and groups create knowledge by interpreting the world in different ways according to the particular socio-historical context in which meanings are attributed. Their sociology of knowledge represents the classical sociological approach which others have since adapted in

disciplines that include anthropology, psychology, environmental history, geography and philosophy (Scarce, 1997:131).

The virtual invisibility of speciesism in the sociological and the social problems literature in comparison to the ubiquity of race, ethnic and gender relations raises further questions about power relations within academic disciplines. For example, how do sociologists attend to the effects of structures of domination and oppression on the most vulnerable of populations such as children, the homeless, the very intellectually disadvantaged and animals? In his advocacy on behalf of very cognitively disabled people Watson (1996) points to a flaw in the discipline's sensibility that renders vulnerable groups invisible. Watson is critical of how extremely powerless groups are neglected in academic sociology and suggests that the neglect is due to "sociological sensibility" which is sensitive only to "significant social-historical forces or processes" (such as the rise of workers', civil rights, women's movements) and oppressed groups who can speak for themselves (1996: 231). Unlike gays, lesbians, ethnic minorities, black women and so on, very cognitively disabled people are unable to do this.

The linguistic disadvantage of very cognitively disabled people has obvious parallels with the plight of nonhuman animals unable to speak for themselves. It is for this reason that animal liberation philosophers and scholars have called for a new sensibility towards animals that emphasises sentience rather than reason as the basis for our ethical treatment of the linguistically disadvantaged, human and nonhuman alike (Singer, 1975, 1990; Martell, 1994). While Watson makes no mention of nonhuman animals in his paper, it requires only a moment's reflection to acknowledge that logically, they deserve to be included in his advocacy of the "ethical practice of social and academic problem identification, informed by the notion of caring" (1996: 232).

Collins (1989) calls for an "overarching ethical framework" where the suffering of the silent - oppressed black women in her study - is treated as a social problem. Similarly, Miller (1993) takes up the cause of extremely powerless groups by focussing on invisible "ways of talking" via artful forms of expression such as gossip, music, humour, alternative dress codes and the like. Yet as Watson notes, neither Collins' nor Miller's methods for the defence of the marginalised, dependent as they are on language, can accommodate the needs of very cognitively disabled people. Nonhuman animals like these humans, are, to use Watson's phrase, "the most silent constituencies" (1996: 237). Ironically, in the case of animals, their inability to use language is what draws many animal protectionists to their defence. James Serpell has sensitively and accurately suggested why it is that animals, in spite of being denied moral status because they lack language, mean so much to millions of ordinary people:

Lacking the power of speech, animals cannot participate in conversation or debate, but by the same token, they do not judge us, criticize us, lie to us or betray our trust. Because it is mute and non-judgemental, their affection is seen as sincere, innocent, and without pretence (Serpell, 1986:114).

Serpell's remarks suggest that nonhuman animals may be more advantaged than Watson's very cognitively disabled people who according to him are not taken seriously as a social-political force in the way that other marginalised groups are. Watson argues that critical social scientists often act as supporters and advocates of disadvantaged groups but use the claims and grievances made by the socially vulnerable themselves. He insists "they never begin with silence because that would represent a drift from emancipation to paternalism" but rather defer to the "voice" of their research subjects, such as the disabled, blacks, poor people and so on (1996:240). For this reason, very cognitively disabled people do not exist as potential subjects of critical sociological research. The spectre of paternalism might also explain the virtual invisibility of animals

in sociological research; during the course of my research , it was sometimes been suggested to me by academic colleagues that the animal movement is profoundly paternalistic since its beneficiaries are unable to accept or decline advocacy on their behalf. My response to this is that animal protection activism and advocacy is necessarily paternalistic, in the same way that the efforts of advocates for the rights of children, the very cognitively disabled or political prisoners are. Animal protectionists, as their name suggests, believe that paternalism, via protectionism, is a lesser evil than moral apathy.

Watson's appeal is for a new sociological sensibility which includes the ethic of caring but again the inherent asymmetries of power in the notion of caring are problematic, given "the dangers of paternalistic objectification of powerless research subjects and the consequent legitimation of brutal interventions" (1996: 241). Watson seems to believe that in the case of very cognitively disabled people, caring does not always have to mean social control or brutal interventions in people's lives. Similarly, many prominent animal rights advocates argue that the most ethical treatment of animals by humans is that we leave them alone. Distancing ourselves from animals is of course not the same as neglect or abuse. On the other hand, rank and file animal protectionists believe that the "brutal interventions" of humans in the lives of animals in animal experimentation for instance, is an abuse and a social problem on a par with child exploitation, elder abuse and so on that is a world apart from these humane interventions designed to liberate animals from exploitation. The issue of caring in protectionist praxis is taken up in Chapter 4. In the next section, the conceptual context for the humane intervention of human beings in the lives of animals is outlined.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Sabloff points out how the discourses of the animal movement are frequently linked to other human struggles for identity: "In doing so, they grant animals a history, a story, another avenue by which their most muted of experiences can enter the realm of public discourse" (2001: 132). The civil rights movement and the women's movement have succeeded in constructing racism and sexism as social problems which represent an injustice to the humanity of those affected by oppressive structures. The animal liberation movement inspired by Singer claims that speciesism is on a par with racism and sexism since they all treat certain animals (blacks, women, nonhuman animals) differently on the basis of morally irrelevant criteria (race, sex, species). In the case of speciesism, the animal liberation movement seeks to change the way humans treat other animals by constructing animal abuse, cruelty and exploitation as a social problem, a formidable task given that the alleged injustice of speciesism involves defending the interests of beings across the species divide. Therefore, the claims-making activities involved in assembling, presenting and contesting arguments about speciesism are crucial to the success of the movement.

Social problems theory focuses on the claims-making activities of individuals and groups like animal liberationists in relation to how they discover, name and frame speciesism as a social problem that must be remedied in the interests of social justice. The exploitation of animals by humans is long on pedigree, but the most institutionalised forms of alleged animal abuse - intensive farming and animal experimentation - were "discovered" and named as social problems after the Industrial Revolution. The term "speciesism" was first coined in the early 1970s by Richard Ryder to describe such practices. Singer borrowed the term and defined it as "a

prejudice or attitude of bias toward the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species" (1975:7). He identified the animal research laboratory and the factory farm as the quintessential symbols of speciesism in contemporary society. Elsewhere, Singer has described wildlife extinction by hunters as "the ultimate form of speciesism" (1995a: 70). For most animal rights philosophers (for example Luke, 1995) and activists (for example Huskisson in McDonald, 1994:78 and Ryder, 1996), bloodsports, factory farming and vivisection are the three most important forms of animal abuse which they seek to expose to the public.

Historically, animal protectionists have been engaged in challenging power relations in these main practices in which humans use other animals. In at least two of the main locations of animal rights activism, Australia and the USA, there is a remarkable degree of ideological consensus on what constitutes the worst forms of speciesism. An explanation for this can be found in the way animal protectionism developed as an Anglo-American tradition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the late nineteenth century, Australia was also to share this tradition.

Blacks, women and nonhuman animals share the status of victims when discriminated against on the basis of the morally irrelevant criteria of color, sex and species. For Elizabeth Clark, pain is the link between these movements: "What these movements had in common", she suggests, "is a rejection of not just cruelty between sentient beings, but of cruelty in relationships of power" (Clark, 1995:488).

In opposing cruelty, and unnecessary pain and suffering, animal protectionists are following in the footsteps of the reformers in the humane movements of the nineteenth century who sought to reform the legal system which, despite a constitutional ban on "cruel and unusual punishment", did not protect people in status relationships

such as master/slave and husband/wife (see Elizabeth Clark, 1995). In the aftermath of these two major liberation movements, the revulsion from cruelty against blacks and women – and increasingly against some animals – is now a prevailing norm in most industrialised societies of the early 21st century. Thus while cruel practices have largely disappeared, the discrimination and prejudice associated with racism and sexism have not. Cruelty to animals, on the other hand is still widespread and institutionalised due to the prevalence of anthropocentric thinking, ingrained economic interests, and what more recently has been called “speciesism”, a concept which social problems scholars include along with the more conventional social problems of racism, sexism and ageism (Ibarra and Kitsuse, 1993: 34). Animal liberationists tend to avoid the inelegant term speciesism for the more euphonious, everyday words “cruelty”, “abuse”, “exploitation”, “maltreatment”, “injustice” and “violence” or “institutionalised violence”. Central to Singer’s argument against speciesism is the idea that animals are sentient beings who experience pain during their confinement and treatment in research laboratories and factory farms. According to Martell (1994), Singer’s sentient-centric version of animal liberation is located between anthropocentrism and ecocentrism on the environmental continuum:

**Figure 1.1:** Conceptualising the human/ animal relationship in the environmental and animal protection movements

Types of environmentalism	Basis of human/animal relation	Animal protection orientation
anthropocentric	difference	animal welfare
sentient-centric	similitude	animal liberation
ecocentric	sameness/interdependence	animal rights

Source: The column on the left is adapted from Martell (1994)

Luc Ferry (1995) describes the ideologies in the left column as “the three ecologies”, noting that the second perspective, the sentient-centric, is a common feature

of the Anglo-Saxon world "where it is the basis of the enormous animal liberation movement...." (1995:xxiii). Eckersley (1992) also agrees that animal liberation is a type of environmentalism, but suggests that the central importance of sentience renders it insufficient as a philosophy on which to defend nature in all of its manifestations. Animal liberationists would contend that from their point of view, mainstream environmentalism is deeply anthropocentric and hence unsuitable for challenging speciesism. While environmentalists and animal liberationists are kindred spirits, they see the human - animal relationship in quite distinctive ways as indicated in Figure 1.1. In anthropocentric thinking - best exemplified by Wolfe (1993) in *The Human Difference* - humans and animals are perceived as utterly different. In this dominant paradigm, animals deserve kindness rather than rights and their interests are always subordinated to the demands of human welfare. This corresponds to the most moderate form of animal protection as represented by animal welfarism as shown in Figure 1. For many people outside these movements, the first row in Figure 1 represents moral orthodoxy which Clark (1997) calls "the 'norm' of *moderate* concern for animals". At the opposite end of the continuum, ecocentrists associated with deep ecology, emphasise the interdependence of all living things and like animal rights advocates, insist that animals have the same rights as other species (Lovelock, 1988: 236). But in contrast to animal rightists, they seek to protect species and habitats rather than individual animals. Animal liberationists fall in between by claiming that humans and animals are similar beings in that both are sentient and have an interest in avoiding pain and suffering.

For most of the animal protectionists in the present study, the animal liberation perspective was the most common position, one that goes further than the moral orthodoxy of animal welfarism but not as far as the doctrine of animal rights. While this



suggests animal liberationists are neatly positioned midway between the extremes shown in Figure 1, it does not mean that they prefer "the middle way" advocated by scientists sympathetic to the wellbeing of animals (eg Webster, 1994). More important to animal liberationists is the pragmatism of their approach which offers the prospect of finding common ground with like-minded groups in other social movements (see Note 6). To be sure, their emphasis on the importance of sentience excludes moral consideration of mountains, rivers, forests and the like - except as habitats for sentient creatures - which sets them apart from environmentalists. More importantly, however, a sentience-centred approach allows the animal liberation movement to argue that discrimination against animals constitutes an injustice just as it does when women or blacks are the victims of oppression. Pain and suffering have featured prominently in the campaigns initiated by reformers in all three movements to promote "the sacred rights of the weak" (Clark, 1995).

Animal liberationists, like Townend in the epigraph to this chapter, also contend that interspecies abuse is no different as a social problem to the abuse of humans by other humans, such as child abuse (see Ascione and Arkow, 1999). But while there are virtually no defenders of intraspecies abuse, the abuse of animals is institutionalised in factory farming and animal experimentation and, in the case of bloodsports, is innocently labelled "recreational hunting". Furthermore, the commodification of animals as meat, fur, research tools, hunting trophies and the like, is widely accepted as legitimate by people who have a vested interest in the exploitation of animals as resources. Animal liberationists seek to stigmatise these "normal" practices by constructing speciesism as a social problem and by challenging the systems of oppression upon which the practices are based. Put another way, the animal movement

targets the institutional roots of interspecies exploitation by designating "factory farming", "vivisection" and "bloodsports" as cruel and unnecessary exploitation of sentient creatures with serious moral and social consequences for humans.

### ANIMAL PROTECTION PRAXIS AS SOCIAL PROBLEMS WORK

*We cannot control the result of our work, but we can know that we are doing important work, life-changing, life-saving work* (Carol Adams, vegetarian-animal rights advocate)

Because of the widespread societal indifference to animal cruelty as a social problem noted by Arluke and Luke (1997), the animal protection movement for the past two hundred years has been characterised by a social problems discourse. Animal protection work, it will be argued in the thesis, is a classic example of social problems work, the purpose of which has been to transform the concerns of individuals troubled by our treatment of animals and indifference to them, into a public issue.

From the early nineteenth century pioneers in the humane and antivivisection movements to contemporary animal protectors in the US, UK and Australia, animal protection campaigns against the exploitation of animals can be read as social problems work. Franklin (1999: 197) suggests that in postmodern times particularly, animals provide people with the opportunity to do "good works" and to engage in morally unambiguous projects such as animal rescue and rehabilitation. While this is true for the animal welfare strand of the movement, animal liberation campaigns go beyond the saving of individual animals that is the focus of animal welfarists; for the animal liberationist, the target is the institutionalised cruelty inherent in the mass, industrialised commodification and production of animals. Unlike the "good works" of rescue and

rehabilitation of individual animals, campaigns against institutionalised cruelty in intensive farming, vivisection and recreational hunting are contested and have spawned formidable countermovements that challenge the morality of the movement's claims . On the other hand, the existence of a movement-countermovement field of conflict further demonstrates the relevance of social problems work in conscience movements where different sides make moral claims about the righteousness of their cause.

Holstein and Miller (1993) and Miller and Holstein (1997) have produced the most comprehensive account to date of the notion of social problems work. They define this work as "the interpretive activity we undertake to produce a sense of meaningful everyday reality.... We accomplish social problems as we communicate about, categorize, organize, argue, and persuade one another that social problems really do exist" (1997: ix). Such conversations demonstrate how social issues can be defined as problems or nonproblems. The (ab)use of animals is a classic instance of this process since outside the animal liberation movement, the treatment of animals is largely deemed noncontroversial. Holstein and Miller emphasise that defining what is or what is not a social problem or how particular definitions gain popular currency are only part of the process of social problems work. They suggest a number of ways for analysing social problems work, especially in human service and social control settings. However, they point out that while these contexts are rich in the opportunities they provide for social problems work, the concept has application wherever there is dissatisfaction with a putative social condition. They define social problems work as:

*...any and all activity implicated in the recognition, identification, and definition of conditions that are called 'social problems'. Social problems work can be any human activity contributing to the practical 'creation' or understanding of an instance of a social problem (Miller and Holstein, 1989: 5).*

Tesh suggests a number of activities which represent social problems work in the environmental movement. This kind of work occurs when people

... do such things as put recycling bins out on their curbs for pickup, defend environmentalist principles in conversations with friends and family or wear t-shirts with environmentalist slogans... The recycling bins are symbols of environmental problems and solutions. The conversations are lessons. The t-shirts are walking billboards (2000: 135).

Similar activities are common to the everyday social problems work of people who seek to promote the cause of animals – shopping around for free-range eggs, giving a home to a lost or injured animal or doing a host of activities from the tactical repertoire of the movement (see Figure 7. 1 in Chapter 7). The activities nominated by Tesh are everyday things that individuals do to help the cause. More profound work occurs when activists act collectively in social movement organisations in causes such as the environmental justice movement. People in this movement have campaigned against toxic waste dumps by researching public health issues in order to contest dominant interests. This form of social problems work – known as popular or lay epidemiology (Brown, 1995, 1997) – is close to what many activists do in the animal movement especially in the context of challenging scientific expertise.

#### *Social problems work broadly defined*

In the thesis, social problems work is more broadly defined to include not just intellectual claimsmaking activities, but the practical and affective work that activists do to press their claims. In this way, the redefined, expanded concept of social problems work restores a political edge to a field which has been criticised for its political quietism (Burningham and Cooper, 1999: 298). Social problems work, so defined, shares many of the characteristics of conventional work in that it has intellectual,

practical and emotional components as well as intrinsic rewards, if not always the extrinsic economic rewards of labour. These characteristics, it will be argued, correspond to the social movement advocacy and activism described below: intellectual (diagnosis of the social problem), practical (prognosis) and emotional (motivational frame).

In this study I have developed a tripartite model which I believe is helpful for studying the animal movement and other new social movements. The model is derived from the concepts and approaches outlined in Figure 1.2 which social movement scholars, primarily sociologists and political scientists, use to analyse social problems, social movements and social movement organisations. Figure 1.2 summarises some of the main typologies employed by writers whose work has been useful in the present study.

**Figure 1.2:** Typologies of social problems/social movement activist and advocacy work

Theorist	Approaches and Concepts		
Wilson 1973	Diagnosis	Prognosis	Rationale
Snow & Benford 1988	Diagnostic frame	Prognostic frame	Motivational frame
Dalton 1994	Ideology	Structure	Action
Gamson 1992a	Injustice frame	Agency frame	Identity frame
Hannigan 1995	Assembling claims	Presenting claims	Contesting claims
Yearley 1992	Social problems approach	SMOs (media)	SMOs (science/media)
Rochon 1998	Critical communities	Movements	Values diffusion
Tarrow 1994	Political opportunities	Mobilizing structures	Cultural framings
McAdam 1982,		Indigenous	
Tilly 1978	Political opportunities	organisations	Cognitive liberation

For example, Rochon (1998) describes how critical communities and social movements work together to ensure that there will be controversy over something conventionally thought of as unproblematic. This is another way of describing the construction of

issues such as meat eating, zoo keeping, animal experimentation and so on as social problems. Rochon points out that while critical communities develop around problem generation, their work is of little consequence until the issues are taken up by social and political movements. He distinguishes between idea generation, the discourse or claimsmaking of the critical community (the diagnostic frame) and idea diffusion, the movement's rationale for action (the motivational frame) and argues that these two steps are analytically separate, though empirically intertwined (1998: 52-53).

Social movement activism and social problems work in critical communities are closely intertwined in campaigns for social change. As I conceive it in the thesis, social problems work is what activists in social movements do when they engage in social justice campaigns against racism, sexism, speciesism and the like. And whenever an issue such as child abuse, environmental degradation, hate crimes against gays and lesbians and so on becomes the focus of a social movement campaign, activists engage in the social construction of the social problem as a public issue in which the condition is identified and communicated in ways that mobilise support for the cause. This is true also for issues where there are strong countermovements such as in abortion politics where both sides are involved in the social problems work of naming the problem, attributing blame and mobilising support for the cause. Similarly, the animal movement has spawned virulent countermovements which contest its claims concerning animal exploitation.

Increasingly, when countermovements emerge, professionalisation invariably follows as the stakes are increased for both sides and the movements cannot rely on amateurs alone. At the very least, movements turn to "organized and professional amateurism" (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998: 14) to prosecute their claims. There is evidence

in the United States of the increasing professionalisation of the social movement sector (McCarthy and McPhail, 1998: 100) and elsewhere that ordinary people are mobilised by professional cadres whose "vocation" it is to persuade individuals to support various causes. In the animal movement, especially in the United States and to a lesser extent in Australia and the United Kingdom, the trend seems to be towards the professionalisation of animal SMOs. During the 1990s particularly, when there were restricted employment opportunities in the labour markets of Western democracies, many young people turned to the non-profit sector for voluntary or sometimes paid work. Several animal protectionists in this study said they would be prepared to work *gratis* for various animal SMOs while a number of advocates claimed they could earn more money outside the movement but chose the intrinsic rewards of a vocation in animal protection. As Meyer and Tarrow point out, a similar trend is replicated in other social movements as well: "Increasingly, core activists today support themselves through social change efforts, as organizing becomes a career option and social movement-related organizations differentiate" (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998: 14).

There is some evidence that social problems work in the voluntary sector will become more prominent in the future. Jones (1982) has called for a revolutionary rethinking towards the way we think about work. He advocates extending the notion of work to areas which would include social problems work. Here we could include environmental protection, care for the old and sick, and antiracist activities that could be performed and recognised as paid work. Daniels (1987) has put a similar case – appropriately in the journal *Social Problems* – for the "invisible work" typically performed by women. A more comprehensive argument for broadening the notion of work for women and men is Rifkin's (1995) *The End of Work*. Rifkin calls for a

reinvigoration of "the third sector" where voluntary community work creates "social capital" in contrast to the market and public capital produced by the marketplace and state. He refers to several NGOs, nonprofits and civic organisations such as the Peace Corps and Americorps as tools for social reform. Volunteers in these associations are involved in social problems work covering a range of projects concerned with education, the environment, public safety, building shelters for the homeless and the like. Rifkin believes that socially useful work of this kind offers people the most prospects for employment in a future where jobs and careers will become increasingly scarce.

James, Veit and Wright (1997: 311) support the idea of social capital and widening the definition of work to include activities that are purposeful, involve an intellectual and/or manual engagement with a social and natural world beyond the self, and which make a difference to that world resulting in the reproduction or enhancement of social life. They acknowledge that this "cultural-ontological" definition involves a reconstruction of the nature of work that will require open political debate. For many people involved in social movements as activists and advocates as well as volunteers in clubs, associations and NGOs, that debate is an ongoing process.

### **Conclusion**

This introductory chapter began with a discussion of the animal issue as both a social problem and a sociological problem. It was argued that a social constructionist perspective offers the best way of understanding how and why people campaign on behalf of nonhuman animals. The conceptual framework and approach to the social construction of social problems in relation to animal exploitation was outlined. More than most causes, animal rights is a social construction since the movement's



beneficiaries are unable to protest on their own behalf. It will be argued in the thesis that the three main instances of speciesism – intensive farming, animal experimentation and recreational hunting – are constructed as social problems by the animal movement against countermovements which seek to normalise these activities. Animal protection work is therefore a classic example of social problems work within the context of social movements which increasingly have become occupational outlets for social activists engaged in campaigns for social change.

## Endnotes

**Note 1:** I am indebted to Annabelle Sabloff (2001: 118) for this definition and analysis although I have not followed her descriptions of the movement.

**Note 2:** For a more detailed history of the animal movement, see Chapter 1 "A Short History of Animal Protection" in Munro (2001c) *Compassionate Beasts: The Quest for Animal Rights*, Praeger, New York.

**Note 3:** The Australian philosopher John Passmore, for example, refers to the example of the eighteenth century poet William Cowper as representing the limits of what animal liberationists can hope to achieve in the late twentieth century. According to Passmore the non-vegetarian Cowper would not regard as a friend "the man who needlessly sets foot upon a worm"; but neither would he condemn the individual who destroys a destructive worm. Like Hume, Passmore believes it is one thing to claim that we ought to act *humanely* towards animals, quite another to maintain that we ought to act *justly* towards them; thus while accepting that cruelty is wrong does not mean that animals have a *right* to be treated compassionately (1980:216). Passmore's position is that we are responsible *for* nature, not *to* nature as the deep ecologists argue. His stance represents "shallow" environmentalism on the one hand, and moderate animal welfarism on the other, a position which approximates what the philosopher R G Frey (1983) calls, the moral orthodoxy.

**Note 4:** In early 1993 the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC TV) screened *Kangaroo: Faces in the Mob*, a nature documentary made by Film Australia. Following the screening, many viewers complained about the ethics of the film crew when they did not intervene to assist a badly injured "joey". Such was the public response to the programme, the producers felt obliged to compose a six page open letter defending their

non-intervention. For the viewing public, it was the suffering of an individual animal that mattered, not the environmentalists' concern for "the mob".

A more recent example in the popular domain which highlights environmentalist/animal rightist differences and similarities is the conflict described in *A Whale Hunt* (Sullivan, 2000) between the Makah Indians of Neah Bay in the American north-west and animal rights protesters. Although the leading protesters – Paul Watson and the personnel of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society – claim to be conservationists rather than animal welfarists, their determination to stop the hunting of a single grey whale by the hunters places them firmly in same camp as the individual animal-before-species animal protectionists. It is difficult at times to distinguish in this dispute over the hunting of an individual animal between the species-motivated environmentalists and the animal liberationists whose concerns are for the individual animal, rather than the species.

**Note 5:** This issue is treated comprehensively in Munro (1999b) "Contesting moral capital in campaigns against animal liberation", *Society & Animals*, Vol7, No 1, pp 35-53. The paper describes various campaigns in defence of animal experimentation, meat eating and recreational hunting which have been mounted by countermovements in Australia, the UK and the USA. These countermovements engage in social problems work by offering alternative frames to those of animal liberation. This social problems work is characterised in the case study countries by "the common rhetorical strategy of survivalist anthropocentrism" (Munro, 1999b: 50) which includes the use of emotion, vilification, atrocity stories, protest rallies and direct mail.

**Note 6:** In "From vilification to accommodation: The making of a common cause movement" (Munro, 1999a) I argue that it is possible for existing social movements – environmental, animal rights, ecofeminist, consumer, health and social justice

organisations – to form a collaborative coalition as a strategy for challenging certain practices in animal research. The animal protection work of the late Henry Spira highlights the efficacy of forming collaborative coalitions and in moving from vilifying one's opponents to seeking accommodation with them in projects designed to reduce animal suffering.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ANIMAL PROBLEM IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

*Modern literature treats animals as a genuine problem* (Marian Scholtmeijer)

#### A Review of the Literature

One of the difficulties that had to be confronted in this study was what to include in the literature review. Although a sociology of animal protection necessarily involves a study of social movement concepts and theories, it was decided not to focus exclusively on these issues in the literature review. This literature has already reached critical mass; there are several substantial reviews available in journals such as *Social Problems* and *The Sociological Review* while the journal *Social Research* (Winter, 1985) as well as *Sociological Forum* (Vol 14, No 1, 1999) devoted a complete edition to theories of contemporary social movements. Furthermore, *The Annual Review of Sociology* has published several major syntheses of writings by sociologists working on social problems (Schneider, 1985) and social movements (Jenkins, 1983; Pichardo, 1997; Giugni, 1998; Benford and Snow, 2000; Polletta and Jasper, 2001). However, some reference to the social movement literature will contextualise how the "animal problem" has been constructed during the past two centuries. As there is no existing review of the literature dealing with the sociology of the animal protection movement in its historical and social context, this chapter will focus primarily on filling this gap. But first, the social movement literature will be outlined as a context for this more specialised field. The review provides some background clues to the research question by showing why people have been concerned with animal issues in the recent past and how it is has been possible for different stands of the movement to mobilise support for the animal cause.

### **Social movement theory and the animal problem**

In their recent anthology *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) argue that there are three major conceptual domains of modern social movement theory: political opportunities, mobilizing structures and cultural framings. These three core domains constitute the main themes in the contemporary literature on social movements. Broadly defined, these themes address the "when" and "what"(political opportunities), "how" (mobilizing structures) and "why" (cultural framings) of social movement emergence. These are three big research questions around which much of contemporary social movement theory revolves. The concept of political opportunities refers to the timing of collective action and the outcomes of movement activity. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996: 6) note that early work by social movement theorists sought to explain the emergence of particular social movements by focusing on changes in a country's institutional structure or informal power relations. More recently scholars have attempted to account for cross national differences in movement outcomes on the basis of differences in the political characteristics of the relevant nation states. In the present study, these "when" and "what" research questions are not specifically analysed. The focus is instead on the "how" and "why" of movement emergence which constitute the two remaining themes in the social movement literature.

The extent to which social movement theory informs the research questions has been addressed in the previous chapter. There it was explained that the research question – how and why do people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own - is addressed by Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) and New Social Movement theory (NSM) respectively. RMT is concerned with strategy and NSM theory with identity

(Cohen, 1985); both are important in the animal movement's campaigns. According to Foweraker (1995: 13), social movements always engage in struggles over meaning as well as resources, a point which supports Cohen's (1985) and Gamson's (1992b) contention that identity-oriented NSMs and strategy-oriented RMT are not incompatible.

Social movement organisations offer new members a "collective identity" that for many provides the incentive for movement participation. However, as Barnes (1995: 157) points out, the collective identity must match the self-image of potential recruits. Thus the animal movement believes its anti-cruelty message of compassion and kindness to animals resonates with increasingly large numbers of people. In mobilising recruits against speciesism, the animal movement utilises three main mobilising frames, namely animal welfare, animal liberation and animal rights. These are framed to attract different constituencies and to appeal to different aspirations and identities. As explained in the literature review below, the animal welfare identity is essentially moderate while the identities associated with animal liberation and rights are more radical. According to Foweraker (1995: 12), a social movement is always modifying its ideological profile in order to encompass the aspirations of potential supporters. Thus the animal movement frames its campaigns as the political climate requires.

According to McCarthy and Zald (2001), two of the pioneers of RMT, how social movements mobilise different resources is dependent on a number of "scope conditions" the presence of which enhances the likelihood of a movement's success. The conditions include: (1) the existence of a tradition of voluntary participation and a widespread knowledge of how to organise associations; (2) the availability of free speech and freedom of assembly; (3) the ability of the mass media to report on

grievances and protests; (4) the inability of small groups to gain legislative office in an unfavourable electoral system which necessitates mobilization outside the electoral system.

These conditions generally apply in the case study countries where the animal movement is most active. Conversely, in countries which do not have these traditions, animal protection movements barely exist and "the animal problem" as understood in liberal democracies is largely ignored. Where the animal movement is active, activists seek to mobilise a range of resources to press their claims. Cress and Snow (1996) have suggested a typology of resources – moral, material, human and informational – all of which are evident in the campaigning strategies of the contemporary animal movement. Dalton (1994) has shown how ideology shapes a movement's resource mobilisation strategies. In the case of the animal movement, the different ideological strands in the movement – animal welfare, animal rights and animal liberation – seek to mobilise qualitatively different resources. In the latter part of this literature review, it is argued that animal welfarists mobilise essentially political resources and animal rightists are concerned primarily with moral capital while animal liberationists, especially the Australian variety inspired by Singer, are mainly concerned with the mobilisation of informational resources. In the *realpolitik* of animal activism, these distinctions are usually blurred. Nonetheless, they are useful in showing the broad links between movement ideologies and the mobilisation of resources in the animal movement.

According to McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996: 5), much of the most influential work by new social movement theorists focuses primarily on the sources and functions of meaning and identity in social movements. NSM theorists seek to include cultural and ideational dimensions of collective action in their analyses. Essential to this



task is the concept of framing which Snow and his colleagues (1986, 1988, 1992) have developed from Goffman's (1974) work in *Frame Analysis*. As used by Snow and his associates, framing concepts capture the interpretive work of social movement activists (Hunt, Benford and Snow, 1994: 191). In the present study, framing is used in two ways. First, it is argued that animal protectionists have achieved *consensus* mobilisation by framing their campaigns within a social problems discourse that highlights cruelty to individual animals as the movement's central grievance. However, this is not the only construction of animals to have emerged during the last two centuries or so. The review below outlines two further constructions, namely animals as a social problem, and campaigns against cruelty to animals as a social problem. Second, the three core framing tasks – diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing – are seen as interactional accomplishments from which activists derive *action* mobilisation.

It is argued in the thesis proper that animal rights as a new social movement constructs speciesism as a social problem and then acts on that construction in ways that are characteristic of new social movements. Johnston, Larana and Gusfield (1994) list eight such characteristics, most of which apply to the animal rights movement. Among the most important of these are that NSMs are characterised by a pluralism of ideas and values, a focus on issues of identity which are "acted out" in both individual and collective actions, and in the case of ethical vegetarianism, involve personal and intimate aspects of everyday life such as what we eat, wear and enjoy. New social movement organisations also tend to be "segmented, diffuse and decentralized" (1994: 8) and are non violent while simultaneously challenging dominant norms of conduct. In the present study, these dominant norms are represented below in the construction of

animals as a social problem and in the countermovements which construct campaigns against animal exploitation as a social problem. The remainder of this chapter reviews the more specialised literature in the sociology of animal protection.

Animal protection comes in several guises: animal welfare, animal liberation, animal rights and extremist versions of the latter. In comparison to philosophy, the number of scholarly books and articles authored by sociologists on the subject of animal protection is low (Note 1). However, the literature can be categorised according to these three divisions which broadly correspond to the social groups that identify themselves as welfarist, liberationist and rightist within the mainstream animal movement. There is also a smaller literature – which this thesis seeks to expand – concerned with the social construction of animal issues as social problems. I attempt to show in the thesis how social problems work in the animal movement promotes the cause of individual animals by its critique of the underlying structures of domination that perpetuate institutional cruelty against animals. As explained in the previous chapter, in the animal liberation movement inspired by Singer, speciesism is constructed as a social problem in which the oppression and exploitation of animals is challenged by exposing the interconnectedness of dominant attitudes and practices designed to subjugate vulnerable people as well as animals.

It will be argued in the thesis, that a social problems discourse can be discerned throughout the recent history of animal protection. For the moment, I outline the different constructions of social problems discourse in the literature: (1) the anthropomorphic perception of animals as social problems; (2) campaigns against cruelty as a social problem for animal industries; and (3) the exploitation of animals as a social problem for those defending the rights of animals. The first two constructions

represent what Piers Beirne (1995) calls "the twin bastions of speciesism", anthropomorphism and anthropocentrism.

### **Animals as a social problem**

The historian Keith Thomas (1983) points out that prior to the seventeenth century the encroachment of wild animals into human settlements was often seen as a bad omen. Even in Victorian times, he notes, the sight of certain animals in a town "would make healthy men take to their beds" (1983: 78). Hilda Kean (1998) stresses the importance of the role of sight in the relationship between seeing cruelty and creating social change in the cities and towns of the nineteenth century when animals were an integral and highly visible part of urban life. For most people outside the circle of animal protectionists, animals were a social problem as much as a moral problem. People complained of butchers whose slaughtering of animals in the streets of London fouled the thoroughfares and polluted the watersupply (Kean, 1998: 59). Philo identified a number of discourses in nineteenth century London – medical, hygiene, organisational and moral – which coded animals as "impure, polluting, disruptive, and discomforting occupants of city spaces" (1998: 66). In faraway Sydney, city dwellers and visitors alike were confronted with the effluent from animal pens, offal from slaughter yards and animal carcasses that found their way into the waterways. The animal problem was part of the "mental pollution" of the city which early animal protectors sought to clean up (Hutton and Connors, 1999: 81).

Most of the work on animals as social problems has been compiled by anthropologists. This work takes people-wildlife conflict as its focus and covers topics such as animal attacks on people, livestock and crops; competition with humans over

scarce resources; infestations and pestilence; and accidents in the air and on the road involving animals. A recent book in this genre by Knight (2000) covers these human-animal conflicts in a number of contexts including bear-culling in Japan, the killing of wolves by reindeer-herders in Sweden and fox-hunting in England. In the latter instance, foxes are seen as the "natural enemies" of humans because they kill lambs, poultry and game birds owned by humans. In fox-hunting, from the perspective of the hunter at least, "the illegitimate killer becomes an object of legitimate killing" (Marvin, 2000: 208).

The first sociological study of animals as a social problem – and by today's standards probably the most anthropomorphic in the literature – was by the American scholar E P Evans (1906/1998). His *Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals* describes the practice of putting "guilty animals" on trial for various offences from the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century in various parts of Europe. Animals and their crimes included homicide by bees, bulls, horses and snakes; fraud by field mice; infanticide by pigs; and theft by foxes (Beirne, 1994: 31). Beirne argues that Evans convincingly demonstrates that both secular and religious authorities in Europe at the time agreed to prosecute and, if need be, punish certain animals as criminally liable. In his analysis of different explanations of the animal trials, Beirne points out that our understanding of them is dependent upon different constructions of concepts like "animal trials" and "punishment". He plausibly suggests that yesterday's medieval courtroom is today's animal shelter where bureaucratic regulations enforced by animal control officers permit animals to be put to death. Furthermore, he notes, while animals today are not executed for crimes perpetrated against humans, they are put to death for

the social problems associated with "homelessness", "overpopulation" and "aggression" (1995: 24; 1994: 43-4).

Since the early work of E P Evans, Piers Beirne and Clifton Bryant have been most prominent among sociologists to have drawn attention to the idea of animals as social problems. Bryant (1979) was the first to refer to the neglect of animals by sociologists in a paper published in *Social Forces*. Noting that virtually no area of social life is untouched by animals, Bryant suggested that sociology should overcome its myopia by adopting a "zoological connection" in which the human/animal relationship was taken more seriously. For his own part, Bryant sees the animal as creating or causing social problems in a number of ways. First, he argues, the overpopulation of dogs and cats poses serious health, economic, and environmental dilemmas while the ethical restrictions on their supply for use in animal experimentation is itself a social problem: "The future of large segments of US scientific research may well be imperiled by the current efforts to improve the lot of animals" by animal welfare activists (1979: 407). Similarly, he refers to the potential crippling of America's agricultural capacity as a consequence of campaigns against the use of battery hen cages. These are just two of the controversies mentioned in the paper which Bryant believes could lead to conflict between animal welfare advocates and their targets. Bryant's purpose seems to be more about encouraging sociologists to take the "zoological connection" seriously than defending animal industries. Even so, in his construction of the animal as a social problem, it is the threat posed by the animal movement rather than animals per se which is highlighted as the social problem.

A related construction of animals as a social problem outlined in Bryant's paper is when they feature in crime as perpetrators, instigators and victims as well as being the

object of crime, the motivation for crime, the instrument of or for crime and even the means for the punishment of crime. He identifies several instances where people can be prosecuted for zoological crime. These include crimes against the "owners" of animals as personal or public property, when the animal is seen as a hazard or nuisance, or in instances of cruelty towards animals, in the illegal trading of exotic animals or threats to endangered species. Crimes of this kind, he says, "may be as potentially divisive and as disruptive to the social enterprise as any other form of deviancy" (1979: 417). Again, this construction of the animal as a social problem is more about the deviant uses to which humans put animals - as property to be exploited for profit in illegal trade, as trophies to be hunted, as inappropriate pets that are offensive (keeping a skunk) or dangerous (serpents kept as pets in suburbia), and as objects of abuse in bestiality, in dog -fights or cockfighting - rather than cruelty itself which the animal movement designates as the real social problem.

There is little in Bryant's paper which suggests that it is our treatment of animals, rather than animals themselves, which is the social problem. As in other studies of deviant populations - witches, homeless people, street kids and so on - the approach is to categorise these groups, perhaps unintentionally in most cases, as "folk devils" (Cohen, 1972) rather than to analyse the wider dimensions of the problem. The persecution of witches, the treatment of homeless street people and in the case of animals, their institutionalised abuse, become the focus of a broader critique by issue entrepreneurs seeking to problematise these issues.

In his survey of the uses and abuses of animals in criminogenic settings, Beirne (1995, 1999) is more sympathetic to the animal welfare cause than Bryant. He argues that even the most enlightened definitions of crime are profoundly speciesist since to

define crime as "social harm" or "analogous social injury" seems to leave out the plight of animals as victims of harms and injuries inflicted upon them. According to Beirne, the call for the study of animal abuse, remains completely ignored by criminologists (1995: 5). When animals do appear in the criminological literature, they do so primarily because they feature in some problematic aspect of human behaviour; "...nowhere is the psychological and physical abuse of animals an object of study in its own right" (1995: 22). Thus in critiquing a discussion of the deviant practices of meat workers who choose not to disclose the ingredients of the hot dog so as to avoid alarming health-conscious consumers, Beirne points out that absolutely no consideration is given to the suffering of the animals during the conversion of their body parts into hot dogs. The same charge can be levelled against Bryant's analysis of cockfighting (Bryant, 1991) and elsewhere where he and a colleague defend the bloodsport against the cruelty charges of "vigilante and under-cover" animal rights groups (Bryant and Snizek, 1993).

Beirne concludes his review by criticising criminology for casting animals as "creatures of anthropocentrism and anthropomorphism, those twin bastions of speciesism". He observes that the untheorized treatment of animals as objects in both the sociological and criminological literatures is "an embarrassing reflection" of how they are routinely and unthinkingly treated in factory farms, research laboratories and so on (1995: 23 -24). Beirne's concluding sentence puts him firmly on the side of Singer's animal liberationists who equate speciesism with sexism and racism: "Animals are used and abused by humans in many of the same ways, and for many of the same dominionistic reasons, as males oppress women and whites have enslaved persons of color" (1995: 24).

### Campaigns against cruelty as a social problem

Alan Wolfe's (1993) defence of anthropocentric values is perhaps the most forthright in the literature by a sociologist. Wolfe argues that the animal rights and environmental movements are unwanted political developments that represent "one more nail in the coffin of anthropocentrism" (1993:11). He maintains that because humans are so profoundly different from animals, extending any rights to non human animals devalues human culture and threatens to undermine our cultural achievements. One essential criterion separates us from other animals, he argues, and that is our capacity for interpretation and the production of meaning - "our power to use mind to alter the rules that govern us" (1993:53). Humans are empowered to liberate themselves from the constraints of both nature and culture, which, notes Wolfe, does not come without unfairness: "Just as we experiment on animals to keep humans alive, we are sometimes cruel to animals in order to give our lives meaning" (1993:91). He is critical of animal advocates who seek to prevent ordinary people from using animals to give meaning to their lives:

Animal rights theorists (he cites Singer and Regan) are thus correct to detect certain patterns of cruelty in the way we use other species to make our own lives more rich with meaning. At the same time, if we were to revise the ways in which humans make meaning out of the natural world in such a way as never to be cruel to other animal species, we would live in a world without fantasy, excitement, and creativity" (1993:87).

For Wolfe, cruelty to animals is necessary if humans are to live full and meaningful lives. This is not the same as saying that unnecessary cruelty to animals is justified so that any and all human needs and wants can be satisfied, a position Wolfe acknowledges (1993:90).

As noted above, Bryant argues that animals need to be taken as seriously by sociologists as they are by animal protectionists since the latter's campaigns are a threat



to animal industries and social harmony. In addition to agribusiness and scientific research, he notes that animal activism has caused the demise of the entire American whaling industry and threatens tuna fishing as well as the recreational use of animals by individuals such as his own academic specialty, cockfighting, which he describes as "a multi-million dollar, clandestine and often illegal, recreational pastime for hundreds of thousands of Americans" (Bryant, 1979: 413). Elsewhere, Bryant and Snizek (1993) refer to the "animal rights" movement and environmentalists being at odds with hunters, trappers and cockfighters, among other groups. The authors refer to the public backlash by such groups against restrictions on these activities, noting that one such controversy - the protection of the endangered small darter-fish - had delayed a multi-million dollar dam project in Tennessee. Presumably, Bryant and Snizek see the threat posed by the "animal rights" lobby (their quotation marks) to developers and individual hunters and others as something to be resisted or at least deserving of attention by sociologists. They suggest, for example, that "the Bambi Syndrome" has turned many urban Americans against hunting and trapping, "and to view animals as loveable humans" (1993: 27). (see Note 2) Thus in the conflict over values represented by the allegedly anthropomorphic attitudes of animal defenders and the anthropocentrism of their opponents, there is potential for social disruption and even violence which, as Bryant rightly points out, sociologists have largely ignored.

There are two sociological studies in the literature which focus on controversies that have caused conflict between the main protagonists. In the first study, *Going Wild*, the sociologist and hunter Jan Dizard (1994) provides a detailed case study of an animal rights/hunting conflict in Massachusetts which reveals the arguments on both sides of the controversy. Dizard's analysis of the debate favours the hunters as he claims they

have a better understanding of nature than the animal defenders who he dismisses as profoundly ignorant of the natural world. While the hunting controversy takes different forms in the three case study countries discussed in the thesis, the potential for violence is not as great as in the conflict over animal experimentation. Groves's (1997) ethnography, *Hearts and Minds: The Controversy over Laboratory Animals*, is a more balanced case study than that provided by Dizard although it is restricted to a much smaller sample. Groves only briefly alludes to the violence of extremist animal rights activists and discusses the conflict between activists and researchers in the context of the protagonists' moral dilemmas and the emotional toll of the controversy to both sides. Yet he does indicate that for the animal researchers, their opponents' campaigns against cruelty are potentially destructive. "Children, they feared, would be discouraged from becoming scientists, or they will be morally polluted by learning the animal rights activists' violent ways" (1997: 168). Either way, campaigns for the rights of animals are viewed by these researchers as something society would be better off without.

Elsewhere I have described some of the countermovements that challenge animal liberationist campaigns against animal experimentation, factory farming and recreational hunting (see Note 6 Chapter 1). Similarly, Arluke and Groves (1998) have described the process of countermovement claimsmaking in the issue of animal research. Apart from these studies and Wolfe's more comprehensive critique of animal rights as a social problem, there is little in the sociological literature on the divisiveness that the movement has generated. The backlash against animal rights has been led primarily by philosophers and this has been directed at the movement's ideology rather than its campaigns per se (see Leahy 1991, Carruthers 1992, Scruton 1996).

Attacks on animal liberationists have been prominent however in the mass media. Kew has shown how the quality electronic and print media in the UK from 1994 to 1996 portrayed animal liberationists as "misguided, dubious, irrational, heretical, sinister, dishonest, totalitarian, murderous and treacherous" (1999: 261-2). His detailed study of the media's representation of animal liberation protests as misguided and misanthropic suggests that a "speciest media discourse" (p 173) blatantly supports what he calls "the animal-using consensus" (p 177). According to Kew, negative representations of the animal liberation movement are the norm in the British media. He argues that the media unashamedly promote animal use and are therefore implicated in the reproduction of speciesism. In the UK at least, the media frame animal liberation campaigns against cruelty as the acts of violent extremists or misanthrope and in so doing, support the backlash against animal rights as promoted by Wolfe, Byrant, Dizard and others in the sociology discipline.

In the next section, the animal movement's response to "the twin bastions of speciesism" is outlined as a discourse which constructs our treatment of animals as the social problem.

### **The exploitation of animals as a social problem**

In this section, the exploitation of animals as a social problem is put in historical context. We will see how this construction found its way into the work of historians writing about the early humane and antivivisection movements. Resistance against the labelling of animal exploitation as a social problem has also been a feature of the politics of animal protection. Our relations with animals has been characterised by a mixture of compromise and concealment (Thomas, 1983). Even so, according to

Franklin (1999), in the current period, the subordination of animal to human needs and wants is seriously questioned. Yet it is still uncommon to find a voice for the animals in the extant literature.

In a book on meat processing in small town America, the editors Stull, Broadway and Griffith (1995) and their contributors discuss the impact of pig, poultry, beef and fish processing on the lives of the meat workers and on the small, rural communities in which the plants are located. The book chronicles some of the social problems associated with the meat industry – increasing crime, health costs, homelessness, school overcrowding, housing shortages, cyclical migration and rural poverty – yet, surprisingly, without any reference to the moral issue of animal suffering and exploitation. For animal liberationists, the task confronting them is to make the invisibility of the animals in such contexts, visible as a social problem on a par with these conventional problems. There is, however, a small fictional literature as well as a growing non-fictional literature which documents cruelty towards animals as a social problem.

Barker - Benfield claims that eighteenth-century women empathised more with animals than they did with peasants or slaves and suggests that the eighteenth century was an age of sensibility in which women campaigned against male barbarity: "From Margaret Cavendish through Francis Power Cobbe, women made the connection between men's treatment of animals and their treatment of women" (1992:232). Cobbe (1822-1904) is the best known female animal campaigner of the early animal protectionists. In 1878 she wrote an article titled "Wife-Torture in England" in which she put the abuse of women by men on a par with vivisection that for her represented a great evil. It was, she argued, on a par with the rape, torture and abuse of women. This

became a recurrent theme in the work of female fiction (see Ferguson, 1998) and non-fiction writers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively, and there is now a growing sociological literature in this genre (Collard, 1988; Adams, 1990; Donovan, 1993; Adams and Donovan, 1995).

Some of these social problem themes were taken up in non-fictional writing in other disciplines as well. Withington's history of pre-revolutionary America shows how the vices associated with cockfighting and horse racing posed a threat to the values colonists needed in order to resist English tyranny. Both activities were viewed as social problems because they diverted people from work and produced nothing of benefit to society, encouraging instead gambling and the weakening of community cohesiveness (Withington, 1991:199). The treatment of animals on both sides of the Atlantic came to symbolise the moral virtues, or lack of them, of the protagonists in pre-revolutionary America. Withington suggests that Virginian planters, fearing the moral effects of slavery on their lives and character, cleansed themselves not by giving up slaves, but symbolically, by abandoning cockfighting and horse racing (1991:213).

Respectability was also important to the success of the RSPCA which Harrison (1973) attributes to the strategy of never running too far ahead of public opinion, especially among the more respectable members of society. Historians have generally argued that animal protection embodied the temper of the age (Turner, 1980; Ritvo, 1987; Kean, 1998). Reformers in the RSPCA took advantage of the long-term changes in people's sensibilities during the eighteenth century. "Throughout the eighteenth century, humanitarian reform had played a major causal role in (the) cultural reconstruction of pain, identifying a range of formerly unquestioned practices as unacceptable cruelties and demanding that virtuous people, men and women of

sensibility, endeavour to put a stop to such practices" (Haltunen, 1995:318). Blood sports, public executions, the treatment of the insane, flogging in the armed services, corporal punishment of children, and sport which caused serious injury were among the practices targetted by the humanitarians.

The RSPCA derived its philosophy, rhetoric and its moral force from evangelicalism; the objects of its campaigns against cruelty were almost exclusively the cruel sports of the lower orders or labouring classes. Cruelty to animals was at the time seen as a social problem like drunkenness and gambling. People became quarrelsome and inebriated during bullbaiting and cockfighting contests which often took place in alehouse courtyards. The links between cruelty and social disorder can be seen in the societies that were founded in the early nineteenth century. The Evangelicals set up the Society for the Suppression of Vice in 1802 to campaign against bullbaiting and other forms of cruelty. When it was unsuccessful, the first SPCA was established in Liverpool in 1809 to continue the campaign. These early societies had a strong bias of social control that targeted working class habits for improvement. Furthermore, the RSPCA was just one weapon in a whole armoury of social controls - which included Sunday schools, temperance, popular education and personal hygiene - designed to improve the working classes with heavy doses of religion. And although it was one of the most important cause groups in the nineteenth century, the RSPCA was reluctant to attack the more "civilised" cruelties of vivisection, foxhunting and killing animals for their feathers or fur.

Members of the Humanitarian League (1891-1919) were more radical than their conservative cousins in the animal protection societies. Founded by the vegetarian socialist Henry Salt, the League is the best example of a multi-purpose, social problems

and anti-cruelty campaign at the turn of the century. Its mission included the Poor Law, Criminal and Prison Law reform as well as cruelty to animals in vivisection, in slaughterhouses, the trade in feathers, bloodsports and the "evil trade" that involved the shipping of live cattle abroad (Weinbren, 1994:88). Salt knew that working class people's indifference to the plight of animals had to do with their own impoverishment. In 1921 he wrote that "The emancipation of men from cruelty and injustice will bring with it in due course the emancipation of animals also" (Hendrick and Hendrick, 1989:45). Even so, Lansbury's (1985) history of the *Old Brown Dog* incident is testimony to the willingness of ordinary people, given the right circumstances, to empathise with the suffering of their fellow beings.

In the three main sites of animal protection, namely the UK, USA and in Australia, the animal lobby had virtually run out of steam by the first decades of the twentieth century. MacCulloch argues that the decline of the movement in Australia by about 1914 was due to its transformation from a social reform lobby to a group of pet enthusiasts. Thus a social problems discourse was replaced by the genteel promotion of kindness to domestic animals, especially cats and dogs. "This loss of purpose both mirrored and was reinforced by the growing feminisation of the cause. Increasingly, the cause of animal protection was given over to women, and subsequently, children" (MacCulloch, 1993:45-6).

Contemporary animal liberationists – most of whom are women, many with strong feminist leanings – have revived the social reforming zeal of their predecessors in the nineteenth century. Many see the abuse of animals as a social problem no less deserving of moral condemnation than other, more recognised abusive practices such as racism – and its offshoots ethnic cleansing, slavery, lynchings, hate crimes against

people of color and so on - and sexism and related violations of bodily integrity including clitoridectomy, rape, wife bashing and the like. Sociologists have been slow in acknowledging animal abuse as a social problem on a par with some of the aforementioned practices. Sociologists who have used a constructionist approach to social problems have done so in relation to specific animal issues: Maurer (1995) on meat as a social problem, Kunkel (1995) on factory farming as a social problem and Munro (1997b) on duck shooting as a social problem. Arluke and Luke (1997) suggest criminal justice professionals lawmakers and much of the general public do not see animal abuse as either a serious or common crime. Nor do they, as many animal liberationists do, think of animal abuse as a social problem. People have less difficulty seeing environmental problems such as pollution and toxic wastes as social problems; and some scholars, notably Yearley (1992) and Hannigan (1995), have theorised environmental problems as such.

In a recent study of the sociology of our relations with other animals, Adrian Franklin (1999) identifies three processes as the most important in defining the postmodern condition of the late twentieth century: misanthropy, risk and ontological insecurity. He suggests that the destruction of habitat, the use of animals in research and in commercial agriculture – once justified as necessary for the greater good of humanity – are now seen as spawning unacceptable risks and social problems. While he does not use the term social problems, the processes he identifies as postmodern conditions can be read as such. Misanthropy – the view held by some animal rights fundamentalists that humans are bad, sick, dangerous and deranged- clearly suggests that a disordered humanity is responsible for the societal ills that result from the massive scale of animal exploitation during the last half of the twentieth century. The distortions created by



science and technology under Fordism, he argues, have created a sense of "ontological insecurity" (Giddens, 1991a: 243) and risk (Beck, 1992) associated with such things as food scares, for example BSE and salmonella. In addition, there are new risks linked to the genetic engineering of plants and animals and genetically modified food. The increasing popularity of vegetarianism, new identities such as "eco-friendly" vegetarian, animal rights-vegan and environmentalist as well as the growth of new social movements can be seen as a response to these fears. Franklin refers to these changes as a shift from anthropocentric instrumentality to zoocentric empathy. Companion animals, zoo visits and the like, are the most obvious manifestations of the love people have for animals in these post modern times.

Franklin convincingly shows how people now seek more, rather than less contact with animals in contexts as diverse as pet keeping and hunting. Because animal rights advocates seek to do away with all human uses of animals, he believes the animal rights position is doomed to remain a minority position. In this he is surely correct. However, Franklin does not distinguish enough between the strict animal rights ideology and the more pragmatic, moderate line advocated by Singer's followers. He incorrectly suggests that Singer's *Animal Liberation* represents the animal rights case (1999: 181) that seeks to "disestablish zoos, ban pet keeping, and illegalise hunting and angling" (1999: 175). These are not the main sites of speciesism identified by Singer in his advocacy of animal interests (1975; 1990); and while Singer did not coin the term "speciesism" as Franklin infers, Franklin does make the important point that speciesism is the common grievance that unites the various strands of in the animal movement. But even here, it would be more accurate to use the term "animal protection" which includes animal rights, liberation and welfare under its umbrella. The otherwise compelling

arguments and findings in *Animals and Modern Cultures* are weakened by the author's failure to distinguish adequately between these different strands of animal protection. In the next section, I describe the relevant literature on these different movement orientations and in doing so, I hope it to make it clear that the strands overlap more than they diverge. At least this is the case in the everyday world of animal protection work

### **Animals as a political issue: the animal welfare approach**

Animal welfarists are best represented by the RSPCA which is the oldest and best known animal protection organisation in the world. For most of its history the RSPCA has sought to achieve moderate improvements in the way domesticated animals are treated. Preventing wanton cruelty to all creatures great and small and the promotion of kindness to individual animals is the organisation's historical mission. As the quintessential animal welfare organisation, the RSPCA in Britain and Australia works within the political system by lobbying governments and political parties to achieve its moderate welfarist agenda. In the United States too, local SPCAs and humane societies are incorporated as law-enforcement agencies with powers equivalent to the police (Garner, 1993b: 338). Thus the animal welfarist orientation of these animal protection and humane societies allows them access to the state (see note 3) which the more radical animal liberationists and rightists are denied for "only moderate reforms improving the welfare of animals are considered acceptable by decision makers" (Garner, 1993b: 346).

According to Alan Wolfe (1993:16) the fastest-growing political movements in the West are social movements concerned with ecological issues and animal rights. As already indicated above, Wolfe is critical of these movements because of the threats

they pose to human dominance. As a proud speciesist and advocate of anthropocentrism, he argues a strong case for human exceptionalism and for keeping animals in their place. Animal welfarism, so defined, has become moral orthodoxy, namely, what the public is prepared to tolerate in how animals are used. This is a position not far removed from the RSPCA's traditional stance on animal welfare, that is, animals matter, but not as much as humans. Wolfe's deep speciesism would be rejected by most animal protectionists, including those who support the most conservative animal protection societies. Nonetheless, his political standpoint is closer to the animal welfarist orientation than it is to animal liberation/rights approaches which he argues would lead to a life devoid of meaning (1993: 87). Yet in demanding the rights of humans to use animals for food, as research tools and as entertainment in zoos and circuses, and "for the sensual pleasures of violent sport" (1993:89), he is doing no more than asserting the basic principle of animal welfarism. According to Garner (1993b: 337) this means that "it is morally legitimate to sacrifice the interests of non-human animals for the benefit of humans". The doctrine of animal welfarism is thus made acceptable to animal users by this prescription.

