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## The Political Animal: The Animal Rights Movement and Public Policy

Dorothy Jean Simnett

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The Political Animal:  
The Animal Rights Movement and Public Policy

by

Dorothy J Simnett

A Dissertation Presented to the  
College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences of Nova Southeastern University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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2019

**Nova Southeastern University**  
**College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences**

This dissertation was submitted by Dorothy J. Simnett under the direction of the chair of the dissertation committee listed below. It was submitted to the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences and approved in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University.

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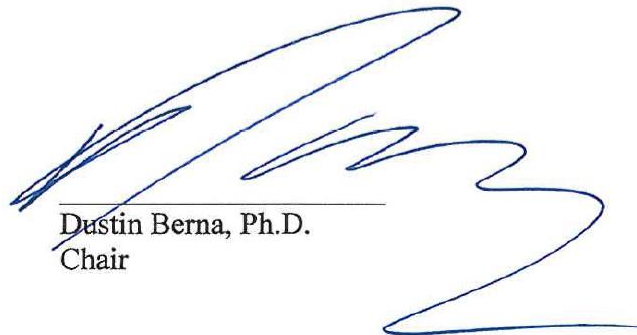
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## Dedications

This research project is dedicated to the memory of family lost since its commencement: my parents, Bill and Grace; my brother, Ron, my stepson, Nick; my mother-in-law, Blanche. I miss them so, and I hope they would have been proud.

Especially in memory of my wonderful dogs; Sandra Dee, Chancer, Katrina, Jelly Bean and Hope; their footsteps have left an indelible mark on my spirit and resolution.

And to those innocent non-humans who have suffered and died at the hands of humans; I apologize on behalf of a species still learning.

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## Abstract

Social movements are consequences of social conflict. This project examines the conflicting and contentious efforts of animal rights activists at changing public policy and it evaluates the successes and failures of the animal rights movement. Animal rights activists' challenges concerning animal rights, animal welfare and animal protection, combined with divergences from the special interest consortiums compounded by societal norms will all be addressed here. Furthermore, none of this has been previously addressed in the field of Conflict Resolution. This project highlights the challenges that animal rights advocates encounter when attempting to safeguard animal protective measures. The power struggle between animal welfare and animal rights organizations and efforts by powerful lobbies from consumer groups, industries, factory farms, and research universities in efforts to preserve profits and advance research and medicine will be researched as a conflict between interests and values. This qualitative case study examines conflicting dogma in addition to goals, successes, and failures as defined by animal rights activists concerning animal welfare struggles and animal rights activism. This project also examines the foundations of the opposing efforts for de-regulation by industrial farming, hunting organizations and gun enthusiasts and compares specific, animal welfare effects, both positive and negative, on public policy. This study explores the seemingly intractable differences between powerful special interests and non-governmental agencies involved in animal welfare/rights, The Humane Society of the United States, American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, and the Animal Legal Defense Fund.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### **Chapter Introduction**

The systemic and methodical use, abuse, and exploitation of animals has proliferated worldwide. Animal abuse in the United States has many forms; so too have the organized campaigns against their abuse. The goal of this project is to show the importance of animal rights, the conflict within the animal rights movement, and the need to use conflict resolution to protect them. This research is a qualitative narrative/case study that explores the conflict between the animal rights activists and those in opposition to animal rights. It also explores the conflicts, victories, and disappointments of the animal rights movement as told by animal rights advocates, newsletters, legislative victories or losses, and current issues among the four top rescue/rights animal rights organizations: PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), HSUS Humane Society of the United States), ASPCA (American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), and the ALDF (Animal Legal Defense Fund). The challenges animal rights advocates and their organizations face when pressing legislators for policy change or pressing corporations to change their usage of animal products show the importance and need of conflict resolution. This study examines the successes, failures, and current issues of animal rights organizations along with the advocates' perceptions of the difficulties they face and the causes they believe inhibits the movement's progress and failures. This project builds on the animal rights movement's diverse representation and policy information via published newsletters and it considers the opinions and statements of animal rights advocates who have tried to normalize animal welfare and the successes and failures they have experienced when tackling the contentious consequences of non-

activists. This investigation will go on to explore public policy regarding specific animal protection concerns and the animal rights movement. This study also addresses the rationale behind policy decisions by examining values and interests-based conflict when comparing sample legislative accounts.

Conflicts can arise over valued means, ends, how goals are achieved, or how/what decisions should be made. Conflict Resolution literature addresses those interest/value conflicts as the more challenging to resolve. In fact, large scale conflicts have historically been triggered by clashes of identities, differences in ethnic, culture and religious identities. Interest-based conflicts are sometimes negotiable when related to power or wealth distribution, but identity conflict that is frequently based in culture and religion, may be mitigated but seldom resolved. Nan's "Consciousness in Culture-Based Conflict and Conflict Resolution" (2011) addresses culture and conflict. The author stresses culture awareness as fundamental in understanding and engaging in conflict resolution by focusing on culture-based conflict. Increasing awareness results from using consideration of self in relation to others, discourse, interests as related to rights, interests as related to negotiation, consciousness of needs, and consciousness of the other and may be useful when considering a worldview and how it identifies the conception of nature, self, society, and world (Nan, 2011, p. 244). Awareness of cultural paradigms is essential when working with parties who have different religious and cultural views on animal rights and animal use. Conflict resolution practice includes a balance of support for the validity of parties' views. Interests are defined as the underlying concerns and desires that negotiators seek to resolve, but also need to articulate, even if they seem obvious (Coltri, 2004).

Entities responsible for regulating animal protection promote values. Value conflicts are disputes over personal beliefs and deeply held values. They can be difficult to resolve if the values involved are central to self-concepts or world views of the disputants or if coupled with other sources of conflict or those held by groups and with which groups have strong identification (Coltri, 2004). Value conflicts include personal, community, or societal beliefs and values. These conflicts involve differences in what groups believe, from minor differences in preferences to major cleavages in principles, ideologies, or ways of life (Fisher, 2006). Global societies and those cultures within the United States are composed of diverse social and religious groups who have their own practices, preferences, beliefs and priorities. The question is, which group is the dominant group, and how does that group choose to deal with these differences, perhaps by forcing their cultural norms on other groups? Power conflict often occurs in political arenas when each group wishes to maximize its influence, with the struggle for dominance resulting in a victory for some, a defeat for others. The dynamic of a win-lose orientation becomes apparent and is often distinguished using negative power-threat, deception, or manipulation-as opposed to positive power, such as persuasion, use of valid information, and consideration of pros and cons of alternative actions (Fisher, 2006, p. 180). This is especially relevant when it addresses animal use and welfare.

The concept of ethnocentrism as it relates to humans, in the form of group identity, can glorify in-group members but denigrate, discriminate against, and reject those who are unlike the group, often generating oppressed groups. This research shows that the greatest oppressed group may be non-humans. Individuals in intergroup conflict may engage in misperceptions that accentuate group differences, developing negative

stereotypes of each other. Often, cognitive biases are passed down generations. There may be a tendency to see outgroup members as personally responsible for negative behavior; personal characteristics that are the focus of attribution tend to be group qualities that are embodied in the negative stereotype (Fisher, 2006, p.182). The role of group leadership in intergroup conflict is also an essential element of decision making. Aggressive leaders may come to the forefront, while accommodating leaders tend to lose power and influence. Resistance to resolution can result in contentious behaviors through strengthened commitments to the group; the barrier to conflict termination is the fault of the other group.

Regulating animal use and legislating welfare often invokes moral conflict, which is defined as a conflict in which groups in conflict have “incommensurate moral orders...a moral order is the theory by which a group understands its experience and makes judgements about proper and improper actions (Pearce & Littlejohn, 1997, p. 51)” (as cited in Fisher-Yoshida & Wasserman, 2011, p. 561). Moral conflicts are typically intractable. Public moral conflicts, (sometimes termed culture wars), ethnic conflicts, ideological conflicts and intractable conflicts are created when people publicly take opposing sides of a values-laden issue (Fisher-Yoshida & Wasserman, 2011, p. 561). Recognition of views of the opposing side in a moral conflict requires the capacity to see beyond one’s own viewpoint and to accurately represent and respect those of the other. Often, the most moral choice is not the most practical choice; the moral order of group’s argument directly opposes those of another.

Chapter One introduces the concept of conflict and conflict resolution within and about the animal rights movement, the cost of conflict and how it affects public policy.

The animal rights movement, its values, history and fundamental foundation is presented as a new social movement. The key research questions are introduced. Key terms specific to the animal rights movement are defined. Finally, chapter one outlines the importance of this study. Chapter Two consists of the literature review and theoretical framework. It examines all relevant literature; specifically, the social movements and new social movement literature. Literature is reviewed to provide links with the animal rights movement with other social and rights movements, past and present. By examining the history of animal use and abuse, this chapter establishes a base and grounds for conflicts including religion, political partisanship, culture and economy. Chapter Three provides the research methodology, including how the study was conducted. The case study criteria and interview format in research are discussed in this chapter. The twenty interview questions are listed here. Responses to the questions are codified to determine thematic content that answer the research questions. Chapter Four consists of the themes that emerged from the interview question responses. This chapter also considers data of other sources; i.e. journal articles, newsletters, websites of animal rights and welfare groups. Chapter Four places equal importance on the thematic summary of those sources; both data source and interview response themes are compared for validity and analysis, combined to generate the most prominent themes collected during this project and for future consideration. Chapter Five concludes the research project. It examines the study's results, discusses the emerging themes and how they apply to the research questions, but more importantly, how they apply to the field of conflict resolution. The project's limitations, ethical issues and recommendations for future studies is contained within this chapter.

## **The Cost of Conflict**

Governmental policy supporting the “use and ownership” of animals in agricultural states is typically a result of farm lobbying interests and agricultural profits; less effective have been the “pro-animal” efforts of Humane Society Legislative Fund and the ASPCA’s Legal Advocacy Department. It is important to question if policy, by way of negotiation, can be altered that will protect animals and reduce unnecessary animal suffering as well as satisfy human interests. The question that concerns animal cruelty is not that cruelty itself is not a universal, deplorable act; the basis of the values conflict is (the recognition of) animal welfare and rights (if animals are afforded rights) and what defines cruelty vs. “necessary suffering” for human interests, and the dependence and demand for animal products. This study examines certain struggles existing between encouraging humane awareness and prevention of animal cruelty and those special interests who minimize or even negate animal suffering to provide profitability.

Society has historically considered animals as property to be used as food, apparel, a source of entertainment, sport, and/or profit. While animal protection definitions vary significantly, current and specific efforts by advocates are generally considered short-term efforts or increments to achieve the long-term goal of animal rights. The research, via case study interviews with animal welfarists and rights advocates, discusses the conflicts and problems. The intent of this research is to highlight the values and interest conflicts between animal welfare supporter organizations and special interest groups that argue against it, cultural or religious beliefs, principles, dogma and attitudes, and if, when, and how those conflicts are promulgated.

Previous research that addresses how or if animal welfare policy has been affected by the efforts of the Humane Society of the United States was begun by M.D. Allen in 2005. Her results develop from a case study involving quantitative and qualitative methods in which the legislative efforts were measured. Her research utilizes the case study methodology via interviews of advocates to examine the movement's efficacy and effectiveness. Allen (2005) argues that despite the animal rights movement's status as a major movement, there has been no thorough examination of its political influence. Her study explores the political tactics and strategies of contemporary animal rights movements in the United States and its policy impact. Not unlike this project, Allen (2005) explores the history of the movement, animal rights activists, and attention it has attracted since 1975. She explores American public opinion on animal rights issues. Unlike this project, although she examined how animal rights groups in different regions of the country have framed the movement's policy issues, she did not examine the culture of politics in America. She examines the influence of the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) on specific legislation and its presence or influence in state policymaking but does not significantly address federal policy efforts. Positing that any plan to give animals legal rights is destined to fail, she concludes the movement's long-term goal may be successful in changing the status of animals through the expansion of tort law as it relates to companion animals (2005). However, Allen does not address incremental goals in animal welfare. Allen (2005) studied the politics behind the contemporary American animal rights movement and concedes the movement has utilized some traditional political strategies, although animal rights groups have historically found it difficult to bring about significant legislative change on animal rights. As the HSUS was successful



in some states' adoption of animal cruelty felony laws, it demonstrates how animal welfare, as opposed to rights groups, can play a significant role in state legislation (Allen, 2005, n.p.). Anti-cruelty laws are not consistent-or even existent-throughout the United States. Allen concedes that the animal rights movement has been most effective at policy change using state ballot initiatives and grassroots activists who work on state change. Her research considers the impact of judicial review regarding change in tort law and the property status of animals. Allen (2005) discussed the impact of media and how the animal rights movement can profit from exposure. This project does not consider state referendums; it merely addresses the conflicts of the public policy efforts. Allen's (2005) research concludes with proposals of how the movement needs to improve in several areas in order to sustain or increase its policy success on behalf of animals. She also found the typical animal rights activist to be female, white, well-educated, young to middle-aged, affluent or middle class, and employed in a professional occupation (Driscoll, 1987; Gallup & Beckstead, 1988; Galvin & Herzog, 1998; Peek, Bell, & Dunham, 1996, p. 465; Pious, 1991, 1998; Jamison & Lunch, 1992; Kruse, 1999; Lowe & Ginsberg, 2002; Nickell & Herzog, 1996; Peek, Konty, & Frazier, 1997, as cited in Allen, 2005). Allen also indicates that the movement may be failing to attract new, younger members (Galvin & Herzog, 1998, as cited in Allen, 2005). Current sources reveal the opposite: younger supporters have become more environmentally concerned and politically savvy and are more likely to join forces with humane organizations. But, as was the case in 2005, the movement continues to face intense opposition from the enormously wealthy and powerful agricultural and scientific communities.

Allen suggests that the animal rights movement is at a crossroads and “its continued success rests on its willingness and ability to establish a clear understanding of its goals, to bring together a broader base of advocates, to sharpen its political and legal skills, and to frame its issues for the broadest possible appeal (Finsen & Finsen 1994, pp. 257- 258; McLellan, 1996)” (as cited in Allen, 2005). She suggests future research should investigate the perspectives of elected officials towards the animal rights movement and its goals, and this project does address their perspectives. This research reiterates Allen’s (2005) statement regarding animal rights groups that have turned their attention to congressional lobbying and suggests how recognition of policy makers interests and values affecting their vote can help in negotiation and conflict resolution skills. Her statement regarding how the movement works to advance the collective interests of another species, and how social scientists might expect that rational people would not join animal rights organizations (Gamer, 1998, pp. 70-71; Olson, 1965, p. 2, as cited in Allen, 2005), is provocative, in that this research emphasizes equality of species rather than speciesism as her statement implies. Allen’s (2005) research fails to differentiate between animal rights and animal welfare. This distinction is important, as it denotes two dissimilar approaches, philosophies, and supporters. Allen’s research begs for a case study approach to what the lawmakers’ belief systems are and how they affect views on animal welfare, rights, and ultimately, legislation. Allen’s research briefly mentions geographical differences in animal rights supporters but does not consider the culture effect on policy and public influence. Speciesism is an important concern in animal rights, and its relevance to animal rights and animal protection needs to be further explored.

The problem of animal cruelty, offenders, and law is discussed in J.L. Horton's (2009) case study in animal welfare and welfare progress; it primarily addresses companion animals, but also touches on wildlife, laboratory animals, and animals in agriculture. The study outlined the social history of abuse, welfare, social norms, and laws. In it, Horton (2009) considered theories for society's disregard for animal protection. She examined animal abuse in the context of mental illness, legal definitions of abuse, and specific offenses against animals and other offenses that utilize animals. She suggested that law enforcement is ill prepared to address animal cruelty, and cruelty cases are not priorities in courtrooms. Factory farming is a problem that has become the frontrunner in animal welfare concern, and Horton addressed the issues facing activists. Animal experimentation, Horton claimed, has decreased as of the date of her thesis, yet experimentation (vivisection) has increased to the point where the United States leads the rest of the world in this area. Horton (2009) reviewed legislation that has not efficiently been enforced, i.e., The Animal Welfare Act and The Slaughterhouse Act, and detailed Robert Garner's (2004) positions on animal rights, suffering, and violations against humane treatment. Additionally, Horton discussed animal rights organizations' attempts at exposing cruelty through media and prosecution. The study included statistics of offenses against animals as found in Pet-Abuse.Com (2009, as cited in Horton, 2009). This is a database for animal cruelty cases in the United States and illustrates where, what type, and how many (reported) animal abuse cases occur. In 2008, it appeared that Florida was the state most prolific in animal cruelty (2009). Horton (2009) mentioned the involvement of the FBI, the HSUS, Animal League Defense Fund (ALDF), and the

American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) as organizations participating in investigating abuse cases as well as rescues of abused animals.

Providing additional research into animal welfare, McGrath's (2013) "Behaving Like Animals" examined problems with defining animal cruelty in the United States, focusing on conflicting ideologies, cultures, backgrounds, positions in the field of animal use, and confusion regarding cruelty. McGrath (2013) examined four practices of animal use: malicious animal abuse, cockfighting, intensive animal agriculture, and the harming of animals on film (2013, p.iii). The case studies illustrated acts of cruelty and kindness, suffering and sentience. All fifty states have some sort of animal cruelty code, but it eludes federal regulation. McGrath addressed religion and Aquinas and the views of animal suffering and mentioned infamous cases of animal cruelty, evil, and one that ended as a serial killer. This case study was more a psychological view of society and violence toward animals and omitted public policy application.

### **The Animal Rights Movement as a New Social Movement**

Three movements-welfarist, pragmatist, and fundamentalist-make up the animal protection groups (Anderson & Herr, 2007). The animal rights movement has its origins in early animal welfare organizations. Welfarists accept most uses for animals while believing pain and suffering should be minimal. Among welfarist groups, the most visible and influential are the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), and its offshoot, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, as well as the Humane Society of the United States. The primary objectives of these groups are legislation and public policy, humane education, and sheltering. The pragmatists believe animals should be used when the benefit outweighs the suffering, and they will support

the reduction of animal use through actions including political protest, legal actions and cooperation, negotiation, and acceptance of short-term or incremental policies. The fundamentalists are the animal rights groups People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF); their philosophy insists that animals should never be used, regardless of human benefits. While the different philosophies vary in focus and appear incompatible, the values apprise many of the goals of current animal welfare and rights groups today.

Prevention of cruelty to animals originated in England in the early 1800s. It grew alongside the humanitarian current that advanced human rights, including the antislavery movement, and later, the movement for woman suffrage. The first anti-cruelty bill was introduced in Parliament in 1800 in response to bullbaiting, a blood sport involving pitting a bull against another animal, usually a dog. This was followed by an act preventing cruelty to larger domestic animals such as horses and cattle. Two years later, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals helped enforce the law (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.).

Henry Bergh organized the American SPCA in New York in 1866 after the British model, hoping to nationalize the organization, but the ASPCA remained primarily an animal shelter program for New York City. Other SPCAs and Humane Societies were founded, originally concerned with enforcing anti-cruelty laws, but soon running animal shelters. The American Humane Association (AHA), with divisions for children and animals, emerged as the leading national advocate for animal protection and child protection services (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.).

As the scientific approach to medicine expanded, opposition to the use of animals in medical laboratory research and the anti-vivisection movement grew, but they were overwhelmed by the prestige of scientific medicine by the early twentieth century. The humane movement focused more on dogs and cats, as the use of horses as beast of burden declined and the keeping of pets increased. Humane groups flourished on an expanding base of pet lovers. While the growth of humane organizations led to conflicts over which principles of animal protection should be carried out, the Sierra Club, a group of younger members, were agitating to expand the advocacy mission of the American Humane Association (AHA) (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.). The Humane Society of the U.S. (HSUS) split from the AHA in 1954, and then suffered its own splits in the 1960s. The Society for Animal Protective Legislation (SAPL) was established in 1955 to lobby for the first federal Humane Slaughter Act (passed in 1958) and, together with the Animal Welfare Institute, also under the direction of Christine Stevens, SAPL has lobbied for every important piece of animal legislation since, including the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act (1966), the Endangered Species Act (1969), the Horse Protection Act (1970), the Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972) and their various subsequent extensions and strengthening amendments. This was followed by the growing interest in primates, stimulated by the highly publicized work of Jane Goodall with chimpanzees (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.).

The new animal rights movement, one of the new social movements springing from the post WWII era, was believed to be grounded primarily in what some would say sentimentality toward animals. But philosopher Jeremy Bentham had placed animals within his more rational utilitarian moral calculus of pleasure and pain, as seen in his

infamous quote: "The question is not, can they reason? nor, Can they talk? but, Can they suffer?" However, this philosophical grounding for human relations with animals did not flourish until the 1970s, when the humane movement began to find its first respectable intellectual and ethical underpinning in the work of philosophers Peter Singer and Tom Regan. Singer revived utilitarian thinking where Bentham left off, popularizing the concept of "speciesism" as a parallel to racism and sexism. Regan moved beyond the idea of animal welfare to argue the case for animal rights-not from utilitarianism, but in the natural rights tradition (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.).

The civil rights and women's liberation movements directed fresh attention to human rights and an extension of rights principles by analogy to animals, like protection for endangered species. Women make up some 75 percent of activists for animals, and it's not surprising that they've carried over language and lessons from the women's movement. Animal rights activists borrowed direct action tactics popularized by other movements and applied them to oppose laboratory experimentation on animals, wearing fur, factory farming (particularly confinement-raising of veal), and hunting.

Environmental groups like Greenpeace and the Sea Shepherd Society showed how to draw attention to marine mammals and other endangered species. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) emerged in 1980 as the most visible representative of the new militancy, with its demonstrations at the National Institutes of Health and as spokesperson for the underground activities of the Animal Liberation Front. Joyce Tischler organized the Animal Legal Defense Fund, but several important animal protection victories in the 1970s and 80s were the product of coalitions, not single organizations (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.).

Henry Spira, founder of Animal Rights International, and other groups in the Coalition to Stop the Draize Rabbit Blinding Test got cosmetics companies like Avon and Revlon to develop alternatives to the notorious Draize eye irritancy test, in which cosmetics, household cleaners, and other substances are dripped into the animals' eyes, often causing redness, swelling, discharge, ulceration, hemorrhaging, cloudiness, or blindness. Spira was drawn to the animals' cause by taking a class on animal liberation with philosopher Peter Singer. Applying his activist background, Spira organized his first campaign of demonstrations against animal experimentation at the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1976; the labs were closed in 1977. Spira's coalition then went on to obtain a repeal of New York State's Pound Seizure Law (Animal Rights Movement, n.d.). Next, the coalition took on the LD 50 test (the lethal dose of a toxic substance, which will kill half or more of a group of test animals), getting the Food and Drug Administration to review its policy and acknowledge that the test can be replaced by experiments using cell biology and other techniques. Spira's work helped introduce a new level of tactical and political sophistication to animal welfare advocacy.

As a new social movement, the new animal rights movement is still in an early stage of development. Many of the groups begun since the 1950s are in their first generation of leadership and manifested "founders' syndrome" to one extent or another. Competition is still heavy for available issue niches on animal experimentation, farm animals, hunting, zoos and circuses, fur, and animal testing. Questions of "purity" divide animal activists, particularly over whether animal welfare and animal rights are complementary or contradictory. Tom Regan upholds animal rights fundamentalism, a program of nothing less than a complete abolition of all exploitation of animals for human



purposes. Others, including PETA's Ingrid Newkirk, argue that cooperation with all allies, issue by issue, is the only path to victories for animals.

### **Research Questions and Proposition**

The problem statement concerns the conflicting interests between the movement's activists and the influential adversaries of animal welfare, the powerful interests that fuse public policy. In addition, conflict lies among the advocate groups' philosophies. My question asks: Has the animal rights movement and animal welfare advocacy affected public policy, and if not, why? What conflicts do advocates face?

Utilizing case study methodology, reviewing both document sources and interviews, my research questions ask:

1. How do advocates see their and their agency's roles in the animal rights movement? How did they become involved? How has their advocacy affected their lives?
2. How do advocates view the theory of animal rights as opposed to animal welfare and protection?
3. Do advocates see significant impact of the animal rights movement on public policy? How? If not, why? (political partisanship, economy, culture, religion?)  
What do they see as obstacles or conflicts that blocks animal welfare legislation?  
What is preventing animal protection from becoming public policy?
4. What do advocates hope to accomplish in the field of animal rights? What do they view as successes or failures? What do they see as the future of the movement?

5. Have advocates of the animal rights movement see the struggle comparable to the other rights or social movements, past or current, including the 1960's civil rights movement?
6. What conflicts do advocates see within the movement? What does the movement need to be more formidable?

I propose the following: Animal advocates recognize the obstacles to effecting animal protections. The promoters of animal rights/welfare/protection view the influence and successes of the animal rights movement as a positive example of change in public policy; however, not all advocates' assessments are similar. Animal rights advocates see changes merely as incremental stages toward the desired goal whereas animal welfare advocates see changes as success. Furthermore, advocates overall are unfulfilled due to the limited successes attained and attribute failure to political partisanship. They are overwhelmed and discouraged by the all-encompassing scope of animal abuse and lack of protection.

Interviews were conducted with members of the Humane Society of the United States, The Humane Society Legislative Fund, the Animal Legal Defense Fund, ASPCA, Best Friends, and other animal welfare and protection agencies to gather their concerns regarding conflicts that impede progress and how public policy is affected by the rights movements. Questions asked during the interviews will include how successes and failures of campaigns have been affected by interest/values conflicts that have affected policy decision or challenged progress in animal protection. What have these agencies and individuals found effective or ineffective? Inclusion criteria consists of persons (a) over 18 years old, (b) a member, volunteer, or staff of an animal shelter, welfare or

animal rights organization, or c) persons involved with public policy affecting animals i.e. legislator, community leaders.

### **Key Terms**

**Abolitionism:** a view that animal rights advocates consider achieving the complete liberation of animals.

**Anachronistic:** an event that is placed in a time where it does not appear to belong, as in misguided belief that Marxist philosophy was one of species imperialism, whereas Marxism does not address the place of nonhuman animals (Taylor & Twine, 2014).

**Animal Welfare vs. Animal Rights:** often confused or most likely used interchangeably, animal welfare addresses the need for humane treatment of animals, whereas animal rights addresses what some consider the context and basis of the Animal Manifesto (Bekoff, 2010), which has become the more controversial theme.

**Cognitive Ethology:** the science of animal behavior or a “branch of ethology concerned with the influence of conscious awareness and intention on the behaviour of an animal” (Cognitive Ethology, 2015). It is within this frame of mind that this study will propose animals’ awareness a consideration in all experimentation and “use” of animals.

**Deontological Ethics:** Philosophical ethics theory that place special emphasis on the relationship between duty and the morality of human actions.

**Econcentrism:** is a term used in ecological political philosophy to denote a nature-centered, as opposed to human-centered (i.e. anthropocentric), system of values.

**Environmental justice (or injustice in this case):** the creed that marginalized human communities, due to politics, economics, culture, and social pressures, experience disproportionately intense exposure to environmental risks (pollution, e.g.) associated

with industrialization. The injustice is the communities of color, immigrants, indigenous and working-class communities targeted by state and industry for negative environmental externalities (Nocella, Sorenson, Socha, & Matsuoka, 2007).

**Egalitarianism:** favors equality for all people and maintains that all humans are equal in fundamental worth or social status, either as a political doctrine that all people should be treated as equals and have the same political, economic, social, and civil rights, or as a social philosophy advocating the removal of economic inequalities among people, economic egalitarianism, or the decentralization of power.

**Green criminology:** Coined by Lynch (as cited in Nocella, et al., 2007), the study of harms against humanity, the environment, and against nonhuman animals committed by powerful institutions as well as ordinary people.

**Hegemony:** the dominance of one group over another, often supported by legitimating norms and ideas. In this case, it refers to human domination over nonhumans by legislation.

**Holistic ecological defense:** The holistic understanding of the world and its interlocking forms of oppression (Nocella, et al., 2007).

**#MeToo:** used on social media to help demonstrate the widespread prevalence of sexual assault and harassment, especially in the workplace. It followed soon after the public revelations of sexual misconduct allegations against prominent male figures in the entertainment business.

**Pedagogy:** the discipline that deals with the theory and practice of teaching; in this case, it refers to Critical Animal Studies in academia, particularly in animal ecofeminism and animal activism.

**Sentient:** one who perceives and responds to sensations of whatever kind - sight, hearing, touch, taste, or smell, the ability to feel or perceive things. For this study, it refers to the ability to feel pain and fear, pleasure and satisfaction.

**Telos:** the end term of a goal-directed process, as in an animal's natural life.

**Vivisection:** "the cutting of or operation on a living animal usually for physiological or pathological investigation; broadly: animal experimentation especially if considered to cause distress to the subject" (Miriam-Webster, 2017)

**Utilitarianism:** "doctrine that the useful is the good and that the determining consideration of right conduct should be the usefulness of its consequences; specifically: a theory that the aim of action should be the largest possible balance of pleasure over pain or the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (Hoffman & Graham, 2015).

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### Chapter Introduction

A literature review develops a case to establish or dispute a thesis by synthesizing current and prior literature pertaining to specific research questions. The thesis statement is a conclusion based on a case developed using existing knowledge, sound evidence and reasoned argument (Machi & McEvoy, 2012). The initial research hypothesis is either supported, disputed, or modified by a literature review. The basic literature review summarizes and evaluates existing knowledge on a subject, while an advanced review may challenge resources cited and previous research. It incorporates source evidence to further current paradigms or suggest future research. This project is partially constructed from prior research and published credible evidence that encourages further exploration of other sources, including interviews, conferences, statistical tables and records, and dialogue from parties of animal rights activism and legislative bodies. Another purpose for literature review is to construct theory and create an understanding of various positions of research design, choices, data collection, and analysis techniques, as well as foster an “understanding of the interrelationship between theory, method and research design, practical skills and particular methods, the knowledge base of the subject and methodological foundations” (Hart, 2014, p. 5).

To better appreciate and illustrate the conflict between the moral values and efforts of the animal rights crusade vs. the often-tenacious atmosphere of legislative representation and policy making, this project traces the theory of utilitarianism as related to politics, ethics and morality, and how the very same theory has application in the animal welfare line of reasoning. A history of the utilitarian theory, public policy, and

social movement theory is reviewed, as well as how both theories combine to better understand the past and present-day animal welfare movement and its confrontational efforts. This is done to help answer the underlying question of how the animal rights movement has affected-and been affected by-politics and the reasoning behind policy making. The resources addressed in this review focus on how political system members and anti-animal rights entities justify their positions and challenge animal rights, as well as the demands of the animal rights theorists and how they challenge past and present-day laws and regulations. The literature review is representative of diverse sources of conflict and philosophical theory and political theory. It includes culture and religious overviews on animals, initial animal rights discussions, and philosophies of major animal rights groups and special interest groups. Social movement history, including the civil rights movement, is explored to develop an understanding of the animal rights movements. The champions and opponents of animal protection, both past and present, are represented in the long history of the animal welfare crusade.

### **Animal Rights Theorists and Resources**

As a proponent of animal ethics and conservation, Victor B. Scheffer (2006) wrote his collection of essays, titled *Reflections on the Human Condition*, to contemplate several issues in contemporary humanity. For this research, it is his essay on animal rights that is of interest. He traced animal rights from the end of WWII-not only because of the war's extraordinary cruel acts, but because the cruelty led to the growth in liberation movements. Demands were made of the government to alleviate distress by disregarded groups such as women, ethnic minorities, blacks, disabled, poor and elderly. Concern for these marginalized groups spread to concern for animals and gave rise to

new nonprofit organizations. By 1983, nineteen American Colleges offered courses in animal ethics (Scheffer, 2006). However, there was little or no concern for animals at the federal level until 1959's Wild Horses and Burros Act, which prevented livestock owners poison waterholes, and the Airborne Hunting Act of 1971, which brought an end to the killing of animals from low flying aircraft (Scheffer, 2006). However, due to relaxed regulations under the current administration, this practice has now been approved in Alaska's wildlife refuges. The Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 was the first act of its kind to set a precedent for the right to make and enforce laws respecting the compassionate treatment of animals. It specified that seals, dolphins, whales, and other marine mammals were to be taken or held humanely, along with other specifications (Scheffer, 2006). Scheffer (2006) sees the birth of the animal rights movement as a reaction of Americans who felt helpless against the suffering of fellow humans.

### **Utilitarian Theory Research Resources**

Troyer's (2003) *The Classical Utilitarians: Bentham and Mill* elucidates the works of Bentham, the founder of "modern" utilitarianism, and Mill. Combined in a review of the utilitarian theory, utilitarian theory fosters its effects on political, economic, and legal reform and explains the "the system of logic, act vs. rule utilitarianism, and the more familiar theory of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (2003, p.92). Troyer's (2003) introduction states that Bentham remains the founder of the greatest happiness system of morals and legislation. The rational and moral theory remains significant in political processes, cost-benefit analysis, and economic decisions and has been applied to animal welfare by Singer (2009). Bentham's philosophy is simple: "happiness is just pleasure and the absence of pain" (Troyer, 2003, p.viii) and can be



justified quantitatively; it simply is a mathematical equation. “The value (or disvalue) of a pleasure (or pain) depends only on its intensity and duration and can (at least in principle) be quantified precisely” (Troyer, 2003, p.viii). Mill, on the other hand, determines the quality of a pleasure by appealing to “competent judges” (Troyer, 2003, p.95). The use of this book is a basis for the political ramifications of animal welfare controversy. This principle, as explained so succinctly, is anything but simple arithmetic; the conception of pleasure and pain cannot be measured objectively, particularly its intensity. It does, however, explain political ideology.