Since the late 1970s however, the RSPCA has become less conservative and is today prepared to question the morality of intensive farming, recreational hunting, of keeping animals in zoos and circuses and some kinds of animal experimentation. A former Chairman of the RSPCA in Britain during this period, the social scientist Richard Ryder, who coined the term "speciesism", claims that the animal welfare movement in the 1980s had become increasingly political noting that animal welfare was now part of the 'new politics' (Ryder, 1996: 169). Ryder's account of the animal movement in the 1970s and 1980s emphasises the development of animal welfare as a

political issue. He points out that unless animal welfare is treated as a political issue, reforms are unlikely. In the UK at least, "it is governments which introduce legislation and that without government support no Bill is likely to succeed" (Ryder, 1996: 171).

Ryder claims that at any one time in Britain there are some 70 animal protection issues that are being contested in the political arena (Ryder, 1996: 186). Animal welfare is framed as a political problem by Ryder's Political Animal Lobby (PAL) which offers Britain's three main parties incentives to put animal welfare on their party's agenda. One of the incentives comes in the form of cash payments to the parties. The donations are provided from funds raised for this purpose and are donated to all of the main parties. Ryder argues that the donations are important in gaining access to politicians and persuading them and their advisers to take animal welfare seriously (Ryder, 1996: 180).

However, many animal protectionists believe that working with state authorities to achieve legislative reforms for animals is not productive. Ryder himself notes that during 1994-5 live animal exports attracted unprecedented media attention for an animal welfare issue and forced the government to respond. Yet there had been a continuous campaign against the trade since the early 1970s. Apart from a temporary ban, little had been achieved in those two decades. The grassroots activism that forced the government to act in the mid 1990s had evidently succeeded where conventional lobbying had failed. Ryder asks - "Why does this campaign require so much activism? Answer: because the Government is not listening; it is out of touch with public feeling" (Ryder, 1996: 191). It is largely because of this that animal liberationists and advocates of animal rights prefer the tactics of new social movements to the pressure group tactics of moderate animal welfare political lobbyists.

In a number of books and papers, the political scientist Robert Garner (1993a, 1993b, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b) has drawn attention to the different strategies deployed by the moderate and more radical wings of the animal protection movement in the United States and Britain. Garner distinguishes between the constitutional routes to change pursued by moderate animal welfarists like the RSPCA and the direct action approach preferred by the more radical animal liberationists (1993b). For Garner, legislative reform in animal welfare is more effective than moralising efforts aimed at changing the hearts and minds of people over how they treat animals. He points out that most people still eat the products of factory farms and buy cosmetics that have been tested on animals (1993b).

While Garner suggests that animal welfare moderation, expertise and respectability resonate more with the public and decision-makers than the more radical agenda of animal liberation/ rights advocates, he notes that the "insider status" of the moderates, by itself, is not equivalent to influence (1993b: 194). In his most recent analysis, Garner argues that regulatory performance in the British and American political systems can only be improved by public pressure. Furthermore, he suggests, public pressure is more likely to be sustained when it can be demonstrated that the costs of animal exploitation affect humans as well as non-humans (1998b: 235). Thus Garner's analysis of the "political animals" in the animal protection movement reveals that the exploitation of animals is unlikely to decrease when the issue is framed as a political problem to be resolved by legislation or as a moral problem that can be left to individual consciences. Elsewhere, Garner (1995: 57) suggests that environmental and health "problems" rather than moral arguments for the humane treatment of animals will be more effective in undermining the power of agribusiness and the animal

experimentation fraternity. While there is some support in the movement for this view, most of the campaigns in the present study use the moral potency of cruelty as their dominant frame. The moral nature of our relations with other animals is at the heart of the rights perspective in the next section.

### **Animals as a moral issue: the animal rights approach**

If historians and political scientists have contributed most to animal welfare scholarship, philosophers have been most prominent in the discussion of animal rights as a moral and ethical issue (Magel, 1989; Hogan and Retzel, 1995). As Jasper and Nelkin (1992) put it, philosophers have served as midwives to the animal rights movement. Magel (1989) suggests that "animal rights" is an ethical term and therefore a problem for philosophers to resolve. Social scientists have largely concurred since few have taken up the topic in their research. Keith Tester (1991) in Britain and James Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin (1992) in the United States were the first sociologists to produce book length studies of the animal rights movement. Tester's theoretical study originated as a doctoral dissertation while Jasper and Nelkin's book was meant for a less academic audience.

James Jasper and his colleagues (1990, 1992, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999) have argued in several books and papers that the animal rights movement is a moral crusade that frames animal rights as a moral and ethical issue. In their book on the animal rights movement, Jasper and Nelkin (1992) identified three stands in the movement: animal welfarists, pragmatists and fundamentalists which broadly correspond to the distinctions I make between animal welfarists, liberationists and rightists. The strategies used by these different strands also correspond to the way animal protectionists are

conceptualised in this review. Jasper and Nelkin point out in a summary table (1992: 178) that animal welfarists rely principally on protective legislation (cf. animals as a political issue); pragmatists follow Singer's utilitarianism and use negotiation and compromise (cf. animal issues as social problems to be resolved pragmatically); and fundamentalists employ "moralistic rhetoric" (cf. animals as a moral or ethical issue). In the latter case, I prefer the term "abolitionists" to describe the goals of the animal rights advocates who seek, by non-violent means as promoted by the rights philosopher Tom Regan, to eliminate all exploitative uses of animals by humans. The term fundamentalist serves better as a label for animal rights extremists who use violent tactics to achieve these goals. Apart from this mislabelling, Jasper and Nelkin's (1992) study of the animal rights movement accurately captures the emotional appeal of the movement as a moral protest.

In other papers on the movement, Jasper and his colleagues (1990, 1995) highlight the use of moralistic rhetoric among animal rights supporters. Jasper's most recent book (1997) on the animal rights and anti-nuclear movements develops the theme of moral protest and a lexicon of more than a dozen morally-relevant concepts. Groves (1995, 1997, 2001) too has highlighted the moral dimension of the animal rights movement, noting in particular the neglect of emotion by sociologists in their study of social movements generally.

Protest movements that use the language of rights, as in the debates over abortion or our use of animals, are concerned with communicating moral ideas. Jasper claims that in such movements, the articulation of moral beliefs is the protesters' most prominent contribution since modern urban societies offer few opportunities for moral communication (1997: 376). For Jasper, moral struggles are important democratic

processes which social movements sustain. He concludes his lengthy book by suggesting that the importance of moral protesters lies "more in their moral visions than their practical accomplishments" (1997: 379). This applies to animal rights protesters who insist that the abolition of all exploitative uses of animals should be the movement's goal as opposed to the more achievable and moderate agendas of the welfarists and liberationists.

Purists in the animal protection movement such as Gary Francione (1996) claim that strict animal rights advocacy is the only morally authentic position for the movement to adopt. Francione has labelled the more moderate, pragmatic strands in the movement as "new welfarism" and has criticised their adherents for eschewing a strict animal rights philosophy. Similarly, Regan's (1987) uncompromising abolitionist stand on animal rights as a moral struggle excludes the vast mass of people who support the mainstream movement. The pro-animal advocate and philosopher Mary Midgley (1983: 61) suggests that Regan and Francione are misguided since the term "rights" was already in serious trouble before animals were added to the list of its potential beneficiaries. Mary Glendon (1991: xi) has also criticised the ever expanding catalogue of rights recipients as a threat to democratic values. "A tendency to frame nearly every social controversy in terms of a clash of rights (a woman's right to her own body vs. a fetus's right to life) impedes compromise, mutual understanding, and the discovery of common ground (1991: xi). "Rights talk", as Glendon calls it, is too easily parodied when extended to animals (see Note 4).

The term "animal liberation" on the other hand seems to have more credibility. In *The Liberation Debate: Rights at Issue* edited by Leahy and Cohn-Sherbok (1996), for example, the editors include animal liberation alongside women's, black, gay and



children's liberation as well as liberation theology . Leahy ( in Leahy and Cohn-Sherbok,1996:247), although a strong critic of the animal movement's ideology, suggests that the term "liberation" is most apposite in the context of animals since of all these disadvantaged groups, animals - together with the oppressed masses of the Third World and to a lesser extent children - are in most need of liberation. According to Leahy, the term conjures up an image of people in chains , is more emotive and carries greater rhetorical force than pedantic and legalistic "rights talk".

Yet few activists in the movement are concerned about distinguishing between these labels and it is largely a matter of personal choice whether one rather than the other is used. In a recent book about human-animal relations in the city, Annabelle Sabloff (2001) prefers the term "animal rights" to describe what she calls the prevailing metaphor the movement uses in its campaigns to change the way we treat other animals. This metaphor, she argues, is the animal-as-citizen metaphor in which animals are designated as legal persons rather than as things or artifacts. "By definition, citizenship accords "personhood" to a being, thereby cancelling out its 'thingness'" (2001: 121). She claims the animal rights movement uses this metaphor as a guide "for a new, reordered set of relations between humankind and other species" (2001: 123) although it cannot be said to be part of the moral orthodoxy or the habitus of Western civilisation; at least not yet. It is at the most, she argues, an emerging idea. Scruton, however, a prominent critic of animal rights goes further and suggests that what is remarkable about the animal movement is that it has succeeded in extending "shadow citizenship" to animals in modern democracies where they have become part of "the web of public concern" (1996: 103-104).

Francione (2000) also subscribes to the animal-as-citizen metaphor and has argued in several contexts that animals must be accorded personhood if their interests and rights as sentient beings are to be protected in law. He points out, as does Sabloff, that if corporations and ocean-going vessels can be designated legal "persons", then it is not far fetched to accord that status to living, sentient beings. Francione makes it clear that he is not arguing that animals should be given citizenship rights such as the vote or the right to own property. "But just as we believe that humans should not suffer from use as the slaves or property of other humans, animals should not be made to suffer from our use of them as resources" (2000: 101). For Sabloff, this is the central message of the animal rights movement. For once an animal is thought of as a person rather than as a thing, it becomes difficult to treat "him" or "her" as an "it". While not all animal rights campaigns use this animal-as-citizen metaphor, some sections of the animal movement have developed "A Declaration on Great Apes" in which they accord personhood to great apes, chimpanzees, gorillas and orang-utans (Cavalieri and Singer, 1993).

The animal-as-citizen metaphor and the concept of animals as legal persons fits in with the strict animal rights perspective of Francione and others who want to go beyond conventional animal welfarism. Nonetheless, the different strands of the movement share the same agenda in seeking to change people's perceptions of animals. "Seeking to create a society that enlarges the sphere of ethical concern to include nonhuman animals, their most pressing concern is to disrupt and eliminate society's production of the organizing metaphor 'animals are artifacts'" (Sabloff, 2001: 120).

Animal liberation as articulated by Singer (1975; 1990) frames animal abuse as a social problem comparable to sexism and racism and other forms of intraspecies

exploitation. While animal welfare and animal rights are framed primarily as political and moral issues, a social problems discourse is implicit in the animal protection work of welfarists and rightists. In the contemporary animal liberation movement inspired by Singer, which is outlined next, a social problems discourse is more explicit.

#### **Animal exploitation as a social problem: the animal liberation approach**

According to Pakulski's (1991) reading of one of the pioneers of animal liberation in Australia, Christine Townend, the issue of the humane treatment of animals is seen by animal liberationists as part of a wider problem involving the values of modern capitalist society. Thus Townend and Mowbray, in charting a programmatic path for animal liberation as conceived philosophically by Singer, explicitly state that animal exploitation is endemic to capitalism and call for an approach which goes beyond animal welfare to one which questions the financial relations that underlie speciesism (1986: 18). This places animal liberationists squarely in the camp of those critics of modernity who claim its achievements are built upon "class, and gender domination, colonialism and imperialism, anthropocentrism and the destruction of nature" (Emel and Wolch, 1998: 16). Szybel makes a similar case when he suggests that the animal liberation movement represents a rejection of speciesism as well as "racism, sexism, homophobia and ableism" (1998: 44).

Peter Singer's (1975, 1990) *Animal Liberation* is widely considered to be "the Bible" of the contemporary animal movement (Jasper and Nelkin, 1992: 177). Singer argues that race, sex and species membership are morally irrelevant criteria upon which to discriminate against other beings. The animal liberation movement seeks to liberate animals exploited and abused by humans in the same way that other social movements

attempt to emancipate oppressed racial/ethnic peoples and women. *Animal Liberation* (1975, 1990) was a critique of speciesism in factory farming and in animal experimentation. Elsewhere, Singer condemns recreational hunting and the killing of wildlife as "the ultimate form of speciesism" (1995a: 70).

Opposition to this trio of institutionalised cruelty - in commercial agriculture, animal experimentation and in bloodsports - is the basis for the worldwide animal liberation movement inspired by Singer's writings. According to Weston (1992: 79), the most powerful part of Singer's *Animal Liberation* is the descriptions of the conditions under which animals live and die in factory farms and in research laboratories. This focus on actual objective conditions is also unusual in the philosophical literature on animal rights. As a practical ethicist, it is not however surprising that Singer grounds his arguments upon a solid empirical foundation. It is largely because of the graphic descriptions of the conditions in research laboratories and factory farms that *Animal Liberation* is the most widely read book on the animal movement. It provides the movement with a depth of informational resources - including vegetarian recipes - that activists use in their anti-cruelty campaigns. Singer's arguments for liberating animals do not rely on abstract reasoning as is the case in many other philosophical texts. Regan's (1984) densely argued treatise for example, rarely makes any mention of animals at all. Nonetheless, objective conditions alone were insufficient grounds for transforming the moral appeal of Singer's accounts of cruelty into public issues.

In his innovative study of the green movement, Steven Yearley points out that the existence of the inhumane conditions endured by slaves were not enough to turn slavery into a public issue over which people were prepared to do battle. Slavery was not perceived as a social problem until abolitionists succeeded in pressing their claims

that the practice of treating humans more inhumanely than domestic animals was an unacceptable injustice (1992: 49). Yearley advocates a social problems approach which recognises the objective conditions of environmental problems such as pollution or species extinction and defines the green movement as "a collection of agencies making social problems claims" (1992: 52). Yearley shows how social problems scholars can contribute to an understanding of environmental problems – and by extension, animal issues - by explaining how they are socially constructed by issue entrepreneurs in social movements.

The processes involved in the social construction of social problems defined by Spector and Kitsuse (1973: 146) as "the activities of groups making assertions of grievances and claims to organizations, agencies and institutions with respect to some putative conditions" were utilised by Hannigan (1995) in his analysis of a number of environmental problems and animal-related issues. In arguing that social constructionism is a distinctly sociological paradigm, Hannigan demonstrates the utility of a social constructionist perspective in understanding how people's perceptions are socially shaped by the way environmental problems are represented by different groups. He shows how the perspective extends the frontiers of the discipline without embracing either anthropocentrism or ecocentrism. Like Yearley's social problems approach, Hannigan's environmental sociology addresses two central issues - the causes of environmental destruction and the rise of environmental consciousness and movements (1995: 13).

However, Martell (1994) is sceptical of the social problems/social constructionist theorising outlined above. He takes a realist approach which insists that environmental explanations are as important as sociological perspectives. On the subject

of animals, Martell is critical of the strict constructionism inherent in Keith Tester's (1991) study which he describes as "too sociological ...in the face of external, objective, material reality" (1994: 4). In the first chapter of his book, Tester signals his intention to explain why people worry about the rights of animals or, to put it differently, that "animal rights is a social problem" (1991: 16). "If the problem of the treatment of animals is a social problem", he writes in the conclusion, "then it can only be given a social solution" (1991: 207). The subtitle of his book – *The Humanity of Animal Rights* – seems to suggest that kindness to animals reflects our need to feel properly human, to become better human beings; that animal rights is only marginally concerned with animals. Thus, for Tester, animal rights and vegetarianism are mechanisms of social control concerned among other things, with eating virtuously, with "the slim and moral watching over the flabby and violent" (1991: 178). Thus while Tester correctly identifies our (mis)treatment of animals as a social problem, his thesis misunderstands and denigrates the animal movement's defence of animals. For example, the only contemporary animal protectors discussed in any detail by Tester are those belonging to extremist, violent groups such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), the Band of Mercy and the Animal Rights Militia (ARM) which employ car and letter bombs as their main tactics. There is no mention of the mainstream movement, the successors of Salt and the humane movements, in Tester's analysis. Furthermore, as Martell (1994) points out, Tester's arguments are *too* sociological ; they are the product of a strict constructionism that bears little resemblance to the reality of the animal movement and its campaigns. Similarly, Kew (1999), Benton (1992) and Singer (1992) criticise Tester's thesis for missing the point of what animal rights as a social movement is all about. Martell's own position is sentient-centric that is, in between shallow and deep

ecology which puts him firmly in Singer's animal liberation camp (see Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1).

In referring to Benton's (1993) socialist theory of animal rights, Martell notes that eco-socialism acknowledges natural limits to human social life but is weak on obligations to nonhumans. "But on both it shows a capacity to revise its assumptions, even on the latter, where it has been slower, yet on which it can alter its conception of the relation of humans to animals on the basis of a socialist theory of equality and rights" (Martell, 1994: 153). Eckersley (1992) also notes the potential for a more inclusive socialist practice while Martell is optimistic about eco-socialist alliances in the future. And as I argue elsewhere (Munro, 1999a), such alliances are increasingly necessary for addressing new social problems associated with the exploitation of nature, and specifically with the intensification of the production and consumption of animals associated with developments in genetic engineering. The realism of environmental sociologists such as Martell and to a lesser extent Benton appears to be most in accord with the campaign strategies of the contemporary animal liberation movement, which, unlike its animal welfare counterpart, is willing to embrace the broad range of issues outlined in the postscript below.

Finally, it would be mistaken to make too much of the differences in orientation within the mainstream animal movement outlined in this review. In the discussion above, I have suggested that the limited literature on the sociology of animal protection can be categorised under three broad orientations: animal welfare's political orientation, animal rights' moral orientation and animal liberation's social problems' orientation. This categorisation is not so neatly replicated in the daily activities of animal protection work, where political, moral and social problems/ constructionist approaches overlap.

What can be said with some confidence, however, is that the campaign against speciesism, as suggested by Franklin (1999) has been the common thread in these three main strands of animal activism and advocacy. In doing animal protection work, activists and advocates have used moral, political, and social problems arguments to raise anti-cruelty, health and environmental concerns within the various strands of the movement. These issues are interrelated, for as Turner (1993: 185) has argued, the protection of animals may ultimately contribute to the protection of humans particularly in relation to environmental issues.

Some of the costs to society of largescale agriculture and the risks associated with new developments in animal research have been identified by a number of writers. It is these social problems – the costs of agribusiness to small farmers (Dolan, 1986), health (Fraser, etal 1990 )and environmental risks to consumers (Rifkin, 1992) , the spectres of third world hunger (Coats, 1989) and genetic engineering (Kimbrell, 1994) and finally cruelty and indifference to animals (Woolf, 1999 in Philo and Wilbert, 2000) – which are among the most salient issues of concern to animal liberationists. However, it is cruelty to individual animals which remains the defining grievance of the animal movement in the three case study countries. The movement's campaigns against the institutionalised cruelty to animals are discussed in the substantive chapters which follow.



## Endnotes

**Note 1:** A recent bibliography compiled by Taylor (1999) dealing mainly with philosophical writing on animal liberation lists no fewer than 182 books, 162 articles and 37 chapters; of the 381 listed works, less than half a dozen are by sociologists. A more dramatic illustration of the dearth of sociologists among those doing research on animal issues is the presence of only two sociologists in a list of 130 contributors to the *Encyclopedia of animal rights and animal welfare* (Bekoff, 1998).

Taylor's book, subtitled *What philosophers say about animal liberation*, suggests there has been an increasing output of philosophical works since Singer's pioneering work in 1975. The publication rate pre-Singer was less than 10 percent of the total output of books compared to the 1970s (14 %), 1980s (32%) and the 1990s (50%). An earlier compilation by Hogan and Retzel (1995) lists about 100 significant books suitable for college libraries which have been published between 1989 and 1995. The predominance of philosophical writing and the disproportionately large number of books dealing with animals in science comes as no surprise given the salience of these fields in the history and development of animal rights since the earliest times and particularly in the last two centuries. The bibliographical material published on animal rights between 1989 and 1995 can be summarised as follows:

### General topics (18)

**Specialist topics:** science and research (27) with environmental/animal issues (7) being the next most popular topic; the other issues such as hunting and factory farming add up to a dozen references.

**Multidisciplinary topics** range from philosophical (12), historical (7), political (6) with an average of two or three books each on religious, sociological, anthropological,

feminist and bibliographic themes.

**Note 2:** According to Cartmill (1993) the Bambi Syndrome is likely to annoy both sides in the hunting controversy since it respectively stigmatizes and trivializes the issue for both hunters and animal protectors. He suggest however, in contrast to Bryant and Snizek, that many hunting writers seem to believe (erroneously), that opposition to hunting would disappear if *Bambi* and other anthropomorphic Disney products were suppressed (1993: 180). Even so, Bryant and Snizek are surely right in arguing that controversies involving the use of animals have the potential to be disruptive and even violent. And given the differences in attitudes between Western and Eastern cultures, conflicts over the use of animals may have serious international implications. Recent examples involving the hunting of seals and whales are perhaps the most obvious cases of "animal wars" (Wenzel, 1991; Day, 1997; Stoett, 1997).

**Note 3:** Garner (1993b: 190) points out that the World Society for the Protection of Animals (WSPA) - headquartered in London and associated with the RSPCA and MSPCA in Australia and the USA - is the only animal SMO in the world to have consultative status with the United Nations.

**Note 4:** The Senate Select Committee on Animal Experimentation noted that rights talk has become popular because it gives the bearer moral, if not legal, protection and concluded, that each case involving conflict between the rights of humans and animals must be decided on its merits, and not necessarily in favour of humans (Senate, 1989:42). Yet the Committee reflected on the question - "Would there be specifically animal rights, tiger rights, pelican rights, tape worm rights?" - to illustrate the difficulty of establishing consensus on what would be an acceptable hierarchy of animal rights.

**Note 5:** The quotes from Dolan, Fraser et al, Rifkin and Coats were cited in David Fraser (2001) "The culture and agriculture of animal production" , The Australian and New Zealand Council for the Care of Animals in Research and Teaching (ANZCCART), Vol 14, No 1.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### METHODS AND DATA

*Whatever high - flown rhetoric is adopted about uncovered meanings and understandings of discourse and narratives, what is required for a discussion of empirical work is some means of translating data from the field – interviews, observations, documents – into an explanation of the topic in hand which can be conveyed to others and understood by others (Melia, 1987: 35).*

The sociological perspective used in this thesis views individuals as agents of social change. In the spirit of Max Weber, the study examines the lived experience of animal campaigners and the meanings they attribute to their actions – the how and why of animal activism which is the study's research question. In the spirit of the above epigram, the study seeks to tell "a plausible story" (Melia, 1987) which would be recognised as authentic by animal liberationists and their supporters.

#### **The research process**

According to Crotty (1998) there are four issues that need to be explained about the research process: the methods, methodology, theoretical perspective and epistemology underpinning the research process. Each of these issues will be addressed below. As indicated in the previous chapter, most of the work on the animal movement is philosophical to the extent that it has been labelled "a movement of ideas" (Finsen and Finsen, 1994). What is missing in these philosophical accounts are the voices of the movement's rank and file, its supporters, advocates and activists. It is these insiders' accounts, and the organisations they represent, which the interviews and survey used in

this study were designed to tap; put another way, this is the strategy underpinning the study's methodological approach.

This strategy was seen as the most appropriate for understanding how insiders in the animal movement construct cruelty and then act on that construction. Much of the study consists of primarily qualitative material supplemented by quantitative data. For Bryman (1988: 61) the most fundamental characteristic of the qualitative research tradition "is its express commitment to viewing events, action, norms, values etc from the perspective of the people who are being studied". According to Schwartz and Jacobs a social scientist has a straightforward choice in learning insider accounts: "Either become a member of this group, so that one's reflections and knowledge can be taken as authentic, or solicit accounts and theories about the phenomenon from group members" (1979: 125). In choosing the latter, I was faced with the task of gaining access to individuals and organisations in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, the three main sites of animal movement activism in the industrialised West. Access to the 53 informants was facilitated by three individual movement leaders in the case study countries, Glenys Oogjes (Animals Australia), Joan Court (Animal Rights Cambridge) and Adele Douglass (American Humane Association). Once I had explained my research project to these individuals, and had interviewed one or two individuals in the relevant countries, the process snowballed. On one or two occasions I was introduced to members of the radical extremist group Animal Liberation Front but I declined to ask them for an interview. (see Note 1)

The choice of case study countries was determined mainly by accessibility and by the fact that England, Australia and the United States are the most active sites of animal advocacy in the world. Although legislation to protect animals was first enacted

in England, animal protection could be described as an Anglo-American tradition. According to Turner (1980), the Anglo-American world in the nineteenth century was a separate cultural entity within the larger European civilisation. Thus it is not surprising that animal protection in both countries followed a similar pattern. Worster also writes of a distinctive Anglo-American tradition in the ecology movement in the late twentieth century, which while "never wholly a consensus, but withal a single dialogue carried on in a single tongue" (1977:ix). Australia, because of her close ties with England in the nineteenth century, was also part of this Anglo-American tradition and it was not long before the RSPCA was established in Sydney. Thus interviewees were selected in Australia, the UK and the USA as the main sites of animal advocacy and activism.

The choice of theoretical perspective has already been explained in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2 it was argued that throughout recent history, animals have been perceived as posing social problems for various groups and that a social problems discourse has been a dominant characteristic of animal protection in the case study countries. The most appropriate theory for making sense of the data was the social construction of social problems approach which made it possible to analyse both primary and secondary data on the animal movement in ways that were consistent with the testimony of the informants in the study.

The final component in Crotty's research process typology is the issue of epistemology. Here we need to attend to debates about the nature of our knowledge about the world. Halfpenny cautions that arguments about the relative merits of positivism, realism, interpretism, constructivism and feminism in various guises are complicated "because each perspective is a loose bundle of strands, and the perspectives shade into one another" (2001: 382). According to Levy (1981: 18), positivism in its

various forms forgoes analysing the problem of the nature of reality itself. Levy argues that in positivism, causality becomes little more than a function of statistical generalisation; it assumes that members of society define reality in the same way since they all share the same meanings of that reality. Thus in the thesis, it is claimed on the basis of the statistical findings in Table 4.1, that there is strong ideological consensus in the animal movement on the attitudes of animal protectionists towards certain human uses of animals such as killing them for their meat. However, the interview data reveal a more complex range of meanings people associate with eating meat which cannot be easily captured in quantitative surveys.

For this reason, the thesis relies more on qualitative, interpretive data informed by Weber's concept of *Verstehen*. In this perspective, reality is socially constructed through interaction and the interpretations people attach to particular phenomena. Interpretive sociology has the task of discovering the systems of meaning people use to make sense of the world. Research in this tradition helps us interpret and understand actors' reasons for social action. In the case of the present study, this concerns how and why people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own. It is argued in the thesis that collective action shapes what people come to regard as "cruelty" and then act on that construction.

The social constructionist approach used in the thesis has been labelled contextual constructionism (Best, 1995). In advocating this approach, Best argues that contextual constructionism falls somewhere between the two extremes of the strict constructionists' phenomenology which demands unreasonably that researchers ignore social conditions and the vulgar constructionists' debunking of social problems claims as "just" social constructions (1995: 343). Contextual constructionism, so defined, is

close to "critical realism", an approach that derives from Marx's work. "While positivists give reality an objective structure", argues Sarantakos, "and interpretive scientists give it a subjective nature, critical theorists stand somewhere in between and believe that although subjective meanings are relevant and important, objective relations cannot be denied" (1998: 36).

Realists have condemned constructionism for its political quietism (Burningham and Cooper, 1999: 298). That is, the very notion of "the social construction of social problems" and the term "putative" conditions, suggest that the researcher is sceptical about the existence of social problems and as a consequence, political engagement is foreclosed. Burningham and Cooper however defend social constructionism against this charge and argue that the deconstruction of claims is a political activity, not something outside it or above it.

In this most recent defence of social constructionism, Burningham and Cooper (1999) point out how the social constructionist, including the strict constructionist of the Spector and Kitsuse (1977) school, does not deny the reality of social problems, but does insist that the meaning or significance of the problem cannot be taken for granted. Thus we attribute different meanings to animals which are contested by people with particular interests as was explained in the literature review. Burningham and Cooper are at pains in their paper to point out that most social constructionists studying social problems do so contextually and do not deny the reality of objective conditions. While Spector and Kitsuse maintain that strict constructionism is theoretically more promising than the contextual form, Burningham and Cooper insist that this is not how the approach is actually used, a point emphasised by among others, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) and Best (1989). To underline their point, Burningham and Cooper note that a



recent collection of papers by Sarbin and Kitsuse (1994: 305) are all examples of contextual constructionism. For their part, Sarbin and Kitsuse (1994:14) maintain that it is questionable whether researchers could ever satisfy the methodological requirements of strict contextualism by which they presumably mean to represent the opposite of contextual constructionism. In coming to this conclusion, they appear to accept the widespread view that most social problems researchers prefer and practise the "mild approach" to the strong or strict constructionism advocated by Spector and Kitsuse. Burningham and Cooper however do not dismiss strict constructionism as untenable. They see it "as a radical scepticism about ontological claims, and not as an ontological claim about the non-existence of reality" (1999: 309). However strict constructionism remains anathema to realists. According to Franklin (2002: 42), the most famous case in the realist-constructivist debate is "the realist mobbing" of Keith Tester's *Animals and Society* by Dickens (1992), Benton (1992) and Martell (1994). The present study also takes issue with Tester's strict constructionism and advocates a mild or contextual constructionism which acknowledges realist concerns.

Realism, according to Outhwaite is "a common-sense ontology, in the sense that it takes seriously the existence of the things, structures and mechanisms revealed by the sciences at different levels of reality" (1987: 19). The constructivist-realist debate has been thoroughly rehearsed in Delanty's (1997) *Social Science: Beyond Constructivism and Realism*. According to Delanty, constructivism "is a central epistemological idea in feminism and new social movement theory" (1997: 117). The central insight of feminism is that reality is a gendered construction and that the objective of the feminist critique is to point to a different way of constructing social reality. Halfpenny (2001) also makes the point that the liberation strand of feminism has attacked positivism by

asserting that sociology is not a value-free, self-certifying science but a cultural product. In various sections of the thesis, feminist ideas in this tradition are used to illustrate how animal-human relations can be improved by, for example, an ethics of care or a maternal epistemology. The second point raised by Delanty is that constructivism is inherent in new social movement theory. This is borne out in the present study which is based on the idea that animal rights is a new social movement in which new identities such as "animal lover", "animal activist", "ethical vegetarian" and "cruelty-free" living are constructed.

To conclude this discussion, Delanty argues that the constructivist-realist divide is a false dichotomy and that both are reconcilable (1997: 132). "Naïve constructivism fails to see that behind the constructions of social actors there are objective realities and naïve realism neglects the extent to which social actors and science construct reality" (1997: 133). I take the view that contextual constructionists acknowledge realist concerns and I hope the present study is evidence of this. The remainder of the chapter discusses the methods and data in more detail.

### **Interviews**

A snowball sampling technique, also called "network sampling" (Wiersma, 1991: 266) or "opportunistic sampling" (Burgess, 1984: 55) was used to solicit the names of prospective informants. In order to insure against too much homogeneity in the sample, I procured the names of prospective interviewees from the English newspaper coverage of the 1995 live animal export campaign in England. Snowballing is a useful technique when the target population is scattered (Burgess, 1982) or inaccessible (Eckhardt and Ermann, 1977: 253). It was especially helpful in accessing potentially reluctant

informants during a tight research schedule in the USA and the UK. In the case of the Australian interviewees, a modified snowball technique is a more accurate description of the process as most of the informants were recruited via their host organisations. One unintended consequence of soliciting interviewees via key informants was that these people often referred me to the leaders of various organisations, some of whom proved to be more guarded and practised in being interviewed than their staff members. I tried to overcome this delicate problem by asking to speak to someone else in the organisation who had first hand experience in a recent campaign. More often than not, I was able to do this with the concurrence of the organisation's head. Throughout the thesis, the words of the interviewees when quoted are given in *italics* to distinguish them from other sources. Occasionally, words are put in bold to highlight where interviewees were emphatic in their responses.

While interviews were important in answering my research question, other data were indispensable in forming a picture of the world of animal activists and advocates. These included the Animal and Social Issues Survey (ASIS in Appendix 2), a collection of various campaign documents and movement paraphrenalia, video films favourable and unfavourable to the movement, a radio broadcast, annual reports and other materials such as magazines from the two dozen or so organisations studied for the project. Secondary research material in the form of books and articles were also an important resource for the study; all of these materials constituted the data used in the study. "Data are what we see, hear or read: no more but certainly no less" (Melia, 1987: 34-5). According to Melia, whose doctoral dissertation relied heavily on qualitative analysis, albeit in a different field, the best we can hope for in using different data is that it tells a plausible story:

Whatever high - flown rhetoric is adopted about uncovered meanings and understandings of discourse and narratives, what is required for a discussion of empirical work is some means of translating data from the field – interviews, observations, documents – into an explanation of the topic in hand which can be conveyed to others and understood by others (Melia, 1987: 35).

Thus my purpose in selecting various data for the thesis was that it was compatible with the lived experiences of the animal activists and advocates in the study; put differently, my hope is that movement insiders would see the study as “a plausible story” in the way suggested by Melia (1987).

From the outset I wanted to treat the interviews as semi-structured conversations in which I hoped informants would be willing to discuss openly and freely any ideas they had on anything to do with the project's working title - “Animal Liberationists and Their Campaigns” - that is, the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of animal rights activism. This boiled down to two sets of questions. The first set consisted of questions about the informants themselves - their personal interest in animals, motivations, beliefs and lifestyles; the second set of questions focused on their involvement in specific campaigns using Shapiro's (1994) definition of the prototype animal rights activist as a partial framework:

An animal rights activist is an individual whose primary concern is caring about animals; who is primed to see suffering in animals; who aggressively seeks out and skilfully investigates situations in which animals are suffering; and for whom such caring, seeing and seeking become pervasive aspects of daily life, embodied in his or her lifestyle; tensions between the apparent contradiction between an attitude of caring and the aggressive exposure of human-oriented animal suffering are resolved in one of several ways: embracing, suppressing, or losing touch with the caring (1994: 148).

While I did not test Shapiro's propositions in any rigorous way, they were informally used to find out more about an individual activist's motivations and what meanings he or she attached to animal rights activism. By focusing in the Interview Schedule on what

drives the animal liberationists and their campaigns (see Appendix 1), I hope to have contributed to an understanding of the world of animal protectionism in the three case study countries.

During the research it became clear that there existed another species of animal protectionist that did not fit Shapiro's "caring sleuth" description of the animal activist. These were people who saw themselves as animal advocates rather than activists. Many of the individuals who were employed by animal protection organisations described their work as animal advocacy and thought that their role resembled the political lobbyist more than the social movement activist. Phillips (1994) has referred to this division in new social movements as different routes to representation and participation. She contends that both require different resources, types of knowledge and tactical repertoires but both are needed in the interests of pragmatism and passion and for the success of the movement. The present study takes a similar approach by focusing on the organisational, advocacy wing (representation) and the grassroots, activist wing (participation) of the animal movement. As the advocates were invariably constrained in their animal protection activities by the kind of organisation that employed them, it was necessary to include an organisational dimension to the study (see Table 3.2 below). I therefore used a modified version of Dalton's (1994) model of Ideologically Structured Action (ISA) to study some of the main animal social movement organisations (SMOs) in the US, the UK and Australia.

There are some risks in giving space to representation as distinct from participation in the analysis of a social movement. For many people, social movements can not be "tamed" by a focus on the organisational dimension of its activities, which conventionally are not associated with more expressive and dramatic forms of activism.

However, a feature of the politics of animal protectionism is the tendency towards organisational specialisation, for organisations to work on single issues, to produce expertise and a division of labour on these issues, and to employ issue specialists accordingly. Phillips points to the pressures for institutionalisation when specialisation grows in social movements and describes what typically occurs in the animal movement in the interaction between organisational advocate and grassroots activist: "These specialists can compete in conventional politics based on expertise and then share their technological knowledge with the other organisations whose emphasis remains focused on participation and spontaneity" (1994: 64). This kind of partnership between animal advocacy (representation) and activism (participation) is a feature of animal protection praxis as described in the present study.

An important limitation of the interview is the danger of psychologising away the informant's responses such as attributing psychological motivations to an individual's actions. C.Wright Mills's (1940) directive was that sociologists should study people's motives by attending to their vocabularies rather than their psyches. Lichterman also suggests that we should listen to how activists justify their actions in their vocabularies of motives rather than attempting to plumb their psychological needs (1998: 410). Again, this is difficult to achieve in practice, although I believe I have avoided this particular pitfall in the present study. As shown in Table 3.1 there were 53 interviewees of whom 26 described themselves as activists and 27 as advocates. However, most of the Australian activists and half of the American and English cohorts can be more accurately designated as activist/advocates as they were often affiliated with an animal protection organisation that seemed to more advocacy-oriented than grassroots. What is more important perhaps, is the fact that many of the animal

protectionists in this study were typically activists before they graduated to becoming advocates in the suites.

**Table 3.1:** Animal protectionists interviewed in the case study countries

<b>Activists</b>		
<b>Australia (12)</b>	<b>UK (9)</b>	<b>USA (5)</b>
Casey	Adrew Tyler (Animal Aid)	Alan
Gaynor	Gary	Christine Stevens (AWI)
Jim Roberts (ALVic)	James	Scott Williams (FARM)
Laurie Levy (CADS)	Joan Court (ARC)	Wayne Pacelle (HSUS)
Leslie	Mike Huskisson (ACIG)	Tina
Lisa	Milly	
Owen	Morry	
Patty Mark (ALVic)	Phyllis	
Rhett	Tim O'Brien (CIWF)	
Rheya Linden (ALVic)		
Roger		
Sherry		

<b>Advocates</b>		
<b>Australia (10)</b>	<b>UK(5)</b>	<b>USA (12)</b>
Al	Barbara	Adele Douglass (AHA)
Carole de Fraga (WSPA)	Collette Kase (NCDL)	Ann Sparks (AHA)
Elizabeth Ahlston (AAHR)	John Bryant (LACS)	Carter Luke (MSPCA)
Joan Papayanni (WLPA)	Joyce d' Silva (CIWF)	Cathy Liss (AWI)
Glenys Oogjes (ANZFAS)	Kaye	Gus Thornton (MSPCA)
Jenny Talbot (Proj Jonah)		Holly Hazard (DDAL)
Margaret Bowman (WLPA)		Pat Reilly (MSPCA)
Mark Berriman (AVS)		Stephanie Roderick (WSPA)
Sid		Tamara Hamilton (HSUS)
Sue		Vicky Kysar (WSPA)
		Tom Regan
		*Robert Ferris (DoW)

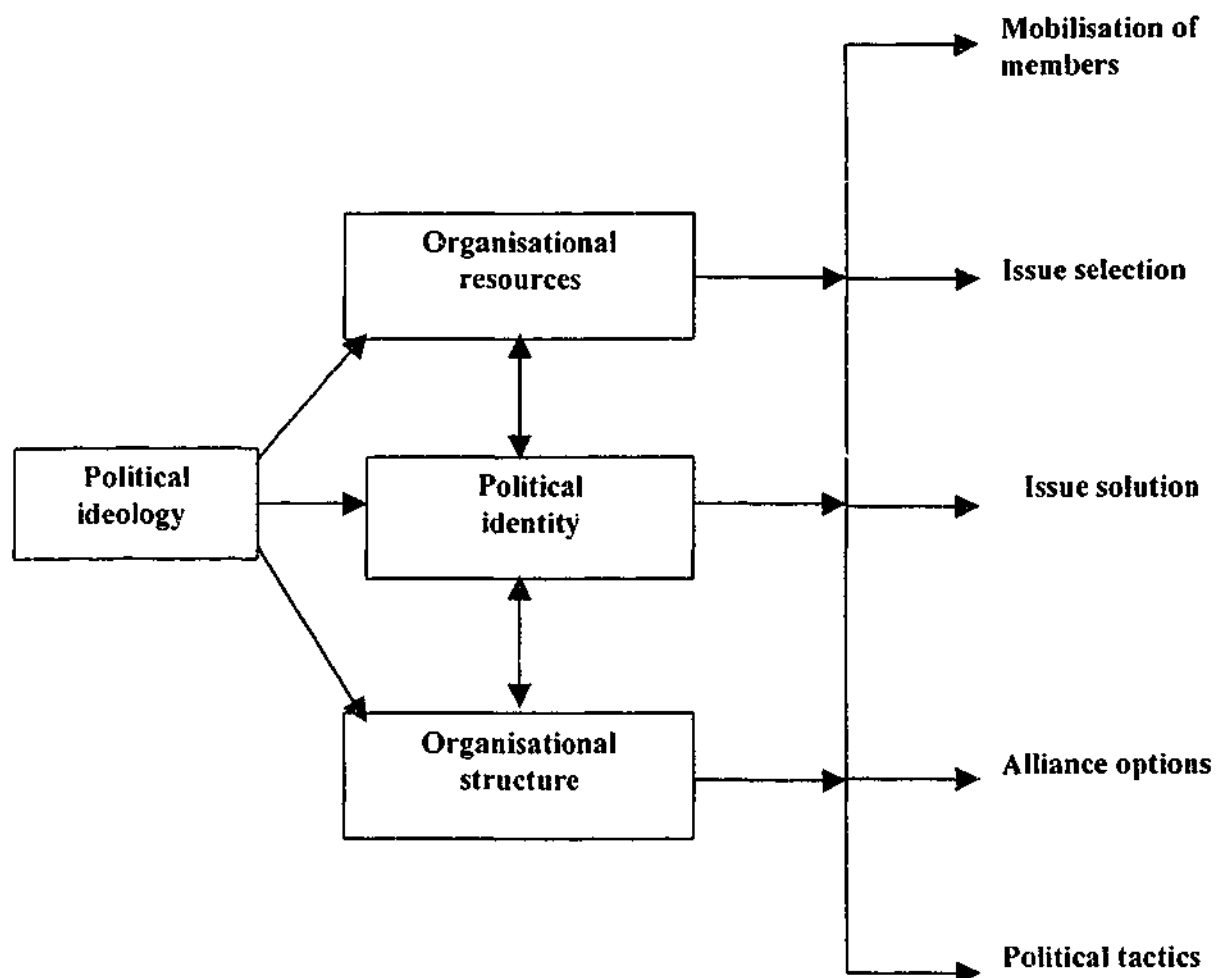
\* Denotes that this interviewee preferred the designation movement "supporter".

### The organisational study

Buechler (2000) claims that the resource mobilisation approach to social movements has had a resurgence in recent years. Using a similar approach, Dalton's analysis of environmental SMOs in western Europe compared the different ideologies,

organisational structures, resources, strategies and tactics of the groups he studied. His approach is illustrated in Figure 3.1 below.

**Figure 3.1:** Dalton's model of Ideologically Structured Action



Source: Figure 1.1 in Dalton, R (1994) *The green rainbow: Environmental groups in Western Europe*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

This approach proved useful in the present study as one could not ignore the number of organised groups that belonged to the animal movement. In my discussions with representatives of the animal protection SMOs, I incorporated several of Dalton's concepts in the semi-structured interviews where they seemed appropriate. For example, it was sometimes the case that the SMO's ideology or tactics were clearly spelt out in



the promotional literature and so specific questions did not need to be asked. And it sometimes happened that one particular theme stood out as the most important for that SMO so that the interview focussed more on that issue than on any other. In virtually every instance however, it was possible to fill in the gaps by referring to secondary sources on the organisation. These materials – annual reports, surveys, in-house magazines and other paraphrenalia – proved to be a valuable resource for understanding the role of organisational advocacy in the movement.

The key terms in Dalton's model – ideology, structure and action – correspond to the three columns in the diagram depicted above. I asked the organisation's spokesperson broad questions for each of the components in the diagram. I interpreted political ideology to mean the organisation's core set of values, that is whether it saw itself as having an animal welfare, animal liberation or animal rights orientation. An SMO's political ideology is closely related to its political identity, a fact which Dalton confirms: "The distinct political values of the core activists and the history of the organization define its political identity" (1994: 11). I then asked specific questions in relation to the model's components (see Appendix 1).

While this line of questioning yielded important data on the organisational wing of the animal movement, it needs to be understood that this kind of data offers only a partial perspective on the movement. As Tilly reminds us, social movement organisations do not constitute social movements just as music schools do not constitute the world of classical music or galleries the world of painting (1993/94: 6). Yet the organisations listed in Table 3.2 below do constitute an important part of the movement that cannot be ignored. I have therefore attempted to balance the organisational

perspective with grassroots activist perspectives as well as views of the movement from secondary, scholarly sources.

### **Profile of Animal Protection Organisations in Australia, the UK and the USA**

It is notoriously difficult to calculate the size of the animal movement worldwide or even in the three case study countries. (See Note 2) One source suggests that there are 6 000 animal welfare groups worldwide (Spedding, 2000: 4). Estimates of the size of the movement range from 10 to 15 million although Peter Singer, at a time when the movement had peaked, thought these figures were unrealistically large (Singer 1985:47). The best we can do is to provide rough estimates of the membership of organisations and groups that belong to the movement and which publish their activities in directories and the like. There is little doubt that the USA has the largest number of animal advocates with over 400 advocacy groups with a total membership of 10 million and an annual income of \$50 million (Blum 1994:113-4).

More important than the size of membership of the movement however, is the range and diversity of grassroots and advocacy organizations. Table 3.2 below shows the organizations which I visited for this study; they divided up equally between animal liberation and animal rights organisations with a small number of animal welfare groups. In most cases the designation "advocacy" or "activist" organization was disclosed in the interviews with staff members or was suggested in the literature provided by the organization. These should be interpreted as broadly accurate descriptions rather than as rigid definitions of the organizations' ideological or programmatic orientation. For instance, staff at the Animal Welfare Institute (AWI) and FARM tend to see themselves as activists although both groups are headquartered in

Washington DC and spend much of their time lobbying Congress from the suites. As shown in the Table 3.2 below, half of the SMOs have an activist orientation and half are characterised by an advocacy orientation. While in no way comprehensive, I believe they are broadly representative of the animal movement in the respective countries.

**Table 3.2:** Programmatic orientation of select animal protection organizations in the case study countries

Animal welfare	Animal liberation	Animal rights
(RSPCA)MSPCA/World Society for the Protection of Animals	Animal Welfare Institute	Animal Aid
National Canine Defence League	Animal Liberation (Vic)	Animal Rights Cambridge
Defenders of Wildlife	Animal Liberation (NSW)	Animal Investigation Cruelty Group
	Project Jonah	Farm Animal Reform Movement
	Compassion in World Farming	Coalition Against Duck Shooting
	League Against Cruel Sports	Guardians
	American Humane Association	Australian Association of Humane Research
	Humane Society of the United States	British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection
	Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies	Mountain Residents for Animal Rights
	World League for the Protection of Animals	Brightlingsea Against Animal Exports
	Australian Vegetarian Society	(People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals)
	Doris Day Animal League	(Hunt Saboteurs Association)

Some other organizations not specifically studied but referred to in Table 3.2 in parenthesis and in the thesis include People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA). Because several informants indicated that they belonged at some stage to one or more of these well-known groups they are listed

in the table. It was quite common for the staff of some of the larger SMOs to have done their "apprenticeship" in the HSA or PETA.

All of the selected organizations are involved in animal protection either at the grassroots or organizational level or both. As animal protectionists they can be further designated as animal welfarists, animal liberationists and animal rightists. In deciding on these categories, I was guided by the terminology used in the literature. Animal welfare is typically associated with the idea of kindness to animals best exemplified by the RSPCA. The term animal liberation is more problematic since it is often associated in the public's mind - at least in the UK and the USA but not in Australia - with the Animal Liberation Front. In Australia, the term animal liberation is relatively benign, even respectable because of its association with Singer's name. Animal liberation, as used in this study then, refers to the pragmatic, non-violent activities of the movement as espoused in Singer's book by that name (1975,1990). Finally, I use the term animal rights - as it was intended by Tom Regan (1984) in *The Case for Animal Rights* - to mean activities designed to abolish, rather than reform, human (ab)uses of other animals. Again, these designations as shown in Table 3.2 were provided in the interviews or gleaned from the organization's literature and are meant to be broadly descriptive rather than definitive.

The RSPCA is usually seen as quintessentially animal welfarist in its activities. The World Society for the Protection of Animals (WSPA) is much more difficult to categorise; although it is a partner of the RSPCA in the UK and Australia and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (MSPCA) in the USA, its field workers are often involved in quite dangerous work (see Munro (2001c), Chapter 10). At the other end of the continuum, groups like PETA and HSA see

themselves as abolitionists who want humans to leave animals alone. These designations are open to question and would no doubt be challenged by some movement commentators. For instance, Gary Francione (1996) categorises most organisations claiming to follow a rights-orientation as "new welfarism" that is, far removed from the animal rights position he believes the movement ought to embrace. Nonetheless, I was interested in how the organisations portrayed themselves in their promotional literature and how they were seen by movement adherents.

What all of the above welfare, liberation and rights groups have in common is an aversion to violence. Just as they are opposed to the violence done to animals by humans, they reject the use of violence against animal exploiters perpetrated by animal defenders on behalf of animals. Abolitionists who follow Regan's lead, in common with all the groups listed above, are totally opposed to the use of violent and illegal means to achieve their ends. As already explained, extremist groups outside the mainstream movement organizations listed above were not included in the interviews. (see Note 1) I attempted to include large and small organizations which represented the various issues of the animal movement in all three countries. The two dozen organizations were represented by three categories as shown in Figure 3.2 below.

**Figure 3.2 Animal protection organizations by issue or focus**

Issue of focus or organisation	Animal protection organisation
<i>Multi- issue groups</i>	Animal Aid, Animal Rights Cambridge, Animal Welfare Institute, Humane Society of the United States, Doris Day Animal League,
<i>Specialist or focussed campaigns</i>	American Humane Association, Animals Australia, World League for the Protection of Animals, World Society for the Protection of Animals
<i>Single-issue groups</i>	Animal Cruelty Investigation Group (mainly cruelty to lab or wild animals); Animal Liberation in Australia, Mountain Residents for Animal Rights, Brightlingsea Against Live Exports (mostly farm animals ); RSPCA/ MSPCA, National Canine Defence League (domestic animals)
	<b>Wild animals</b> – Coaliton Against Duck Shooting, League Against Cruel Sports, Project Jonah, Defenders of Wildlife; <b>Laboratory animals</b> – British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, Australian Association for Humane Research, Guardians; <b>Farm animals</b> – Farm Animal Reform Movement, Compassion in World Farming.

The multi-issue groups include a variety of animal protection SMOs ranging from the large and wealthy national Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) to local, grassroots direct action groups like Animal Rights Cambridge (ARC). Multi-issue SMOs almost always have divisions which include the three big animal protection campaigns against factory farming, vivisection and hunting and trapping - as well as a host of other issues such as circuses, zoos, rodeos, steeple jumping, companion animals, animals used in film making and so on. Wealthier organizations like HSUS and the American Humane Association (AHA) also sponsor humanitarian education and anti-violence campaigns in addition to these conventional animal protection concerns. Most of the SMOs do not have the resources to mount several campaigns simultaneously and so focus on a particular issue such as wild, domestic, laboratory or farm animals.

This division of labour also helps the movement as a whole avoid too much duplication in the animal issues marketplace. In some cases the name of the SMO is not necessarily a good guide to the issues and campaigns. For example, farm animals have

tended to be the preoccupation of Animal Liberation groups in Australia although the issues at different times have varied from branch to branch. And while the USA-based Farm Animal Reform Movement (FARM) is widely known for its campaigns against intensive farming, it has recently come to be more like a vegetarian society with its adoption of an environmental/vegetarian focus. Similarly, Mountain Residents for Animal Rights (MRAR), a small grassroots group near Sydney, strictly speaking does not pursue an animal rights philosophy and is closer ideologically and programmatically to Animal Liberation as it exists in Australia.

Animal protection SMOs however are usually meticulous in their use of logos, as the name of an organization can quite literally determine its credibility or fundraising capacity. Compassion in World Farming (CIWF), the League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) and the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV), while not household names in the UK, are likely to have more public appeal than No More Victims or the Society of Kind Understanding for Not Killing Skunks (SKUNKS) which are two of the groups listed in the American Animal Rights Directory (*The Animals' Agenda*, July-August, 1996). Single-issue organizations often use ingenious acronyms such as PAWS (Performing Animals Welfare Society), CADS (Coalition Against Duck Shooting) and the ad hoc group BALE (Brightlingsea Against Animal Exports) which campaigned against the trade in sheep and other animals in the UK.

Most of the organisations in the study followed an organisational charter that was usually written down in their promotional literature. An organisation's charter establishes the limits of legitimizable action. "In some sense, a charter can be said to represent the constraints on a member's freedom of action that he or she experiences or depicts as exterior, objective and given" (Dingwall and Strong, 1997: 146-7). Thus to be

a staff member in the radical vegan-animal rights organisation Animal Aid, means that one has to be committed to a vegan lifestyle, something which for animal welfare and some of the liberation organisations listed in Table 3.2 is not applicable. However, staff members of most of the prominent SMOs would generally be expected to be vegetarian, if not vegan. Thus, of the 53 interviewees in the study, 10 were organisational leaders, of whom four were vegan, four were vegetarian and the remaining two were designated as either semi-vegetarian or carnivore.

### **Animal and Social Issues Survey (ASIS)**

When research for the thesis began I was struck by the paucity of information about animal protectionists in Australia compared to what was available in the USA and to a lesser extent in the UK. Various surveys conducted in the USA and in the UK, although limited in number and sophistication, at least provided some basic data about animal rights/welfare issues such as hunting in the UK and about animal protectionists and their attitudes towards animals ( Richards, 1990) in the USA. No such survey data were available to my knowledge in Australia. I therefore designed a questionnaire - the Animal and Social Issues Survey (ASIS) (see Appendix 2) - to find out how Australian animal protectionists compared to their Anglo- American counterparts on a number of specific issues.

ASIS focussed on the attitudes and beliefs of animal rights supporters on a number of issues relevant to the protection and welfare of animals in Australia and incorporating some of the questions used by Rebecca Richards (1990) who surveyed subscribers to *Animals' Agenda*, an animal rights group in the United States. Permission to use some of her questions was obtained so that a comparative study of at least some



issues - particularly how individuals ranked human uses of other animals in terms of cruelty and what actions were needed to prevent animal abuse - could be gauged. A comparable animal welfare group in Australia, ANZFAS, was willing to participate in the survey. ANZFAS has about five hundred members in Australia and represents approximately thirty animal welfare/rights organisations throughout the country. Every member in Australia was asked to complete the nine-page questionnaire, hereafter ASIS, and 87 per cent did so. A small representative group also agreed to participate in a trial survey designed to iron out any problems with the questionnaire.

I approached the director of the Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies (ANZFAS) who invited me to explain the research project and the survey at their annual general meeting attended by representatives of most of the member societies. Virtually all member societies present expressed interest in the survey. I then worked with the ANZFAS Director in refining the questionnaire to include questions which were of interest to the ANZFAS leadership. The survey was trialled in late 1995 with sixteen volunteers associated with animal welfare work in Victoria. About twenty questions were deleted from the schedule resulting in a more user-friendly instrument of some nine single pages totalling 80 questions. Following the main mail-out late in 1995 there were only two refusals and nine envelopes which were returned to sender unopened or were otherwise incomplete bringing the total response rate to 87 per cent ( $n = 347$ ), well above the usual rate of around 30 per cent for mail-out surveys (Fowler, 1988:49) and even better than the 84 per cent response rate ( $n=853$ ) achieved in the similar survey by Richards (1990).

### Computer-assisted analysis

The data for the present study consisted of qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (survey) materials. The qualitative data amounted to approximately 1 000 pages of A4 transcripts which were converted into formatted pages to be processed by THE ETHNOGRAPH, a computer program that facilitated sorting, searching and retrieving the interview data for analysis. According to Seidel and Clark (1984), there are four basic steps to using THE ETHNOGRAPH: (1) the raw data of a transcript are stored in a formatted input file; (2) the lines of the file are numbered; (3) segments of the file are defined and named with code words; and (4) designated segments, such as all the instances of code "A" are extracted and placed in an output file which allows the researcher to compare instances of "A" with one another or with instances of segments labelled "B", "C" etc.

There has been a great deal of scholarly debate on the issue of using computers for analysing qualitative data for the purpose of research (Fielding and Lee, 1991). Some researchers claim that qualitative data analysis is beyond the scope of technology. Agar (1980) for example, defines the qualitative research tradition by

its openness, its willingness to approach complex behaviour in natural contexts, its lack of commitment to the common wisdom as encoded in social science theory, its methodological flexibility in adapting elicitation and observation to the situational and personal demands of the moment and its stress on the quality of the relationship within which the information exchange occurs.