Utilitarianism is further explored in essays compiled by editor Alan Ryan (2004). In his introduction, Ryan states that Mill’s application of utilitarianism is the best known philosophical theory, that Mill’s clarification offers a short, readable explanation of the complex moral philosophy, and he suggests that it is known as the ultimate moral principle by philosophers and “plain men” (Ryan, 2004). Although the editor suggests that may be an exaggeration, it is believed to be the most common (yet unrealized by most as utilitarianism) applied moral application to contemporary politics. The numbers, or “utility,” concept suggest the merits of a political and moral action as determined by how much misery or pleasure the action causes, but often does not present in a positive manner; utility is more important than justice, aesthetics, equality, or humanity. Mill argued that Bentham’s strict utilitarian theory meant that all differences among pleasures can be quantified. He believed pleasure experienced by human beings differs in qualitative ways; those who have experienced pleasure of both sorts are competent judges of their relative quality. Mill’s enhancement to the theory of utility is more approachable, especially when considering the experiences of sentient.

Singer's *Animal Liberation*, according to Krister Bykvist (2014), highlights the way in which animals are treated in medical research and factory farming. Singer claimed the utilitarianism concern considers non-human suffering: "the question is not, can they reason? Nor, can they talk? But, can they suffer?" (Bykvist, 2014, p.103). In fact, Bykvist (2014) states, the impact of Singer's use of utilitarianism in animal ethics was that the downplaying of the importance of animal suffering is now seen as a form of speciesism, not unlike racism and sexism. Also discussed are the theories of Act Consequentialism, where the action performed is preferable only if that action outcome was better than any other alternative, and Sum-Ranking Welfarism, an equation much like pure utilitarianism, where the outcome X is better than outcome y only if the total sum of individual welfare contained is greater in x than y. The combination of the two results in preference act utilitarianism, which is based on promoting the satisfaction of preference, and the act is right only if the results are better than any other alternative (Bykvist, 2014).

Utilitarianism considers the pain of all beings; a living being is an object of moral concern by virtue of its sentience (Can they suffer?) because it can feel pain and pleasure. Furthermore, inflicting pain on animals is wrong in just the same way that inflicting pain on humans is wrong. It is the act, or pain, Bykvist (2014) states, that is bad, regardless of the identity or species of the being that suffers it (p. 249). Utilitarianism has been emerging as a philosophy in animal ethics. Kantian ethics require that the subject be a "moral being" in order to be considered worthy of moral law; non-humans are not moral agents, as they cannot reciprocate morality. The welfare of other sentient beings is morally relevant, but only by analogy, because what we do to animals reflects on our own

character. I found this sentiment to be a familiar theme in much of animal ethics literature and history.

### **The Utilitarian Theory and Animals Resources**

*Animal Liberation* by Peter Singer (2009) is considered the classic animal welfare standard that enhanced the animal rights movement. Singer's use of the utilitarian theory pushes forward the argument for consideration of all sentient beings. Singer urged recognition of animal capacity to suffer; animal interests. Singer (2009) discusses, in the afterword "Animal Liberation at 30", the "last remaining form of discrimination" and its relationship to Black Liberation, Gay Liberation, Women's Liberation and a variety of other social movements. He claims that ignoring animal suffering is universally accepted and practiced. Singer (2009) credits his book with the beginning of the animal rights movement. Singer takes stock of the current state of the animal welfare/rights debate over the moral status of animals and how effective the movement has been. Singer credits several "activists" with highlighting cases of abuse and calling attention to well-known instances such as the campaign against fur sales, or Henry Spira's campaign against the American Museum of Natural History's study on the sexual behavior of mutilated cats and testing of cosmetics on animals. Spira's background was in civil rights movements and unions, and he was concerned about the exploitation of the weak (Singer, 2009).

Singer (2009) reviews the lack of political involvement and change, emphasizing the need for political engagement in the animal welfare movement, even if the philosophical debate regarding animal welfare, animal rights, has been promising. He encourages that the interests of all beings be given equal consideration regardless of species. His final contemplations are disconcerting in that the consumption of meat is

increasing and the demand for meat worldwide puts animals in peril, as shown by the alarming rate of factory farming. The author considers the history of man's dominion over non-humans, originating from pre-Christian thought, Aristotle, and Aquinas, but mainly from Christianity's conviction that animals were put on earth to serve man (Singer, 2009). Being an animal welfarist rather than an animal rights activist, Singer stops short of professing egalitarianism for non-humans and human alike, claiming all animal's lives are equal and have worth in their suffering, based on the utilitarian principle. Singer (2009) insists that the interests of animals count, and that we cannot justify giving less weight to the interests of non-human animals than we give to the similar interests of human beings. However, Singer argues that subjective human preferences can occasionally outweigh the interests of animals. "If a being suffers, there can be no moral justification for refusing to take that suffering into consideration. No matter what the nature of the being, the principle of equality requires that its suffering be counted equally with the like suffering—insofar as rough comparisons can be made—of any other being" (2009, p.8). Singer's contribution to animal welfare, based on utilitarianism, links moral philosophy with political engagement and activism, but leaves numerous questions regarding the moral worth on non-humans, and leans toward anthropocentrism.

### **Social Movement Theory Resources**

Buechler's (2011) historical view of the social movement theory is especially relevant to the research design and application, as it connects social consciousness with practical application in legislation. As social movements have become increasingly central, Buechler traces the origins of social movement to his emphasis on transnational

activism. The author's statement regarding animal rights activism or child welfare movements as it pertains to the "substitution thesis", when one group acts on behalf of another's out of necessity, is pertinent to this research. Buechler (2011) states that this issue- overcoming a gap between movement leaders-often elites of some sort, and followers or activists and beneficiaries, is endemic to social movement organization. Culture has been considered apart from political protest. Buechler (2011) suggests the need to consider both culture and politics in considering social movement, stating that the three components of culture; cognitive beliefs, emotional responses, and moral evaluations are essential to animal rights movements and inseparable; they motivate, rationalize and channel political action (p. 203).

Buechler (2011) also discusses members' "burn-out" and factionalism within an animal rights movement. Movement leaders have turned to the internet and social media, maintaining continuity while also employing new strategies and tactics for collective action. The major animal welfare/rights organizations have become proficient at utilizing the internet for alerts, donations, political action, and disseminating information. The dramatic increase in social movement during the 1960s has not been sustained, according to Buechler (2011), even with the increase in new movements; i.e. gay and lesbian mobilizations, antiapartheid, animal rights campaigns. However, in recent years, social movement has literally exploded in the form of resistance movements, women's' rights movements, protesting anti-immigration regulations, and anti-white supremacy, etc.; it stands to reason that animal rights movements will again increase.

Tannenbaum's (2008) *Research, Advocacy, and Political Engagement* discusses general political engagement discourse and particularly addresses political engagement

through social activism and, as an integral part of a true liberal education, addresses both mind and heart to make informed, ethical decisions. In fact, Robert E. Corrigan, President of San Francisco State University (as cited in Tannenbaum, 2008, p. xiv), implies that a liberal education prepares students to act, and to do so while incorporating the values and needs and concerns of others. In fact, as Tannenbaum (2008) suggests, higher education must take the role of a player in a democratic society and impart those values in encouraging students to recognize themselves as part of the social fabric, to consider social problems to be in part their own, and to see the civic dimensions of issues in order to act when appropriate (p. xxi). This research will both benefit by, and contribute to, that philosophy. Thomas Ehrlich (as cited in Tannenbaum, 2008, p. 6) defines civic engagement as working to make a difference, and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values, and motivation to make the difference through political and non-political processes. Co-mingling motivation and concern with political action is necessary to effect change; for example, combining coursework in sociology with social action is effective in repositioning higher education goals toward changing social structure. Critical Education Theory stems from critical social theory and is best suited for service learning, according to Scott Myers-Lipton, creator of The Gulf Coast Civic Works Project (as cited in Tannenbaum, 2008, p.145).

*Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (Morris & Mueller, 1992) examines the “resource mobilization paradigm” (p. 3) that brought new life to social movement research and collective action. This breakthrough was based on a set of assumptions that positioned the study of social movements within the instrumental, utilitarian tradition, placing the concept of costs and benefits at the center of a public goods theory. The

research now examines how movements are organized. Transformed from rational choice theory, resource mobilization (RM) approach asserts that social movement participants are not irrational, and the movements are not disorganized nor are they spontaneous (Morris & Mueller, 1992, p. 29). Its political context is one of rationality and organization. Organizational theory and utilitarianism, economic models of social movement, combined social psychology and political theory to generate the social psychology of collective action. The social construction of protest defines situations as unjust, and grievances are now transformed into demands. Animal rights movements have not as such reached its peak as protest movements, but the idealization of the unjust and the identification of the antagonist as ideology is one and the same. Public discourse is essential in sparking interest and protest and the animal rights organizations have become practiced at inflaming public dissent in their causes (Morris & Mueller, 1992).

*Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, edited by McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996), reviews social movement theory in relation to political change and social responsibility. Scholars analyze social movement from three different factors: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes (McAdam, et al., 1996, p. 2). The link between politics and social movements or revolution has been established via change in informal powers of the present political system; the structure with which social movements organizations (SMOs) are mobilized and engage in collective action, and the frame in which the members organize collective actions (McAdam, et al., 1996).

Proponents of collective action see strain, and shared ideas gives rise to the root cause of

social movement. In the case of the animal rights movement, increased awareness of animal cruelty has given rise to a shared conception of at least animal welfare.

However, without the interactive effects of political opportunity that renders the established political order more vulnerable or receptive to challenge, and in the absence of organization and its shared meanings, goals and definitions, social movements cannot carry the impetus to make significant change. The expansion of political opportunity is required for social change. The possibility for political opportunity, (or lack thereof), according to the McAdam et al. (1996), includes these dimensions: the relative openness or closure of the established political system; stability of the alignments that bolsters or undermines a polity; the state's presence of elite allies; and the state's capacity and propensity for repression (p. 10). The American civil rights movement recognized and exploited a rift between parties in the New Deal Coalition: The Southern Dixiecrats and Northern "labor liberals" (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 11), illustrating how a movement can take advantage of elite cleavage in the political system.

Shared ideologies and goals support the structure of the movement; without structure, political opportunity is meaningless. Again, in the case of the civil rights movement, initial mobilization centered around the black church, an institution that was central to the location and culture of the initial mobilization. The animal rights movement found its structure in the plight of farm animals, and, of course, in Singer's *Animal Liberation* (2009) ethical ideology. Interestingly, the editors of *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* state (Tarrow, 1994, as cited in McAdam et al., 1996) state that disruption or threat to a social movement provides effectiveness as vehicles of social change.



Certainly, threats to the animal rights crusade, in the form of lobbyists, economics, religion, and culture, contribute to the cohesiveness of its members providing member burnout is avoided. While environmental opportunity plays a critical role in the emergence of the collective action, it is the movement itself that takes on its own life. Furthermore, any changes in any part of the political system creates new opportunity for collective action, and that philosophy is crucial to the efforts of the animal welfare groups. Additionally, timing and outcome of movement activities factor greatly in its efficacy.

The point above is emphasized in the gay rights movement following the initial movement at the Stonewall Inn in New York in 1969. The movement faded in the 1970s. The political opportunity for gay rights may have been present during the early civil rights movement, but there was apparently no pressure upon politicians, nor was there any rift in party politics. In fact, the Republican advantage President Nixon held was disadvantageous to gay rights at that time. The initial movements that may signal or set in motion an identifiable protest movement are central to, and changes the dynamics of, any spinoff movements, even though the latter may be more popular (McAdam et al., 1996). While it appears illogical that the civil rights movement could not support the gay rights movement, when considering the point made regarding spinoff movements' success, it seems the gay rights movement timing was too late. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a result of that movement, but it did not include gay rights or American Indian recognition; however, any changes in any part of the political system creates new opportunity for collective action. The Act had a lesser known consequential effect on the monopoly the Dixiecrats had on the southern states politics, thus undermining the Democratic liberal

control and paving the way for the conservative groups, while also shutting down institutional options for progressive movements (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 37).

In keeping with the account that disruption or threat to social movement only increases its strength and cohesiveness of its members, these resulting political changes now appeared more threatening to the national social movement, and the conflict between organized groups and authorities became the major expression of citizen opposition (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 49). The political opportunity signals that are now presented include the opening of political access, shifting or unstable alignments, availability of influential allies, and cleavages among and within the elites (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 55). Political access is more attractive to those who have had little exposure to the political systems; it encourages protest. Unstable alignments also present opportunities for encouragement to exercise power that has been marginal. Of course, influential allies have the capability to not only encourage members, but also the propensity for attracting newer and more influential members. Influential allies offer protection, funding, a presence in politics, and opponents who are more difficult to repress. The conflict among elites offers encouragement to those unrepresented groups, while also encouraging those elites to side with oppressed groups as “tribunes of people” and at the same time increasing their own political influence (McAdam et al, 1996).

Collective action can create a group’s own opportunities by exposing their opponents’ weaknesses, thus gathering support from formerly passive allies within and outside of the system. Expansion of their own repertoire of collective action into new forms creates new opportunities, as evidenced by the newer collective actions of animal welfarists-with its roots in farm animal protection-now including vegan programs and a

meatless Friday campaign. Expanding opportunity for other groups helps unify causes, not only adding to the strength of the grassroots movement, but also adding new constructs or paradigms to existing campaigns and creating new meanings to their causes. Consequentially, opportunities for opponents can be created by creating conflict systems, triggering counter movements if a movement's mobilization threatens another group's interests. Recently, a white supremacists march triggered the "Antifa" (anti-fascist) protest in Virginia. A movement that offends some groups while supporting others creates the conflict system that Hanspeter Kriesi theorizes is a result of the alliance system (Kriesi, 1991, as cited in McAdam et al., 1996, p. 59). Culture, ideology, and strategic framing are linked as they deal with the process by which meaning is attached to actions. Following the sixties, studies indicate that shared norms are defined in the presence of rioting; norms become one of the defining features and responses of collective and organized behaviors.

Kriesi offers an organizational structure, or typology of, movement-related organizations. At opposite ends of the typology lie constituency or client orientation and authorities' orientation. The other axis lies from no direct participation of constituency to direct participation of constituency. Along those alignments, one finds at opposite, yet complimentary juxtapositions, political mobilization of SMOs, political representation by interest groups and parties, or service support organizations and self-help and altruistic groups. ((Kriesi, 1991, as cited in McAdam et al., 1996, p. 153).

The media can be a powerful opponent or supporter for social movements. Racist rhetoric by hate groups became marginalized by the civil rights movement, only to resurface as immigration issues and changing political forces surfaced. Media becomes a

part of the process of successful movements and counter-movements, as much as symbolism and ideology, i.e. the anti-Vietnam war Movement, and associated cultural components benefitted by exposure as much as cohesiveness. Media offers an additional component to social movement in that media can be representative of ownership or consumers of and relationships with political parties. Because of this affiliation, media can afford more political opportunity. However, media offers a double role, playing a vital role in the construction of meaning and reproduction of culture (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 287). Journalists choose a story line that may support the SMO's crusade, reporting on events that develop arguments and images that support the ideology, or they can report the events in a negative framework.

Media is not the only target for framing efforts at influencing the broader audience; direct efforts at influencing government and public agendas by contact with policy leaders, NGO leaders, and reporters represent an opportunity to reach more distinct audiences. The public arena, in which movements compete for attention, includes civic organizations, as well as religious or charitable organizations. Combining interests with these other groups is beneficial to social movements, whereas interests that oppose these groups can result in a weak agenda. The movement that pushes interests like those groups' interests can recruit important and influential allies in communities. Rallies held by several animal rights agencies may include celebrities to voice concern and strengthen their memberships and increase media attention. The Farm Sanctuary's Farm Animals Forum and Rally in 2005 was held in Boston, MA at the same time two bills were in play in the Massachusetts State Legislature that would ban the force feeding of ducks for foie gras production and eliminate confinement in veal crates for calves and gestation crates

for breeding pigs. The media was, in fact, invited to attend key events during the forum, to hear key speakers as well as celebrities speak against factory farming (U.S Newswire, 2005).

In 1950, two-thirds of all black Americans lived in the southern United States. Due to legal subterfuge and intimidation, black Americans were effectively barred from voting. There were no signs of instability in the “solid South’s” political and economic elite. But the 1954, the Supreme Court’s decision to rule segregation as unconstitutional set in motion a nationwide resistance movement aimed at preserving white supremacy (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 345). Among the efforts in various states was outlawing the NAACP. Black Americans remained barred from any political representation and needed intervention outside of the existing system. The movement had to find a way of pressuring the federal government to intervene forcefully in the South. The media became involved in the movement representation largely due to its fascination with Dr. Martin Luther King and finding any disruptive actions newsworthy. Dr. King’s successful efforts at staging highly publicized disruptions became pivotal in the movements’ efforts, but more so because Dr. King was exceptional in garnering public support through his success in attracting sympathy through his philosophy of non-violence, Christian themes, conventional democratic theory (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 347). The two most significant legislative victories that came about from the civil rights movement were the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 352).

Stewart, Smith, and Denton consider social movement and policy in *Persuasion and Social Movements* (2012), particularly the impact and persuasive functions of social

movements. Stewart et al. (2012) theorize that conflict over moral, religious, social, political, and economic values fuel social movements; in turn, organized campaigns begin to promote or oppose changes in societal norms and values. *Persuasion and Social Movements* (2012) provides a foundation for understanding how conflict and social movement shapes society and policy by applying research theories about the persuasive efforts and successes of social movements, using historic and current examples to illustrate social movement persuasion. Although they remain important in social movement persuasion, speeches are now one of many resources for organizing and carrying out a variety of protests. The book goes on to illustrate how new technologies have transformed how social movements come into existence and establish coalitions. Occasionally, social movements sell conspiracy theories to skeptical audiences to justify inherently divisive tactics and use violence as a rhetorical strategy. Institutions and counter movements have a variety of strategies for resistance. The social movement is defined and characterized as an organized entity: communication transforms the individuals into a group, yet it is distinguished from random acts of protest, political parties, established campaigns, civil wars, and revolutions. Campaigns, as part of social movements, comprise specific goals, but the goals do not define the movement.

*The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century* (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998) discusses the differences in the contemporary social protest unrest with the 1960s political movement and its application to current policy and society. Social movements have changed both as a political form and ways in which it changes society. The book considers the new forms of social and political protest (aka New Social Movements) that have emerged since the 1960s. Beginning with the Free Speech

Movement in 1964, the editors trace social protest across decades, including civil rights marches in the South and protests of the Vietnam War. The contrast between those spontaneous movements and the newer, more organized contemporary social movements is detailed in these essays. The first civil rights marches and student protests had little intent on changing policy or the rules of institutional politics; the protesters, who had no access to those institutions, gathered to garner interest to influence policy. The main point, the editors ask, is “Is there more social protest now than there was prior to the movement politics of the 1960s, and if so, does it result in a distinctly less civil society throughout the world?” (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, back cover). The answer lies in looking back at the history of protest and civil unrest. Modern social protest has changed leadership: its leaders are professionals and are skilled in organization, the new social movements are institutionalized, more so in industrialized democracies, and protest has become a perpetual way of modern life, with greater frequency, more diversity, and is representative of a wider range of claims (Meyer & Tanner, 1998, p. 4).

### **New Social Movement Theory Resources**

Pichardo’s (1997) “New social movements: A critical review” disagrees with much of the current theories regarding new social movements, stating that new social movements are not new at all. In fact, new social movements (NSM), thought to be comprised of new paradigms and a different set of core concepts and beliefs, are a product of the post-industrial era and different from traditional working-class social movements. The author believes the NSM has marginalized social movements that have not originated from the left. It would appear that most social movement protest originates from a human rights arena, but Pichardo (1997) strongly suggests that there are social

movement protests that are largely believed to be reactionary, i.e. white supremacists, and the Christian Right, and the exclusion of those protests signifies an ideological bias to the left. Consequently, the paradigm largely used to define the NSM is limited and can chiefly be applied to left-wing movements. The current NSM theories ignore right-wing movements and is therefore flawed (Pichardo, 1997).

Pichardo continues to challenge the theory of NSM as unique in meaning, ideology, goals, and participants. Rather than focusing on economic issues, the current theories define the goals of the NSM as emphasizing quality of life and questioning wealth-oriented social ambitions. He agrees that the values of the NSM center on autonomy and identity but questions the impact of identity claims of the movements. Interestingly, Pichardo (1997) does bring up the following: while the commonly held belief is that NSM prefer to remain outside the political arena, choosing to mobilize public opinion to gain political leverage, NSM have become politically shrewd and integrated into the party system and have gained regular access to decision-making bodies. There really is no truly distinctive tactical style of the NSM. Claims that NSM organize themselves in such a way as to avoid an oligarchizing institution cannot be supported. The bigger NSM groups have become centralized and hierarchal.

The participants of the NSM, commonly believed to be the new middle class, are diverse. Pichardo (1997) suggests that participants of the NSMs are not defined by class boundaries, but by common causes. The more ideologically committed middle class represents most participants, but not exclusively. This is not a new phenomenon; middle class protests have historically compromised the abolition, prohibition, suffrage, and progressive movements. True, the lack of minority presentation was obvious in



traditional social movements but is represented in the NSM. Ultimately, the NSM employs new tactics, structural, organizational, and participatory methods, but also utilizes traditional successful movement devices (Pichardo, 1997). Additionally, the NSM theorists postulate the NSM to be original and a product of the post-industrial era, yet the true changes occurring in the NSM are a result of modern societal conflict, characteristic of domination and deprivation. There has been a deepening of domination and social control, affecting all social classes, and the political and economic institutions have lost the ability to correct their own defects (Pichardo, 1997).

NSMs are movements concerned with cultural questions but are also reactions to the growth-oriented nature of post-industrialism. NSMs are a form of mass cultural manipulation that also have negative environmental consequences, including animal rights movement values. A reaction to capitalism, Pichardo (1997) suggests the new social movement is an attempt regain power by disconnecting from the market rationality of production and the dominant social views that support the legitimacy of capitalism. Maslow's theory of needs hierarchy suggests that the values shift from sustenance needs to self-actualization is reflected in Western societies where the people have reached a point of economic and political security (as cited in Pichardo, 1997). Thus, the NSM represents the shift to post-material values concerning identity and quality of life, rather than economic matters (Pichardo, 1997). A second change in values attributed to the growth of the NSM is the cyclical nature of protest; these new social movements are simply recent manifestations of social movements or changes in cultural climate or to political and social events (Pichardo, 1997). Empirical evidence suggests a shift in values

over the last thirty years, suggesting a change in values in Europe and North America from economic to non-economic concerns (Pichardo, 1997).

However, Pichardo (1997) challenges these assertions, suggesting that the “new middle class” that reportedly makes up the majority of the NSM is not clearly defined, nor is the assertion that a new middle class even exists. The cyclical nature of the NSM protest is not supported with empirical evidence, but if this is so, and if the values of the NSM are tied to post-industrialism, then the NSM is not new. The cycle of protest may have an alternative explanation: tactics of social movements may have evolved not from linking to a values shift, but by corresponding with the agents of repression, and may be a result of competition for membership, recognition, and resources among movements. Finally, the NSM theory has been linked primarily to Western societies, yet there is evidence of NSM in non-Western nations, which suggests that not only is the NSM not triggered by post-industrialism, it is also not a reaction of values-needs changes (Pichardo, 1997).

Pichardo (1997) speculates that what some theorists mistake for new social movements may merely be a new historical stage of collective action, differentiating itself with a change in tactics and style, based on utilitarian logic. Pichardo summarizes his argument by suggesting the new social movement is not new nor is it unique; however, the principle contributions of NSM perspective are the issues of identity, culture, and specifically, the role of the civic sphere. The civic sphere, which has long been dominated by an economic sphere, is now seen as the locus of social protest. Pichardo (1997) suggests the current theories of new social movement may not be correctly representative of the “why” and “how” of NSM.

*New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Larana, Johnston, & Gusfield, 1994) examines the difficulty of citing exactly what makes the new social movement new or what explains the “newness” of contemporary conflict. Theories expound on what is different about new social movement, but none can agree on exactly what makes the NSM new. The term is relative and the comparative differences between historical forms of class conflict and contemporary collective action fail to define the differences. Simply put, the new social movement entertains remnants of prior forms of protest, as in the women’s movements now and in the past, yet today’s form of protest has matured and is more knowledgeable. The modern elements of social protest are meaning, collective identity, and the place they occupy in the system of social relations (Larana et al., 1994).

Buechler’s (2000) *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism* considers the social and political activism of the 1960s as the “biggest single contribution to changing the intellectual and sociohistorical climate in which sociology and social movement theory existed” (p. 32). Beginning with the civil rights movement of the 1950s, new forms of collective action and new actors responded to oppression, discrimination, capitalist intrusion, bureaucratic domination, unrestrained militarism, and environmental devastation, a countercultural challenge to not only the political but the American way of life and the legitimacy of central institutions. In fact, the biggest impact of the 1960s protests was evidenced by the conservative repercussions, and this backlash shaped the culture wars of the 1980s and 90s. The activism of the 1960s and the cultural, social, and political changes associated with it caused a theoretical re-examination that initiated a qualitative change in social movement theory in four distinct ways: collective behavior was unlike former

movements; the new social activism was more enduring and contained institutionalized elements; the participants in the newer social movements appeared to be more rational; and the newer approaches of the movements accentuated the political dimension of group interests. These broad changes in collective identity and policies created what is now regarded as resource mobilization theory, the dominant paradigm guiding social movement since the late 1970s. (Buechler, 2000, p. 34). According to Buechler (2002), “Resource mobilization theory views social movements as normal, rational, institutionally rooted, political challenges by aggrieved groups” (p. 34). This theory not only addresses collective behavior, but also considers individual enrollment choices based on reason.

### **Animal Rights Movement Resources**

Perdew’s (2014) *Animal Rights Movement* traces the beginnings of the animal rights movement and outlines the social and political aspects of both the movement and the response. The movement itself, according to Perdew, was sparked by a report of abusive treatment of the “Silver Spring Monkeys” and the response from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, claiming the conditions under which the monkeys lived was deplorable and amounted to animal abuse by subjecting the monkeys to painful experiments. The Institute for Behavioral Research (IBR) in Maryland was receiving funding from the National Institutes of Health under the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The impact was a victory for non-human rights and thrust the animal rights movement into public view by exposing the political/economic side of animal experimentation (Perdew, 2014). Eventually, the owner was cleared of seventeen counts of animal cruelty because the circuit court could not apply Maryland’s animal cruelty

statute to a research institution working under a US federal program. Politics now entered the animal rights arena. The 1970 Animal Welfare Act, intended to regulate the use of animals for experimentation, was flawed; the primary purpose was to protect humans' rights to use animals rather than protecting the animals' rights, or, in many instances, their safety. The Act's severe flaws are unpracticed, and neither the United States Department of Agriculture nor state agencies were committed to enforcing the act's limited anticruelty statutes (Perdew, 2014). However, the AWA was a small step forward toward animal welfare.

Perdew (2014) continues with an exploration of the animal rights movement, often citing PETA's challenges to the status quo, particularly in the agricultural field. Opposition to the movement was plentiful; many entities lobbied hard to eliminate the threat that the movement presented to profits and cultural norms. The biomedical industry began opposition during the antivivisection crusade, and the beef, egg and dairy industries were among the strongest anti-animal rights groups, particularly the American Farm Bureau, which in fact developed a committee specifically to deal with the criticism from rights groups. The pro-hunting lobby, which includes the National Rifle Association, is also a significant obstacle for animal rights activists. It remains one of the wealthiest lobbying organizations in the country and has successfully affected pro-hunting legislation, including opening federal reserves for hunting (Perdew, 2014, p. 57).

In response to anti-animal rights legislation and lobbying efforts, the animal rights groups developed additional tactics; i.e. Great American Meatout in 1985, the Farm Animal Reform Movement (which began as the veal ban movement), and the March for Animals in Washington, D.C, in 1990 (Perdew, 2014, pp. 64-65). The first legislation to

protect farm animals came about in Florida in 2002, when citizens overwhelmingly voted in favor of a ban on gestation crates for sows, the first legislation limiting confinement of farm animals (Perdew, 2014, p.75). In 2008, Mercy for Animals illustrated by undercover investigations the horrific confinement of chickens. California voters passed Proposition 2, which limited the confinement of egg laying chickens (Perdew, 2014, p. 81). The Humane Slaughter Act was passed in 1958, requiring animals be made insensible prior to slaughter, and was revised in 1978 to the Humane Methods of Slaughter Act, which allows for inspections of slaughterhouses. The act did not protect birds (chickens and turkeys), however, and was not enforced to protect the animals. The backlash by agribusiness to the undercover investigations resulted in the adoption of the “Ag Gag Laws” in five states by 2012. The law makes any undercover investigations by animal rights groups illegal. More states have followed.

Beers (2006), in *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States*, considers the history of the animal rights movement and the challenge of discriminating between, and the application of, animal rights vs. animal welfare, stating that most people fall somewhat uncomfortably in the middle. People struggle with the profound moral, philosophical, and legal questions provoked by the debate. Thousands of organizations lobby, agitate, and educate the public on issues concerning the rights and treatment of nonhumans. The difference between animal rights (the right not to be killed for food) and animal welfare (to be slaughtered humanely) is explored as a divisive argument between community, legislature and organizations. This source is useful to document the use of animal rights and animal welfare.

The study of the post war era and the associated movement for legislation shows the growth of animal advocacy, particularly between 1945 and 1975. Societal tensions related to consumption, leisure, and science resulted in heightened awareness, both communal and political, and initiated important legislation. The social justice movements in the 1960s moved the focus toward animal rights. Just as the abolition and suffrage movements of the nineteenth century increased awareness of the ethical consideration of all creatures, the civil rights movements of the sixties spawned the animal rights liberation terminology and ideologies (Beers, 2006, p. 149). Ironically, the same era generated animal experimentation and increased meat consumption (due to the beginning of agribusiness), which in turn politicized activists' roles. Lobbyists pressured lawmakers, learning how to broker deals, networking, and creating a politically savvy presence on Capitol Hill. Some of the more significant new animal advocate groups formed included the National Humane Society, now the Humane Society of the United States. While most of the new groups tended to pursue pragmatic, feasible goals in animal welfare, the Communist scare of the late 1950s crushed "liberal" dissenters, regardless of cause.

Animal activists rallied support from public sources, launching campaigns targeting consumer groups and communities and relying on humane education and documentaries exposing factory farms and slaughterhouses. Representatives from the powerful meat and agriculture industries rallied against legislating slaughter practices, arguing that self-regulation was enough. When the Federal Humane Slaughter Act of 1958 was signed, it was proof that the organized humane movement had proven its political power. The social movement theory, by way of the animal rights movement, is

further illustrated in the book edited by Peter Singer (2006), *In Defense of Animals: The Second Wave*. The utilitarian theory, in relation to animal welfare, is applied to the billions of land animals raised in deplorable conditions and slaughtered for human use, justified by the belief that nonhuman animals do not deserve significant moral consideration. Gaverick Matheny (2006) argues that the utilitarian theory does indeed address the use of animals; in fact, he argues that the theory condemns such use. The rule of utilitarianism, says Matheny (2006), is an ethical, simple operation of equality that is said to be universalist, welfarist, consequentialist, and aggregative. Matheny (2006) fails to do is apply these principles to nonhuman and human animals alike; rather, he assumes that all lives matter.

Singer (2009) introduces the religion aspect to animal rights, which is basically that animals have no rights. The religious viewpoint factors heavily in modern animal rights ideologies and politics. Paul Waldau (2006) addresses the Catholic Church's proclamation of 1994, that "animals, like plants and inanimate things, are by nature, destined for the common good of past, present and future humanity" (p. 69). Depending on the theological doctrine of the religion itself, animals are either protected or used. The more prevalent view of modern industrialized countries is similar to the Catholic canon: that nonhuman animals exist for subordination by human profits leisure and progress. However, ambiguity exists even in the Judaism and Christian faiths, according to interpretation and transcription of scriptures.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s extended to the 1970s is again mentioned by Richard Ryder (2006) as factors that have contributed greatly to the anti-vivisection and animal rights movements. These factors are:



the challenges of colonialism, racism and sexism (momentum of liberation); increasing scientific evidence of the sharing of intellectual faculties in both humans and nonhumans; concept of “person” as evidenced by the abortion debate; the decline in pluralistic views separating mind and body (the central nervous system as the basis for mental health) and secularism reducing the influence of religion; the development of behavioral sciences and the rise of environmental and ecology movements ( pp. 87-88).

*Compassionate Beasts: The Quest for Animal Rights* (Munroe, 2001) presents the profile of a social movement in the United States and compares animal rights activism with movements in other countries. It is the first review of a social movement as an animal rights movement being used as background for this research. Munroe (2001) states that for most, animal rights remains a curiosity rather than a legitimate, structured social movement. The core of the movement is the individuals and groups campaigning in streets; in other words, a grassroots movement. The political system addresses the style of animal protectionism that is effective, according to the Munroe (2001). The American political system is more amiable to lobbying, while in Great Britain activists are more likely to protest, as the tradition of social protest is more established there than in the United States. (Munroe, 2001). That argument loses some credibility when the recent protests countrywide are considered; it appears the protests are ramped up when passions are inflamed. For most people, animal rights do not generate enough passion to trigger protest.

Munroe (2001) explains the term “social movement organization” by sociologists’ definition--pressure groups, lobby groups, or interest groups. The distinction is further

examined when social movements are considered different from those groups or political parties, in that social movement seeks to change hearts and minds, which is something utopian. Understandably, the animal rights movement had not been considered a social movement until animal rights activists campaigned on a higher moral ground, beginning with Singer and Regan. Still, rejecting violence and extremism, professional activists appear to be more successful when lobbying for animal welfare measures incrementally, rather than for drastic rights change. However professional the animal rights activism might remain; the activist persists through appealing to compassion and is passionately dedicated to his/her cause. The grassroots movement gains momentum through exposure, particularly through community awareness and humane education, but especially through media channels.

Munroe (2001) briefly reviews multi-issue advocacy in the United States and the Animal Welfare Institute (AWI), which is considered the oldest national animal protection social movement. This organization has been highly successful in efforts at protecting animal welfare, but by animal rights activists' standards, has failed to make any serious reform. The AWI also boasts a large collection of intellectual material for animal welfare interests. The book contains a section on Wayne Pacelle, President of the Humane Society of the United States; Munroe (2001) considers Pacelle a "new breed of professional animal advocate" (p. 196). Interestingly, Munroe (2001) states that Pacelle is not especially fond of animals, but "in the same way he would oppose slavery or apartheid without any firsthand experience of those systems, he objects to cruelty and suffering inflicted on animals as morally wrong" (p. 197). This research examines the AWI and will speak with Mr. Pacelle regarding those statements.

Cass Sunstein and Martha Nussbaum are the editors of *Animal Rights: Current Debates and New Directions* (2004). The book is a compilation of essays exploring not only the legal and political issues underlying the campaign for animal rights, but also arguments from those who oppose the concept. The ethics of ownership, protection against “unnecessary” suffering, animals as persons with the ability to make choices free from human control. The essays in the book consider current debates addressing obstacles to the recognition of animal rights as argued by Steven Wise (2004), and the response from Richard Posner (2004), suggesting rights given to animals may not be beneficial or readily accepted. Cora Diamond (2004) argues against Singer’s speciesism, saying that those who wish to be on the side of animals must be for different reasons. Gary Francione and Richard Epstein debate about animals as property. James Rachels questions how the worth of animals and the lines we draw between species is unjustified.

The second part of the book is an exploration of developments in law and policy. The use of animals for food is discussed as a central issue in animal rights, while David Favre (2004) argues that animals should be allowed to own themselves. Cass Sunstein (2004) discusses the question of whether animals, if they do own themselves, should be granted some sort of personhood and be allowed to have representation in courts. Catherine MacKinnon (2004) compares the exploitation of animals with that of women but encourages the recognition of animals’ rights based on the animals’ terms. Finally, Elizabeth Anderson (2004) explores tensions among animal welfare, animal rights, and environmental ethics. There are substantial differences among the three ideologies. The editors are quick to recognize and state that the debates and essays are controversial,

partly because they may defend the status quo, but more likely because they challenge people to think and act differently than they already do.

Hoffman and Graham (2015) suggest the animal rights movement is a new social movement, an offshoot of socialism and liberalism, including women's rights and peace, and is in response to authoritarianism and industrialism that incorporates factory farming and conventional politics. A struggle that is close to anarchism in some instances, the green movement and animal rights crusade require "...commitment to social justice; a belief in the worthiness of human nature; adherence to equality; a dislike of repressive hierarchy; a concern with the destruction of the environment; anxiety about poverty in the so-called Third World...and many other movements" (Hoffman & Graham, 2015, p. 250). Some animal rights groups practice anarchism in rescue efforts; some have been highly successful in humane outreach, while some have been named as examples of extremism to use against animal welfare groups. Anarchism, as posited by Hoffman and Graham (2015), and anarchist values are "clearly the price which society pays for a conventional politics that fails to ameliorate inequality and ecological damage" (p. 250).

In viewing animal welfare and rights as an extension of a resurgence of civil rights, Gary Steiner (2013) elucidates postmodernism's inability to produce viable ethical and political arguments. Steiner (2013) argues that much of what is published under the rubric of postmodernist theory lacks a proper basis for a systematic engagement with ethics. He demonstrates this through a critique of postmodernist approaches to the moral status of animals, set against the background of a broader indictment of postmodernism's failure to establish clear principles for action. Steiner (2013) revisits the ideas of Derrida, Foucault, Nietzsche, and Heidegger, and shows that the basic terms of postmodern

thought are incompatible with definitive claims about the moral status of animals--as well as humans. Steiner (2013) also identifies the failures of liberal humanist thought regarding this same moral dilemma, and he encourages a rethinking of humanist ideas in a way that avoids the anthropocentric limitations of traditional humanist thought. The argument here is to introduce Pacelle's assertion that ethical and humane treatment of animals directly relates to human well-being.

Gender and class identity studied in animal rights campaigns indicates the members of animal rights movements are primarily female and middle class; women are the most important driving force behind the animal rights movement. Perdue University's Rachel L. Einwohner (1999) reported results from surveys taken in 1991 on "Gender, Class and Social Movement Outcomes: Identity and Effectiveness in Two Animal Rights Campaigns" and expounded on what the results indicate not only in terms of responsiveness (women are more likely to respond to the survey), but also that women are more likely to support animal rights issues than men. The article examines the roles that gender, and class play in the movement's effectiveness and realizing goals. The research also implies that there are differences in how the activists are received, depending on class and gender and to what extent emotion plays in social movement dynamics. While most studies concentrate on the protest and protest activities, Einwohner (1999) deliberates on how others react to those actions and in what context, because those reactions constitute changes in behavior, policy, cultural norms, and attitudes. Interestingly, the researcher states that the effects of race are minimal yet are addressed in part as one of the framing matters. It is mostly gender and gender identity structure that will shape interactions between activists and their targets. Einwohner (1999) stressed that

she made clear her intentions as a researcher with an interest in animal rights conflict to any one or group she studied. She found that goals were incrementally achieved in most campaigns.

The first example of gender influence was in her hunting campaign research. Activists in this campaign targeted both legislators (letter writing, phone calls) and hunters directly with anti-hunting activities like approaching hunters in the field to talk about animal rights and vegetarianism. It was in these encounters that the targets of animal rights activists declared they had no interest in changing their habits; in fact, they found the thought of giving up hunting ludicrous. They declared that the activists had no idea of their lifestyle; they described the activists as well educated, young females, skinny vegetarian females who worked in offices and urban dwellers, or older women. Ideas about gender and class shape the ways in which targets evaluate the protesters' claims. Hunters liked to frame their activities as "wildlife management" or a practice that is justified and regulated by logic and science (Einwohner, 1999). Hunters reported feeling that the activists' stance was based purely on emotion and had no scientific or logical backing. Animal rights activists were called emotional, sentimental individuals, and bleeding hearts who could not understand a scientific practice like hunting, whereas hunters make rational decisions biologically and ethically and in the best interests of the animals.

A point well-made-other than the gender bias-is the one that discounted activists for not having any experience in hunting or wildlife management, which gave the hunters even more reason to draw a distinction between them ("scientific practitioners") and their adversaries ("sentimental fluff heads"). Acting emotionally is a stereotypically feminine

behavior, while rationality and objectivity are more commonly associated with masculinity (Einwohner, 1999). Not only did the hunters associate the activists with typical feminine characteristics, they associated the class background as office workers who have no idea about nature and wild animals and thus should have no say about the issue of hunting. Together, class and gender markers were used as a basis for dismissing the protest activity as inappropriate and the claims behind it as inaccurate. Interactions between the hunters and activists were shaped by prevailing ideas about class and gender. Without a legitimate voice, hunters cannot be convinced to act in accordance with their demands. As an answer to that statement, the activist groups refrain from using emotion in their arguments. The approach to animal issues must stress the importance of presenting information in a logical, rational, credible, well-researched, and reasoned manner.

Another campaign described in the research included a circus event in which activists attempted to influence patrons of the circus of the harm caused to performing animals. While the responses were generally more positive (or less negative), the general assessment regarding the activists included socially conscious, compassionate liberals, sensitive, and ecologically minded. Their activists' positions were regarded as worthy of consideration. In this case, it was evident that the two different reactions were also biased based on the target populations; perhaps it was a useful tool to develop approaches that consider the targets. Geographically and culturally, the response to activism can fluctuate from the hunters' dismissal of the feminine, irrational policies of the activists to the more positive, yet still condescending, attitude of the circus patrons.

Einwohner theorizes the following point: “the different sets of evaluations illustrate a fundamental point: Statuses such as class and gender only have meaning within certain cultural, historical, and situational contexts” (1996, p. 71). In the context of hunting, seen as a scientific, rational pursuit, emotional arguments are easily dismissed or disputed, whereas in the context of the family oriented, child friendly circuses, individuals seen as compassionate and caring are evaluated more positively. The targets’ identities are important, as they create the context in which the protesters are judged. Thus, the responses depend on identity interaction between the protesters and the targets. Race was not a significant issue in this study, even though the activists are predominately white. As Einwohner states, race was not an issue between the hunters’ responses and the activists’ arguments. However, race was not mentioned in either group, and it would have been noteworthy to mention that or to use a different target population. It is a valid and useful point, though, that social movement outcomes greatly depend on identity, both collectively and as a public identity that rights organizations attain based on media and other channels, state or federal agencies, special interest groups, and counter movements. The analysis suggests that animal rights movement groups consider three factors: the prevailing social and cultural ideas about race, gender and class; the collective identities that both activists and target groups construct for themselves by subscription of opposition; and evaluations and assessments that opposing groups and other parties make of those identities (Einwohner, 1996, p. 74).

Jacobsson & Lindblom’s “Emotion Work in Animal Rights Activism: A Moral-Sociological Perspective” (2013) explains emotional matters for the activist when participating in animal rights campaigns. Involvement in animal protection is passionate;



the subject matter is often difficult to comprehend, and for those who are impassioned about their battles, it can be a heart-wrenching undertaking daily. Protesting takes enormous dedication and energy. The authors' discussion highlights how activists' emotions, and investment of inducing, shaping, or inhibiting feelings play a part in their lives as well as their roles as advocates. The study, unlike previous emotion work studies, centers around the emotional conflict encountered when activists challenge the moral order of society; more specifically, how work for social change conflicts with social norms, labeled norm-transgressions (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013). Durkheim's *Moral Education* (2002, as cited in Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013) identifies the moral order of society as ideals and norms. Jacobsson and Lindblom (2013) note that "Ideals denote that which is desirable but not yet implemented through translation into social obligations. Norms, on the other hand, refer to the rules of conduct which proscribe or prescribe certain types of behavior and which are backed by legislative or social sanctions" (p. 56). Durkheim believed ideals were prestigious, sacred; social movements are followers and pursuers of moral ideals, making them norm-transgressors, necessitating emotion work (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013).

Clashes between activists' moral ideals and societal norms create emotional tension. Animal rights activists report feeling anger, sadness, depression, and alienation from mainstream society daily, not just when actively protesting, and not just in conjunction with open conflicts, but also in everyday contexts. Social movements are praxis-oriented: activists carry out emotion work for the primary purpose of action; they evaluate and express their emotions with the intent of effecting social change and are

prepared for campaigning. Emotion talk is not an aim in itself; it is in preparation for the action for change (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013).

Group identity is created by establishing emotion norms, shared standards, and moral ideals into group life. However, these same moral ideals and standards are not limited to the activist group. Advocates often find themselves fixated on non-conventional ideals, which others who are not invested in animal rights may find off-putting. Key emotions, identified as righteous anger, resentment, compassion, moral shame and guilt, are prevalent among activists and frequently fuel protests. Previous research fails to address the conflict activists discover they own when social norms are confronted: a person who has not internalized the ideals of an animal rights activist do not understand the emotions of animal suffering, nor does she feel guilt for not doing more to protect animals. To non-activists, comparison of the animal industry to a concentration camp is an infringement on societal norms, yet the activists' moral ideals make them into emotional deviants (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013, p. 59). The moral activist sees non-activists as having no empathy and they are condemned by animal rights groups.

Jacobsson and Lindblom's (2013) research investigates emotion work performed by animal rights activists. Containing reduces the effects of norm-transgression; activists must learn to maintain composure when faced with an adversary's aggressions. Containing is particularly important, as activists are accused-and rightly so-of being emotionally driven rather than rational. As the movement is primarily a women's movement, it is considered anti-instrumental and is often not taken seriously. Ventilation, the praxis-oriented part of opposition, should not be confused with the abreaction of

emotions, which in the past has been irrational and passion-driven; this is done while protesting and acting. Ritualization is the generating of the emotional energy necessary to maintain unity and cohesion in the activist group; interaction rituals preserve the norms of the social solidarity within the group (i.e. conferences, webinars, routine conference calls). Micro-shocking, or moral shocking, maintains commitment to the cause and enables further norm-confrontation. Horrifying pictures and videos are meant to keep the passion burning but can promote burnout and depression. Sometimes labeled “abuse-porn”, witnessing the abuse of animals and suffering may keep the fires burning and negate any complacency. Normalization of guilt promotes a guilt culture of animal advocacy. Feelings of guilt, feelings of being overwhelmed because of the infinite number of animals that need care, a troubled conscience that cannot be diminished by looking away, even though difficult to deal with, is prevalent among advocates (Jacobsson & Lindblom, 2013).

### **Resources for Political and Policy Research**

For the purpose of this research, these resources are used to explore political theories as applied to animal protection. *Theories of the Political Process* explains the complex process of policymaking (Sabatier, 2007). Participating in the development of policy are members of interest groups, media, governmental agencies, legislators at various levels of government, etc., each with different values and interests, preferences, and influences. Policy process, or legislative process, can span years, incorporating hearings, proposed regulations, negotiations, disputes, and compromise. Complicating the process is that the nature of most disputes involves values and interests, substantial amounts of money (budget concerns), and often, coercion (Sabatier, 2007). Requiring

knowledge of the subject matter, goals, interests, and obstacles necessitates a thorough understanding of the legislative course. Sabatier (2007) suggests to those attempting to analyze the procedures that one needs to focus on the leaders of critical institutions and their decision-making authority, to assume that these actors are pursuing their own interests, and to group those players into categories like legislators and interest groups. Such is the challenge that animal welfare groups and animal rights activists face when advocating for animal welfare legislation. The powerful lobbyists are experienced and knowledgeable of the legislative process; they are already familiar with the key legislators and have large amounts of funding with which to work.

In most instances, legislative processes are based on value and utility as well as the distribution of benefits. However, the law is not applied equally to all human beings, much less non-human beings. Research has revealed the long-term impact of policy designs on group identities, political orientations, and political participation. At the top of the list of advantaged groups are the small business owners, the military, and scientists, with the most influential contenders being big business, labor unions, polluting industries, gun manufacturers, and agribusiness (factory farms). The most powerful contenders often are regarded as untrustworthy and morally suspect. Due to their political power, benefits to those entities are not often visible; they remain *sub rosa*, buried in details of legislation and difficult to identify. Those at the bottom of the list are the powerless and disadvantaged: mothers, children, homeless, the poor and disabled, and the dependents who are without political power (Sabatier, 2007, p. 103). It has been argued by animal advocates that animals are included in that group. Even among the disadvantaged or marginalized, there is a hierarchy of influence. There are groups and subgroups of the

deserving versus the undeserving. Public figures, particularly elected politicians, respond to, and help create constructions of, target groups, anticipating public approval. Along these lines, politicians want to get re-elected, and the concern to be re-elected permeates their decisions to support or sponsor legislation (Sabatier, 2007). Legislators need to respond to pressures from well-organized interest groups, yet they are aware of the electoral consequences of taking value positions that are at odds with prevailing values. This is the arena where special interest groups and lobbyists have the most influence. Nevertheless, also playing a large part are the grassroots movements and businesses that will suffer financially from not responding to pressure from organized social movements.

Negotiated agreements play a major role in policy making. In fact, alternative dispute resolution theory, utilizing models in addressing distrust that creates a spiral of escalating conflict, is an integral part of The Advocacy Coalition Framework developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, p. 189). Negotiated agreement provides an alternative path to major policy change; individuals with a dispute are grouped into coalitions with similar beliefs and a distrust of the opponents' abilities to understand or recognize their own goals, or to negotiate fairly (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). The ACF and ADR, with similar models in addressing dispute, may prove to be effective and useful to those advocacy groups in their efforts to negotiate animal welfare rather than animal rights legislation. Considering collective action as a potent force in policy change, both the ADR and ACF theories, social construction theory, and other resources address collective action.

The ACF contains elected and appointed officials, interest group leaders, even researchers who share a belief system—i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and

problem perceptions (Sabatier, 2007). According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), the conception of policy subsystems should be expanded from “traditional notions limited to administrative agencies, legislative committees, and interest groups at a single level of government to include actors at various levels of government, as well as journalists, researchers and policy analysts who play important roles in the generation, dissemination, and evaluation of policy ideas” (p. 179). It focuses on the importance of actors’ belief systems; many actors may be influential because they share a set of deep core beliefs (values) or policy core beliefs (policy positions) and implementation of policy goals. Core beliefs span most policy areas and are the least susceptible to change considering empirical evidence; they are too broad to guide policy-specific behavior (Sabatier, 2007).

Political ideologies, public policy, or political meanings are pictures of anticipated goals or futures. Ideology is based on philosophical belief but tends to be direct and often shallow, as opposed to philosophical values that are profound, complex, and holistic. Political ideology, as a theoretical base for the masses, is simply a guideline for people to believe and implement (Baradat, 2003). Leon P. Baradat’s *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact* (2003) discusses political attitudes and concepts and how each view political change and values. Radicals—those who are the most dissatisfied—wish immediate and profound change. Contemporary liberals, less dissatisfied but still wishing for change, are those who view people in collective terms and emphasize human rights (Baradat, 2003). Animal rights groups tend to lean toward radicals in some cases, while animal welfare groups tend to represent the liberal doctrines. Moderates are more reluctant to change, finding little wrong with the status quo. Conservatives have little confidence in human intelligence or morality; they are dubious about the world’s

capabilities to change (Baradat, 2003). These last two groups represent the majority of politicians and present the obstacles to any pro-animal regulations.

The current political atmosphere is representative of the retrogressive change voiced by supporters of the current administration. They prefer to return to policies that have been used in the past (make America great again) and recognize the sovereignty of states, a trend highly visible in southern states. Progressive change has no intrinsic value but is unpopular with conservatives and some moderates. Federal regulation regarding animals is not within the retrogressive ideology (Baradat, 2003, p. 15). Liberalism, on the other hand, is an “intellectual byproduct of the Enlightenment, the scientific method, and the Industrial Revolution” whose keynote is optimism in peoples’ ability to use reason when solving problems (Baradat, 2003, p. 21). Liberalism disturbs conservatives; conservatives are satisfied with the status quo, and they are very active to keep it that way.

Baradat (2003) also addresses political systems: capitalism, which encourages free will to pursue his or her own self-interest, and socialism, which encourages individual sacrifice for the good of society. Utilitarianism, a liberal evaluation of human conduct suggested by Bentham, introduces the pain and pleasure principle as sovereign governance. Positivism is the theory that the well-being of society will benefit from any policy that brings the greatest happiness to the greatest number, and it is a rejection of natural law. Modern liberalism, or democratic socialism, was introduced when capitalism became suspect, as it became evident that it could be exploitive, and that the public was governed by capitalism and controlled by economic forces. Capitalism is the system that values profit, and the factory farming is a perfect example of profit over ethics.

George Lakoff's (2004) *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* reminds the reader of the difficulty facing liberals and conservatives alike: we do not understand each other. Lakoff (2004) argues that the two main divisions between the parties are moral divisions: the progressive (liberal, nurturing parent) morality, and the conservative (strict father) morality. Each defines us and our political ideation. Liberals are confused by Republican goals, frightened of wealthy Republicans, and overjoyed at the current divisiveness—the Tea Party, Libertarians, Wall Street, and Nationalism all serve to tear the Republican party apart. Conservative values include God, the ultimate strict father head of the moral order: God above man, man above nature, adults above children, America above all other nations. It also includes man above woman, whites above nonwhites, Christians above non-Christians, straights above gays, (Lakoff, 2004), and, of course, humans above nonhumans. Morality is preserved in the form of rules and commandments, obedience, and authority. Economic policy dictates wealthy is good because poor people lack the discipline to prosper.

In terms of government, Conservatives argue that social programs are immoral, and handouts and entitlements remove incentive, thus they should be eliminated. Education should stress conservative values. Health care should be the parents' responsibility, not be the taxpayers. Same sex marriage and abortion are never considered. God gave man dominion over animals. Corporations are good because they maximize profits for shareholders. Regulation by government stands in the way of enterprise and should be minimized. Conservative foreign policy dictates that America is the world's moral authority, and American values should be spread over the world (Lakoff, 2004, pp. 136-139).



On the other hand, the values uniting progressives include protection; fulfillment in life; fairness; freedom, opportunity, and prosperity; community, service, and cooperation; and trust, honesty, and open communication (Lakoff, 2004). Progressive principles and directions are as follows: equity, equality, democracy, government for a better future, ethical business, values-based foreign policy, an economy that promotes jobs and fair opportunity to prosper, American security, affordable health care, a well-funded public education system, early childhood education, a clean and healthy environment, the preservation of nature, clean energy, open government, equal rights, and equal protection (Lakoff, 2004, pp. 140-142).

In *The Political Mind*, Lakoff (2009) merely reviews cognition and moral philosophy, this being the basis for choice, as in utilitarianism. Lakoff describes it as an “arithmetic of goodness” (2009, p. 95). Interestingly, Lakoff (2009) offers examples of linguistics based on morality. For example, white vs. dark: morality is light (or white), immorality is darkness (or black); or upright (high) vs. not upright (low): morality is high or upstanding, immorality is low, underhanded. The moral order metaphor, he claims, is behind how we define our roles and perceptions (pp. 97-98). These metaphors serve to be the basis for discrimination, even the hunting of species into extinction. Even empathy, according to Lakoff (2009), can be clouded by utilitarianism calculation, or vice versa. While empathy is morally powerful, and political power appears to arise from its moral force, utilitarianism overrides decision. The author makes a case for activism, a moral for progressives. The more empathy generated; the more support is available to override conservative power. Conversely, the more conservatives generate public fear, the less

effective progressive agendas become (Lakoff, 2009). He suggests that progressives need to be talking more about their moral worldview, i.e. strength, fairness, order, etc.

In *Moral Politics*, Lakoff (2016) reiterates the issue of political opposing worldviews at the level of basic morality and conflicting understandings of right and wrong, particularly divisive in the current political environment. Simply put, conservatives and progressives *typically* support opposing moral worldviews. While conservatives generally follow the principles of personal responsibility, free markets, smaller government, and traditional family values, progressives generally support higher taxes on the rich, social safety nets for the poor, disabled, and elderly, halting global warming, increasing wages for women, gay marriage, health care, unions, etc. (Lakoff, 2016). An interesting point, and one for contemplation, is when facts do not fit the worldview. For instance, if conservatives are faced with facts that support global warming, they can make any of the following choices: ignore the facts, change the facts to fit their worldview, reject and ridicule the facts, or attack the facts (Lakoff, 2016). The issue regarding government regulations to limit emissions is an effective example of this theory: conservatives oppose federal regulations (interferes with the pursuit of self-interest), and they disagree with facts that support global warming (made up by fake media). Progressives prefer strong regulations (nurturing parent) and want polluting businesses or dangerous products controlled. Simply put, the problem between conservatives and liberals is nothing as specific as EPA or markets, but two opposed visions of man's relationship with nature.

Lakoff and Wehling's (2012) *Little Blue Book: The Essential Guide to Thinking and Talking Democratic* is a "handbook for Democrats" (p. 1) and is purportedly based

on a scientific background. The authors remind the reader of how conservatives are much more effective than liberals in their use of values-based language. Liberals assume their values are universal, and that all they need to do is present the facts and policies that support these values. Essentially, we assume general morals principles, such as murder, theft, harming innocent people, and lying, are all immoral. Freedom, equality, justice, and fairness all sound desirable, until you define what each means to each party (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012). It is oversimplification that creates confusion. Language is particularly powerful, as discussed in *The Political Mind* (Lakoff, 2009). Lakoff and Wehling (2012) suggests that Democrats speak honestly about values, even if emphasizing value words seem obvious, as well as avoiding certain conservative phrases. The book refers to “Social Darwinism” and conservative’s efforts to control population by weeding out the weak and “survival of the fittest” while ignoring the Darwinian philosophy of empathy and compassion (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012). There are consequences of extreme conservatism (as is true of extreme liberalism): extreme authoritarianism, militancy, and dictatorial behavior, extreme religion, abusive family members, control of education and allowing corporal punishment in schools, discouraging unions in business, loss of voice in government. Even more appropriate to this research is how the authors refer to the Farm Bill (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012, p. 94). Because of harmful agricultural practices sanctioned-and in fact subsidized-under the Farm Bill, growth hormones and antibiotics were added to livestock and dairy products (now reduced or eliminated due to public pressure). Livestock raised in detrimental conditions result in bigger profits for factory farms.

Brooks' (2015) *The Conservative Heart: How to Build a Fairer, Happier, and More Prosperous America* discusses reform, rebellion, and the origins of the Tea Party, and emphasizes how it does not require a majority to prevail, but a tireless minority. The Tea Party, an ultra-conservative branch of Republicans, was effective in winning the House of Representatives in 2010, but also impacted state legislative seats. More importantly, the Tea Party challenged the Republican establishment and was becoming more of a social movement than a protest movement (Brooks, 2015, pp. 160-161). Brooks (2015) lists a four-step agenda to turn protest into social movement, and animal rights activists could benefit from the guidelines; he suggests launching a rebellion, declaring majoritarian values, claim the moral high ground, and unite the country behind an agenda (p. 263). Lastly, Brooks (2015) lists seven lessons recommended he shares with legislators and activists: "be a moralist; fight for people, not against things; get happy; steal all the best arguments; go where you are not welcome; say it in thirty seconds; break your bad habits" (p. 183).

The fundamentals of lobbying are discussed in Rosenthal's (2001) *The Third House: Lobbyists and Lobbying in the States*. Some of the functional points made by the author refer to the interest groups that have formed since the 1960s. Liberal groups working on environmental protection, consumer affairs, civic rights, and equality for women (and eventually other marginalized groups) and the Vietnam War constituted the first wave of lobbyists (Rosenthal, 2001). The basis or commonality for these member groups is one of political and policy beliefs, not professional ties, and they claim to represent interests unrelated to their members. Interest groups have established Political Action Committees (PACs) to advance their causes. They can contribute funds to

candidates and parties, and coordinate communications campaigns for candidates. Independent expenditures are supposedly the most rapidly growing form of reported direct action (Rosenthal, 2001). Some of these groups have organized political grassroots movements for their candidates, much like the mobilization of teacher organizations and labor unions. They can also take a proposal directly to the voters in states where the constitutional or statutory initiative exists. In those states, the electorate, rather than the legislators, have the authority to amend the constitution or enact a law (Rosenthal, 2001). Animal welfare and environmental groups have utilized this initiative method. Finally, the book recommends tactics for effective lobbying, including physical presence with legislators and networking; follow up with meetings and persistence; consistent communication being key; brevity is always preferable; taking nothing for granted is a recommended policy when dealing with legislation, because nothing is certain when a bill comes before committees and up for votes; choose one's battles; and set priorities (Rosenthal, 2001, pp. 180-181).

Deanna A. Gelak's *Lobbying and Advocacy* (2008) is a comprehensive review of the lobbying process, but also offers a wealth of information about the intricacies of political advocacy. The book was written by the founder of Working for the Future, LLC, which is a public policy firm that advises organizations, special interest groups and citizen leaders. Lobbying is based on the right to petition the government, as stated in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (Gelak, 2008, p. 6). As of the date of this publication, there were 11,778 federal lobbyists, averaging five issues per lobbyist. 89 of those lobbyists were registered under the subject of animals (Gelak, 2008, pp.18-19). Gelak (2008) includes in this very useful publication resources of databases, directories,

and reports for all federally registered lobbyists. She recommends not only gaining knowledge of the current political environment and the determinants that drive position, but also learning about the official's personal and professional background, constituency and special interests (Gelak, 2008). Gelak (2008) includes a checklist of lobbying techniques (p. 371), key factors influencing legislators (p. 375), how to monitor and influence policy at the federal level (pp. 378-379), a glossary of lobbying terms, abbreviations and acronyms (p. 399), and the lobbyists' code of ethics (p. 427). This work was published by a non-partisan firm for professional education and information for business and government leaders. It is a compilation of publications and courses written and taught by current Washington insiders, and has proved a highly valuable resource for activism.

Authors Thomas R. Dye and Susan A. MacManus in *Politics in State and Communities* (2015) describe politics as the management of conflict. They go on to state that an understanding of American state and community politics requires an understanding major conflicts confronting society and the political processes, as well as an understanding of the governmental organizations designed to manage conflict (as cited in Gelak, 2008). Sources of conflict are numerous, and the authors include several graphs and tables to illustrate the economic, geographic, demographic conflicts. For example, income and level of education in one bar graph indicates the top ten states in each category are similar, where the bottom ten are also similar; the NE states dominate the top, while the southern states dominate the bottom (as cited in Gelak, 2008, p. 8). State political cultures, liberalism and conservatism, religion and ideology results are similar; the top ten states which identify as very religious are primarily southern states, while the

top ten states that identify as liberal are North East states (as cited in Gelak, 2008, p.33). State gun control measures high in the North East states, while very low in the southern states, and conversely, firearm deaths occur more frequently in the southern states that have less gun control (as cited in Gelak, 2008, p. 35).

The defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was due to the very same southern states who voted against the ERA or rescinded their previous vote in favor of the bill, most likely due to increased activity from the “stop ERA” movement (p. 66). Gelak (2008) also addressed interest group power in wealthy, urban, industrialized states, and found that interest group systems were weaker due to the diversity of the states and the economic complexity. However, the special interest groups from rural, agricultural states with few dominant industries appear to have more power. The party comparison reveals strong party states are like the special interest groups (p. 118). Obviously, strongly Republican (historically red) states dominate the south and middle America, and the Democrat (historically blue) dominate the northeast and Pacific coast. Comparable results occur where segregation laws in 1954 were strong vs. weak: segregation was stronger in the southern, conservative, red states (p. 431). The same southern, rural, agricultural states measured higher in poverty (p. 493). All this information as cited by as discussed in Gelak, 2008) is relevant in advocating for animal welfare and rights legislation.

Earl and Merle Black wrote *Politics and Society in the South* in 1987. It attempts to explain southern heart and tradition, but otherwise, is not useful for this project. *The Southern Tradition: The Achievement and Limitations of an American Conservatism*, written by Eugene D. Genovese (1994) is a compilation of essays explaining the enigma

that is the south. “The white south” to be exact, has been politically and ideologically dominant, yet the “black south” is also included in the “southern tradition,” albeit separately (Genovese, 1994, p. 1). Another interesting statement regards what southern conservatives prefer: namely, a society of orders based on a hierarchy that recognizes human inequality, a view that the author defends as not necessarily racist, but he admits this point has often accompanied racism (p. 26). Southern conservatives also favor limiting the power of the national government.

Public policy theory is clarified by Smith and Larimer in their work *The Public Policy Theory Primer* (2017). Because public policy is such a broad area of study, the authors explain the combination of policy and politics to clarify policy process and analysis. Beginning with a definition of public policy, Smith and Larimer (2017) go on to examine theory, policy values, analysis, design, and process. Public policy regarding social movements and its implementation can be broken down incrementally. Basically, the authors define public policy as a general set of guidelines reflecting a general set of values and interests implemented by law and regulation that defines an administration’s purpose. Policy evaluation assesses the consequences of governmental action; policy analysis is more normative, as it focuses on potential courses of action. Policy process researches the why of policy making, why policy changes over time, and how individuals and groups affect policy (Smith & Larimer, 2017). *The Public Policy Theory Primer* (2017) shows how policy is affected by new social movements, specifically, the animal rights movement.

Deborah Stone’s (2012) *Policy Paradox: The Art of Decision Making* explores the substance of political decisions. Stone explores the study of policy paradox and states that



politics cannot be separated from rational choice and analysis. While she does not necessarily address the animal rights movements, she does make points regarding values and inconsistencies in politics and the polis in leading issues; racial justice, immigration, human rights. The elements contained in those issues can be reiterated in the animal rights issues. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1993) *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach* discusses the public policy process analysis not as a systems model theory, but as an alternative approach to the theory of policy process, with a focus on advocacy coalition framework. The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) theory is useful and applicable to the animal rights movement particularly. ACF synthesizes major findings, including individual interests and values, organizational rules and procedures, the broader economic environment in which political systems operate, and the tendency for legislators, bureaucratic officials, and interest group leaders who are concerned with a specific issue or policy area to form policy subsystems (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 5). The Advocacy Coalition Framework operates under some basic premises: the understanding that policy changes over a period of time and focuses on subsystems; the interaction of actors from different institutions who seek to influence governmental decisions in a policy area; those subsystems involve all levels of government; and public policy can be conceptualized as belief systems, representing government as values priorities (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 16). Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) are concerned with policy theory only, making connections with advocacy and resulting policy but avoiding political theory. Some of the points discussed are pertinent and logical when applied to animal rights and new social movement, particularly discussing the ACF, members, interest groups and policy makers.