He suggests that in seeking to replicate a different research tradition, there is a danger that these characteristics will be lost. Seidel (1991), one of the developers of THE ETHNOGRAPH, is similarly cautious about the use of computers in qualitative research. Seidel warns that computers have the potential to distance the researcher from the data. This could occur if one were to collect a vast amount of qualitative data and

then code it in order to simplify or quantify the material without immersing oneself in the data (Borkan, 1999). On the other hand, Coffey and Atkinson point out, "it is one of the strengths of computer-assisted analysis that it facilitates the rapid and comprehensive scrutiny of large volumes of textual data" (1996: 172). THE ETHNOGRAPH therefore, is essentially a tool which frees the researcher from the mechanical, "cut and paste" aspects of qualitative data analysis. However, it relies on the analyst to make sense of the data, a process which it nonetheless facilitates. As Richards and Richards point out, "the viewing of segments from many documents on one topic or selected topics always offers a new way of seeing data" (1994: 447). This occurred at various times in the present study. For example, the code word "work" yielded numerous segments which suggested the key theoretical concept of social problems work to describe the activist/advocacy campaigning work in the animal movement.

Some 250 coding categories outlined in the coding tree (see Appendix 3) were organised under four categories corresponding to the activism, activists, advocacy and the campaigns of the animal movement. These were derived from the two central research question, namely, why and how do people participate in a cause in which they are not direct beneficiaries.

Initial coding was used "to identify themes, patterns, events and actions that are of interest to the researcher and that provide a means of organizing data sets" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:32). Code-and-retrieve programs allow the researcher to mark off stretches of data by attaching code words to those segments, and then to search the data for the purpose of retrieving and collecting segments which share a code. The advantage of THE ETHNOGRAPH is that it "can cope with multiple and overlapping codes, and it

can conduct multiple searches using more than one code word simultaneously" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:171). Complex searches are possible with THE ETHNOGRAPH by using the operators AND, OR, and NOT, thus enabling the researcher to go beyond searching tasks achievable by manual techniques.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has described the research process underpinning the thesis including epistemological issues relating to positivism, realism and constructivism. It also outlined the underlying strategy for using the data in the study which consisted primarily of interview transcripts and the results of a survey on animals and social issues. This data revealed insider perspectives and activist testimonies on animal rights issues. In addition, the study of animal organisations was explained; these data provided insights primarily from animal advocates in the suites as distinct from animal activists in the streets.

The remaining chapters are the substantive chapters of the thesis. The thematic chapters begin in Chapter 4 with a broad discussion of cruelty and compassion, the issues which drive the animal movement in the case study countries.

## Endnotes

**Note 1:** The Ethics Committee of Monash University stipulates to researchers that they cannot guarantee informants that their research will not at some time be subject to subpoena. A statement to this effect had to be included in the explanatory statement given to prospective interviewees. I was therefore obliged to avoid interviewing people who may have been involved in illegal or violent animal rights activities so as to protect them from possible future prosecution. I was aware at the time of the interviews that the American sociologist, Ric Scarce had been sent to prison for five months for refusing to reveal the names of his animal rights informants to a Federal grand jury. This case meant that it was not possible any longer for researchers in America (and later Australia) to guarantee confidentiality to their informants as the interview data could be subpoenaed by a court (Scarce, 1993: 1). Initially, I thought this would pose severe limitations on the data. However, as extremism and violence are not characteristic of the mainstream animal movement, the absence of the Animal Liberation Front and similar extremist groups in the study was not a serious omission. Also, not one interviewee in the mainstream movement declined to be interviewed because of the "warning" contained in the explanatory statement.

**Note 2:** Thus one directory of USA animal groups published by *The Animals' Agenda* (July-August, 1996) lists over 300 groups ranging from large, well-known SMOs like PETA to small outfits that are little more than letterheads. A similar list of Australian groups published by ANZFAS puts the number of animal welfare/rights groups at just over 90, although many of these groups would be in the letterhead category. The membership of the animal protection movement in Australia is roughly in the vicinity of

127 000, with ANZFAS member societies and the RSPCA providing about half the total number . The RSPCA in the UK has about 500 000 supporters in 200 branches in England and Wales and 178 affiliated groups worldwide (*The Economist*, 19 August, 1995). By comparison, Australia's RSPCA has approximately 30 000 supporters. Another source lists a total of 62 organisations in the USA and 40 in the UK covering 11 different categories (excluding vegan and vegetarian groups) of animal advocates: multi-purpose, laboratory animals, farm animals, wildlife, sport and entertainment, companion animals, marine life, specific animals as well as professional organisations, special interest groups and legislative organisations (*The Animal Rights Handbook*, 1993).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CRUELTY AND COMPASSION IN A DECENT SOCIETY

*The only political commitments worth making are those that seek to reduce the amount of human suffering in the world. (Peter Berger)*

*Man is the cruelest animal. (Nietzsche in Thus Spoke Zarathustra)*

This chapter focuses on the themes of cruelty and its opposite compassion. No study of the animal protection movement would be complete without an understanding of what moves people to campaign against cruelty to animals. The chapter therefore begins with an outline of some of the main reasons animal protectors give for joining the movement. These are described as fateful moments or turning points in their lives when they "converted" to the cause. This is followed by a broad discussion of cruelty which leads to an explanation of how the animal movement constructs speciesism as a social problem. It has to be understood that such a construction is only possible in a society where it is at least potentially possible, for violence against animals to be taken as seriously as other forms of violence. This has only been possible in the West during the last two centuries. Over this period, the animal movement has amassed the prerequisite moral capital upon which it can mount its campaigns. By the late twentieth century, animal cruelty has come to be defined by movement analysts sympathetic to the cause as "any act that contributes to the pain or death of an animal or that otherwise threatens the welfare of an animal" (Agnew, 1998: 179). This definition includes not just wanton cruelty involving the torture or maiming of individual animals, but also the death and

suffering of large numbers of animals in intensive farming, experimentation and recreational hunting.

For the past two centuries much of the work of animal protection organisations has been concerned with promoting compassion for animals in these contexts. The chapter will therefore examine this side of the cruelty/compassion couplet by focussing on the nature of caring and commitment in the animal movement from the perspective of individuals and an animal welfare organisation in the UK. I begin with an overview in Figure 4.1 of the reasons interviewees gave for joining the animal movement. About half the sample of 53 interviewees identified a specific event or "fateful moment" which caused them to join the animal movement. Many of the remaining informants said they did not experience an epiphany or a turning point and that they came to the movement more gradually and for more general reasons, typically because of their abhorrence of cruelty. One prominent animal protector, John Bryant of the League Against Cruel Sports, claimed that no one will ever know why people join the animal movement. Yet more than two dozen of the interviewees could identify a turning point in their lives when they decided to do something for animals by joining the movement, or in some cases, starting up an organisation of their own. Giddens (1991b: 202-203) refers to "fateful moments" as episodes when "an individual is forced to rethink fundamental aspects of her existence and future prospects". A few of the interviewees claimed their conversion to the cause came as an epiphany which Denzin describes as "moments of problematic experience that illuminate personal character" after which "the person is never again quite the same" (1989: 15-18). Whether these turning points are called fateful moments or epiphanies, about half the animal protectors in the sample



could identify a specific moment or event in their lives when things were never the same again.

The responses in Figure 4.1 can be divided into intellectual, emotional and practical reasons although there is sometimes some obvious overlap between the categories. For example, while rescuing an animal in distress is often a profoundly emotional experience, the act of rescue itself is a practical one. These particular responses are listed as emotional reasons since the informants narrated the experience as an intensely emotional one. Similarly, Tina's accidental encounter with a healthy vegetarian was an experience that led to her to read up on vegetarian and animal rights issues so that a practical reason for becoming a vegetarian – the positive impression made by her vegetarian acquaintance – developed into an intellectual pursuit. It is interesting to note that these intellectual, emotional and practical reasons for joining the movement correspond to the three dimensions of social problems work outlined in Chapter 1. It is perhaps not surprising that the motives for joining the movement are closely linked to actual animal protection praxis as in most cases, the interviewees were already engaging in social problems work when they made the decision to change their lives by converting to vegetarianism, starting an animal group, or joining an existing one. The evidence of social problems work is more obvious in some activities – hearing, reading, seeing, rescuing and participating – than in others. Conversion experiences typically mean that people “are called on to take decisions that are particularly consequential for their ambitions, or more generally for their future lives” (Giddens, 1991b: 114). This is the first stage of social problems work, when people's intellectual, emotional or practical experiences mean they will never be quite the same again.

Figure 4.1 Reasons informants give for joining the animal movement

Name	Responses
Intellectual reasons	
Elisabeth Ahlston	Hearing a talk on vivisection
Glenys Oogjes	Reading Singer's <i>Animal Liberation</i>
Joyce d'Silva	Reading Gandhi's autobiography
Stephanie Ruddick	Hearing a university class on animal experimentation
Scott Williams	Recognising hot dogs as linked to cruelty
Emotional reasons	
"Milly"	Seeing TV images of cattle lorries
"Lisa"	Seeing her cat suffering
"Alan"	Seeing <i>Faces of Death</i> video
Collette Kase	Love of pet rabbit, Mr Charlie
Ann Sparks	Seeing classic pictures of a veal calf
Patty Mark	Seeing goat's head soup in Greece
Mark Berriman	Finding meat "atrocious" in India
Tamara Hamilton	Seeing a pamphlet on vivisection
Wayne Pacelle	Lifelong antipathy towards people who harm animals
Jenny Talbot	Seeing destruction of animals during tree felling
Jim Roberts	Seeing abattoir trucks loaded with animals
Tim O'Brien	Recognising sheep as individuals who should not be eaten
Practical reasons	
"Sid"	Early childhood experience of the RSPCA
"Casey"	Incongruity of loving animals and eating them
"Tina"	Accidental meeting of a healthy vegetarian
Sherry"	Participating in a duck rescue operation
"Owen"	Discovering vegetarianism
"Roger"	Participating in a duck rescue operation
Andrew Tyler	Writing about the "animal problem" for a newspaper
Cathy Liss	Connecting McDonald's with cruelty
Pat Reilly	Rescuing a river otter from a leg hold trap

**SOYONS CRUELS !** (Graffiti on the walls of the Sorbonne, May 1968)

James Miller has pondered the meaning of *BE CRUEL!* in the work of Foucault and Nietzsche and suggests that to them, cruelty externalised is better than cruelty internalised. One interpretation of being cruel which Miller believes Foucault would endorse is the idea of giving institutions license "to foster brutality and public displays of suffering" so that execution, torture, terror, unleashing lust for revenge and even the

spectacular deaths of animals could be celebrated (Miller, 1990: 485). Miller implies that no society would ever accept or even contemplate this kind of regime; nor is he convinced that externalizing cruelty is healthier than suppressing such phantasies within the self. Miller points out that Foucault's views on power and cruelty raise complex theoretical and practical questions, for example, what would it be like to be free of cruel impulses? This is not the place to address philosophical questions of this kind, suffice it to say that animal protectionists would find nothing of merit in Foucault's response given his celebration of cruelty.

For animal protectionists, the work of Sue Coe strikes a more responsive chord. In her art work and graphic descriptions of animal suffering in slaughterhouses, Coe startles and shocks the reader in ways reminiscent of Foucault in the opening passages of *Discipline and Punish*: "The feeding lots for cows look like the stocks, an old English device which secured a criminal, whilst the townspeople pelted him with garbage" (Coe, 1995: 47). Coe is however much more interested in depicting the mass cruelty of the slaughterhouse, which she describes, hesitantly, as an animal holocaust:

This is the longest train I have ever seen. It takes a full thirty minutes to pass by. There are hundreds of cars, packed with thousands and thousands of cattle on their way to slaughter. Six billion animals are killed each year in the United States for human consumption. The suffering of these animals is mute. For the defenseless, the gentle, the wounded, the ones who cannot speak, life consists of indescribable suffering (Coe, 1995: 63).

The animal protection movement is united in its opposition to cruelty perpetrated either against individual animals or en masse as in Coe's example. Surprisingly, however, only three out of the more than two dozen groups sampled in this study – the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the League Against Cruel Sports and the Animal Cruelty Investigation Group in the UK – refer to cruelty in their logos and letterheads although most refer explicitly to "animals" and implicitly to their

exploitation and suffering. In the interview transcripts however, there were 57 references to cruelty, more than any other code word in *The Ethnograph*, although tactics (55) and strategy (40) were not far behind. Furthermore, cruelty has several cognates of which domination, abuse, oppression, exploitation, pain and suffering among others, are the most common in the animal protectionist's lexicon. To the Australian activist, Roger, opposition to cruelty is the movement's *raison d'être*:

*There's no excuse for cruelty. I can't think of one. Our society and just about all religions don't accept cruelty. That's a good basis for an organisation. / Interview, 1994*

From the beginning of the humanitarian movement in the nineteenth century, opposition to cruelty has been the movement's driving force in both America and England. The forerunners of the modern animal rights movement were first and foremost anti-cruelty movements. And in Australia too, it was the moral potency of cruelty that united the early conservationists and animal protectors (MacCulloch, 1993). According to MacCulloch, the animal protection movement's lasting legacy was to shape the means by which communication about nature with the public was possible. This communication was founded on the moral potency of cruelty. MacCulloch describes the public's response to this message in the nineteenth century which still rings true a century later:

For no matter how affecting, or even tragic, it was to witness the destruction of a single, beautiful tree or scenic area, it lacked the pathos of cruelty to animals. A tree was a living thing but it did not bleed, it did not suffer, it did not have babies (1993: 369).

Cruelty to individual animals evokes strong emotions in most people, especially when the animal is as affecting as the koala. Increasingly, other, less "appealing" animals are being described sympathetically in the public domain. For example, a cover story in *The*

*Economist* featured a battery hen on the cover under the heading "What we owe to animals". The editorial opened with a description of the bird:

She is confined to a tiny cage with four or five others for her entire adult life....squeezed into a space about the size of the picture on our cover, barely enough to move. She may exercise her pecking instinct by pecking out her neighbour's feathers, unless her beak has been cut off with a red-hot blade, probably causing pain for life (*The Economist*, 19 August, 1995).

In this editorial, the issue of animal rights is discussed as a noble but futile project, since "without agreement on the rights of people, arguing about the rights of animals is fruitless". Animal liberationists would counter by appealing to people's compassion – does a hen have a right to her beak? This question brings the issue of animal rights down to earth. Phrased in this way, it is no longer a philosophical question, but rather an issue of compassion and humanity. People can identify with the issue when it is put in terms of an animal's bodily integrity. This is how many animal protectors conceive of cruelty, as an assault on an animal's telos.

Informants defined cruelty in both general and very specific terms. For three of the sample, cruelty was everywhere: *It's not possible to walk on this earth without being cruel to animals* (Joan, ARC); *the amount of cruelty is overwhelming* (Patty Mark, ALV); *you don't have to look far to find it* (Cathy Liss, AWI). More informants however claimed cruelty was hidden behind closed doors, with one activist noting *the incredible juxtaposition that there's all this space (in the countryside) and they're all shoved inside a shed for the rest of their lives* (Owen, Australian activist). Cruelty for some was defined very specifically and graphically: *it's not legitimate to abuse, mutilate, slaughter, electrocute, burn people, but of course it is legitimate and there are rewards for doing so in respect to animals* (Andrew Tyler, Animal Aid). For Mike

Huskisson (ACIG), the cruelty which Tyler describes is much worse in vivisection and bloodsports because it is largely hidden from the public's view.

Gratuitous cruelty by ordinary people also offended the Australian activist Patty Mark who related how her pet cat had been killed: *Someone had poured petrol all over her and set her on fire...and she came home before she died. It was really horrible and I was really upset and angry...something stirred about the injustice, about the fight for animals as well.* Mark described this kind of cruelty to individual animals as *a real sickness in our society which people can see and not see.* By this she means what her colleague Glenys Oogjes (Animals Australia) describes as *the institutionalised cruelty that people get away with, particularly if they've got an economic interest in it.* Such people, according to the Australian activist Gaynor, *have no conscience to guide them because they see animals as a commodity. They don't see them as feeling beings that can feel pain or distress or anything. They're just a commodity.* Several activists claimed that meat eating was the most common manifestation of cruelty to animals. According to the Australian activist, Owen, *that's the one example of cruelty that people are involved in everyday.* Others like Sherry, saw links between child abuse and cruelty to animals via the habit of meat eating: *I've always hated cruelty. I could never stand to see children or animals mistreated in any way... I never realised that meat – there was so much cruelty involved with meat.*

These testimonies provide a snapshot of how animal protectionists perceive speciesism as both cruelty to individual animals and *en mass* in practices such as factory farming and vivisection. The philosopher Tom Regan believes that confronting people with the suffering of animals in different cultures is an effective mobilising strategy:

*I think the thing that I would do over and over again (as a strategy) is to show people how in Korea, in China and so on, "pets" (so called) are chosen, thrown*

*in boiling water, skinned alive, thrown in vats, drowned, then cooked. And then I would show them what happens to hogs at slaughter. I think the connection just stares you in the face. The only thing that's different is that in Korea and China they're more honest about what they do. It's more public. In the USA and other so called "advanced" nations, it's hidden behind closed doors. / Interview, 1997*

Strongly expressed sentiments of this kind are intended to shock, as Tyler freely acknowledges and as Regan endorses. Speciesism, on the other hand, does not have the same power as explicit forms of cruelty such as those described by Tyler and Regan.

Speciesism, defined by Singer (1975:7) as "a prejudice or attitude of bias toward the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species", is a term rarely used in the movement. It is primarily employed by movement analysts and philosophers who wish to convey a sense of the interconnectedness between the animal movement and other liberation movements. Thus Singer's argument that speciesism is a morally reprehensible practice on a par with racism and sexism, explicitly makes the link between animal liberation and movements to liberate women and oppressed ethnic and racial minorities.

For most people the idea that the consumption, exploitation and mistreatment of nonhuman animals deserves the same moral condemnation as attacks against racial groups or women is quite alien. Animal rights activists, by contrast, want to change the way people perceive other animals by linking the exploitation of animals with the oppression of women and racial minorities. La Follette and Shanks put the position as follows: "Animal liberationists compare speciesism with racism to focus our attention on the human tendency to unreflectively accept contemporary moral standards" (1996: 227). They do so by constructing speciesism as a social problem, in much the same way that the Civil Rights and women's movements campaign against racism and sexism as

social injustices. The following critique by a prominent animal liberation philosopher clearly identifies speciesism as a moral problem, if not a social problem:

Morality is a goal-directed activity which aims at making the world a better place in terms of reduced suffering and frustration, increased happiness and fulfilment, a wider reign of fairness and respect for others, and enhanced presence and effectiveness of such virtues as kindness and impartiality. Through our exploitation of nonhuman animals we detract from all of these moral goals. Factory farming, fur trapping and other exploitations of nonhuman animals increase the suffering and frustration in the world and reduce happiness and fulfilment - the exact opposite of all these moral goals. ... Consequently... our goal of making the world a morally better place will be more effectively pursued by liberating from human exploitation all those capable of suffering and happiness and of being treated fairly and virtuously (Sapontzis, 1993: 270).

Peter Berger's opening sentence to *Movement and Revolution* (Berger and Neuhaus, 1970) quoted in the epigraph to this chapter expresses the same sentiment as Sapontzis, minus his focus on nonhuman animals. Sapontzis emphasises the goal of "making the world a better place", or "a decent society" in the words of Avishai Margalit (1996). In his recent book Margalit argues that a decent society is one free of humiliation; people are subjected neither to humiliation by other people nor by institutions such as welfare agencies or prisons. Margalit believes, however, that humiliation runs a close second to the greatest evil - physical cruelty, especially the suffering inflicted by other human beings. "Torturing the body causes more acute pain than torturing the soul" (1996:264). A decent society presupposes that physical cruelty has been eliminated. Although he suggests that cruelty toward man or beast is wrong, it is the suffering of human animals not nonhuman animals which concerns Margalit. This is clearly implied in his explanation of humiliation as the treatment of humans as if they were animals, objects or machines. Here the author of *The Decent Society* relegates nonhuman animals to an inferior species, just as people do when they talk about deviant individuals "behaving like animals". This expression of moral outrage is usually directed at people whose



actions offend our collective sensibilities. In such cases, the derogatory label "animal" is used to question the offenders' humanity by drawing attention to their animality.

From a non-speciesist, non-anthropocentric perspective, Margalit's argument is also deficient as a prescription for an alternative reality, or as a vision of what a decent society might look like. Nonhuman animals get short shrift. There is only one reference to animals in the book's index and most of the textual references are used to underline the author's explanation of the central concept, humiliation, as a denial of an individual's humanity by the process of animalisation or objectification. Human animals, we are told, are the only animals that suffer mental cruelty or humiliation.

For Margalit, then, humiliation can only be directed at human beings and only humans can suffer humiliation. Thus in the case of the close confinement of humans in conditions approximating a battery cage, the incarcerated humans suffer physically and mentally while a hen might be expected to be spared the latter. But this is by no means clear. If the result of humiliation - in this case the humiliation of intensive confinement - is unnatural behaviour such as cannibalism, then it must be possible for battery hens or tethered sows to suffer anguish and mental cruelty, if not the shameful, demeaning humiliation that confined humans experience.

Margalit is skeptical of societies which preach the extension of respect to all living creatures since he claims that these societies do not always respect human beings. Nazi Germany is the most grotesque example of this phenomenon for it produced progressive animal protection laws in the same breath as its genocidal policies towards the Jews and other "outcasts" (see Ferry, 1995). But only the most unreasonable of critics of the animal movement would want the moral standing of animals to be compromised by the barbarity of the Nazis. (see Note 1)

In noting the contrasting views of Sapontzis and Margalit towards making the world a morally better place, it is clear that only Sapontzis is prepared to include nonhumans in the moral community. Philosophers generally have not been willing to extend the circle of compassion to animals and some like Leahy (1991) have strenuously argued the case against animal liberation. For these and other reasons to be discussed below, animal liberationists have labelled their opponents "speciesists" and have identified speciesism as the basis for what they see as the unjust oppression of one species by another.

For the moment, I want to suggest that the word "speciesism" is a modern term for a very old problem. Few animal liberationists use the awkward-sounding term when they talk about our treatment of animals, preferring instead more euphonious and everyday language such as cruelty, oppression, exploitation and abuse. However, as Eckersley (1992) has pointed out, speciesism is what distinguishes the animal liberation movement from the other main streams of environmentalism. It is the animal movement alone which uses humanity's mistreatment of nonhuman animals as the symbol for all that is wrong with anthropocentric thinking. The notion of speciesism is useful also in that it broadens the movement's protest against cruelty to individual animals - a position which puts them at odds with environmentalists - with reference to interspecies discrimination. Speciesism is useful in allowing animal protectionists of different persuasions to see their cause in the context of a broader social movement agenda in which animals are listed along with exploited women, blacks, ethnic minorities, children, the disabled, and gays and lesbians - in short, a social problem which generates palpable consequences in the form of societal conflict and confrontation.

While speciesism is the term that most broadly identifies the animal movement's diagnostic frame, cruelty has greater resonance which different social movement organisations within the movement recognise and exploit. In the public mind, cruelty to individual animals has an emotional force which speciesism lacks. Some groups like the Farm Animal Reform Movement (FARM) use terms like "eco-friendly eating" or "cruelty-free living" to promote a more positive message; others like the Guardians - a campaign against vivisection - have replaced their predominantly animal welfare frame with a human welfare focus. Other groups however recognise the dangers inherent in frame transformations; the Coalition Against Duck Shooting (CADS) has rigorously stuck to its anti-cruelty frame and has refused to broaden it to include for example a pro-vegetarian or an anti-gun dimension. Thus while some groups have used different means to promote their issues, no animal protection organisation or campaign can afford to abandon the opposition to cruelty and speciesism as its primary purpose without devaluing the movement's unifying ideology. Animal protection organisations therefore typically diagnose speciesism by identifying and naming particular abuses such as factory farming and animal experimentation - the two primary examples of speciesism criticised in Singer's *Animal Liberation* - as well as hunting and trapping and a host of other practices which are the focus of particular campaigns by movement organisations.

An "index of speciesism" for the USA and Australia is represented in Table 4.1. The results offer some interesting comparative data on items (1-15) concerning attitudes toward animals. Respondents were asked to rate on a seven point "extremely wrong (1) to not at all wrong (7)" scale the following human uses of animals. The mean scores for both samples indicate an identical ranking order by respondents in Australia and the USA. The table offers a useful snapshot of how animal protectionists in two countries

perceive speciesism or cruelty. Thus hunting and trapping as well as experimentation which uses animals for both product testing and for medical purposes are seen as much more objectionable than eating meat or keeping animals in a zoo.

**Table 4.1.** Mean scores of Australian and American activists' attitudes toward the uses of animals

Human uses of animals	Australia ANZFAS (1995) n=347			USA Richards n= 853 (1990)
	Mean Score	T-test at 95% C.I.		Mean Score
		Sig. (2 tailed)		
		t value	p value**	
1. Using steel-jawed leg-hold traps to capture wild animals	1.02	-3.161	0.002	1.06
2. Using animals in cosmetic and beauty product experiments	1.05	-4.424	0.000	1.13
3. Killing an animal to make a fur coat	1.16	-0.407	0.684	1.17
4. Selling unclaimed dogs from animal shelters for use in medical experiments	1.19	-2.791	0.005	1.29
5. Hunting wild animals with guns	1.32	-4.115	0.000	1.49
6. Exposing an animal to a disease as part of a medical experiment	1.33	-6.192	0.000	1.62
7. Raising cattle for food in feedlots	1.34	-8.771	0.000	1.75
8. Using horses for jump/steeple racing	1.79	-13.083	0.000	2.68
9. Eating meat	2.81	0.737	0.461	2.74
10. Keeping animals in zoos	3.08	0.721	0.472	3.02
11. Raising cattle for food on open range or pastures	3.48	1.592	0.112	3.31
12. Killing rats in residential area	4.93	7.409	0.000	4.24
13. Killing cockroaches in a residential area	5.35	0.062	0.950	5.34
14. Keep a dog or cat as a pet	6.30	-3.270	0.001	6.49
15. De-sexing a pet	6.64	0.470	0.639	6.62

\*\* If the value of  $p < .05$  then the difference between the means for USA Richards (1990) and Australia (1995) is significant.

Note (a) ratings values range from 1 (extremely wrong) to 7 (not at all wrong).

What is most remarkable about this cross-national comparison of attitudes is the identical ranking of the respondents which suggests an unexpectedly high degree of ideological consensus on what constitutes cruelty for animal rights supporters in Australia and the US. As the survey was completed by only a small number of people in the UK, it is not possible to say with certainty if the consensus applies to them as well, although the limited data reveal more similarities than differences.

### The origins of contemporary speciesism

The term "speciesism" was coined in 1970 by Richard Ryder, an English animal welfare advocate and clinical psychologist. Ryder used the word to describe "the widespread discrimination that is practised by man against other species...." adding that speciesism, racism and sexism disregard the suffering of others (1983:5). Peter Singer (1975) gave the term prominence in his *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals* in which he acknowledged Ryder as the originator of the term. Singer identified speciesism as the injustice from which animals had to be liberated, since one's species, like one's race or sex, is seen by animal liberationists as a morally irrelevant criterion upon which to judge a being's worth. During a symposium at Trinity College, Cambridge in August 1977, some 150 individuals signed "A Declaration Against Speciesism", which in part read:

We do not accept that a difference in species alone (any more than a difference in race) can justify wanton exploitation or oppression in the name of science or sport, or for food, commercial profit or other human gain. We believe in the evolutionary and moral kinship of all animals and we declare our belief that all sentient creatures have rights to life, liberty and the quest for happiness. We call for the protection of these rights (Paterson and Ryder, 1979: viii).

Singer has reflected that in a hundred years historians may well identify the Trinity College meeting as the starting point for the modern animal rights movement (Singer, 1978:xii). And yet the origin of speciesism as a perceived social problem can be traced back two centuries earlier.

In the introduction to a new edition of a book by Humphrey Primatt, Ryder (1992) explains how in 1976 while browsing through some old texts in an Oxford library, he came across Primatt's *The Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals*. When Ryder read the book, he was astonished by how modern the ideas were

for a dissertation which was written two hundred years earlier in 1776. In the Preface for example, Primatt argues that

*justice is a rule of universal extent and invariable obligation. We acknowledge this important truth in all matters in which man is concerned, but then we limit it to our own species only" ... ( emphasis added). Misled with this prejudice in our own favour, we overlook some of the brutes, as if they were mere excrescences of nature ....*

Almost certainly, this was the first recorded argument for compassion towards nonhuman animals which was based on a critique of speciesism. In addition to the references to the prejudice and implied injustice of our treatment of other species, Primatt's Preface condemns "wanton cruelty and oppression" as well as extolling "mercy to brutes" as "a doctrine of divine revelation, as it is itself reasonable, amiable , useful, and just" (Primatt, 1992:17). Apart from the religious overtones, the language in this dissertation is immediately familiar to the modern-day student of animal liberation. Primatt's thesis, summed up in the following paragraph, would be taken up by Ryder himself two centuries later:

Pain is pain, whether it be inflicted on man or on beast; and the creature that suffers it whilst it lasts, suffers *evil*; and the sufferance of evil, unmeritedly, unprovokedly, where on offence has been given, and no good end can possibly be answered by it , but merely to exhibit power or gratify malice, is cruelty and injustice in him that occasions it" (Primatt, 1992:21).

Ryder's words echoed those of Primatt's when he argued that pain and pleasure should be the bedrock of our morality: "Pain is pain, regardless of the species suffering it" (1989). According to Ryder (1983), who also coined the word "painism", "pain is the quintessence of evil" and it is therefore our moral duty not to cause suffering to human and non-human sentients alike.

For Primatt, cruelty was a sin because it harmed brutes and men alike. As early as 1776 he anticipated twentieth century arguments by Singer and others that speciesism was on a par with racism:

And if the difference of complexion or stature does not convey to one man a right to despise and abuse another man, the difference of shape between a man and a brute, cannot give to a man any right to abuse and torment a brute (Primatt, 1992:23).

Ironically, Primatt's masculinist tone was accurate in so far as the perpetrators of cruelty towards animals were largely working class men and their more educated betters in the scientific and medical fraternities. Women, on the other hand, then and now, were more likely to be among the growing band of animal protectors, who by the middle of the nineteenth century had become a powerful lobby for people who cared about animals. The next section looks at the role of caring and compassion in the contemporary animal movement and how these concepts constitute social problems work.

### **CARING: ANIMAL PROTECTION AS SOCIAL PROBLEMS WORK**

*Empathy with the inhuman is the moral and aesthetic lesson that might replace our urgent longing for communication (John Peters)*

This section describes the nature of animal protection work as caring work and the motives that inspire individuals and organisations to care about animals. It also suggests that animal protection work is real work in the sense of a vocation. It is a calling for some, while for others, it is experienced as work that needs to be done for either intrinsic or extrinsic reasons.

According to Erickson, labours of love (see Note 2) include the labours of people who

derive their main sense of vocation and calling from the way they...engage in activities that pay them little or nothing but provide them with their most significant investments of self, their most meaningful forms of work, their principal niches in life (Erickson, 1990: 6-7).

Erickson has in mind not just poets and artists, but hobbyists and amateurs, as well as volunteers "who keep parishes alive and hospitals humane". Also applicable to this kind of work is the social problems work of activists and advocates in various social movements, including the animal protection movement.

One of the most striking features of the animal movement is the massive overrepresentation of women in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Wendy Kaminer's (1984) study of volunteering shows how women deprived of career opportunities worked as volunteers in cultural activities, moral reform and social service. Animal protection societies and antivivisection groups attracted more women than men, although men often occupied the leadership positions in organisations such as the RSPCA. Conventional wisdom in the nineteenth century decreed that women should not work for money or compete in a man's world. Working women were by definition not "ladies". Virtuous women worked as career volunteers for charitable associations in Christian temperance and anti-vice societies as well as in campaigns against slavery designed for the social betterment of the less fortunate. "Religion-inspired service work also provided a satisfying and even consuming career alternative for gentlewomen who would not or could marry" (1984: 26). Religious work vindicated the militancy of some of their campaigns but when they spoke out in public, this was viewed as contrary to nature and against "The Cult of True Womanhood" (1984: 22).

Voluntary work has come to be condemned in the early 1970s by some critics such as the National Organisation of Women as career volunteering. Kaminer however, argues that volunteering was a form of work experience for married women which



"gave them work to do in their communities and a sense of usefulness" (1984: 47). She suggests that women in voluntary organisations often drew the public's attention to "low visibility" issues and gives the example of the battered women's shelter to make the point (1984: 6). Similarly, the idea of animal protection had to be promoted by issue entrepreneurs, many of whom were women. "A century ago volunteering laid the groundwork for women's suffrage and the emancipation of women by bringing them out of the home and into the world of politics, civics, and social affairs.... (1984:11).

According to Thomas (1999), for many nineteenth century theorists including Marx, work was the defining feature of the human species. Beavers might build dams and birds nests, but these activities were done instinctively rather than as in the case with humans, on the basis of a conscious plan. Thomas points out that there is no single, objective, universally acknowledged definition of work; the *Oxford English Dictionary*, he notes, gives close to forty different meanings for the use of the term as both a noun and a verb. From the latter part of the seventeenth century onwards, the absence of purposeful work meant a loss in both physical and emotional needs, as well economic deprivations for those without work. In the nineteenth century, enforced idleness amongst middle-class women prompted Florence Nightingale to remark on their sufferings and frustrations due to "the accumulation of nervous energy, which has nothing to do during the day, makes them feel every night, when they go to bed, as if they were going mad...."(Thomas, 1999: xix-xx). For many such women, involvement in causes such as prison reform, temperance movements, child welfare and animal protection provided the only outlet for this "nervous energy". These causes, then and now, provide women and men with the opportunities for doing social problems work.

Minus the economic component, social problems work in new social movements represents real work with practical, intellectual and emotional elements.

Real work typically means paid work, which would seem to preclude community and political work in new social movements. Yet a case can be made for designating such activities as work. For example, Wadel (1979) has advocated extending the economist's definition of (paid) work to include the hidden work of everyday life. Her concept of work is broad enough to include the notion of work as a source of cultural and social values. In short, work has social worth, since everyday work and political work – discussion, reading newspapers, listening to media reports and making up one's mind about political issues – generates social value and helps maintain social institutions. Wadel argues that work is not just socially constructed, “but that work is something that characterises social relations. In other words, a sociological theory of work must treat work as a *relational* concept” (1979: 381). She contends that a new non-economistic concept of work would need to include the mutual activities that build personal and private relations and the collective activities that maintain community and other valued institutions. Social problems work is the name I give to the kinds of work Wadel describes as “hidden” work, which includes the work that activists and advocates perform when they promote the causes of new social movements. In the present study, caring about and for animals constitutes animal protection praxis, the social problems work that is characteristic of the animal movement.

Caring work is not be confused with emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983), although emotions feature prominently in the movement's seminal campaigns . While Hochschild's concept accurately describes the commercialisation of feelings in many service occupations, especially in the “personality market” (Mills, 1951), it does not

apply to the kind of work performed in the caring professions of nursing, social work and the like. In these professions, and in the social problems work of new social movements such as animal welfare, compassion cannot easily be faked. Furthermore, emotional labor, as conceived by Hochschild, refers to how an organisation requires its workers – typically in the service industry – to manage their emotions in ways which will maximise the organisation's productivity. With caring work, the focus is on resolving or ameliorating problems in the human services, including our relations with other animals.

### **CARING ABOUT AND FOR ANIMALS**

While caring is a common thread in a number of social movements – Amnesty, child protection and ecopax movements - it is at its most salient in the animal movement. Yet for a social movement whose most fundamental motivations are identified by some writers as caring and compassion (eg Wynne-Tyson, 1990; Finsen and Finsen, 1994; Shapiro, 1994), it is curious that concepts of compassion, empathy and caring appeared only rarely in the transcripts of interviews with the 50 animal protectionists in this study. Primarily this is because such concepts are integral to the work of animal protectors and are generally not made explicit. It is also partly a reflection of the inadequacies of reporting spoken language, which, even with the aid of computer-assisted data processing, may fail to pick up the nuances of meaning and flashes of feeling that the interviewer can recall when listening to the tapes. For example, the printed word does not convey the strength of feeling in the following reply to my question about animal protection work, which I remember as one of the most sincerely felt responses in the entire study:

*...Certainly emotions are an important part of it, because - we have our hearts involved. You need to keep your heart in something I think to be effective and if it's something that you believe in you'll be more effective. / Tamara Hamilton, HSUS, 1996*

Hamilton has not specifically mentioned caring, compassion or empathy, but they are implicit in her reply and in the remainder of the interview. In this short excerpt, she expresses the idea of caring about (*keeping your heart in something*) and taking care of (being *effective*) animals, two of the main forms of caring identified by Tronto (1993) who argues that care implies extending concern beyond the self to others which will lead to some kind of action. Tronto (1993) identifies the main kinds of care as caring about, taking care of, care- giving and care- receiving and suggests that powerful people tend to be associated with the first two types of care, while less powerful people are more likely to give and receive care. These four dimensions of caring suggest an ethic of care based on attentiveness, responsibility, competence, and responsiveness (Tronto, 1993: 127). Each of these dimensions can be applied to the work of animal protectionists which also involves the related concepts of empathy /compassion and protection.

#### *Empathy/ Compassion: Attentiveness and responsibility*

Being attentive to the plight of others is the first requirement of an ethic of care. Tronto suggests that "it is probably more morally reprehensible to ignore wilfully that which is close to one's own actions than to fail to be aware of a distant consequence of one's actions" (1993: 129). Thus the failure to assist an injured or sick animal that wanders into one's backyard, seems more heartless than an unwillingness to care about the plight of a thousand intensively reared farm animals when one buys meat at the supermarket. *Caring about* implies an acknowledgment that care is necessary; because people know

their cat needs food or the dog needs a walk, they can be said to care about their companion animals. People know these things through empathy, an awareness which one of my informants described in an experience she had with her cat:

*I was in a small flat, he was on his own during the day and then when I got home in the evening I noticed how lonely he was; then a few weeks after getting him, he came down with the cat flu and it sort of struck me that these animals suffer just the same as we do and that was the turning point). / Lisa, Interview, 1992.*

According to Candace Clark's (1997: 28) research on the etymology of the term, "compassion" in Latin-related languages, suggests the idea that we cannot look on coolly as others suffer; or we sympathize with those who suffer; in other European languages, empathy, or the idea of "co-feeling", is used to convey the same meaning. Animal lovers have little difficulty seeing companion animals as part of a primary relationship which entitles them to the rewards that the bonds of friendship demand. On the other hand, being willing to take care of, or have any responsibility for the plight of millions of intensively farmed or hunted or laboratory animals is usually not seen as part of an individual's moral brief. This is the work of animal rights/liberation organisations. *Taking care of* lost or abandoned animals is a basic service of animal welfare organisations like the National Canine Defence League (NCDL) discussed below, while the issues of factory farming, vivisection, recreational hunting and the liberation of captive animals are the province of the more radical animal rights/liberation groups. The act of taking care of - in the form of campaigns against the exploitation of animals - is the equivalent of the animal movement's prognostic frame. Put differently, taking care of animals in the sense of doing something for them - in campaigns against vivisection, factory farming and bloodsports - is achieved collectively through the work of animal activists and advocates in social movement organisations.

Animal protectionists see it as their responsibility to take care of animals by taking action on their behalf wherever animal exploitation and abuse occurs. Haskell has traced the career of the concept of responsibility to as recently as 1788 and explains that "once an evil is perceived as remediable, some people (not all, certainly) will be exposed to feelings of guilt and responsibility for suffering that was previously viewed with indifference or, at most, aroused only passive sympathy..." (1999: 21). He argues that modern societies with high rates of social and technological change foster an expansive sense of agency whereby "people cannot feel responsible enough to do anything about ending suffering as long as they cannot imagine any practicable course of action that will reliably lead to that outcome" (1999: 22). Haskell is mainly concerned with slavery as one of many cruel and exploitative practices. He notes "the startling recency of the humanitarian phenomenon" and points out that there was no serious opposition to slavery before the eighteenth century (1999: 22-23). Similarly, cruel practices perpetrated against animals were not seriously challenged until the latter part of the nineteenth century. And only since the mid-twentieth century has there been an expansion of agency via collective action that has demonstrated the possibility of successfully challenging and preventing animal exploitation in factory farming and the like.

The remaining two dimensions of care giving and care receiving involve direct contact with animals which most animal protectionists do not experience beyond their relationship with companion animals. *Care-giving* - which "involves physical work, and almost always requires that care-givers come in contact with the objects of care" (Tronto, 1993: 107) - can best be described in the context of the professional work of veterinarians, animal technicians and the like. *Care-receiving* implies that the recipient

of the care will respond to it, that caring needs have actually been met. In the case of veterinary care, for example, we would expect the animal's ailments to be remedied.

While Tronto's typology of caring nowhere mentions nonhuman animals, the ethic of care which she advocates applies equally well to them with some modifications. When she suggests that care-giving and care-receiving typically occur within less powerful social groups, this takes a different form in the case of animal protection. Tronto argues that competence and responsiveness are the essential ethical ingredients of these kinds of caring. I suggest that the ethical equivalent in the animal movement is the concept of protection.

*Protection: Competence and responsiveness*

Caring work must be competently performed. The veterinarian unable to restore a sick animal to health as a consequence of faulty treatment, or who is not concerned with the outcome of the treatment, is acting incompetently. The vulnerability of animals to abuse by humans means that "responsiveness requires that we remain alert to the possibilities for abuse that arise with vulnerability" (Tronto, 1993: 135). For many social critics, the idea of protecting vulnerable humans is deeply suspect. Brown for example, asserts that women have good reason for being wary of the politics of protection:

Historically, the argument that women require protection by and from men has been critical in legitimating women's exclusion from some spheres of human endeavour and confinement within others.... Indeed, to be "protected" by the same power whose violation one fears perpetuates the very modality of dependence and powerlessness marking much of women's experience across widely diverse cultures and epochs (Brown, 1995: 170).

Although it is sometimes claimed that the idea of institutionalised animal protection is paternalistic, it would be far fetched to suggest that these caveats apply to the protection of nonhuman animals when it is done competently by people who care about their

vulnerable charges. Paternalism is seen by animal protectors as a lesser evil than indifference to animal suffering.

Caring about the wellbeing of animals is the mission of every animal protection organisation in this study. In the case study below and elsewhere in the present study, I look at a cross section of animal protection and humane groups and organisations in Australia, the UK and the USA. The first example is from England, the birthplace of animal protection organisations in the West. This particular organisation was chosen because it represents the hands-on caring work of an animal welfare organisation.

#### **Caring for canines and homeless people at the NCDL**

No study of the animal protection movement would be complete without reference to the "hands-on" work of animal shelters, refuges and the like. These are the animal rescue activities of organisations such as the RSPCA and the National Canine Defence League (NCDL). It is perhaps the English disposition towards animals and their reputation as an animal-loving nation which explains the existence of the NCDL. The organisation was established as a charity in 1891 and has the Queen as its patron. It exists "to protect and defend all dogs from abuse, cruelty, abandonment and any form of mistreatment, both in the UK and abroad" (NCDL flyer). While the NCDL's first priority is to dogs, it has demonstrated a strong commitment during its history to the welfare of the poor and needy. In the 1930s, for example, it helped fund refugees and their pets who had fled Nazi Germany. And in its *Annual Report* of 1933, it drew attention to the bond between a destitute man and his dog who, it said, "was probably better fed and groomed than his owner.... Yet he cannot part with his dog" (Kean, 1998: 184).



The charity launched its Hope Project in 1994 when it was discovered that there were thousands of unvaccinated dogs roaming the streets of England's big cities with their homeless keepers. Apart from offering homeless people the opportunity to have their dogs vaccinated, wormed and neutered, Hope assists the owners in finding "dog-friendly" accommodation or when this is not available, provides advice on rehoming and temporary care for the animal. Hope also assists dog owners who are faced with eviction because of their pets.

The NCDL believes all dogs should be cared for by responsible owners and that no healthy dog should ever be destroyed. In its first year of operation, Hope reported that they had not come across any case of neglect and noted the importance of companion animals to homeless people: "The unconditional love and friendship that a dog can provide is invaluable and for those who sleep rough, there is the added benefit of physical warmth at night" (undated NCDL information sheet). The sheet also referred to people who are squatting, travelling or living in hostels using the services for their dogs. All of this seems eminently appropriate work for a charity of the NCDL's standing, but it is not without its detractors. Squatters, the homeless and New Age Travellers are perceived as folk devils by many people in Britain as a result of media stereotyping and government hostility. Tory Party politicians including the then Prime Minister John Major have attacked New Age Travellers as a threat to law and order in the countryside. For the Tory government, these people are a blot on the landscape; they are out of place in the countryside which "it seems, belongs to the middle class, to landowners, and to people who engage in blood sports" (Sibley, 1995:107). Sibley notes how the laws of trespass have been strengthened to safeguard rural England from the Travellers as well as from ramblers, hunt saboteurs and environmental protesters.

A tour through the NCDL's headquarters in London reveals portraits of dogs on every wall and hundreds of dogs in residence. Hope's coordinator, Colette Kase spoke enthusiastically about the organisation's devotion to dogs :

*... I'm very pro-companion animal (and ) we are a pro- dog organisation. Some of the very well- known animal rights organisations would rather see the end of all domestic animals ; they take an abolitionist stance. We would never want to see (that); we love dogs and want to keep dogs going, but we want them to have wonderful lives . / Interview, 1996*

It is not surprising that NCDL, as the largest dog protection society in the UK and possibly in the world, is critical of the extreme animal rights approach to companion animals, namely that pets represent "both slavery and imprisonment of innocents" (Bryant,1982:9). It is a position not held by the majority of the animal movement's supporters, most of whom keep companion animals. Yet Bryant points to the contradiction of a so-called animal-loving nation, with an estimated dog population of six million, deliberately killing 600 000 young dogs every year. According to the NCDL, this is precisely why it has been campaigning over the past century for the rights of dogs to life. It is the recent inclusion of the dogs of the homeless that adds a different dimension to the organisation's caring work. Because the NCDL is serious about wanting dogs *to have wonderful lives*, the organisation is concerned about the fate of dogs whose owners are homeless and who therefore may be more vulnerable to hardship than their domiciled counterparts.

One of the NCDL's most ambitious projects is concerned with pets and housing. In stark contrast to the strict animal rights position, the NCDL believes in the desirability of pets in society.

All responsible pet owners derive some benefit from their pets. The animals can help to develop a social life, for example, because people will very often talk to

others who have animals.... Loneliness is a scourge of modern society; for many people an animal may be their only friend (*Pathway* document, 1996:4).

Human welfare and human needs clearly take precedence over the animals' in this statement of what the document calls "the human/animal bond" and about which much has been written, for example the work of the International Society for Anthrozoology. As an umbrella group made up of some of the leading animal welfare SMOs in the UK, *Pathway* seeks to encourage housing providers to accept pets where facilities for their proper care exist. As the document makes clear, this is an issue concerning the rights of pet owners rather than an animal welfare issue as such. This is even more so in the case of the Hope Project's campaign for homeless people and their dogs. As Kase points out:

*The Hope Project is a classic example of where we aren't just looking after dogs, we are helping the owners as well. For example, we do a lot more (human welfare work) - women escaping domestic violence is one example. If people want to go into detox. units and they have a dog obviously what are they going to do with their dog? - so we look after their dog so they can go into detox., things like that. / Interview, 1996*

While the defence of the canine remains its main objective, human welfare issues have recently emerged as an important by-product of the NCDL's advocacy work. This is a classic example of frame bridging which Snow *et al* define as "the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (1986: 467). Caring work of the kind achieved by the NCDL and other organisations such as the AHA and its work with children is one the movement's most effective arguments against the charge that the animal movement is misanthropic and irrelevant to human concerns.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the importance to the animal movement of the concepts of cruelty and compassion. Caring work is the animal movement's response to achieving a

decent society in which human and non human animals can live free of exploitation. Caring is social problems work in which activists care about and take care of animals. It is related to, but is not the same as emotional labour which is a feature of work in many service industries. This chapter told the story of the National Canine Defence League and its work with animals and homeless people. While this kind of caring work is characteristic of animal welfare agencies, the campaigns against vivisection, bloodsports and factory farming are associated with the activities of the animal rights/liberation movement. These campaigns are the subject of the next chapter which examines the movement's diagnostic frame in the context of the movement's seminal issues. The remaining chapters focus specifically on the intellectual (Chapter 5 and 6), practical (Chapters 7 and 8) and the affective (Chapter 9) dimensions of animal protection praxis. These chapters highlight the everyday activism and advocacy or social problems work in the contemporary animal movement.

## Endnotes

**Note 1:** To say that the Nazis were animal lovers who hated "inferior humans" is an oversimplification. Hermann Goering, for instance, while posturing as a protector of animals, was an avid hunter. As in most cultures, attitudes and practices towards human and nonhuman animals alike were full of contradictions although they reached new heights of perversity under the Nazis. Apart from Nazi Germany, it is not clear which societies Margalit has in mind when he makes this point. Is it China whose disregard of human rights is notorious? In China's case, animal rights is an utterly alien concept as WSPA and other animal protection agencies have discovered in their campaigns to ban bear farming in that country. Margalit's admonition seems less impressive when set against Gandhi's famous dictum that "the greatness of a nation and its moral progress can be judged by the way its animals are treated" (Wynne-Tyson, 1990:139).

**Note 2:** Freidson (1990) focuses on work that is the opposite of alienated labor. He calls this kind of work "labors of love" or the voluntary work which he notes Marx and most other writers have overlooked (p.151). "In English, the word *volunteer* tends to be used to designate people who are unpaid participants in some purposive program that is often organized as a social movement or a campaign" (pp.156-7). Volunteer workers are found in virtually every area of activity where paid work is available and may even do voluntary work in what are seen as leisure activities. Thus an individual might be a volunteer at a local school or at a tennis club. What is important is that voluntary work is unpaid and as such, is not recognised as real work. Daniels (1987) calls such activities "invisible work" because they are not part of the institutionalized aspects of life represented by salaried careers and jobs. Her sample consisted of women in civic

projects who did fundraising, public relations, organisation building and maintenance, and lobbying as advocates of various causes. In the case of animal protection advocacy and activism, both women and men do this kind of work which is more often than not underpaid or not paid at all.

The danger in describing animal activism and advocacy as work is that any form of participation in social movements might then qualify as work. And even more troublesome is the question, is all social activity or social behaviour work? (Pahl, 1984: 126). "Work" then becomes synonymous with "task" or "activity" and loses its distinctive meaning. According to Pahl (1984: 128), work can be understood only within the context of the specific social relations within which it is embedded. Work cannot include all social activity nor can it be limited to the constraining definition of work as employment.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DIAGNOSING CRUELTY IN VIVISECTION, BLOODSPORTS AND FACTORY FARMING

*People who care about animals and are prepared to politicise that caring, care about blood, flesh and pain (Rheya Linden, President of Animal Liberation Victoria)*

In this chapter, the three main anti-cruelty campaigns against animal experimentation, recreational hunting and intensive farming are examined. According to Benton, it is within intensive farming regimes and in research laboratories that "the largest-scale and most systematically organised abuses on non-human animals occur" (1998: 171). The theme of the chapter is to show why animal protectionists have named these particular practices and recreational hunting as social, moral and environmental problems. Unlike most other human uses to which animals are put by humans, animal experimentation, recreational hunting and intensive farming involve the killing of large numbers of animals for purposes for which animal protectionists insist there are alternatives. According to Jasper (1999: 78), from the Western perspective that recognises animals as having inherent value and rights, it is possible to reframe these practices as violence against animals. This is a concept which would have been unthinkable just two centuries ago.

The practices of animal experimentation, recreational hunting and intensive farming involve institutionalised, normalised violence in that they are widely perceived as normative, legitimate activities. The violence which animal protectionists seek to dramatise in practices associated with the death of animals in laboratories, in the wild

and in slaughterhouses is normalised or is hidden away behind closed doors by the vested interests carrying out these activities. Moreover, as a result of the processes of economic globalisation, these activities have become internationalised whereby huge multinational companies in the meat and pharmaceutical industries and subsidiary companies like McDonald's dominate the markets of individual nation states. Furthermore, industrial agriculture and biomedical research are increasingly overlapping enterprises. Both are creatures of the mid-twentieth century (Rollin, 1998: 159). The development of antibiotics, vaccines, hormones and pharmaceuticals serve both enterprises and have the unprecedented effect of inflicting significant, albeit, unintentional suffering on animals.

When animal liberationists like Patty Mark speak about "the rights of a hen to own a beak", they want to remind people of the fate of individual animals in mass production industries. The reference to owning a beak forces people to think of the individual hen, and in some cases to empathise with the animal. This is the heart of Regan's rights-based philosophy.

*...On any notion of animal rights, animals have the right to bodily integrity; they have a right not to have their limbs ripped off and the like. So if people say we need to brand cattle, well, that's a bodily disfigurement and that's a violation of that animal's rights. ... Any person who's going to claim that animals have rights is going to say that they have a right to freedom of movement and to exercise their natural inclinations in an adequate environment. They can't do that in battery cages obviously. / Interview, 1997*

Bodily integrity is therefore a fundamental concept in all strands of the animal protectionist movement. It is a concept that allows animal protectionists to link violence against animals to violence against women, minorities and other vulnerable groups and even across national borders. Keck and Sikkink make this clear when they argue that "campaigns against practices that involve bodily harm to populations



perceived as vulnerable or innocent are most likely to be effective transnationally, especially where there is a short and causal chain or story assigning responsibility" (1998: 224). While they do not include animals in their idea of vulnerable populations, animal liberationists do. The harm done to individual animals in animal experimentation, recreational hunting and intensive farming featured in many of the interviews in this study. It is especially evident in the testimony of anti-hunting advocates discussed in this chapter who draw attention to what Regan calls "bodily infringement": Laurie Levy's reference to "*wounded birds - birds that have been shot through the back of the eye, through the back of the head, through the wings*"; Wayne Pacelle's image of wanton cruelty of "*somebody hitting a dog over the head with a bat*"; and in one English anti-hunt activist's testimony of "*a stag being shot and injured, it's jaw being blown off and the stag's still running...*". These graphic images are meant to serve as moral shocks (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995) or as devices to mobilise people to support the activists' cause.

The aforementioned terms – animal experimentation, recreational hunting and intensive farming – are used by the animal industries and individuals supporting the practices to describe what they see as legal and legitimate forms of animal use. Animal defenders however, in seeking to deviantise the practices, use the labels vivisection, bloodsports and factory farming since these terms suggest a degree of violence and cruelty that is less evident in the terms used by the animal users. Negative labelling – either of the practitioners or the practices themselves – is typically the first step in the animal movement's campaigns against cruelty.

This chapter examines the framing of campaigns against vivisection, bloodsports and factory farming as social problems. Needless to say there is

considerable overlap between the framing of these issues in their social, moral and environmental dimensions. For example, the issue of duck shooting in Australia has been framed primarily as a social problem with moral, legal and environmental implications (Munro, 1997 a,b). Likewise, the dominant frame in antivivisection campaigns and arguments against factory farms is a moral one although health and environmental concerns are increasingly prevalent in these campaigns. The next section looks at some of the reasons individuals give for their opposition to animal research. Women, who have been at the forefront of the antivivisection campaigns during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, feature prominently in the discussion.

### **LIBERATING LABORATORY ANIMALS**

From the 1890s to the 1970s, the number of animals used in animal research grew exponentially as did the industries that used animals such as chemical and pharmaceutical plants and universities. While it is difficult to estimate the numbers involved, it has been estimated that worldwide about 100 million animals each year for the past two decades have been used in testing and research (Jasper, 1999: 83).

The first major campaign seeking to protect animals against cruelty was the antivivisection movement in Victoria England which reached its peak in the 1870s making the humane and anti-vivisectionist movements of the nineteenth century the longest-running campaigns in the animal protection movement (Finsen and Finsen, 1994). "What elevated antivivisectionism from a mostly latent sense of outrage into a ferocious public agitation was the large-scale importation of experimental physiology into Britain and the United States after 1870" (Turner, 1980:89). At first, British vivisectors were able to escape condemnation because the practices involved in using

animals in experiments on the continent appeared to be much worse. After 1870, however, this was no longer the case and the pressure to ban animal experimentation grew (French, 1975:35). (see Note 1)

*What's wrong with animal experimentation?*

The early humane societies saw cruelty to animals as unusual and deviant. In the late twentieth century it has come to be seen by the animal movement as endemic, institutionalised violence against animals. In this section I look at the sense of dread vivisection evokes especially in female animal protectionists.

*It is the rarest thing in the world to hear a rational discussion on vivisection*  
(C S Lewis from his 1947 pamphlet *Vivisection*)

C S Lewis introduced his tract on *Vivisection* with these words, and in doing so expressed what many others have continued to assert some fifty years later, namely that the adversaries on both sides of the animal experimentation debate are uncompromising in their respective stances on the issue. Fifty years after Lewis wrote his piece, a cover story by *Scientific American* in February 1997 canvassed the views of scientists on both sides of the debate. (see Note 2). It is noteworthy that the word "pain" was not mentioned in the case for vivisection made by the two animal researchers who instead focussed on the necessity and relevance of animal experimentation for human health.