### **Animal Politics and Policy Resources**

These resources are used to illustrate political theory in relation to public policy, animal protection and in support of animal rights issues. Milligan's (2015) *Animal Ethics: The Basics* transforms animal welfare interests (Singer's, for example) into political motivation, and in discussing the political aspect of animal welfare, suggests that the focus on the restriction or elimination of harms that humans cause creates a focus on negative rights rather than positive rights. The difference between the two rests on the withholding of harms as well as entitlements and merely being left alone rather than harmed or helped. Such is the conflict with endangered animals; extinction provides for the removal of both harm and good to let certain types of animals fend for themselves; if they cannot, they will cease to exist. Milligan (2015) states that this would not be a plausible account of the "endgame" of animal ethics or what animal liberation looks like without the influence of man (p. 154).

The "political turn" addresses the political dimensions of the endgame, in which non-humans and humans live with, and alongside each other. Abolitionist arguments for animal liberation recognize a strong political dimension shaped by liberal values with a commitment to some form of equality, in that liberal values hold for some equality but not necessarily species egalitarianism (Milligan, 2015, p. 155). Various models of animal welfare all favor some political intervention, but animal rights values would include a clearer focus on the tension between the treatment of animals and core liberal values; a strong emphasis on animal interests, but in an animal rights theory rather than Singer consequentialism; an emphasis on positive rights rather than welfare consideration alone; consideration of animal interests as part of the common good; a conception of animal

rights as a political movement rather than a moral crusade; and a pragmatic attitude toward political engagement and/or compromise (Milligan, 2015). “Internal inconsistency” may be avoided if all animal lives were considered equal, as the utilitarian theory would suggest. Supporters of animal use and the demands of economics disqualify egalitarianism among animal species via agricultural use of animals vs. companion animals. Contributing to internal inconsistency is the “veil of ignorance,” in which concealment and misrepresentation serve to allow for lower standards of animal treatment (Milligan, 2015, p 155). Milligan (2015) considers the utilitarian point of view as more of a problem, as the utilitarian point of view does not consider individualism or offer protection to individuals if an act promotes the greatest good. Because Singer is not an animal rights theorist, he considers human interests matter more than those of non-humans. Singer’s theory counts all animals as equal with equal interests—when animals have interests and those interests’ matter. Milligan (2015) claims Singer’s theory of species egalitarian remains speciesism. Here, we venture away from Singer’s speciesism utilitarianism to more of an animal rights theory and subjects-of-life- theory (Milligan, 2015, p. 26) and discuss Tom Regan’s theory of animal rights.

Milligan (2015) addresses Regan’s concept of animal rights as a twist on utilitarian theory: both humans and animals must be treated in the same manner, per utility theory; however, Regan stresses individualism, which utilitarianism negates. Animal advocates embrace a strong abolitionism typified by Gary Francione as a strong species egalitarianism (Milligan, 2015). While Singer advanced animal welfare, he did not consider animals’ values in their own rights. Regan considers subject-of-life, or inherent value of a being human (or non-human) and he believes must be respected.

Singer's utilitarianism and Regan's inherent value theory has led animal welfare to what is now animal rights activism (Milligan, 2015). There are two highly thought-provoking analogies that Milligan (2015) mentions in this book: the one that compares the harm animals suffer at the hand of humans with the suffering of the Holocaust victims, and the other comparing it to slavery in America. While Milligan (2015) recognizes the challenge in supporting the two, he stresses that in no way is it a comparison of victims; it is a comparison of actions. He is not the first animal rights theorist to deliberate the likenesses.

Milligan (2015) approaches the politics of animal rights as the "political turn" that embraces the animal rights dimensions of positive rights rather than negative rights (somewhat akin to positive reinforcement vs. negative reinforcement), where animals are either left alone (extinction) or given moral or political agency, which is the liberation or the abolitionist theory position (p. 155). The political turn issue of politicizing animal ethics, liberation, and rights considers negative rights (extinction) vs. positive rights (entitlements) and the concept of animals having a legal and ethical standing. Although ambiguous, the argument for animal rights and liberation is strongly political, and for the most part, shaped by liberal ideology and values. Liberal norms, are, in fact, the basis of democracy, as the most important norms, equality, individual freedom (does not truly parallel utilitarian theory), liberty, tolerance, and avoidance of cruelty, or rejection of violence are liberal. However, promising the liberal philosophy appears in support of animal rights, it is not essentially perfect, in that it does not consider community over individuality, which in turn, does not support common humanity. Milligan (2015) posits the following: the major political goal of animal rights activists is the combination of the

standing of animals as unique creatures who do not exist for human convenience yet retain the sense of commonality (p. 155). The key questions regarding political theory concerns animals' worth as recipients of justice and exactly what justice is due to animals (Milligan, 2015).

K.K. Smith, in *Governing Animals: Animal Welfare and the Liberal State* (2012), discusses the role of government and legislation in protecting animal welfare and considers what principles policy makers should draw on as they try to balance animal welfare against human liberty. Smith explores how some liberal political principles may apply to animal welfare policy, yet he does not explain the differences between industrial and agricultural states, where animal welfare is secondary to factory farming and profit. However, his discussion confirms the political arm of the social movement theory.

Schaffner (2011) discusses animals and the law. Throughout history, humans have raised and confined animals for food, clothing, and research, trained animals for entertainment, fought animals for sport, bought and sold animals for profit, and lived with animals for companionship. Schaffner (2011) points out that animal law is extremely diverse, cutting across every substantive area, jurisdictional boundary, and source of legal authority, but only falls under the umbrella of 'animal law' that merely regulates these human uses and interactions with animals. While most countries have enacted Animal Welfare Acts and Endangered Species Laws, the law is currently designed primarily to protect the interests of humans as owners of animals or as users of environmental resources. The animals' inherent interests are secondary. Schaffner (2011) researches laws designed to protect animals, identifies the themes that link them, analyzes and critiques them in light of their consideration and protection of animals' interests, and

explores characteristics of a future legal system that would adequately protect animals' inherent interests, which is a significant step toward the goal of animal welfare.

Alasdair Cochrane (2010) introduces the most prominent schools in contemporary political theory; specifically, utilitarianism, liberalism, communitarianism, Marxism and feminism and examines their implications for issues such as meat-eating, intensive agriculture, animal experimentation, religious slaughter, and hunting. Cochrane's (2010) *An Introduction to Animals and Political Theory* explores the debates and discusses controversies over what makes an entity worthy of justice: is it rationality, the ability to contribute to society, sentience, or something else? The book also introduces and engages with debates about what our political obligations to animals might entail: is it simply not to cause them unnecessary suffering, or do we have much more demanding obligations not to kill, own, or even use animals?

Francione, in *Animals, Property and the Law* (2007), argues that the current legal standard of animal welfare does not, and cannot, establish fights for animals and animal rights. If they are viewed as property, animals will be subject to suffering for the social and economic benefit of human beings. Francione (2007) discusses the history of the treatment of animals, anticruelty statutes, vivisection, the Federal Animal Welfare Act, and specific cases, such as the controversial injury of anaesthetized baboons at the University of Pennsylvania. He thoroughly documents the paradoxical gap between our professed concern with humane treatment of animals and the overriding practice of abuse permitted by U.S. and state law. I intend to bring this line of reasoning to light when interviewing legislators.

*Political Animals and Animal Politics* (Wissenburg & Schlosberg, 2014)

examines the similarities, yet separateness, of environmental politics and animal ethics and welfare and posits animal politics as a hybrid theory of legislative and moral concern. There are key political implications in the increase of animal protection laws, the rights of nature, and political parties and movements dedicated to animals. The authors discuss the implications of the increasing attention and popularity of ethical discourses on animal welfare and animal rights for politics and political philosophy, and the animal's place in environmental political thought and in 21st century political philosophy. Wissenburg and Schlosberg (2014) combines political philosophy and theory with animal welfare and ethics philosophy.

Cochrane's (2010) *An Introduction to Animals and Political Theory* reviews political theory as it pertains to animals and ponders the issue of whether justice can or should include animals. Western political theories; utilitarianism, liberalism, communitarianism, Marxism and feminism and their contributions to the debate over animal justice are examined to determine what, if any, theory furthers the animal rights agenda. Traditionally, animal welfare considerations were non-existent; philosophers like Descartes believed animals have no moral agent, no soul, no capacities for speech, reason or feeling (Cochrane, 2010 p. 20). Later, philosopher Thomas Hobbes believed animals stood outside of the rational realm of justice; because animals were incapable of rationality, they cannot contract with one another like humans, and, as a result, were in a perpetual state of war with humans (as cited in Cochrane, 2010, p. 22). Locke and Rousseau used contract to exclude animals in the same way; Rousseau used the absence of free will. Immanuel Kant used autonomy as a rationale for considering animals as

things; he advised compassion for animals and to refrain from cruelty, but only because humane feelings for mankind stemmed from compassion for animals (as cited in Cochrane, 2010, p. 23).

Bentham's utilitarian theory linked sentience with justice, separating rationality and autonomy from the question of who merits justice. Mill, who had a major impact on contemporary utilitarian thought and liberalism, argued for inclusion of animals due to sentience. Marx abhorred the theory of utility but had no specific theoretical models regarding animals (Cochrane, 2010). Utilitarianism, being an ethical model, judges acts as right or wrong, depending on results or consequences, not whether those acts conform to religious doctrine. Cochrane (2010) believes that ethically, utilitarianism is both welfarism and egalitarian, whether or not it applies to animals or humans. The problem, Cochrane (2010) states, with utilitarian theory, is that humans and animals are not considered as equal; animals are excluded from the human equation. Peter Singer, who promoted animal liberation and equated animals and humans equally regarding pain and suffering, depending on the necessity of goals, argues that the relevant characteristic for inclusion to morality and justice was sentience or the capacity to feel pleasure or pain. However, even Singer had limits to the equality of humans and non-humans; he denied that animals possessed interests, even though interests are considered in utilitarianism. Singer was a consequential utilitarian and considered the consequential sum of welfare in utilitarian mathematics (as cited in Cochrane, 2010).

Tom Regan argued that all lives had worth, that all entities with inherent value have a right to respectful treatment and should never be treated merely as means to an end. While Singer argued that animals should be included in the cost-benefit calculation,



Regan's argument was that it failed to go far enough; even if animal experimentation or the meat industry increased overall utility, such practice would still be impermissible.

The advocates of rights argue that rights imply reciprocity, which animals are incapable of doing. Even Regan argued that individuals are "subjects-of-a-life" if they have beliefs and desires, perception and memory, and a sense of future, the ability to initiate action in pursuit of goals and a psychosocial identity (Cochrane, 2010, p. 47). The response would be not to grant rights based on subject of life, but on interests. Eventually, utilitarianism fell out of favor, replaced with liberalism, which had a major impact on the treatment of animals.

John Rawls revolutionized liberalism and political theory without relying on utilitarian calculations by taking the separateness of persons seriously. But, as he also based justice on contractualism, animals were again excluded as rights-holders; the liberal values of personhood and welfare will need readjustment when settling conflict and disputes (as cited in Cochrane, 2010). Communitarianism promotes the good of the shared norms of particular societies, much like socialism. Yet, the theory has the potential for offering strong protection for animals in a society that values animal protection.

Marxism does not specifically address animals, but if one considers animals an exploited group, then the Marxist theory that capitalism exploits workers applies to animals.

Animals are alienated from their offspring or self, just as workers are alienated from their work product. The critique is one that questions whether capitalism really does exploit animals, or whether it is humans that exploit animals with capitalistic means (Cochrane, 2010). As a side note, humans do have the capability of expressing dissatisfaction, and

they do have the means to revolt, but animals have no voice, nor do they have means to change their destiny.

Feminism has been criticized for being without reason. Yet, as feminism supports a wide range of theories, focus on the care-based theory provides an overarching view of its claims concerning justice for animals. The oppression of women is comparable to the oppression of animals, but while the oppression appears similar (as with any marginalized group), the liberation from oppression is quite different. Furthermore, the care-based approach can elicit undesirable responses from the political community. While it has been suggested that animal rights advocates use value when arguing for justice, the care-based approach does not appear to be using enough of a rational approach (Cochrane, 2010).

*Animals, Politics and Morality*, written by Robert Garner (2004), identifies a graduated range of views on the moral recognition exponents feel we owe to animals. Descartes' view of animals is one of completely lacking moral status; animals are thoughtless brutes and only indirect duties owed to animals. Kant believes that animals are sentient but lack any morally significant interests. Some views provide a moral status for animals, but it is inferior to humans. Animals have interests in not suffering, but this can be overridden to promote the greater good of humans (a common view held by contemporary moral and political philosophers). Francione's moral view is that there are very few uses of animals that are necessary to the challenges to the moral orthodoxy. Regan's view is that animals have rights based on animals having inherent value, based on sentience or Singer's utilitarianism and Rowland's contractarianism (Garner, 2004, pp. 10-11).

Garner (2004) believes that language is an important way of expressing belief, although it is not the only way. Others believe that the lack of a voice is the biggest obstacle for animals to be considered beings entitled to rights. Singer's utilitarianism and its emphasis on equal consideration of interests, and Regan's assertion that at least some animals are possessors of rights, have been the two approaches that are the most scrutinized (Garner, 2004, p. 27). Such is the debate between utilitarian and rights theories. Garner's (2004) opinions of each comprises much of the ethics portion of the book; utilitarianism is a consequentialist theory, and an action is deemed right or wrong only according to the consequences that flow from that action. Rights theory (traditionally linked to God or legislature) maintains rights are "moral notions that grow out of respect for the individual" (Garner, 2004, p. 29). Utilitarianism was modernized to state that the good to be pursued is the maximization of preference of interest satisfaction, with equality of consideration, not treatment, being the key feature of utilitarianism. Each case would need to be considered or judged on its merits. Garner (2004) suggests the utilitarian calculation of present practices is no longer required, as all present practices of animal exploitation, because animals are most assuredly not considered equally. Regan implies that our moral intuition should rule out utilitarian conclusions, but he goes on to say the intuition is dubious because of competing intuitions (as cited in Garner, 2004).

There is a weakness with animal welfare in liberal societies. Major liberal theories exclude animals as beneficiaries of justice, which may result in moral pluralism. What happens to animals depends on the moral preferences, rather than enforced moral principles, as shown by a society's laws and customs. Anthropocentric values exist in other political theories: communism, socialism, and capitalism, even feminism.

Feminism's theory of oppression suggests that sexism and speciesism are one side of the same coin. The values hypothesis rejects rights theory based on masculine language, rationalism, and prefers the ethic of care, nurturing, empathy, and sympathy (Garner, 2004, p. 39).

Garner (2004) continues to characterize the animal protection movements, classifying each by cause/sectional, primary and secondary functions, scope, animal rights or welfare, and new social movement (p. 67). While the first four characteristics are self-explanatory, the new social movement term is deceiving, as it includes grassroots organizations that have sprung from existing organizations like PETA or HSUS. Indicative of the animal protection success, counter mobilization has gained strength against the animal protection movement by organizations representing animal users, particularly in the medical research field, but also including hunting lobbyists. Garner (2004) explains the rise in the animal protection movement-other than expansion of existing organizations-as the growth of a post-material political culture that has taken the quality of life stance, considering nature and moral concerns. Concern for animals may also have developed out of attention to moral issues, due to a more affluent society with enough surplus income to donate to causes.

The origins of animal welfare legislation in the United States, after unimaginable atrocities visited upon animals, began with an anti-cruelty act in New York in 1828, followed by numerous state legislations, the 1958 Humane Slaughter Act, and the Animal Welfare Act of 1966, amended in 1970, 1976, and 1985 (Garner, 2004). These two acts addressed animals in fights, regulates state to state transportation of animals, the supply of animals for medical research, and animals killed for food. Animal agriculture is big

business and is responsible for one of the biggest lobbyists, The American Farm Bureau Federation. Farm animals' suffering, how they are kept, transported, and slaughtered is a concern begging for legislative interference. In this case, utilitarian theory does justify the end to meat eating.

Vivisection, laboratory animals, and their use in medical science practice has reached an enormous volume in the United States. When the Animal Welfare Act apparently did not do enough to protect laboratory animals, the Improved Standards for Laboratory Animals Act in 1985 was thought to have enforced welfare for animals in medical research, but it has not done enough to protect these animals, due to not only lack of enforcement, but also state-specific anti-cruelty laws (Garner, 2004). While both Regan and Singer agreed that an animal being subjects-of-a-life, Regan believed *all* laboratory uses should be prohibited since they violate rights to life, while Singer believed that medical research conducted on animals would be justified if it saved human lives, albeit if the animal's suffering was minimal (Garner, 2004).

Favre's (2011) *Animal Law: Welfare, Interests, and Rights* discusses the historical perspective of law as it pertains to animal rights. Traditionally, the only provision prohibiting cruelty to animals only pertained to if the harmed animal belonged to someone else (property law), with no regard to the harm suffered to the animal. The first wave an anti-cruelty laws was the New York law of 1829, but that still regarded animals as property and was limited in its scope to certain animals (Favre, 2011). It was not illegal to torture a dog or bear; it was primarily used to protect horses. Henry Bergh founded the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to animals in New York and was responsible for drafting more effective legislation, which broadened the protection

for other animals, necessary due to the diversity and lack of uniformity in many state laws, while federal legislation lacked breadth.

Favre (2011) examines numerous case law examples regarding animal cruelty and state regulations. The book appears to center on the description of abuse, and the property issue of companion animals. Crush videos are an example of conflicting law; freedom of speech guarantees the right to market videos of intentional animal cruelty, while the act itself is a felony in many states. Child pornography is illegal, and freedom of speech does not cover the marketing of those products yet preventing the torture of animals did not implicate “interests of the same magnitude” (Favre, 2011, p. 221). Michigan law states exemptions to cruel acts, including the *lawful* killing or other use of an animal for hunting, trapping, or wildlife control; fishing; horse racing; the operation of an aquarium or zoo; pest or rodent control; farming or generally accepted animal husbandry or farming that includes livestock; scientific research (Favre, 2011, p. 231). Puppy mills are generally protected and licensed by the USDA, except in instances of animal cruelty, which is defined according to the state law. The Animal Welfare Act provides little protection for animals; in fact, it excludes agricultural animals. The Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act is ineffective at monitoring the vast number of slaughterhouses, nor does it cover chickens, turkeys, ducks or geese. The World Trade Organization is more effective in poultry protection due to the common-sense reciprocity regarding humane laws in all countries involved in trade; the WTO can block trade from a country that fails to protect the chickens or egg layers, as well as the consumer (Favre, 2011, p. 309).

Animal rights laws and legal standing for animals is affected by culture, religion, and philosophy. The Bible dictates that man rules over animals but does not dictate the use of animals as food. That is the basis for the prevailing dichotomy of man's dominion vs. use. Utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham claimed animals' interests had been neglected and considered property. Bentham is the originator of the quote "The question is not, can they reason? Nor, can they talk? But, can they suffer?" (as cited in Favre, 2011, p. 396). Regarding jurisprudence and the concept of rights (natural rights vs. legal or civil rights), Favre (2011) believes there are pathways for greater legal protection of animal interests, beginning at state level by expanding or modifying current law; changing opinions of judges in their capacity to effect common law; changing law at the federal level (albeit more difficult but possible through a constitutional amendment); and the market force of consumers, which has shown to be successful (p. 423). Additional methods of expanding rights via the animal rights movement are social networking, media, and universities, and law schools. However, there are powerful adversaries who campaign just as much against animals' obtaining political standing: hunting alliances, consumer freedom groups, medical groups, and those who label themselves as anti-animal rights groups. The largest animal welfare/rights movement groups are the Humane Society of the United States, with its own PAC; the Animal Legal Defense Fund; PETA; the ASPCA's legal division; the Animal Liberation Front; and other lesser known offshoots working for specific causes (Favre, 2011).

*The Political Theory of Animal Rights* by Robert Garner (2005) addresses the key issues in contemporary political theory and debates "between advocates of liberalism and communitarianism; rights, utility and contractarianism; neutral and perfectionist theories

of the state and liberal and feminist theories of justice.” (2005, p. 1). He also states how important a role academics played in both the women’s movement and the civil rights movement and compares that progress with the lack of important political, social, and academic advances that the animal rights or liberation movement has made. Garner (2005) offers criticism of environmental egocentric protection movements as “enlightened anthropocentrism”, in that it tends to put human values first when considering protection of the environment. Garner (2005) especially sees a problem with the liberal paradigm: not with the non-speciesist utilitarian calculation, which could put animals’ interests on par with humans, or that animals would still be regarded as property of humans if denied rights, but that animals could be left unprotected if moral rights aren’t recognized by liberal theory of justice. An amended contractarian approach may be a preferable alternative if it incorporates animal interests by establishing that animals can be beneficiaries of decisions made by participants. Utilitarianism would be beneficial for animals only if animals were on equal footing with humans. The major division in animal rights has been between Regan’s rights theory and Singer’s utilitarianism. The third approach, the contractarianism approach for a higher moral status for animals, appears to be a variant of the rights theory, but offers an objective approach (Garner, 2005, p. 33). The rights theory bases moral principles on natural law and natural rights but that is based on a theory that is obscure. Utilitarian theory offers no guideline on what determines happiness and is not objective. Its aggregation of interests is not in line with liberalism, yet it can be more flexible.

Garner (2005) does not seem to offer enough approval for liberalism, even though he acknowledges the theory of animal protection stems from liberal, western policy.



However, he criticizes the animal rights movement for working only for animal rights and not considering any conflict that may arise from that principle. Garner (2005) claims that moderating or abolishing the property status of animals is insufficient; animals cannot be regarded as rights holders as long as they are property. His attack is primarily aimed at liberalism and its moral pluralism. Traditionally, liberal principles warranted interference only when individual rights may directly harm others. Unless animals are added to that equation, liberalism excludes animals' rights.

Conservatism offers little protection for animals, but favors a broad paternalism in which empathy, honorable conduct, and kindness toward animals is one of its tenets, albeit patronizingly and viewed only as a human virtue. Garner's (2005) own legislative research indicates that interests in animal protection is strongly correlated with party. Additionally, there is a correlation between animal protection advocacy and party label, but support for the issues is particularly prevalent among Labor and Democratic legislators who were generally considered to the left of their respective parties (Garner, 2005) and representing voting districts in the north east and the west. Legislative records indicate favorable support of animal protection among liberal legislators, also supported by liberal organizations. Socialist and Labor parties have been weak in animal protection support, and for some, animal rights issues present a distraction from the true purpose of the socialist movement (Garner, 2005).

Garner's *Political Animals: Animal Protection Politics in Britain and the United States* (1998) is an additional source of his review of pluralism, policy networks, and animal protection. He questions those opposed to animal defense, their interest representation, and influence on politics. His comparison between the United States and

Great Britain is an example of how animal protection is afforded more significance in Great Britain. Garner's (1998) contribution in the political science sphere is significant in how the animal protection movement is affected by public policy, and, in turn, how the animal rights movements have had minimal effect on policy and legislation, regardless of their efforts. The comparison between Great Britain and the United States continues regarding farm animals (USDA is significantly weaker than its British counterpart, MAFF) (Garner, 1998, p. 31) and laboratory animals under the auspices of the National Institute of Health, supposedly protected by the USDA, and controversial, as federal agencies have an interest in animal research. There is no federal statute to protect domestic animals, other than the Animal Welfare Act (AWA), which offers no protection after pets are sold. In fact, the AWA does little to protect animals in puppy mills due to lax enforcement for inspection, as these are licensed by the USDA. The complex wildlife conservation efforts via the Fish and Wildlife Service administers the Endangered Species Act, Wild Birds Conservation Act, and, jointly with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, passed the Marine Mammal Protection Act in 1972 (Garner, 1998, p.37).

Humans are served by animal exploitation. That statement cannot be minimized. Any lobbying efforts by animal protection groups must recognize that powerful special interest groups stress economic dependence on the use of animals. Garner (1998) describes the political organization of the animal use lobby; those interest groups range anywhere from farming lobbies and hunting organizations to power companies, chemical and pharmaceutical companies, federal agencies, and groups that would have indirect benefit from animal exploitation, such as the NRA. The groups defending animal use are

numerous, diverse, powerful, and employ experienced and connected lobbyists. Animal welfarists' goals are questioned; both Garner (1998) and Francione admit that animal welfare objectives fall short of the criteria needed for the incremental measures that animal rights advocates can support. Additionally, animal exploiters have benefitted by becoming adept at using welfare language, but more importantly, became unified by being able to use the divide between animal rights and welfarists against them.

Historically, the key players in the animal protection movement, including HSUS, PETA, the National Wildlife Federation, Sierra Club, and the American Humane Association, were not politically active until the 1970s, with the emergence of grass roots groups (Garner, 1998). The wealthiest of those groups are active in direct aid via shelters, clinics, and animal rescue. The scope of legislative support for animal protection reveals several key issues: party tends to predict support, with Democrats figuring strongly in pro-animal legislation, and the geographic profile indicates a greater portion of pro-animal legislators derive from California and New York. The pro-animal user groups are supported mostly by legislators from western and southern states. Support for animal issues is strongest from liberal, industrial, urban states, and weakest among rural, agricultural, conservative regions (Garner, 1998, pp. 127-130). Agribusiness appears to be the most influential interest over all animal use groups nationwide, and that has been aided by congressional committees and sub-committees; these committees are known to be hostile toward animal welfare measures. Briefly mentioned, but of significant importance, is campaign finance from corporate gifts, which extend far beyond the campaign and election; contributions from Political Action Committees go on to affect

voting during the legislator's tenure. Garner (1998) accurately illustrates some of the more important influences in legislating animal protection and animal use.

Margaret Cooper's *An Introduction to Animal Law* (1987) provides resource information for legislation, statutes, and regulations in several countries, but it is primarily a resource for Great Britain. Great Britain's massive list of statutes is comprised of acts affecting agriculture, domestic pets, animal health, conservation, slaughter, wildlife, trade, etc. It dwarfs the United States' list of statutes. Legislation in the U.S. is mentioned but is limited due to states' legislative powers and congressional limitations. Most animal legislation in the United States is found at the state level (Cooper, 1987), and that contributes greatly to the ineffectiveness of animal protection nationwide. The US legislation relating to specific topics is the least efficient of all nations listed, while the US utilizes many animals in experimental labs (Cooper, 1987).

### **Culture Factors Resources**

Religion, culture, tradition and geography greatly affect views and actions regarding animal protection. These resources have been listed and utilized to indicate additional influences for animal use. A controversial book regarding southern, agrarian culture is Wise's (2009) *An American Trilogy: Death, Slavery, & Dominion on the Banks of the Cape Fear River*. Wise is also the author of *Rattling the Cage: Toward Legal Rights for Animals* (2010). Wise is an animal rights activist, and is passionate about the rights movement; so passionate, in fact, that much of what he writes may be considered biased toward animals. Even so, this book offers a disconcerting view of America's history of genocide, racism, and speciesism and centers on one location in North Carolina: Bladen County, home of the Tar Heel slaughterhouse. The practice of systemic

and abhorrent hog farming and the infamous slaughterhouses in North Carolina are the center of debates regarding animal cruelty, factory farming, environmental concerns, and community debates regarding the unhealthy and enormous amount of waste from hog farms. The one noteworthy hog farm and slaughterhouse central to Wise's (2009) criticism is located on the very same land that was once archetypal of slavery, and before that, the land on which genocide of the Native Americans occurred. North Carolina has historically been an epicenter of human rights debates and has lately been newsworthy regarding questionable rights issues. The state epitomizes the conservative culture that is the southern, red, agricultural states.

Beginning with a values laden discourse on animal cruelty and an expose provided by PETA, Wise (2009) then presents records of slavery sales, with quotes that characterize the general way of life and values from that era and locality. He offers a lucid argument for ethnocentrism and racism based on religious acquiescence and Bible interpretations. Prior to the slavery, colonization beginning with mass extermination of the American Indian occurred in the very same state. Wise (2009) convincingly considers that as much as we find intolerable America's objectionable past, we may later be judged for what we now do to animals. Wise (2009) emphasizes the North Carolina's settlers' Protestant theological doctrine and Bible's Genesis "divine justification for exterminating Indians, enslaving Africans and inflicting hideous cruelty upon mother pigs and their babies" (p. ix). The book is hard to read, as it is explicit, but the author's intention is to shock and outrage, as exhibited by the following quotes. It is the most important source in this research that exemplifies the chain of culture and religion's influence on animal welfare. "I subjoin some observations regarding animals, vulgarly called Indians.... They

have shapes of men and maybe of the human species, but certainly in their present state they approach the character of Devils” (Henry Hugh Brackenridge, *Indian Atrocities: Narratives of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover Among the Indians, During the Revolutionary War with Short Memoirs of Col Crawford & John Slover and a Letter from, H. Brackenridge on the Rights of Indians.* (U.P. James, 1867) (1853). (1853) as cited in Wise, 2001, p. 23). “The whole Southern mind with an unparalleled unanimity regards the institution of slavery as righteous and just, ordained of God, and to be perpetuated by man.” (William H. Holcombe, “*The Alternative: A Separate Nationality, or the Africanization of the South.*” 32 *Southern Literary Messenger* 81, 81(1861) (p. 41). “Nature...will be forever deaf and dumb in the presence of Judeo-Christian societies” (Calvin Martin, “*The War Between Indians and Animals*” 1981 (p. 173). “Religion is the single most important factor that drives American belief and behaviors. It is a powerful indicator of where Americans will end up on politics, culture, family life. If you want to understand America, you have to understand religion in America” Michael Lindsay. *Rice University Center on Race, Religion, and Urban Life.* 198. (p. 173).

Wise’s (2010) study was published too early to examine the recent controversy regarding trophy hunting and the killing of Cecil, a lion that lived primarily in the Hwange National Park in Matabeleland North, Zimbabwe. He was being studied and tracked by the University of Oxford as part of a larger study, and his murder has been a source of controversy worldwide. Kai Horsthemke (2015), in *Animals and African Ethics*, discusses animal ethics and religion regarding African views on animals. Ethical complications have recently caused a rethinking of animals and ethical philosophy.

Animal ethics has become not only an increased area for academic exploration but has also renewed scientific investigation and political discourse. The African continent consists of numerous languages with corresponding tribal and ethnic diversity; however, there is commonality found in ethnic morality, linked to African religions and tribal culture. While traditional African ethics have been tied to religions that are environmentally friendly (one would believe that African culture treasures sacred ground), some modern African religious attitudes have become less linked to the values of environment, animals, and plant life, and thereby less ethical toward animals (Horsthemke, 2015).

This is an example of “cultural relativism”, meaning what is accepted by standards of a particular culture is what is good, and vice versa (Horsthemke, 2015, p. 54). An example of contrasting cultural mores is the Hindu religion seeing slaughter of cows as immoral; many African cultural traditions require the slaughter of cows. Ubuntu means humanity and can be translated as humanity towards others; in a more philosophical sense, it can mean the belief in a universal bond of all humanity but is also relational in text. Philosophically, the term Hunhu or Ubuntu stresses the importance of community connectedness that can accord moral status to nonhumans, which, in turn, could forbid sacrificing an animal’s significant interest for a human’s trivial one (Horsthemke, 2015). Yet, the belief system of Ubuntu is still anthropocentric.

Traditional African thought implies that it is wrong to take more than you need; however, this is not evident regarding the environment and conservation. Disappearing forests, dwindling rhino and ape populations, and the threat of mass extinction indicate that this ethic does not agree with political and economic realities. Animal welfare

legislation in some African countries is much like animal welfare legislation in the United States; it may provide minimal protection and is vaguely worded. There is little legislation regarding the protection of wildlife, as demonstrated by the lucrative exotic animal trade, and little legislation regarding the use of animals for research or livestock husbandry.

Cao's (2015) *Animals in China: Law and Society* is another resource considering animal culture and ethics in another country. Chinese cultural practices are interesting, and ancient Chinese thought does not separate humans and animals. Cao (2015) introduces the study by stating that "humans are a leading cause of distress, pain and suffering for other animals, no matter which country and which culture we come from" (p. xii). Even though there is the importance and prominence of animals and animal symbols in Chinese culture, the government does not allow animal suffering to be taught in schools, nor is it an intellectual concern or a concern of law (Cao, 2015). China has become a major supplier of animals for experimentation and supports a growing fur and leather industry, but it should be noted that the United States is the consumer. In fact, Western companies have introduced cruel and inhumane practices of intense farming. Animals are important to China, literally and figuratively. The Chinese eat animals, wear them, use them in traditional as well as non-traditional medicine, are entertained by them, and carve artwork from them. Today, China's dogmeat festival requires dogs to suffer from pain and terror prior to butchering them. Bear bile farming requires bears to endure a lifetime of torture for Chinese medicine. While the US is no shining example of animal welfare, animal cruelty is at least recognized and superficially condemned; China has not addressed these issues in any significant way.



In China, animals have no intrinsic value; they exist solely for human needs. This instrumental approach prevails, yet in traditional Chinese thinking, animals held high moral status and animal protection was found in imperial codes and Confucian thought. Cao (2015) attempts to highlight the importance of law as a critical and vital role in animal welfare when traditional moral principle fails. Coincidentally, the Chinese politics is one of inequality, encouraging a hierarchy of power and status concerning animals and humans. The little wildlife protection offered in China serves to preserve wildlife for use by humans. However, the one true animal protection law currently in existence is the Wildlife Protection Law of 1998, a framework for conserving endangered species as well as the utilization of wildlife resources. Only certain animals are afforded protection under this law: those that are rare or have important economic or scientific value (Cao, 2015).

Laboratory animals receive protection under the Administration of Laboratory Animals and the Guidelines for the Humane Treatment of Laboratory Animals (Cao, 2015), but there are limits on the type of animal it protects, namely those that are bred and fed by laboratories. It does not address any other animal used for experimentation. The guidelines are surprisingly explicit and recommend the cancellation of licenses to those institutions that violate any of the listed acts or abuses. The violations, as in the United States, are not criminal offences. Recent efforts for legislative protection include efforts to enact a law to protect domestic animals, submitted in 2010 to the Chinese national legislative body. Since 2011, delegates of the National People's Congress have submitted formal bills and proposals prohibiting animal cruelty (Cao, 2015, p. 1). As of 2015, no laws have been approved. The Chinese animal protection movement as a social movement spread to China in the 1970s. There are three factors in the analysis of the

emerging animal protection movement in China: political opportunities and constraints confronting a movement; the forms of organization; and the collective process of interpretation, attribution and social construction (cultural framing) (Cao, 2015, p. 165). Initially, animal welfare reform was not regarded as important in China in the 1970s due to the economic and social conditions. Even as political and economic conditions have improved in the last ten years, the animal protection movement is not a political movement. Cao (2015) recommends that the animal protection movement avoid political controversy and political demand of rights.

Geographic issues are also economic and cultural. Dogs are companion animals and dogs are a pet in most of the world. But pet culture has its biases, as we have learned from Michael Vick's dogs (dogs should not be used for fighting), or Travis the chimpanzee (who should not have been a pet), who attacked and brutally mauled a woman. Chinese breed goldfish as they manipulate their genes, while dog breeding to modify some traits have resulted in a landscape of acceptance of dualistic dominance. The top three religions-Christianity, Islam and Hinduism-greatly influence our attitudes toward, practices regarding, and experiences with animals. Economics affects what animals we exploit but also how we treat our pets, a commodity economy. The black market for exotic pets is worth billions of dollars annually. Culture affects animal use and protection and varies between keeping pets or eating them (Urbank, 2012).

The intersection of ethical/political geographies is shown by pet-specific legislation, activism, and bestiality. Ethics concerns moral choices-what is wrong and right-while politics is the conflict over whose vision of society and right/wrong behavior will prevail. Case and legislative law is the arena in which political conflict is addressed

and hopefully resolved. Thus, animal geography is important to animal protection. Bestiality (sexual relation with an animals), zoophilia (sexual, loving relationship with an animal), and zoosadism (sexual pleasure from inflicting pain on an animal) concerns have generated five major discourses: a state that has no law against the acts will become a magnet; concern about the moral implications about the animals' inability to consent; sexual abuse of an animal; equation of animals with children, making the act akin to pedophilia; and preservation of humanity (Urbank, 2012, p. 68).

Legislation affecting puppy mills exists in thirty-three states, but it does not ban puppy mills, as they are regulated and approved by USDA (Urbank, 2012); breed specific legislation (BSL) is found in some states where pit bulls are banned, and interestingly, BSL is also designed to keep certain undesirable humans (drug dealers or dogfighters) away. Opponents of BSL argue it is discriminatory; dog behavior comes from human breeding. Extreme animal activism is what happens when conflicts over practices on animals become extreme. The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has been labeled as terrorists, so the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA) codifies animal activism and makes any criminal disruption of any legitimate business (primarily laboratories) a felony. ALF attacks occurred mostly in the United States and the United Kingdom; coincidentally, most animal research labs are in the United States (Urbank, 2012).

Animals raised for food is more prevalent in the United States, Russia, Australia, and China. That includes cattle, poultry and dairy production. The choice to eat animals as food is not only geographic, but cultural, religious and economic (Urbank, 2012). Any legislation in the United States concerning animal husbandry has been indulgent, unenforced, and not beneficial to animals' interests. *Animal Geographies: Place,*

*Politics, and Identity in the nature-Culture Borderlands* (Wolch & Emel, 1998) is a collection of essays that explores the diverse human-animal relationships, how animals shape human identity, and reveals much about human nature. Animals worldwide are killed, by the billions, in factory farms, laboratories, by toxic waste and pollutants, and are driven from their natural environments by urbanization. The book presents a consideration of the places where people and animals coexist on an everyday basis. It then examines how animals figure in the globalization of production and mass consumption, taking up legal and ethical approaches to human-animal relations.

Wolch and Emel (1998) consider the inclusion of animals in social theory: as the animal “culture” is believed to have been acquired rather than instinctive, animals learn culture specific behavior and response. In 1928, sociologist Read Bain, believed the linkage between nonhumans and humans indicated a growing concern to social theorists (as cited in Wolch & Emel, 1998, p. 1). To exclude animals from social theory would be indicative of anthropocentrism. The animal economy has only increased dramatically since then; profits from the trade and use of animals and animal parts has become global, as western food norms create a world diet predicated on animal proteins. Increase in other animal uses have created wildlife loss and extinction and loss of natural habitat, i.e. wetlands and forests, in the United States, Russia, China, Brazil, India, and South Africa. Industrial chemical pollution threatens wildlife, overfishing threatens whales. Wild animal trade and hunting tourism threatens extinction of certain species; poaching has caused enormous suffering to elephant and rhino populations in Africa. Biotechnology research labs and drug manufacturers, cosmetic companies using animals in

experimentation, and vivisection are multi-million-dollar industries, increasing exponentially worldwide, but especially in the United States (Wolch & Emel, 1998).

The threats of massive environmental damage and species extinction has led to increased animal advocacy, targeted social movements, and political turbulence, leaving a significant role of animal protection up to the states. However, legislation and regulation has become ineffectual or non-existent due to globalization of markets and increased trade agreements, thwarting activism's effectiveness, but also increasing awareness of the scale of habitat loss and animal death and suffering. Animal politics is worldwide, but chronic political conflict in the United States is becoming the norm; environmentalists and animal advocates versus industry and special interest groups have battled. Animal welfare and rights lobbies versus the livestock interests, bioengineering interests, and pharmaceutical industries have waged wars in Statehouse and Congress (Wolch & Emel, 1998). Thanks to feminism and postmodernism, animal advocacy has transcended old lines of irrationality and legitimation of animals and human-animal studies and interactions have become subjects for research and scholarly investigation (Wolch & Emel, 1998). Darwin's evolution theory only served to maintain lower forms of life (Wolch & Emel, 1998, p. 80). Wolch and Emel (1998) goes on to highlight specific instances and locations of wolf eradication in the United States as a result of cattle ranchers' need to expand grazing land. In the same areas of present wolf eradication, the southwestern United States, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw possibly the greatest animal slaughter in history: over five million buffaloes, antelopes, passenger pigeons, Indian ponies, and wolves (Wolch & Emel, 1998, p. 99).

Currently, other than laws concerning interstate shipment and foreign commerce, individual states' laws regulate most of animal anti-cruelty laws or laws regarding scientific pursuit (Regan, 1986, p. 49). Linzey argues that recognition of the value of creation is not a simple matter of law. Obedience to law does not guarantee moral respect to animals, nor does it increase moral good. Linzey argues for animal protectionists' awareness of the law's limitations. Law cannot rule over immorality, greed, cruelty, incompetence, stupidity, sadism or insanity. Theology, he argues, has been slow to respond to iniquity of slavery and the rights of "colored people" (as cited in Regan, 1986, p. 141). Perhaps, he ponders, current theologians will seriously reflect upon the new kind of reverence for nature that has appeared., for "the anthropocentric theology of the last 15 or 20 years has clearly run out of inspiration and is degenerating toward triviality" (as cited in Regan, 1986, p. 141).

The moral status of animals in Roman Catholic thought runs from Thomas Aquinas' position that animals cannot be recipients of morality as they lack reason, good, or capability of happiness to Francis of Assisi's charitable view of care and concern for God's irrational creatures to Sir Thomas More's utopian view of harmony and compassion to animals as ironic to Christian doctrine (Regan, 1986, p. 157). Thomas Aquinas posited that,

if a man's affection be one of reason, it matters not how man behaves to animals...But if a man's affection be one of passion, then it is moved also in regard to other animals...and since it happens that even irrational animals are sensible to pain, it is possible for the affection of pity to arise in a man with regard to the sufferings of animals. Now it is evident that if a man practices a pitiful

affection for animals, he is all the more disposed to take pity in his fellow men (as cited in Regan, 1986, p. 157).

Liberalism and a modern renewal of interest in animals as objects of human morality is characteristic of liberal social criticism, while the Catholic response was defensive. Catholicism was never a defender of human rights, as shown by its lack of voice for women's rights. The Catholic response to animal activism was one of beneficence toward the elimination of cruelty to beasts, as long as the activists recognized that attributing rights to animals based on false principles cannot be obtained. However, the Catholic argument regarding the re-evaluation of human treatment of animals may be influenced by the prevailing trends about general ethical matters. Still, James Gaffney (as cited in Regan, 1986, p. 168) concludes with the position of doubt. While the Catholic church has not withheld any moral approval to inhumane treatment of animals that serve human needs, the use of animals for science has been presumed as innocent and legitimate by the projects they serve.

The Muslim viewpoint on animal experimentation cannot be studied as an isolated point. The Quran claims animals are communities like humans and animal rights are not in relation to humankind or its values. The teachings of Islam in animal welfare regard the understanding of life as one homogenous organism, speaks of preservation of species and Islam law strongly deprecates all direct or indirect acts of cruelty to animals. Slaughter tradition is much like Jewish law that dispenses with preslaughter stunning and animal sacrifice is still practiced in Mecca (Al-Hafiz B.A. Masri, as cited in Regan 1986, p. 187).

Saint Thomas Aquinas' view concerning animals is the dominant tradition that regards nonhumans as essential as resources for human well-being in the temporal realm, including bodily nourishment and spiritual knowledge (McLaughlin, 2014, p. 8). Aquinas' theological framework and hierarchy regards forms of life as classification of souls; a vegetative soul, which provides nourishment, augmentation, and generation, lacks sentience and rationality. Secondly, the nonhuman animal provides all of the vegetative qualities, but they possess the exterior and interior senses, while lacking rationality. At the top of the list is the human soul, containing all of the qualities of the vegetative and nonhuman, plus rationality. It is keeping with the order of nature that each soul on the list make use of the soul beneath, then man makes use of plants and animals (McLaughlin, 2014, p. 10). Because nonhumans lack rational souls, they lack the capacity for ultimate happiness; Aquinas does not consider nonhuman animals subjects of direct moral concern because their nature precludes them from God's redemption. Still, Aquinas argued against causing harm to animals who have no direct moral concern could lead to causing harm to sensitive creatures that do have moral concern (as cited in McLaughlin, 2014, p. 18).

Andrew Linzey, a Christian advocate for animal rights (as cited in McLaughlin, 2014), discusses animal suffering and explores the common arguments used to exclude animals from moral concern: animals are slaves, animals have no rationality, animals lack the ability to communicate, animals are not moral agents, and animals have no immortal souls. It is his argument that due to animals' lack of rationality and communication, humans' responsibility toward them increases. Lack of rationality means animals cannot rationalize deprivation, so lack of rationality may cause suffering to increase, while lack



of communication makes animals powerless to give consent or communicate their desires. Finally, if humans are morally superior, then they have even more of a responsibility regarding duties to animals (as cited in McLaughlin, 2014). Nicola Hoggard Creegan's (2013) *Animal Suffering and the Problem of Evil* contemplates the suffering of animals and compares it to the suffering of Christ. Beginning with the Holocaust, Creegan points out that mankind has lost confidence in faith, particularly the Adamic Fall, after the mass casualties of the twentieth century (2013). Creegan (2013) claims that silence is, and was always, one response to evil, and relates it to animal suffering. However, she claims, humans are also animals, and as animals, humans suffer as well. To neglect suffering minimizes it, but liberalism combines naturalism with the denial of the miraculous God. While violence is written into our theology, humans are not to blame for all evil; evil predates our becoming. Perhaps, as Creegan (2013) argues, humans and animals cooperate with evil that moves beyond the human level. Regardless, animal suffering compels us to act, and as animals need us, we need them. Christians are obliged, due to the commonality of suffering, to confront animal cruelty.

Creegan (2013) considers the question of animal inferiority: Genesis-driven assumptions about dominion should be reassessed with a new understanding of animals as creatures with a sense of being alive. Prior theological boundaries need to be reevaluated; evolution theory exposes a false belief in the separation between animals and humans, as we see how close human and nonhuman really are. Other than the biological bond, the author claims animals and humans relate to each other in sin, death, and temptation (Creegan, 2013). Given that Creegan (2013) admits animal suffering is evil, she also presents an argument claiming animals may have suffered for so long so that

humans could understand evil. Ultimately, the author's intention is not only to expand the awareness of animal suffering, but also to encourage rethinking interpretation of core Christian values.

*Animal Liberation and Atheism: Dismantling the Procrustean Bed* (Socha, 2014) considers religion as the force propelling humanity further away from ever respecting the rights of animals to live free from harm and unnecessary death. The author believes animal exploitation and religious belief are interconnected. Socha (2014) contends that religious arguments for animal rights, emancipation, and advocacy, while appearing to be compassionate, merely stretch the parameters of religion to make animal liberation fit into an anthropocentric, speciesist, hierarchal belief system that fails to speak of true liberation (p. 2). Both animal rights movements and atheism are in their relative infancies, and both movements are making advancement both socially and politically. Socha (2014) believes religion is a tool used to serve the purpose of meaning, mortality, and supremacy over nonhumans. The author also believes atheism does not speak up strongly for nonhuman animals; nevertheless, she also believes atheism and agnosticism have done more to foster compassion toward animals than religion has. A 1984 survey taken in the *Animal's Agenda* magazine survey of animal advocates indicated 65% of responders claimed to agnostic or atheist (as cited in Socha, 2014, p. 32); a salient point to remember if advocating for animals in a conservative state.

Hierarchy is the cause of many of society's inequities: sexism, heterosexism, racism, ableism, and classism are quite often created by patriarchy, the rule of white, heterosexual, moneyed, Christian, Euro-American men (Socha, 2014, p. 49). Therefore, animal advocates theorized by ecofeminism will assert that patriarchy is the cause of

women's, animal's and environmental degradation. *Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism* by Richard D. Ryder (2000) considers the changing attitude in animal protection, anthropocentrism, and speciesism. As the animal rights advocacy gains momentum, Ryder reviews the more recent history of animal and environmental (environmental advocacy combined with animal protection as opposed to environmentalism for human benefit) movements, and he introduces the concept of "pianism". He traces the animal rights movement as animal liberation of the 1970s, with its roots in the 1960s, born out of concerns of the 1950's militaristic culture of the cold war. The 1960's period of liberation movements in America was a result of anti-authority actions. Progress against racism, sexism, and liberation of thought in the 1960s became a springboard for movements against the oppression of animals after 1969 (Ryder, 2000, p. 4). Dependence on animals for food and clothing is no longer necessary; still, slaughter for food, fur, leather, and feathers means that we continue to inflict injuries on nonhumans via torture in the name of science, torture for consumption, and abuse for entertainment.

The Age of Enlightenment began to see true compassion for animals. Quakers, Methodists, Anglicans, and sceptics became committed to concern for animals. Voltaire and Sir Isaac Newton attacked cruelty; humanitarians became active in Germany and France, while revulsion at flesh-eating produced vegetarianism (Ryder, 2000). Charles Darwin emphasized the mental similarities between animals and humans; he was preceded by the Victorian animal welfare movement. Religious thinkers of all denominations began to match the secular thought on animal welfare. Liberal thought encouraged compassion for animals, but the discovery of the great apes made it difficult

to deny any similarities (Ryder, 2000). Pain then became the deciding factor for animal welfare; Bentham opposed any intentional pain on animals yet did not oppose death.

Thomas Paine urged kindness, while George Nicholson advocated vegetarianism. Brian Davis of the International Fund for Animal Welfare successfully opposed seal slaughter (Ryder, 2000, p. 72).

By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cruelty became the mark of distinction between the uneducated and the vulgar and the refined and cultivated. The witnessing of cruelty to horses and farm animals marked the beginning of significant attempts to legislate animal protection. From the end of World War I through World War II, animal welfare stagnated, and interests turned to human welfare. Gradually, more evidence accrued, suggesting nonhumans experience pain, and pain became the threshold for concern. Utilitarian Peter Singer argued for nonhuman sentience, while activist Tom Regan argued for animals' inherent value (Ryder, 2000). *Critical Perspectives on Veganism* (Castricano & Simonsen, 2016) offers thoughts on why veganism has reached an awareness in animal advocacy. Tom Regan and Robert Garner advocate for veganism; Garner essentially declared that not being vegan is hypocritical for animal protection advocates. Justification for eating animals comes from a culture that considers meat eating normal, natural, and necessary. Defense of carnism is denial, and denial finds its expression in invisibility. Victims of carnism are kept out of sight; body parts abound, but the animal is seldom seen by the average meat eater. Carnism is just one of the many violent ideologies that are an unfortunate part of human legacy. Carnism represents the mentality of domination and subjugation, privilege and oppression, and oppressing and exploiting vulnerable others (women, animals, savages) (Castricano & Simonsen 2016, p.

xiii). R.C. Jones (as cited in Castricano & Simonsen, 2016) presents the argument(s) for ethical veganism: it is wrong to cause suffering or premature death unless it is for good reason; the production of animal products causes animal suffering; consumption of animals increases production of animal products; the majority of humans can flourish without eating animal products; the majority of humans consume animal products not out of need, but preference and taste; and taste or preference is not a good reason to justify animal suffering. Therefore, it is morally wrong to consume animal products. Therefore, a vast majority of humans ought to stop eating animal products (as cited in Castricano & Simonsen, 2016, p. 17).

Holdier (as cited in Castricano & Simonsen, 2016) criticizes Western animal processing industries as not promoting human flourishing; nor does the dairy industry. His reasoning behind the obvious animal rights argument would satisfy most welfarists: the animal processing industry is harmful because it physically compromises workers, community members are angered by meatpacking factories in their neighborhoods, and the overall effect of CAFOs (concentrated animal feeding operations) on climate change and the environment is harmful (Holdier, as cited in Castricano & Simonsen, 2016). Based on resistance encountered against animal rights, these arguments could be useful in engaging legislative efforts. Those counterpoints include creation of jobs in animal processing industries (API), which, in turn, creates popular animal products that create pleasure for humans. Vegans insist that the benefits of APIs do not outweigh the disadvantages.

The above for and against arguments appear weak and makes resistance against meat eating unconvincing. The ultimate justification vegans can legitimately use against

eating and using animal products is simply that they do not want to cause animal suffering, and many do not want to violate what they see as animals' rights to life. The human rights convention is constantly under pressure for change and progress and quite possibly on the verge of granting rights to some nonhumans based on similar characteristics with humans. Granting rights is a difficult concept and basing the approaching accord of granting rights on the "institution of human rights" is somewhat nebulous. Either civil rights are established and recognized by law or constitution, or a natural rights theory of accepting the rights is already bestowed upon a being. The nature of human rights states that all human beings are born free, endowed with reason and conscience. Originally, human rights did not include women, children, slaves, the impoverished, or the insane, as they were incapable of reason. The postmodern expansion of human rights gave way to women, different cultures, the disabled, and other marginalized groups. Although animal advocates would like to say that they are gaining ground in the quest for recognition of rights for animals, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) specifically addresses humans. Addressing rights for animals will most likely be the foremost argument for veganism.

Wayne Pacelle, former CEO and President of the Humane Society of the United States and welfarist, recognizes the importance that religion plays in how animal existence and protection is viewed. An event that took place on September 4, 2008 in a Methodist Church in Modesto, California featured a forum on a November ballot measure that would ban the use of small cages used for most egg production in California (Holland, 2008). The event was part of a series of panel discussions on how politics and Christian values intertwine. Panelists and proponents of hen cages spoke about ethics,

claiming the present cages do not allow birds enough movement to stand, turn around, or flap wings. Leaders of the egg industry discussed economics, claimed they are enough, and any bigger cages would result in higher egg prices. Pacelle argued with an ethical, passionate question: “Are we that miserly, are we that uncharitable, that we do not allow these living, feeling, suffering creatures to move in the most basic ways?” (Holland, 2008). Egg producers argued that an increase in egg prices as a result of more humane cages would give out-of-state producers an advantage, claiming only elites could afford higher priced eggs, and transporting from another state would increase emissions that are believed to cause climate change. Economists estimated the cost of each egg would rise approximately 1 cent if humane cages were used (Holland, 2008). The ethical argument from Pacelle, although passionate, did not mention religion. Neither did the economy-based arguments presented by egg producers.

### **Animal Ethics and Rights Resources**

*Universal Human Rights: Moral Order in a Divided World* (Reidy & Sellers, 2005) is applicable in establishing a foundation for the argument of human rights. It bases the credence on certain conditions being met, and while it does not address animal rights at all, it does establish the argument used against animal rights, in that a rights holder understands the concept of good and evil. Animals are without the ability to voice the principles of good and evil, although one could argue that non-humans are also capable of evil. It is a well-known fact that women make up most social/animal advocates. The *Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics* (Donovan & Adams, 2007) discusses the roles of reason versus emotion in environmental ethics, a field that is an outgrowth of animal rights and environmental movements. The members of early animal rights movements-

mostly women-were labeled animal lovers or sentimentalists, which belittled their concerns. However, after Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation*, the animal liberation movement took a new direction (Donovan & Adams, 2007) and hard, well-reasoned arguments took the place of appealing to emotion. Singer stated, "Nowhere in this book, however, do I appeal to the reader's emotions where they cannot be supported by reason" (as cited in Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 45). Moral claims to animal protection must be supported independently by reason. The new welfarists employ that tactic, combining emotional appeal with impartial rational arguments for better treatment of animals. The appeal to reason in ethics, preferable over appeal to emotion, does not rule out appeal to intuition, often labeling arguments as "reasonable." Rationale fails to trigger action, whereas appeal to emotion does. This is also evident in Wayne Pacelle's argument for a humane society: what is good for animals is generally good for people; for instance, in agriculture, when chickens are raised without adequate living space, they are given antibiotics due to the propensity of disease among the chickens.

Josephine Donovan posits the following: "Contemporary animal rights theory include two major theoretical approaches, one based on natural rights theory, and the other on utilitarianism" (as cited in Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 60). Tom Regan is the major theoretician for the natural rights position, that animals are moral entities who have certain inalienable rights, as do humans, according to the natural rights doctrine of the eighteenth century (Donovan & Adams, 2007). Kant, however, bases his belief that rational beings possess absolute worth and are therefore deserving of treatment as ends. Human beings, as rational creatures, are moral agents and are entitled to natural rights. With Kant's theory in mind, the framers of the U.S Declaration of Independence, as well



as the U.S. Constitution, agreed that not all humans were considered sufficiently rational to be entitled to rights: only white, male property holders were deemed persons (Donovan & Adams, 2007).

Unlike Kant, Bentham and Rousseau advocated that natural rights be accorded to all beings that can feel, the commonality between humans and animals. Since animals and humans alike can experience pain and pleasure, the utilitarian premise proceeds to establish that if a creature is sentient, it has interests that are equally worthy of consideration as any other sentient creature when humans make decisions regarding their well-being. The principle of equality suggests that an animals suffering be counted equally with the like suffering of any human being. This is the essence of the utilitarian animal rights position (Donovan & Adams, 2007). The theory itself is said to have some flexibility, even if not for the benefit of animals, as it allows for some suffering (Regan was absolute regarding his position that no animal suffering is justifiable under any circumstances) (Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 63). Singer allowed for some suffering, depending on the circumstances. The weakness of utilitarian theory, then, is that precise measures or standards of suffering or values for decision making are not available, which invites subjectivity or unacknowledged prejudices. Donovan and Adams (2007) thus suggests cultural feminism theory is preferable.

Another area addressed in Donovan and Adams (2007) is that of animals as property and property law. The law of property, called common law, considers animals as property. Representatives of animals, or for animals' rights, cannot assert animals' interests in the judicial system. However, property owners can address issues concerning harm to their animals as their right to do so under common law, or animal rights

advocates can come before a court if they can assert an interest at stake. The term standing, according to the judicial system, requires that complainant prove three elements: an injury in fact, a causal connection between the injury and the conduct in question, and the alleged injury must be able to be addressed by a judicial remedy (Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 231). In fact, establishing an injury is the impediment to asserting animals' interests, even when pets are occupying a higher status than those as ordinary property, if only because of the human relationship/bond, not because of the animal's natural right. Because animals are considered property, especially in laboratory experiments or agri-business, and the sanctity of owners' property, it is difficult to protect the animals themselves from their owners, even if federally governed by such measures as the Animal Welfare Act or the Humane Slaughter Act.

Especially notable from Donovan and Adams (2007) is the change in circumstances that can effect a change in common law. The four main determinants of change in common law doctrines are: changes in circumstances causing precedent to become substantially obsolete; growing moral and social enlightenment; originally erroneous doctrine; and trends in legislation (Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 235). Thomas Kelch (2007) suggests a proposal for change in the common law as follows: animals are not property. If animals are not considered property, per natural rights theory and feminist theory, based on animals having interests, then they must be holders of legal rights. As animals have interests, then the interests of animals must be centered on their telos (or end purpose or goal), so animals have the right to fulfill their telos. If animals have the right to fulfill their telos, then they are to be free from human-inflicted pain, to be free from restraint, and to be free from human interference in their habitats, except

where pain, restraint, interference is necessary for the benefit of the animal (as cited in Donovan & Adams, 2007, p. 244).

There are three types of harm experienced by “non-humans” animals, per Matthew Halteman in *Animals and the Economy* (McMullen, 2016), are: procedural harm (damage that is done by using generally accepted practices; institutional oppression (normal deprivation of animals’ freedom to pursue natural instincts); and abuse (unusual harm done to animals by neglect or sadistic violence) (as cited in McMullen, 2016, p. 12). The majority of animals under human control are those in farm systems, raised in conditions that have been scrutinized and documented as not only procedurally harmful, but oppressive and often, abusive. Companion animals, for the most part, have relatively fulfilling lives, but are still considered property and subject to economic systems. Despite the 1966 federal Animal Welfare Act, which offers minimal protection, “puppy mills” maintain animals under deplorable conditions to produce unhealthy puppies sold to pet stores. Kill shelters nationwide have a kill rate of 2.6% to 3.1% because of pet overpopulation (McMullen, 2016, p. 15). Animal experimentation for the sake of research and education kill millions of animals annually, and federal guidelines offer little protection. The economic source of animal exploitation is explained by economic conflict, power disparity, and reinforcing ideology. Humans and non-human animals’ interests’ conflict: animals want to live; humans want to eat them. Humans want subjects for experimentation, animals are relatively at their disposal. The power disparity is clear, particularly political power, of which non-human animals have none. Anthropocentric assumptions and practices are clearly not in non-human animals’ interests (McMullen,

2016). Property rights play a big part in the economic disparity between humans and non-humans and any animal protection regulations are solely to safeguard economic use.

*Killing Happy Animals* (Visak, 2013) considers utilitarianism and animal ethics.

Understanding the basic elements in utilitarianism, the goodness of the outcome is primary, with the evaluation of its actions and agent incumbent upon the goodness of the outcome. Only its consequences determine the morality of the act. While a being (animal or human) is included in moral consideration, it is not accorded equal weight or ensured particular treatment. It is the overall welfare that determines the recognition of wrong and right. From a utilitarian perspective, all sentient beings count equally as moral objects. Regarding the breeding of farm animals (husbandry), allowing intense husbandry would cause animal distress and suffering, perhaps even cause some people who are opposed to it some suffering. But it would cause enjoyment for people who eat animals. The utilitarian equation would be to consider all suffering and pleasure and if the outcome allows for less intensive husbandry if the end result is positive or has the same benefits. Based on that assumption, intensive husbandry is a major source of avoidable suffering and would generally be condemned by utilitarianism. Killing animals is morally problematic. If killing does not cause suffering, can it be considered unproblematic? According to Visak (2013), the wants vs. value view sees killing not as a frustration of wants, but a curtailment of value, a “deprivation view,” in that the focus is not on the being’s want of a future, but more on the value of its future (p. 39).

O’Sullivan’s (2011) *Animals, Equality and Democracy* suggests that while Western attitudes ascribe animals with some moral worth, and American laws are made using normal, liberal, democratic political processes, these laws are not applied to the

regulation of the lives of animals. The current legislation construction regarding animals is inconsistent and discriminatory regarding types of animals. O'Sullivan (2011) deliberates the utilitarian concept of necessary suffering and argues that lawmakers are less willing to prohibit suffering when it is linked to a highly profitable economic activity. In a liberal democracy, the community has some capacity to influence public policy to reflect the awareness and response to animals suffering. To that end, a conservative political system may not encourage animal protection legislation. Animals are categorized in a political system and captive animals' lives and deaths are manipulated by liberal democratic states. Captive animals are divided into non-economically productive animals and economically productive animals. The economic interests in the latter category impacts the status of the animals. Economically productive animals are maintained for the purpose of generating wealth, carrying out functions, stimulating the economy, or achieving a technological advantage. They are further classified into sub-groups: agricultural animals, research and education animals, exhibit, and sports and gaming animals (O'Sullivan, 2011, p. 29). The internal inconsistency addressed this group of animals, in that the level of protection afforded their needs and interests correlates to the particular use of the animal. Anti-cruelty laws are inconsistent; they do not ban hunting, yet they do not sanction neglect of domestic animals. Anti-cruelty laws are nearly imperceptible in the food animal business. Cruelty might be considered necessary suffering in laboratory experiments if it benefits human lives. O'Sullivan (2011) brings up another point: "out of sight, out of mind" is perhaps a reason why the economically productive animal's suffering is negated. Animal welfare laws are viewed through the lens of animal visibility (O'Sullivan, 2011).

*Rattling the Cage* (Wise, 2010) is an example of society's failure to recognize animal rights. Wise's research provides argument for change in legislation. Wise, who teaches "animal rights law" at several academic institutions, presents the legal, philosophical, and religious origins of humankind's inhumanity toward animals. Wise's passion for animals is evident as he argues against the notion that nonhuman creatures possess mere instrumental value, rather than intrinsic value. He acknowledges that advocating the legal personhood for primates has left him vulnerable and provides fodder for labeling fringe academics (Wise, 2010). He argues that anachronistic cultural and religious beliefs may disable modern judges from ruling for animals. Wise (2010) is certain that justice will eventually evolve to the point where no chimp or bonobo will be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

Bekoff's (2010) *The Animal Manifesto: Six Reasons for Expanding our Compassion Footprint* is a declaration, stating the argument for non-human rights and is undoubtedly the most forceful published argument for animal rights. The book begins with "Anyone who says that life matters less to animals than it does to us has not held in his hands an animal fighting for its life..." (E. Costello, as cited in Bekoff, 2010, p. 1). Such is the argument for the common bonds of compassion. Bekoff is known as the leading expert on animal emotion and argues effectively for an increased compassion footprint with moral imperatives and environmental realities. Bekoff (2010) offer six compelling arguments for changing our treatment of animals:

1. All animals share the earth and we must coexist
2. Animals think and feel
3. Animals have and deserve compassion

4. Connection breeds caring, alienation breeds disrespect
5. Our world is not compassionate to animals
6. Acting compassionately helps all beings and our world (Table of Contents).

*The Animal Manifesto* is an introduction to the animal rights philosophy and a useful example of arguing for animal rights using value and emotion, as suggested by Lakoff's (2004) *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*.

Francione's *Rain Without Thunder: The Ideology of the Animal Rights Movement* (1996) explains the difference between animal welfare and animal rights concentrating on animal rights theory and the associated movement. Francione (1996) may be considered an abolitionist and argues that animal welfare advocacy cannot lead to the abolition of animal exploitation. The author recognizes that animal rights advocacy may need to rely on short-term goals regarded as animal welfare, but only with the long-term goal of the recognition of animal rights in mind. Francione (1996) argues that any animal welfarism, especially when applied in an economy that has strong property concepts, is "structurally defective and conceptualizes the human/animal conflict in ways that ensure that animal interests never prevail" (p. 4). The increased institutional abuse of animals after WWII sparked concern, leading to laws such as the federal Humane Slaughter Act of 1958, the Wild and Free-Roaming Horse and Burros Act of 1971, and the federal Animal Welfare Act of 1966 (Francione, 1996, p. 7). Francione (1996) states that these laws have been ineffective and because of a lack of enforcement or implementation, over eight billion animals are slaughtered each year for food; in 1996, hundreds of million animals were used in experiments, and countless animals used for clothing, sports, and entertainment (p. 7).

According to Francione (1996), animal welfare is not enough, but merely a starting place. Animal welfarism, while it recognizes animal welfare as sentient beings, does not recognize the moral respect and consideration given to humans; it encourages animal inferiority. The animal welfare doctrine enforces animals as property and is criticized as maintaining acceptability to trade any animal interest—"including freedom from pain or death" (Francione, 1996, p. 8)—as long as the human interest involved is significant and the animal pain and suffering is not unnecessary.

Francione (1996) reviews Singer's and Regan's impact on animal rights recognition. Tom Regan presented the argument for animal rights that if an animal (or human) has a right, that right should not be sacrificed or violated because the consequences of violating that right are thought to be more desirable than if that right was respected. Regan's deontological (the morality of the act is not dependent on the consequences) rights theory rejected the utilitarian theory, either act utilitarianism (right or wrong can be determined by the consequences of the act) or rule utilitarianism (the consequences of following general rules) and pursuing the course that maximizes pleasure (as cited in Francione, 1996, p. 15).

Institutionalized animal exploitation and its supporters are aware of the difference between animal rights and animal welfare, yet either cause is rejected by NIH and the AMA. Both fund animal experimentation and both object to animal rights activists' illegal activities and ignorance of human superiority over nonhumans. Both the NIH and AMA use the excuse that no matter how they attempted to improve animal welfare, any attempt to do so would be counter-productive, because in order to protect the use of animals, the public would need to be aware of the distinction between animal welfare



advocates and those who claim animal rights. In fact, both organizations planned to discredit animal rights advocacy by linking the rights position with that of domestic terrorism (Francione, 1996). Even animal welfare groups, i.e. the HSUS, criticized the animal rights movement as counter-productive to their agenda of animal welfare, discrediting the work that they and other organizations do for legitimate animal protection (Francione, 1996).