For the animal liberation movement vivisection is a symbol of widespread anxieties about the state of the natural environment and the role of science in the ecological crisis facing the planet. To the animal liberationist, as Sperling (1988:39) succinctly states, "the animal as victim has become a symbol of both humanity and nature besieged (in the) vivisection of our planet". Komesaroff (1992) acknowledges as much when he points out that the animal liberation debate is not simply about the rights

and wrongs of animal experimentation but rather about what our relationship should be to both culture and the environment. And it is in their different interpretations of what this relationship should be that is the basis of the conflict between scientists and their opponents: " Science and animal liberation, therefore, embody two different and contending theoretical systems, with different objects, different goals and different standards of validity and truth" (Komesaroff, 1992:70). In the present study, these different perceptions were most conspicuous among the female informants who spoke up against animal experimentation. As the following excerpts suggest, their opposition to vivisection is linked to a profound mistrust of masculinist science which they see as both dubious and devoid of compassion for the animal subjects.

*A feminist dissection of animal research*

To the Victorians, pain was the ultimate evil and cruelty the pinnacle of sin. Cruelty's opposite, compassion, was to fuel the "holy war" waged by the early Victorians against vivisection, in which women were to play a dominant part. Francis Power Cobbe, one of the leaders of the movement, held cruelty to be the most evil of vices, whether perpetrated against humans or nonhumans. Although Cobbe campaigned against the social problem of "wife torture", she is chiefly remembered for her pioneering work in anti-vivisection. Cobbe's use of the term "torture" in reference to "wife-beating" was intended to highlight cruelty perpetrated by men against women and animals. The familiar term "wife-beating", she argued in *Wife-Torture in England* (1878), disguised the extremity of cruelty when candid and ingenious vivisectors talk of "scratching a newt's tail", when they refer to burning alive, or dissecting out the nerves of living dogs, or torturing ninety cats in one series of experiments (quoted in Sznajder, 1996:344).

Cobbe and her anti-vivisectionist supporters held that cruelty deliberately inflicted on innocent animals was the most heinous of crimes. Scientists who knowingly inflicted pain on creatures in their experiments were seen as more evil than people who got pleasure from killing animals for food or for entertainment. Like many of her supporters, Cobbe was not a vegetarian and consequently, using animals for food, was not viewed with the same revulsion as was animal experimentation. To the predominantly female anti-vivisectionist, scientific medicine was overwhelmingly a male domain in which women as much as animals were the victims. Rape, as a metaphor of medical science's invasion of women's bodies, became a dominant theme in the anti-vivisection literature, both fictional and nonfictional, from the 1880s onwards (Lansbury, 1985; Elston, 1990; Ferguson, 1998).

According to the late ecofeminist Andree Collard, the relevance of animal experimentation to women's lives is unmistakable; she sees male power as the connecting link between the oppression of women and animals. She claims that "the banality of cruelty in patriarchal cultures" is responsible for the continuation of "humane" animal experiments at "safe/moral" levels just as it is for the abuse and exploitation of women (1988:73). Collard gives the example of caesarian surgery on rodents and women performed by technicians and doctors, who because they are unable to give birth themselves, stimulate "the power of female generativity by manipulating her processes with drugs, forcing her to yield to *his* time, and threatening and/or taking her very life"; the only difference between the pregnant human and non-human is that the rodent is automatically killed/sacrificed (1988:74). The justifications given for the sadism of animal research, she suggests, are reminiscent of those rapists offer for male sexual violence against women (see for example, Scully and Marolla (1984)).

To Collard, science is male-dominated and sinister. In reconstructing sentient creatures as "living-tools", the researcher is provided with a crutch "whereby he can achieve the patriarchal ideal of godliness: power to destroy, power to control" (1988:66):

Behind laboratory walls all over the world, Science (men and women paid for their scientific work) drills, incises, chips, injects, inserts, cauterises, lesions, sutures, amputates, paralyses, tests, deprives, rewards, jabs, and shocks legions of living creatures which are more often than not fully conscious, ie. not under anaesthesia and post-operative sedation (Collard, 1988:60).

Similar views of animal experimentation as "dirty work" were held by the anti-vivisectionists of the nineteenth century as they are today in the animal rights movement. Within the mainstream animal protection movement, there is some evidence that women are more ambivalent about science and scientists than men. A two tailed t test was conducted at a 95% confidence interval to ascertain if there were any significant differences in the attitudes of males and females on three practices related to animal experimentation. The results are shown in Table 5.1 below. For all three issues the level of significance was  $p < .05$  thus indicating significant differences on all three animal experimentation practices.

**Table 5.1: Male and Female attitudes to animal experimentation practice**

Male and Female attitudes to animal experimentation practices	Australia ANZFAS (1995)			
	Mean Scores		T-test at 95% C.I.	
	Male	Female	t value	Sig. p < .05 **
Exposing an animal to a disease as part of a medical experiment	1.57	1.28	2.072	0.041
Using animal organs in human transplants	2.30	1.55	3.521	0.001
Operations on animals without anaesthetic	1.38	1.14	2.182	0.032

Note - \*\* If the value of p < .05 then the difference between the mean scores by gender is significant.

Note - \*\* If the value of  $p < .05$  then the difference between the mean scores by gender is significant.

Thus female attitudes towards science - ranging from outright hostility to wary ambivalence as expressed in the interviews - spring from the same source, namely the idea of women and nature as victims of science's unrelenting quest for mastery over what Schiebinger (1993) called "nature's body".

*An intractable issue: Suffering versus science*

Animal rights observers usually identify animal experimentation and research as the most bitterly contested issue in the movement because of the ideological gulf that separates the protagonists. For many animal activists and advocates in the study, it is *the* most divisive and difficult issue in the three case study countries. And for many people inside and outside the movement animal experimentation remains the most important moral dilemma as well as the most controversial question for the movement to resolve.

Sue, an Australian animal liberationist, explained the difficulties confronting the movement:

*I think it's an intractable issue, but I was thinking mainly in terms of the numbers of animals involved.... (and) we don't have any scientists in this country, the movement is not yet big enough to be able to pay the scientist to desert the lab and come over to our side and do the research (without animals). / Interview, 1997*

Most abolitionists are adamant that vivisection has no scientific basis. One correspondent representing People Against Vivisection Inc. claimed that "all vivisection has no scientific worth whatsoever" and invoked the names of "genuine" science and professionals who "have stated categorically that vivisection costs both human and animal lives, retards medical progress, blocks the path of true knowledge of, and subsequent cures for disease, and is a gross waste of funding, and precious time. This knows **no exception!**" (her emphasis). (see Note 3) This is a classic hardline abolitionist

position on animal experimentation which rules out any kind of compromise either with vivisectionists or moderates within the animal protection movement like the AWI, the AHA or the HSUS in America.

A staff member at the British Union for Anti-Vivisection (BUAV) could see no justification for animal experimentation, even in veterinary medicine:

L M: It struck me that some vets probably do experiment on animals, but not for the purposes of human well-being but for animal well-being. Do you think that's fair enough?

*No, I mean if you're developing a dog vaccination against a disease then - no I don't think it's right that one dog should have to suffer for the sake of these other dogs. We don't do that as human beings, we don't have guinea pig-human beings so no, especially because the animals that they're trying to protect are people's pets or even a lot of the animal research that's done is for the wrong reasons, it's for profit.* Interview / BUAV staff member, 1996

The President of Animal Liberation Victoria, Rheya Linden, took a similar abolitionist stance:

*Sometimes there is valid information, I don't want to deny that. I mean whatever you're doing you'll get some valid data. But whether the ends justifies the means given the problems, that's a scientific issue though. I think fundamental to that, even if it were proven to me beyond any reasonable doubt that it was the most useful form of data collection available, I would still have to say no because we do not have a right.*

LM: Would you call yourself an abolitionist?

*Linden: Absolutely.... I think it's really important to engage in dialogue and debate because unless we can back up our protests with good arguments and they're not necessarily animal welfare arguments, they're also scientific arguments, as far as we have the same scientific expertise.*

How then is it possible for Linden to *engage in dialogue* if her purpose is to ban animal experimentation all together? Linden, in the classic style of moral entrepreneurship, "aims to create categories of deviance through legal and attitudinal change" (Roach Anleu, 1991:53). She deviantises the vivisection fraternity by association when she invokes in the interview, examples of atrocities inflicted by scientists on human beings under Apartheid, in Nazi Germany and allegedly in Australian orphanages. As



President of Animal Liberation Victoria, she is first and foremost an animal rights advocate so that while her activism is primarily directed against vivisectionists, she harbours a strong ambivalence about science and scientists in general:

*We are advocating for a vulnerable population whether it's animals or humans. And on the other side of it we conclude, as I do conclude that science works for itself, that science does not work with a morality and despite Ethics Committees we know that in the end what matters is the grant and the status. ... It's like a heroic race to get there first and this is what empowers them.... Witness the excitement of being there first, this global race to get the cure, the first cure, or the first this and the first that. And I mean it's really very frontier-building, and like the quests of old I guess, it's very masculinist as well. / Interview 1996*

#### *Sympathy and science*

The American animal protectionist, Tamara Hamilton, who at the time of the interview worked for the HSUS, does not see vivisection as an exclusively "masculinist" vice, but like Linden, believes the competition for science research grants is a deeply flawed process based a quest for *the almighty dollar*. While less judgemental than most anti-vivisectionists I encountered, one of the hardest things she said she had to deal with in her job at HSUS was the attitude of scientists that -

*if you're not a research scientist, you couldn't possibly understand. And it's hard for them to see your side of it, and be able to get them to see that they don't see the animal welfare portion of it, they don't understand that. That's very difficult to convey to them, (throughout) their whole lives they've been conditioned to use animals as **research tools** and to try and get them to see them as something other than as a **resource** is difficult. / Interview, 1996*

Birke (1997) has also described several contradictions in the way scientists perceive animals.

Like many animal protectionists in this study, both male and female, it was a visceral experience which provided the catalyst for Hamilton's initiation into the animal movement. Those who mentioned this kind of experience believed that their emotional

responses were quite rational. A picture of experimental rabbits in a brochure from the National Anti-Vivisection Society and what it stood for, came as a shock:

*It had touched something in me that all of a sudden they weren't doing this just to rabbits they were doing this to Edison who was my rabbit, they were doing things to Edison and so then I was very concerned because if it would hurt Edison, it would certainly hurt the other rabbits too. / Interview, 1996*

Historical and contemporary abolitionists quoted above contend that vivisection is morally flawed because animals endure suffering and death for the sake of a dubious science. They also make links between the treatment of animals and the oppression of women and in this way highlight the issue of animal experimentation as a social problem as much as a moral problem. As a social problem, animal experimentation has a social solution, which for moderates in the movement means the three Rs – reduction, refinement and replacement. Abolitionists, however, contend that there are non-animal alternatives (Langley, 1998: 4-5) that can be used immediately, without invoking the three Rs. Like the debate over animal experimentation, the issue of recreational hunting has generated considerable controversy, but unlike vivisection which is universally deplored in the case study countries, the hunting debate has been most pronounced in England.

## HUNTING IN ENGLAND, AUSTRALIA AND AMERICA

*Hunting is our music, it is our poetry, it is our art, it is our pleasure....It is our whole way of life (Ann Mallalieu, at the Countryside Rally in London, 1997). (See also Mallalieu, (1997))*

After vivisection, opposition to bloodsports is the longest-running campaign in the animal movement. Recreational hunting is one of the most contentious animal issues in the UK since the protagonists on both sides believe their cause is just. For the hunters, hunting is an ecologically-friendly and traditional method of culling wild

animals which they claim is more sporting than the alternatives of shooting or snaring. Opponents say hunting is a bloodsport, an exercise in brutality which means unnecessary pain and suffering for innocent animals. In the USA, the issue is no less emotive although the traditions are quite different. Canned hunting, for example, is a recent example of the commercial exploitation of animals which allows "hunters" to select, for a price, any wild animal for target practice. The HSUS believes almost any animal is used - bears, boars, buffalos or more exotic beasts such as the rhinoceros - if the "hunter" is prepared to pay. Shooting, not hunting, is the more accurate term for this practice which does not require any true hunting skills on the part of the "shooter". And although these canned hunts are a world apart from the traditional English sport of hunting on horseback, they share an exclusiveness which only the relatively well off can afford. Hunting in Australia is different again. Apart from duck and kangaroo shooting, hunting is not by comparison, an emotive issue. Nor is the anti-hunting lobby large by comparison to the English and American lobbies. Franklin (1996) gives a number of reasons why anti-hunting and angling activism in Australia is not as intense as it is in the USA and the UK. First, most of the animals hunted in Australia are exotic or introduced species which are a threat to indigenous animals and even to the environment itself. Second, unlike their American and English counterparts, Australian hunters are not generally perceived as pleasure seekers or sport hunters but rather as workers who are keeping pests under control. Third, sympathy for hunters appears to be in inverse proportion to their social status with poor people who hunt to supplement their diet being acceptable to the public while the recreational sport hunters are not. Franklin suggests that on these terms

Australian hunters score better than their English and American counterparts (1996:52-53).

*What's wrong with recreational hunting?*

There are undoubtedly real differences between the attitudes of the public to hunting in the three countries although not for animal rights/welfare supporters who do not distinguish so readily between exotic and indigenous or game and non-game animals. In the ASIS sample of American and Australian animal protectionists, for example (see Table 1.1 in Chapter1), hunting wild animals with guns ranked fifth highest in moral reprehensibility from a list of 15 practices involving humans and animals. It can safely be assumed that animal rights/welfare supporters in the UK, the USA and Australia are no different in their opposition to hunting, whether it is fox hunting, canned hunting or wild pig shooting if the crucial ingredient of cruelty to individual animals is involved. Animal protectionists in the relevant countries would want to use individual animal suffering rather than any other measure as the most salient criterion for determining the necessity of killing wild animals.

Hunters are able to cite a variety of reasons to justify their pursuit of wild animals: hunting is good for the animal since it keeps them alert and therefore less vulnerable to harm by humans; hunting is good for the countryside as "culling" keeps animal populations under control thereby reducing adverse impacts on the environment; hunting is good for the local community and economy since it brings in revenue through the purchase of goods and services. Social scientists, such as the sociologist Jan E Dizard (1994) and James A Swan (1995) a psychologist, have taken up their pens to extol the virtues of hunting and to defend it against attack. Devotees of the hunt have made more esoteric claims in support of hunting (see for example, Ortega y Gasset,

1972;) while others such as Cartmill (1993) have found the hunters' motives generally wanting. Cartmill's meticulously researched study of hunting through the ages finds little justification for hunting and none at all for sport hunting. This is the position of the leading anti-hunting groups in the three case study countries.

*Confronting the Hunt: The League Against Cruel Sports*

The League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports (later The League Against Cruel Sports) was founded in 1924 by Henry Salt and his colleagues in the Humanitarian League. The modern-day League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) in the UK sees a new wave of public sentiment against the slaughter of wildlife which puts hunting and trapping in the "winnable" category as opposed to the more intractable issues of vivisection and factory farming. The English practice of hunting with hounds is the most traditional and also the longest-running target of the anti-hunting lobby in the UK.

For most of this century, the League has sought to convince legislators that just as the law recognises that domestic animals and animals in captivity are capable of suffering from cruelty, so too should that principle be extended to wild animals. And for most of the century, the hunting fraternity has succeeded in thwarting their campaign since the implementation of the "cruelty" principle in law would effectively end bloodsports in Britain. Much is at stake, therefore, in the conflict over the rights of sporting groups to hunt wild animals and the claims that animals should be left alone.

Since the beginning of direct action against the Hunt by the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HAS) in the early 1960s, the confrontation has been concerned with the conflicting notions of cruelty held by the hunting fraternity and the animal rights lobby. The conflict is about changing attitudes towards nature and the growth of a new sensibility which challenges the anthropocentrism of the hunters' view of the wild.

Supporters of the dominant paradigm reject the new ecological sensibility as "sentimental anthropomorphism" (Jasper and Nelkin, 1992). ( see Note 4)

Emotion, or sentimental anthropomorphism is usually dismissed as the protesters' main tool of defence against the more reasoned arguments of the hunting lobby. However, many animal protectionists see anthropomorphism as entirely consistent with the new ecological sensibility they seek to promote. Feminist scholarship appears to be a contributing factor to the respectability of sentimental anthropomorphism among some female scientists and writers (Rodd, 1990:63; Donovan, 1993). Sentimental anthropomorphism is of course not monopolised by women for as Thomas (1983:119) has argued, pet-keeping by both men and women, "created the psychological foundation for the view that some animals at least were entitled to moral consideration". Furthermore, in contrast to the predominantly female leadership of the campaigns against factory farming and vivisection, most of the leaders and spokespersons of the anti-hunting groups I studied were men. This may have implications for recruitment to the movement, for according to Groves (1995) men were a source of status among the animal activists he studied and a resource for overcoming emotional deviance.

Groves points to a difference between contemporary animal rights with its focus on justice and rights for animals and the humane tradition of the nineteenth century's association with heightened compassion, women and the domestic field. In the present study, these differences were less apparent where it was more common to encounter combinations of compassion, caring and social justice issues in the testimony of the activists. Thus, in the anti-hunting campaign, leading male activists spoke of "standing up for compassion" as well as of "hating injustices". In the rest of the chapter, I profile some of the leaders of the anti-hunting lobby in the three case study countries. All four

leaders are men and all four have used the print and electronic media to dramatise hunting as a moral issue. John Bryant (UK) and Wayne Pacelle (USA) at the time of the interview were the media spokespersons for their respective organisations; Mike Huskisson (UK) publishes a regular newsletter which documents the activities of the main protagonists in the hunting controversy; and Laurie Levy (Australia) makes effective use of television images to dramatise what his organisation claims is a cruel, violent and outmoded "sport". The transcripts from their interviews, and the selected excerpts used below, reveal the importance of the visceral in what motivates them to oppose recreational hunting in their respective countries. It is what Wayne Pacelle and Mike Huskisson identify as "a reflective, emotional response" that drives the campaigns against different kinds of hunting.

In the summer of 1996 I was invited to attend an Open Day weekend sponsored by LACS at one of its animal sanctuaries in Somerset in the south west of England. It was held at one of the recently acquired sanctuaries deep in the heart of traditional deer hunting territory. During the weekend I spoke to dozens of the League's supporters and staff including people representing other animal protection SMOs ranging from the RSPCA through to the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) and one or two individuals affiliated with Animal Liberation Front (ALF). John Bryant and Mike Huskisson – who are profiled below – are a formidable duo of organisational advocate and grassroots activist who have demonstrated a unique combination of legal, nonviolent direct action and legislative lobbying which many believe will result in a ban on hunting with hounds in Britain. A brief account of the background of these two animal defenders provides an insight into the work of animal welfare advocacy in Bryant's case and animal rights activism in Huskisson's.

*John Bryant and Mike Huskisson:*

*We stand for compassion, tolerance and reverence for all life.*

John Bryant's involvement with the animal movement goes back to the early 1970s. He was elected to the RSPCA national council in 1972 at a time when the venerable society was in the throes of a bitter controversy over its lukewarm stand on blood sports which the anti-cruelty SMO had defended since the 1960s (see Vera Sheppard, 1979). The hunting fraternity had successfully gained membership of the RSPCA thereby protecting its activities from condemnation by the Society. Bryant was one of the 25 radicals in the Reform Group who sought to compel the RSPCA to act against "blood sports". By 1975 the Reform Group disbanded having achieved its objective of getting a majority of sympathisers on the RSPCA's Council. According to Bryant (1982), the RSPCA now has a clearly stated anti-hunting policy.

As Joint Chief Officer of LACS, Bryant sees himself as an advocate rather than an activist. Like so many animal protectionists I met during the course of my research, Bryant invokes the philosophy of Gandhi and non-violence as the basic model for the animal rights movement: "To exact revenge and inflict physical and mental pain on those who abuse animals is to abandon the very principles upon which our cause is based... If we stand for anything it is compassion, tolerance and reverence for all life" (Bryant, 1982:83). He says that in common with many other animal activists, he joined the animal movement when *someone handed me a leaflet*. Nonetheless he is puzzled by why people devote their lives to the animal cause:

*It so happens that for some reason or another and nobody will ever explain why, we have been drawn into animal kingdom suffering. / Interview, 1996*



He is, however, much more confident about why hunting with dogs and other forms of sport hunting need to be outlawed:

*My philosophy is this, if we can't get legislation to outlaw killing animals for fun, which is also associated with great suffering, then we're never going to be able to make a dent on these other areas where at least there's an argument for it, like cheap food or human health or whatever. / Interview, 1996*

In recent years, LACS has used the services of the Animal Cruelty Investigation Group (ACIG) to expose the cruelty of the Hunt. The ACIG is the creature of a former hunt saboteur, who like John Bryant, has since turned to more subtle and lawful tactics as a means of fighting the Hunt. Mike Huskisson founded the ACIG in 1989 and from the outset the undercover tactics have been effective in exposing cruelty in a number of contexts. Huskisson looks and sounds more like a gentlemanly scholar than someone who has spent time in prison for animal rights activism and still sees himself as an activist working "in the field". He is the classic example of what Shapiro (1994) calls "the caring sleuth", an animal activist who actually seeks out instances of animal suffering and does something about it.

Huskisson first became aware of the Hunt in the countryside around Cambridge where he grew up. What he saw convinced him that he had to do something to stop bloodsports and so he joined the HSA as a university student in London in 1971. An articulate, unassuming and uninhibited interviewee, Huskisson's persuasive abilities are evidently feared by the hunting fraternity who recently refused to debate him on the hunting issue at the Oxford Union on the pretext that his presence would taint their organisation (The British Field Sports Society), presumably a reference to his prison sentences several years ago. To Bryant and Huskisson, banning hunting with hounds is a winnable issue, because as Huskisson points out, the public will not tolerate wanton cruelty:

*People would react against overt cruelty when it's inflicted on an animal or a child. They will not allow it to happen; and the trouble is that the cruelty that goes on in bloodsports and vivisection is hidden. But it is of the same kind, it's just like someone beating hell out of a dog with a stick and we think that the public anger that would be whipped up by seeing it will be enough to put an end to it / Interview, 1996*

It is this moral capital or reservoir of goodwill in England towards animals that Bryant and Huskisson hope to capitalise on. Ordinary, decent people, they believe, are instinctively against overt cruelty to animals. Similar sentiments are evident in the profiles of two leading opponents of hunting, Laurie Levy in Australia and Wayne Pacelle in the United States.

*Laurie Levy: I've always hated injustices*

In ancient times, ducks were called "prophets of the wind". Today, the description is an appropriate metaphor for the Coalition Against Duck Shooting (CADS), as a harbinger of change in the way humans treat wildlife. The director of CADS, Laurie Levy, is a former television cameraman whose experience in the media industry has helped make the Coalition's campaign one of the most high-profile animal rescue stories in Australia. Levy, who is affectionately known as Victoria's Duck Protector-General, has been a full-time, unpaid animal activist for the past two decades. After the success of the Save the Whale campaign in the 1970s, he took up the cause of duck rescue in the state of Victoria where duck shooting attracted some 90 000 shooters annually. After fifteen years of campaigning by CADS, the number of duck shooters has declined to about a quarter of their original numbers, largely as a consequence of the Coalition's success in framing the protest as a duck-rescue operation. I have argued elsewhere (Munro 1997a; 1997b) how CADS has achieved this outcome with the help of television images. The metaphorical "Duck (liberationist) Shoots Man" headline has much more dramatic

appeal than the conventional "Man Shoots Duck" story. Levy believes there are two images which resonate emotionally with the viewing public:

*... a hunter dressed as a soldier, carrying a semi-automatic and shooting at a defenceless bird. Or there is the single image of a rescuer coming out with a wounded bird. The second, of concern and compassion will always beat an image of violence / LaTrobe University Newspaper, March 1994*

Despite television's framing of the campaign largely as a narrative of protest and its distortion of the protesters' grievances, the graphic images of "Duck Wars" - "the war on the wetlands", "the slaughter of innocents", and "the carnage of this cruel macho sport" - have ensured the public's sympathy for the animals as "sentient subjects who feel the world". Levy knows how to use these images to arouse the emotions of the public and to prod them into supporting the Coalition's cause. This aspect of the Coalition's social problems work is analysed fully in Chapter 9.

Officially, the Coalition's diagnosis of duck shooting as a social problem is founded on three principles: duck shooting is cruel (animals experience painful deaths and injuries); illegal (rare and protected birds are slaughtered); and it is bad for the environment (lead pollution damages the wetlands). In numerous television interviews and media releases, Levy describes duck shooting as violent and anti-social. In doing so, he ensures the message will resonate with people who are worried about the escalation of incivility in everyday contexts; duck shooting is constructed by the CADS as an uncivilised, obsolete act of aggression against defenceless creatures.

Cruelty remains the Coalition's primary grievance against recreational hunting. Levy is at pains to point out how lead pellets, when ingested by wildlife - protected and "game" birds alike - cause the animals a slow and painful death. When asked to explain his activism, Levy says that he has always tried to stand up for the underdog:

*I've always hated injustices. I've always hated to see the powerful and the strong exploit or kick around the weak, whether this be humans or another species....It's purely from an injustice point of view...I see other species as having rights, especially the right not to be abused or harmed or to suffer, especially for humans to make a profit out of it or to get fun from it / Interview, 1994.*

These were sentiments commonly expressed by animal protectionists interviewed in this study. The injustice of domination articulated by Levy in the above excerpt, refers implicitly to campaigns waged on behalf of vulnerable humans as well as nonhumans. Opposition to the domination of the powerful over the powerless is the common thread which links these intra- and interspecies campaigns. And according to Wayne Pacelle who is profiled below, this is what drives opposition to hunting and trapping in the US.

*Wayne Pacelle: At baseline I'm against cruelty*

Although the postal address for the HSUS is downtown Washington DC, its two hundred or so employees are housed in a large complex in Gaithersburg, on the outskirts of the capital where rents are lower. It was here that I met the animal rights/vegetarian advocate Wayne Pacelle. In his early thirties, Pacelle is one of the leaders of the new breed of animal protectionist in the USA. Pacelle finds inspiration in the work of early animal protection pioneers like Henry Bergh, the founder of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals as well as in the modern ethical teaching of Singer's (1975) *Animal Liberation*. As a persuasive and articulate advocate, the HSUS's Vice President for Government Affairs and Media is eager to promote the cause of animals in both the electronic and print media. His name appears more often than most American animal protectionists in the general literature on the movement. The hunting devotee Ted Kerasote (1993) for instance, described a day in Pacelle's life

in the penultimate chapter of his book *Bloodties*, revealing among other things his subject's motivations:

At baseline I'm against cruelty. I embrace the ideas of Henry Bergh who founded the ASPCA in 1866. ... I consider myself following that tradition and taking it a step further, that is, establishing legal protection for animals, which is a logical extension of liberalism ( Kerasote, 1993:254).

Pacelle sees himself as an activist – albeit not “hands-on” - working for an organization that he describes as made up of “principled pragmatists”:

*We have a core set of values that are not as ideologically pure as some other groups such as PETA which I would consider to be to the left of us / Interview, 1996.*

Opposition to recreational hunting is close to Pacelle's heart. As a college student at Yale university, he got involved in some of the early anti-hunting protests in the US and took part in disrupting hunts. He is now involved in attempts to ban the use of cruel traps and the hounding of bears and bobcats by the hunting fraternity. Inevitably, this has brought the HSUS into confrontation with one of the most successful lobby groups in the USA, the National Rifle Association (NRA). As in the UK, hunting is a emotion laden issue and one that Pacelle believes will dominate the animal welfare legislative program for years to come: “There are going to be more measures relating to hunting and trapping than any other social issue, more than gay rights, taxes, anything”, he claims rather exaggeratedly (*The Daily Telegraph*, July 27, 1996). Yet it is not an exaggeration to say that US public opinion, as in the UK, is against most forms of hunting. It is estimated that in the US alone, hunters kill more than 200 million animals annually (Pacelle, 1998: 197; Jasper, 1999: 80).

Pacelle echoes almost the exact words of Mike Huskisson above, when he describes why most people are vehemently opposed to cruelty to animals:

*Humans do have the capacity for empathy and we can see the suffering that animals endure. There's not anything deeply intellectual about a response to somebody hitting a dog over the head with a bat; it is a reflexive emotional response to protect the dog, just as one would protect a child or protect another creature that could not defend himself or herself / Interview, 1996*

His reference to "a reflexive, emotional response" is what characterises the visceral nature of opposition to hunting in the three case study countries. The experiences of the male animal protectionists profiled in this chapter largely confirm Groves's finding that men legitimise the expression of emotions in the animal rights movement. As we have seen, these anti-hunting campaigners are uninhibited in their use of a "vocabulary of emotion" in which the language of compassion, caring, empathy and suffering are prominent. Like Pacelle, Levy, Huskisson and Bryant would be pleased to embrace the compassionate ideals of the humane tradition exemplified in the work of Henry Bergh in the nineteenth century.

In the next section, I look at the diagnosis of cruelty in a campaign which affects the largest number of animals and an issue in which women have been most prominent.

### **THE FATE OF FACTORY FARMED ANIMALS**

Unlike household pets, domestic animals like cattle, pigs, horses, sheep and poultry were not kept for sentimental reasons. It was not until the twentieth century that they became beneficiaries of the kinship that people felt towards their pets. Thomas (1983: 93-4) points out that battery farming, far from being an invention of the twentieth century, was used in Elizabethan times for raising pigs, geese, poultry and game birds in confinement. But the nature and size of the concentration of animals was small-scale compared to the intensive farming of the twentieth century. Webster (1994:135) points out that for most of the past 10 000 years traditional farmers allowed the animals to

range freely on the farm; but in the last 60 years, when the rate of change was greater than in all the previous history of agriculture, traditional farming methods were replaced by intensive farming. He claims that the most dramatic changes were due to economic forces and occurred between the 1950s and the 1970s. Jasper (1999: 82) notes for example, that the number of laying hens in an average facility increased in this period from 20 000 to 80 000. These post-war developments included improved mechanization of agriculture, increased profitability of livestock production, increasing consumer demand for meat and other animal products, the relatively lower cost of mechanization compared to labour costs and various outcomes from increased investment in agricultural research which permitted even greater degrees of intensive farming (Webster, 1994: 135). Intensification of farming was aided and abetted by the increased use of agro-chemicals such as fertilizers and pesticides, as well the increased use of water for irrigation and increasing reliance on mechanized farming methods (Huby, 1998: 57). While the negative impact of these developments on the environment have been great, animal advocates have tended to focus on the cruelty issues and the impact on human health (eg O'Brien, 2001).

While the intensification of meat production peaked in the second half of the twentieth century, the assembly-line conversion of animal to food for human consumption had begun a century earlier. Cockburn (1996) cites modern methods of food preservation and the vast cattle herds that appeared in Argentina, Australia and the USA in the middle of the nineteenth century as the signals for the change. Travellers to the USA commented on the efficiency and heartlessness of the mass slaughter of farm animals for food in places like Cincinnati and Chicago. Cockburn asserts that precisely between 1807 and 1865 with the opening of the Union Stockyards in Chicago, "was

perfected the production-line slaughter of living creatures, for the first time in the history of the world" (1996:26). Worldwide, around one billion animals each year – not including poultry – are killed for food (Jasper, 1999: 82).

Upton Sinclair's 1905 novel *The Jungle*, described the harsh working conditions in the Chicago packing plants and was meant to arouse the sympathy of the American public for the predominantly migrant blue-collar workers. People's stomachs were turned instead by the descriptions of the unhygienic condition of the meat in the packinghouses (Stull, Broadway and Griffith, 1995:41). Public disquiet led to the establishment of a federal food inspection agency which monitors the safety of the meat for human consumption. However, few people appeared to be concerned with the plight of the animals in the slaughterhouses or could "hear the hogsqueal of the universe", as Sinclair called it: the hogs "were so innocent, they came so very trustingly; and they were so very human in their protests - and so perfectly within their rights!" (quoted in Cockburn, 1996:27). Farm animals would have to wait for more than a half century before their protests would be taken up, first in England and the USA and later in Australia.

Ruth Harrison's (1964) pioneering exposé of agribusiness, *Animal Machines: The New Factory Farming Industry*, is widely acknowledged as the first book to diagnose intensive farming as a hazard to human and nonhuman animals alike. It was the book that launched the campaign against factory farming (Singer, 1990:254). For the first time, evidence was assembled which forced the British government to appoint an expert committee to investigate the conditions of animals kept under systems of intensive husbandry. *Animal Machines* included a 24-page pictorial summary of how factory farms work and how they are different from traditional farms. Figure 2 for



example, shows a large field consisting of a line of trees and open pasture in the background while in the foreground, a sheepdog, resting in the grass and wild flowers, watches over a flock of sheep outside the farmer's house. The farmer can be seen at the centre of the picture with the tools of his trade in the sheds behind him. "The farmer's image" is described in the accompanying text as part of "the visual pleasure of the countryside...that is also a pleasant environment for the animals. On the good traditional farm there is a sense of unity between the farmer and his stock, he is a farmer because farming is in his blood, and profits are a secondary, if important, consideration...". In Figure 3, the factory farm presents a stark contrast to this idyllic picture:

The buildings jar on the eye and rob the countryside of much of its charm. These long sheds are completely utilitarian, each with its giant feed hopper to meet the needs of the animals permanently enclosed within. The new type of farm is a factory run on completely commercial lines by people who are business men rather than farmers.... (Harrison, 1964).

The pictorial summary then focuses more on the way animals are treated in the factories with occasional reminders of their more humane treatment on good traditional farms. There can be little doubt that Harrison's diagnosis of the factory farm as "animal machines" was an oxymoron that shocked many people. *Animal Machines* was for the animal movement what Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was for the environment movement. The Brambell committee established to investigate the issue, supported most of her claims. According to Singer (1990:141), the committee rejected the industry's claims that productivity is a reliable indication of the absence of suffering and that close confinement does not cause suffering because the animals are either bred for it or are used to it. The committee went on to recommend that an animal should at the very least "be able without difficulty to turn around, groom itself, get up, lie down and stretch its limbs" (quoted in Singer, 1990:142).

*What's wrong with agribusiness?*

Beef City, an integrated feedlot of about 800 hectares on the Darling Downs in southern Queensland, was set up in 1974 by Elders, a large Australian pastoral company which uses intensive farming methods based on the industrial production line developed by Henry Ford. The entrance to Beef City describes the operation, in which the company slaughters over 350 cattle every day, as "Custom Feeding for Profit". Australian farmers, however, are not the main beneficiaries of the profits from meat production. According to Lawrence (1991: 81), for most of the 1980s farmers' costs exceeded their incomes and about 3 000 were forced off the land annually. During the early 1950s, the farming sector accounted for 30 per cent of Australia's gross domestic product; by 1991 it had fallen to 3 per cent while the number of farms had been reduced by about half (Milliken, 1992:ix). In 1991 Elders sold a controlling interest in its meat processing operation to foreign investors - Nippon of Japan, the American giant, ConAgra and Angliss of the UK.

Intensive farming is the term agribusiness uses to describe the system of production where animals are converted to meat in the abattoir and packing house where it is graded, chilled and packed for sale. Animal welfarists refer to the intensive confinement of animals as "factory farming" whereby "instead of having the animals graze upon open pasture, the feedlot encloses as many as 50 000 head of cattle in small holding bays and then force feeds them with a concoction of highly nutritious grains and feed supplements laced with a variety of veterinary chemicals" (Lawrence, 1991:92). Aside from the animal welfare concerns, the confinement of as many as 50 000 cattle in one place puts an intolerable stress on an already an ecologically fragile environment.

Lawrence points out that a 20 000- head feedlot produces effluent to match that of a large inland Australian city adding that intensive farming "could turn our rivers into a giant agroindustrial waste system for Japan" (1991:93). He also points out that animal liberationists and environmentalists who criticise these developments become "enemies" of embattled farmers struggling to make a living from the land. Yet the real threat to farmers lies in the "wider structural forces marginalising their activities" (1991:98). Lawrence argues that the solution, which most animal welfarists and mainstream environmentalists would support, is to return to more sustainable forms of agriculture along the lines of a decentralised, co-operative farming system. In contrast to the factory farm model favoured by agribusiness, traditional farming methods, according to Berry (1996), offer more sustainable and humane outcomes for both humans and the natural world. Animal Liberation branches in Australia have been preoccupied with making this distinction in their campaigns during the past two decades.

According to one of the pioneers of farm animal welfare in Australia, Christine Townend, the early Animal Liberation branches in Australia were reluctant to do anything that might brand them as extremists. Their first demonstration was a protest against the export of Australian horses to Japan. But it was the live sheep export trade to the Middle East in the early 1980s which became the biggest issue for the fledgling movement when Animal Liberation began in Sydney in 1976. From 1981 until the present, ANZFAS has documented the extent of the trade to the Middle East and has argued that about 100 000 sheep die between ports each year. ANZFAS claims that the number is closer to 200 000 if the sheep who die in feedlots in the Middle East are included ( ANZFAS *Fact Sheet*, August,1995:3).Cruelty has been the primary grievance

of the animal movement since it began its campaign more than two decades ago, although the government has been reluctant to improve the conditions of animals in the live export trade.

*Women, farm animals and speciesism*

A perusal of the list of witnesses to the Senate inquiries on animal welfare in Australia reveals an industry bias that reflects male occupational interests in fields such as intensive livestock production, commercial use of wildlife, animal experimentation and horse racing. And the Senate Select Committee itself tended to be dominated by male Senators despite the trend during the 1980s and early 1990s of an increasing number of women in the Australian Senate. Animal welfare interests on the other hand were, and still are, dominated by women, a characteristic of the animal movement worldwide.

Soon after Animal Liberation was established in Sydney, more branches were established throughout Australia so that by the early 1980s most states and capital cities were represented (see Note 5). All but one of the seven branches was established by women which raises the question as to the massive gender imbalance in the animal movement as a whole where women outnumber men by a factor of three or four to one (Jasper and Nelkin 1992; Richards 1990). A starting point in explaining the gender imbalance can be made by referring to some of the many scholarly books which deal with the theme of animals and women. For example, Adams and Donovan (1995) as editors of *Animals and Women* include a bibliography of about 150 works on this theme and on the topic of feminism and animal defence theory. To my knowledge there is no comparable literature on men and animals no doubt because it is women, not men, who share with animals the status of an oppressed group. Rhea Linden, the President of Animal Liberation Victoria, suggests the common interests of women and animals:

*I think we need to look at the politics of animal rights and to see how they do converge quite clearly with feminists politics. I think it's very easy for women who've been through the feminist movement particularly and have matured through that and their daughters to see the issues in animal rights. And they are issues of oppression, they're issues of abuse and the link is very easy to make for women because women have known what it is to live in patriarchies, to know what it is to confront that masculine scientific detachment that allows abuse to continue for abstract, greater goals. / Interview, 1997*

Jasper and Nelkin give a number of more conventional reasons for women's massive overrepresentation in the animal rights movement such as greater availability of time and the persistence of traditional gender expectations that equate expressive, rather than instrumental roles, with women (1992:39). They attribute the long association of women in the early animal protection movements of the nineteenth century to the opportunities animals provided for caring and compassion, qualities that were socially acceptable for women to cultivate in humane work (1992:59). And as noted earlier in this chapter, a number of prominent women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made the connection between the exploitation of animals and the abuse of women a dominant theme in their campaigns. Whether on farms, in labs or in the wild, wherever the bodily integrity of animals is threatened, women have been at the forefront of campaigns to protect animals from harm. Some feminist writers attribute this to a bond between animals and women (Adams and Donovan, 1995) as does the Australian activist Rheya Linden:

*And to turn it around again and put it right flat bang in a feminist perspective, I'd have to say that people who care about animals and are prepared to politicise that caring, care about blood, flesh, pain, care about a particular animal's suffering in this particular situation now. So they are situating their caring, they're not abstracting it / Interview, 1997*

That women should empathise more than men with animals is understandable given the fact that men dominate in virtually every major animal-oriented occupation and leisure activity - in hunting and trapping, in abattoirs, in research laboratories, in veterinary

medicine, on intensive farms, in sports such as shooting and angling and in a host of other pursuits where animals are used and abused by humans. (see Note 6) Gender is also at work in the different meanings people attach to meat eating which Adams describes as "the most oppressive and extensive and institutionalised violence against animals" (1990:70). It is this issue which concerns many of the feminist writers and activists in the animal movement. For example, Emma Munro makes the provocative claim that "on a global scale the most exploited humans are women and in factory farming the most exploited animals are female" (1997:56). Carol Adams has also drawn attention to the links between speciesism and sexism; in one section where she highlights the connection, she specifically focuses on the treatment of pigs. Karen Davis (1995) has done the same for chickens while others have demonstrated how our language reflects sexist undertones. According to Nilson (1977) the animal comparison spans a woman's life : a young girl is a *chick*, leaves the *coop*, goes to *hen parties* and enjoys the *cackles* of her friends, but has to return to her *brood* where she *henpecks* her husband and ends up an *old biddy* (cited in Dunayer 1995:12). Dunayer interprets these terms as metaphors of exploitation: the chick is the young female designed for giving sexual pleasure while the biddy has outlived her sexual and reproductive usefulness. "If hens were not held captive and treated as nothing more than their bodies, their lives would not supply symbols for the lives of stifled and physically exploited women" (1995:12-13).

Karen Davis, who founded United Poultry Concerns in 1990 makes many of the same points about caring for chickens that Patty Mark, the founder of Animal Liberation Victoria makes about the animals she has rescued from battery hen installations. Davis writes warmly of Viva, "the first chicken I ever really knew" and of extending her

"acquaintance" to turkeys, ducks and geese (Davis 1995). Patty Mark also believes it is necessary for activists to "know" animals if they are to promote their welfare:

*Even though it's been so many years, when I think back to the early '80s, how I talked so much for battery hens, but never really knew them, how more important it is, now that I know them inside and out, like people who keep a dog know the dog. I think it's so important that you really know your animals. Then you can really speak, not only just from your head, but from your heart as well, and from experience. / Interview, 1994*

The point in referring to the sentiments expressed by these female activists and founders of animal rights organisations is to suggest that they would rarely be put in such heartfelt terms by their male colleagues in the movement. On numerous occasions women, rather than men, spoke of their "bonding" with animals as if to imply a sense of shared suffering and experience of oppression that was unique to animals and women.

As noted in the previous section, compassion, tolerance, reverence for life and an abhorrence of injustice and cruelty were sentiments used by the male leaders of anti-hunting organisations in the three case study countries. These abstractions were however grounded in the campaign experiences of the male informants, rather than in the everyday lived experiences of the females in the study.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has focussed on cruelty as the diagnostic frame of the animal movement's three central campaigns against vivisection, bloodsports and factory farming. I have argued that these practices are diagnosed by animal protectionists as social and moral problems because they result in the unnecessary suffering and death of vast numbers of sentient creatures. While many animal rights fundamentalists see animal exploitation as "a crime of stupefying proportions" (see Note 7), most believe simply that it is a public issue with profound societal consequences, not least of which are the conflicts between

the animal movement and the countermovements that have emerged to defend the interests of animal industries (see Munro, 1999b).

The institutionalised cruelty of animal experimentation, intensive farming and recreational hunting constitute for animal protectors the worst forms of speciesism which the movement must confront. For the three main strands in the movement – animal welfare, liberation and rights – opposition to speciesism is the common thread in their campaigns. Nonetheless, the testimony of individual animal protectionists reveals different motives for their participation in these various campaigns. The importance of gender in explaining these motivations is evident in the historical and contemporary accounts of animal protection work alluded to in this chapter. However, the movement's diagnosis of speciesism as a social problem and its anti-cruelty frame cannot be reduced to a single dimension such as gender, race or class. Societal ills – labelled by animal protectionists as cruelty, torture, pain and suffering under structures of domination, injustice, exploitation and the like – are universally abhorred, at least in the context of human rights. Outside the Anglo-Saxon world of animal protection activism however, the fate of individual animals is of little concern to most people. Speciesism in the West, on the other hand, is seen as an increasingly worrying social problem with moral, legal and environmental implications.

Animal protectionists profiled in this chapter have described these problems in different, though connected ways: animal experimentation as "dirty work"; as the symbolic vivisection of the planet; as concerned with the fate of vulnerable species in reprehensible forms of recreation; as associated with the slippery slope of killing animals for "fun"; as "perfecting the production-line slaughter of living creatures" and as an environmental and health hazard. In recent times, environmentalists and animal



protectors have added food contamination scares, notably the "mad cow disease" outbreak and the genetic engineering of plants and animals to their list of grievances against those who seek to "improve on nature". (see Note 8)

For many of the animal protectionists quoted in this chapter, cruelty to animals is experienced as a private trouble, shared only with like-minded individuals inside the animal movement. The task of turning these private worries about out treatment of animals into public issues, is central to the social problems work of animal protection activism and advocacy. The remaining chapters focus on this social problems work and how it organised in the movement to confront new concerns about the treatment of animals as well as the perennial issues identified in this chapter as the animal movement's seminal issues. While the next three chapters focus on the intellectual, practical and emotional dimensions of social problems work, it should be understood that they are inextricably linked in the everyday praxis of animal protection.

## Endnotes

**Note 1:** The history of the long-running dispute between scientists and animal protectors is described in Deborah Rudacille's (2000) *The Scalpel and the Butterfly: The Conflict between Animal Research and Animal Protection*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

**Note 2:** *Scientific American* has not been an enthusiastic reporter of the politics of animal welfare over the years. A computer search of its articles on animal research uncovered 90 pieces between December 1983 and December 1996 of which only three, all in 1987, dealt with the politics of animal welfare. By comparison, the coverage of animal experimentation issues in *the New Scientist* has been impressive. Elston's (1992) content analysis of the magazine between 1970 and 1991 revealed that it had published close to 400 articles on the vivisection debate in which about two-thirds of the writers were explicitly for or against the use of animals in research; just over half of the total were critical of some aspect of animal experimentation. And of the nearly two dozen editorials, only two attacked animal rights excesses while the dominant message was to urge scientists to seek constructive dialogue with their critics. The cover story in *Scientific American* on February 1997 therefore can be seen as a sign of the issue's importance at the end of the twentieth century.

**Note 3:** The source for this piece, written by a female antivivisectionist, is "Peter Singer – Lab animal's friend or foe?" which appeared in *The Guardians* magazine in November, 1994.

**Note 4:** An illustration of the pro-hunting position appeared in an article in *The Times* (10 August, 1996) in which the author was critical of animal rights campaigners who, he claimed, "have a selective attitude, based more on emotion and rhetoric than

logic". According to the author, "love" of animals is often in inverse proportion to experience of them, an oft-quoted put down of animal protectionists as sentimental urbanites. I discussed the article en route to a protest in Dover in 1996 with a car load of animal activists who were outraged by the suggestion that hunters were animal lovers (Field notes).

**Note 5:** The various state Animal Liberation branches in Australia were founded in the year indicated by the following individuals:

New South Wales, December 1976, Christine Townend

Victoria, December 1978, Patty Mark

Queensland, December 1979, Jacqui Batzloff

The Australian Capital Territory, October 1980, Jenny McDougall

Western Australia, August 1981, Ilse Howard

South Australia, 1981, George Karoli

Tasmania, October 1982, Pam Clarke

**Note 6:** I have developed a more comprehensive account of the role of women in the animal movement in Munro (2001a) "Caring about blood, flesh and pain: Women's standing in the animal protection movement", *Society & Animals*, Vol 9, No 1, pp 43-61. In this paper I argue that women have high standing in the animal movement as a consequence of their long-standing commitment to animals and deep involvement in animal issues. That women have different attitudes to animals than men can be explained by a number of factors such as socialisation, gendered work and leisure patterns, affinity with companion animals, ambivalence about science, and a long history of involvement in anti-cruelty campaigns. I also argue that women's attitudes

and beliefs regarding animals are the prevailing ideas in the animal movement with men agreeing with women on approximately 80 per cent of the issues about which gender differences were relevant.

**Note 7:** This phrase was used by the fictional animal liberationist Elizabeth Costello in J M Coetzee's (1999) *The Lives of Animals*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

**Note 8:** I have discussed the movement's perspective on the genetic engineering of animals in Munro (2001b) "Future animal: Environmental and animal welfare perspectives on the genetic engineering of animals" in *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp 314-324.

## CHAPTER SIX

### INTELLECTUAL WORK IN ANIMAL PROTECTION

*It was no battle of words in which we were engaged but one of ethical conduct*  
(Henry Salt)

This chapter includes a number of activist testimonies which reveal that animal protection work is a calling and life-long commitment for some and for others little more than another day at the office. While some activists see their commitment as emotion-laden, most advocates in the study regard their work as primarily intellectual, that is, providing a reasoned voice for animals, or in the language of one of the activists – *speaking up for all animals*. “In this mode”, writes Sabloff, “activists rely primarily on logical argumentation, both philosophic and scientific, and on the marshalling of mountains of diverse, and usually highly accurate, data” (2001: 130). All of the activists and advocates featured in this chapter are driven by beliefs and values associated with the cause of individual animals and much of their work is intellectual in nature. This intellectual work corresponds to the movement’s diagnostic framing work described in the previous chapter. The cognitive praxis or core identity of three national, multi-issue animal protection organisations is analysed in order to highlight the role of movement entrepreneurs and the intellectual work involved in the day to day running of the organisations. This intellectual work – as distinct from the abstract argumentation of movement philosophers – includes assembling, presenting and contesting claims, producing verifiable packages of information and education materials, writing

submissions and reports for government authorities and ideological maintenance work within the movement itself.

As suggested in the previous chapter, animal protection work involves intellectual, practical and emotional commitments, which in the everyday world of movement activities, are integrated rather than compartmentalised. However, just as movement leaders in the case study countries differ according to the emphasis they give to various styles and combinations of activism/advocacy, so too do organisations vary in the emphasis given to the three dimensions of animal protection work. Similarly, some organisations focus on a specific issue while others, like those profiled in this chapter, take on a multi-issue agenda.

Most of the advocates in this study served their apprenticeship in small grassroots groups and most are practising vegetarians or vegans. What distinguishes the advocates from the activists is that the former are paid and tend to pursue the instrumental goals of the organisation rather than the expressive goals of the activist. However, these orientations often overlap in the everyday world of animal protection praxis. What the activists and advocates in this study have in common is commitment to the cause of animals, although the resources available to them vary according to whether their organisational affiliation is strong or weak. Thus, organisational advocates in the suites tend to use the tools of the information age, such as computers, e-mail, data bases, in-house media, professional expertise and so on, while grassroots activist groups rely more on practical aids – the video camera, banners, street theatre and the like - in their “hands-on” style of animal protection work. Emotion work, however, is integral to both and furthermore cannot be easily separated from the intellectual and practical dimension of social problems work. The affective side of animal protection praxis can be detected

in activist testimonies which describe the way many of them say they were "called" to the cause of animals.

### ANIMAL PROTECTION AS A CALLING

Most of the animal protectionists in the study see their animal advocacy and activism as work, if not a career or a vocation in the Weberian sense. Most see their work in mainly intrinsic terms, rather than as deriving only extrinsic satisfaction. All of the informants in the study describe their activities on behalf of animals as real work which offers daily meaning; in the case of the paid advocates, animal protection work also provides daily bread. Most of the informants, like the environmentalists in Dalton's (1994) study, viewed their social movement involvement as a vocation. For some animal protectionists, caring about animals is a labour of love, sometimes with spiritual connotations. Some activists believe they were literally "called", in the sense of a vocation, to the cause of animals.

At 76, Joan Court is the oldest female animal activist in this study. With a tertiary degree and a background in social work, she works voluntarily as a children's advocate and in her spare time runs Animal Rights Cambridge. Like several others in the sample, she believed her involvement in animal rights activism was literally a calling:

*And I sometimes have this sort of pseudo-spiritual feeling that some of us are called ; you get that feeling when you're talking to people. (It's) as if the animals are calling us. And you're always warned, by people who know - don't look a sheep in the eye. I discovered that too late at the market because a sheep looked at me very seriously, and I feel now we're betraying them all by not stopping this bloody trade./ Interview, 1996*

The live animal exports issue in the UK in the mid 1990s is also the reason for Milly's activism. The forty-year old London social worker is a first-time animal rights protester

although she has been a passive supporter for about a decade. In common with Miss Court, she felt that the animals were calling out to her for help:

*(I)n fact it was quite strange really - it was a bit like a clarion call to like minded individuals. I think people saw that there was an opportunity for the average person in the street to do something positive and people came from all over England and Scotland too....*

She specifically mentioned the sight of animals in transports and the television images of the live export trade as a catalyst for many people.

Herzog's (1993) study of animal rights activists, aptly titled "the movement is my life", captures the kind of commitment to the cause felt by most of the informants in the present study. One of the English activists spoke of his conversion to the cause of animal rights as if it were a religion:

*I mean it's my career and I think it is a life-long commitment that people take on board and I think its sort of passed on to their children and their friends and family we hope. But we would like to think that it- we don't want to generate too much fanaticism into this sort of thing. We want people to think that it's an easy lifestyle to live with / Mike Huskisson, Interview, 1996.*

Jenny Talbot, an Australian activist, runs her own bookshop specialising in New Age and alternative literature. Talbot's fateful moment, like Joan Court's, had a spiritual connection. The calling came in a "great dream" in 1970:

*I knew it was something of absolutely major importance. I've actually never had a dream where I've been touched before, except that dream. I felt the whale's velvety touch on my heel deep in the water, this green water and I was walking on the water, isn't that shocking? (laughing) - that's a sort of Jesus Christ, some sort of insane "save the world" complex or something. I don't know what it is, but I was walking on the water with my best friend and we were pushing our prams along .... and I actually had, really I would have to say the truest sense of being called in my whole life, during that time, during that, whatever it was 16, 18 months / Interview , 1996.*

In *Whales*, a book she designed and illustrated in her own stylised handwriting (as a self-proclaimed Luddite, she prefers to avoid the typewriter), Talbot tells the story of the founding of Project Jonah in Victoria. The book is important for what it reveals about



the meaning and politics of grassroots activism for an individual with a cause. Talbot believed she had found her calling with whales and was the right person for the task of establishing Project Jonah in Australia.

**Commitment: a way of life or another day at the office?**

Turner and Killian (1987:299) have emphasised the importance to a social movement's broad strategy of the distinction between the principles of the strategic and the expressive; the strategic principle concerns the selection of tactics using the criteria of effectiveness and costs while the expressive principle is evaluated more for its symbolic value. A similar analysis is provided by Schlosberg (1995) on communicative praxis in new social movements. He points out that the process of activism itself, not the goals, becomes the prime concern for grassroots activists. Advocates in the suites, on the other hand, are more interested in achieving the organisation's goals. However, Schlosberg warns of the dangers in privileging instrumental over expressive concerns when one is dealing with communicative and intersubjective processes. Process versus ends is particularly important within the direct action movement, for as Schlosberg observes, participants are often changed by the experience and many develop for the first time a strong sense of self and others (1995:307). Thus, in the case of BALE's (Brightlingsea Against Live Exports) sustained confrontation with the British government described in Chapter 8, participants were profoundly radicalized by the experience of their dealings with the state.

An Australian activist distinguished between grassroots activism as "hands on" and organisational advocacy as "behind the scenes", terms which correspond to the streets/suites designation I use in the thesis :

*I think the campaign side, you're working with a lot on paper, the media side, the political side, whereas the activist side, you've basically got one aim and*

*that is to get out there and help the animals at whatever cost. Activism is hands on, whereas the other (advocacy) is, as I said, behind the scenes / Interview, Casey, 1994*

While grassroots activists like Casey see the work of their advocate counterparts in the suites as important, others disparage it as "just another day at the office". Activism in the streets is less constrained and many activists believe it avoids several inevitable pitfalls of organisational advocacy work (see for example Flacks 1988:196-7). Although Flacks's focus was on the American Left, what he describes as "the dilemmas of organization" (1988:193) are familiar to all social movement activists and advocates. Essentially, many activists reject the bureaucratic, hierarchial, organized professionalism of the suites for the spontaneity of the streets. Even so, movement entrepreneurs would argue that both professional advocacy and amateur activism are needed for building a movement strong enough to defend the welfare of animals. (see Note 1)

The activists I interviewed all had their different conceptions of what it meant to be an activist rather than an advocate. That they defined themselves as one rather than the other was partly determined by what motivated them to take up the animal cause in the first place. No attempt was made to probe the interviewees' psychological motives for activism, as attitudinal explanations are generally held to be of limited value in explaining participation in movements (McAdam and Paulsen 1993: 643). A more sociological approach is suggested by Stryker's (1968) concept "identity salience" which holds that activists are recruited to participation in stages: first, the individual experiences a recruiting appeal that links the movement with the salient identity eg. animal lover, champion of the underdog, vegetarian, environmentalist, radical etc; and second, there must be confirmation from those who normally sustain the individual's

identity that participation is justified and will not jeopardise other commitments or loyalties such as in the family or workplace.

Oliver suggests that economic factors are a constraint on activism, not a motivation for it. "(E)ven for activists promoting causes of no immediate benefit to themselves, it seems unlikely that we will be able to say that they are activists *because* they can be paid to be activists" (1983:xx). This undoubtedly applies to animal protection advocates who in many cases could earn much more in the professions for which they originally qualified but have chosen animal protection. As we will see in the case studies in this chapter, animal protection work is more concerned with daily meaning than with daily bread. For organisational leaders, and for most of those interviewed for this study, animal protection is a vocation and a way of life, rather than a job. Andrew Tyler of Animal Aid believes that defending the rights of animals takes a heavy toll on individuals, himself included: *It consumes me*. To Tyler, animal advocacy-activism is more than just another 9 to 5 day at the office. As leader of a national animal rights organisation with strong grassroots affiliations, Tyler was interviewed during the live export protests in the UK when the commitment of the movement's leadership to the animal cause was under close scrutiny.

Most animal protectionists in the study however, believed that their commitment to the cause meant satisfaction rather than sacrifice. Holly Hazard of the Doris Day Animal League (DDAL) for instance, said she lives *a very normal middle class life* which allows her to distance herself from the frustrations of dealing with animal cruelty. Apart from differences in personality, the leaders of these two social movement organisations (SMOs) differ in the way they see their roles. While both have demonstrated a strong commitment to the animal cause, Tyler is an animal rights

activist while Hazard is perceived as an animal welfare advocate. One philosophy invites misunderstanding and apprehension - *we are mocked, we are called extremists and mad people* - the other, represented by household names like the RSPCA in the UK and Doris Day in the US, suggests respectability and normalcy. Movement insiders tend to see the difference between animal advocacy and activism in terms of daily bread and daily meaning, the distinction between another day at the office and a consuming passion. Joan Court, the 76 year-old activist, for instance, described how she still works in the courts on children's cases but worries about *forgetting the animals for half an hour to an hour ... at the back of my mind is this awful feeling that I ought to be giving my entire life to animal rights* (Interview, 1996).

Interestingly, grassroots activists more than organisational advocates spoke of guilt in not doing enough for the animals. Committed activists like the English activist Milly, warn their colleagues about the dangers of burnout and getting too caught up in the movement:

*It - it really - it almost becomes obsessional - it can take over your life and therefore for those of us who have other commitments you have to try your best to pace yourself because what we are in is in a marathon not a sprint. And it's very easy to get burnt out too quickly too soon, if you try to do too many things too quickly / Interview, 1996*

Patty Mark, who founded Animal Liberation (Victoria) points out with a laugh that she gets nervous if she's double parked, but when it comes to animals - *if you find something suffering, then you have to help it* - all the inhibitions dissolve. Mark grew up on a farm and many of her relatives are farmers; she also has a brother-in-law who is a vice-President of McDonald's in the USA. She is not anti - farmer, but is opposed to the big multi-national farms of agribusiness which have little concern for the plight of

individual animals in factory farms. Like many activists in the movement, she keeps lots of pets because she learns so much from "knowing" the animals.

*I've studied (hens) quite a lot, and I've kept them now for six or seven years, which is the best thing to do - if you really want to know an animal, live with them! (laughing)./ Interview, 1994*

Mark touches here on an issue which concerns other campaign spokespersons, namely the degree of expertise one is expected to have on various issues. Increasingly, it is necessary for campaign directors to have a deep knowledge of animal research, agribusiness and wildlife rather than simply a love of animals and a desire to protect them.

Like Margaret Bowen, Mark derives pleasure from working with animals:

*I feel really indebted to animals, to be honest, I feel they've given me so much, 'cause they teach so much. I think they're so amazing, and the more you know them, the more you learn...*

Like other activists mentioned thus far, Mark points out that her animal liberation activism is a full-time job to her: *It's a real job, in the pure sense of the word, it's work, it's stressful work.* In the early days of Animal Liberation she claims to have been "obsessed", putting in ninety to a hundred hours a week. She no longer is so driven and realises that the organisation cannot do everything.

It is clear from these individuals' statements, that their desire to be social movement activists derives from fundamental beliefs and values associated with the animal cause, rather than any extrinsic meaning such as job security. In short, "the causes of activist careers arise from commitment and ideology" (Oliver, 1983:303). Commitment takes many forms, from individual acts of conscience to collective action. In his study of political activists in America, Teske (1997) chose to bypass the tensions associated with the debate between altruism versus self-interest for an approach that

focussed on identity construction as the moral basis for activism. Identity construction "points to the qualitative concerns and the desires activists have that certain qualities be instantiated in their actions and lives" (1997: 121). Teske identified four themes in this process, most of which are intellectual and cognitive concerns relevant to animal activists and their lives. According to Teske's first theme, "the most important form of character development consisted of a disposition to act when confronted with morally troubling situations" (1997: 123). Animal activists, more so than advocates or supporters felt inclined to do something for the animals by way of giving up eating meat – seen as "the least one could do" – to collective action in animal rescue campaigns and the like. Like many of Teske's activists, animal protectionists such as Patty Mark had learned to develop skills that allowed them to do things, such as public speaking, which they otherwise found difficult to do.

For many activists, the moral meaning of activism, the second of Teske's themes, was reaffirmed by the sense of belonging to a movement, to something bigger than oneself. Virtually all of the interviewees in this study felt that they were not alone and their actions on behalf of animals were part of a world wide movement. While I did not ask informants to reflect as Teske did on an imaginary end-of-life perspective – the third theme which asks, was the activism worthwhile? – many did remark how they had little choice in taking up the cause of animals. Time and again, informants claimed their involvement in the movement was "something I had to do" – the last of Teske's themes concerning the necessity of acting - in order to be true to oneself and one's commitments. Indeed, there were striking parallels between animal activists' involvement stories and those of Teske's pro-life activists in the way each constructed their sense of identity through activism. How people learn an activist identity in various

social movements is suggested by Piven and Cloward (1977: 3-4) and illustrated most vividly by Milly.

Piven and Cloward's analysis of how individuals experience a transformation of consciousness suggests that changing the way people think about themselves involves three distinct processes: (1) they lose faith in the legitimacy of "the system" ; (2) ordinary fatalistic individuals begin to assert "rights" that imply demands for change; (3) people who normally feel helpless learn that they are not (the rationale for action and ultimately the individual's cognitive liberation). Milly's experience of these stages is reflected in her description of the way she and others were radicalised by the live animal export issue in the UK during the mid 1990s. The numbers refer to the stages as outlined above:

*(1)... I feel that since I have become actively involved in the animal welfare movement or animal activist or whatever you want to describe it, I feel more positive about life because I feel that there is nothing more debilitating than feeling that you are a victim and you are on the receiving end of a lot of ridiculous decisions made by parliament or by politicians. (2) Once you have reclaimed your own power and start saying - "hang on a minute I'm a tax payer, I've got a voice, I'm entitled to be heard and I want these people to do what we are asking them to do, to listen to what we are saying"- then it's actually quite liberating in a personal sense as well. (3) ... I think it has made a difference, especially in Britain, because we stopped the trade at Shoreham, we stopped it at Brightlingsea and we stopped Coventry and Plymouth as well and therefore the number of animals being exported has dropped significantly. Now we were told right at the very beginning - "oh no you won't stop this trade, its been going on for years" - and to a certain extent that's right because of the vested interests, of very powerful vested interests behind this trade. But we **have** - we may not have killed it outright but we have certainly seriously wounded it / Milly , Interview, 1996*

When individuals pass through all three stages of this process, they may be said to have experienced "cognitive liberation" (McAdam, 1982:51). McAdam elsewhere emphasises that these cognitions are most likely to occur in "mobilization contexts"

by which he means among groups of people who collectively create the meanings that empower them to act. "In the absence of strong interpersonal links to others, people are likely to feel powerless to change conditions even if they perceive present conditions as favourable to such efforts" (McAdam, 1988:137).

### **Cognitive praxis in social movement organisations**

The intellectual/practical division of social problems work corresponds roughly to the advocacy/activist division of labour I identify as animal protection praxis in the suites and in the streets. Other writers have described the division in terms of knowledge-based versus grassroots epistemology (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991). While attempts to compartmentalise animal protection SMOs in this way is essentially artificial, the use of these ideal types is helpful for the purposes of analysis.

This section is guided by the theoretical analysis of social movements employed by Eyerman and Jamison (1989;1991) who use the terms cognitive praxis and movement intellectuals as their key concepts. Cognitive praxis refers to the core identity of a social movement as a knowledge producer and as a bearer of new ideas. They argue that movement intellectuals "formulate the knowledge interests of the emergent social movement" (1991: 56) in ways that are crucial to the success of the movement's cause. I have adapted their cognitive approach in the discussion of the SMOs in this chapter. In the thesis, the term "movement intellectual" is reserved for the movement's philosophers such as Singer and Regan; the term "issue entrepreneur" is perhaps a more accurate description of the role of the organisational leaders outlined in this and other chapters. More significantly, Eyerman and Jamieson contend that "the use of professionals in social movements reflects a shift in intellectual life itself, a shift from



the classical amateur, cultivating intellectual pursuits as an avocation or calling, to the modern professionals, for whom intellectual work is a vocation....” (1991: 100). The intellectual work of three national leaders of multi issue organisations are profiled below and in each case, this work is seen as a lifelong vocation.

New social movements engage in “a form of advocacy which challenges the ‘reality’ of dominant values. It is a process of making an alternative form of knowledge count” (Harries-Jones, 1991:5). The remainder of this chapter focuses on the way animal protection SMOs in the USA, the UK and Australia challenge existing ideas and attitudes about animals by using intellectual resources in their advocacy work, particularly in the diagnosis of cruelty as the movement’s core identity.

In their study of Greenpeace, Eyerman and Jamison argue that this quintessential environmental SMO “can be defined primarily by its transformation of knowledge into an organisational weapon” (1989:113). They emphasise the crucial importance to Greenpeace of disseminating selective environmental knowledge as “strategic information for the people”(1989:114). According to Eyerman and Jamison, it is the selective use of environmental knowledge as an organizational weapon that gives Greenpeace its advantage in public fora. They suggest that because the organisation is success-oriented rather than value-oriented, it is more interested in the dissemination of attention-catching information than in endless debates about philosophy, or cosmology as they call it. Direct mail, the production of its own video and film archives and conventional advertising are characterised by a professionalism which ensures that the environmental message is kept simple and will resonate with as wide an audience as possible. (see Note 2)

The core identities of the Animal Welfare Institute (AWI), ANZFAS/Animals Australia and Animal Aid correspond to the broad philosophies of animal welfare, animal liberation and animal rights respectively. Issue entrepreneurs like Ruth Harrison in factory farming and Christine Stevens from AWI in animal experimentation were among the first to diagnose cruelty in these contexts. Stevens's pioneering work in the USA in the 1950s and 1960s led to some of the most important reforms for laboratory animals in that country. Her organisation, the Animal Welfare Institute, as the name implies, is dedicated to seeking moderate reforms in the welfarist tradition. ANZFAS/Animals Australia is perhaps one of the best examples of an animal SMO that has followed Singer's animal liberationist stance. Because its member organisations represent a wide variety of philosophies and programs, it is of necessity pragmatic in its programmatic and ideological work. Finally, the radical vegan-animal rights organisation, Animal Aid in the UK is a classic example of an abolitionist activist group which adheres to Regan's strict version of animal rights. These three exemplary animal SMOs represent then different points on the continuum of moral philosophy as applied to our treatment of animals.

#### **MULTI-ISSUE ADVOCACY IN THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND AUSTRALIA**

This section covers the main features and preoccupations of what can be described as national, multi-issue animal advocacy organisations - the Australian and New Zealand Federation on Animal Societies (ANZFAS)/ Animals Australia, Animal Aid in the UK and the Animal Welfare Institute(AWI) in the USA. These particular SMOs were chosen first because they are examples of national multi-issue SMOs which broadly represent the three main approaches to animal protection - animal welfare (AWI),

animal liberation (ANZFAS) and animal rights (Animal Aid) - and second because they are exemplary animal advocacy organisations in that they exhibit features which may be unique in the animal movement: ANZFAS is arguably the only federation of regional animal societies in the world; Animal Aid is unusual among animal rights organisations in that it promotes a philosophy of radical veganism; and in the case of the Animal Welfare Institute in Washington DC, the organisation is an interesting study in social movement continuity since it has had the same leader since its foundation in 1952. Finally, advocacy in these three organisations is based largely on intellectual work, principally the publication and dissemination of quality scholarly books, monographs, videos, films and articles.

Whether the issue is the leghold trap, vivisection or factory farming, animal advocates attempt to make different forms of knowledge count. While each of the SMOs in this chapter is unique in the way it uses knowledge as an organisational resource, they share the same philosophy of compassion and justice for animals that is the linchpin of the animal movement worldwide. Nonetheless, each SMO has its own identity or cognitive praxis and uses different strategies and tactics to achieve the movement's common goals.

Knowledge appears on balance to count for more than emotion in the work of these organisations. For ANZFAS/ Animals Australia and the AWI, lobbying their respective governments is the principal strategy and hence for these organizations at least, knowledge - in the form of detailed written submissions to official inquiries and the provision of expert evidence as witnesses or as members of ethics committee - is the main tool for accomplishing their goals. Animal Aid in the UK sees itself as more

"uninhibited" and embraces both a grassroots epistemology and the conventional cognitive style of organizational advocacy.

Knowledge is employed in different ways by the three animal protection organizations. Peter Singer's presidency of ANZFAS provides the organisation with intellectual credibility since his name is synonymous with animal liberation philosophy; its director Glenys Oogjes sees herself as a "conduit" for empowering others with information. Animal Aid places great store on their "intelligent, verifiable packages of information" which they use to tell "powerful stories" aimed at people's hearts and minds so as to win them over to the cause. Finally, the AWI's intellectual work consists in producing high quality, in-house print and electronic media which can be used in their campaigns on behalf of animals; the AWI, more than ANZFAS/Animals Australia and to a lesser extent Animal Aid, uses its own in-house publications and electronic media as a distinctive organizational tool.

*Animals Australia/ ANZFAS: A conduit for information*

The Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies (ANZFAS) changed its name in October 1996 to Animals Australia to distinguish itself from the umbrella organization and its affiliation with New Zealand. Animals Australia is one of the largest animal welfare organisations in Australia and is the umbrella organisation for about 35 animal societies in the country. I use the name ANZFAS when the activities of the organization encompass both countries, and Animals Australia when only Australian activities are concerned. The Australian contingent, Animals Australia, numbers approximately 33 000 members compared to about 7 000 in New Zealand.

A federation of regional societies in New Zealand and Australia is a singular achievement for countries with a land mass the size of the USA and UK combined. Furthermore, the societies cover the broad spectrum of animal protectionists including welfarists in the RNZSPCA, pragmatists in the various state branches of Animal Liberation, abolitionists in Animal Rights and other anti-vivisectionist groups in both countries as well as conservationists and environmentalists in groups such as the Kangaroo Protection Co-operative. Although almost two-thirds of its private members claim to be members of the RSPCA (Munro, 1996). Animals Australia is animal liberationist in orientation in keeping with the activist, pragmatic style of its president Peter Singer.

Animals Australia favours an advocacy style of institutional lobbying combined with the grassroots activism of some of its member societies. It eschews violence of any kind and believes that its strategy of institutional lobbying is the only feasible one for an organisation that must negotiate with the Australian government on animal welfare issues. ANZFAS sees its main strengths in research and communication and cites the establishment of Animal Welfare Advisory Committees in Australia and New Zealand as confirmation of its success in changing public attitudes towards animals.

The director of ANZFAS Glenys Oogjes has been involved with animal protection since the early 1980s and full-time director of organisation since 1983. Nearly twenty years later, she remains an optimist despite the slow progress made by the movement. She believes in "the psychology of small wins" (Weick, 1984) such as a recently-won ban on the tethering of pigs in NSW and a magistrate's ruling which vindicated attempts by animal liberationists to rescue inhumanely housed battery hens in Canberra. Oogjes believes in focussing on what she sees as winnable issues such as bans

on animals used in circuses and entertainment, in jumps racing, the face branding of cattle, the steel-jawed leghold trap and bans on some of the more inhumane methods for controlling wildlife. As a self-declared idealist, she is however reluctant to put more difficult issues in "the too hard basket" such as live sheep export:

*Because we're people that worry about these things, I have great difficulty leaving other issues even if they're not winnable in the short term. If you leave them they'll never be won. And so we have this background activity on a lot of issues all of the time, for instance live sheep export. We are unlikely to win that for a long time but people are concerned about it so we try and keep it in front of them / Interview 1997*

Although the organization does not have the financial resources to match say the Washington-based Animal Welfare Institute's impressive range of in-house electronic and print media, it does place great store on research which yields accurate and credible information. Oogjes cites a recent example where Animals Australia challenged the egg industry which she believed was using misleading labelling on their products. She wrote to the Australian Consumers Commission and succeeded in preventing the industry from using misleading "happy hen" style images on their cartons :

*... I love winning stuff like that. And I really think that's a chink in their armour that they realise that they can't just do anything they want, that there's some public accountability. So I like that sort of thing and I like being able to empower our people with information. We've got the information so it actually gives me great pleasure to put it into a format, maybe it's a fact sheet, but maybe it's a media release that people can grab on to and can understand. I really like feeding that information to people and hoping that empowers them. I mean that's really what I get out of a job, is trying to be that conduit. / Interview 1997*

This is not to say that there are no frustrations in her dealings with government bureaucracy. ANZFAS has been providing evidence to most of the Senate Select Committee inquiries (Senate select committees, 1985, 1988, 1989, 1990) and continues to cooperate with government attempts to regulate animal welfare in Australia. Even so,

there are signs that the organisation is becoming increasingly disillusioned with the legislative route to animal protection. In a recent paper, the director argued that the codes of practice have been used as a public relations smoke screen to soften criticism of the way animals are treated in various contexts. Oogjes (1997) points out that animals of similar or identical sentience in Australia are treated differentially depending on their commercial value. To keep a dog in the conditions endured by intensively farmed pigs as permitted in the codes, she suggests, would constitute an offence and would lead to prosecution. No doubt the apparent inconsistency in the codes is a reflection of the greater emotional value people accord to companion animals compared to farm animals.

#### The cognitive work of Animal Ethics Committees

An example of the cognitive work done by ANZFAS was its submission of more than 130 pages on animal experimentation to the Senate Select Committee in 1987 in which the organisation sought the eventual abolition of animal experimentation. In preparing its submission, ANZFAS "investigated current procedures and the nature of animal research in Australia, and looked at the regulation and conduct of animal research in several comparable countries" (ACCART, 1990: 8). ANZFAS pointed out in its submission that the majority of its 33 recommendations were provided pending the eventual abolition of animal experimentation. In the meantime, its policy is to work towards improvements in the treatment and care of laboratory animals according the principles of the 3Rs – replacement, reduction and refinement. There is nonetheless a dilemma for animal protection SMOs which serve on committees or government inquiries that are perceived as not achieving tangible improvements for the animals. Critics maintain that co-operating with leaders in government and industry – many of

whom are believed to be indifferent to animal welfare issues- legitimates animal exploitation by perpetuating the myth that all is well in the human-animal "contract". One critic, who prefers the term vivisection to animal experimentation, asserted that "you can't have a code of vivisection any more than you can have a code for rape" (Coleman, 1993:17). As president of ANZFAS Peter Singer's response is to take a historical and cautiously optimistic view:

We're still a long way from the goal of ending the institution of animal experimentation and changing the assumption that animals are just tools for us to use. Nevertheless, the codes of practice and the committees do mean that undoubtedly there are many animal experiments which would have been performed in 1975, and which would have caused extreme suffering to animals, which will not be approved in Australia now. This is because of the existence of the ethics committees and because of the animal welfare people on those committees (Singer, 1995 : 9).

The initiative for a code of practice for the care and use of animals in science and research came from the scientific fraternity itself. According to Rogers and Tremont (1992:37), the National Health and Medical Research Council (NH&MRC) drew up a code in 1969 as a proactive response to animal rights activism in the 1960s and 1970s. The purpose of the Australian Code of Practice for the Care and Use of Animals by the NH&MRC is to ensure the humane care of animals used in science and research. The code uses Animal Ethics Committees (AECs) to verify that experiments involving animals are justified and the principles of the 3Rs are adhered to. The code is monitored by Animal Experimentation and Ethics Committees (AEECs) and according to Rogers and Tremont, Australia has been spared the radical protests against vivisection and animal research experienced in Britain (1992:37). One of the strengths of the AEC system is that it has opened up a dialogue between animal protectors, antivivisectionists, scientists and community representatives (Anderson and Perry, 1999: 84). Yet for animal



protectionists vivisection remains one of the most despised practices involving animals.

(see Note 3)

It is therefore difficult for the organisation to satisfy its membership that its policy of working with the authorities and on Ethics Committees is anything but an implicit acceptance of such practices. And in fact some members have left Animals Australia to start their own more activist SMO as others have elsewhere, most notably in the case of the BUAV and the HSUS. I have witnessed the sometimes very heated debate between ANZFAS members and the leadership on the issue of whether a reformist or abolitionist approach to vivisection is the correct policy for the SMO to take. Because so many of its ordinary members see vivisection as one of the worst forms of animal abuse, many expect ANZFAS to take an abolitionist line on the issue. How to resolve the dilemma is a formidable challenge to movement leaders and one of the most important aspects of their work.

At the moment, the organisation's position is to encourage its members to serve on AECs because they bring a humane perspective to the committees that may produce concrete improvements for animals. For example, Stiles and Hughes (1995:13) argue that a practice that was permitted five years ago in Australia - the dropping of heavy weights on a sheep's back as part of research on paraplegia - would be rejected today by animal welfarists on the AECs. The American equivalent - Institutional Animal Care and Use Committees (IACUCs) - appears to be acceptable only to the most moderate animal welfarists in the US since they are perceived as being little more than a rubber stamp. Orlans (1993) found that it was very rare for any animal experiment to be disallowed completely and was struck by the fact that the only IACUC members to vote

against a research protocol were community representatives who tend to have worked in humane societies and the like (1993:111).

At the 1998 ANZFAS/Animals Australia annual general meeting the organisation resolved to inform AECs that it would withdraw its members unless major changes were made to the operation of the committees. Recent survey results have indicated that most AECs were ineffective in meeting the guidelines and "in fact alternatives to the use of animals in many cases were not even being considered yet alone utilised" (Carrier, 2000: 24). For many animal protectionists, such as the leadership in Animal Aid, the fact most experiments are approved by these committees despite an animal welfare presence is seen as further evidence that an abolitionist approach is preferable to pragmatic animal welfarism. The moderate, reformist approach that is favoured by ANZFAS/Animals Australia is anathema to the next case study in animal protection advocacy.

#### *The United Kingdom: Animal Aid*

Animal Aid describes itself as a relatively new pressure group established in 1977 to campaign on behalf of farm and laboratory animals in particular. As director of a national organisation with over 17 000 members, Andrew Tyler genuinely believes in the effectiveness of grassroots politics. He is wary of building national groups with large bureaucracies which he believes can become proprietorial about issues. Animal Aid claims to nurture and listen to its grassroots supporters, and hence is able to mobilise its supporters as a pressure group that politicians find difficult to ignore. Its status as a pressure group rather than as a registered charity means that it can be more "uninhibited" than say the RSPCA or CIWF which are prohibited by the law from

political campaigning. Animal Aid , on the other hand, runs peaceful , though confrontational campaigns against cruelty and investigates animal suffering and exploitation wherever it needs to in Britain.

Their bi-monthly journal *Outrage* reveals a broad agenda covering the conventional concerns of animal rights groups from anti-fur campaigns to exposing animal suffering in zoos. In addition, Animal Aid's online home page lists its most recent campaigns as focussing on opposing warfare experiments on animals, cruelty to livestock at markets, poor conditions in British zoos, the excesses of the modern sheep and poultry industries and the use of animal body parts in research (<http://www.animalaid.org.uk/>).

Animal Aid's promotional literature points out that it is one of the first national animal rights organisations in the world and still the only one in the UK with a multi-issue agenda. The grass roots orientation of Animal Aid is based on about one hundred contact groups throughout the country; almost three-quarters of these contact persons are women ( Garner, 1993b :67). The organisation is non-bureaucratic in that it favours a "bottom-up" rather than top-down hierarchial structure. Local campaigners throughout the UK take the initiative in many campaigns while the umbrella organisation offers a strategic lead producing for example "astute packages on the evils of livestock markets, the sheep and poultry trade, the zoo business, the use of animals in warfare experiments, the squandering of animal lives in tissue testing ..." Tyler, (in the 100th issue of *Outrage*). As the director of Animal Aid since 1995 and as a former journalist, Tyler places great emphasis on these "information packages":

*We have to make a sustained argument, we have to put the facts before people; we have to have access to the media which is why we have to create eye-catching demos, protests, put out better packages of information and film that the media will be compelled to use / Interview, 1996*

Like most issue entrepreneurs in this study, Tyler makes every effort to attract the media's attention with attention-grabbing press releases and the like as well as with more academic publications. Tyler's idea of packages of information is much broader than the conventional printed brochures produced by social movement activists and advocates. Animal Aid, like the Animal Welfare Institute in the US, produces well researched books and articles on a whole range of issues. Tyler points out that Animal Aid has to target the press effectively with *intelligent, verifiable packages of information and argument that they can feel secure about using* (Interview, 1996) An example of this is "Silence of the Lambs: An Animal Aid Investigation" - a short monograph written by Tyler in 1995 - which seeks to expose the cruelty involved in the sheep industry in the UK. As important as these packages are, Tyler believes Animal Aid must go further to win over the public to its cause. One of the ways animal rights organisations like Animal Aid do this, is to present people with information intended to shock, or at the very least to get their attention, in statements such as the following:

*Prisons are not filled with rapists and child molesters who are vegan; they are filled with rapists and child molesters who are carnivores. I'm not saying there is a causal link between one or the other, but this is an overwhelmingly peaceful and compassionate movement and I'm proud to be part of it. / Interview, 1996*

The point to be made about this emotional outburst is that animal protection SMOs are increasingly invoking "the cruelty connection" - the link between cruelty to animals and serious criminal behaviour - as new knowledge, which in the above excerpt, includes the notion of meat eating as criminogenic. As others have noted in the literature, meat eating has been blamed for a host of social ills from rape to ecological destruction (Fiddes, 1991; Adams, 1990). Tyler does however acknowledge that "the link" in this case is tenuous.

### Vegan-animal rights radicalism as an identity

Like most animal rights organisations, Animal Aid promotes vegetarianism and sees meat eating as one of the worst forms of violence against animals and the environment. According to Tyler, Animal Aid is a radical vegan/ animal rights organisation which expects its full-time staff to be vegan. He believes that the animal rights movement is unique in its message about living without cruelty and suggests that Animal Aid's appeal as a SMO is because it is uncompromising on the rights of animals to be left alone so as to enjoy their natural lives as sentient (and sensual) creatures. Tyler explains Animal Aid's appeal as he sees it:

*We're uninhibited....We're not inhibited about saying we want fishing to stop, angling to stop, we want everyone to stop eating meat. We don't put it like that because there's no point in challenging people, doing a guilt thing / Interview, 1996 .*

Tyler believes that throughout its history the animal movement has been characterised by a "them versus us" mentality which has resulted in the movement excluding, rather than attracting adherents. And logically, Animal Aid's identity as a radical vegan/animal rights SMO is exclusive, not inclusive of people, a point which Tyler appears to acknowledge although he insists on the organization remaining true to its principles:

*But it is important to recognise that we won't get to heaven in a week, we should stick to our undiluted objective, which as far as we're concerned is the abolition of all vivisection, the promotion of veganism, the whole bit....*  
/ Interview, 1996

Animal Aid's strict animal rights/vegan identity has not prevented it from working with more moderate SMOs in the movement like CIWF against live animal exports. And in 1984 Animal Aid and a number of leading antivivisection organisations formed the Mobilisation for Laboratory Animals to campaign jointly against the Government's

White Paper on laboratory animals. But the animal rights organisation is critical of the tamest and largest of its potential allies in the animal protection fraternity, the RSPCA which Tyler believes wants only to *give bigger cages to the captives or lengthen the chain on the slaves*. Tyler points out that his organisation is trying to abolish cruelty and to change fundamental habits and they are not content with the moderate animal welfare stance which effectively accepts the status quo.

Thus while Animal Aid will work with any animal movement SMO, Tyler is not enthusiastic about the state of animal protection advocacy in the UK. He suggests that until the recent live export protests, the animal movement had become stale compared to the late 1980s when it was *young, provocative, imaginative and challenging...and did strange things and shocked, and I'm not talking about smashing stuff. I'm talking about creative, principled, dynamic action* / Interview, 1996.

Tyler's advocacy is the tradition of grassroots epistemology, one that prefers actions to words. Yet the two are intertwined in Animal Aid's proselytising of veganism, which is so central to the group's identity. It is promoted primarily by the example of individuals as well as in information packs, pamphlets and the like. The aim is to appeal to young people's sense of idealism via the moral appeal of ethical eating. In addition, the message hopes to target alienated youth by offering them the opportunity to create a new identity – as animal activist, vegan, caring individual etc – and a sense of doing something worthwhile. Many of Animal Aid's staff were recruited in this way .

*I have to say our message of radical veganism implicitly does mean radical change to the economic and social structure...we are looking for fundamental change and that appeals in particular to young people (who ) don't have a stake in the system. There's that kind of excitement, that kind of challenge that's important we recover...And I'm determined that in Animal Aid we recover that dynamic exuberance and not be inhibited and fearful of losing the support of the*

*small "c" conservative people who think if you step out of line you want to bring down the state /Interview, 1996*

The final case study of a national, multi-issue SMO is the oldest of the three and one that targets small "c" conservatives for whom Tyler's message of radical veganism is unattractive. As we will see, the Animal Welfare Institute claims to have won over "the middle ground" to its cause.

*The United States: Animal Welfare Institute*

The Animal Welfare Institute (AWI) in Washington DC was founded in 1952 and is one of the oldest national animal protection SMOs in the United States. Like ANZFAS and Animal Aid, the AWI is a small, national organisation with a multi-issue agenda and a high profile in the animal movement. Christine Stevens, now in her 70s, is still President of the AWI and runs the office from her home in Washington DC. In 1955 AWI set up a sister organisation, the Society for Animal Protection Legislation (SAPL) to encourage people to lobby Congress and state legislatures on animal welfare issues especially opposition to the steel jaw trap, the preservation of endangered species and the prevention of trade in wild-captured exotic birds, as well as the humane treatment of animals in laboratories and factory farms, and the encouragement of humane science teaching in schools.

On this last objective, the AWI and its founder Stevens are credited with the first important success in America in the reform of science fair standards. Their protests resulted in Westinghouse instituting a ban on the use of vertebrates in experiments at their exhibitions, a ban that has been in place since 1969 (Finsen and Finsen, 1994: 132). Other more recent successes cited by the organisation itself include putting

pressure on the International Whaling Commission (IWC) to create the Antarctic Whale Sanctuary that protects whales within the sanctuary . According to Orlans (1993 : 45), the AWI and SAPL have been among the most politically successful of all animal welfare organisations on a variety of animal protection issues. The AWI claims that of the existing laws protecting animals in the US, fifteen were passed since the founding of SAPL and "to a substantial extent, because of the Society's work"( SAPL document).

SAPL was founded in 1955 as a political lobby group or political action committee in order to preserve the Institute's tax-exempt status as a non-profit organisation. At that time there were only two federal laws on the books to protect animals in the US. The following selected examples from an AWI brochure reveal the kind of moderate, incremental advances and hard fought achievements in the suites that usually do not satisfy the radicals in the movement:

1958: anesthetization or instant stunning prior to slaughter except for kosher slaughter

1966: minimum standards of care and housing for laboratory animals

1975: cyanide collar for sheep to kill only predators actually attacking sheep

1978: humane slaughter of all animals imported to the US for meat

1990: pounds to hold animals for five days before release to dealers

1991: exercise for laboratory dogs

1992: moratorium on tuna fishing which kills dolphins

Purists in the movement would see many of the above as failures rather than as reforms to be celebrated. Concepts such as "kosher slaughter", "humane slaughter", a "cyanide collar" to kill other animals or "dolphin-safe tuna" are anathema for many hardliners in the movement. They tend to see animal welfare improvements like a five-day waiting



period for pound dogs or exercise for dogs destined for experimentation as nothing more than *lengthening the chains on the slaves*, to use Andrew Tyler's phrase. What one SMO sees as animal protection reforms legitimated and secure in law, another perceives as a sell-out. The divide between the welfarists and abolitionists in the movement over reforming or rejecting the uses to which animals are put, is indicative of the programmatic and ideological differences between the two and a further illustration of the ideological maintenance work that needs to be done to resolve such tensions.

As founder of AWI, Christine Stevens is acknowledged as one of the most influential forces in changing national animal welfare laws. On the question of vivisection, the reason for which the AWI was established, the Animal Welfare Institute, as its name indicates, is welfarist rather than abolitionist. Stevens believes in working within the system and has done so for almost half a century. The daughter of a physiology professor, she first became interested in animal welfare in the 1940s while working as a volunteer for at a pet shelter where she witnessed the abuse of animals by the proprietor.

*My father was the head of the physiology department at the university of Michigan Medical School, so he alerted me to all these attempts by the National Society for Medical Research (NSMR) to get the dogs and cats. Well naturally we weren't about to let them do that (laughing) / Interview, 1996*

Her efforts to stop the shelter's practice of selling animals to research laboratories put her and her sympathetic father into conflict with the NSMR. Father and daughter offered the American Humane Association (AHA) \$10 000 to help them fight the laws requiring shelters to hand over animals to researchers but were turned down. The debate which ensued led to dissidents breaking away from the AHA to form the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) in 1954 ( Blum, 1994 :11; Orlans, 1993 : 45). The controversy also induced Stevens to found her own organisation, the Animal Welfare

Institute in 1952 in order to challenge the pound laws more effectively. Within a year an official from the vivisectionist fraternity wrote to her suggesting the AWI do not join the "group of foolish, misguided, misanthropic, idle, mischievous or mercenary social perverts who form the so-called anti-vivisection societies to a large extent" ( quoted in Blum, 1994 : 112). Apart from making her angry, these sentiments were a warning to the AWI that it was in for a long struggle with medical researchers over their (mis)use of laboratory animals. In 1960 after preventing researchers from seizing pound animals for their experiments, the AWI campaigned for the inclusion of laboratory animals in the law to protect animals from abuse.

On her father's advice, Stevens visited the UK where animals were protected since 1876 by the British Cruelty to Animals Act. She recalls meeting scientists who said they were happy to work under the Act since it prevented unnecessary cruelty and encouraged "the right attitude towards animal experiments". Among the distinguished English physiologists she met was Sir Alexander Fleming "who showed me the window sill on which he had discovered penicillin. I remember his rabbits in spacious cages with room to hop about and sit up" ( Stevens, 1996a : 5 ). After her return to the US, she continued to advocate for legislation similar to the British anti-cruelty Act. It was not until 1966 that the US got its first comprehensive animal welfare act, and according to Blum (1994 :110-111 ), this was due to the singular efforts of Stevens, who she describes as "both a strong and a rational voice in the animal protection movement".

The AWI and its sister organisation SAPL now have about a dozen full-time staff with slightly more females than males. At the time of the interview in 1996 there were seven directors as well as about 20 officers and members of scientific and international committees.

On the continuum of animal protection SMOs, the AWI is situated somewhere in the centre. Garner (1993b : 52 ) describes the organisation as having "a typical welfarist outlook", a description Stevens confirms in her outline of the genesis of AWI:

*We were founded because of the fight between the medical extremists and the anti-vivisectionists who say "no experiments at all". And then the NSMR said "no holes barred on any kind of experimentation", so nobody was doing anything for the animals, the animals were left out of this. They just enjoyed their philosophical contest and of course, the anti-vivisectionists were not accomplishing anything, alas, at all. And so we came in and said "all right we're the middle ground and we believe that it has to be controlled and regulated - reduced numbers, decent housing, decent treatment, all of those things / Interview, 1996.*

As noted earlier, these improvements in animal welfare are not celebrated with the same enthusiasm by more ardent animal rightists in the movement. Nonetheless, Christine Stevens knows better than most what is achievable and what is not:

*We feel that usually when there are polls taken that our policies are about the same as the opinion of the average American....And the results, when we succeed, are what the American public wants. Their general outlook is quite similar in most cases to the Animal Welfare Institute / Interview, 1996.*

Coming to this position – and defending it to more radical elements in the movement – requires considerable intellectual work. The AWI's middle-of-the-road position aligns it with prevailing moral orthodoxy which means that animals can be eaten, dissected, hunted, and exhibited, provided these things are done humanely and the benefits to humans outweigh the harms to animals. According to the philosopher Stephen Clark (1997), moral orthodoxy represents "the 'norm' of moderate concern for animals", which the AWI seeks to codify in law. Its objective is characterised by the concept of "pity with entitlement".

### The AWI as a think tank

The Society for Animal Protection Legislation (SAPL) – the AWI's lobbying arm - has a long list of achievements since it was set up in 1955, not least of which is the documentation that contributed to the Animal Welfare Act of 1966 and the widening of its provisions in 1970, 1976, 1985 and 1990. AWI and SAPL are unique among animal protection SMOs in that much of their funding comes from the production of high quality publications which also serve as resources in their legal work. Some of the publications are provided free to other animal welfare bodies as well as to public libraries, police chiefs and scientific institutions. While most of the big, well-funded animal SMOs produce impressive monographs and glossy magazines, none rival the AWI's in terms of the range and intellectual depth of output. The list of publications and videos includes 20 substantial books and substantial monographs on issues like animal appreciation and protection, wildlife, trapping, laboratory animals, factory farming and humane education.

In its campaigns on these issues, the AWI uses knowledge in much the same way that ANZFAS does in its lobbying and advocacy work and Animal Aid does with its packages of information. However, AWI's much larger output of published books on subjects such as animal appreciation, threatened wildlife, humane education and the three main campaigns of hunting, farm animals and vivisection means that it functions as a kind of think tank in Washington DC. With its small number of intellectual workers at the headquarters in Stevens's home and a larger circle of consultants it commissions for various publications, the AWI is well positioned to provide expert information on most animal issues. Stevens enjoys relatively good access to the American Congress as

a result of her husband's (former Director of the John F Kennedy Arts Centre) networks and contacts.

*Facts about Furs* (1979) by AWI staff has been an influential weapon against the fur trade since it was first published in the late 70s ( Jasper and Nelkin, 1992:150). SAPL also used the actor Gregory Peck in its video exposé of the fur trade in *Gregory Peck Speaks Against the Leghold Trap*, a device against which AWI is still vigorously campaigning. The AWI also commissioned *Alternative Traps* (Garrett, 1996) as a public service to counter the claims of leghold trap advocates that there are no alternatives to the device. Stevens points out that it was written especially for the government officials who require trustworthy information to make sound, humane decisions. Much of the AWI's intellectual work has gone into this issue in the past few years as a result of threats to the European Union's ban on the leghold trap in 1991.

The Union also placed a ban on the importation of furs from countries that are not among the more than 80 countries that have banned them. Australia and New Zealand still use steel-jawed leghold traps to control "noxious" animals as well as for hunting and research purposes. Canada and the US oppose the ban and are seeking to challenge the European Union's regulation through the World Trade Organisation arguing that the ban breaches the free trade agreement. Writing in the *AWI Quarterly*, Stevens called for the US "to join the rest of the civilized world. In the name of human decency, our country must stop defending the indefensible....Every red-blooded American should revolt against our government's hypocritical defense of the steel jaw leghold trap" (Stevens, 1996a: 2). As indicated in Table 1.1 (see Chapter 1), the device

was ranked by American and Australian animal protectionists as the worst abuse in a list of 15 practices involving animals.

In the best tradition of animal welfare advocacy, AWI's strategy has been to challenge the supporters of the trap with an education campaign designed to expose the cruelty of the device and to suggest alternatives. It commissioned a series of technical monographs on alternatives to the leghold trap in 1990 by a wildlife expert and has made updates available to interested parties. Influential groups were lobbied in the US, Canada and in Europe where AWI's executive director, Cathy Liss, visited the European Parliament and the European Commission to emphasise the strong public support in America (78% Yale university survey and 74% according to the AWI's own survey) for banning the leghold trap. She also informed the policy makers of the more humane alternatives that are currently available. Banning the leghold trap is close to Liss's heart and she has written about the issue in *Animals and Their Legal Rights* (1990). She has worked at the AWI for 15 years and it has been one of her main preoccupations. In the following extract, she reflects on the prospects for getting the trap banned in the future :

*I guess trapping is probably one of the first issues that I worked on when I came here and like most people, I said "they're still using that out here?" It was just beyond us because it's not something that I think people encounter in their day to day lives. Most people are horrified that it's still used and were they to see the result, I think would be appalled by it. And I thought, "of course we'll be able to get rid of this in no time"; and naively I just couldn't imagine otherwise. And here I am 15 years later still saying "my God am I going to see this ( banned) in my life time? / Interview, 1996.*

Hardline animal rights proponents in the movement would undoubtedly argue that Liss's disappointment is the result of a moderate, reformist approach that inevitably produces only incremental improvements in animal welfare or none at all. According to Jasper and Nelkin (1992:85), only a few states in the US have responded to peaceful

lobbying; in 1983, a bill which sought to ban fur from animals caught in the steel leg-hold trap was defeated despite its 125 sponsors. The animal movement is divided however on the kind of tactics needed to seriously stigmatise traps and furs .

But the real challenge confronting the AWI according to Christine Stevens is not the campaign against cruelty but economic factors. She quotes the venerable RSPCA's (UK) opinion on the European Union's Regulation against the leghold trap: "It appears that trade considerations have meant that a piece of legislation agreed on over four years ago has been superseded by the mere hint of a challenge to free trade. This is a pessimistic precedent for the implementation of future animal welfare legislation" (Stevens, 1996b:4 ).

### **Conclusion**

Like the activists described at the outset of this chapter, Glenys Oogjes (ANZFAS), Andrew Tyler (Animal Aid) and Christine Stevens (AWI) all see animal protection as a calling. Yet each of these advocates and their organisations are committed to the movement in different ways. ANZFAS's pragmatism is closer to AWI's "middle of the road" approach than to Animal Aid's more confronting and confrontational style of animal rights/veganism. These orientations have much to do with the leaders of the respective SMOs. Peter Singer's philosophy of utilitarianism enables ANZFAS to operate pragmatically as a regional federation made up of member societies whose identities encompass the entire range of animal protectionism. This would not be possible nor desirable in an SMO like Animal Aid whose abolitionist position calls for a moral entrepreneur of Andrew Tyler's persuasion. His strict radical vegan/animal rights philosophy clearly identifies the SMO as a distinctive pressure group supported by its grassroots and respected by like-minded activists elsewhere. The Washington DC based

Animal Welfare Institute with its political lobbying arm, the Society for Animal Protection Legislation (SAPL) is very much a creature of its founder Christine Stevens who shares Tyler's passion and Singer's pragmatism, although ironically not Singer's faith in philosophy. She is dismissive of philosophical debate and sees more value in securing concrete reforms and improvements in animal protective legislation than in endless discussions about "rights", "ethics" and other philosophical abstractions. Even so, the AWI more than most other national multi-issue SMOs in this study, resembles the work of a think tank.

Intellectual work is crucial however to virtually all animal SMOs. It is the cognitive praxis or core identity of the groups and their issue entrepreneurs profiled in this chapter. These three multi-issue, national groups illustrate the cognitive praxis of animal protection work – lobbying politicians, litigation and legislative work, producing formal submissions and verifiable fact sheets or packages of information, as well as books and monographs on the full range of animal issues . And finally, whatever the differences between these three animal protection SMOs, they each use knowledge as an organisational weapon to achieve improvements in the way we treat other animals. The next chapter focuses on the prognostic practices of animal protection work.



## Endnotes

**Note 1:** This is a central theme I develop in my book on the animal movement – Munro (2001c) *Compassionate Beasts: The Quest for Animal Rights*, Praeger, New York. I argue that the animal movement consists of two broad sections – grassroots activism in the streets and organisational advocacy in the suites – which need to be in harmony if the movement is to achieve its aims.

**Note 2:** In an evaluation of Greenpeace USA, Shaiko (1993) points out that more than any other environmental organization in the USA, Greenpeace consistently markets itself in starkly emotional terms. It attracts people by the colorful, eye-catching packaging of its campaigns and the invitation to participate vicariously in dangerous, albeit nonviolent, direct action stunts designed to save charismatic wildlife from the rapacious appetites of hunters, whalers and sealers. Shaiko's analysis offers a corrective to Eyerman and Jamison's European-based survey by suggesting that Greenpeace USA employs the basic strategy of guerrilla theater or ecodrama to promote its campaigns rather than knowledge per se, unless "eye-catching information" counts as knowledge.

**Note 3:** On a very high to low scale, ANZFAS /Animals Australia members rated the use of animals in science and research very high in terms of being morally objectionable. The ranking scores of 1(extremely wrong) and 7 (not at all wrong) produced the following mean ratings for practices associated with vivisection :

Cosmetic/beauty product experiments (1.05 )

Using unclaimed dogs in experiments (1.19 )

Purpose breeding animals for research (1.28 )

Exposing animals to disease in a medical experiment (1.33 )

Source: Munro (1996).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## PRACTISING ANIMAL PROTECTION: FROM DIRECT MAIL TO DIRECT ACTION

*Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has. (Attributed to Margaret Mead)*

*It's challenging. I like the strategy. I absolutely love the strategy of figuring out how to do something.... I guess I like the politics of it. (Adele Douglass, AHA).*

This chapter focuses on the prognostic component of animal protection work, that is what activists actually do to protect animals. This work consists of the movement's strategies and tactics which have been developed during the long history of animal protection. I argue that the animal movement is dedicated to non-violent direct action which incorporates the two broad strategies of gaining publicity for the movement and disturbing the status quo in the way we treat other animals. These approaches correspond to what Newell (2000) calls liberal governance strategies and critical governance strategies; the former refers to strategies which seek reforms within the system while the latter "tend not to compromise...." (Newell, 2000: 127). The chapter also explains why movement insiders reject violence in campaigning for the ethical treatment of animals; instead, activists draw on a variety of non violent tactics borrowed from the repertoire of the nineteenth century humane movement as well as from more recent social movements. As Doherty (2000: 62) argues, repertoires of contention as learned and shared understandings of how to protest, are shaped by the values of the movement. The power in movement (Tarrow, 1994,1998) for animal protectors is the capacity to combine various forms of collective action from direct mail to direct action.

Tactics highlighted in the chapter are direct mail, pamphleteering, bearing witness and demonstrations (publicity strategies) and hunger strikes, ethical vegetarianism and undercover surveillance (interference strategies). Clearly, there is some overlap in the objectives of publicising an issue and how it might subvert the status quo; a hunger strike, for example, is at first glance a classic illustration of a publicity stunt yet it is highly subversive in intent.

According to Turner and Killian (1987) movement tactics can be categorised in terms of the three principles of familiarity, availability and target responsiveness. Thus animal protection advocates and activists follow a predictable choice of collective protest from a range of possibilities favoured by new social movements. For example, the non-violent campaigns of the humane and anti-vivisectionist movements of the nineteenth century have been bequeathed to the modern animal protectionists in the streets as well as in the suites. What is different today is that the present generation of activists have a greater range of media to choose from than any previous generation. The suitability of the electronic media for representing the dramatic images of wild and domestic animals and their readiness to do so serves the movement in ways not available to earlier generations of animal protectionists. In addition, activists and their opponents are able to communicate their ideas globally and instantaneously via Email, the Internet and by fax.

Target responsiveness is defined by Turner and Killian (1987:297) as whatever is likely to move the target, which is usually structurally determined. For instance, only in democracies like the countries in this study is it possible for animal rights organizations - which potentially threaten powerful vested interests - to exist and for their issues to be debated openly in the media. In the USA, the UK and Australia - the

case study countries in the thesis – the targets of animal liberation campaigns are invariably sensitive to criticism which explicitly or implicitly suggests complicity in cruelty to animals. For their part, animal protectionists place great emphasis on having their issues accurately represented in the media, especially television which they see as one of the most effective campaign tactics in their repertoire. This chapter focuses on the strategies and tactics of the movement, most of which are seen as newsworthy by the media and hence are attractive to animal activists. As Glenys Oogjes of Animals Australia explained:

*I'd have to say that the most successful strategy if you call it that, was when we've had successful media coverage of an issue. / Interview, 1997*

While little is said about media politics in this chapter, the following chapter features the media work of three single-issue animal groups in the case study countries and highlights the groups' relations with the media in various campaigns.

### **Animal protection praxis: Strategies and tactics**

Turner and Killian (1987) have identified four tactical mechanisms - persuasion, facilitation, bargaining, and coercion - which have been used at one time or another by activists and advocates in their campaigns on behalf of animals. These tactical mechanisms can best be thought of as a continuum with persuasion as the most moderate tactic at one end and the more direct confrontational tactic of coercion at the other end. Not surprisingly, persuasion, facilitation and bargaining tend to be the preferred tactics of organisational advocates in the suites while coercive tactics are usually more commonly observed in grassroots activist campaigns.

Persuasion, involving the use of strictly symbolic manipulation and the raising of issue consciousness, is one of the most important ways in which ideology is

produced and continuously modified (Turner and Killian 1987: 297-298). For organisational advocates, persuasion usually takes the form of education campaigns typically via their own print media (eg brochures, glossy magazines and the like). Although consciousness raising in the environmental movement has been derided as "social change through banner hanging" (Wapner 1995), it is nonetheless an important tactic in the animal movement for changing the way people think about animals. As noted in Figure 7.1, the use of persuasive communication is one of the principle strategies for changing people's sensibilities in relation to animals and nature.

There are also many instances in which coercive tactics of various kinds have been deployed particularly by grassroots activists to achieve improvements in animal welfare. These range from the use of "nuisance" tactics to more disruptive tactics including the violent actions of extreme animal rights activists. Coercion, then, can be thought of as a continuum ranging from the mild forms of persuasive communication used by activists like Henry Spira (see Note 1) to the threats of violence made by extremist groups such as the Animal Liberation Front, the Animal Rights Militia and the Band of Mercy (Tester and Walls, 1996).

According to Rucht, the difference between strategy and tactics is stressed more in Europe than in the USA. Rucht notes that tactics may change from one situation to another and are not necessarily part of a general strategic concept (1990: 174). It is perhaps useful to think of strategy as the "broad organizing plans" for acquiring and using resources to achieve the movement's goals (Turner and Killian, 1987: 286) while tactics refer to the specific techniques for implementing the strategy. Tactics are sometimes referred to as "forms of action" (Rucht, 1990), "action technologies" (Oliver and Marwell, 1992), "claim-making repertoires" (Tilly, 1993/94), "action repertoires",

"repertoires of contention" or as a "tactical repertoire" (Tarrow, 1994). Rucht defines the action repertoire as "the range of specific kinds of action carried out by a given collective actor in a cycle of conflict, usually lasting from some years to some decades" (1990: 164) while Tilly sees social movements as "a cluster of performances" (1993/94: 3) which include the kinds of claim-making repertoires listed in Figure 7.1 below. Non-violent movement strategies are represented in the four strategies – protest, persuasion, non-cooperation and intervention - and related forms of action in Figure 7.1 below.

Figure 7.1: Strategies and tactics of nonviolent action by animal protectors

Publicity Strategies		Interference Strategies	
Persuasion strategy	Protest strategy	Non-cooperation strategy	Intervention Strategy
Petitions	<b><i>Demonstrations</i></b>	<i>Civil disobedience</i>	<i>Animal rescue</i>
(Celebrity) speeches	<i>Picketing</i>	<i>Boycotts</i>	<i>Sit-ins</i>
<b>Direct mail</b>	<i>Vigils</i>	<i>Legal obstructions</i>	<i>Blockades</i>
Publicising surveys, opinion polls	<i>Parades, marches and rallies</i>	<i>Occupations</i>	<b><i>Undercover surveillance</i></b>
Information stands	Mock awards	Animal sanctuaries	<i>Nonviolent sabotage</i>
Displaying symbols and caricatures	<b>Street theatre etc</b>	*Seeking imprisonment	Exposure of animal abuser's identity
Posters and banner hanging	Mock funerals	* <b>Hunger strikes</b>	Litigation
* <b>Pamphleteering</b>	Burning effigies	* <b>Ethical vegetarianism</b>	Lobbying
*Writing books, articles, poems	*Renouncing honors		*Ethical investments
*Art exhibitions, media presentations			
*Submissions and reports to inquiries			
* Writing letters			
* <b>Bearing witness</b>			

Source : Adapted from Ackerman and Krueger (1994:6) as cited in Lofland (1996: 271; Figure 9.2) \* denotes mainly actions by individuals and words in *italics* represent direct action activities. Tactics in bold are described in detail below.

Gurr (2000: 156) argues that non-violent movements of the late twentieth century differed in at least three ways from previous movements. First, non-violent

resistance gives protesters a moral advantage in that it allows them to disavow violence from the outset. This is the position that has been consistently adopted by Singer and other leaders of the mainstream animal movement. Second, because the tactics often proved to be creatively disruptive of public order and economic activity, authorities were compelled to respond in ways that put them at a moral and political disadvantage to the protesters. The large-scale protests in England in the mid 1990s against live animal exports is a good illustration of the effectiveness of non-violent civil disobedience. Third, recent nonviolent protests have used the mass media to send their images and messages well beyond the immediate sites of conflict to "a distant but potentially sympathetic public comprised of people who might be enlisted as allies and agents of reform" (Gurr, 2000: 156). Gurr argues that this outreach was not available to the nineteenth century activists. This outreach via the mass media is well illustrated by the case studies to be discussed later in this chapter.

Rucht points out how in contemporary new social movements there has been a decline in violence and a corresponding increase in civil disobedience (1990: 159). This applies to the animal movement as well. The animal movement's broad ideological and programmatic strategy is the strategy of non-violence as espoused in the philosophies of Singer and Regan as well as other minor animal liberation philosophers. Rucht also argues that new social movements are characterised by a broad variety of action repertoires – from persuasive communication through to overt violence as well as the use of conventional and unconventional tactics – which are often utilised in the same movement at the same time (1990: 160-1). Contemporary social movements, he suggests, consist of loose networks of groups with overlapping issues and hence employ a broad range of action repertoires.

While the animal movement as described in this thesis and elsewhere (Munro, 2001c) is overwhelmingly non-violent, in the public mind it is often associated with violence, especially in the UK where the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has been most active. Turner and Killian (1987: 303-4) note how non violence is often found alongside terrorism rather than in association with the more conventional persuasive and bargaining tactics, an idea which at first blush seems counterintuitive. However, as they explain it, terrorism requires only a small group of well-disciplined participants to prevail, while non violence cannot be sustained without a mobilizable amount of sympathy for the cause and the presence in the constituency of an ethos that values both non violence and self-sacrifice. In the case study countries in the present study there is ample evidence that these values do prevail and that violence and extremism – which exist on the fringes of the movement - are incompatible with the compassionate aims of the mainstream movement.

Activist attitudes to violence will be noted shortly; for the moment it is important to point out some of the tensions which exist in different strands of the animal movement. Rucht calls this tension the “radicalization tendency” which suggests that in the early stages of a conflict, activists choose moderate, conventional forms of action; however, if these are unsuccessful, they are induced to employ disruptive, militant, and sometimes violent tactics. The history of the animal movement is replete with episodes which confirm this tendency. Nonetheless, the mainstream movement remains resolutely anchored to Singer’s call to the movement to occupy “the high moral ground” (1990: xiii) and to reject violence outright. That this is the case is supported by Garner (1998b: 460) who points out that only a tiny proportion of activists engage in extreme and illegal tactics which he suggests are uncharacteristic of the movement. The



philosophy of non-violence has rank-and-file support as evidenced in the findings of ASIS (Munro, 1995a) which show that respondents overwhelmingly reject illegal, violent activities such as destroying or damaging property in the course of saving animals' lives. Survey respondents in both the United States and Australia agreed that all five legal efforts in Table 7.1 below to improve the treatment of animals were virtually of equal importance and "always justified". There was also agreement that liberating animals from labs and farms, although illegal, was more justified than causing damage to property where animals were badly treated. It seems that with illegal tactics, activists see animal rescue actions involving unauthorised entry as morally justified but this does not extend to actions which damage or destroy property.

**Table 7.1 Australian and American respondents' perceptions of the justification of certain measures to improve the treatment of animals**

improve the treatment of animals

	Australia ANZFAS (1995) <i>n</i> = 437		USA Richards (1990) <i>n</i> = 853		
Justification of efforts	Mean Score		T-test at 95% C.I.		
	Transformed	*	<i>t</i> value	Sig. (2 tailed) <i>p</i> < .05 **	
				Mean Score	
Justification of legal efforts					
<i>Developing animal awareness education programs</i>	1.02	(6.97)	-1.531	0.126	1.05
<i>Campaigning to change the law</i>	1.04	(6.95)	-3.531	0.000	1.10
<i>Peaceful demonstrations</i>	1.08	(6.90)	-1.859	0.064	1.13
<i>Media promotions such as television</i>	1.09	(6.90)	-2.445	0.015	1.15
<i>Boycotting businesses involved in cruelty/filing legal suits</i>	1.09	(6.90)	-7.535	0.000	1.31
Justification of illegal efforts					
<i>Taking or releasing animals from research laboratories</i>	2.41	(5.54)	-0.058	0.954	2.41
<i>Taking or releasing animals from farms</i>	3.09	(4.80)	-1.206	0.228	3.21
<i>Destruction or damage to research laboratories</i>	4.13	(3.76)	1.793	0.074	3.93
<i>Destruction or damage to farm property</i>	4.62	(3.25)	-0.352	0.725	4.66

Note - \* For the purposes of comparative analysis with the USA Richards study, Australia (1995) sample mean scores have been transformed. Original mean scores are shown in brackets.