According to Francione (1996), the “new welfarists” (p. 45) are unquestionably concerned about their long-term goal of animal rights, yet they are convinced that the notion of animal rights is utopian. Still, these new welfarists urge the welfarist reforms as an interim strategy to achieve the abolition of animal exploitation. Both groups pursue the same strategy, to reduce animal suffering. However, Francione (1996) points out that they are not the same at all; he strongly defends the animal rights importance. The defenders of animal rights firmly oppose any form of animal use or exploitation for any reason in any form. They reiterate the goal as abolition and accept the interim practice of reducing animal suffering but combining the two philosophies only leads to confusion and conflict.

It has been assumed that animal welfare supports the reduction of suffering with abolition as a long-term goal, while animal rights theory does not allow for any form of short-term relief; Francione (1996) believes both statements are incorrect, that the notion that animal welfarism can, and does, lead to the abolition of animal exploitation is mistaken. Welfarism reform does not, in his opinion, work (Francione, 1996). Animal welfare reform only reinforces the property status of animals, but Francione does not

believe it is impossible for animal rights theory to adopt an incremental approach. The author firmly supports the animal rights agenda and goals.

### **Theoretical Framework: Public Policy**

While a definitive description of public policy eludes simple definition, it cannot be defined solely as governmental policies that affect the public. A working definition of the policy process can be stated as the way social problems (or issues, not necessarily problems) are defined as political problems and how the government understands and allocates resources, regulates, implements solutions, and supports them. Public policy can be identified as a composition of laws and regulations with judicial interpretations generally authorized by legislation. Of course, the interests and values policies represent depends on power and public pressure by special interest groups. It is a complex system of regulation based on values and interests; policy making can be characterized as a “dynamic, complex, and interactive system through which public problems are identified and countered by reforming existing public policy or creating new public policy” (Kilpatrick, 2000). Policy addresses economic, social, or political problems. Its actors are “politicians, civil servants, lobbyists, domain experts, and industry or sector representatives use a variety of tactics to advance their aims, including advocating their positions publicly, attempting to educate supporters and opponents, and mobilizing allies on a particular issue” (Kilpatrick, 2000). Public policy includes courses of action, regulatory measures, laws, and funding priorities. While many actors are important in the process, officials ultimately choose public policy in response to the public issue or problem at hand. Social movement theory recognizes the dynamics of public pressure and its effect on public policy.

Public policy is not defined simply as political accomplishment or legislative achievements; it is more the overall tone of a state regarding any concern. Wilson (2006) defines policy as “the actions, objectives, and pronouncements of governments on particular matters, the steps they take (or fail to take) to implement them, and the explanations they give for what happens (or does not happen)” (as cited in Smith & Larimer, 2017, p. 3). Policy is the course of action that defines an administration’s purpose. Public policy is a set of characteristics that is goal oriented and encompasses patterns of actions (or no action) that defines how government addresses public interests. It regulates behavior, directs benefits for public interests, and protects rights; however, in the paradigm of animal protection, public policy can deny rights and interests at the same time. Policy evaluation assesses the consequences of governmental action, while policy analysis is more normative and focuses on potential courses of action. Policy process researches the why of policy making, why policy changes over time, and how individuals and groups affect policy (Smith & Larimer, 2017).

Heuristic inquiry regards policy study and policy making while noting policy process, contributions, and failures. A “good” theory of public policy includes an accurate representation of reality, organization and understanding, causal explanation, predictability, relevance and usefulness, objectivity and reliability, coherence and consistency (Smith & Larimer, 2017). This investigation incorporates those characteristics of public policy theory to better clarify the current public policy regarding animal welfare, animal protection, and animal rights (as each category is vastly different and addresses often conflicting philosophies). Public policy is value-based; it cannot be debated unless the assignment and distribution of values is considered. Policy design

study is purposive; it considers the blueprint of public policy, not only because policy is a means to achieve a desired end, but because policy represents society's values. Policy also unveils outcomes of interest and political power (Smith & Larimer, 2017). Smith and Larimer (2017) regard policy studies based on worldviews and political community but primarily focused on the values of policymakers and how these values are interpreted by citizens. Interestingly, the policy designs that are based on values favor societal perspectives of target populations. Schneider and Ingram (1997) identified four main target groups: advantaged, contenders, dependents and deviants. For the purposes of this research, I concentrated on the advantaged (business owners), the contenders (groups with political power but less advantaged than the first class), dependents (less political power but socially positive), and deviants, those who are perceived as having no political power and being undeserving. Some of the deviant group include those living in poverty, welfare mothers, and illegal immigrants (as cited in Smith & Larimer, 2017, p. 78). The political theory of utilitarianism is understood as serving those who gain the most pleasure and the least amount of suffering; in this case, the utility theory favors the advantaged.

The policy process identifies problem identification, how problems are brought to the attention of government, and how solutions are examined and determined. Because legislators (policymakers) are inundated with pressure from constituents, issue interest groups, media, etc., and groups tend to disagree over the priority of issues or the issue itself, attention turns to agenda setting and the power associated with it (Smith & Larimer, 2017). Smith and Larimer (2017) suggest that those who can influence agenda have indirect power and are more influential than those who make policy. Those are the

individuals and groups who ultimately control what is placed on the government agenda. As policy sub-systems, advocacy coalitions can permeate what once was thought to be accessible only by elites: the political “iron triangle,” consisting of the influential special interest groups, Congress, and the bureaucracy (Smith & Larimer, 2017). However, the policy process is much more dynamic and the iron triangle much more accessible by interest groups and citizens. The triangle is significantly more accessible to advocacy groups and coalitions that share values, goals, and beliefs that coordinate activity following the emergence of a particular policy on the governmental agenda. The group members are motivated to advance the beliefs of their domain. The coalitions are believed to be long-term alliances. The advocacy groups are “policy-oriented learners” (Smith & Larimer, 2017, p. 99) and adapt to change in the political and socioeconomics and its influence on the policy making environment to revise their preferences for policy design and even policy goals in response to new information (Smith & Larimer, 2017). Core beliefs remain constant.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) influence provides an explanation for change or stability in public policy. Increased activity improves the chances of the development of long-term relationships and alliances. Simply put, the ACF comprises “collections of actors sharing similar beliefs and coordinating their actions to achieve political goals (Matti and Sanstrom, 2011, p. 386)” (as cited in Smith and Larimer, 2017, p. 100). The animal rights advocacy groups have done exactly that, as shown by its lobbying efforts and recruiting volunteers as well as legislative allies for political advocacy. Up until now, policy change has been thought of as originating in increments, often depending on previous policy decisions; radical change in policy, however, occurs

when a relatively small group of actors who have kept policy incremental (“policy monopoly”) undergo stress initiated by sub-systems (Smith and Larimer, 2017 p. 102).

These sub-systems penetrate and create instability in the policy process; sub-systems can include advocacy groups, economic disruption, failure, or critical juncture. Often, sub-systems are created to employ public outcry and corporation response. The sub-systems of social movements, in this case the animal rights movement, utilizes grassroots campaigns to employ public response, which, in return, creates pressure on companies. Public policy will sometimes follow suit, but often not.

*The Policy Paradox: The Art of Decision Making* (Stone, 2012) offers a deeper insight into policymaking, including rational choice theory. Affected by collective action, policymaking further describes the elements of public policy; the “logic of collective action” (Stone, 2012, p. 236) repudiates the absolute claim of rational choice theory. Rational choice theory predicts behavior based on the universal logic of human motivation. However, as the author states, predictions of rational choice are betrayed by reality. Rational choice cannot explain the power of advocacy and grassroots organizations. Cooperative efforts, as Stone (2012) explains, generates perpetual energy that harnesses individual energies for the common good. Most significant in the field of animal rights and welfare is the fact that participation in collective efforts tend to follow the laws of passion rather than laws of matter, or in this case, the laws of utility. Communication is also cited as an integral element of group action. Through internet, cell phones, and especially social media, social movements have been mobilized using broadcasts, videos, event planning, and gaining media coverage. Stone (2012) supports the assumption that policymaking is a struggle over values and ideas.

Sabatier (2007) argues that some factors remain external to affecting policy change within subsystems, other than constraint by social, legal and resource factors include stable factors as well as dynamic factors. Sabatier (2007) lists relatively stable parameters: the basic attributes of the issue (either good or bad). However, the problem with this assumption is obvious: public opinion of what is good vs. bad changes in view of new information, i.e., factory farming and animal experimentation. The basic distribution of natural resources is not necessarily stable, according to climate change positions. Fundamental cultural values and social structures have typically remained stable, in that the political power structure in the United States has typically been associated with wealth and social class; any significant changes in the power structure takes decades, if they happen at all. The basic legal structure in the U.S. remains constant. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) list dynamic factors that they maintain could cause change in policy, including socioeconomics and technology, systemic governing coalitions (control in both houses of the legislature), and policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems, such as energy and the global economy. Conversely, the more recent developments in government policy making have proven these conjectures inconsistent.

While advocates and movement coalitions seek to translate their philosophies via a set of goals or agenda into public policy by focusing on administrative agencies to implement those goals, pressuring agencies often results in compromising regulation and policy that may incorporate elements not only from those coalitions, but other interests as well (Sabatier, 2003). The principle feature of the Advocacy Coalition Framework is policy-oriented learning based on three premises that are prerequisites for theory of

policy change. Simply stated, change takes time; Sabatier (2003) postulates that a decade is a sufficient length of time for a complete policy cycle. The ACF focuses on the policy subsystem and its actors as the principle unit for understanding policy change, rather than specific government institutions; the third premise is that actors from subsystems include all levels of government, including local (Sabatier, 2003, p. 35). The importance of interest-group competition is stressed in molding policy; members of a coalition or subsystem may be members of other interest groups, and the membership of a coalition is not limited to that coalition's interests; members may include legislators, researchers, and agency officials (Sabatier, 2003, p. 37). Those differences among interest groups and members, along with the changes in the composition of the groups, establishes not only competition, but also allows for changes in the coalition over time; some group members advocate for more centrist positions than outliers. This is often found to be the case in animal rights coalitions; whereas animal rights groups advocate for the termination of any type of animal use, the animal welfare groups believe that incremental changes regarding raising animals for food and slaughter are obtainable because they are more practical. Extreme outliers, the ALF for example, are more radical in actions taken to advocate for animals in laboratories.

### **Utilitarianism: Ethical and Political Theory**

This research is an ethical/policy conflict project. Political theory forms a contextual background for policy making interpretation. Contemporary political theory falls into two categories: empirical, which can be descriptive or describes how the political system appears to work; and normative, a political theory that addresses relationships between individuals, groups, and institutions and theorizes how a system



should work. A political theory relevant to the animal rights movement and public policy is the theory of interest-based politics; it provides a framework for the way that competing interests are negotiated in the US. Because of social philosophy influence, two additional contemporary political theories apply to social movement: critical theory and postmodernism (or poststructuralism). The latter theories consider culture, ideology, and subjectivity in social and political structures (Smits, 2016, p. 3).

Utilitarianism is largely an ethical philosophical theory, stating that the best action is the one that maximizes benefits, or utility, for the greatest number of entities; it forms the basis of a normative political theory in that the ethics addressed should also be reflected in our political systems (Smits, 2016). In response to industrialism, capitalism, and religious doctrine, the contemporary political ideologies of liberalism, conservatism, and socialism support socially and morally progressive ideas and individuality. Unlike the contemporary political theories, although it is a theory capable of ethical argument when desirable, utilitarianism posits the ethical argument as merely a calculation. It is the economic system that ultimately “drives society and determines its progress” (Smits, 2016, p. 16), and utilitarianism is a useful tool when justifying the economics of negating animal welfare; in industry, hunting, and experimentation, the suffering of animals is not equal to the benefits reaped by mankind. A conservative political system, prevalent in one of the states included in this case study, has a strong respect for states’ rights and private property and opposes any regulation of economy, or, in this case, opposes any regulation of the industry that runs the economy, i.e. factory farming, and entertainment.

Utilitarians disagree about the definition of ‘utility’, but possibilities include pleasure, happiness and preference satisfaction” (Hoffman & Graham, 2015, p. 509). The

philosophical/ethical theory of judging the worth of an action by how much it contributes to society's welfare is a utilitarian premise. Factory farming is assessed by its consequences rather than its morality. Utilitarianism considers the greatest good for the greatest number; the sacrifice of some is justified for the greater benefit for all, with an individual's interests counting for little as compared to larger groups; minority groups' concerns fail to "matter" when equated with general populations; and non-human animals' concerns have been barely recognized. Some critics of utilitarianism argue that the theory does not consider future consequences. Utilitarianism does not recognize future generations as entities in the equations. Environmentalists argue that capitalism and industrialism, even if beneficial by utility paradigms, ignore the environment, and the utilitarian's anthropocentric view leads to the exploitation of natural resources, including endangered species. However, utilitarianism may also be used as an argument for conserving resources when nature and the natural environment are goods that have inherent value and worth and may be considered entities in the utility equation, in that conservation maximizes the welfare of people (Smits, 2016).

How is utilitarianism be applied to animal welfare? Happiness is the goal of utilitarianism. Jeremy Bentham, founder of the greatest happiness system of morals and legislation, (as cited in Troyer, 2003) defines happiness simply as pleasure and the absence of pain. The value of either pleasure or pain is subjective and depends on its intensity and duration. Bentham was reportedly concerned that a dominant majority might raise its level of happiness by treating a minority poorly. The math equation could prove to be more beneficial to society if that majority scored a higher sum of happiness. Faced with the choice of roughly equal treatment for all, the latter is preferable.

Bentham's "Principle of Utility" is based on the theory that mankind is governed by pain and pleasure, with the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Equal distribution of happiness, Bentham suggests, is an illusion and assumes; utilitarianism does not favor equality in itself (as cited in Troyer, 2003, p. xv). The greatest happiness principle is evident in Mill's foundation of morals utility. Utilitarianism does not recognize personal sacrifice for the good of others, if the sacrifice does not promote or increase the sum of happiness (Sher, 2001).

### **Social Movement Theory**

The United States regards itself as a champion of human rights, as demonstrated by an enlightened constitution, judicial independence, and a civil society grounded in strong traditions of free speech and press freedom. However, the reality is that for decades, civil rights and civil liberties groups have exposed constitutional violations and challenged abusive policies and practices (Human Rights Watch, 2015). An interpretation of post-modernism models, human needs theories, and more specifically, the conflict type embroiling contradictory values and interests and the struggle for humane education and legislation, may be viewed under the over-arching umbrella of the resurgence of civil rights as a social movement theory. This is shown via appeals for LBGTQ rights, same sex marriage, demands for equality such as the Black Lives Matter movement, health care, immigration reform, and pro-animal legislation, compared with the historical implications of civil rights' humanitarian progress and animal welfare humane efforts. Particularly, the social movement theory, as applied to civil rights movements and compared to humane efforts, provides the most appropriate arena in which to study the progress, if significant, of compassionate effects in legislation.

The concept of universal human rights is addressed in Reidy and Seller's (2005) *Universal Human Rights: Moral Order in a Divided World*. The argument for human rights as a subclass of moral rights is, of course, ascribed to human beings based on certain conditions: that the interest or welfare condition or right will serve the interest of the right holder; the non-responsibility condition-the right holder is not regarded as being responsible for securing that right; and the justice, or fairness condition, in which the right given to one does not impose a heavy burden on others (Reidy & Sellers, 2005). If these certain conditions are met, the utilitarian might consider the concept as a general happiness principle. The human being, as a moral agent, recognizes the distinction between right and wrong and accepts that good should be preferred to evil; despite disagreements in identifying good and evil, the human accepts the existence of universal values.

Activism is action on behalf of a cause, regardless of what is conventional or routine. It has been present throughout history, playing a major role in ending slavery, protecting workers, protecting the environment, promoting equality for women, opposing racism, and, at the other end of the spectrum, activism has been used for promoting war and attacking minorities. Researching changes in activism over time via social movement include direct action by practical engagement, advocacy, coalition building, lobbying, grassroots campaigns such as community organizing, issue advertising, particularly through the use of social media and digital activism, alternative press (internet media or noncorporate social and environmental justice journalism), dissent, resistance, anarchism to promote radical equality (replacing Marxism), and civil disobedience, culminating in the social movement theory (Anderson & Herr, 2007).

Social Movement Theory evolved from an era of enlightenment; it is a response to modernity, i.e. industrialization, proletarianization, capitalism, etc., and is based on the premises that society is a social construction that needs transformation, specifically through social movements. This theory may explain some of the differences between agricultural, conservative states and the more liberal, industrialized states. It incorporates the understanding that conscious action has the capability to change the collective society, and that change itself is made possible through cooperative activity; it depends on a social and political order that makes such activity possible and probable (Buechler, 2011, p. 1). For example, the civil rights movement began with the sustained, organized challenge to existing authority. The protest movement of the 1960s was a justifiable challenge to a political regime that needed change; the climate was receptive to grievances and goals and shaped the agenda for social movement theory (Buechler, 2011).

Keeping in mind the characteristics of the legislators' convictions, there will be "multiple realities", an ontological assumption that Creswell (2013) explains as having different perspectives. Each perspective holds value and logic and is influenced by special interests, advocacy (social justice theory), culture, economy, and party. In turn, those perspectives influence voting and legislature. An initial hypothesis suggests that the animal welfare legislation is affected by several factors, including culture, economy (agriculture vs. industrialism), powerful lobbying, partisanship, conservatism vs. liberalism, and, in a large part, utilitarian values. The social justice concept explores conditions that serve to disadvantage certain groups. An action agenda, a transformative framework—emancipatory, collaborative—posits that knowledge reflects power and

social relationships in society (Creswell, 2013). Humane education bases its success on that theoretical spinoff.

Social movements are organized from the bottom up, with leaders that emerge as the movement develops. Social movements have no endpoint, yet there is the existence of specific campaigns within the movement (i.e. PETA's anti-fur campaign). New social movements are generally those that emerged after World War II, particularly in the post-industrial age since the mid-1960s, first in Western Europe followed by the United States. The new social movements differ from older social movements in that they are more spontaneous, active, and loosely organized around a single issue. Stewart et al. (2012) give the labor movement as an example of an older social movement; however, the labor union movement was highly organized and single minded; older social movements were not. Older social movements tended to center on labor and economic issues from a Marxist paradigm, whereas the new social movements relate to identity, culture, empowerment, social roles, and quality of life (Stewart, et al., 2012). Still, older social movements such as women's rights (voting), abolition of slavery, temperance, civil rights, and suffrage encompass many of those issues. Stewart et al. (2012) mention some of the campaigns or organizations within the social movements, for instance the Animal Liberation Front or People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, as examples of organizations under the overarching umbrella of animal rights as a social movement. It is stressed, though, that the movement requires understanding of the social movement organizations (SMO) in how they cooperate or compete with one another (Stewart et al., 2012).

Stewart et al. (2012) theorize that social movements are un-institutionalized; they are not part of established orders that govern, regulate, maintain or change social, political or economic norms and values. However, this theory can be disputed, as the major organizations of the animal rights movement have been agents of change, and that is exactly why and how social movements can affect public policy. PETA has made a major impact on the fashion industry regarding the use of fur. The Humane Society of the United States has made significant impacts on the fast food industry's use of chickens and eggs. These campaigns used public and economic pressures to induce changes in industries. In fact, activists, as part of "outsider social movements," often attempt change by courting legislators, sometimes entertainers, often consumers. Social movements, particularly the new social movements like the animal welfare movement, do struggle to change norms and values. Most often, these struggles are met with opposition. That opposition is often as structured and organized as the animal rights movement; in fact, many oppositional groups are more powerful and wield much more power than the activists. The opposition operates under the pretense of upholding traditional values, but often, it is the economic factors and interests that are being challenged.

Social movements have historically assumed the power to distinguish right from wrong, ethical from unethical. A social movement activist believes that the organization upholds the virtuous and moral obligation, claiming its legitimacy as a social force; in turn, the members become disillusioned and disaffected with the established institution; some, to excess (Stewart et al., 2012). Some theorists insist that social movements create contention and drama to force responses from the establishment. Robert Cathcart posits social movements must create a "drama or agonist ritual" and Sidney Tarrow argues that

“it is only by sustaining collective action against antagonists that a contentious episode becomes a social movement” (as cited in Stewart et al., 2012, p. 16). Consequently, it is conflict that launches social movement, and it is conflict that feeds it. Per classic conflict types, a social conflict is a clash over incompatible (or seemingly incompatible) interests (resources) in which “one party’s relative gain is another’s relative loss” (zero-sum) (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 17).

According to *Persuasion and Social Movements* (2012), a social movement must satisfy six essential requirements to become and remain viable forces. These persuasive requirements include transforming perceptions of reality, altering self-perceptions of protestors, legitimizing the social movement, prescribing courses of action, mobilizing for action, and sustaining the movement (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 18). Specifically, persuasive tools include bargaining and negotiating skills; historically, social movements have had little to offer in exchange for desired objectives. Animal welfarists contend that bargaining results in incremental progress, and a promise to decrease pressure for incremental rewards often results in more success than not. Coercion is employed as a manipulative tool to convince oppressors that “a pursuit of any other course or action other than that sought by the movement will be met with considerable cost or punishment” (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 19). Coercive tactics excite members, gain attention, and can achieve immediate results. This tactic was successful as boycotts, sit-ins, protests, and demonstrations and can be successful in excessive repression, but it can discourage credibility and legitimacy. Persuasion is the primary agency through which social movements and overcome obstacles.



Persuasive tools that include videos, symbolism, photos, slogans employed in social media, and mailings; it is pervasive in social movements. Persuasive functions of social movements are employed to satisfy essential elements of social movement. In transforming perceptions of social reality, activists must convince people that the generally accepted view of social reality constructed by political, social, religious, educational, legal, literary, and media institutions is false, or at least defective (Stewart et al., 2012). To do that, perceptions of past atrocities must be reintroduced, and traditions may have to be confronted. Perceptions of the present may need to be clear; urgency of the problem must be communicated. Many U.S. institutions did not view American slavery as a degradation of the slave, but rather the slave's salvation. The women's liberation movement in the 1960s argued against the traditional roles of women as housewives and mothers and men as supporters of their families; any variations of those roles were threatening. While discrimination against the LGBT community was denied, it was upheld because of the threat of homosexuality. The Bible upheld the condemnation of homosexuality and supported slavery.

Perceptions of the future and dire predictions, particularly when discussing climate change, serve to instill a sense of urgency. A person is led to activism if they are convinced that there is, or will be, a problem, that there is something that can be done about the problem, that they can do something, and that the status quo is unacceptable, and change is possible (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 56). Perceptions of victimization is a tool that is incredibly powerful, and one that is used frequently in animal rights movement persuasion. Circulation of photos of blameless victims of oppression elicits sympathy and rage; typical messages portray the brutality of slavery, abuse, and the treatment of

animals. The perception of poor self-worth of the oppressed serves to engage movement, while promoting the positive self-worth of activists, in the forms of feedback and encouragement, serves to inspire.

The perceived status of the oppressed in society versus the assumed status of the activist is instrumental to address those who see themselves as marginalized and disenfranchised and encourage them to strive to their equal place in society, most often as champions of social movements (Stewart et al., 2012). Obtaining and maintaining the organization's legitimacy is principle for the social movement. Prescribing the course of action sells the movement's ideology. What must be done, who must do it, and how will it be done are the primary obligations of the organization. Mobilizing for action means uniting and energizing the discontented. Pressuring the opposition first by empowering the activist, gaining sympathy and legitimacy through approval and support of legislators, community leaders, business executives, and celebrities, and maintaining visibility are some of the tactics used in sustaining the viability of the movement (Stewart et al., 2012).

The stages of a social movement begin with the creation of a campaign, the genesis being a relatively quiet time during which a triggering event occurs, such as the publicized and unwarranted killing of a celebrity lion for a trophy. Social unrest moves the movement campaign from the genesis, involves increasing numbers of concerned people, and, for the first time, may be recognized as a movement. The movement uses the lion killing as a focal point in combatting trophy hunting and extinction of wild animals. Publicizing the killing of Cecil in a protected park and naming his murderer serves to agitate the members. The goal to call attention to senseless trophy hunting in African countries is achieved. Excitement increases when like-minded persons form organizations

join the cause, enthusiastic mobilization begins, and the sub-movement may begin to achieve goals; however, success is still elusive. Small achievements, such as airlines publicly stating they will not ship animal parts, for example, serve to reinforce the movement. It is time to maintain the movement, and that will include a campaign of letter writing and calls to legislators with demands for protection of wildlife. Transforming perceptions of reality, prescribing courses of action, mobilizing members, and recruiting members and support must sustain the movement. Termination only occurs when the goal is met, or perhaps a compromise is achieved; then a new campaign begins, and all this occurs under the umbrella of the animal rights movement.

Effective and charismatic leadership and language strategies and tactics also serve to maintain and legitimize the movement. Language is persuasive, and effective leadership adds to public perception of movements. Social symbols provide shared meanings, and language can strengthen group identity. Group identity, in turn, may create polarization through two strategies: affirmation and subversion (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 149). Framing makes sense of events and issues; storytelling is essential, particularly in gatherings, rallies, etc. Nearly all political and protest language is about power and control. Conflict over political interests reveals policy preferences; language here is objective and descriptive. Language is critical in framing issues and defining concepts. Utilitarian language is used in control over agendas and decision making (Stewart et al., 2012, pp. 150-151). Tactics used by social movements, comprised of slogans, songs, labeling, ridicule, and obscenity, are used in part by all movements (Stewart et al., 2012).

However, political argument is the subject of study in how the animal rights movement has affected public policy. Social movement rhetoric and the political

argument are used by movements to propose and oppose change. Clinton Rossiter (as cited in Stewart, et al., 2012) created a typology of political philosophies based on orientation toward change, beginning with radicalism. The revolutionary radicalism sees society and institutions as oppressive and wants to replace all traditional (dishonest) values. Radicalism is also dissatisfied with the existing order, and is committed to changing the status quo, albeit peacefully and patiently. Liberalism is generally satisfied with the existing order but believes the status quo can be improved from within, without abandoning current ideals and institutions. Conservatism is also satisfied with the current order, but is suspicious of change, preferring the stability of the past; Standpattism prefers today over past or future, opposes any change. Reaction longs for the past, unwilling to accept the present, while revolutionary reaction is willing to use subversion and violence to restore the era it sees as the “Golden Age” (as cited in Stewart et al., 2012, p. 215). Rossiter uses this spectrum of political philosophies to explain compatible worldviews. Believers in adjacent philosophies make sense to one another, while those at opposite ends of the spectrum do not make sense to one another, share no assumptions, and have great difficulty in persuading one another because of their fundamental differences, which precludes compromise and constrains the ability to adjust to the other’s assumptions. Another of Rossiter’s rhetorical implication is one of ego-driven arguments, in which we can assume anyone who disagrees with us is lumped together into “them” (as cited in Stewart et al., 2012).

Political argument, then, follows Rossiter’s model. For example, insurgent argument falls between the radicals, finding societal norms and values corrupt and exploitative, and holding specific institutions and groups directly responsible. PETA

tends to use insurgent argument. Innovative argument falls between radical and liberal, characterized by a dissatisfaction with the existing order, but with a preference for experimental change. Those social movement persuaders gain more in identifying discrepancies between traditional values and current practices. Innovative argument seeks change in the norms, values, and institutions without using violence, instead grounding its proposals on societal values and rejecting the suggestion that innovation won't work. Animal welfarists tend to gravitate toward innovative arguments, but also toward progressive argument as a systemic approach to political argument. Insurgents seek to replace the established means for reconciling differences, and innovative believe in the underlying societal values but object to the way society acts on those values. The progressive encompasses the liberal and conservative arguments where they agree that change is inevitable, and the current system is adequate for resolving disagreements. Progressive argument is conducted within the rules of the game and is managerial rather than confrontational (Stewart et al., 2012). This approach has been used effectively by the HSUS in lobbying.

Retentive argument attempts to preserve essential elements of the status quo, an argument that often warns of the danger of change. Reversive argument strikes fear by warning society has gone too far and needs to reverse tide, while the Restorative argument urges a full-scale return to a previous state of affairs. Neither argument is employed by animal rights organizations. However, the revolutionary argument that advocates for a total overthrow of societal institutions is often used by extremists, and the Animal Liberation Front is one that employs this rhetoric and matches its political argument with violence (Stewart et al., 2012).

Social movements are studies in social conflict. Transcending the opposition invites and utilizes conflict; in fact, Robert Cathcart emphasizes conflict as a necessary ingredient for a movement to come into being and to carry on struggles for causes (as cited in Stewart et al., 2012, p. 257). The opportunity for argument from transcendence arises out of conflict among competing values, policy options, or sources of authority. The goal of the social movement group is to transcend the opposition and appear preferable to the oppositional group. Transcending the opposition; rising above the rhetoric; transcending the antagonist; arguments for transcending the opposition by quantity (the largest animal welfare group, more members, fastest growing, more funded); quality (good vs. evil, moral vs. immoral, freedom vs. slavery, greater good, (utility) or less evil (animal welfare claims that humane slaughter is less evil than factory farming); value (significance, more desirable, the ends justify the means); hierarchy (higher order, natural rights vs. civil rights, human rights over animal rights); and antithesis (common enemy, good vs. corrupt, civil rights activists vs. the southern segregationists) are used by movements (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 257).

Justifying divisive tactics; i.e. the use of strikes that divided the labor movement, falls under the realm of violent tactics, especially those of some social movements in the name of cause. Violence makes news. This includes the Ku Klux Klan lynchings, the Boston Tea Party, riots in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and, more recently, riots in Ferguson, Missouri and Baltimore, and the white supremacists' march in Charlottesville. These riots were committed by institutional agents and opposition groups, as well as anarchists, attempting to stifle social movements with violent tactics through personal assaults and bombings, defining their acts as

legitimate. Most social movements leaders and members oppose violence. They have pragmatic reasons for opposing violent acts; violence is self-defeating. A good example relevant to this study includes the violent acts committed by the Animal Liberation Front and the consequences of those acts. Radicals criticize the ineffective, non-violent tactics of moderates. Members join the ALF to save animals and destroy experimental laboratories. Consequently, the ALF has been declared a terrorist organization, and while its tactics have not stopped experiments on animals, it has called attention to the problem. More has been accomplished with progressive political arguments from PETA and the Anti-Vivisection organizations. However, logic has not always deferred passion.

The contrast between the spontaneous, loosely organized movements of the 1960s and the newer, more organized contemporary social movements is detailed in *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century* (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). The first civil rights marchers and student protesters had no access to those institutions yet gathered to influence policy and the rules of institutional politics. Public protest has evolved into a more frequent behavior, is more diverse, as it represents a broader range of declarations, and has become an enduring component of modern political and social life. More importantly, social protest has evolved into a more institutionalized, political, and professional instrument of change. Movements are described as “collective changes to existing arrangements of power and distribution by people with common purposes and solidarity, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities” (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 4). Public disagreement, contentious politics, and protest have spread globally and increased in frequency, appearing to represent a more chaotic turbulence. Greater employment of protest, particularly in the United States, indicates unrest has

exacerbated. There has been a large upswing in the number of interest organizations claiming to represent public interests or excluded constituencies. However, the increased frequency of political or social protest also represents an increase in political engagement and civil participation, thereby indicating protest is neither turbulent or chaotic; in fact, increased nonelectoral participation in collective action suggests less contention and more acceptance of organized protest by the public (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 7).

Compared to the student protests of the 1960s, social and demographic diffusion points to an increase in social actors and ideologies. The actors with a progressive political orientation are more likely to protest, with women playing an increasing role. Technology and social media communication have led to a wider dissemination of information, creating a rapid diffusion of contentious politics across social groups and states; mass media makes it possible for increased participation and for professional organizers to build campaigns (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). The core participants of these campaigns are professional. Yet, social movements today are not limited to direct political activity, nor are their strengths measured by membership. New social movements target indirect forms of policy representation, such as parties or interest groups, as well as consumers and corporations, and many movements, for the most part, are not contentious; most contentious forms of protest take the structure of peaceful and orderly procedures. Movements are normally routine, with inclusion and access for marginalized challengers to utilize political exchanges as per established routines. Challenges can be altered for pursuit through normal political practice (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998).



Social movement activists have learned to move between conventional and unconventional collective actions, deploying deeply diverse methods and those that are acceptable to police activity and public approval. Interestingly, the tactics used by modern movement organizations and those used by institutionalized groups tend to overlap; movement leaders have become skilled at using legal and legislative tools, whereas the media, interest groups, and political parties have become adept at using public performance, previously exclusive to protesters. While modern social movements developed skills to combine disruptive and conventional activities and forms of organizing, institutional actors have become increasingly engaged in contentious behaviors. Compared to the 1960s, the new social movements of the 1990s appear less defined. The 1960s protests provided a clear definition of who was in or out; parameters were clearly distinct, whereas contemporary social movements have less distinct boundaries, and protesters now often originate from within institutions.

Matthew Crozat (as cited in Meyer & Tarrow, 1998) examines the acceptance of protest in western democracies, suggesting that protests may be a way to speak without elections. While voting gives citizens a voice, it does not allow for registering dissatisfaction with a particular policy; protesting can convey specific and timely messages. Protected by the First Amendment, citizen protest as part of social movement has become more normal in the policy process, with its messages seen as “a legitimate supplement to voting, petitioning and lobbying efforts to influence government policy and practice” (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 84). While protesting and policing protests have become such an institutionalized behavioral repertoire as to be predictable, initialized, and almost redundant, and the institutional process of protest has almost made it routine

and unremarkable, protest remains a powerful tool that influences public policy and public opinion and is widely used by all social groups. The “public forum law” (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 92) defines protesters’ rights and enables regulation and policy regarding peaceful protests, evolving from the First Amendment to protect free public assembly. Negotiation between protesting leadership and authorities is employed as soon as a protest event is planned to ensure safety, logistics, and adherence to public forum law. Consequently, the rights of protesters participating as a part of a social movement are institutionally protected, yet protesters are expected to respect and cooperate with authorities. An integral part of the new social movement theory is perceived as “politics by other means,” a social form that provides the less powerful an alternative way of influencing public policy (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 108).

Social movements are sustained, organized, contentious collective actions around grievances or claims (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 217). Advocacy networks are main vehicles for social justice issues, making demands, claims, or rights of the less powerful over the interests of the more powerful. The contemporary social movements often quote slogans pertaining to the middle class over the “1%”; the #MeToo movement over powerful individuals and organizations; *Black Lives Matter* over police oppression; and “save them all”, animal welfare over factory farms and special interest groups. Not necessarily a division of the social movement, advocacy networks frame issues, seek the most favorable arenas, pay attention to political opportunity structure, confound expectations or disruptions, and broaden the network’s scope and density to maximize access to necessary information by mobilizing social networking, thus enabling social movements (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 215). The advocacy network includes relevant

actors, bound together by shared values and exchanges of information and services and “communicative structures” (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998, p. 217) for political exchange. Core activists of the advocacy networks are career activists, often working for NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), public interest groups, or nonprofits, using organizations as platforms. Networks have been most visible in situations where access of claimants is blocked or those making claims are too weak politically for their voices to be heard. A network’s advocacy issues depend upon local political presences and existing opportunities for the given interests of network members. To be successful, networks need to be well organized and operate efficiently; members bring together the resources, time, energy, and talents of many different people and organizations to take advantage of opportunities to influence the policy process on behalf of their goals and objectives.

The rhetoric of social protest is force and effect in public policy. People come together to debate, design, and mobilize for social change, deploying material and resources to persuade and seek change through force of argument. Significant movements including women’s suffrage, labor, antipoverty, antiwar, civil rights, black and Latino power, gay and women’s liberation, pro-life/choice, prisoner’s rights, queer and gender rights, environmentalism, AIDS activism, and disability rights; animal rights are defined in part by the rhetoric employed. Rhetoric describes a range of symbolic activity, not limited to speeches, but including intervention, marches, posters, songs, slogans, and documentaries. Rhetoric identifies the movement and sets it apart from other movements; rhetoric is persuasive, can be subtle, powerful, controversial, encouraging, angry and demanding or pervasive and compelling (Morris & Brown, 2006).

While political and public policy research abounds, it is rarely within the scope of social movements. The nexus of the two disciplines has focused primarily on new social movement but has failed to integrate new insight into how the movement effects public policy or how political circumstances impact strategies of the social movements or social movement parties (Kruszewska, n.d.) Moreover, the context around both types of organizations has also changed. The decline of the labor unions and the weakening of party identifications, as well as the deep mistrust of established institutions, has limited the efficacy in pursuit of policy (Krastev, 2014). Movement parties attempting grassroots and participatory coordination among activists often suffer from volatility and internal contradictions because they do not invest in organizational structures (Kitschelt, 2006). Ultimately, left-wing protest, as the only viable strategy, created an opportunity for the formation of party organizations that operate in professionalized social movement organizations (SMOs), relying on hired experts and professionals instead of volunteer labor (Kruszewska, n.d.). Some parties endorsed the unconventional, disruptive tactics usually associated with social movements, adopting anti-institutional stances despite participation in formal politics. Democracy requires organization, and mass movements face pressure to create formal organizations to successfully advance their goals. The movement parties are likely to emerge in the presence of a large constituency willing to articulate their demands through disruptive, extra-institutional activities, whose collective interests are not being represented by established parties for fear of dividing their own electoral constituency when formal and informal thresholds of political representation are low (Kruszewska, n.d.).

On the other hand, in discussing cycles of contention, social movements literature predicts that mobilization will stabilize when actors no longer have incentives to raise the levels of contention and protest declines, replaced by more routinized forms of interaction (Koopmans, 2004; Smelser, 2011). Often, this stabilization takes a form of institutionalization and a choice by the movement to pursue an electoral strategy. Relatively little attention has been paid to the form and organization of political parties that emerge out of right-leaning movements, as contrasted with the more researched movements on the left. Social movements research has shown that left- and right-wing mobilizations, even within the same political opportunity structure, build distinct organizations (Della Porta, 2000). However, whether movements-turned-parties on the opposite sides of the spectrum approach dilemmas differently, or whether previous experience and resources are decisive, has not been explored despite a large body of scholarship on right-wing parties (Kruszewska, n.d.).

Arguably right-wing parties should not be conceptualized as movement parties as they usually do not grow out of movements, they often instigate protest events as part of their mobilization strategy---though reliance on charismatic leadership, not bottom-up participatory politics, is at the root of this volatility (Kitschelt, 2006, as cited in Kruszewska, n.d.).

One of the under-explored topics related to the interface between social movements and parties is the adoption of forms of collective action from the contentious into the institution realized realm. Innovations can then be adopted by party campaign organizations, often in more institutionalized forms, as electoral tools. In fact, electoral campaigns provide umbrellas under which social movements legitimately mobilize and

apply collective action forms and frames that have grown out of more contentious interactions (Kruszewska, n.d.).

One of the debates in the literature at the nexus of social movements and political parties concerns the impact of past involvement in social movements on political behavior. Another strand of scholarship, however, argues that radical ideologies become weakened in institutionalized politics, and rather than bringing extreme views into electoral politics, movements themselves moderate as they begin to operate mainly through formal channels. On one hand, movement parties must distance themselves from their core constituencies and from their activist pasts in order to pursue larger, more diverse electoral constituencies (Kruszewska, n.d.). However, on the other hand, for instance for parties with communitarian roots, they need to “credibly maintain the image of the political ‘outsider’ in order to retain the loyalty of their core sympathizers” (Tossutti, 1996).

Additionally, research shows that support of social movements can also influence the electoral fate of political parties or make parties more responsive to social groups (Clemens, 1997). In this sense, party sustainability may be aided by roots in social movements, which can serve as such promoter organizations if they developed extensive organizational skills. Party systems and institutions of the state also influence whether a movement emerges and succeeds. Alliance possibilities are an integral part of the political opportunity structure, which determine if social movements mobilize and the form that they take. The stance taken by institutionalized parties, in response to mobilization, can also determine the fate of social movements’ (della Porta & Rucht,

1995, as cited in Kruszewska, n.d.) structures and engagement in sustained mobilization, as opposed to just brief episodes of contention.

Successful support for social change for any foundation is comprised of advocating through lobbying, and *Advocacy for Social Change: Coalitions and the Organizations that Lead Them* (Rubin, 2018) considers various effective tools for advocating for policy change. Reaching out to mass media through editorial page writing, press releases, opinions or op-eds, letters to the editor are some of the tools Rubin recommends to frame issues, disseminate coalitions' issues and perspectives through press releases. Volunteers for HSUS and PETA are encouraged to take advantage of media for the primary purpose of persuasion. Broadcast media is especially effective for unfiltered presentations; social media and texts have become the preferred vehicle for mass announcements, calls for action and event planning.

### **New Social Movement Theory**

Compared to older theories of social movement, the new social movement theory contributes to the knowledge of contemporary movement “by focusing attention to the meaning of morphological changes in their structure and action and by relating those changes with structural transformations in society as a whole” (Wikipedia, 2018). The novelty of these new movements, when compared with prior movements i.e., labor unions and suffragettes, lies in the organization, structure, methods, and goals; the new movements primary focus is on issues of human rights rather than economic concerns. The new social movement relies on two tenets: the rise of the post-industrial economy is responsible for a new wave of social movement and that those movements are significantly different from previous social movements of the industrial economy. While

the 1960s were a period of transformation in collective action, it is important to discuss whether this phenomenon was the first example of a new social movement or, as Staricco (2012) has stated: “It did not so much open an era as close one. It was not the beginning of a paradigm, but the end of another one. What comes after – the growing importance of new social movements both empirically and theoretically – can be understood consequently, but not as a continuation or progression.” (2012, n.p.).

New movements emphasize social changes over economic or political aspects; in fact, the most noticeable feature of new social movements is that they are primarily social and cultural and only secondarily, if at all, political. However, policy change must regard political advocacy. The protest group within a new social movement focuses on a single issue and is often local in the change they wish to influence. The new social movement concerns itself to a limited range of issues connected to a single broad theme such as peace and environment. Still, the movement itself lasts longer than single issue campaigns and desires change on national levels on various issues in relation to their set of beliefs and ideals. Interestingly, Buechler (2016) argues that there is in fact no single new social movement theory, but a set of new social movement theories, each a variant on a general approach to what may be called new social movement, which he cautiously defines as a diverse collection of actions to presumably displace the old social movement of proletarian revolution. New social movements concentrate on bringing about social transformation of identities; they are the ‘new politics,’ which is about quality of life, freedom from oppression, and human (and non-human) rights. The new movements also give rise to a greater emphasis on the role of post-material as opposed to conflicts over material resources.



A leading new social movement theorist, Alberto Melucci (1989), suggests these movements arise within the sphere of the life world, because of which the concern has shifted from the needs for survival to social relations, symbols, and identities. The contemporary social movements are rejections of the materialistic orientation of consumerism in capitalist societies (post-industrial era) by questioning the modern idea that links the pursuit of happiness and success via promoting alternative values and understandings in relation to the social world rather than growth, progress, and increased productivity. As an example, the environmental movement that has appeared since the late 1960s has significantly brought about a 'dramatic reversal' in the ways we consider the relationship between economy, society, and nature. New social movements are primarily located in civil society or the cultural sphere as a major arena for collective action rather than instrumental action in the state. New social movements have developed skills that can challenge the state; before, new movements resisted incorporation in institutional levels.

New social movements stress grassroots activity with the aim of representing the interests of marginal, oppressed, or excluded groups. The new movements are distinctive from the 'old' labor movement with a high degree of tolerance for political and ideological differences, appealing to broader sections of population. Additionally, if old social movements presupposed a working-class base and ideology, the new social movements are presumed to draw from a different social class base, the new middle class, because of their high levels of education and their access to information and resources, which begs the question of the way society is valued. The main character in old social

movements, the industrial working class, is absent here in the class base of new social mobilizations.

As an example of the efficacy of animal rights advocacy, Villanueva's "In the corridors of power: How the American movement changed Australian politics" (2015) states the effects of the animal rights movement on Australian politics as inspired primarily by Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation*, but foreshadowed by the anti-war protests, women's and gay liberation struggles, and the conservation movement. Animal rights activists employed lobbying, a characteristic of the 1980s movements. The campaigners engaged politicians, built alliances, and participated in government. By doing so, the advocacy movement extended the political agenda, influenced public policy, and reshaped the state establishment to include new means to address animal protections. Nevertheless, outcomes were limited, consisting of compromises and failures as well as successes; the property status of animals was the constraint that produced contradictory policy outcomes. The matter of how much the animal rights movement succeeded remains debatable; animal suffering is a contentious matter. Regardless, animal advocates were instrumental in advancing basic animal protections.

Social movements and politics, and the interface between the two spheres is debated in L Hai Yan's "The logic between movements and politics—the influence of new social movements on contemporary western politics" (2009). A student in The People's Republic of China, Hai Yan studies the new social movement as a series of mass protest movements in western society since the 1960s and its effect on western politics and finds not only is the social movement a social force, but a political power as well, exerting enormous pressure on the western political system, as do political parties and

interest groups. The force of a new social movement affects the decision making and operation of political systems in the west. Hai Yan (2009) states the major characteristic of the new social movement, as opposed to traditional, is that the new movements do not attempt (or succeed) in overthrowing the current ruling power while pursuing the reform of the existing structure. As political forces, the new social movements are different from parties and interest groups, and the term “new social movement” is a catch-all term for various protest activities since the 1960s.

Hai Yan (2009) introduces four research paradigms on the movement: resource mobilization theory, political process theory, new social movement theory, and political opportunity structure theory. The most significant point that Lu makes is that the new social movement’s influence on western politics and mobilization of the mass is the revival of participatory democracy. Additionally, the collective movement has brought challenges to traditional party politics: agenda, election and organization (L. Hai Yan, 2009). The author goes on to elaborate how the movements influence politics, the relationship between interest groups, how the movement has expanded the scope of interest groups, the protest tools of social movements, and the three kinds of influence models: action-reaction, model-influence, and the movement infrastructure model. Lastly, Hai Yan (2009) explains the policy changes he understands to be influenced by the movements: policy agenda, policy process, and policy value.

Social movements may succeed or fail in influencing American politics, states Matthew Mongiello in his dissertation, *Powerless in movement: How social movements influence, and fail to influence American politics and policy* (2016). Mongiello acknowledges the significance of the cyclical theories of political opportunity, yet also

criticizes current literature on social movements for its failure to integrate movements as actors in the American political system and public policy process. Mongiello (2016) contends that the social movements exercise power in politics and policy in three distinct ways: pluralist interest group power, plebiscitary opinion power, and disruptive contentious power. Still, these powers are also limited by structural constraints such as tax and campaign finance laws (regarding political action committees, [PACS], thus the reliance on charities and other apolitical organizations); political inflation caused by the expansion of political resources (policing policies that reduce confrontations and thereby limit the visibility of movement protests); and institutional policy that commits government resources to existing issues and policy commitments and therefore limits resources for new issues (Mongiello, 2016). An example of social acclimation is the process of people marching on Washington and institutions adjusting their practices and expectations to accommodate disruptions that become commonplace; disruption has become resistant. Regarding the animal rights movement's limits on effecting change, the author uses the following example:

A common tactic by many movements is to use graphic or shocking images and displays to make the public uncomfortable with specific practices or policies-- Animal rights protesters use images of abused or slaughtered animals, often relying on undercover video. These images are designed to disrupt our peace of mind until we sign a petition, donate money, or boycott the targeted practice. But the public soon grows desensitized to these images and protesters must do something even more shocking to impact us. Activists quickly confront escalation problems where they either run out of new horrors to show, or they violate social norms in a way that brings repression and

condemnation. The animal rights case is a classic example. The first undercover video one sees of a factory farm is often shocking and disturbing, but what about the second, third, or tenth? People become numb to the images and develop coping mechanism to rationalize or dismiss the disturbing information. The inflationary effect becomes particularly problematic when movements utilize similar imagery or tactics. For example, “die ins,” in which large numbers of activists present lie down in public spaces to symbolize corpses, are utilized by abortion, human rights, animal rights and other activists. These protests have quickly lost their shock value; bystanders may pass by without even noting the cause at issue (Mongiello, 2016, n.p.).

One of the more important characteristics of new social movement theory discussed is the implication for political advocacy expanding political opportunity. Expanding cultural opportunity, via collective action, is another significant feature of new social movements in four ways; the first opportunity is that a protest dramatizes a contradiction between values and social practices. The second is to publicize sudden grievances (crises) to increase public awareness. The other opportunities for mobilization efforts are those that expose the opponents’ weaknesses or vulnerabilities, and legitimizing collective action (Larana, Johnston, & Gusfield, 1994). The cultural consequences of movements, more so than political or economic consequences, is the effects on ideologies and belief systems or sources for new identities in society. Following the 1960s protests, the movements of the 1970s and 1980s focused on ecology, nuclear protest, gay rights, animal rights, gender equality, and new religions (Larana et al., 1994). Research finds these new movements unorganized or fluid, yet the animal rights movement is linear, with procedural and institutional changes as the goals. The

animal rights movement embraces actors to highlight crucial dilemmas of society and social conflict, as well as concerns about the appropriation of resources and control. The conflict processes form new sources of power as well as new sources of opposition.

While claiming to be apolitical in theory, social movements, particularly the new social movements, have effectively brought about changes in political actions through social conflict, resource mobilization, and institutional transformations (Larana et al., 1994).

The middle-class social base generally associated with the new social movements may be more diffused than originally believed. The movements are not defined by class structure, but rather in other statuses such as race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, citizenship, identity, interests, etc. Political collective identity has become a personalized lifestyle. Another theme concerns material values: whereas materialism is replaced by redistribution, post materialistic values emphasize quality rather than quantity, and the movement seeks not power or control, but equality, autonomy, and democratization (Buechler, 2000, p. 46). The final themes identifying new social movement theories involves cultural and symbolic forms of resistance in addition to resisting conventional tactics and goals in favor of the exploration of new identities, meanings, signs and symbols (Buechler, 2000, p. 46). New social movement activism prefers organization that is “decentralized, egalitarian, participatory, prefigurative and ad hoc” (Buechler, 2000, p. 48), and its rival is social constructionism as a conservative, or a less liberal, challenge to resource mobilization theory.

Other characteristics of successful social movements include persuasive communication, broad media attention, consciousness raising, and most importantly, a shared sense of beliefs and identity (Morris & Mueller, 1992). Collective identity

develops a shared sense of commitment and is followed through by activism. Political culture in a democratic system relies on civic culture and a mix of participation and support, values that support a liberal democratic process. The political culture of social movement, particularly animal welfare/rights, affects not only outcome but also involvement of supporters, as evidenced by successes or failures of pro-animal legislation in various parts of the United States. Cultural rationale is obvious when one compares the southern, conservative, agricultural states' agendas with those of northern, industrial, liberal states. The protests of the 1960s is compared with the more conventional political activities of lobbying; as a drastic action, it does change society. In fact, communities normally do not produce much in the way of political challenge; however, community-based movements utilizing unconventional tactics have historically created social and political transformation. Activism is at the core of most collective action (Morris & Mueller, 1992). Conflict resolution becomes significant in social movement theory.

### **Animal Rights Movement Theory**

The animal rights movement stems from early animal welfare organizations. A critique of instrumentalism, in which animals, women, and nature are reduced to the status of tools for the promotion of markets and industry, the theory of animal rights stems from feminism and environmentalism (Anderson & Herr, 2007). Animal rights proponents argue that animals should not be used at all, animals should be allowed to lead their lives, and the idea of "rights is a non-negotiable moral value in which living, sentient beings has a right to live as they choose" (Anderson & Herr, 2007, p. 109). Rooted deeply in a moral belief system, arguments against animal testing and use for

human goals are based on the notion that a life is a life, whether human or nonhuman (Anderson & Herr, 2007, p. 109).

For clarity regarding efficacy of animal welfare advocacy, this study will concentrate on the less defiant methods of advocacy. However, the problem with a democratic response to current political ideologies is that civil disobedience may sometimes be justified; in this case, it is justified when a representative democracy will not mirror the social, ethnic and gender composition of the electorate. Voting systems may not consider the intensity of a minority issue when outvoted by an apathetic majority; some may even find themselves a permanent minority. Considering those mindsets, Hoffman and Graham (2015) argue that animals have interests that are clearly affected by the democratic process and the duty to care is placed upon the humans who vote for or against protection. If, as Hoffman and Graham (2015) suggest, a person believes that a law is “wrong” and no amount of institutional reform will make it right, a “more radical change lies in the rejection of majority decision making” (p. 429). Defenders of animal experimentation for medical purposes, for example, will maintain the utilitarian philosophy that they have “given due weight to non-human animals as beings worthy of moral respect, but that human beings have greater moral claims” (Hoffman & Graham, 2015, p. 429) justifies the suffering of lab animals. Opponents of vivisection maintain that extreme actions are justified on moral grounds.

To that end, and appropriate to the theory of utility, Western philosophy has historically assumed that human beings are inherently more morally worthy than non-human animals (Smits, 2016, p. 254). Animal welfare and modern animal rights movements emerged in the 1960s as a response to “speciesism” (the assumption that



human species is superior). Western countries began to pass animal welfare measures in the twentieth century, mostly in response to heightened awareness of non-human animals as sentient beings, thanks to philosophers Peter Singer and Tom Regan. Singer's "Animal Liberation" argued for the equal moral value of animals, while Regan argued for a rights-based approach to animal welfare (as cited in Smits, 2016, p. 254).

The animal rights movement is an extension of the social movement theory, and its long-term goal is abolition. It has its beginnings from a history of philosophical and religious beliefs that humans were superior to non-humans, thus animals' thoughts and feelings were inconsequential, if they even existed. Descartes, in the 1600s, proposed that animals were unfeeling. In another philosophy, utilitarians advocated the use of animals as long as the animals were cared for and their pain and stress minimized. (Perdew, 2014 p. 19). The utilitarian Bentham was the first to question the morality of animal suffering, yet still supported the use of animals. Martin's Act was passed in 1822 in Great Britain to prevent cruel treatment of large domestic animals. Richard Martin proposed the formation of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to enforce the act (Perdew, 2014 p. 21). It was not until after the American Civil War that the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was formed. Bergh wrote the "Declaration of the Rights of Animals" in New York after witnessing the cruel treatment of the work horses on the streets of New York. The ASPCA eventually launched the beginnings of humane education in 1916 (Perdew, 2014, pp. 23-25). However, it was not until the slaughterhouse practices were exposed by activist groups in the late 1800s that the first anti-cruelty statute was enacted in the United States. The Twenty-Eight Hour Law of 1873 required that animals must be rested, watered, and fed every 28 hours

(Perdew, 2014 p. 26). Nevertheless, enforcing it was another matter, even after several laws were enacted.

Vivisection and medical experiments and research involved cutting into live, awake animals for the intent of medical advances. It was the outcry from activists objecting to using the animals for this purpose that led to the founding of the American Anti-Vivisection Society. After the civil war, some animal abolitionists “drew parallels between the treatment of animals and the oppression of African-American slaves” (Perdew, 2014 p. 32). The parallel was that slaves were not sentient beings but merely property to be bought and sold. Animal rights activists used the lessons from the antislavery movement to challenge the institutional oppression of animals.

Vegetarianism was a part of the animal rights movement, and in 1944, the Vegan society was founded to end the exploitation of animals. (Perdew, 2014). Richard Ryder coined the phrase “speciesism” in 1970, and in 1975 Singer wrote *Animal Liberation*. In the 1970s, as the animal rights movement emerged, it separated from the established animal welfare movement. The utilitarian “welfarists” remained supportive of using animals if animals were treated humanely, while the animal rights movement demanded justice, equality, fairness, and rights. They became the “rightists.” PETA would be a rightist group, while the HSUS is considered a welfarist group (Perdew, 2014, p. 43). Various other incidents of animal activism, including Henry Spira’s 1977 fight against the New York American Museum of Natural History (deliberately maiming cats), Revlon’s cosmetic testing on rabbits using the Draize test to determine irritability, and PETA’s anti-fur campaign in the 1980s. In 1984, PETA received videotapes stolen from the University of Pennsylvania by the Animal Liberation Front, in which evidence of

animal cruelty was exposed during research of head injuries and was eventually instrumental in closing the lab (Perdew, 2014).

The opposition groups that profit from the use of animals have enough money and lobbying to portray the animal rights movement as a threat to cultural norms. Biomedical industries, beef, egg, and dairy industries, and the pro-hunting lobby from the National Rifle Association have the money and resources to stage effective obstacles to the movement. The NRA is one of the largest, wealthiest organizations to challenge animal rights in the nation. Factory farming was the target of the Great American Meat Out and the veal ban campaign by FARM (Farm Animal Reform Movement). The Farm Animal Rights Movement in the 1980s developed a strategy of four phases for a successful campaign: public alert, discussion, public acceptance of the problem, and legislative reform.

Tom Regan published *The Case for Animal Rights* in 1983, which established him as a rights-based activist and served as an argument against eating meat (as cited in Perdew, 2014). Eating animals was morally wrong, and he spoke out against the utilitarian philosophy, arguing that the act itself was wrong, regardless of the consequences. Any use of an animal was immoral. The animal rights movement led the March for Animals in Washington D.C. in 1990, bringing together animal rights supporters for various causes: experimentation, farming, protection for certain species, etc. Prior to the march, the movement was responsible for the “three R’s”: replacement, reduction, and refinement. to reduce the use of animals in experimentation.

The end of factory farming is the goal for the animal rights movement. Factory farming began in the 1920s and flourished after WWII, following the discovery of

vitamins A and D and antibiotics that made it possible to keep animals tightly packed together. The use of assembly line techniques for milking, egg collection, feeding, and slaughter made it possible to increase productivity, not to mention reducing operating costs. Florida was the first state to ban gestation crates for sows, while California passed Proposition 2 (The Prevention of Farm Animal Cruelty Act), which prohibits severe confinement of all farm animals (Perdew, 2014, p. 78). Mercy for Animals (MFA) went undercover at California's biggest egg factory farm to record routine abuse. The agribusiness industry faced significant profit losses and labeled Prop 2 supporters' extremists and the single largest threat to the animal agriculture industry. The backlash to the activists' success and other undercover operations was the adoption of the Ag Gag Laws in five states in 2012, which made any filming, recording, or photos taken of any animal illegal. In 2013, nine other states followed suit with some form of ag gag law (Perdew, 2014). The Humane Slaughter Act was passed in 1958 to require animals be made insensible to pain prior to slaughter and revised in 1978, allowing for government inspection of slaughterhouses. The law itself has serious flaws. It does not include fowl, and due to a flaw, animals may still be conscious at the time of death. Slaughterhouses are not properly monitored. However, the animal rights groups Mercy for Animals, PETA, Compassion for Over Killing, and the Animal League Defense Fund have ongoing anti-factory farming campaigns (Perdew, 2014).

Peter Singer is known for *Animal Liberation* and, while not a rights activist, his utilitarian defense of animal interests and his book helped to increase awareness of animal exploitation. He critiques the assumption that human interests matter more than non-human interests. He has an aversion to speciesism. The core of his position is in line

with liberal, ethical, political norms, and he upholds the moral standard of the sentient individual being. Singer is considered a “preference utilitarian” by his support of maximizing preferences. His liberal egalitarianism and his support of the universalizability as a test of ethical rules indicates his preference for applying the same rules to all players. He believes that the ecstasy of the few cannot outweigh the suffering of the many who would choose not to suffer (as cited in Milligan, 2015, p. 29).

Utilitarians puzzle over whether the utility equation should include the interests of animals, but Singer’s preference model requires the consideration of animals’ interests.

A genuinely political theory of animal rights must go beyond the level of ideal theory. The first account of animal ethics uses the non-ideal theory to plot a course from where we are now to where we want to be. Robert Garner (2013) argues that a valid theory of justice for animals should be rights-based, and that animals have a right to not suffer at the hands of humans, something that has not been thoroughly addressed in legislation and needs revision. Of course, the animal rights argument vs. the animal welfare theory comes into play; it is far easier to argue an animal welfare issue than to argue a rights-based theory for animals, particularly animals raised for food.

When Singer first published *Animal Liberation*, the debate over the moral status of animals barely had credibility, as few believed that the treatment of animals was worth serious ethical consideration. There were no animal rights or animal liberation organizations. By 2003, treatment of animals was newsworthy, and PETA had 750,000 members (Singer, 2003, p. 18). The animal rights debate has become global. The numbers of animals killed in shelters, the numbers of animals owned, or the number of animals used in research had all been tracked, but legislative progress had not. There was

a huge increase in confinement of animals in factory farms, but animal welfare campaigns targeted corporations, not legislation. The corporation targeting was highly successful, yet the citizen-initiated referendum that circumvented legislation proved to be triumphant in proposing a change in the Florida constitution and putting a measure on the ballot that citizens could vote on. Opponents of the ballot attempted to dissuade citizens by saying that the confinement of pigs was not a state constitution issue. The ballot passed, and Florida became the first state to ban gestation crates (Singer, 2003, p. 29).

### **Culture Influence Theory**

Moix's "Religion, Conflict and Conflict Resolution" (2006) recognizes the role that religion plays in human disputes. Religious beliefs have historically affected the treatment of animals. Religion is most often discussed in terms of beliefs, values, doctrines, and dogma. Spiritual teachings provide believers a narrative that sets guidelines for one's own behavior and treatment of others. Religious doctrine can lay out rules for managing human relations. Common values for compassion, love, respect for human dignity and sacredness of human life are shared across major religions and contribute to the development of human rights standards, ethical norms, humanitarian law. Religious teachings are often interpreted to benefit one's needs. Religion as a social institution or as an identity forms a mixture of beliefs, values and laws.

Groups utilizing animals for food, entertainment, and clothing do not see themselves as oppressors. Civilized animal oppression is embedded in unquestioned norms, habits, symbols, underlying rules, and the collective consequences of following those rules. Oppression refers to injustices some groups suffer as a consequence of unconscious assumptions and reactions by well-meaning people reinforced by cultural

stereotypes and structural features of bureaucratic hierarchies (Deutsch, 2011, as cited in Coleman, Deutsch & Marcus, 2014, p. 29). Oppression refers to systemic, repeated, widespread injustice. It need not be extreme or involve the legal system or violence; civilized oppression can be everyday processes of oppression in normal life. We find this especially significant in factory farming, where the raising and slaughter of cows, pigs, dairy cows, and chickens is often considered an everyday, necessary part of meat eating. The forms that oppression takes can be distributive, procedural, moral exclusion, or cultural imperialism. Moral exclusion leads to not only the exclusion of one group, but atrocities taken by one group of otherwise moral humans against another group. The social conditions that are particularly conducive to developing hatred or alienating emotions that permit otherwise nonviolent members of a society to dehumanize victims and kill are: difficult life conditions, unstable political regime, violence is culturally salient and sanctioned, little sense of human relatedness, and authoritarian social institutions (Deutsch, 2011, as cited in Coleman, Deutsch & Marcus, 2014, p. 39).

America's history of slavery illustrates that principal; dehumanizing the oppressed group serves to alleviate the "burden" of atrocities. Hatred and violence are intensified if there is no active group of observers of the violence. The "out-of-sight" principal is especially relevant in slaughterhouses; those who herd the animals are kept from seeing the kill; those who kill do not see the animal butchered. Currently, there is an ongoing battle between factory farmers and those who attempt to show the cruelty farm animals endure. The "ag-gag" laws attempt to silence anyone who tries to document cruelty. The selection of targets for moral exclusion are most likely delegitimated when they are a threat to anything important to the dominant group: religious beliefs, economic

well-being, public order, sense of reality, physical safety, reputation, ethnic group, family, moral values, institutions, etc. (Deutsch, 2011, p. 40). Cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a dominant group's culture and establishing it as the norm.

Understanding the concept of culture is imperative for conflict analysis as well as conflict research. While culture is rarely the primary cause for conflict, it is the lens through which differences are refracted and conflict pursued. Culture frames the context in which conflict occurs (Cheldwlin, Druckman, & Fast, 2008). The lack of cultural comprehension is usually expressed ethnocentrically in a moralizing way (Cheldwlin et al., 2008, p. 171). Culture can be related to, but not the same as, ethnicity, race, or nationality. Social identity may also be related to cultural identity, but culture is only one part of social identity.

Women make up the majority of animal rights movement, which is the most striking characteristic of the movement, and women have been at the forefront of animal advocacy since the late nineteenth century, marking the movement with a particular sense of ethical, empathic concern, and action (Gaarder, 2011). Due to the connection between women and nature, there are important connections between the oppression of the environment, women, and non-humans. The animal rights movement comes as a reaction to patriarchal thought in Western societies that devalue and oppress nature and groups identified with nature, seeing nature as inferior to culture and justifying the domination of women, animals, and the earth. The contemporary animal rights activists face many of the same challenges of those in historical women's struggles for legitimacy, encountering the same stereotypical portrayals of overly emotional and irrational activists (Gaarder,



2011). Whether or not the assumption made by sociologists that a woman's connection with the natural world and animals and the resulting drive for activism is biologically driven is true, there appears to be a bond between women and non-human rights (Gaarder, 2011). However, that assumption only reinforces the stereotype. Women in the animal rights movement are motivated by political actions and ethical choices. Activism work impacts the lives of women in every area, and changing value systems influence relationships, career choices, political awareness, and activity and civic participation.

Ultimately, oppression is oppression. Women involved in animal rights activities also find themselves participating in larger circles of inequity and political pursuit. The opposite is true; involvement in other social causes have led women to the discovery of animal rights. Women as social actors make sense of their majority status in the animal rights movement through cultural accounts of sex and gender, gendered social learning and societal expectation, and biological natures and empathy over shared inequities. Field study observations of women involved in animal rights activism revealed the enormous sacrifices women activist have made in their personal and professional lives. Challenging sexism within the animal rights movement reveals male dominated leadership roles, opposition to animal rights based on sexist rhetoric, and sexualized campaigns, even by animal rights organizations. Gaarder (2011) insists that sexist stereotypes need to be addressed and gender inequalities, sexual objectification, and the devaluation of emotion must be challenged by the animal rights movement.

## Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

### Case Study Methodology

For this research undertaking, a case study methodology with an interview presentation together with published facts sources performs best. Case study research is appropriately used when the research question asks *why* or *how* and combines several data sources which will enrich the research with practical interview data. Qualitative case study is a research approach that facilitates exploration not through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses, which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood. A tool in many social science studies, case study research allows the exploration and understanding of complex issues and a detailed explanation of community-based problems. Researchers were concerned about the limitations of quantitative methods in providing holistic and in-depth explanations of the social and behavioral problems being questioned. Case study methods goes beyond the quantitative statistical results and, by including both quantitative and qualitative data, a case study can explain process and outcome of a phenomenon (Tellis, 1997). Case study method enables this researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. In some cases, a case study method examines a small geographical area or limited number of individuals as the subjects of study, as this study will. A research methods literature review can construct research design, choices, data collection and analysis techniques, including understanding of the interrelationship between theory, method, and research design (Hart, 2014). The qualitative only approach, while also suitable for the social paradigm of animal protection, does not apply to political or public policy procedure. Quantitative data forms the basis for research.