\*\* If the value of *p* < .05 then the difference between the means for USA Richards (1990) and Australia (1995) is significant.

The results in Table 7.2 below summarise respondents' views on the effectiveness of tactics designed to improve animal welfare. As shown in this table, both American and Australian respondents agreed that liberating animals from labs and farms was more effective than damaging or destroying property where the animals were housed. As with attitudes toward the justification of illegal tactics, the results indicate that legal efforts are seen as more effective than illegal tactics in improving the treatment of animals in both countries. However, respondents in both countries agreed that peaceful demonstrations while always justified, were usually ineffective in getting their animal welfare message across. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that for the Australian respondents at least, there has been virtually no experience of mass demonstrations concerning animal protection issues, unlike in the UK where recent demonstrations have been massive and militant. Yet even in that country, some activists expressed their dismay at the media's inclination to cover the live animal export issue as a violent protest rather than an animal welfare issue over the treatment of farm animals.

As Pat explained:

*To be quite honest I don't think that just peaceful protests can stop the export of live animals. After all the thing that actually brought it to the public's attention was the fact that an animal transport lorry, the window got smashed and that was actually headlines in the paper. Until that happened it didn't get headlines in the paper and all the time that we're protesting now at Dover in a peaceful way, it doesn't get into the news. The only time it gets into the news is when somebody breaks the law, which I find is very sad. / Interview, 1996*

**Table 7.2 Australian and American respondents' perceptions of the effectiveness of certain measures to improve the treatment of animals**

	Australia ANZFAS (1995) <i>n</i> = 437		USA Richards (1990) <i>n</i> = 853		
			T-test at 95% C.I.		
	Mean Score			Sig. (2 tailed) <i>p</i> < .05 **	Mean Score
Effectiveness of efforts	Transformed	*	<i>t</i> value		
<b>Effectiveness of legal efforts</b>					
<i>Developing animal awareness education programs</i>	1.72	(6.28)	1.955	0.051	1.62
<i>Media promotions such as television</i>	1.89	(6.11)	1.221	0.223	1.82
<i>Campaigning to change the law</i>	2.05	(5.95)	0.867	0.387	2.00
<i>Boycotting businesses involved in cruelty/filing legal suits</i>	1.99	(6.01)	-5.826	0.000	2.32
<i>Peaceful demonstrations</i>	2.80	(5.20)	4.639	0.000	2.50
<b>Effectiveness of illegal efforts</b>					
<i>Taking or releasing animals from research laboratories</i>	3.79	(4.21)	5.781	0.000	3.27
<i>Taking or releasing animals from farms</i>	4.25	(3.75)	4.407	0.000	3.85
<i>Destruction or damage to research laboratories</i>	4.96	(3.04)	7.279	0.000	4.32
<i>Destruction or damage to farm property</i>	5.32	(2.68)	5.156	0.000	4.91
Note - * For the purposes of comparative analysis with the USA Richards study, Australia (1995) sample mean scores have been transformed. Original mean scores are shown in brackets.					
** If the value of <i>p</i> < .05 then the difference between the means for USA Richards (1990) and Australia (1995) is significant.					

Thus while the vast majority of respondents favour peaceful and legal means to achieve improvements in the treatment of animals, many are evidently disgruntled that their conventional lobbying and letter-writing campaigns fall on deaf ears. Rucht's radicalization thesis comes into play here when more aggressive, or at least more assertive action becomes attractive to those frustrated by unsuccessful moderate protest activities. When activists engage in more extreme actions, their more moderate colleagues are sometimes accorded more respect by policy makers. Scarce (1990) calls this the niche theory of social movements, which in practice means that radical actions in the movement often have the effect of creating a niche for more moderate voices. This was the experience of at least one interviewee, Adele Douglass of the American Humane Association:

*I know for fact that the 1985 amendments to the Animal Welfare Act would never have been passed without the PETA protests and all the stuff that they were doing. Because then - and it helps us I have to say from the perspective that we're at - when you have extremists and then we come in and where the extremist say "we want research ended this afternoon," and we say "we want the animals treated humanely," they pay attention to us because that's the other option. ....I don't think the laws since at least the 1980s would ever have gotten this far without those organisations. / Interview, 1996.*

According to some social movement observers, non-violent protests tend to be more effective when they are disruptive, militant and confrontational (Koopmans, 1993:653-4). This conclusion is at odds with the results in Table 7.1 where such actions are eschewed in favour of more conventional tactics. Moreover, with the legal tactics, the more moderate activities of education, media and legal campaigns are favoured over the more confrontational direct forms of action such as boycotts and demonstrations. This anomaly can perhaps be explained in part by Tarrow's analysis below and partly by the tendency in contemporary new social movements to avoid actions which might be portrayed by the media as violent. Most of the activists I interviewed were anxious to avoid the stigma of being "violent" or "extremist" although some were equally concerned about taking a "respectable" position that could be construed as "playing it safe". On balance, however, violence is seen as more detrimental to the movement than being perceived as "tame cat". According to Tarrow, violence can "chill the blood of bystanders, give pause to prospective allies and cause (early enthusiasts) to defect (1994: 112). Tarrow also makes the point that conventional forms of collective action are advantageous in that they are familiar, easy to employ and enjoy cultural resonance. Indeed for some activists, the use of militant, confrontational tactics is unattractive. Patty Mark of Animal Liberation Victoria for example, speaks for many activists when

she describes the frustration of being forced into militant forms of direct action as a consequence of official indifference to their more moderate claims:

*What do you do?...You've gone to the police, you've gone to the Minister, you've gone to the RSPCA, you've done everything legally viable, and nobody does anything. Then I think I have a moral responsibility to individually go in and help those animals. And, so I'll be straight, at the same time, I don't want to do that, I don't like to do that, it's nerve-racking!* / Interview, 1994

Ironically, when activists like Mark raid battery hen facilities and the like, the authorities are often more willing to talk to more moderate groups. Extremist actions tend to have unintended consequences for the movement. Some movement watchers have suggested that the extreme actions of radicals can have the effect of legitimating and strengthening the bargaining position of the moderates whose position is rendered more reasonable by the actions of the radicals (McAdam et al 1988: 718-9; Scarce, 1990: 6-7; Dalton, 1994: 211). These actions include damaging property, sabotage, sending letter and parcel bombs, planting car bombs and making violent threats and intimidation (see Tester and Walls, 1996) against which the actions listed in Table 7.1 seem moderate. For most of the informants in this study then, violence is seen as counterproductive to the goals of the movement. Theoretically as well, violence is not in accord with the compassionate goals of the animal movement. Dalton succinctly explains the links between the strategic/tactical decisions of a movement and its identity:

The distinct political values of the core activists and the history of an organisation define its political identity, which then serves as the basis for attracting a certain type of membership, projecting an image of the group to potential allies and opponents, and making the strategic and tactical decisions of the organisation (1994: 11).

### **The argument against violence**

For John Bryant and the League Against Cruel Sports (LACS), violence is a tactical disaster. He has nothing but praise for the foot soldiers who take up their posts at

market stalls distributing leaflets and the like and is scathing in his condemnation of activists who break the law:

*But once people started to use violence, then it's been a disaster ever since for the whole movement really, because when there like a bombing, or anything like that, we find that our people are out in the streets with their tins collecting (but get told): "you're those bloody animal people!"*  
and later in the interview:

*I wouldn't lift a finger to help anyone who's been jailed for violent animal rights activities. As far as I'm concerned they can throw the keys away. And I know Dave Callender, I've known him for years, and I know Ronny Lee who went in for 10 years and I've met them many times, we've discussed the issues and on the face of it they are nice people. But it's easy to become violent in this world and it's very hard to resist it. It's no good allowing yourself to be consumed by hatred. People are born into hunting, they're born into farming, they're born into all these animal exploitation things / Interview, 1996*

(Note: Calender and Lee were imprisoned for their animal rights activities).

John Bryant believes that the legislative route is ultimately the only effective means for achieving victory. Violence, on the other hand is futile :

*The trouble is, once people go down that route then it's complete and utter failure, because you're lined up against the whole of the state police, the court system and if necessary the whole of the armed forces. You're not going to win that battle, because the one thing the state can do better than anyone else is violence. So not only is it totally immoral - because we're supposed to be a humanitarian cause and in a democracy we have a duty to use every militant but peaceful avenue up to the level of and including the level of civil disobedience - but any violence, intimidation, threats, abuse, particularly when it's targeted at individual researchers or individual huntsman and people like that, then if we go down that way there's no way back / Interview, 1996*

### **DIY Activism at the ACIG**

Do-it-yourself activism is the philosophy which successfully combines the grassroots activities of activists equipped with cameras and the political skills of the League's organisational advocates who spend their time drafting animal welfare legislation. Thus, the League has no difficulty working with activists who engage in lawful, covert operations designed to break the back of the hunting fraternity. Mike Huskisson's

grassroots, anti-cruelty group's surveillance work with the League is a good example of effective cooperation between animal protectionists in the streets and in the suites. In recent years, LACS has used the services of the Animal Cruelty Investigation Group (ACIG) to expose the cruelty of the Hunt. The ACIG is the creature of Huskisson a former hunt sab who, like John Bryant, has converted to more subtle and lawful tactics as a means of fighting the Hunt.

The ACIG provides detailed tips to its 1 700 supporters throughout the country on how best to film transgressions of the Hunt. Grassroots activists are encouraged to take up the camera as the most effective weapon against people who abuse animals. According to Huskisson anyone can use a camera to legally film the activities of the Hunt:

*But now having had that experience (of illegal direct action), I say to young people : "No the way to do it is to use your brains not your brawn, channel that anger into activity that's undercover and lawful...."*

Huskisson's ACIG has been a pioneer of the tactic of undercover surveillance in which activists investigate and seek to expose animal abusers. He maintains that this is more effective in *breaking the backs of opponents* than violent and illegal activities:

*And that's what we never had in the '70s, there wasn't the direction from the senior echelons of the animal welfare / rights movement, to say to young people, what you do with your anger. They were damn good at pumping up the anger with the images but no outlet for it, and that led to people like myself and others ending up in prison because there wasn't any other outlet.... And to my mind that's a crime. If you can get young lads between 17 and 25 so angry that all they can do is go throw a brick through a window, then you've lost. It's a scandal and what you've got to do is having got that anger generated you have to show them how they can use it, how they can channel it, productively, in order to break the back of the opponents / Interview, 1996*

The ACIG's exposure of the Quorn Hunt with which Prince Charles was associated is one of the success stories of the LACS/ACIG teamwork and an illustration of the potency of effective activist/advocacy animal protectionism. Bryant acknowledges that

there are worse forms of cruelty to animals than fox hunting such as vivisection and factory farming. Even so, he argues that if it is not possible to outlaw *killing animals for fun*, these other problems will never be resolved.

### **The power in movement**

Tarrow (1994) has identified three major types of publicly mounted collective action – violence, disruption caused by nonviolent direct action and convention via primarily, organized public demonstrations. All three forms of collective action have been enacted by the animal movement although violence is a strategy only of groups outside the mainstream movement such as the Animal Liberation Front, the Animal Rights Militia and the Band of Mercy. For the supporters of Singer and Regan in the animal welfare and liberation/rights strands of the movement, the strategies of conventional lobbying and non violent direct action are used in preference to violence (Garner, 1993b). Tarrow points out that one of the major powers of the modern social movement is its capacity to combine various forms of collective action. Tilly supports the idea that action repertoires are enacted “cumulatively over many simultaneous and/or repeated meetings, demonstrations, marches, petitions, statements, and other interactions with objects of claims” (1999: 262). All of the tactics listed in Figure 7.1 have been used in different campaigns by the contemporary animal movement. Figure 7.1 shows the movement has adopted two broad strategies – the strategy of publicity and the strategy of business interference -- which can be further subdivided into the strategies of persuasion, protest, non cooperation and intervention. These categories capture the action repertoire of the contemporary animal movement in the case study countries as the two fold strategy of animal activism is firstly to gain publicity for the cause and secondly to disrupt the status quo in our relations with other animals.



Virtually every informant in this study acknowledged the importance of getting favourable publicity via the media for their different campaigns and many believed that the best way of attracting the media was by provocative, dramatic actions such as hunger strikes, animal rescue operations and other "interference" tactics. However, as Dalton observes, a movement's tactics needs to be consistent with its self-image: "Ideology thus frames a group's perceptions of what tactics are appropriate and likely to be effective" (1994: 200). Because movement tactics are constrained by a movement's master frame (Snow and Benford, 1992: 146), the non-violent philosophy of the animal movement predisposes activists to choose non-violence as the overarching strategy. Failure to do otherwise, note Snow and Benford in relation to a social movement's master frame, "renders its framing efforts vulnerable to dismissal" (1992: 147).

Dalton's Ideologically Structured Action (ISA) framework predicts that tactics will be determined by a group's political identity. Applied to the animal movement, animal welfare groups (eg RSPCA, NCDL) are likely to avoid unconventional actions (protest, non cooperation and interference) which might threaten their support base. Similarly, animal rights and liberation groups tend to favour these more unorthodox tactics as they resonate with their goals, identities and membership. On the other hand, working with government agencies or commissions would generally be viewed unfavourably by more radical animal groups and vice versa. Such groups favour more dramatic, unorthodox, non-violent tactics, for as Dalton points out, "reliance on such direct -action techniques is also linked to the participatory values of new social movements that stress methods of direct democracy" (1994: 196). These unconventional repertoires are also favoured because they attract the attention of the media. Most of the

activities listed in columns 2-4 in Figure 7.1 are natural "media events" (Pakulski, 1991: 42) which are attractive to journalists and reporters.

Dalton's model is based on the idea that the tactics a group chooses will be influenced by its resources, organisational characteristics, opportunity structures and ideology. Interviews with staff of animal welfarist, liberationist and rightist groups support the model. For example, welfarist groups in the UK which rely on government support for their resources were unlikely to be critical of the hunting fraternity; action-oriented animal liberation coalitions, like the Coalition Against Duck Shooting (CADS) are able to be more provocative since they derive their financial support from fundraising. Organisational structures also influence strategies. A radical vegan group like Animal Aid in the UK has a uniquely decentralised structure which is "more likely to adopt participatory direct-action methods" (Dalton, 1994: 199). Political opportunity structures also shape the broad strategies of social movement organisations. I argue elsewhere (Munro, 2001c: 208-9) how animal protectionists in Australia, the UK and the USA use different combinations of advocacy/activist strategies in conducting their campaigns. These can be summarised as follows:

**USA: Advocacy > Activism; UK: Activism > Advocacy; Australia: Activism + Advocacy**

Animal protectionists in the USA are primarily interested in codifying public sentiment in the law via the constitutional route of organizational advocacy. By contrast, the grassroots mobilisation of public opinion and moral capital appears to be more characteristic of English animal protectionists. Their Australian counterparts tend to prefer a hybrid style of activism/advocacy in which the building of moral capital and animal welfare improvements in legislation go hand in hand. Finally, ideological factors

are an important influence on tactical decision making. These interact with opportunity structures when for example, advocacy "in the suites" is associated with conventional lobbying while grassroots activism "in the streets" is associated with more expressive, unorthodox tactics.

There is clearly considerable overlap between some of strategies and tactics listed in Figure 7.1. A hunger strike, for example, is a classic instance of non cooperation, although it is typically enacted by individuals seeking publicity for this or that cause. In the case of the hunger strike described below, the motive was to help disrupt the animal export trade from British ports. Most of the tactics listed in the columns in Figure 7.1 were enacted during the campaign against live animal exports in England in the mid 1990s as were the strategies of persuasion, protest, non-cooperation and intervention. Apart from the strategy of persuasion, most of the tactics used in the remaining strategies are potentially disruptive although none entails violence.

According to Tarrow (1994: 108) in its contemporary form, disruptive tactics have three main purposes; first, disruption concretely expresses a movement's determination (eg sit-ins); second, it obstructs the routine activities of opponents, bystanders and authorities (eg blockades); and third, disruption broadens the field of conflict by posing a risk to law and order and drawing the state into the conflict (eg BALE's street demonstrations discussed below). Yet despite frequent reference in the literature to direct action, the animal movement, like the environmental movement, tends to avoid direct action in the strong sense of forced entry, occupations and the like (Tilly, 1999: 267). Mainstream animal activists in Australia, the UK and the USA use liberal governance strategies in preference to critical governance strategies favoured by more radical animal rightists and environmentalists. Newell describes liberal

governance strategies as those which seek reforms within the system while those engaged in critical governance "tend not to compromise and are less inclined to discuss ways in which (environmental) activists and company executives may be able to help one another" (2000, p. 127).

### **Direct action in animal protection**

*I mean sitting chained up to a pig stall for seven hours is very tiring and there's not a great deal of excitement in it* (an Australian animal activist).

Most of the tactics in Figure 7.1 are usually deployed collectively although some like those denoted with an asterisk lend themselves more to individual actions. Figure 7.1 contains the legal, non violent tactics I observed or read about during the course of this study. Tilly (1978) has pointed out that social movements use a quite small number of tactics considering the vast number that have been used throughout history. Thus, in a series of books on non violent protest, Sharp (1973) describes approximately 200 such activities. How do activists choose from the available repertoire? Jasper (1997) suggests that activists exhibit "tactical tastes", that is, they choose the tactics that match their habitus or disposition to act in a particular way. Thus trade unionists tend to go on strike, students "sit in" and so on. Jasper also argues that tactics express protesters' political identities and moral visions (1997: 237). To go on a hunger strike or to raid a battery farm says different things about personal identity. The identity of an animal activist might be as a radical vegan, an animal rescuer, a conservationist or as someone who goes on marches or writes letters to the editor. "A taste in tactics persists partly because it shapes one's sense of self" (1997: 246).

As space does not permit an analysis of each of the tactics listed above, I have selected a sample (in Figure 7.1 bold) of the most commonly used action repertoires in

the contemporary animal movement. I begin with two tactics of direct action, the demonstration (a publicity strategy) and undercover surveillance (an interference strategy). Melucci defines direct action as

a form of resistance or collective intervention which possesses a minimum of organisation; which breaks the rules of the political game and/or the norms of the organisation without, however, undermining the foundations of the system of domination; which does not involve the deliberate use of violence; and which seeks to change the rules of the political game and/or to intervene in the political system (1996: 378).

The demonstration is the most widely used protest strategy in the social movement's repertoire. Demonstrations have become institutionalised and constitute "the classical modular form of collective action" (Tarrow, 1994: 107). While Melucci implies that demonstrations require a minimum of organisation, organisers themselves claim otherwise:

People need to be contacted. Flyers must be developed, reproduced and disseminated. Targets need to be invited to attend. Speakers and chairpeople must be chosen and speeches written. ... Buses need to be reserved and paid for, and directions must be given. Signs must be produced, auditoriums reserved, microphones acquired and tested, and chairs set up. ... Permits must be obtained. Protest songs must be typed and distributed. Press releases must be written and sent to induce the media to cover the event in a positive fashion. Refreshments need to be served. Finally, people need to attend the demonstration or meeting and carry out their responsibilities. ... (Mondros and Wilson, 1994: 165-6).

Tarrow notes that demonstrations can be used to press a claim (eg Henry Spira's demonstration against the cat experiments at the New York Museum of Natural History), to express the existence of a group or its solidarity with another group (eg BALE's demonstrations during the live export protest), or to celebrate a victory or mourn the passage of a leader (1994: 100). Yet for many animal movement leaders, the demonstration is seen as a risky venture. John Bryant, the co-chair of the League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) for example, cautions against its use as it can prove to be counterproductive. He argues that big cities are so congested with traffic that a peaceful

march or demonstration only contributes to *getting right up the noses of thousand of people who might be sympathetic to your cause but are going to go home very angry because they've been held up for an hour in the traffic*. If the demonstration turns violent, and *somebody puts a brick through a window*, then it becomes a tactical disaster, according to Bryant. This is in fact what happened during the live export protests in the UK. Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) had one of their peaceful demonstrations hijacked by extremists who smashed the window of a lorry carrying live animals for overseas export. The media ignored the animal welfare issue behind the demonstration and focussed on the *brick through a window* story which featured pictures of men in balaclavas smashing the window of a lorry (Erlichman, 1995). While demonstrations involve large numbers of people, at the opposite end of the direct action continuum is undercover surveillance which is typically enacted by one or two committed individuals. Undercover surveillance is one of the oldest tactics in the animal movement's repertoire.

One of the earliest cases occurred in 1926 at the University of Rochester Medical School where a young man of "pleasing appearance" was hired and later discharged when the authorities suspected him of being a plant of the Rochester Dog Protective Society (Lederer, 1992). The most famous case of undercover surveillance in the animal movement's history however, was the exposé of animal experimenter Edward Taub by Alex Pacheco in Silver Spring in 1981. The police raid on the Institute of Behavioral Research was televised thus giving maximum publicity to the animal movement. This episode – which involved exposing experiments on surgically crippled monkeys – is one of the most well documented in the movement's history (see Orlans, 1993: 176-9; Fraser, 1993; Blum, 1994: Ch 5; Rudacille, 2001). The English equivalent

to the Silver Spring's episode was initiated by the Animal Cruelty Investigation Group's (ACIG) undercover operation in 1990 when its founder Mike Huskisson and another animal rights activist, Melody McDonald gained access to the laboratories of Professor Wilhelm Feldberg and for a period of five months videoed the 89-year-old researcher at work. The tapes, which ran to over 30 hours, revealed breaches of the 1986 Act concerning animal experimentation. A subsequent governmental inquiry confirmed that apart from failing to anaesthetise properly experimental animals, Feldberg had broken the law by continuing with experiments he had been told to terminate. Once the video-taped evidence was made public, Feldberg's experiments were ended within 24 hours by the Home Office.

The exposé is described by Melody McDonald and the ACIG in *Caught in the Act* (1994) which includes some of the photographic evidence used to discredit the vivisectors. A typical picture shows an elderly Feldberg inserting an endotracheal cannula into a rabbit. The caption claims that the rabbit "squealed piercingly while this was being done". Similar pictures of cats being "tortured" are included in the book to maximise public outrage against the experiments.

From the perspective of vivisectors, the exposé would no doubt be seen as a colossal deception since Huskisson and his accomplice had posed as researcher and biographer respectively, thus duping the ageing Feldberg into believing they had no ulterior motives. Undercover surveillance raises some interesting ethical questions for a movement that promotes the ethical treatment of animals. Is it ethical to use deception to gain access to an organisation for the purpose of exposing wrongdoing in that organisation? Most animal activists believe that they are morally obliged to do whatever they can within the law to save animals' lives. In the Feldberg case, activists would

claim the deception involved was justified given the apparent laxity of government controls over scientists like Feldberg. The Feldberg exposé appears to have made little impact on the way the Home Office regulates research involving animals. According to Russell (in McDonald, 1994:70), only 20 inspectors are employed by the Home Office to police more than 18 000 individuals licensed to perform experiments on animals in Britain. And the only change to the regulations post-Feldberg was that there would be an upper age limit of 70 for licensees, although this could be waived in exceptional circumstances. Official indifference to their responsibilities was revealed in a letter procured by Russell in which the Home Office explained that it kept no information on the age of the licensees claiming unconvincingly that "it would be an unacceptable cost in resources" to do so (quoted by Russell, p71).

It was precisely this kind of official indifference to the plight of animals that prompted McDonald to undertake her undercover exposé in the first place. Deception was necessary if the activists were to expose what they saw as a greater evil - cruelty to animals perpetrated by scientists funded by taxpayers, most of whom would object to the research if they knew the facts. Huskisson claims the ACIG had the public's support for what they did and argues that undercover surveillance is lawful, justified and nonviolent as opposed to more extreme forms of animal rights activism which he condemns :

*We secured the film and within a day of showing it to the Home Office that experiment was ended. The man's licence to experiment was taken away; the Medical Research Council had an investigation and if he'd been a younger man he'd have been prosecuted. That ended that experiment dead. Now we did that and we had public support and there was anger directed against the laboratory. If someone had parked a vehicle outside and blown the place to smithereens it would have been the same result but the public would have said "How could they do that? That's an outrage, there's that man doing his work, his lifetime work to end suffering to humans and these cowardly scum come out of the dark and they destroy a laboratory." Same effect, but public anger would have been*



*rightly directed against our side, so we have to use our brains to get in amongst the opponents and put an end to it lawfully. That's what we do. / Interview, 1996*

Like the Silver Spring case, the Feldberg exposé has become one of the most celebrated in the movement. Huskisson uses it to promote the virtues of undercover surveillance. He advises young people attracted to animal protection to -

*Get a video camera, get yourself a job in a research place, get yourself a job in a hunt kennels, go out there and get the film and you're not breaking the law, but you're breaking the back of the opponents. / Interview, 1996*

### **Publicity strategies in animal protection**

*And then somebody handed me a leaflet*

John Bryant advocates social change via leafleting and notes in his *Fettered Kingdoms* that the great strength of the animal rights movement lies with the supporters who hand out leaflets every week: "The leaflet is our media. In nearly twenty years in animal welfare and rights I have rarely found a campaigner who did not join the movement after being handed a leaflet - usually in the street" (Bryant, 1982:88). Time and again in this study, when I asked what it was that got informants started in the movement, the response was that it came in the form of a leaflet, advertisement or in an arresting image. Even before the invention of the printing press, the humble pamphlet was the media for disseminating news of protest activities. Tarrow claims that it was in the form of the pamphlet that the democratic implications of print first became known (1998: 45). The leaflet is therefore one of the oldest tactics in the social movement's repertoire. For many activists like John Bryant, it is *the* media of the animal movement. The political potency of the leaflet can be gauged by its impact in the McLibel episode when vegetarian, animal rights activists distributed a short critique of McDonald's in the

form of a leaflet which subsequently led to the libel trial in London's High Court in 1996.

*The emotional politics of direct mail*

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and HSUS - the big two in US animal protection - have been both criticised and lauded for their resource mobilization strategies. Much of the HSUS's literature follows the principle of mobilising emotions and funds by a combination of obnoxious and nice stories that feature animals. As in most campaigns of this kind, their brochures show endearing pictures of attractive children and adults in the company of equally appealing dogs and cats together with an appeal for a donation. Direct marketing campaigns have been very successful for the HSUS which has seen its membership grow from 1 million in 1991 (Jasper and Nelkin, 1992:64) to its current constituency of 3.5 million. According to the HSUS's Annual Report, its total revenue in 1995 was in the region of \$38 million, with the bulk (\$23 million) coming from contributions and grants. The HSUS is now the largest and one of the wealthiest animal protection SMOs in the USA which ensures that its campaigns are professionally organised and executed.

Direct- mail campaigns are popular with environmentalists and animal welfarists as flora and fauna issues are colourful and can be promoted in ways that appeal to people's emotions. According to Dowie (1995: 44), direct mail has become the lifeblood of the mainstream environment movement. He points out that direct mail is not just about fundraising and membership building but is also an educational medium. The same applies to the animal protection lobby as well which uses its direct mail literature to mobilise, recruit and educate prospective supporters. Even so, direct marketing can be counterproductive if it is mishandled or is too aggressive.

One of the most blatant examples of this was a letter from the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) with a dollar coin attached "as proof of the lengths we will go to" to save animals. The letter lists examples of atrocious suffering by animals that IFAW wants to prevent and appeals to the addressee to consider sending money "as an investment in the future of the animals". The cleverness in including a real dollar is that it plays on one's conscience - do I keep it, return it or send a contribution? - even more keenly than does the unsolicited Christmas cards and the like the same organisation sends to people on its mailing list. IFAW's "Dogs of Despair" campaign consciously seeks to shock people into action by either sending the SMO a donation or by signing a postcard condemning cruelty in the Philippines. Explicit in the IFAW literature, is a narrative of cruelty wherein the suffering of the dogs is described in detail in a four-page letter with accompanying graphic pictures that are intended to shock as well as inform the reader. No one who peruses the brochure is left in any doubt about the "facts" of the case as portrayed by the IFAW and the message that these are dogs just like your own pets. The moral shock which comes with this realisation is designed to induce pet lovers to support the cause financially. In defence of this form of emotional blackmail, it is only fair to note that IFAW is what it says it is, namely a fund for financing animal welfare initiatives.

According to Randy Shaw (1996) the author of *The Activist's Handbook*, in order to be successful activist groups need a direct-action component that will inspire people to support the cause. As an example of a stunningly successful campaign strategy for animal rights, he singles out PETA for "the willingness of its participants to risk their personal safety, often in undercover, quasi-legal actions, on behalf of animal rights". Shaw also highlights the effective combination of direct action and direct mail

at PETA which "uses direct mail as a tool for organizing and mobilizing, not simply to raise funds or to create artificial constituency bases" (1996:233). He claims that PETA has succeeded where comparable environmental groups have failed because the animal rights SMO demonstrates in practical ways how its supporters can make a difference to the wellbeing of animals, for example, by "choosing cruelty-free" products from a list provided by PETA.

The combination of direct mail and direct action is a powerful strategy organizations like PETA and Greenpeace use to recruit new members and to keep existing members faithful to the cause. People appear more willing to put their money, if not their bodies, at the disposal of direct action organizations if they believe their campaigns do make a difference. As Greenpeace has regularly demonstrated, media stunts and dramatic rescue operations to save endangered wildlife appeal to people's sensibilities and even altruism so that giving money or other resources to the cause is understood as a substitute for direct action.

#### *Bearing witness*

Della Porta and Diani describe the logic of bearing witness as a social movement's attempt "to demonstrate a strong commitment to an objective deemed vital for humanity's future" (1999: 178). They emphasise the importance of the force of commitment in this form of action which is typically characterised by activists willing to run personal risks to demonstrate their convictions rather than to achieve their objectives or win a particular issue. By bearing witness in vigils, symbolic hunger strikes, mock funeral marches, demonstrations and the like, protestors seek to change individual consciousness by demonstrating the commitment of just "being there". When

Patty Mark and a handful of supporters conducted a peaceful vigil outside the Department of Agriculture in Melbourne to protest against battery hen cages, few people noticed the silent protest on that cold winter's day in 1994. Nor did the media find anything of interest to report in an action that lacked the ingredients of news worthiness, which Rochon identifies as size, novelty and militancy (1990: 108). Nonetheless, the activists insisted that they had to do something about the plight of battery hens ; being there outside the government department with their banners and hen paraphrenalia was important to them if not to the mass media. Bearing witness is therefore concerned with demonstrating commitment to the cause, rather than flexing the movement's muscle or winning an issue.

English ports used in the live export trade in the mid 1990s became the scene for some of the biggest demonstrations seen in the UK since the miners' a decade earlier. The new year in 1995 began with British newspapers trumpeting a moral panic with headlines about " animal rights siege", "single issue hooligans" and "bunny- huggers do battle". An editorial in *The Times*, headed "Cuddly Terrorism", described the animal liberation protesters as "on a par with the IRA" (*The Times*, 8 February, 1995), a claim that was often repeated in the media during the mass protests that year. To be sure, other themes also featured in the mainstream press although the law and order story was the predominant frame for most of the time.

### **Interference strategies in animal protection**

#### *The Save-Our-Sheep hunger strike*

Under these conditions, the idea of a hunger strike was certain to invite further derision, or indifference, from a cynical mass media. When I visited the strikers during their three day vigil outside Whitehall in July 1996, I was able to get an idea of what the act of

bearing witness meant to the strikers, most of whom were women. There were about two dozen strikers who saw out the entire three days of fasting (They allowed themselves only water in solidarity with the sheep). Some of the strikers were Quakers already familiar with the potential power of bearing witness. The group sat in a long line in front of the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries (MAFF) and displayed a colourful array of placards and other paraphernalia concerning the live export campaign. One woman had written in chalk a long poem from Sue Coe's (1995) *Dead Meat* which she said she needed to write despite the fact that virtually none of the passers-by read it. Some of the hunger strikers I spoke to were adamant that they were not making a sacrifice as the three days of fasting could not be compared to the suffering of the sheep. Yet 72 hours in a busy part of London is fraught with danger, particularly after midnight when strikers were sometimes troubled by drunks and potential muggers.

During the day, supporters distributed pamphlets to passersby explaining the protest. Some people seemed to be aware of the live animal export controversy and many appeared supportive with one or two staying on to join the strikers or to hand out pamphlets. Occasionally, a prominent politician like Glenda Jackson would drop by to congratulate the strikers. Media interest however seemed limited to one or two journalists stopping for a few minutes to gather a sound bite. The media were much more interested in a very large and loud protest occurring at the same time outside the Royal Courts of Justice where hundreds of demonstrators were chanting "Free Dave Calender!", an animal rights activist who had been imprisoned for carrying explosives. To my knowledge, there was no substantial coverage of the SOS hunger strike only minutes from the Courts. However, one regional newspaper at least seemed to have a

grudging respect for the willingness of the activists to bear witness. In the lead up to the hunger strike in London, the *Cambridge Evening News* (22 July 1996) wrote:

The usual Cambridge cranks will be among the loonies in a hunger strike next week... True, history will eventually recognise these cranks and loonies as heroes in the long struggle against cruelty to exported farm animals. History will see their dotty little gesture outside the Ministry of Agriculture as one of the few significant steps towards real civilisation in an otherwise benighted age.

Activists from Animal Rights Cambridge proudly displayed this clipping on their noticeboard at their regular meetings and at BALE's postmortem of the hunger strike I attended in the Brightlingsea community hall.

BALE's activities were rich in symbols, rituals and ceremony and continued long after the mass street protests had died down in Brightlingsea. Soon after the Save Our Sheep (SOS) campaign, BALE organisers met to highlight the importance of keeping the movement alive in the town. "Issues of generating and maintaining commitment are central in such encounters....To be effective, they need to avoid interminable and enervating meetings that burn out their cadre, turn away active supporters, and accomplish nothing"(Gamson,1985:608). Thus BALE activists told stories, read poems and heard reports from similar groups in other parts of the country, all of which were designed to maintain solidarity and enthusiasm. One of the elderly protestors, Olive, read a poem which she had written to commemorate the hunger strike. She ended her presentation on a Churchillian note: "Perhaps in our small way we've got more people aware and some day this cruel trade will finish- we must never, never give up!" (Field notes, 1996).

The campaign against live exports in England was primarily motivated by the cruelty involved in transporting animals long distances by road and sea. It was an animal welfare protest, not a strict animal rights campaign in which the rights of animals

not to be slaughtered for food was prominent. While most of the leaders of the grassroots groups like BALE and the more structured advocacy organisations such as Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) were vegetarians or vegans, most of the rank-and-file protesters were not. Indeed, a large placard hanging from a Colchester pub explained: "You Don't Have To Stop Eating Meat To Care – Ban Live Exports". Even so, inside the animal movement, the distinction is made between those who eat meat and those who do not. While meat avoidance is not a high priority for just over half of the movement's supporters in ASIS (Munro, 1995a), it is seen by many inside the movement as the measure of one's commitment to the cause of animals. The meaning of meat is taken up in the next section.

#### *Ethical vegetarianism*

*When we ask what drives the contemporary vegetarian movement, the only consistent reply is compassion for animal suffering (Mary Douglas, 2000)*

For many animal activists, the ultimate boycott is to live a vegan or vegetarian lifestyle. In Singer's view, vegetarianism is a prerequisite to effective animal activism for "the moral obligation to boycott the meat available in butchers' shops and supermarkets today is ... inescapable" (Singer, 1992b: 174). There is however much ambivalence in the animal movement associated with ethical vegetarianism as revealed in ASIS (Munro 1995a). Nonetheless, many people inside the movement would agree with Adams (1990) that meat eating is the most extensive and institutionalised form of violence against animals. FARM's Scott Williams for example, points out that *if you can eat them, what can't you justify?*

Elias's analysis of increasing thresholds of repugnance towards meat eating when one is reminded of the animal origins of the meat dish suggests that he saw



vegetarians as people who " ...from more or less rationally disguised feelings of disgust refuse to eat meat altogether. But these are forward thrusts in the threshold of repugnance that go beyond the standard of civilized society in the twentieth century, and are therefore considered abnormal" (Elias, 1978: 120). Even so, inside the animal movement one can sometimes detect a hierarchy of credibility in the gradations of virtue attributed to carnivores, semi-vegetarians, vegetarians, vegans and fruitarians; vegetarians are seen as less pure than vegans, while carnivorous members are, at least in the UK, increasingly viewed with suspicion, as Joan Court pointed out:

LM: Would you regard it as the probably the worst form of animal abuse the fact that food - that animal flesh is used as food?

Joan: *Yes of course and all that goes with it. The sort of cruelty that goes with it, the factory farming, and I think of course it's quite dreadful. People use the word 'obscene' all the time so it seems to be dreadful to eat animals.*

LM: But then, are there people in the movement who are meat eaters?

Joan: *There used to be. We used to say it doesn't matter if you're a vegetarian or not. That's a joke now. Everybody I know in the movement is vegetarian drifting towards veganism. The young people can't understand why everybody's not a vegan but we're now attracting a lot of older women and men who have had a lifetime of course of eating dairy products and it's more difficult (for them).... / Interview, 1996*

One of the factors identified in ASIS (Munro, 1995a) which distinguished animal rights activists from advocates and supporters of animal welfare was the respondents' dietary habits. As expected, only a small percentage of activists were meat eaters. At the other dietary extreme, vegans were much more prolific among activists (32 per cent) than among either advocates (12 per cent) or supporters (3 per cent). Respondents with weaker attachments to the animal movement were much more likely to eat meat; supporters were four times more likely than activists to be meat eaters while the percentage of meat-eating advocates was double the percentage for activists. These tendencies are shown in Table 7.3 below.

**Table 7.3.** Dietary regimes of ANZFAS members and levels of activism in percentages

Eating regimes	Activists	Advocates	Supporters	Others
Vegans (n=50)	32	12	3	53
Vegetarians (n=221)	55	60	42	16
Meat eaters (n=166)	13	28	55	31
per cent	100	100	100	100
Total	71	145	202	19(437)

The conclusion we can draw from these data is that the more active the member (according to their self-designation as activist, advocate or supporter), the more disciplined are their eating habits vis-a-vis meat avoidance. Thus the habit of meat avoidance is for many animal protectionists the single most important thing an individual can do for animals. The meaning and importance of food to animal rights activists cannot be underestimated, for to many activists, the two issues are different sides of the same coin. For the most passionate animal rights activists, eating meat devalues the movement's currency as the champion of the rights of animals to be left alone. The true believer, therefore, sees the avoidance of meat as the most basic prerequisite to movement membership and credibility. Vegetarianism is not however without its costs, as Sherry admits:

*I do miss it, I'll be honest., I used to love the taste of meat, and I do miss it. Every now and then my mouth will water when I think of it, but then I look at the animals and I think, well basically every type of meat you've got, I used to own as a pet at one stage or another and I just can't do it / Interview, 1994*

Scott Williams of the American organisation, Farm Animal Reform Movement (FARM), describes himself as a vegetarian/animal rights activist. He argues that veganism and vegetarianism should be used to promote a positive message which is ultimately more attractive to people than the prescriptive animal rights ban on all animal products. His kindred spirit at the Australian Vegetarian Society (AVS), Mark Berriman has a similar view. As President of the AVS, Berriman wants *to sell the*

*same soap powder* (compassion and a cruelty-free lifestyle) *in a different package* (vegetarianism). Berriman goes so far to suggest that vegetarianism has "logical and natural" links with new social movements concerned with peace, environmental, animal rights and women's issues. Even so, calls for the strict avoidance of meat in the animal movement pose a massive obstacle to the forging of alliances with otherwise kindred spirits in these movements.

However, Berriman is optimistic about the future of progressive movements like animal rights, environmentalism and vegetarianism because he believes these are genuinely emancipatory movements which are attractive to young people especially. He explained that his own conversion to vegetarianism was for aesthetic reasons and believes this is what motivates many of today's new converts as well:

*And I think similarly with the younger people there's a certain aesthetic change that (meat eating) is no longer necessary, it's barbaric, it's a bit dinosaur, like bear baiting or something like that. / Interview, 1996*

In his advocacy of moderation and solidarity with other progressive movements, Berriman is clearly promoting context-sensitive, lifestyle vegetarianism of the kind advocated by George (1994) rather than the zealous abstinence of ethical vegetarianism prescribed by some in the animal rights/vegetarian movement. As President of AVS, he is anxious to unite like-minded individuals who want a better, more sane balance between their lives and the natural world. He sees an enormous gap between advances in communications technology and what he calls "our central ethics"; it is a gap that he admits finding difficult to live with but is confident about using communications to bridge the ethical gulf:

*The Industrial Revolution's come to its end, we're at diminishing returns as far as technology is concerned.... We want a system of values that reflects the environment equally with the financial (world) because the two are interlinked - not the sort of act now and pay later mentality. And it all ties in, it's just a*

*logical extension if you get people eating lower on the food chain, well you're automatically going to be saving on your health bills. / Interview, 1996*

Vegetarianism, whether motivated by health, environmental or animal welfare concerns, is a profoundly radical tactic for a social movement to practice since it disrupts and challenges society's predominant construction of animals as meat to be eaten. It is also a tactic that individuals adopt to demonstrate their commitment to the animal rights cause, "to attest personally to the sincerity of our concern for nonhuman animals" (Singer, 1975: 175).

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has focussed on the animal movement's prognostic frame, that is, how it attempts to undermine speciesism in its various guises. It does this via the non-violent direct action strategies of publicity and interference in campaigns to save animals' lives. Most of the strategies and tactics outlined in the chapter are seen to be newsworthy, although some like the act of bearing witness and ethical vegetarianism are practised without any deference to who is watching. In the next chapter I examine the role of media politics in detail by focussing on the campaigns of three single-issue social movement organisations in the case study countries.

## Endnotes

**Note 1:** I have described Spira's style of activism in "The animal activism of Henry Spira (1927-1998), *Society and Animals*, (in press). It is argued in the article that Spira's style of animal advocacy differed from conventional approaches in the mainstream animal movement in that he preferred to work with rather than against animal user industries. To this end, he pioneered the use of "reintegrative shaming" (Braithwaite, 1989) in animal protection, an accommodation strategy which relied on moralising with opponents as opposed to the more common approach in animal advocacy of adversarial vilification, and hence disintegrative shaming. The article describes the framing of some of Spira's best-known anti-cruelty campaigns and his use of reintegrative shaming to induce animal users to change their ways.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### PRACTISING ANIMAL PROTECTION: MEDIA POLITICS

*Most of the (animal) movement's tactics have the media in mind, especially television (Sabloff)*

In this chapter, the role of the media in a number of animal rights campaigns is analysed. A New Social Movement like the animal movement is highly dependent on the mass media:

It constitutes a mass spectacle in which appeals combine with symbols and icons, where images rather than discursive statements determine outcomes, where captivating drama may be more effective and more important than systematic analysis, and where anxiety may overshadow calculation as a spur to collective action (Crook et al. 1992: 148)

These elements of mass spectacle, the use of symbols, icons, images and drama and even anxiety are features of the social movement organisations profiled in this chapter. The chapter begins by noting the ambivalence of movement insiders to the media despite their heavy dependence on journalists and reporters for promoting the issues and campaigns of the animal movement. The chapter profiles three social movement organisations and the politics which inform their relationships with the electronic media. In the first case study, the *ad hoc* group Brightlingsea Against Live Exports (BALE) was the subject of a media blitz in England in which the group's animal welfare concerns were almost entirely overshadowed by the media's law and order frame. The activists were compelled to produce their own version of what their protest stood for so as to counter the media's dominant frame. In the second case study, the Farm Animal

Reform Movement (FARM) seeks to promote vegetarianism in a climate in which the American media have not been sympathetic to animal rights and anti-cruelty issues for most of the twentieth century. The activists at FARM have used innovative strategies and tactics to publicise a health education message that the US press finds difficult to ignore. Similarly, in the third case study from Australia, Mountain Residents for Animal Rights (MRAR) have used unconventional, eccentric and exhibitionist tactics to attract the media's attention. Like FARM's success in the national media, MRAR have been successful in "mobilising information" (Lemert, 1984) in the local media. These three animal SMOs have in their different ways utilised various media to promote the cause of farm animals. Buechler (2000: 41) suggests that a social movement's frame is successful when it translates vaguely felt dissatisfactions into well-defined grievances that prod people to do something about the grievances. Frame alignment is the means by which this is achieved.

According to Snow and Benford (1988) the success of the motivational frame depends on how well they function as "prods to action". Consensus mobilization, they point out, does not of itself lead to action mobilization, individual or collective; "it follows that frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation" (Snow *et al* 1986: 464). The term frame alignment matches the frames of individuals and movements in such a way as to ensure that "individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary" (1986: 464). Snow *et al* identify four dimensions in the frame alignment process, which in roughly ascending order of difficulty for issue entrepreneurs, are: frame bridging, frame extension, frame amplification and frame transformation. Rochon (1998) has simplified these processes by subsuming bridging, amplification and extension under value

connection and designating frame transformation as either value creation or value conversion. Each of these dimensions, individually and in combination, has been used in the various campaigns by the animal groups described in this chapter.

*Frame bridging* refers to “the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (Snow *et al* 1986: 467). In attempting to achieve its goals of “saving animals’ lives, saving finite resources, and promoting a more gentle way of living” (Elliott, 1992: 15), MRAR has sought to bridge various issues including animal rights, environmentalism and vegetarianism. Most activists would see these issues as structurally unconnected but congruent ideologically. Activists in MRAR use the concept of “eco-friendly eating” to bridge these otherwise distinct issues in their Transforming McDonald’s Campaign.

*Frame amplification* is concerned with “the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue....” (Snow *et al* 1986: 469) such as when values or beliefs are amplified in mobilization appeals. Values like peace, a clean environment, indigenous land rights, kindness to animals were all used to invigorate MRAR’s campaign to save the local neighbourhood from encroachment by McDonald’s in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney. Saving the pristine environment from the developers represented a revitalization of the conservation ethic that for many residents is synonymous with the Blue Mountains. With belief amplification, Snow *et al* (1986) identify several kinds in the social movement literature: First, beliefs about the seriousness of the problem such as when animal rights activists claim that “meat is murder”; in the aftermath of the BSE crisis activists were in a position to amplify the meaning of the slogan from its original animal referant to include humans. Second,



beliefs about who or what is to blame for a particular grievance corresponds to a movement's prognostic frame; in the meat example, for instance, animal rights activists blame the profit driven practices of factory farming for the increasing dangers agribusiness poses for human and animal health. Third, stereotypical beliefs about the movement's antagonists abound over issues involving matters of life and death (see Vanderford, 1989); both sides of the animal rights controversy have used stereotypical labels to denounce their opponents; in the recent protests against live animal exports, the rhetoric of vilification that characterised the vivisection debate in the nineteenth century, was resuscitated to castigate the protesters as "crazed spinsters" and the like. Fourth, beliefs about the efficacy of action and the possibility of change are frequently amplified by movement leaders in order to sustain membership commitment; in the live animal export protest, for example, when the "Save Our Sheep" hunger strike attracted little interest from authorities, the strikers' postmortem embellished the event with stories of solidarity and individuals' courage and commitment. The belief in the efficacy of protest is tied to the fifth kind of belief amplification in which activists emphasize the importance of "standing up" for the cause; the importance of "bearing witness" was frequently cited by activists I met during protests in England and Australia. Sometimes the idea was expressed by people with Quaker connections, but more typically it was an idea that appeared to be inspired by the moral imperative of "doing something" or "being counted".

*Frame extension* occurs when "the movement is attempting to enlarge its adherent pool by portraying its objectives or activities as attending to or being congruent with the values or interests of potential adherents" (Snow, *etal.* 1986: 472). Thus Kunkel (1995) uses the term "rationale expansion" to describe how FARM expanded its anti-

cruelty frame to include a health and environmental frame when it found that these resonated more effectively with its targetted audience.

*Frame transformation* suggests that "new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or 'misframings' reframed" (Snow, *etal.* 1986: 473). This form of alignment occurs at two levels which Snow *etal* refer to as domain-specific and global interpretive frames. Domain-specific changes refer to "fairly self-contained but substantial changes in the way a particular domain of life is framed, such that a domain previously taken for granted is reframed as problematic and in need of repair..." (1986: 474). Converting to a vegetarian diet was for many of the activists in the present study the most common experience of this kind of lifestyle change. Because dietary habits are specific to just one part, albeit an important part of people's private lives, they are relatively easy to change compared to the more sweeping transformations required of people when global interpretive frames are involved. Conversion here is much more fundamental since the change affects the individual's entire being. In some cases, every domain of the person's life ranging from interpersonal relationships to attitudes towards globalization is realigned to fit the movement's ideology. This occurred for many BALE activists who had been radicalised by their experiences in the campaign. I spoke to several ordinary protesters who claimed that their lives had been dramatically transformed during the year-long protests against live exports. Interestingly, many had not converted to vegetarianism but rather saw the transformation in terms of a shift in status and role from housewife or retiree to social activist. For many of these protesters, it was not animal welfare concerns that drove the transformation, but rather the experience of

protest itself, specifically, the experience of police brutality and the state's authoritarianism. For others, like Milly, the experience of protest has meant that -

*I feel more positive about life (and) it's actually quite liberating in a personal sense as well. / Interview, 1996*

This matter-of-fact statement hides what is really a dramatic and life-changing transformation for many ordinary people whose lives were changed by the experience of the live animal protests. Activists spoke of the animal export protests as a seminal event in their lives; one informant compared it to his involvement in the second world war, such was the intensity of the experience for him (field notes, Brightlingsea, 1996). McAdam's study of the impact of activism on activists' lives reinforces the transformative experiences of activists in the present study. McAdam's (1999: 121) review of the most important studies of the impact of movement participation on biographies indicates that the experience of sustained and intense activism has a powerful and enduring effect on the later lives of activists. This review also revealed gross discrepancies between the reality of activists' lives and their representation in the mass media. In the next section, the views of movement insiders on the role of the media in their campaigns is briefly discussed.

Virtually every activist in this study recognised the importance of having the media on side, and in getting journalists to take their message seriously. And that message is that the animal movement is *an overwhelmingly peaceful and compassionate movement*, in the words of Andrew Tyler of Animal Aid. Yet this is not how the public see the movement as portrayed in the mass media. Kew's (1999) dissertation on animal liberation contains two long chapters on the role of the media in the UK from 1994-6 and concludes that the quality media were overwhelmingly hostile to the movement. As

head of the English activist group, Tyler is therefore wary of dealing with the mass media:

*I think you have to try to make the agenda but also follow the agenda set by the media and the public, and the public and the media are capricious, they stampede in all sorts of directions /Andrew Tyler, Interview, 1996*

Tyler's ambivalence, and Kew's findings, are supported by several theorists who warn social activists of the dangers of relying too much on the media (Rootes, 1984; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Gamson, 1992b; Tarrow, 1994; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail and Augustyn, 2001). In this last mentioned reference, Smith *et al* point out that even when a social movement succeeds in attracting the media's attention, the coverage typically neutralises or undermines the movement's agenda (2001: 1398).

Mike Huskisson of ACIG related an amusing story which illustrates how far some journalists will go to manufacture the news in order to reinforce the animal liberationist stereotype:

*If they could find some person that would throw a brick at the front of the window, then they would highlight that. I always remember in about 1972 or 1973 I went to a demonstration against the parade of otter hounds of the Royal Windsor Horse Show, and the Queen was there up in the royal box. And we were parading around the ring with banners protesting against the cruelty of otter hunting and this photographer and reporter from the Daily Express, I think it was, jumped into the ring and came in with me and he said to me: "Have you got any smoke canisters?" I said "oh we've got one;" he said: "Well if you lob it up towards the royal box up there I'll get a picture and put you on the front page." I said "well look, you give me the camera, you throw the smoke bomb and I'll take your picture!" / Interview, 1996.*

Experiences like this make activists wary of the media. Some animal protection SMOs like the ACIG have set up their own media production units as a more reliable means for getting their message across to the public. Virtually every animal protection SMO of any significance in the USA, the UK and Australia use their own in-house media to

mobilise moral and financial resources for their campaigns against vivisection, intensive farming and hunting. The tactics range from undercover exposés of cruelty to the publication of “soft” (anthropomorphic) and “hard” (atrocities stories) images of animals in SMO brochures and magazines.

Yet activists know that they need the media more than the media need them. As one Australian animal liberationist put it:

*We can reach our members, but we can't reach the public as a whole without media support / Gayle, Interview, 1996.*

Jim Roberts, the president of Animal Liberation Victoria, was adamant that the movement could not survive without favourable media coverage:

LM: And by getting to the next generation, how important is the media, the mass media?

Roberts: *Oh, crucial, it's crucial. Again, we - I as an individual don't like the mass media and it's general advertising message, but I do think that people are so locked into what message it is conveying that it's fatal for us not to try and embrace the media, particularly the television, and it will be the way we achieve change in the future. You know, it's purely by the number of people we get the message on to, and because it's such a persuasive medium.*

It is for this reason that animal activists and organisations seek to establish a good working relationship with media personnel. Effective media publicity is important to the success of new social movements seeking to change people's values, and even more so for a movement which challenges the deeply entrenched habits of speciesism. Virtually all of the collective action tactics listed in Figure 7.1 in the previous chapter – demonstrations, mock funerals, picketing, street theatre, boycotts, sit-ins and so on – depend for their ultimate success on favourable coverage in the mass media. Most of the tactics in Figure 7.1 have been used by the animal protection groups described in the

remainder of the chapter. These organisations each had a different relationship with the media which influenced the way their campaigns were represented.

Referring to the experience of environmental SMOs, Barry makes a distinction between institutionalised organisations and grassroots direct action groups. The former, he argues, "have highly developed networks of contacts with the mass media and the institutions of political administration. In this way they can operate to effect changes in policy in a manner unavailable to those engaged in direct action" (Barry, 1999: 87). Thus all three animal protection SMOs had to build a relationship from scratch with the mainstream media outlets. Particularly in the case of FARM and MRAR, activists performed media work in which they sought to have their issues fairly represented by the electronic (FARM) and the print (MRAR) media. BALE was different in that its leader, Maria Wilby, was the daughter of Joyce d' Silva, director of Compassion in World Farming (CIWF), whose organisation employed a media liaison officer with established contacts with the leading media outlets in the UK.

### **MEDIA WORK: Case Studies BALE, FARM, MRAR**

These three particular grassroots animal protection SMOs were chosen because they illustrate how different groups in the case study countries mobilise support for the animal protection cause by focussing on a single issue and making the most of the limited resources available to grassroots organisations. The SMOs are all concerned with the treatment of farm animals and originated in the last three decades of the twentieth century: Farm Animal Reform Movement (FARM) in the 1970s in the USA; Mountain Residents for Animal Rights (MRAR) in the 1980s in Australia; and Brightlingsea Against Live Exports (BALE) in the 1990s in England. While all three

SMOs share the same ideology of animal protection, they differ in their identities, structures and tactics and , most importantly, in their relations with the media.

According to Dalton (1994: 100), social movement organisations are seen to be more effective in mounting campaigns than an amorphous social movement; hence the emergence of groups like FARM, MRAR and BALE. A distinction also needs to be made between the ideology of a social movement and the identity of a social movement organisation. Most animal protectionists would agree that the ideology of the movement- that is , its core beliefs and values - is to protect nonhuman animals from human exploitation , mistreatment and cruelty. And most would accept the view that "the animal rights movement is a movement for social change based on issues of justice and our moral duties to others"( Finsen and Finsen, 1994:281). While each of the SMOs has its own distinctive identity, they share the view that cruelty to animals is an injustice that needs to be addressed. Each SMO has the same diagnosis of the problem - cruelty to farm animals in general (FARM), to farm animals used by fast-food chains like McDonald's (MRAR) and to farm animals during transportation (BALE)- but a different prognosis or solution to the problem. Favourable media coverage is usually seen as essential to the success of movements for social change. As I will show shortly, this is by no means a straightforward issue for these three SMOs involved in campaigns on behalf of farm animals.

In common with other new social movements (NSMs) - in the environmental, peace and women's movements- the three SMOs in their different ways used tactics that were "unorthodox, informal and above all, critical and value-infused" (Crook *et al* 1992:155). Crook *et al* have singled out several characteristics of grassroots activism in

NSMs which apply to FARM, MRAR and BALE : (a) action is driven by moral rather than instrumental considerations; (b) NSMs are anti-bureaucratic and rely on self-organisation; (c) key activists are suspicious of conventional party politics and established elites; (d) activists combine leisure activities such as drama and street theatre with protest; and (e) NSMs are highly dependent on the mass media for getting their messages across to the public (1992:148). All of these characteristics have been features of animal protection activism during the movement's long history, but it is their reliance on the mass media which is the crucial new ingredient in the quest for animal rights at the turn of the century. "The new elements in the contemporary movements are their *specific orientations* combined with international *mass media exposure*, especially the new medium of television " ( Crook *et al* 1992:148).

While Crook and his co-authors see a more symbiotic, mutually dependent relationship between movements and the media, Gamson acknowledges the importance of the media in determining social movement success, but claims the link is more one-sided: "Much of the impact of any collective action today depends on whether and how it is treated in the media....The movement needs the media far more than the reverse" (Gamson, 1985 :618). The three case studies which follow will therefore emphasise the SMOs' relations with the media in their various campaigns. FARM and MRAR are examples of small activist groups which have succeeded in using the media to their advantage. The media appear to have adopted the activists' education-oriented frames rather than the usual media framing of animal rights campaigns as "deviant protests" as in the case of BALE below. In contrast to the FARM and MRAR media campaigns, the media's law and order frame suppressed the activists' animal welfare frame in the BALE case study.



### **Brightlingsea Against Live Exports (BALE): The power of protest**

In early January 1995 there were newspaper headlines and front page coverage of what the British media initially dubbed a "bunny-huggers' battie" (Ridley, 1995). Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) had been campaigning for about two months at Shoreham in West Sussex against live animal exports when their peaceful protest was, according to CIWF, "hijacked by rent-a-mob". The peaceful scenes were contrasted in *The Guardian's* photograph of a militant animal rights activist smashing the lights of a lorry carrying the animals to the port. CIWF director Joyce D'Silva was reported as having distanced the moderate animal welfare organisation from the "extremists and hooligans who had abused her staff" and was said to be appalled by the violence which attracted widespread media interest. D'Silva denounced the illegal actions which she said could never be condoned by her organisation of 10 000 members. From the outset, the live animal export protest was framed by the media as a law and order story, and not as a protest against animal cruelty, despite the efforts of the protestors to dramatise the plight of the animals. *The East Anglian Daily Times* (9 January, 1995) for example, framed the story in terms of the financial cost that the protesters imposed on the community and highlighted the "violent clashes between animal rights extremists and police". The reporter noted that 1 000 police had arrested 19 protesters who had unsuccessfully tried to stop the lorries of calves and sheep from boarding the ferry to France.

What began as a law and order issue briefly turned into a police brutality story which presented the police as overreacting to what was essentially a peaceful protest. "Children and elderly people were caught up in violent scenes" according to *The Essex*

*County Standard* (20 January, 1995) and "many were left in tears after being dragged away by police". Needless to say there were some graphic images including one of an 85 year-old woman admonishing a large policeman in riot gear. The story headline "A tyrannical penalty against a small town" referred to allegations of police brutality in their arrest of 21 residents( *The Independent*, 20 January 1995). Yet there was still no real attempt to frame the story from the protesters' perspective, that is, as a protest against cruelty to farm animals.

A more sympathetic, pro- demonstrator stance was taken by Paul Binding in *The New Statesman and Society* who believed the protests had profound cultural roots and represented "a thorough-going compassionate identification with sentient beings other than the human. It is a movement that affects one's attitude to just about everything" (Binding, 1995:17). It was hardly surprising that the passion of the protesters should arouse such sentiments. But what surprised most people in the UK was the social composition of the people who made up the opposition to the live animal trade. While there had been the inevitable references in the press to "reit-a-mob" (eg *The Guardian*, 5 January 1995), the pictures revealed that many of the protesters were respectable, middle class men and women. Many told reporters they were Tory supporters and first-time demonstrators. The remaining section describes how the protesters in BALE conducted their campaigns in an atmosphere of government intimidation and media misrepresentation.

Sources used in this case study consisted mainly of interviews with members of BALE as well as local residents in Brightlingsea including town council employees and other eye witnesses such as one of the journalists who covered the protest from the outset. Data also included extensive media coverage of the BALE campaign, a film by

the BBC and the activists' own video-film of the protest. I visited the town in August 1996 when the protests had shifted to Dover, the last remaining port for the live export trade. The original founders of BALE continued to hold weekly meetings at the community hall to keep people informed about animal welfare issues generally. It was clear from the meeting I attended, that the approximately 60 people in attendance had been politicised by events in Brightlingsea during protests which peaked in 1995. By meeting every week, the community of "morally motivated comrades" (McAdam, 1988) demonstrated their need to sustain the collective sense of empowerment they had experienced during "the Battle of Brightlingsea", as it was called in a film production made by the activists. Referring to McAdam's study of Freedom Summer volunteers, Lichterman description applies equally well to the Brightlingsea protesters: "Mass protests and extraordinary resocialization experiences felt good and produced a new sense of self" (Lichterman, 1996:188). Their weekly meetings in the community hall in Brightlingsea have continued for this reason. "Issues of generating and maintaining commitment are central in such encounters....To be effective, they need to avoid interminable and enervating meetings that burn out their cadre, turn away active supporters, and accomplish nothing" (Gamson, 1985:608). Thus BALE activists told stories, read poems and heard reports from similar groups in other parts of the country, all of which were designed to maintain solidarity and enthusiasm.

*The Tory government won't listen so I have to shout* (Brightlingsea resident)

This was the message worn by a protester who featured on the cover of *New Statesman and Society* (27 January, 1995) in the magazine's story on the nature of protest in "England Rising". Brightlingsea Against Live Exports (BALE) was one of a number of

SMOs which were formed to protest the mistreatment of animals during transportation from British ports to overseas destinations. BALE's foundation president was Tony Banks MP, a sitting Labour party parliamentarian. This grassroots group, like dozens of others throughout England, was set up to give the townspeople a single voice in their campaign against live exports. BALE attracted more media coverage than other similar groups because of the large numbers of local residents who supported its protest. At one point, 2 500 residents confronted the police in Brightlingsea thereby stretching the resources of the authorities to protect the agricultural industry and guarantee the future of British trade. The protest had all the characteristics of a mass movement that governments fear – militancy, size and novelty (Rochon, 1990: 108).

So effective was the Brightlingsea protests, that the Tory government invoked the 1986 Public Order Act which had the effect of BALE disbanding temporarily for fear of prosecution. The government saw the protest as a threat to public order and an intolerable financial burden on the state as a result of the loss of export income and the heavy cost of policing the daily protests. The government's crackdown had the effect of broadening the issue for the protesters, many of whom, like BALE's Maria Wilby were politicised by their encounters with the police:

It's changed the people totally. People are so much more aware of what can be done against them, and how little power we have (*The Economist*, 19August, 1995).

For most of the Brightlingsea protesters, the use of force by the state to suppress their protest, was seen as an intolerable breach of trust since they claimed their right to demonstrate was not only a British tradition but also in accordance with the feeling of the town. And in fact a survey commissioned by the local council concluded that more than three-quarters of the residents were against the use of their port in the live export

trade ( Tanenbaum, 1995) . As the representatives of the state, the police force became the subject of many serious complaints by the protesters (see Note 1), some as late as October 1995, eight months after the demonstrations began:

The past weeks have been extremely turbulent and many protesters have sustained severe injuries, some requiring hospital treatment (Mrs Maria Wilby is listed as one example). These injuries were sustained whilst lawfully demonstrating (BALE's Newsletter, 1995:4).

There is no doubt that the events of early 1995 which put Brightlingsea on the front pages of British newspapers also radicalized people outside the town. Researchers from the nearby University of Essex noted that the intense protests in the town had made participants aware of the political utility of protest, had taught them new skills and had given them a different perspective on the forces of law and order, and finally had caused many to change their lifestyle by, for example, becoming vegetarian (Benton and Redfearn, 1996). News media skills identified by Benton and Redfearn included a better understanding of editorial practices, as well as the development by activists of a capacity to critically analyse media coverage of their protest. Media frames do affect what demonstrators do. In BALE's case, the activists were induced to tell their own story in the video production "Battle of Brightlingsea", which was meant to counter the media's negative framing of their campaign. The video represents a practical illustration of activists' media work.

*"The Battle of Brightlingsea"* – a documentary in two parts by David Scott – tells the story of the protest from the activists' perspective. (see Note 2) The videos which are dedicated to the memory of Jill Phipps (who was killed during the protests at Coventry airport) record the turbulent events of 1995; at least one photographic exhibition has been held to commemorate the town's stand against live exports.

The film provides an insight into the kind of practical work involved in mass protests - doing demonstrations, street theatre, mock burials, physical confrontations with the police, organising road blockages, banner-hanging, displaying provocative posters, singing, chanting, sloganeering, "sea-sabbing", in fact many of the tactics listed in Figure X in the previous chapter.

Part 2 of Scott's video, which runs for 90 minutes, shows the main strategy employed by the protesters against the police as well as the tactics they used to stop the progress of the lorries and their animal cargo through the streets of Brightlingsea. The film starts with a silent mock funeral of hundreds of residents dressed in black carrying posters such as "Stop live exports" and "Compassion must win". The marchers stop by the port to lay a wreath as they say the Lord's prayer. The wreath reads "Roger Mills, East Anglia's Angel of Death" (Mills was the harbour master at the time). The next scene shows protesters blocking the narrow street with sand as the police confiscate banners and attempt to clear the road. Protesters wear colourful t-shirts, some with Gandhi images, some wear sheeps' masks, and many taunt the police with chants, "What a waste of money!" and "Turn the lorries back!". Another scene shows dozens of protesters staging a sit-in on the street along with cardboard road blocks; they sing "We shall overcome" as the police begin dragging them away. Some demand to be arrested but are released.

There are many symbols in the protest such as one protester collecting for the RSPCA who uses a money box in the shape of a mine; the protester, with the "mine" in hand, provocatively boards his small craft in pursuit of the ship carrying the animal cargo from the port on the way to Europe. Water police intercept the small "sea sabs" which in any case can do little to harass the large transport ships. On the harbourside,

there is chanting, music, street theatre, a speech by a celebrity, but the real action starts when the lorries arrive. It is then that the protesters vent their anger against the lorry drivers by hurling abusive chants "Scum, scum!" or "shame, shame!" but most of this is done peacefully, with the police monitoring the progress of the lorries. There is only one violent incident when a woman throws herself at the car being driven by the hated harbour master; the woman is knocked over by the car and she is taken away by ambulance.

In the main, Scott's film is sympathetic to the protesters and presents the protest on behalf of animals as a predominantly peaceful and symbolic affair. The mainstream media, on the other hand, framed the story in terms of civil disorder, and the protesters as violent extremists. In the next two case studies, we see how two small animal liberation groups successfully use a media savvy strategy to have their issues portrayed sympathetically and more accurately in the electronic and print media.

### **Farm Animal Reform Movement (FARM): De-meating the world**

As the name indicates, FARM was originally founded as a reform movement. It actually began as the Vegetarian Information Service in 1976 but changed its name five years later to Farm Animal Task Force following a 1981 conference which FARM cites as the beginning of the animal rights movement in the USA ( *The FARM Report*, 1996:2). In recent years it has reverted to its original identity with the mission of "promoting planetary survival through plant-based eating". For a small organisation of only three or four full-time staff members, its campaigns are remarkably successful in attracting wide media coverage and reaching a large audience. FARM's founder Alex Hershaft believes that being small allows the organisation greater flexibility in responding to issues and

initiating new ideas, something which FARM does very well. For example, it is possibly unique among grassroots animal rights SMOs in that it runs training sessions for activists which are also advertised on their Internet home page (<http://www.farmusa.org/>). Its campaigns give activists hands-on, practical ways to get FARM's message across. World Farm Animals' Day (WFAD) – on Gandhi's birthday, October 2 – is promoted as a non-violent educational event. An idea of the practical focus of the event can be seen in the types of activities:

**Figure 8.1: DIY activities sponsored by the Farm Animal Reform Movement**

Leafleting	Lectures/ videos
Picketing	Street theatre
Tabling	Vigil/ fast
Indoor activities	Funeral procession
Outdoor display	Memorial service
Banner hanging	Civil disobedience

Source: FARM newsletter (1999) promoting the 17<sup>th</sup> year of World Farm Animals Day (WFAD) observance

In this campaign, bearing witness – by the observance of this tradition - appears to be more important than getting media attention, although a media kit is available to activists who want to issue press releases and the like.

Red meat and poultry production in the US amounted to 75 billion pounds in 1996, an estimated consumption rate of 216 pounds per head of population. Given the size and power of the farm lobby in the land of "Hamburger Heaven", FARM's capacity to make a difference to the wellbeing of farm animals must be seen as slight. Added to this formidable lobby, is the fact that there are no federal laws in the US which protect farm animals on individual ranches and farms, although some organisations such as the



American Veal Association have developed voluntary animal welfare guidelines for the care of animals of commercial properties. However, animal protectionists contend that self-regulation is no substitute for the legal protection of animals and public opinion appears to be on their side. A nationwide poll in 1995 revealed that 93 per cent of adults surveyed were opposed to the close confinement of animals like pigs, calves and laying hens, while eight out of ten believed that the meat and egg industries should be made legally responsible for protecting farm animals from cruelty (Tolles and Dyott, 1996). That this is not the case, is what motivates the campaigns of groups like FARM which essentially promote the boycotting of meat and meat products in the US.

FARM's best-known campaign is its annual Great American Meatout which it has sponsored since 1985 to help Americans "kick the meat habit"- a message which exploits the anti-smoking slogan. The idea is to promote vegetarianism as "a more wholesome, less violent diet" by hosting "America's largest annual grassroots dietary education campaign" in all 50 states. The meatout events in the US have been described as "publicity stunts to induce media coverage of meat-eating issues" ( *The Animals' Agenda*, 1986:2) and have resulted in some 200 news stories in the American media including a front page report in *The Boston Globe*. One newspaper featured a photograph of a campaigner outside a McDonald's fast food outlet holding placards reading- " Farm animals never have a nice day!" "McDonald's= McDeath to the rainforests"; and "Try a food revolution - go Veggie!" A cartoon character used by Burger King appeared as a reformed vegetarian with the message: " I feel anguish for the millions of cows and steers that are ground up for hamburger meat after a lifetime of crowding, mutilation, deprivation and mistreatment" (*The Animals' Agenda* , 1986:2).

Images and messages of this kind are carried into millions of living rooms in America during the March meatouts each year. Unlike other comparable events such as Fur-free Friday and World Day/ Week for Lab Animals, the Great American Meatout has been able to avoid a sustained decline in media coverage during the past decade . Dena Jones (1996) suggests that the goals of the animal rights movement have been stigmatised as an unacceptable threat to the US economy by government and industry which in part explains the lack of interest by the mainstream media whose interests are served by supporting the status quo. She notes that since 1990, no single issue except perhaps abortion, has received significant media coverage in the US . In this context, the coverage of Meatout must be seen as exceptional. According to Jones, FARM's success is due to its positive approach as well as the opportunity it provides to collaborate with environmental and vegetarian groups. The view is shared by Scott Williams , the Meatout director at FARM:

*(With) veganism or vegetarianism you're offering people something. In animal rights you're telling people what they shouldn't do, what they can't do, whereas veganism offers them something in return, which can be a much more positive thing / Interview 1996*

Williams describes himself as an animal rights/ vegetarian activist who gave up meat five years ago when he saw a truckload of chickens just as he was dining on a hot dog. He remembers the moment precisely- the occasion of his father's fiftieth birthday- when he decided to kick the meat habit . He believes, like Carol Adams (1990), that meat eating is the most extensive and institutionalised form of violence against animals and points out that *if you can eat them, what can't you justify?*

FARM is one of five SMOs in the US devoted exclusively to promoting the rights of farm animals, who they claim account for a massive 96 percent of all abused animals.

The activists at FARM know that their issue is one of the most challenging in the animal rights movement but are undaunted by the task. FARM has in recent years changed its overall strategy in order to be more effective. Its previous activist tactics of confrontation- civil disobedience, sit-ins , demonstrations and the like - have been replaced by education campaigns and advocacy work. Nonetheless, members are encouraged to be active on behalf of the cause ranging from individuals being asked to sign a "no meat pledge" to participating in collective actions such as street theatre and the like.

*Mobilising information : DIY activism*

One of FARM's most innovative tactics is the use of media blitzes to get its message across. As noted already, the mass media have not been receptive to single -issue groups in the 1990s and yet FARM has been able to use the media as a tool for what Lemert(1984) calls "mobilizing information". As the term implies, activists mobilize information by having details of their issues and campaigns "advertised" free of charge in the media. Of course the media outlets concerned do not do this altruistically . It is the task of the SMO to circumvent the normal checks on what newspapers are prepared to print. In 1994 FARM devised a letter-to-the- editor campaign whereby contacts/members throughout the USA send "guided" letters to major newspapers outlining FARM's ideas on a host of issues with an underlying anti-meat theme. In this DIY approach to animal activism, the contacts are meant to use the sample letter as a guide by rewriting it in their own words and signing it as an authentic opinion. In this way FARM claims to be able to reach more than 50 million people in the USA and thereby save millions of dollars in advertising and possibly some animals as well.

However, the *Letters from FARM* project has recently been the subject of a complaint by the National Cattlemen's Association (NCA) which criticised FARM for using false names and addresses on the letters it directed to about 60 newspapers. Hershaft denied that the organisation had been deliberately devious and requested his members to sign the letters they send to the press. Furthermore, FARM insists that they have the public's health interests at heart while the NCA is motivated by pecuniary interests.

#### *Rationale expansion*

The emphasis on health via vegetarianism is considered more appealing to readers than the moral arguments associated with the animal rights case against factory farms. FARM appears to recognize the limitations of the cruelty approach since its own newsletters have moved in this more positive direction. Kunkel (1995:251) analysed the contents of The FARM Report between 1989 and 1994 and found that column inches devoted to health and environment issues have steadily increased over the period; space devoted to cruelty to animals, while still greater than that given to health, was less than the amount of columns for health and the environment combined. In another study which analysed a sample of American newspapers between 1900 and 1976, Kellert and Westervelt (1982) found that moral issues were the least frequently mentioned during the first three-quarters of this century and concluded that animal rights and cruelty arguments were not seen as newsworthy by the newspapers in the study (cited in Jones, 1996).

Kunkel (1995) argues that this is the reason behind FARM's "rationale expansion" in its campaign against factory farming. "When certain putative conditions are deeply embedded cultural practices, claimsmakers are unlikely to generate

widespread agreement that the condition constitutes a problem. ...Rationale expansion thus provides an indirect attempt to solve the original problem" (1995:253). In this way, the social problem of speciesism is addressed by framing the issue in social-environmental, rather than strictly moral terms. In FARM's case then, environmental and health considerations have been added to the original animal rights cruelty frame. While cruelty still features in FARM's documents, references are fewer since these do not resonate with the dominant cultural habit of eating meat in the birthplace of "Hamburger Heaven". People do not want to be reminded of the cruelty involved in their dietary customs, and are more likely to alter their consumption of meat when given a positive alternative which is both healthy and environmentally friendly. Kunkel notes that it is too early to judge the success or otherwise of the domain expansion adopted by FARM but Scott Williams is confident about the general trend towards vegetarianism in the US. He mentions John Robbins' *Diet for a New America* as the present generation's "lightning rod" for conversion claiming that the book has been as influential for the present generation in the US as Singer's *Animal Liberation* was for the first generation of activists in the 70s and 80s (Interview, 1996). Books in this genre are an important resource for individuals and groups promoting the benefits of a meat-free diet by way of popular epidemiology. In the next section, I look at a campaign involving McDonald's which illustrates how activists become "lay epidemiologists" in contesting the dominant discourses of a powerful corporation.

#### **Mountain Residents for Animal Rights (MRAR): Transforming McDonald's**

MRAR was founded in 1984 by Anne Elliott in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney as an affinity group which from the outset was anti-hierarchical and anti-bureaucratic.

Affinity groups, according to Sturgeon, are "decentralized small groups (of up to 10 members) that independently decide the nature of their participation in an action" (1995: 35). The group has the threefold aim of "saving animals' lives, saving finite resources, and promoting a more gentle way of living" (Elliott, 1992:15). These represent the three related goals of the animal rights, environmental and vegetarian movements that have informed the activities of MRAR for the past decade or more. Strictly speaking MRAR is not a single-issue SMO like FARM since it has been involved in anti-vivisection and anti-circus/zoo protests during the past decade. But its most important campaign and most innovative work has been the "transforming McDonald's" campaign and the related "eco-friendly eating" campaign. In both these campaigns, MRAR have argued that vegetarianism is the best way to protect both animals and the environment, specifically from the rapacious expansion of the fast-food chain McDonald's in the scenic Blue Mountains area. An analysis of these campaigns in the context of this animal rights SMO will show how effective a small group of grassroots activists can be in challenging much more powerful adversaries.

MRAR have used brochures, flyers, posters, articles, letters-to-the-editor, and paid advertisements in the local press to promote their agenda as social justice issues which the newspaper proprietors found difficult to ignore as they were concerned with local government politics. The McDonald's campaign is important for this reason since the fast-food giant sought local government approval to establish a restaurant against the wishes of a sizeable section of the Blue Mountains community. MRAR asked candidates in the local elections about their position on McDonald's and the results were duly published in *The Blue Mountains Gazette* and other newspapers. The McDonald's proposal to set up shop in the pristine environment of the Blue Mountains

became an election issue and for two years MRAR and other grassroots campaigners opposed to development in the region were able to hold the fast-food giant at bay.

When McDonald's finally did get council approval to establish themselves in the Blue Mountains, MRAR started its "transforming McDonald's campaign". On the day of the McDonald's opening, MRAR launched a counter attack with "the world's biggest vegie burger" and Regie McVegie, the eco-friendly, non-sexist clown who became the activists' alternative to Ronald McDonald. Like FARM, the Blue Mountains activists made use of computer technology and social movement networks to notify over 200 environmental, animal welfare and humanitarian groups worldwide about their alternative ideas for McDonald's which included a vegie burger on every menu. Although the company's response was negative, it did at least respond suggesting that the campaign was working. And although "the transforming McDonald's" campaign never attracted the publicity generated by the McLibel trial in England, it did manage to give the public a different perspective on the multinational.

For example, several objections to McDonald's have been identified by critics elsewhere, which at some stage were aired free of charge in the local press: (1) environmental degradation through destruction of tropical areas used for raising beef cattle; (2) proliferation of deadend jobs; (3) the high fat and salt content of fast food at McDonald's; and (4) the forcing of local competitors in the food industry out of business (Gunn and Gunn, 1991:36). As a commercial organisation, McDonald's is understandably sensitive about criticism of this kind and its PR people are quick to defend the company when the dark side of the hamburger industry is revealed. MRAR have avoided attacking McDonald's on these grounds in the manner of the defendants in the McLibel case and have chosen instead to focus on humour and street theatre. In

adopting this more lighthearted approach the activists hope firstly to avoid antagonising the litigious company and secondly to encourage it to transform itself by adopting a less meaty menu.

*Mobilising information: Promoting vegetarianism*

The creative use of humour ensured wide media coverage without the more emotive and confrontational tactics used by FARM activists in The Great American Meatout . To be successful, SMOs need to use tactics that resonate with the culture they are seeking to influence. MRAR have consciously avoided referring to their campaign as a protest and offer instead a positive, albeit value-infused message, via humorous, unorthodox stunts and street theatre which appeal to the local press and culture. Vegetarianism's health and environmental advantages- when combined with its gustatory appeal - resonate particularly well in a mountain community which sees quality of life issues as more important than a material affluence built on the back of commercial development often at the expense of the environment.

But the most striking feature of the eco-friendly eating campaign is the free publicity MRAR got from the local press. Meat eating is for MRAR both an animal rights and environmental issue and as Rissel and Douglas (1993 ) point out, neither is particularly newsworthy to the Australian media. Yet the small contingent of activists in MRAR has succeeded in using their local media for mobilising information about their campaigns. Stated bluntly, its fundamental argument is not one that attracts media interest: "With less than ten years in which to turn the tide against the destruction of the earth, the promotion of vegetarianism and vegetarian food is perhaps the single most important environmental and critical issue of all" (Elliott, 1992:15). Only the alternative



press would be interested in pursuing a story along these lines, as indeed was the case. But the comic figure of the "non-sexist" Regie McVegie and all that s/he stands for is a different matter. Schudson (1989:165) points out how a cultural object- a ritual, a piece of street theatre or an advertisement- has rhetorical force as either a positive or negative appeal. It seems that Regie McVegie struck the right balance between fun and gravity since there were dozens of photo opportunities featuring the serious message masquerading as a clown. Local newspapers broadcast headlines such as : Regie to hand out "eco"awards (*BMG*, 26 June,1991); "Regie pushes for eco-friendly burger"(*BMG*, 8 September, 1993); and "Regie McVegie for Mayor" (*Blue Mountains Whisper*, October,1990). During the three-year campaign, MRAR produced a *McDonald's Campaign Pack* which was sent to dozens of media outlets, many of which gave it some coverage including a major American publication (Interview , Anne Elliott, 1992).

Both the "transforming McDonald's campaign" and the related "eco- friendly eating campaign" were unconventional, eccentric and exhibitionist and therefore newsworthy. In order to maximise media exposure, the content of the campaigns was contextualised and linked to global issues and universal values such as peace, social justice, harmony with nature and reverence for life. MRAR used the local media "for informing , educating , converting and mobilising" people to their cause ( Crook et al 1992:156). As in the case of FARM's vegetarian rhetoric, it is too early to gauge how successful the MRAR campaigns have been.

The McDonald's and eco-friendly eating campaigns are fundamental to MRAR's philosophy of saving animals and conserving finite resources. Like John Robbins and Scott Williams, Anne Elliott believes that vegetarianism is the missing bridge in "the great divide" that ostensibly separates animal rights supporters and

environmentalists. In October 1994, MRAR hosted what Elliott believes was the world's first vegetarian festival and she is confident that the long-term dietary future of humanity is vegetarian.

Both FARM and MEAR have adopted the strategy of using the media as a resource for mobilizing information in their respective campaigns to save animals and the planet via vegetarianism. In doing so they have played down the moral arguments associated with animal rights and instead have promoted the more palatable message of eco-friendly and healthy eating with the use of colorful events which involve activists in practical, hands on activities that appeal to the media. FARM's Great American Meatout and the image of Regie McVegie launching "a Big Mac attack" provide entertaining spectacles for the media either as graphic photographs or television images. Both SMOs then succeed in getting their issues exposed to a large audience on a scale well beyond the resources of small grassroots activist groups. Of the three animal rights events studied by Jones (1996), the Great American Meatout was the least dependent on media coverage. According to Jones, even without media attention, the Meatout introduces thousands of people to a meatless diet through the many community events held throughout the US (1996:21). Even so, media coverage of these events - claimed by FARM to reach 50 million Americans- is necessary if vegetarianism is to become the dietary future envisioned by activists like Scott Williams and Anne Elliott.

For agents of social change, media-SMO relations are fraught with difficulties. Several writers, most notably Herman and Chomsky (1988) warn that the mass media are nothing more than propaganda machines which "manufacture consent" on behalf of ruling elites. Tarrow is similarly pessimistic when he asserts that social movements

possess little cultural power when pitted against "the inherent power of the media to shape perceptions" (1994:23). A more optimistic argument is put by Gamson (1992a: 71) who recognises the central importance of media discourse in framing issues for the public but warns that media practices can both help and hurt a social movement's efforts to communicate its issues to an attentive public. Rootes succinctly explains the dilemma for activists: "A movement may seek to exploit the media's insatiable appetite for novelty and spectacle, but no movement without a very broad social base and very considerable resources of power can hope to dictate the terms of the transaction or its outcome" (1984: 6). Even so, the experience of small groups like FARM and MRAR do show that imaginative strategies in media work can tip the balance in favour of the activists. For the BALE activists, however, the unprecedented media coverage during their campaign was largely unsympathetic and so the campaigners were compelled to produce their own video of the events.

### Conclusion

The intensity of public interest in the welfare of farm animals has been much greater in BALE's protest than in the campaigns run by FARM in the US and MRAR in Australia. In the English case study, unlike in the American and Australian examples, there was massive intervention by the state to quell the protests. State power to stifle protest should not be underestimated. When the Public Order Act of 1986 was invoked in Brightlingsea for example, BALE disbanded out of fear of prosecution and 350, rather than 2 500 people went on to the streets ( *New Statesman and Society*, 21 April, 1995).

BALE's campaign was never framed as a vegetarian issue although many participants claimed to have cut down on their consumption of meat ( Benton and

Redfearn, 1996:57). What distinguished it from the FARM and MRAR campaigns on behalf of farm animals was the threat it posed to the state. One writer observed animal rights had emerged as Britain's closest thing to a mass social movement (*The Economist*, 19 August, 1995).

More than in any animal rights campaign in the late twentieth century, the British protests against live exports showed, as Rochon (1990: 108) argues, that the power of a social movement lies in its militancy, size and novelty. These features were bound to attract the media which generally portrayed the activists' protests on behalf of farm animals as the ravings of eccentrics or as matching the IRA in their violence and menace. Under these circumstances, state intervention was inevitable since the protesters constituted a potential threat to the agriculture and farming lobbies in England.

Governments might be willing to let FARM and MRAR activists run eco-friendly eating campaigns, or even "transforming McDonald's campaigns"- as radical as the long-term effects of these campaigns potentially are - but are unwilling to accept massive losses in export earnings or the heavy burden of policing street protests. Early in the campaign, Parliament estimated the cost of policing the protests to be six million pounds in England and two million in Brightlingsea alone (*The Spectator*, 21 April, 1995) while the live animal trade to Europe was estimated to be worth 200 million in 1993 (*The Guardian*, 5 January, 1995). Opposition to live exports in the UK was not therefore to be taken lightly by the state.

It was also an issue which inspired many of the animal protectionists in the three countries in this study. For example, ANZFAS in Australia ran an interview with CIWF director Joyce D'Silva in their magazine which also included comments from

actress Joanna Lumley on the evils of the trade (*Animals Today*, May-July, 1995). Activists in England were well aware of Australia's involvement in live exports just as MRAR were familiar with the tactics used by FARM in the Great American Meatout. In short, animal protectionists worldwide maintain links through the Internet and more commonly by exchanging newsletters and magazines.

The campaign against live exports in the UK was for a short time in 1995 the single most important issue in the animal rights world. It put animal rights on the public agenda, gained official endorsement for movement leaders and legitimated their concerns. For many animal protectionists the animal export campaign reinvigorated the movement by providing much needed publicity for the cause and the opportunity for people to practise acts of resistance – ranging from hunger strikes to civil disobedience. Ultimately, it is the ability of these acts to attract media attention which gives marginal groups their legitimacy. As Noam Chomsky observes, vested interests can live with protesters who go on one demonstration and then go home: "What they can't live with is sustained pressure that keeps building, organization that keeps doing things...and doing it better the next time" (quoted in Achbar1994:165). The next chapter includes a detailed case study of a small, grassroots campaign which supports this observation.

## CHAPTER NINE

### MOBILISING EMOTIONS: AFFECTIVE WORK IN ANIMAL PROTECTION

*Don't eat anything with a face* (Animal rights maxim)

*Philosophy can lead the mind to water but only emotion can make it drink*  
(Regan)

This chapter addresses the third framing task of social movements identified by Wilson (1973) and Snow and Benford (1988) as the motivational frame or how the social movement attempts to mobilise people to take action on behalf of its cause. Motivational framing is an “elaboration of a call to arms or *rationale for action* that goes beyond the diagnosis and the prognosis” (Snow and Benford, 1988: 202). It will be argued that much of the appeal of the animal protection movement, from its beginnings in the nineteenth century up to the present century, comes from the movement’s ability to utilise the moral potency of opposition to cruelty in its various campaigns.

Affective work in animal protection, as discussed in Chapter 4, is concerned with caring for and about animals. In the present chapter, the focus is on affective work that is concerned with building support for the movement. This is achieved, it will be argued, by the management of appropriate emotions within the movement – and the building of a movement identity in the sense of a “we” feeling – and by the mobilising of emotions among prospective supporters outside the movement. As Somerville points

out, social movement members "have a greater emotional commitment to the movement through which they derive an experiential belonging and common sense of identity" (1997: 674). This is one of the key elements in Melucci's (1989) analysis of new social movements, namely the emotional commitments that enable social movement participants to construct a "we" feeling or a collective identity. Emotions which create affective bonds are often neglected by social movement scholars who tend to privilege cognitive components of motivational framing. More significantly, however, as Jasper suggests, most social scientists have a tendency to denigrate emotions as the opposite of rationality (1998: 420). Yet, as Jasper points out, emotions may be the key to social movement participation: "I accept a friend's invitation to a rally because I like her, not because I agree with her. It is affective ties that preserve the networks and give them much of the causal impact they have" (Jasper, 1998: 413). This seems to be the case for most new social movements. Emotion and identity are close companions in such movements. Eyerman and Jamieson's comments seem especially pertinent to the animal movement:

All social movements, by definition, bring about some kind of identity transformation. On one level, they do this by setting new kinds of problems for societies to solve, by putting new ideas on the historical agenda. On another level, they do this by proposing new cosmologies or "values" which enter into the ethical identities of individuals (1991: 166).

### **Emotional appeals and moral shocks**

Jasper and Poulsen argue that more than any other factor, "moral shocks" are responsible for the recruitment of strangers to the animal movement because animals have extraordinary potential as condensing symbols. By this they mean "visual and verbal images that neatly capture – both cognitively and emotionally – a range of

meanings and convey a frame, a master frame or theme" (1995: 498). These animal images are as important to movement insiders as they are to the recruitment of strangers for they reinforce and build movement solidarity. For example, a particular image or condensing symbol was found to resonate with one sample of animal liberators who saw the animal as victim as "a symbol of both humanity and nature besieged (in the) vivisection of our planet" (Sperling, 1988: 39). It is this kind of image – of the animal and the planet as victim - which both shocks people and prods them into action.

For Tamara Hamilton of HSUS, it is emotion which motivates her commitment to the animal movement:

*...the use of animals in laboratories for me is very near and dear to my heart. ...Certainly emotions are an important part of it, because - we have our hearts involved. You need to keep your heart in something I think to be effective and if it's something that you believe in you'll be more effective./ Interview, 1996*

Time and again in this study, it was "a reflective, emotional response" to animal suffering – to use a phrase by Wayne Pacelle of HSUS – which drove people to support the animal cause.

Kruse (c1996) has shown how animals are portrayed both as "heroes" and "victims" by animal rights supporters and their opponents. Kruse describes five images of animals, both human and non human, which are used in the campaigns of protagonists in the animal experimentation debate. He shows how image "keying" allows new meanings to be attached to particular images. For example, a picture of a rat carries the caption "a cure for cancer" which changes the meaning of the rat as animal to that of a research tool responsible for medical advances and improvements in human health. In the second illustration, the image of a severely restrained, "crucified" monkey suggests the animal liberationists' immorality frame of the animal as victim. What



emotions are such images meant to evoke? Representations of the animal as hero or victim evokes such emotions as pride, enthusiasm, hope (hero) and anger, grief, hostility, shame, suspicion (victim). Jasper (1997) has identified a number of emotions which he argues are potentially related to protests over issues like animal rights. These are listed in Table 9.1 below and a representative sample of these emotions are contained in the following excerpts from the transcripts:

Andrew Tyler (Animal Aid) on depression, anger and rage:

*One of the issues I brought up which is neglected is the tremendous toll this thing plays upon our physical and emotional health; people suffer, people get to build up anger and massive depression, they turn it in on themselves, they turn it on their families, they turn it on the groups which is why we've got so much, one of the reasons we have so many splits and feuds within the groups is displaced anger and rage. And we have to find a way - if we want this movement to be healthy - of discharging that anger and depression etc; and supporting each other, 'cause as I say it's not just a question of having to cope with these extraordinary scenes of violence and exploitation that we physically see and read about, but it's the fact that it's denied and that we are mocked, we are called extremists and mad people. / Interview, 1996*

Roger on emotional outpourings such as rage, grief, loss and sorrow:

*It's an amazing sight on that duck campaign when a rescuer picks up their first bird and that result, whether it's dead or alive, it has an effect. The effects may be different if that duck is dead. You see rage, you see horror, you see emotions pouring, crying over this one shot bird. There could be another 10,000 laying in the water around on a big lake, but it's that one bird that that person has. / Interview, 1994*

Jenny Talbot (Project Jonah) on hatred and suspicion:

*... I have to work very hard at compassion, to try and think love, because I regard humans as the most vicious and evil force that's ever walked the face of the planet, and I suspect a lot of animal people and conservation people would feel the same way. Just look around you and it's destruction, destruction. / Interview, 1996*

In this last excerpt, the tension between love and hatred is very clear. The common emotion in the above excerpts – and the emotion which largely drives the animal activists in this study – is anger. The problem for many activists, as explained by

Andrew Tyler, is to find a way of *discharging that anger and depression*. This is one of the most important features of the affective, social problems work of activists who “work hard to create moral outrage and anger and to provide a target against which these can be vented” (Jasper, 1998: 409).

Given the strength of these negative emotions, compassion is seen as something which can be difficult to attain, as Margaret Bowman (WLPA) explains below. In the following excerpts, some of the more positive emotions from Table 9.1 are described.

**Table 9.1 Some Emotions Potentially Relevant to Protest**

Negative emotions	Positive emotions
Anger	Compassion, sympathy, pity
Cynicism, depression	Enthusiasm, pride
Envy, resentment	Joy, hope
Fear, dread	Love
Grief, loss, sorrow	Resignation
Hatred, hostility, loathing	Trust, loyalty
Outrage, indignation	(Solidarity)
Shame (guilt)	(Respect)
Suspicion, paranoia	

Source: Adapted from Jasper, 1997: Table 5.1 p 114.

Note: Emotions in parenthesis have been added to the original list

Margaret Bowman on joy, love, enthusiasm, pride and compassion:

*It can be a very difficult area to work in ... but I think the joy or the catharsis in the end does outweigh it ... I think having compassion all the time is very exhausting and a very wearing thing. I think you have to have a kind of joy in discovering things and you have to have a joy and love for animals which does*

*include compassion. But there's a lot of enjoyment as well - it's a kind of a joy in certain rewards and results that you get sometimes, for the animals and plus you have your own growth from it as well. This is the way to experience life at the raw edge of things. / Interview, 1997*

Holly Hazard (DDAL) on enthusiasm and pride:

*I have a very normal middle class life... I love doing what I (do); people talk about being a deep sea diver or being an astronaut or being an entertainer and saying "I get to do this and I get paid for it." That's the way I feel about what I do.... I have not been subsumed by the frustration of having to deal with this day after day. / Interview, 1996.*

Milly on enthusiasm, hope and pride:

*I don't see it (animal protection work) as a sacrifice, because I find it life enriching. I mean I feel that since I have become actively involved in the animal welfare movement .... I feel more positive about life because I feel that there is nothing more debilitating than feeling that you are a victim and you are on the receiving end of a lot of ridiculous decisions made by parliament or by politicians. Once you have reclaimed your own power ... then it's actually quite liberating in a personal sense as well.*

And earlier in the interview:

*I've met lovely people through this movement. It has re-enforced my faith in human nature . Up until that point I was beginning to think that humanity was going down the pan really, that people wouldn't stand up for what they know to be right. ...(But) there are still people around prepared to, you know, to put themselves on the line and stand up for what's right. / Interview, 1996*

Both sides of the animal rights issue use evocative images of animals to press their claims and to evoke these kinds of emotional responses in both prospective supporters and movement insiders. For example, the late Henry Spira (1927-1998) used striking images of animals with imaginative captions to pressure animal industries to reform their practices. Spira focused on the "invisibility" of animal suffering behind the closed doors of the factory farm and the laboratory to expose these hidden worlds to the general public. In an age of visual overload, pictures which startle, surprise, shock or otherwise arouse people's emotions are likely to be used by both sides of the animal

rights debate. One such image used by Spira's coalition, Animal Rights International (ARI), led to immediate improvements in the treatment of farm animals. Spira's advertisement appeared in the *New York Times* on March 15, 1994 and depicted the cruelty involved in face branding cattle by the US Department of Agriculture.

In an essay entitled "Photographs of Agony", John Berger (1990) describes violent war pictures as *arresting* - we are seized by them. It is no exaggeration to say that Berger's comments apply equally well to the images of face branding in the ARI advertisement:

*As we look at them, the moment of the other's suffering engulfs us. We are filled with either despair or indignation. Despair takes on some of the other's suffering to no purpose. Indignation demands action* (Berger, 1990:42).

For the "caring sleuth" (Shapiro, 1994) for whom animal rights activism is a way of life, there is both sorrow and anger in these images of agony. But the purpose of the face-branding image was not to engender despair in the movement's membership, but rather to mobilise the indignation of insiders as well as of those outside the movement. And to demand action. The call to action was explicit in the accompanying caption: "This is what USDA policy looks like. Can you imagine what it feels like?" This is a classic instance of the use of "moral shocks" to prod people into action (Jasper, 1997; Jasper and Poulsen, 1995). According to Singer (1998: 162), one thousand readers had called the USDA in the two days following the appearance of the advertisement and by December that year, the USDA was forced to discontinue the practice as a result of public pressure.

Similarly, critics of animal rights use graphic images and messages to provoke an emotional response in people to support their cause. Images of innocent children make for good television and print copy as *Newsweek* demonstrated in its cover story (26

December, 1988) "The Battle over Animal Rights: A Question of Suffering versus Science" which featured a young mother, Jane McCabe and her nine-year-old daughter Clair who was suffering from cystic fibrosis. McCabe's personal story makes a strong, emotional appeal for animal research. According to her mother, Clair would not be alive without the enzymes from the pancreas of pigs and antibiotics tested on rats. Clair's mother responds to the animal rights bumper sticker - "Lab animals never have a nice day" - by asking "Why is a laboratory rat's fate more poignant than that of an incurably ill child?" (McCabe, 1988). The incurably ill have been used by animal researchers in testimonials which support animal experimentation. The organisation incurably ill For Animal Research (iiFAR), which is funded by the American Medical Association, provides testimonials from people in wheelchairs and on life-support systems willing to speak up for animal researchers.

Thus both sides in the animal experimentation debate use compelling emotional appeals in their respective campaigns which frame animal researchers as either heroes or villains. Animal rights activists are invariably labelled as too emotional to understand the benefits of animal research, while animal experimenters are castigated as unfeeling brutes by animal protectors. Vilification from both sides has characterised the vivisection debate from the nineteenth century to the present (Munro, 1999a). In another study, Groves sums up the emotional nature of the debate when he concludes that "Whereas animal rights activists rationalise their emotions, pro-researchers emotionalize their rationality" (Groves, 1997: 14). (See Note 1) Similarly, other issues in the movement are characterised by a combative element which Collins (2001: 41) claims gives social movements their emotional energy and sense of solidarity.

### **Female activists and the movement's emotional tone**

Thus contrary to conventional wisdom, scientists and not just animal protectors are disposed towards using emotional images and messages in their campaigns. However, because the membership of the animal movement is overwhelmingly female, the claims of the movement are invariably labelled by its critics as "too emotional". This has been the continuing refrain of the animal industries against activists in the early antivivisectionist and humane movements in the nineteenth century up to the present day. Stereotypes associated with labels such as "sob sisters", "crazed spinsters" and "idle, muddle-headed women" continue to be used against the "emotional" arguments of women in the movement who oppose the "rational", mainly male endeavours of science, hunting and agriculture. Yet it is true that women, more than men, are drawn to the animal cause.

A number of recent papers by Wells & Hepper (1997) and Kruse (1999) have listed studies that report on greater female affinities with animal issues. These demonstrate that women more than men:

Express concern about the use of animals in research; are more likely to be members of animal welfare groups; are more inclined to abstain from eating meat or other selected animal produce; hold anthropomorphic views regarding animals; support animal rights and report that they are more likely to take action to promote animal welfare.

Where does this leave female scientists who experiment on animals? An activist associated with the International Primate Protection League (IPPL) spoke of some female scientists like the American biologist Jay Fitzpatrick who she said had changed her view of scientists. Others, such as an Australian experimentalist (name withheld),

puzzled her. She described the researcher's good husbandry and ostensible love of animals but in the final analysis *she experiments on them*:

*...When it comes to the crunch, they can cut off their emotions and distance themselves from it, whereas people in the animal rights movement can't, can't cut our emotions off like this and we find that we can't distance ourselves from the problems. / Lisa, Interview 1992*

Like a number of other animal protectionists in this study, it was a visceral experience of animals which inspired Lisa to take up the cause of animals:

*I was in a small flat, he (a cat) was on his own during the day and then when I got home in the evening I noticed how lonely he was; then a few weeks after getting him, he came down with the cat flu and it sort of struck me that these animals suffer just the same as we do and that was the turning point.*

How can we explain why women, more so than men, are prominent in the animal protection movement? (see Note 2) That women have good standing in the contemporary animal movement can be seen in the increasing number of women taking up leadership roles in animal protection organisations which in the nineteenth century were simply not available to them. Of the 27 animal protection organisations I studied in Australia, Britain and the United States, slightly more than half were led by women although only 3 of these were large, prominent organisations with relatively well paid staff. It is of interest to see that these gendered work patterns are reflected in the staffing of anti-environmental/animal rights groups such as Put People First (PPF). A sample of the same number of these organizations listed in a Greenpeace Guide (Deal, 1993) indicated that of the 27 groups sampled, 20 were headed by men and only 7 by women. This can be explained sociologically by the industries and interests represented by these anti-green organisations. Most are male-oriented enterprises associated with the extractive industries (coal, gas, oil, timber), off-road vehicle manufacturers, hunting and fishing lobbies, chemical and pharmaceutical companies, the cattle industry and so

forth. There can be little doubt that leadership positions in these social movement and especially countermovement organisations reflect the structure of gendered employment opportunities in the wider society.

These different work places engender different emotional experiences or at least provide differential opportunities for the expression of various emotions. Thus, the emotions we would expect to find in the pre-school will be quite different to those of the timber mill. The gendered workplaces of the industries mentioned above are likely to nurture dramatically different emotions to the ones experienced inside the animal movement. With its predominantly female membership (Richards, 1990; Jasper and Nelkin, 1992; Munro, 1996), the animal movement may be characterised by an "emotional energy" (Collins, 1990) that is unique to the movement. Collins argues that long-lasting emotions constitute what he calls emotional energy. Thus, emotions such as those expressed by the activists above, constitute the emotional tone of the movement, the majority of whom are women. Collins describes this phenomenon succinctly:

Members share a common mood... The model posits an emotional contagion among the persons present, for they are focussing attention on the same thing and are aware of each other's focus; they have become caught up in each other's emotions. As a result, the emotional mood becomes stronger and more dominant; competing feelings are driven out by the main group feeling (Collins, 1990: 32).

We can see how this works in the heat of protest. In the campaign against live animal exports in England in the mid 1990s, a television documentary (see Note 3) revealed the frustration and anger of the mainly female protesters against the authorities and the animal industries involved in what the protesters called "the evil trade". These emotions were shared by all the activists in the protest; the protesters were caught up in what could be described as a contagion of feeling directed at the alleged animal abusers. The model described by Collins above also applies to the everyday interactions of



activists inside the animal movement. This was clearly illustrated in a comment by a member of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), John Curtin, at a meeting I attended in Cambridge in 1996. Curtin advised the members of Animal Rights Cambridge (ARC) to give up their "righteous anger" and to have "a bit of fun". He noted that animal activists had a reputation for being "angry" and that they were being written off by potential supporters as "too serious" (Field notes, Cambridge, 1996).

There is no evidence in this anecdote that the mainstream animal movement is characterised in the public mind in this way. Historically, however, there is evidence that the early animal protectionists and antivivisectionists were denigrated as "too emotional", and overly sentimental (eg MacCulloch, 1993). And there is some evidence that the animal movement itself has undergone a change in its image and emotional tone since the nineteenth century. According to Groves, in the animal rights movement today,

the emotional rubric of justice and rights for animals represent a break from its nineteenth century counterpart in the humane tradition (since) ...emotions in the animal rights movement took on a different meaning when men, as opposed to women, adopted them; sympathy or caring for defenceless victims became objective, rational and legitimate (1995: 458-9).

Groves points out that men's participation was a useful resource for overcoming the emotional deviance experienced by most of the activists in his study which was concerned with the role of emotions in the animal movement. Groves's study highlights the neglect of emotions in social movement research. He shows how activists in the animal rights movement engage in what Hochschild (1983) calls "emotional labor", "emotion work" or "emotion management". In the present study, emotional labor that is performed for a wage, is not typical; emotion work, defined by Hochschild as "the

emotion management we do in private life", is however, a prominent feature in the private lives of many animal activists. As Peter explains:

LM: Does (membership in the movement) have an effect on close friends, family and so on?

Rhett: *Ah.....well it might, it just so happens that most people I associate with have similar sympathies or they're at least tolerant and they understand. I don't really know. I went out with a woman a few months ago briefly and she said to me, "Would it upset you if I ate meat?" (laughing) and I said, "No", but it was a lie and she knew it and that was about the end of it! (laughing).* / Interview, 1994

Groves's study is unique in that it reveals how activists in the animal movement manage emotions in order to arrive at "the correct emotional tone of the movement" (1995: 439). Activists do affective work in managing deviant emotions or "paying emotional dues". This latter activity was achieved by one activist who watched an animal rights video in the full knowledge that the experience was a painful, though necessary one. Another activist chose to read Regan's complex *The Case for Animal Rights* so as to reinforce the notion of animal rights as a philosophical, rational concept rather than an emotional one. Activists in Groves's study also learned to manage emotions in their dealings with movement outsiders, something which many activists in the present study said they did. One of the most important findings for the present study was that this emotion work gave activists a sense of career. Activists progressed "from being someone who was too emotional about animals, to someone who could be detached, rational and objective" (1995: 457). Put differently, animal activism is a form of work from which one derives a sense of identity, as in the case of Sherry who campaigns against duck shooting in Victoria:

LM: Do you regard this more or less as a kind of career?

Sherry: Yes, I do. I've never had a career. I brought up kids, that was it, my two boys, and I was always very shy, I couldn't talk to people. It's done incredible things for me now; I can talk to the media ... (I) do interviews and I love it with a passion that I've never loved anything before, except my children. Yes, I'm committed to the end, so I believe it is a career and for that reason ... I don't want to get a full-time job because I know it's going to take me away from the ducks and I can't afford to let that happen. So yes, it is a career. / Interview, 1994

This introduction has described the role of emotions inside the animal movement. It has attempted to capture something of the movement's emotional tone and the activists' emotional energy. The next section describes how animal images and imagery have been used to mobilise the emotions of prospective supporters outside the movement as well as to reinforce the solidarity of those inside the movement.

#### **Advertising stories: powerful stories and atrocity tales**

In the animal movement emotions are used as a resource and as a call to action. This is achieved using advertising stories and compelling animal images in media-driven campaigns designed to mobilise people's emotions in the cause of animal protection.

Powerful stories have been used in the animal protection work of the early pioneers in both fictional (eg Sewell's *Black Beauty*) and non-fictional (eg Lansbury's *The Old Brown Dog*) accounts. These function, as in the iconic case of the old brown dog riots of 1907, as "advertising stories". Advertising stories can be read as either atrocity tales or powerful stories and they appear in nonfiction as well as in what Lansbury calls "the truths of fiction" (1985). Early female animal advocates, depicted for example in Ingram and Patai (1993) and Ferguson (1998), wrote stories which provided an outlet for moralising against various atrocities from slavery to vivisection.

Ferguson's book *Animal Advocacy and Englishwomen* features five female writers between 1780 and 1900, who the author claims, "represent landmark studies in

support of the humane treatment of animals" (1998: 4). These writers, who include Anna Sewell and Frances Power Cobbe, tell stories where the animal features as a metaphor for imperial predation. Atrocities against animals – torturing dogs and cats, baiting bulls, the illtreatment of horses and sheep and cattle at market, the practice of pinning insects, hunting with hounds and vivisection – were among the "barbarities" that were addressed in these stories, of which *Black Beauty* is the best known. This novel sold over one million copies in the first two years after its publication in 1876 and remains one of the great advertising stories in the animal protection movement. George Angell, the founder of the MSPCA, called it "The Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Horse", for the book draws obvious parallels between slavery and cruelty. *Black Beauty* was largely responsible for the banning of the bearing rein, a device used to keep the horse's head upright and one which caused the animal much pain. The book was energetically promoted by animal protection and antivivisection societies and became an approved school reader for generations of children. It also inspired dozens of literary imitations which taught the principle that the greatest of all virtues was kindness to animals (Lansbury, 1985: 76). *Black Beauty* remains today a classic advertising story which is both an atrocity tale and a powerful, uplifting morality tale.

*We have to shock and mesmerise and entice, tell powerful stories about the suffering of animals, and what animals really are when they're not molested and confined / Andrew Tyler, Interview, 1996*

Tyler's idea is for people to be able to draw comparisons between animals when left alone and animals that are abused. He cites one such story told by a sheep farmer's wife:

I was standing on the block the other day and some sheep were coming through and one came running up to me and licked my hands and I said to my husband, "Why is he doing that?" and he said, "You should know, you fed him on the bottle three years ago." They're quite wonderful really, they've got tremendous memories. I can't bear to see a sheep suffering. They don't make a fuss at all,

they're a gentle sort of animal, very under-rated. And I wonder if it's all worth it really, I ask myself, have we got the right? That's my problem (Tyler, 1995).

Stories of this kind are meant to remind people that animals like sheep are individuals with life spans and personalities - and names such as Midnight (aged 10) , Fergie (20), and Helga (also 20).

Animal rights advocates everywhere use anthropomorphism as a deliberate device to widen people's affection for their pets so as to include animals lower down on the hierarchy of human concern such as sheep, chickens and lobsters. Animal Liberation Victoria used the dramatic headline " 330 million adolescents murdered in the breeding sheds" to publicise the plight of broiler chickens whose natural life is about " raking the soil for treasures, bathing rapturously in the dust... There's mating games and proud roosters holding court over their flock, nests to build, mothers-to-be religiously warming eggs for weeks, then courageously guarding new born chicks against lurking dangers" (*Animal Liberation Action*, 1996 : 8 ). A similar story is told by Lobster Liberation in the UK which asks diners to consider that the lobster boiled alive for their benefit "have a very long childhood and an awkward adolescence...They flirt, their pregnancies last nine months and they can live to be over 100years old" (from Lobster Liberation in *PETA News*, 1989). What critics would ridicule as sentimental anthropomorphism, animal rights advocates call empathy. Films such as *Babe*, *Free Willy*, *101 Dalmations* and *Chicken Run* are celebrated in in-house magazines by animal advocates who use them to promote the cause of animals.

Pigs became the filmic flavour of the year in 1995 in the Australian-Hollywood production of *Babe* which captivated millions of movie-goers throughout the English-speaking world. Animal protectionists were quick to realise the film's potential for mobilising support for the cause of factory-farmed animals. The attractive and

intelligent animals depicted in *Babe* had the effect of turning many people, at least temporarily, off bacon and pork. The animal movement achieved a brief moment in the sun when the actor who played farmer Hoggett in *Babe*, James Cromwell, "came out" at the March for the Animals in Washington DC and declared himself a vegan convert. He evidently attributed the conversion to the experience of making the film.

Others have commented on the film's power in challenging our assumptions about the what animals are:

As his mother is prodded into the truck, Babe utters his grief so fleetingly and naturally that we hardly notice that our usual assumptions have been turned on their heads. The meat animal is being presented to us as an expressive, narrative subject - the meat is speaking (Plumwood, 1997:25).

According to Plumwood, the idea of "speaking meat" thoroughly disrupts the Cartesian stereotype of the machine-animals which spend their entire lives in factory farms for the sole purpose of serving human appetite. We are meant to see in *Babe* an example of the living, communicating, sentient being whose ontological presence is cruelly and ruthlessly denied in the factory farm. There can be little doubt that many of those who saw the film, for a brief moment at least, perceived pigs in a wholly different way. For animal protectionists, it is this transforming moment which they seek to exploit with promotional T-shirts, campaign brochures, slogans such as "Keep pork off your fork" and the like.

Yet the cruelty towards pigs in Australia continues. At the Bunge piggery in Corowa (NSW), 230 000 pigs are kept in the largest factory farm for pigs in the southern hemisphere. Animal Liberation (NSW) mounted an undercover rescue of the animals on Remembrance Day 1996 describing the facility as the "pig city of despair". In language usually reserved for describing crimes of the magnitude of genocide and pack rape, the President of Animal Liberation (NSW) reluctantly wrote atrocity stories

of "an Auschwitz, a Gulag and an Alcatraz" with references to screaming, abused sows awaiting the torture of "the rape shed" (Pearson, 1997: 6-7). The reference to "the rape shed" links these contemporary animal liberators with their Victorian counterparts in the antivivisection movement. Anti-vivisectionists, dating back to Frances Power Cobbe, have been the most prolific and graphic in writing atrocity tales of animal torments. Cobbe was aware of the links between vivisection, pornography, rape and the condition of Victorian women. According to Ferguson, "antivivisection literature foregrounded the contention that medical science and medical practice were metaphorical rapes" (1998: 111).

The Victorian campaigners did not hesitate to describe in graphic detail, and in the following case with more than a dozen footnotes, the suffering of animals under the vivisector's knife. For the writer, Mona Caird (circa 1890), vivisection is

...to take a living, trembling creature – dog, cat, rabbit, frog – to tie it down on a board or trough, and there to cut it open and dissect its nerves and organs; pierce its brain with red-hot wire, fill its veins with gelatine, prussian blue, or any other substance that may seem good to its tormentor; to cause inflammation of bones by inserting a red-hot needle as deeply as possible, bake it alive, pierce its liver with a needle, inflame its eyes by piercing and then drawing a thread through the cornea; inoculate horrible diseases into the blood; create agonising inflammations of tissue; inflict the lengthened horrible suffering of rabies ... experiments that go on often for hours, and often require the victim to be kept alive in its agony for days and even months. (From *The Sanctuary of Mercy* by Mona Caird, cited in Victorian Women's Writers Project, page 2, Bibliographic information, [www.indiana.edu/~letrs/vwwp](http://www.indiana.edu/~letrs/vwwp))

Atrocity tales alert the public that a social problem exists. According to Best, the selected atrocity is meant to typify the issue and act as a referent for public discussion of the problem (1990:28). In the following excerpt, the atrocity tale is used by Laurie Levy to morally prod people into doing something against the destruction of wildlife. Levy adopted a classic animal liberationist position on the suffering of individual birds when he explained on television the Coalition's opposition to duckshooting:

*We brought out a record number of wounded birds; birds that had been shot through the eye, through the back of the head, through the wings. And here's a young signet and it's been shot through the neck and this is a magnificent, beautiful, young bird. You know, duck shooting, the brutality that we see out there every year is just unacceptable. Duck shooting is not sport, it's cowardly, it's violent and it's anti-social, and that's why duck hunter numbers are dropping so dramatically (Munro, 1995 b, Story 18).*

Likewise, the League Against Cruel Sports used similar images and descriptions to demonstrate the cruelty of the Hunt. The video of the incident which was publicised in the national news resulted for instance in Prince Charles's hunt, the Quorn hunt, being banned.

*So we film the transgressions, we expose the lie....Animals being seen on film to be torn apart.... We've seen photographs for instance of the stag being shot and injured, it's jaw being blown off and the stag's still running and at the end of the day the stag having to be drowned in a river with a man putting his foot on its neck pushing it under water. And this is illegal, this is against the Hunt rules. The Hunt say for instance in this area where we are talking now, where stag hunting is rife, they say it is a "clean kill". As I say, we have film of the stag's jaw being blown off and the stag getting up and running away. / LACS supporter, Interview 1996*

Video films of these cruelties are then used to shock people into supporting the anti-hunting cause. The emotion-laden content of these images transforms animal cruelty into a hot cognition issue, one in which reason and emotion combine (Gamson, 1992a).

### **Animal images : the obnoxious versus the nice**

Images and stories about animals are vitally important to the mobilisation of both financial and moral resources in the animal movement . Animal protection SMOs must be sensitive to the way their publications represent animals if they are to resonate with the readership. A recent example illustrates the emotional significance of what Baker (1993) calls "picturing the beast". The American Humane Association (AHA) produced



an eye-catching poster of a cat-child face to promote its dual function of caring for animals and children. The poster suggests that the child and the cat are identical except for the whiskers and facial hair so that cruelty to either is one and the same thing. It is an image which evidently many people found disturbing and objectionable. The poster's dramatic achievement is that it turns anthropomorphic sentimentalism upside down by transforming the child into an animal's form. According to Baker, this is more accurately known as therianthropism which, he explains, "appears only to operate successfully when used as a means of discrediting or demeaning other people...(It) does pictorial violence- symbolic violence - to the image of one's rivals or opponents" (1993:224). Baker suggests that such troubling connotations could be exploited by animal protection SMOs for their shock value ; in this way, "cute anthropomorphic imagery" is appropriated in order to unsettle the observer and more importantly, to modify cultural representations of the animal (1993:232).

Baker acknowledges that this is an uncertain undertaking but believes it is a strategy worth trying if people are to be shaken out of their complacency and the options kept open for "picturing the beast" most effectively. The AHA's cat-child poster does at least problematise the whole idea of what it is to be a human vis-a-vis an animal. Whether or not this works to the advantage of the animal movement we cannot say with any certainty. But in an age of visual overload, pictures which startle, shock or otherwise attract people's attention, may ultimately be more useful to the movement in changing people's attitudes about animals than the cute cliches of the coffee table variety.

The AHA seeks to include both the obnoxious and the nice by producing its own print and electronic media such as informative *Guides* and attractive videos. In its

Washington DC office, the Director Adele Douglass exhibits the covers of AHA's *Advocate*, a glossy magazine of the animal protection division. Douglass noted that the covers with their gorgeously colored animals were designed to be appealing, although the contents of the magazine often contained disturbing pictures of animals in distress. Both forms of representation are controversial in the animal protection movement. Many animal lovers are repelled by the graphic pictures of animals caught in traps and the like while others see the representation of the eternally "cute" animal as a form of anthropomorphism which trivialises the reality of animals' lives. Visualising animals always poses a dilemma for animal protection SMOs seeking to raise funds and at the same time attempting to educate and mobilise supporters in their campaigns.

While animal protection organisations are able to publish powerful images in their own media like posters and magazines, the mass media in the public arena are less willing to use material which might offend their audiences or more importantly, their advertisers. Animal Liberation in Australia, for example has had a running battle with the Advertising Standards Council (ASC) over some of its newspaper and poster advertisements. Early in 1983 it placed an advertisement in the now defunct *National Times* which showed eight piglets in a wire pen below which was the caption: "If you treated your dog the way they raise pigs, you could be thrown in jail". The advertisement described some of the inhumane practices of intensive pig farming and called on readers to boycott all ham, bacon and pork until the pig industry mended its ways. Within five months of publication, the ASC wrote to Animal Liberation (NSW) informing them of a complaint they had received about the advertisement from the Australian Pork Producers Association (APPA) which claimed the advertisement distorted the facts. The ASC supported the APPA and asked the Media Council to

instruct all media outlets under its jurisdiction to refrain from publishing the pig advertisement.

Not surprisingly, other animal protectionists have found it difficult to advertise their issues in the mainstream press which is anxious not to offend its advertisers. In recent years, Animal Liberation( NSW) came under attack by egg producers when the group paid for billboard advertising space at railway stations to protest against battery hen cages. Anti-vivisectionists have also complained that vested interests ensure that their attempts to place advertisements in newspapers are frustrated. These interests are usually powerful and occupy positions of influence as farmer-politicians, doctors who serve on editorial boards of media organisations or in powerful lobby groups in agribusiness or the medico-science fraternity.

One conclusion we can draw from these examples of media coverage of animal welfare issues is that social movements can never rely on mainstream media for publicising their campaigns either in the form of paid advertisements or as news features. Animal protection SMOs are therefore obliged to produce their own media, for as Rootes (1984) observed, it is unlikely that marginalised groups will ever have the capacity to dictate how the media represent their grievances. Yet some animal protection organisations, despite the limitations of their size and power, do succeed in using the mass media to promote their cause. In the previous chapter we have seen how media-SMO relations were crucial to the conduct of individual campaigns. In the campaigns run by FARM and MRAR, the SMOs made effective use of national and local media outlets for what Lemert calls "mobilizing information"(1984). What these small grassroots groups lacked in size and militancy, they made up for in novelty; by taking advantage of the media's appetite for the dramatic and sensational, they ensured

their message reached an audience much larger than they could ever hope to engage using the conventional techniques of small-scale activism like leafletting or letter writing. Similarly, a small, grassroots animal rights/conservation group in Victoria, the Coalition Against Duckshooting (CADS), has succeeded in having its grievances incorporated in the electronic media. The Coalition's media campaign – which is aimed at mobilising anti-hunt emotions – is discussed in the remainder of the chapter.

### **Duck Wars: A media-driven campaign**

For more than a decade duck rescuers have been confronting duck hunters on the wetlands of Victoria, the home of duck shooting in Australia. In 1986, a small group of Victorian conservationists confronted 90,000 duck shooters in an attempt to draw media attention to the alleged indiscriminate slaughter of Australian wildlife. By 1994, the number of shooters had been culled to 21,000 while the number of rescuers in the Coalition had risen to 300. The Coalition attributes the changing status of the duck-shooting fraternity to that of an endangered species to the success of its media campaign, particularly the television images which bring home to viewers every duck season the Coalition's duck-rescue operation. Early in the year during the lead up to, and in the first week or two of the opening of the duck-shooting season, "Duck Wars", as the media have dubbed it, feature nightly in the news broadcasts (Munro, 1995b).

All social movement organisations and interest groups seek to use the mass media for gaining public support (Ryan, 1991). Klandermans argues that social movement organisations profoundly affect media discourse by framing the issues, defining the grievances and staging the collective actions that attract media attention (1992: 88). The Coalition's close to total reliance on the media for the success of its campaign runs the risk of its message being distorted or ignored all together. Several theorists have

warned activists in other interest groups which utilise the media in their causes of the dangers inherent in media-driven campaigns (Rootes, 1984; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Gamson 1992; Tarrow, 1994). However, as a former television cameraman, the Coalition's director Laurie Levy understands how the medium works as well as how to exploit the camera so as to maximise the emotional appeal of animal rescue images. In this, the Coalition is perhaps unique as a grassroots social movement organisation in that its leader is a former media professional adept at using the media to the advantage of the activists.

According to Kielbowicz and Scherer (1986), the media are important to social movements in three crucial ways: first, the media are needed in building public support (mobilisation of consensus) and in attracting new supporters to the movement (mobilisation of action); both audiences are targeted by the Coalition as it seeks to win moral support from the general public as well as to mobilise new campaigners to take part in the duck-rescue operations. Second, media coverage provides symbolic links with other actors, for example, by putting pressure on policymakers. Levy places great store in favourable newspaper editorials, because *the only way you influence government in this country is by having the public on your side.... And of course, it's only with those sorts of editorials that governments really start to take action* / Interview, 1994. Finally, the movement's internal relations benefit - for instance, in the boosting of morale - when activists see that the media take their issues seriously. Levy understands and exploits these benefits by giving the media what they want - the dramatic, emotion-laden images of animals in distress. Two contrasting images, according to Levy, turns the tide in favour of the rescuers:

*One, a duck shooter dressed up as a soldier carrying a semi-automatic shot-gun or a pump-action shot-gun, shooting down a small defenceless bird. The other*

*image is of the rescuer coming out with a wounded bird over his or her arm. That second image, that one of compassion, concern, kindness, courage, will always beat an act of violence in the eyes of the public, and it doesn't matter how many PR companies that the shooters pay to put their point of view, that's the image that they can't beat. / Interview, 1994.*

By placing their bodies metaphorically and sometimes literally between the hunters and the ducks, the duck liberationists remind viewers that wildlife has a right to live, that the birds have intrinsic value rather than being objects or trophies. A duck rescue action, like Greenpeace's dramatic whale rescue operations, is an "image event" (De Luca, 1999). According to Robert Hunter, a one-time director of Greenpeace, an image event is a "mind bomb" that "explodes in the public's consciousness to transform the way people view their world" (1999:18). What is striking about the contrasting images that Levy alludes is the vulnerability of the duck rescuers as they confront the heavily-armed shooters. Doherty (2000) has argued that "manufactured vulnerability" is part of the tactical repertoire of contemporary eco-activists who engage in tree-sits and lock-ons and put their bodies on the line when they use tunnels and tripods in direct action campaigns. Duck rescuers are also vulnerable to assault when they seek to thwart angry duck hunters in pursuit of their quarry. In carrying out this tactic of "manufactured vulnerability", activists inevitably attract the attention of the media who are in search of dramatic images of confrontation.

#### **Getting the media's attention: Duck (Liberationist) Shoots Man!**

In the televising of environmental and animal rights issues in Australia, excluding nature programs, only ecological disasters or calamitous threats to wildlife attract serious media attention. Only high-profile, spectacular stunts such as those staged by Greenpeace achieve the level of publicity needed to keep environmental issues in the

public eye. More mundane stories therefore are of little interest to television journalists, either as themes in prime time television soap operas (Rissel and Douglas, 1993) or in news bulletins. What the electronic media have dubbed the "Duck Wars", is an exception to this indifference. It is axiomatic that whatever the cause a single-issue movement seeks to promote in the media, it must be newsworthy. In choosing between the narratives of duck-shooting and duck-rescuing, "man shoots duck" will not appeal to the networks in the way that the metaphorical "duck (liberationist) shoots man" does. This latter story suggests the unexpectedness and difference that are essential to a good news story (Van Zoonen, 1996: 208).

In the 1993 and 1994 seasons there were approximately 50 ( 46 news and four feature) stories on local and national commercial as well as state- funded television. These stories - recorded by Reham Australia , a media monitoring company for its client the Coalition - represent a complete record of the television coverage of the 1993-4 duck-shooting seasons in Victoria. The comprehensive coverage provides an insight into how the emotive issue of cruelty to animals is framed in television news and feature stories.

The main grievances against duck-shooting protest are identified in the Coalition's campaign literature: first, it allegedly causes cruelty and suffering to waterbirds; second, it results in rare and protected birds being illegally shot; and third, lead pollution damages the environment (Levy, 1989:6). Social justice is the connecting thread to these moral, legal and environmental concerns, which according to Finsen and Finsen (1994:281), is the basis for the worldwide animal rights movement. Put differently, bloodsports, like vivisection and factory farming are perceived as social

problems which can only be remedied by collective action and the mobilisation of support in the public arena.

Television's demand for drama and conciseness means that there is little attempt to explain what motivates the social justice issues that drive the duck rescuers. Except for two important examples, the framing of Duck Wars as a "narrative of protest", was both ahistorical and decontextualised. In the first example, an early morning news bulletin by the ABC's *First Edition* was the first story to frame Duck Wars as something other than a law and order issue. Because the story ran for about 3 minutes and 15 seconds, there was a little more scope than in the usual two-minute items for the presenter to explore the issues. The second story which stood out as unusual in Duck Wars was a popular comedy program called *Live and Sweaty* in which Levy appeared as a guest. This story managed to extend the law and order frame to include the Coalition's central animal welfare and environmental concerns of social justice and the rights of nature; the program even provided space for a discussion, albeit in a jocular way, of vegetarianism and the structural impediments which the Coalition saw to changing the way wildlife is hunted as "game" by duck-shooters. Ironically, these two unusual stories suggest that it may only be possible for television to explore the reasons behind the Coalition's protest within the more leisurely early morning news edition or in a late night popular comedy. In none of the approximately fifty news bulletins was there anything which resembles the relatively "in-depth" discussion that was evident in these two stories. Instead, the news bulletins were characterised primarily by sound bites accompanied by a large number of dramatic visual images.

There were three distinct phases in the Duck Wars: in the pre-opening stories and in the description of the opening weekend to the duck season, the media framed the



coverage as a law and order issue in which the police prevented violence between two adversaries. The news stories which described the opening weekend continued the adversarial frame of the pre-season bulletins until it became clear that the predicted dangers to life and limb were unfounded. The non-violence was interpreted by the media as the "system works" frame which was used to reinforce the continuity of the pre-season's law and order narrative. In the final news stories of the narrative, the dominant imagery was of the "slaughter" and "carnage" inflicted on wildlife in the aftermath of "the war on the wetlands". Yet despite the media's distortion of the activists as protesters rather than animal rescuers, the Coalition believes that its cause is effectively promoted by the television images of "the slaughter of innocents" which play on people's emotions. That this is a realistic expectation is borne out by Mazur and Lee (1993) who argue that what the television audience remembers and is influenced by is the image rather than the content. And according to Lewis (1991: 140), media insiders agree that TV stories are seen rather heard by audiences.

*The emotional impact of the rescuers' frame*

*The visual pictures of what we do are stronger than reading it in black and white or hearing about it on the radio; nothing could compare to those (television) pictures, particularly ... wounded birds being rehabilitated. Things like that, it touches most people (Coalition activist / Interview 1994).*

This statement is testimony to the fact that the images of Duck Wars are *felt* viscerally rather than experienced as intellectual responses, for as Szasz (1994: 63) says of the news consumer, "the strong visual and emotional components dominate; attitude formation takes place without much need for detail in the cognitive component". More than at any stage in the media's representation of Duck Wars, the Coalition's shaming

rituals which followed the opening weekend highlight the duck rescuers' denouncement of duck-shooting as morally, legally and environmentally reprehensible.

In the last phase of the coverage, the law and order narrative is superseded by atrocity stories which the Coalition knows will resonate in a culture in which cruelty to animals is abhorred. Images of slaughtered animals are used by animal rights activists to function as "moral shocks" in an appeal to the viewing public's moral intuitions (Jasper, 1990:25). Images in this context are more potent than words. De Luca (1999) has criticised the tendency in communication and rhetoric studies of television to focus on the words rather than the images. In what follows, I draw attention to the images which the Coalition contends are what drives their successful mobilising efforts. The images are derived from my content analysis of the television coverage of the 1993 and 1994 duck shooting seasons (Munro, 1995b). The first news bulletin in the third and final phase of the coverage reported the Coalition's ritualistic display of dead protected birds as follows:

#### TV IMAGES

*Levy holds a dead bird to the camera while other protesters display dead birds outside the Premier's office. In the background are members of the public and camera crews filming the scene.*

*Shot of dozens of dead birds on the footpath; some are held up to the camera by different protesters. The dead ducks are lined up in neat rows in the fashion of the war dead. A large stain of dried blood is clearly visible on the footpath.*

*Cross to a lake scene where a shooter carries a dead bird from the water and another shooter successfully downs a duck which skims across the water as it falls. The shooter wades out to retrieve the bird. Three protesters - two female and one male - follow suit.*

The meaning of these images of death was discussed in a later feature program. The feature ran for four minutes (*The Today Show*), during which Levy and another activist were interviewed at length by a sympathetic reporter. The format of this info-tainment

program, unlike regular news bulletins, gave the Coalition an opportunity to highlight the cruelty of duck season. Levy and a female rescuer were filmed holding dead or injured birds as they spoke.

The Coalition rightly believes that images of "the innocent victims" of recreational hunting elicit powerful emotional responses from people who abhor cruelty to animals. The sight of the "casualties of war" being laid to rest in the manner of the war dead is intended to function as a "moral shock" – a shaming ritual that is repeated after the opening of every duck season:

#### TV IMAGES

*Levy in a kneeling position prepares to lay out a large swan. The camera shows protesters laying out the birds as members of the public look on. There are close-ups of the ducks as Levy displays one for the camera and delivers his message:*

*Voice-over: Duck hunting is a dying activity and duck hunters themselves have become an endangered species.*

A later bulletin referred to the Coalition bringing its "grisly message to the seat of power", namely the office of the Victorian Premier. Like most of the stories in the final phase of the coverage, the verbal report in this segment appeared to be balanced and objective. However, as was often the case in Duck Wars, the visual images accompanying the commentary gave the story its emotional energy:

#### TV IMAGES

*Levy is filmed on hands and knees as he lays out dead birds with other rescuers assisting. The ducks are kept in large drums along the footpath where a mat has been laid out for the birds. Close-ups of the birds shows dozens of ducks and at least one swan. Other protesters hold up the birds to the camera while a crowd and camera crews look on. Cross to Lake Cullen where shooters in a boat watch for birds while on the shore two police officers take the names of three protesters. Pan to another lake scene in which two protesters cruise along in their kayaks attempting to rescue the ducks (see Note 4)*

In these visual sequences, the recurring images of Duck Wars - hunting, rescuing and policing - were seen in the context of the aftermath to the duck-shooting season. The display of dead birds in close-up was one of the powerful moments in the coverage which the Coalition used to mobilise support for banning duck shooting. For most people, it would seem, the image of birds as "subjects who feel the world" to use Charles Birch's (see note 5) apt description, is preferable to the carnage of recreational hunting which the Coalition presents after the opening of every duck season in Victoria.

Activists believe that these images of slaughter juxtaposed alongside the sequences of duck rescue, serve as prods to action by mobilising people to support their cause. According to Levy, many people contact the Coalition offering support after these images are televised. The Coalition claims that the image of compassion (duck rescue) in contrast to the image of violence (duck shooting) resonates with a public that has come to see the killing of wildlife for "sport" as another unwanted feature of an increasingly violent society. Thus, for duck liberationists, the fleeting images of animal rescue and rehabilitation provide a dramatic emotional message when contrasted to the sights and sounds of hunters shooting and retrieving their quarry. The Coalition believes that these opposing images, rather than the words of the actors in Duck Wars, cause many people to support and join their animal-rescue campaign. While the verbal narratives distort the nature of the Coalition's campaign by representing it as a law and order issue, the visual images graphically reflect the activists' protest as an animal liberation campaign against cruelty and for compassion. As director of the Coalition and its principal spokesperson, Laurie Levy skilfully provides the media with newsworthy images and sound-bites that largely determine how the campaign is framed in the television news.

*Hot cognition in the framing of Duck Wars*

In waging its campaign against duck shooting, the Coalition has opted for a media-driven campaign to promote its cause as a rescue operation designed to appeal to viewers' emotions. Activists study media reports of their campaign, particularly Rehome's television footage, so as to mobilise people to take action on behalf of their cause. For the Coalition, the key mobilising strategy is to promote their campaign as a duck-rescue operation rather than simply as an anti-duck shooting protest. "Rescue", and its association with saving (animals') lives in the tradition of Noah's Ark and the Red Cross strikes a responsive chord in a culture which values kindness to animals. Levy knows that duck rescue has an emotional appeal which conventional protest lacks and that the idea of duck liberation is sufficiently novel to attract media attention.

The Coalition seeks to construct its protest as a choice between compassion and violence, between justice and injustice. These universal themes are translated in the cliché of television coverage as an emotional issue between human protagonists whose emotions are said to be running high. Interestingly, Levy does not see this as a case of the media trivialising the basic principles of the animal rights movement. On the contrary, he believes that the success of the Coalition's rescue operation depends on how much emotional energy it generates because -

*there's a lot of emotion tied up with the electronic media ... Television is the most powerful of them all, mainly because of the visual aspect and the emotional side of it (Interview / 1994).*

The metaphor of "rescue in a war zone" allows Coalition activists to frame their anti-duck shooting protest in a way that will motivate people to join, or at least support their cause. Animals, as many animal protectionists and conservationists realise, have

extraordinary appeal to ordinary people. Jasper and Poulsen (1995), point out how animals function as condensing symbols and how images such as caged puppies, wounded wildlife and "crucified" monkeys are presented by animal protectionists as a "suffering of innocents" master frame in order to convey the "moral shock" needed for the first stage in the recruitment of strangers. Television news stories and features are well equipped to produce the kinds of images described earlier. As we have seen, these images have the character of "a hot cognition" - images that move people to act against a perceived injustice.

### **Conclusion**

Throughout this thesis supporters of animal rights have explained in their own words why they were drawn to the animal movement and what continues to motivate their commitment to the cause of animal welfare. This chapter has focused on the affective work of activists, of how they shape and mobilise the emotions of both insiders and outsiders. This is the movement's "call to action" which appeals to people's moral sensibilities and values. Emotions are important in the animal movement's motivational frame, for values "are cognitions fused with emotion" (Collins, 1990: 27). Emotions are mobilised through advertising stories- powerful stories and atrocity tales, in both fictional and non fictional forms - which animal protectionists have used during their movement's history. The detailed discussion of the Coalition's campaign against duck shooting is a classic example of a media-driven protest that relies on the power of images to prod people into action. Emotion is central to that campaign as it is in others discussed in this study.

It is appropriate to end these thematic chapters with an analysis of this anti-hunting campaign. In ancient times, ducks were described as "prophets of the wind", a

suitable metaphor for the duck-rescue operation in Victoria and for the anti-hunting campaigns in the UK and the USA. Of the three campaigns discussed in the present study, opposition to recreational hunting is the most likely to be won in the short term. Several movement leaders described it as a "winnable issue", which unlike the campaigns against vivisection and factory farming, has widespread public support. More so than these other campaigns, the campaign against bloodsports is primarily media driven and emotionally charged. However, all three seminal animal campaigns illustrate how activists and advocates engage in social problems work in prosecuting their claims. The campaign against bloodsports for example, while characterised in this chapter as media driven affective work, nonetheless includes intellectual and practical work. There is perhaps no need to labour the point that defending ducks on moral, legal and environmental grounds requires cognitive skills of the highest order. Similarly, the practical work of duck protection – harassing duck hunters, manoeuvring kayaks and the like – is basic to the duck rescue operation. But most important for this campaign and others discussed in the thesis, is the notion of affective work which is concerned with the mobilisation of people's emotions. It is for this reason that opposition to cruelty – and the emotional responses it generates - continues to be the activists' main weapon in the quest for animal rights.

## Endnotes

**Note 1:** I witnessed an incident where scientists attempted to emotionalise their rationality at an animal welfare conference in Melbourne in 1993. I subsequently wrote this up in "Hands up those who have pets!" *Proceedings of the Animal Welfare Conference*, Animal Ethics Unit, May, 1993 Monash University, Clayton, Melbourne. Far from seeing emotion as a weakness, many ecofeminists insist that "a maternal epistemology" involving caring and even anthropomorphism represent the "different voice" which women bring to debates about the rights of animals. This is an idea which many animal liberators have appropriated and while it would be alien to most animal researchers, emotions are nevertheless used by scientists in pressing their claims. A good example of this occurred during a heated debate in which Peter Singer spoke against animal experimentation; an angry scientist jumped to his feet and exclaimed that scientists had feelings and were not the overly rational brutes that animal liberationists made them out to be. It was then that he asked the audience of mainly scientists to put up their hands if they had pets.

**Note 2:** I have attempted to answer this question in Munro (2001a) "Caring about blood, flesh and pain: Women's standing in the animal protection movement", *Society & Animals*, Vol 9, No 1, pp 43-61.

**Note 3:** This BBC documentary "Animal Wars" was broadcast on the ABC's *Landline* in 1996. The coverage of the campaign against live animal exports revealed how the protesters had begun to target the homes of the lorry drivers who took the animals to market. The compere saw this as a new development in "animal welfare" and condemned the protesters as "radical and vicious".



Note 4: These excerpts of "TV IMAGES" are from my content analysis of the "Duck Wars" as covered by the electronic media in Victoria during the duck seasons of 1993 and 1994 in Munro (1995).

Note 5: Charles Birch is an eminent Australian scientist and author of *Regaining compassion for humanity and nature* (1993) and *Feelings* (1995). He used the phrase in a radio broadcast to promote his latest book.

## CONCLUSION

*If you want drama, get a movement; if you want results, get an organisation (Saul Alinsky)*

This conclusion summarises the conceptual arguments used in the thesis and the key insights and significance of the study as well as offering some suggestions for further research. The thesis began with the question as to how and why people campaign on behalf of a species that is not their own. Why people are passionate about animal welfare has to do with the love/work couplet that was mentioned in the opening sentence to the introduction. Love corresponds to the commitment to the cause of animal welfare that activists demonstrate in the various campaigns described throughout the thesis. Time and again, informants interviewed in the study professed their love of animals, while for others, it was their opposition to cruelty that drove their activism. Thus activists were motivated by a compassion for or a caring about "the brute creation" and a desire to care for individual animals. The need to care for animals was satisfied by a minority of informants in the "hands on" context of animal welfare organisations like the RSPCA and the National Canine Defence League.

For the vast majority of people in the present study however, caring for animals was made possible by the activist and advocacy work they did in grassroots groups and more formal social movement organisations. One of the activists in the study described her colleagues as "*people who care about animals and are prepared to politicise that caring*". This caring work was conceptualised in the thesis as social problems work, which like conventional work, involves intellectual, practical and affective dimensions. Social problems work, as defined in the thesis, is profoundly political as it challenges

the cultural codes and social values of the society. This is the case whether the issue is animal rights, the environment, peace activism, feminism or any issue in the new social movement field. Social problems work is what activists in contemporary movements do when they seek to initiate social change by solving social problems. One of the contributions of the thesis is the use of this concept to link the social construction of a social problem (speciesism) to social movement theory. Speciesism, or more colloquially, animal abuse, is diagnosed as a social problem by movement entrepreneurs in the same way that civil rights activists and feminists construct racism and sexism as societal ills.

It was argued in the thesis that the animal movement frames its grievances on three levels. First, the diagnostic frame is the movement's analysis of what is wrong with speciesism, specifically in vivisection, factory farming and bloodsports, the three seminal campaigns of the mainstream animal movement. The thesis suggests detailed answers to this question from the perspective of movement insiders and campaigners, individuals who are often overlooked by social movement theorists. As indicated in the literature review, a social problems discourse has characterised animal protection throughout its history; contemporary animal liberation constructs animal exploitation as a social problem in contrast to less sympathetic interests who perceive the animals themselves as the problem and the animal-using industries which claim the animal movement's campaigns against cruelty are divisive and a threat to human rights. The movement's cognitive praxis or core identity was analysed by using three representative case studies, the Animal Welfare Institute (welfarist tradition), Animals Australia (animal liberationist tradition) and Animal Aid (animal rights tradition). These exemplary social movement organisations were used to highlight the intellectual work

of the movement and to explain how movement entrepreneurs make alternative forms of knowledge count.

Second, the movement's prognostic frame was described in two thematic chapters which outlined the broad strategies of publicity and interference that are characteristic of the early and contemporary animal movements. Following Tilly (1985), the thesis emphasised what the movement does, rather than why it does it, although this too featured in the testimonies of the informants in the study. In explaining the movement's action repertoire as the tactical mechanisms of persuasion, protest, non-cooperation and intervention, the thesis demonstrated that the mainstream animal movement is overwhelmingly non violent, despite conventional media opinion. Furthermore, it is rare in the social movement literature for scholars to focus on what Tilly (1985) describes as the action repertoire, namely the movement's strategies and tactical mechanisms. This thesis therefore makes a contribution to social movement literature in the way intended by Tilly.

Third, the movement's motivational frame or call to action was analysed as affective work in which emotions played an important part. An attempt was made to describe the emotions of protest and the emotional tone of the animal movement. It was argued that the animal movement is characterised by an emotional energy based on participants' emotional commitments, "animal" identities and affective bonds. Throughout the thesis, the reliance of social movements on the mass media for achieving their objectives was emphasised; in the final chapter this issue was analysed within the context of a campaign to protect Australian wildlife from recreational hunters. This case study revealed the dynamic relationship which exists between a social movement organisation and the electronic media and demonstrated how dramatic

television images help to mobilise people's emotions and prod them to support the cause. More work needs to be done on what Van Zoonen (1996) calls "the dance of death" between new social movements and the mass media. My research suggests that media-movement interaction does not need to result in the media's distortion of the movement's issues as is often the case for protest movements.

The thesis makes a contribution to the small literature on the sociology of animal rights. To my knowledge, apart from myself, there are only five sociologists (Tester, 1989; Richards, 1990; Scarce, 1995; Einwohner, 1997; Kew, 1999) who have completed doctoral dissertations on the topic of animal rights. As indicated in the introductory chapter, it was Tester's imaginative, but highly speculative thesis which inspired the present one. I wanted to challenge Tester's arguments that the animal movement is not about animal welfare at all but rather about people attempting to classify humanity and define themselves as superior human beings. By allowing movement insiders to speak for themselves, the present thesis contributes to a more authentic account of what constitutes the contemporary animal movement's ideology and practices. This study is also unique in that for the first time it compares the perspectives of activists in the case study countries, Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. One of the most interesting findings from the survey data is that there is a high degree of ideological consensus in the case study countries, particularly in what the movement sees as the most objectionable human (ab)uses of animals. Another important related finding concerns the levels of social movement advocacy/activism in the case study countries which are represented as follows:

USA: **Advocacy>Activism**; UK: **Activism>Advocacy**; Australia: **Activism+Advocacy**

Despite these differences in the campaigning styles, the movement is united in its programmatic campaign against the worst features of speciesism. While the movement ideologically is divided between welfarist, liberationist and rightist traditions, these different strands are held together by the campaign against speciesism. The thesis argues that the origins of opposition to speciesism can be found in Humphrey Primatt's (1776) treatise *The Duty of Mercy and the Sin of Cruelty*. The literature review seeks to demonstrate that the three main strands of animal welfare, liberation and rights have been shaped by a social problems discourse that goes back at least as far as Primatt in the eighteenth century.

One of the limitations of the present thesis is that it does not address the countermovement that has emerged to challenge animal rights. Elsewhere (Munro, 1999b) I have argued that the countermovements against animal liberation are engaged in a contest over moral capital. Moral capital is a concept that should be explored more fully than was possible in the present thesis. For example, Jasper (1997) contends that protest movements like animal rights provide us with ethical visions and moral ideas. These issues need to be researched from both sides of the animal rights divide as those supporting the countermovement such as Alan Wolfe (1993) also claim the high moral ground in asserting the rights of humans over non human animals.

Related to the issue of moral capital, Garner (1998a: 467) notes that the animal movement, because of its non human focus, faces a severe challenge in forming alliances with other social movements. Garner also argues that the unique "altruism" of the animal movement is something which "limits its ability to attract widespread public support" (1998: 468). In a similar vein, Goode (1992) contends that the animal rights movement lacks the moral resources which are needed if people are dramatically to

change their attitudes and practices in regard to animals. He suggests, for example, that people are too attached to eating meat for any major impact to be made on factory farming by animal rights advocates. Yet animal movement leaders insist that progress has been made and point for example, to the increasing numbers of people who are converting to a vegetarian or vegan diet for ethical reasons. The growth in vegetarianism as a social phenomenon – and to a lesser extent, veganism – is an issue that lends itself to interesting research, particularly in relation to the various reasons people have for going vegetarian.

An assumption in the thesis has been that the success of new social movements cannot be measured by their immediate political efficacy. Their more decisive achievement is that they challenge cultural codes and open up new areas for cultural contestation. In the case of the animal movement, activists and advocates have succeeded in transforming a previously exotic philosophical issue into a social problem that is taken seriously by increasing numbers of people, at least in Western democracies. At the turn of this century, animal rights has been identified as one of “the best ten ideas” of the 1990s (Appleyard, 1995: 19) and has prompted the historian E S Turner to comment on the extraordinary progress of the movement in the last two hundred years:

It is astonishing how many creatures, from whales to hedgehogs, now have their own pressure groups. In the face of traditional mockery, vegetarianism has made extraordinary advances, not least among the young. The cause of animals has disturbed the calm of company boardrooms, sown self-doubt in universities, driven airlines and airports to show respect for their animal freight, rattled the defenders of ritual slaughter, and caused unwonted and unwanted, rifts in bodies like the National Trust (Turner, 1992: 318).

Garner (1998: 463-4) however has argued that the countermobilisation of agribusiness, the animal research industry and the hunting lobby has probably reduced the effectiveness of animal rights campaigns. Even so, there is also the argument that the

existence of these countermovements is a sign of the animal movement's strength (see Munro, 1999a). Yet it has to be acknowledged that the concept of animal rights remains a predominantly Western phenomenon. Further research is needed on embryonic forms of animal activism in the less developed world as well as in non-Western societies. For example, at the time of writing, the issue of cat-and dog-eating in South Korea has been raised on their website by Animals Australia.

The important role of women in the animal movement's seminal campaigns was suggested throughout the study, but further work on this issue is needed before drawing any firm conclusions about the role of gender in animal issues. The massive overrepresentation of women in the worldwide animal movement needs more explanation than was possible in the thesis. Elsewhere (Munro, 2001a), I have argued why women have good standing in the animal movement but this was an exploratory study which needs following up.

As indicated in the thesis, critics of animal liberation have stereotypically labelled animal activists – most of whom are women – as too emotional. While this is little more than a tactic to denigrate the movement's concerns, the role of emotion is nonetheless an important issue that has been neglected by social movement theorists. Groves's work has been cited in the thesis as an exception. His most recent observations in Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta (2001), along with several other chapters in *Passionate Politics*, provide several leads for further research on the role of emotions in social movements.

Another broad issue about which little has been written concerns the outcomes and consequences of social movement activism. A beginning has been made by Giugni (1998) who contends that few studies have addressed the broader cultural and



institutional effects as well as the indirect and unintended consequences of social movements. Elsewhere, Giugni, McAdam and Tilly (1999) have begun to address the gap in the literature with a comparative study of movement outcomes and consequences while Einwohner (1997) stands out as the only sociologist to have addressed this issue in the context of the animal rights movement. Further research is needed on the animal movement's achievements over the past three or four decades as well as the impact of the movement on the growth of ethical vegetarianism, a topic I have briefly addressed elsewhere (Munro, 1993/4).

Finally, I have found the concept of social problems work to be very useful in analysing activism and advocacy in the animal movement. It would be of great interest to test the utility of the concept in other contexts, for I believe that new social movements and their issues, provide people in the early twenty first century with the opportunity to do socially useful work in ways suggested by James, Veit and Wright (1997), Meyer and Tarrow (1998) and Franklin (1999). Whatever the issue – patriarchy, racism, violence, the degradation of nature and so on – the concept of social problems work in grassroots activism and organisational advocacy is likely to feature prominently in movements for social change in the twenty first century.

## APPENDIX 1 : Interview Schedule

For each interview I referred to a list of ideas/topics which I phrased as questions or used as prompts to elicit data on (a) individuals and (b) on organisations :

### Individuals

What's in a name? Do you distinguish between animal liberation, animal rights, animal welfare?

When did you first become involved in the movement?

Do you see animal rights as a social movement? Do you feel you belong to a larger movement?

When did you first get involved in the movement?

Why did you get involved?

Was there a "fateful moment" that you can remember? (an event? an experience ? an issue? a particular animal?)

How did you come to be involved?

What is it that motivates you now to support the cause?

What's it mean to you to be an activist or a supporter?

Has belonging to the movement changed your life in any significant way? (diet, family, friends , costs or benefits to involvement?)

Have you experienced any moral dilemmas as a result of being in the movement? (eg companion animals? tensions associated with exposing cruelty ? any contradictions eg eating meat?)

Can you describe what's involved in a campaign? (ie what actually goes on in planning a campaign etc. what sort of work is involved - practical, intellectual, emotional ?)

Do you go looking for instances of animal exploitation? (ie do you go out of your way to expose cruelty?)

Is campaigning a way of life for you? (daily bread and daily meaning?)

Is it a sacrifice?

What do you think are the most difficult obstacles for the movement to overcome?

If there was "one thing" you could do to improve the wellbeing of animals what would it be ?

How important is the media in campaigns on behalf of animals?

How important is moral support as opposed to financial support for the movement?

Is there anything you'd like to ask me? ( I actually asked this question rarely and only when I thought the interviewee appeared curious about the project).

### **Organisations**

*Organisational resources:* How does the organisation build up its human and material resources?

*Organisational structure:* What is the basic structure of the organisation? (eg hierarchial, non-bureaucratic, grassroots).

*Mobilization of members:* How does the SMO attract supporters and members? Does the SMO's public image or ideology affect membership drives?

*Issue selection:* How does the SMO select its campaigns? Is it single-issue or multi-issue in orientation?

*Issue solution:* How does the SMO resolve issues such as what tactics to use?

*Alliance options:* Does the SMO have strong alliances with other environmental or animal groups?

*Political tactics and strategies:* What are the broad strategies preferred by the SMO? (eg public education, persuasive communication, research and submission writing, coercion, media outreach etc). What specific tactics are used in different campaigns? (eg undercover surveillance, protests, demonstrations, media exposés etc).

**APPENDIX 2: ANIMALS AND SOCIAL ISSUES SURVEY**

## ANIMAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES SURVEY

**THIS SURVEY IS FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY**  
**THE INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE IS CONFIDENTIAL and NO**  
**INDIVIDUAL WILL BE IDENTIFIED IN THE DATA ANALYSIS**

The number on the survey is for office use only. Its sole purpose is to ensure that those who return the questionnaire by the requested date (see last page) will not be sent a reminder thus saving on postage and paper. The number will be deleted from the questionnaire as soon as it is received.

NOTE: For convenience the term 'animal' is used in this questionnaire rather than non-human animal and the terms animal rights/animal welfare imply the same thing. Similarly, the animal movement means the same as animal rights/welfare movement.

### ATTITUDE TOWARDS ANIMALS

These questions concern attitudes towards human uses of animals. Consider each of the following statements. Please respond to each statement by **CIRCLING ONLY ONE** number which best represents **YOUR** opinion on a scale of 1 (**EXTREMELY WRONG**) to 7 (**NOT AT ALL WRONG**).

		Extremely Wrong					Not At All Wrong	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Hunting wild animals with guns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Keeping a dog or cat as a pet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Using animals in cosmetic and other beauty product experiments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Using steel-jawed leg-hold traps to capture wild animals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	De-sexing a pet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Killing rats in a residential area	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Eating meat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	Killing an animal to make a fur coat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	Selling unclaimed dogs from animal shelters for use in medical experiments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Raising cattle for food in feedlots	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Killing cockroaches in a residential area	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Using horses for jump/steeple racing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	Keeping animals in zoos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	Exposing an animal to a disease as part of a medical experiment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	Raising cattle for food on open range or pastures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		Extremely Wrong					Not At All Wrong	
16	Using animal organs in human transplants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	Keeping hens in battery cages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	Purpose-breeding animals for use in research	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	Transporting live sheep long distances by ship	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	Using wildlife for commercial purposes (eg. emu and ostrich farming)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	Killing kangaroos for meat or skins	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	Use of poisons for feral animal control	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	Intensive pig farming involving close confinement or tethering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	Operations on animals without anaesthetic e.g. mulesing, branding, dehorning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

#### INVOLVEMENT IN ANIMAL ISSUES

In this section I'd like to ask some general questions about your involvement in animal welfare. Please circle the appropriate number.

25 Have you ever been a fee-paying member of the RSPCA?

1. currently a fee-paying member
2. previously a fee-paying member
3. never a fee-paying member

26 Are you, or have you ever been a fee-paying member of ANZFAS?

1. currently a fee-paying member
2. previously a fee-paying member

27 Do you currently belong to any ANZFAS MEMBER SOCIETY?

- 1 YES If yes, what is the name of the main one including state branch if applicable  
.....
- 2 NO

28 Approximately how many animal welfare/rights organisations do you currently belong to? (estimate only).....

29 Roughly, how many years have you been involved in the animal movement? .....(years)

Please indicate in the next questions whether or not you HAVE EVER DONE any of the following things on behalf of animals by CIRCLING (1) YES or (2) NO.

- 30 Worked on a voluntary basis in any animal welfare society?
  - 1 YES
  - 2 NO
- 31 Contributed money to animal welfare in addition to ordinary fees?
  - 1 YES
  - 2 NO
- 32 Written or contacted government officials on behalf of animals?
  - 1 YES
  - 2 NO
- 33 Taken part in an animal rescue operation (e.g. duck rescue)?
  - 1 YES
  - 2 NO
- 34 Participated in a peaceful protest?
  - 1 YES
  - 2 NO
- 35 Damaged or destroyed property where animals were confined (eg battery hen facility)?
  - 1 YES
  - 2 NO
- 36 Other? (Please describe) .....

37 Which of the following best describes HOW YOU FIRST BECAME INVOLVED in the animal rights/welfare movement? If more than one response applies, CIRCLE ONLY THE SINGLE MOST SIGNIFICANT factor.

- 1 Through contact with an animal rights activist who was a friend or acquaintance
- 2 By directly writing or phoning an animal rights/welfare organisation
- 3 After reading Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation*
- 4 Other (Please describe) .....

38 What is the issue or factor which is CURRENTLY the most important one in motivating you to continue supporting the animal movement? Please describe below:

### IMPROVING THE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS

The following questions concern how **JUSTIFIED** you think these efforts to improve the treatment of animals are. For each of the efforts, please **CIRCLE** the appropriate response on the 1 to 7 scale where 1 is **NEVER JUSTIFIED** and 7 is **ALWAYS JUSTIFIED**.

		NEVER JUSTIFIED In Improving The Treatment of Animals				ALWAYS JUSTIFIED In Improving The Treatment of Animals			
39	Peaceful demonstrations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
40	Destruction or damage to farm property	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
41	Boycotting businesses which trade in animal products, the production of which has caused cruelty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
42	Media promotions such as television	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
43	Taking or releasing animals from research laboratories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
44	Developing animal awareness education programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
45	Destruction or damage to research laboratories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
46	Campaigning to change the law	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
47	Taking or releasing animals from farms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

The following questions concern how **EFFECTIVE** you think these same efforts to improve the treatment of animals are. Please **CIRCLE** the appropriate response on the 1 to 7 scale where 1 is **NEVER EFFECTIVE** and 7 is **ALWAYS EFFECTIVE**.

		NEVER EFFECTIVE In Improving the Treatment of Animals				ALWAYS EFFECTIVE In Improving the Treatment of Animals			
48	Peaceful demonstrations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
49	Destruction or damage to farm property	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
50	Boycotting businesses which trade in animal products, the production of which has caused cruelty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
51	Media promotions such as television	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
52	Taking or releasing animals from research laboratories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
53	Developing animal awareness education programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
54	Destruction or damage to research laboratories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
55	Campaigning to change the law	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
56	Taking or releasing animals from farms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

### LIFESTYLE AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

In this section, I would like to know your opinions regarding your **LIFESTYLE** and various **SOCIAL ATTITUDES**. Please **CIRCLE** the number which best indicates your position.

- 57 Which of the following most closely describes your lifestyle? I am:
1. a vegan (I do not consume any animal flesh or use any animal product)
  2. a vegetarian (I eat no animal flesh)
  3. an ovo-vegetarian (I eat eggs but no animal flesh)
  4. a lacto-vegetarian (I eat dairy products but no animal flesh)
  5. an ovo-lacto-vegetarian (I eat dairy products, eggs, but no animal flesh)

- 58 If none of the above, how often do you eat meat (including fish and poultry)?
- OFTEN  
1                      OCCASIONALLY  
2

- 59 Do you currently own a pet/companion animal?

- 1 No
- 2 Yes





For the next questions, please indicate **HOW MUCH YOU AGREE** with each statement by **CIRCLING** the appropriate response where 1 is **STRONGLY DISAGREE** and 7 is **STRONGLY AGREE**.

		Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
60	Being involved in the animal welfare movement is a way of life to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61	Being involved in the animal welfare movement is very satisfying to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62	Being involved in the animal welfare movement has meant making a number of personal sacrifices	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63	Religion is very important in my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64	Of all the forms of animal abuse, meat eating is the worst	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65	On the whole, scientists do more harm than good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66	Moral support from the public is more important than financial support in ensuring the success of the animal rights movement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
67	For the animal rights movement to succeed it must get wide media coverage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please **CIRCLE** the appropriate response to the following question.

68 In politics today, what do you consider yourself?

- 1 Labor supporter
- 2 Liberal supporter
- 3 Australian Democrat supporter
- 4 Independent supporter
- 5 National Party supporter
- 6 Greens supporter
- 7 None of these

69 How do you see yourself in the animal movement? (Please circle ONE only) I am:-

1. an activist on behalf of animals
2. an advocate for animals
3. a supporter rather than an activist or advocate
4. other (please describe) \_\_\_\_\_

## PERSONAL PROFILE

Finally, I would like to ask a few questions about yourself. This information will be used for statistical analysis only. **AS WITH ALL YOUR RESPONSES** in this survey, this information is **STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL** and your anonymity is assured. Please **CIRCLE** the appropriate response.

70 What is your **CURRENT** marital status?

- 1 Married
- 2 Never married
- 3 Separated or divorced
- 4 Widowed
- 5 Defacto relationship
- 6 Single

71 What is your sex?

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

72 How many people **NOT INCLUDING YOURSELF** live in your household?

\_\_\_\_\_

73 In which country were you born?

- 1 Australia
- 2 Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

74 Do you have any children?

- 1 No
- 2 Yes

75 Where do you **CURRENTLY** live?

- 1 In a rural setting eg. small acreage farm
- 2 In a small town (under 10,000)
- 3 In a small city or town (between 10,000 and 50,000)
- 4 In a medium size city (50,000 to 250,000)
- 5 In a capital city

76 What is the **HIGHEST** level of education you have completed (Please circle only one).

- 1 No school, or primary school (grades 1 through to 7)
- 2 Some high school (grades 8 through 12)
- 3 Completed high school
- 4 Completed post secondary course eg. TAFE apprenticeship or trade
- 5 Some under-graduate work at university
- 6 Completed a tertiary degree at university
- 7 Completed a post-graduate or higher degree

77 What is your **CURRENT PAID** employment status?

- 1 Full-time paid work
- 2 Part-time paid work
- 3 Currently not in paid work
- 4 Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

78 Please describe your **CURRENT MAIN** occupation, that is, the kind of work you do for most of the time, whether paid or unpaid:

.....

79 What age group are you?

- 1 Under 20
- 2 20 to 29
- 3 30 to 39
- 4 40 to 49
- 5 50 to 59
- 6 60 or over

80 Finally, please **CIRCLE** the response that best describes your **PERSONAL ANNUAL INCOME** from all sources **BEFORE** taxes.

- 1 under \$10,000
- 2 \$10,000 to \$19,999
- 3 \$20,000 to \$29,999
- 4 \$30,000 to \$39,999
- 5 \$40,000 to \$49,999
- 6 \$50,000 to \$59,999
- 7 \$60,000 or more

Your participation is greatly appreciated. If there is anything else about animal issues you would like to comment on please use the space below for your comments.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP  
PLEASE RETURN THE SURVEY IN THE ENCLOSED SELF ADDRESSED, PRE PAID ENVELOPE BY  
**10 NOVEMBER 1995** TO:

LYLE MUNRO  
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
MONASH UNIVERSITY GIPPSLAND CAMPUS  
CHURCHILL, VIC. 3842

## APPENDIX 3: Figure 3.2 Coding Tree

## A Activism

1. Labels	2. Movement	2. Movement	3. Change	4. Contradictions
A <sub>1</sub> anlover	A <sub>2</sub> America	A <sub>2</sub> ideology	A <sub>1</sub> attitude	A <sub>4</sub> individil
A <sub>1</sub> hybrid	A <sub>2</sub> Anaid	A <sub>2</sub> individan	A <sub>3</sub> class	A <sub>4</sub> movdil
A <sub>1</sub> liberation	A <sub>2</sub> Austral	A <sub>2</sub> leaders	A <sub>3</sub> gender	A <sub>4</sub> purity
A <sub>1</sub> name	A <sub>2</sub> beliefs	A <sub>2</sub> meanact	A <sub>3</sub> global	A <sub>4</sub> sacrifice
A <sub>1</sub> protection	A <sub>2</sub> belonging	A <sub>2</sub> motiv	A <sub>3</sub> mentality	A <sub>4</sub> satisfaction
A <sub>1</sub> rights	A <sub>2</sub> Britain	A <sub>2</sub> purity	A <sub>3</sub> obstacles	A <sub>4</sub> work
A <sub>1</sub> self	A <sub>2</sub> change	A <sub>2</sub> size	A <sub>3</sub> practices	
A <sub>1</sub> welfare	A <sub>2</sub> critics	A <sub>2</sub> solidarity		
	A <sub>2</sub> future	A <sub>2</sub> SMO		
	A <sub>2</sub> Gandhi	A <sub>2</sub> race		
	A <sub>2</sub> gender	A <sub>2</sub> religion		
	A <sub>2</sub> goals	A <sub>2</sub> speciesism		
	A <sub>2</sub> identity	A <sub>2</sub> unique		
		A <sub>2</sub> Western		

## B Activists

1. Motives	1. Motives	2. Becoming	3. Doing	4. Vegetarian
B <sub>1</sub> abuse	B <sub>1</sub> foxhunt	B <sub>2</sub> animals	B <sub>3</sub> animals	B <sub>4</sub> conversion
B <sub>1</sub> altruism	B <sub>1</sub> Gandhi	B <sub>2</sub> calling	B <sub>3</sub> burnout	B <sub>4</sub> ethics
B <sub>1</sub> anger	B <sub>1</sub> identcon	B <sub>2</sub> conversion	B <sub>3</sub> courage	B <sub>4</sub> health
B <sub>1</sub> animalov	B <sub>1</sub> injustice	B <sub>2</sub> fatemom	B <sub>3</sub> danger	B <sub>4</sub> justice
B <sub>1</sub> books	B <sub>1</sub> nonviol	B <sub>2</sub> firstinvol	B <sub>3</sub> direction	B <sub>4</sub> lifestyle
B <sub>1</sub> caring	B <sub>1</sub> pets	B <sub>2</sub> leaflets	B <sub>3</sub> emotion	B <sub>4</sub> meat
B <sub>1</sub> compassion	B <sub>1</sub> selfint		B <sub>3</sub> feelings	B <sub>4</sub> motiv
B <sub>1</sub> conscience	B <sub>1</sub> sanctity		B <sub>3</sub> frustrat	B <sub>4</sub> vegan
B <sub>1</sub> cruelty	B <sub>1</sub> Singer		B <sub>3</sub> fun	B <sub>4</sub> veget
B <sub>1</sub> empathy	B <sub>1</sub> socprob		B <sub>3</sub> guilt	B <sub>4</sub> youth
B <sub>1</sub> ethics	B <sub>1</sub> suffering		B <sub>3</sub> nervrack	
B <sub>1</sub> exploit	B <sub>1</sub> vegan		B <sub>3</sub> obsess	
	B <sub>1</sub> veget		B <sub>3</sub> speakout	
			B <sub>3</sub> strident	
			B <sub>3</sub> violence	
			B <sub>3</sub> waylife	
			B <sub>3</sub> witness	
			B <sub>3</sub> work	
			B <sub>3</sub> worstabuse	

## C Advocacy

1. Work	2. Supporters	3. Specissue	4. Genissue
C <sub>1</sub> animals	C <sub>2</sub> animals	C <sub>3</sub> antiviv	C <sub>4</sub> animals
C <sub>1</sub> bureaucrac	C <sub>2</sub> costs	C <sub>3</sub> bathens	C <sub>4</sub> anresear
C <sub>1</sub> burnout	C <sub>2</sub> friends	C <sub>3</sub> cats	C <sub>4</sub> benefits
C <sub>1</sub> challenge	C <sub>2</sub> money	C <sub>3</sub> circus	C <sub>4</sub> BSE
C <sub>1</sub> critics	C <sub>2</sub> moralsup	C <sub>3</sub> dogs	C <sub>4</sub> evil
C <sub>1</sub> grassroots	C <sub>2</sub> resonance	C <sub>3</sub> duckshoot	C <sub>4</sub> future
C <sub>1</sub> liaison	C <sub>2</sub> respectability	C <sub>3</sub> elephants	C <sub>4</sub> genetic
C <sub>1</sub> meanadv		C <sub>3</sub> faranimal	C <sub>4</sub> humane
C <sub>1</sub> obsess		C <sub>3</sub> fur	C <sub>4</sub> McLibel
C <sub>1</sub> paidadv		C <sub>3</sub> hunt	C <sub>4</sub> property
C <sub>1</sub> research		C <sub>3</sub> laban	C <sub>4</sub> purpbred
C <sub>1</sub> satis		C <sub>3</sub> leghold	C <sub>4</sub> research
C <sub>1</sub> smobeg		C <sub>3</sub> livexport	C <sub>4</sub> science
C <sub>1</sub> success		C <sub>3</sub> pets	C <sub>4</sub> transport
C <sub>1</sub> technol		C <sub>3</sub> vivisect	C <sub>4</sub> welfare
C <sub>1</sub> volunteer		C <sub>3</sub> whale	C <sub>4</sub> zoos
		C <sub>3</sub> wildlife	

## D Campaigns

1. Strategy	2. Tactics	3. Media	4. Alliance	5. Conflict
D <sub>1</sub> abortion	D <sub>2</sub> ALF	D <sub>3</sub> animals	D <sub>4</sub> class	D <sub>5</sub> colleagues
D <sub>1</sub> easycamp	D <sub>2</sub> bans	D <sub>3</sub> images	D <sub>4</sub> ecofem	D <sub>5</sub> commerce
D <sub>1</sub> diffissue	D <sub>2</sub> celebrity	D <sub>3</sub> medinter	D <sub>4</sub> environ	D <sub>5</sub> corporations
D <sub>1</sub> Gandhi	D <sub>2</sub> direct	D <sub>3</sub> mediaimp	D <sub>4</sub> gender	D <sub>5</sub> courts
D <sub>1</sub> goals	D <sub>2</sub> drama	D <sub>3</sub> mediastunts	D <sub>4</sub> kindred	D <sub>5</sub> critics
D <sub>1</sub> legal	D <sub>2</sub> educ	D <sub>3</sub> violmed	D <sub>4</sub> networks	D <sub>5</sub> dirtywork
D <sub>1</sub> legislation	D <sub>2</sub> flim		D <sub>4</sub> prolife	D <sub>5</sub> environ
D <sub>1</sub> nonviol	D <sub>2</sub> huntsab		D <sub>4</sub> RSPCA	D <sub>5</sub> govern
D <sub>1</sub> onething	D <sub>2</sub> info		D <sub>4</sub> veget	D <sub>5</sub> greed
D <sub>1</sub> reform	D <sub>2</sub> leader		D <sub>4</sub> vets	D <sub>5</sub> hunters
D <sub>1</sub> shame	D <sub>2</sub> risk			D <sub>5</sub> journalists
D <sub>1</sub> singleissue	D <sub>2</sub> lobbying			D <sub>5</sub> opposition
	D <sub>2</sub> moralshock			D <sub>5</sub> police
	D <sub>2</sub> PETA			D <sub>5</sub> politics
	D <sub>2</sub> shaming			D <sub>5</sub> public
	D <sub>2</sub> undercover			D <sub>5</sub> scientists
	D <sub>2</sub> videos			D <sub>5</sub> statepower
	D <sub>2</sub> war			D <sub>5</sub> violence

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