Yin (2014) defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry into a contemporary phenomenon in which multiple sources of evidence can be used, or in some case studies, a longitudinal examination of a single case or event is used; data is collected through observations. A case study is a way of observing any natural phenomenon that exists in a set of data (Yin, 2014). Researchers can adopt either a single-case or multiple-case design, depending on the issue in question. A case study can be conducted using a single-case design, where events are limited to a single occurrence. According to Yin (2003), a case study design should be considered when the study asks “how” and “why” questions; or if you cannot manipulate the behavior of the study’s participants. A case study is appropriate in this research, as the researcher is asking why legislation cannot be enacted and how other factors affect legislators’ decisions. While considering what the research question will be, one must also consider what the case is.

Interviews will elicit implicit and explicit data from the subjects, and it is appropriate for the research question. Chains of evidence (town halls, meetings, etc.) are recorded and archived, particularly when interviews and direct observation by the researcher are sources of data and the case study is linked to a theoretical framework (Tellis, 1997). A researcher conducting an exploratory case study may ask broad questions, meant to open the door for further examination of the phenomenon observed. In this case study, prior fieldwork and small-scale data collection may be conducted before the research questions and hypotheses are proposed. As a prelude, this initial work helps prepare a framework of the study. As a result, initial questions asked by this researcher may, in fact, lead to additional conversations and probes. In exploratory case studies, a researcher may then form a theory and set out to test this theory. A holistic case

study with embedded units, like this project, would enable the researcher to explore the case while considering the influence of the various sources and associated attributes on the policy makers' decision making; it would be appropriate for this research (Yin, 2003).

The case study methodology was utilized effectively by Allen (2005) when she found that lobbying efforts, particularly by The Humane Society of The United States, did produce some beneficial legislation, but was not a significant gain for the animal rights/welfare movement. Allen also used quantitative data to indicate the successes and failures, while also illustrating the progress in general regarding animal protection regulation. This project will be based upon similar data but goes further to highlight the conflicts and ask why. A mixed method type of research is useful to establish a starting point or basis for further exploration; the methodology here is predominantly case study. A case study methodology was used by Allen (2005) to develop a theory of effectiveness. This research will be piggybacking on her case study to not only address those items she suggested for future research, but also to add information collected through interviews with policy makers, leaders of advocate organizations, voting records specifically addressing animal welfare bills, and literature discussing animal rights, welfare, protection and social movement.

There are several advantages in using case studies. First, the examination of the data is most often conducted within the context of its use (Yin, 2014); that is, within the situation in which the activity takes place. The detailed qualitative accounts often produced in case studies may help to explain the complexities of real-life situations which may not be captured through experimental or survey research (2014). Case study methodology is most useful when generating a construction of theory wherein the

research method is comprised of interviews, a collection of research questions, and coded into categories; the outcome is based on the result of the case study approach. An instrumental case study strives for an in-depth understanding of a specific problem; in this case, the problem is the difficulty in effecting animal welfare regulation. The intention is not only to answer the initial research questions, but also to generate further inquiries and find a common theme that provides a basis for further research. Case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence, including blogs, records, and bills. In this case, I apply two different theories to each case: utilitarian theory applies to political views, while social movement theory is better suited to the increase in animal rights movements. Case studies examine contemporary, real life events or phenomenon. This project is a comparative case study of culture and its effects on policy; agricultural or conservative, historically Republican culture versus an industrial or liberal, historically Democrat culture. I used a qualitative, case study methodology. It is preferable when there is no control of behavioral events, it concerns a contemporary phenomenon, and relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated (Yin, 2014). Additional supportive information, such as the findings of annual reports from animal welfare organizations, prior dissertations, journal articles, findings from case law, conference material from the HSUS and ASPCA, will be included, merely to compare results. The project looks at any successes in pro-animal legislation indicating increased awareness and progress by the efforts of the HSUS et al. To do a qualitative comparative case study approach, this study refers to Allen's (2005) research in which she discusses voting records. While there appears to be a lack of research linking the differences in regional legislation with pro-animal rights movements and interest groups, nor is there an abundance of published

research that explains why the differences exist, this case study considers the activists' voice regarding success or failure of their work.

The study's interest is in the progress or lack of progress made by humane education and policy promotion. Creswell (2013) stresses the agenda for an instrumental case study to include identification of a specific cause, but the intent of the research is important, particularly to understand a specific problem or concern. A fundamental tool of analysis, the comparative case-study design can be useful to check dissimilarity, contextual, and environmental differences, but it also brings into focus any similarities as well. This research considers HSUS legislative reports and piggyback on Allen's (2005) research. The qualitative method chosen will also address the factors and conflicts involved in policy decisions and is the most appropriate format for collecting and interpreting information from interviews with agency representatives to ascertain a thematic overview or commonality and differences regarding effective activism/lobbying and humane education. Qualitative methods are indicated when understanding trends to highlight themes and preferences and the successes or failures of efforts by animal welfare groups to encourage or discourage legislation (as evidenced by legislative victories or defeats) versus formidable lobbyists representing industries, factory farmers, and educational facilities for profit, growth, and science.

### **Review of Related Literature**

Willis (2007) describes postmodern research as an influence on critical theory and interpretivism. It can highlight negative results of progress on oppressed peoples (or, in this case, it will highlight the results of progress as evidenced by factory farming on oppressed species) (Willis, 2007, p. 55). It deconstructs old concepts to erect new ones.

Postmodernism is interpretive, interactive, and emphasizes the relative nature of knowledge in the natural sciences (Willis, 2007, p. 56). Feminist theory and research marks the beginning of recognizing culturally sensitive views and recognizes victims, but also contributes to, and recognizes the subjectivity of, research and researchers. It contemplates researcher bias and includes it as part of the research. Feminist-based research is reflective, action oriented, and collaborative and considers the role of effect in research (Willis, 2007, p. 60).

Creswell (2014) considers the three approaches to research: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. Qualitative research is a tool used for exploration of meaning or understanding of a social or human problem. It involves the sorting, analysis, and interpretation of certain themes in rich data gathered from the participant's setting and is an inductive style of research interpretation to focus on the importance of a complex situation (Creswell, 2014). This method is the most suitable for this investigation. Quantitative research, based on empirical methods, stemming from a post positivist paradigm and results in statistical data in which generalizations constructed from sample data can be achieved. This type of method is not wholly suitable for this project, yet the study does incorporate some statistical data. Mixed methodology integrates both quantitative and qualitative data, and databases could be used to check another database or used to explore different types of questions or better instruments of research, providing a more complete understanding of a research problem while considering the framework of the worldview a researcher brings to the study. Creswell (2014) defines a researcher's worldview as either constructionist, transformative, or pragmatic. Still assuming objectivity, a researcher also assumes a worldview that can

contribute to the choice of research styles. Constructionists want to understand experiences; pragmatics favor action and will use any form of research, philosophy, methods, etc. to understand a problem. The transformative worldview “holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and political change to conform social oppression” (Creswell, 2014, p. 9). A transformative worldview using an explanatory sequential mixed methodology is most suitable for this specific research project.

Yin (2014) defines the essence of a case study as an illumination of a decision or a set of decisions, why they were taken, and how they were implemented and with what result (p. 15). A case study relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data and analysis (Yin, 2014, p. 17). One of the most important features about case studies is that it describes an intervention and the real-world context in which it occurs and seeks to enlighten those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes (Yin, 2014, p. 19). Yin (2014) approaches case study on a constructivist paradigm. Constructivists claim that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one’s perspective and values. This paradigm “recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning but doesn’t reject outright some notion of objectivity” (Miller & Crabtree, 1999, p. 10).

Coding methods, as described by Saldana (2013), include: affect (emotion based) coding, appropriate when interviewing activists in the field; attribute coding that describes settings; axial coding to extend initial coding and focus on subcategories of major themes; causal coding to code for causal evaluation; domain coding for cultural knowledge and cultural terms; emotion coding; evaluative coding that assigns judgement,



merit or worth of a program or policy; exploratory coding, an open-ended investigation prior to refined coding; hypothesis coding in support of the researcher's hypothesis; motif coding that explores myth or folk tales; and values coding that reflect a participant's values and beliefs (Appendix A). Discourse analysis looks for embedded or inferred sociopolitical meanings (Saldana, 2013, p. 270).

Qualitative interviewing techniques help researchers to observe and record a subject's unique perspective or experience as it relates to an issue. Questions are open-ended, and the discussion is conversational in nature. This gives the interviewer insight into where a subject is coming from, rather than getting "yes" or "no" answers that provide incomplete feedback. One advantage of a qualitative interview approach over other forms of interviewing is that the interviewer can gather complex, in-depth data that is not as easily obtained through questionnaires or question-and-answer interview approaches. A qualitative interviewing approach allows an interviewer to gather not only hard, factual data, but also collect emotional data as well. For example, asking a subject to describe the way he felt in a situation provides more complete feedback than asking a subject to explain a process. Interviewing gives the interviewer the advantage of getting honest input. Qualitative research interview technique involves conducting individual interviews with a small number of participants to explore their perspectives on an idea, program, or situation. The interview material is then collected for rich content and analyzed to establish themes. The qualitative research interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say (Kvale, 1996). A qualitative research interview seeks to cover both a factual and a meaning level (Kvale, 1996).

Additional sources used for interviewing research methodology includes The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's website for *Qualitative Research Guidelines Project* (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006), which offers specific guidelines for structured interviewing. Michael Patton's (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* reviews the benefits of using interviews as a research methodology.

### **Interview Methodology**

Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences; the interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic, and interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents' questionnaires, to further illuminate or clarify their responses. While personal interviews are time consuming and resource intensive, an interview is a far more personal form of research than questionnaires, as the interviewer works directly with the respondent and the interviewer could probe or ask follow-up questions. Interviews are generally easier for respondents, especially if what is sought is opinions or impressions (McNamara, 1999).

Structured interviews consist of a series of predetermined questions that all interviewees answer in the same order. A standardized, open-ended interview, with the same open-ended questions asked of all interviewees, facilitates faster interviews that can be more easily analyzed and compared. Telephone interviews enable a researcher to gather information rapidly. Like personal interviews, they allow for some personal contact between the interviewer and the respondent. A guideline for interviews includes: explaining the purpose of the interview, addressing terms of confidentiality, explaining the format of the interview, indicating how long the interview usually takes, providing contact information for the interviewer, allowing the interviewee to clarify any doubts

about the interview, and preparing a method for recording data, e.g., take notes. Moreover, in this type of primary data collection, the researcher has direct control over the flow of process, and she has a chance to clarify certain issues during the process if needed. On the other hand, disadvantages include longer time requirements and difficulties associated with arranging an appropriate time with perspective sample group members to conduct interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001).

Development of a structured interview guide or questionnaire requires a clear topical focus and well-developed understanding of the topic at hand. A well-developed understanding of a topic allows researchers to create a highly structured interview guide or questionnaire that provides respondents with relevant, meaningful, and appropriate response categories to choose from for each question. Therefore, structured interviews are best used when the literature in a topical area is highly developed or the researcher follows the use of observational and other less structured interviewing approaches that provide the researcher with an adequate understanding of a topic to construct meaningful and relevant close-ended questions (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

The interviewer creates an open atmosphere, much as she does with a cover letter. The interviewer should give a brief, casual introduction to the study, stress the importance of the person's participation, and assure anonymity, or at least confidentiality, when possible (Bauman & Greenberg, 1992). There is a risk of interviewee bias during the primary data collection process and this would seriously compromise the validity of the project's findings. Some interviewer bias can be avoided by ensuring that the interviewer does not overreact to responses of the interviewee, Reporting data from interviews includes the following: thematizing-the why and what of the investigation;

transcribing-prepare the interview material for analysis; analyzing-decide on the purpose, the topic, the nature, and the methods of analysis that are appropriate; verifying-ascertain the validity of the interview findings; and reporting-communicate findings of the study based on scientific criteria (McNamara, 1999).

### **Interview Questions**

The following are the main interview questions; the responses were codified to develop themes to address the research questions.

1. What is your role in the animal welfare movement? Are you volunteer or staff?  
How long?
2. How do you see your overall role in the social movement field (animal welfare, animal rights field)?
3. How did you become involved? What motivates you? Why?
4. How has your role changed your life? Your perspective? Family, education, career?
5. What do you see as the differences in animal welfare/rights/protection, three very different issues. How do you view the theory of animal rights?
6. How do you see your agency's involvement in the field of animal interests?
7. What do you (and/or your agency) hope to accomplish in the field? What are your goals? Immediate/long term?
8. How do you feel the animal rights/welfare movement affects public policy?  
(legislation, community awareness, humane education, corporate policy)
9. What do you consider the movement's successes? How have they affected policy?
10. What have been your most effective tools in your mission?

11. What do you consider failures? regrets? Will you try again? What would you do differently?
12. Either way, success or failure, what would you change about the tactics, goals, tools?
13. What do you see as the future of animal rights and welfare?
14. What do you see as your biggest obstacle to your goals?
15. If legislation/regulation is a big concern, why? Partisan/culture/economy/religion issues?
16. What are your pending campaigns? What are you currently deliberating?
17. What do you see lacking in the movement? What is needed to achieve your goals?
18. What do you see as the biggest conflicts in the animal welfare/rights movement?
19. How do you see those conflicts resolved?
20. What is on your wish list?

### **Data Collection Methods**

Field research included some observation material, collected from on-site conferences, phone conferences, meetings, and visits to various program sites. The field research also consisted of interviews with legislators or assigned staff (legislators assign staff to specific issues, such as the environment and animal welfare), organization representatives, and animal welfare groups. Some qualitative documents were gathered during site visits that could include meeting minutes, official reports, newsletters, emails, websites, social media, texts, public documents, etc. from legislators if offered after a discussion of this researcher's role and intent. An interview protocol suggested by Creswell (2014) was developed prior to interviews. I was mindful of the IRB guidelines

concerning interview material, privacy, and ethics when compiling legislative and agency interviews. The comparative, multiple-case design, case study triangulated results for reliability by utilizing conventional historical study records and available documents: blogs from HSUS's W. Pacelle, legislative bills' original tests, and the HSUS's Legislative *Humane Activist*. Interviews were conducted with the acting CEO of Humane Society of the United States; John Eberhart, Director of League of Humane Voters; Michael Markarian, President of the Humane Society Legislative Fund; and Debra Berger, Georgia State Leader for HSUS. A comparative analysis provides a basis for further research. Results were used in examining the activists' viewpoint of the effects of humane lobbying may have, and if there are little or no effects, why this is so. Input from the Animal League Defense Fund may provide valuable insight into legislative efforts related to animal protection.

Qualitative validity requires the researcher to check for accuracy of findings, while qualitative reliability indicates the researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and projects. Triangulating data across different sources and using it to build justification of themes established on converging several sources is important. Member checking to determine the accuracy of findings by confirming the final report with participants was conducted. A rich, thick description to provide an element of shared experiences, clarifying any biases this researcher brings to the study. A discussion of any discrepant information was part of the overall findings (Creswell, 2014). Generalization is not as important or possible in qualitative studies as it is in quantitative cases, but some generalization to a broader theory can be achieved after coding themes emerge. Willis (2007) suggests alternatives to triangulation other than member checking, such as

experience in the environment. Timothy Pachirat (2011) worked in a slaughterhouse to develop his dissertation, and he wrote *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight* to describe the progress made in slaughtering animals. Included here are descriptions and themes from the collected data and any new questions or suggestions for additional research. A transformative worldview using an explanatory sequential mixed methodology is most suitable for this specific research project. A multiple-case study design is applicable for approaching the various topics addressing conflicts between animal rights movement and legislators' actions. A case study is appropriate, as the researcher is asking how public policy has been affected and what other factors influenced activists' decisions. Yin's set of criteria for an exploratory type of case study applies to this research project. Purposefully selected sites for the proposed study will be unnecessary, as the interviews were conducted through email or by telephone.

### **Data Analysis**

Data analysis links the data to the propositions; the units of analysis provides the criteria for interpreting the findings, with the questions open ended intentionally to encourage and produce rich data to analyze (Creswell, 2003). In turn, this data encourages more questions. Transcripts of interviews and notes from field observations, including town halls and meetings with animal welfare groups, were coded into subject matter. The unit of analysis is the major component that is considered for analysis in this study; the who or what being studied. While typical units of analysis include individuals (most common), groups, or social organizations, in this case, it will be the overall effect of animal welfare and the political philosophies of public policies, as seen through the

eyes of its advocates, regarding the struggle and efforts of animal welfare agencies vs. special interest groups. Specific units of observation were coded interview material from representatives of each entity studied, together with vignettes from animal welfare groups. The units of analysis are the perceived causes for conflict between animal rights/welfare movements and the legislators and the reasons for not getting animal protection legislation passed. This project considers the obvious and public explanations for the lack of animal protection laws, but also the covert, hidden meaning (Creswell, 2003). Interview material were analyzed on an ongoing basis, with memos and notes taken during the interview that will be part of the resulting narrative.

A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns an attribute for a portion of language-based data (Saldana, 2013, p. 3). The first cycle codification is to develop major themes; the second and subsequent coding may illustrate embedded themes. Other coding methods appropriate for this case study included affect (emotion based), domain coding for cultural knowledge and cultural terms; evaluative coding of a program or policy; exploratory or motif coding that explores myth or folk tales; and values coding. Discourse analysis looks for embedded or inferred sociopolitical meanings (Saldana, 2013, p. 270). Cultural theme coding is the search for attributes of, and relationships among, categories for the discovery of cultural meaning. Analysis can be holistic or embedded (multiple perspectives); the resulting themes and context lends itself to interpretation (Creswell, 2013). The code labels vary in vivo codes from interviews and field research and emerging themes from literature are labeled as theory, history, advocacy, lobbying, humane education, etc. Coding interpretation will attempt to picture the larger meaning of the data and organization of



themes. Generalizing my findings may not be applicable in this case, as the purposeful sampling of advocates is purely subjective and may not represent the entire animal rights movement members. Interpretations in qualitative research is the final step in data analyzation that could confirm past information (Allen, 2005), diverge from past information, or suggest new questions or additional research.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The ethical model I followed throughout this project is “virtue ethics of skills” (Mauther, Birch, Jessop, & Miller, 2002, p. 20), a model that considers the researcher’s moral values and ethical intuitions, feelings and reflective skills, and stresses context and situation as a neutral and impartial foundation. However, the value-based, feminist-informed social values ethical model’s characteristics are based on analysis of power relations between those involved in the research and society in general (Mauther et al., 2002). Neutrality and objectivity may not be so correct or necessary. Models of care (moral) versus justice (regulations) can be combined toward a more liberal model of justice. *Ethics in Qualitative Research* (Mauther, et al., 2002) discusses imbalances in power when the researcher finds herself interviewing those whom she considers oppressive, socially damaging, and at odds with the group she is attempting to empower. One group’s empowerment is another’s oppression (Mauther et al., 2002, p. 26).

The “ethics of intention” examines the use of research as a political tool and is an additional concern I needed to consider when reporting on the results; in fact, the authors of *The Ethics of Intention: Research as a Political Tool* (Gillis, V. & Alldred, P., 2002) comment on whether the researcher’s ethics and intent can be separated from political aims when the research is acknowledged as a political tool. The intent of political

research and its use as a political tool, is one of truth or enlightenment serving as an emancipatory vehicle. Considering the audience for this research, I trust that any knowledge will serve as empowerment, progress toward enlightenment, and a challenge to the marginalization of the oppressed non-human animals. A value-based researcher “brings to her research her judgement or assumption that there is a need for social change...” (Gillis & Alldred, 2002, p. 43). Initiating change through action research and giving a voice to research indicates the political nature of the researcher’s role, but also is indicative of the researcher’s need for reflection about research ethics; the authors suggest that political ambition could get priority over, and obscure the limitations of, the research, objective reflection of the data, and any negative consequences (2002). Feminist or value-based researchers often seek to challenge and destabilize the power structures through which oppression is maintained but end up exposing damaging assumptions without considering the impact of deconstruction. Reflexivity requires transparency and the researcher needs to self-reflect and acknowledge the values promoted by research (2002). Understanding that my research is a political project and that could be used as an opinionated political tool is not understated by myself. I am fully aware of my biases and acknowledge the intentions of my study as a functional inquiry and possibly an agent of change.

Five recommendations APA's Science Directorate, as per APA ethics code, suggests including the following:

1. Regarding intellectual properties: Researchers also need to meet their ethical obligations once their research is published. If authors learn of errors that change

the interpretation of research findings, they are ethically obligated to promptly correct the errors in a correction, retraction, erratum or by other means.

2. Regarding multiple roles.
3. Following informed consent rules: APA's Ethics Code mandates that psychologists who conduct research should inform participants about the purpose of the research, expected duration and procedures; participants' rights to decline to participate and to withdraw from the research once it has started, as well as the anticipated consequences of doing so; reasonably foreseeable factors that may influence their willingness to participate, such as potential risks, discomfort or adverse effects; any prospective research benefits; limits of confidentiality, such as data coding, disposal, sharing and archiving, and when confidentiality must be broken; incentives for participation; and who participants can contact with questions.
4. Respect confidentiality and privacy: Discuss limits of confidentiality and knowing federal and state law. Also, taking security measures regarding data, awareness of data sharing, and understanding the limits of the internet.
5. Ethics resources: APA Ethics Code (Smith, 2003)

Ethical issues involved were followed primarily in recording interviews with legislators, special interest group representatives, and agency leaders. This project intended to fully reveal the implications of the research: the subject matter involved, the purpose for the research, and how the findings will be used. It has, of course, disclosed the researcher's bias and any sponsorship or vested interests in the outcome of the research. This researcher's volunteer position with the Humane Society of the United

States is focused on legislative activism and is an issue that may need to be disclosed. We trust that an open dialogue was not hindered by the researcher's position/interests.

Informed consent will be drafted prior to the start of interviews and with approval from the IRB. The ACR has a code of conduct available but is not applicable to this study.

### **Assumptions, Delimitations, and Limitations**

Any assumptions unique to this study are evident in the propositions at the beginning of the project. As discussed in the ethical considerations, this researcher is an active participant in animal welfare and rights organizations, and is a high-level volunteer engaged in animal welfare legislative lobbying. Delimitations that apply to this research would indicate that no participant to be interviewed would be against or object to animal welfare. Interestingly, not all welfarists viewed animal rights as positive. An effort was made to include communication from various agencies or organizations that represent the scope of animal welfare; however, a response or input was not solicited from any extreme organizations; i.e. The Animal Liberation Front, due to its designation as a "terrorist" group.

### **Chapter Three Conclusion**

Chapter three is a review of research methodology and design. In this project, a case study methodology was chosen as the research questions asks why or what. The study includes two equally significant source reviews; material or data sources, and interview participants. The material sources include newsletters and journals from animal rights and welfare organizations, and the material collected offers specific legislative information regarding political, cultural and economic influences in pro-animal legislation. The published articles, papers and newsletters will be reviewed and coded for

developing themes, evaluated for comparable premises and then compared to themes collected from the participant interviews for analysis.

## Chapter 4: Results

Chapter four reviews findings of the study and they are organized around the themes garnered from both data sources and interviews. Most animal welfare/rights agencies agree on educating elected officials and the public on animal welfare issues and electing humane candidates to public office, retaining political activists who work with grassroots organizations, community awareness and direct lobbying to pass animal protection laws at both the local, state and federal levels. All the agencies reviewed emphasize community awareness, educating the public and legislative advocacy. The organizations agree that the powerful anti-animal industries that profit from the inhumane treatment of animals have been successful in many instances in affecting policy. The Animal Welfare Institute's legislative affairs division, as is the case with HSLF, sends alerts to individuals and organizations interested in animal protective legislation, encouraging political activity. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) also maintains a legal division in efforts to protect animals which span from federal laws to local courts to community engagement. The ASPCA recognizes the value of legislative process, citizen initiatives and consumer education campaigns. Its advocacy branch offers advocacy training and support for citizens who wish to engage in grassroots lobbying. The HSLF's Humane Scorecard is indicative of the political dissention regarding the above-mentioned successes/failures, particularly emphasizing how Democrat industrial state legislators versus Republican agriculture state legislators voted on pro-animal issues.

The Animal Legal Defense Fund published the 2018 State Animal Protection Laws Ranking Report and the bottom tier for animal protection includes: North Carolina,

Georgia, Alabama, Alaska, South Carolina, Hawaii, Idaho, North Dakota, Utah, New Mexico, Wyoming, Iowa, Mississippi and Kentucky (Kentucky ranks #50). At the top of the rated states are Illinois, Oregon, Maine, Colorado, Massachusetts (most improved), Rhode Island, Louisiana (most improved), California, Washington, Indiana, Texas, Michigan, Florida, Virginia and Pennsylvania (Illinois ranking #1). New York has the only Animal Abuse Registry in the country. The ALDF attributes these rankings which, in some states indicate agricultural priorities; some not. For the most part, both the HSLF and the ALDF rank statistics that generally support the theory that the protection of animals used in industry is further reinforced under state law in Democrat, industrial states than Republican, agricultural states. The statistics apply not only to state and local law and ordinances; the HSUS figures are based on federal lawmakers; in general, the same theory holds true.

The Animal Legal Defense Fund reports address the links between animal abuse and violence to humans, among other endeavors. The predominant bills in progress address protection for humans who rescue animals left in hot cars, and due to the correlation between violent acts, a bill that would prohibit animal abusers to have any further contact with animals and another bill that would require convicted animal abusers to undergo a mental health examination and ;possible treatment to break the cycle of violence. This presents further indication that animal protection is a by-product of laws protection humans. Excluding the King Amendment from the final Farm Bill was a big campaign for HSUS. The amendment was introduced by an agricultural state Senator (Iowa is a leading egg and pork producing state) and co-sponsored by a North Carolina, representative and was also supported by Republican representatives from Iowa,

Nebraska, Alabama, Missouri, Kentucky, and Oklahoma (Representative Steve King, 2019). It was endorsed by the House Agriculture Committee and supported by the Ag associations, the National Egg Farmers. The theory that animal protection is not priority in and from agricultural states that are traditionally conservative or Republican.

Conservative republicans from agricultural states are less likely to support animal protection legislation due to economy. While the final Farm Bill was upheld by the majority of Democrat Senators and House members, most of the Conservative Republican Senators and House members resented agricultural states, voted against the bill without the King Amendment. Both the HSLF and ALDF agree that state statutes also reflect states economic interests; in this case, agri-business.

All the sources recognize the conflict between powerful agri-business (factory farms), and animal protection organizations. The animal-agriculture industry has been behind the introduction of "ag-gag" bills. In general, American public agrees that farm animals should be treated in a way that inflicts the least amount of pain and suffering possible and support undercover investigative efforts to expose farm animal abuse on industrial farms. Some states are introducing different bills to restrict access to/observation of farms. Especially significant but not surprising is the political and economic climates of the states which passed an ag-gag laws, those states are the agricultural economies, obviously, but conservative states are still maintaining these laws, including Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Kansas, Missouri, N. Dakota, Texas, Washington, W. Virginia. The USDA is now erroneously ascribed to those attempts at investigating farm animal abuse by the state legislatures that would benefit from AG-gag laws.



PETA, does not emphasize lobbying, but instead prefers to employ expose, pressure and community strength (a.k.a. consumerism) to compel industries and corporations to change policy, proving that expose, pressure and community strength (a.k.a. consumerism) to compels industries and corporations to change policy, and that economics is a major factor in animal welfare. Change in policy is through economic sanctions. PETA also succeeds through public education, and legislation. Regarding the similarity of the civil rights issue and introduction of animal welfare in the early 1960s, The Animal Welfare Act, the only Federal law that regulates the treatment of animals in research, exhibition, transport and by dealers, was signed into law in 1966, two years after the Civil Rights Act was signed. PETA claims abuse inflicted on others once classified as outsiders: the extermination of Jewish people by the Nazis, the enslavement of African people by American plantation owners, and the slaughter of Christian people for entertainment by Roman centurions. Some in power claimed that juvenile or dark-skinned human beings couldn't feel pain. Sometimes the powerful claimed that their superiority was granted by God, thereby excusing animal abuse for religious reasons. PETA addresses how the perception of animal liberation is addressed in policy. Regarding human and animals as agents of change, the discussion of animal escapes from slaughterhouses, comparing oppression of these animals to slavery, capture public attention and sympathy, but still have not motivated widespread condemnation of the enormous industrial meat production system. Whereas human runaway slaves conferred on the public obligations not to return them to servitude and to work towards abolishing the institutions of oppression, addressing the moral imperative of abolishing the systemic oppression of animals in industrial meat production is comparable.

HSUS stresses humane education and political advocacy. Legislators care about the opinions of those who vote for them which is why HSUS emphasizes engaging local representation involvement, local government and local ordinances, and recognizes that most laws are passed because of the benefits to budgets and people. These arguments are almost always more persuasive than the benefits to animals. Animal protection only matters when the protection covers people is also evident in current issues. That the butterfly center is accusing the federal government of unlawful incursion, deprivation of due process and violating the Endangered Species Act, they acknowledge that not everyone in the country may be as interested in butterflies or in the environment, but everyone should care when the government thinks it can do whatever it wants on your private property. This position reiterates the theory that animal protection only matters when it affects people.

The current Presidential administration has in effect eliminated a large portion of material from the database and made it harder for the public and agencies to find information about animal protection laws. The American Anti-Vivisection Society (AAVS) released a report regarding the United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA) decreasing transparency and its failure to protect animals. In its failures to protect animals and cover up offenders, it is "blocking the public from animal welfare information that it has a right to see" (AAVS, 2019). The Department of Interior rolled back Obama-era regulations that protected wildlife. Animal protection organizations realize the threat to animals from global warming. Regarding the 'Green New Deal', Representative Ocasio-Cortez is aware that factory farming is harmful but instead of focusing on the actual real harm to the eco-system and agricultural animals, she realizes

that alerting legislators to the dangers that factory farming is ultimately harmful to people is what will sell her bill. The political coalitions and animal protection policies in each state are not always predictors of the state's federal legislator's policy on animal welfare and rights. It is important that these terms are not confused; while they are interconnected, protection is highlighted for the purpose of discussing intentional cruelty and animal abuse by the general public and not by powerful corporations and government-sanctioned research. Some states require veterinarians to report suspected abuse, all states have some sort of abuse regulations (it is not yet a nationwide felony); Kentucky just recently was the last state to implement a law against the sexual abuse of an animal but prohibits veterinarians from reporting abuse.

Common themes can be deduced from the review of source data. Every agency emphasizes education, community awareness, education campaigns and legislative advocacy, often through grassroots lobbying. Citizen initiative is encouraged. Advocacy groups recognize the importance of the legislative process. Agri-business is a major factor in states' economic interests; all the sources reiterate the conflict between powerful agri-business (factory farms), and animal protection organizations. Legislation and government have failed animals in favor of economically strong business. The United States government, through its legislators, is one of the entities blamed for lack of animal welfare. PETA prefers pressure and economic sanctions against corporations to change policy.

Not a major theme, yet significant, is the similarity of the civil rights issue, religion and the animal rights movement. White supremacists have and will claim their superiority as God given thereby excusing animal abuse for religious reasons. The

systemic oppression of animals in industrial meat production is compared to slavery. HSUS emphasizes engaging local representation involvement, local government and local ordinances, and pro-animal legislators recognize that most laws are passed because of the benefits to budgets and people; animal welfare arguments are almost always more persuasive when they benefit people.

### **Document Source Thematic Summary**

Most animal welfare/rights agencies agree on educating elected officials and the public on animal welfare issues and electing humane candidates to public office, retaining political activists who work with grassroots organizations, community awareness and direct lobbying to pass animal protection laws at both the local, state and federal level. A major theme is the powerful anti-animal industries that profit from the inhumane treatment of animals and the power they hold. Political dissention and partisan politics emphasize the Democratic industrial state legislators versus Republican agriculture state legislators voted on pro-animal issues. Generally, the agency's legislative reports support the theory that the protection of animals used in industry is further reinforced under state law in Democrat, industrial states than Republican, agricultural states. The theory that animal protection is not priority in and from agricultural states that are traditionally conservative, Republican is supported. Conservative republicans from agricultural states are less likely to support animal protection legislation due to economy. All the sources recognize the conflict between powerful agri-business (factory farms), and animal protection organizations. The USDA, on responsible for investigating farm animal abuse is hindered by partisan legislators.

PETA succeeds through public education, and legislation, but their chief tools are public awareness and corporation pressure; the resulting pressure affects profit. The Animal Welfare Act was signed into law in 1966, two years after the Civil Rights Act was signed. PETA claims abuse inflicted on Jewish people by the Nazis, the enslavement of African people by American plantation owners, and the slaughter of Christian people for entertainment by Roman centurions are comparable to the contemporary animal abuse. PETA links the current largescale use and abuse of animals to the abuse of persecuted peoples. HSUS stresses humane education and political advocacy, engaging local representation involvement, local government and local ordinances, and grassroots activity. Animal protection only occurs when it affects people. Furthermore, HSUS emphasizes engaging local representation involvement, local government and local ordinances, and pro-animal legislators recognize that most laws are passed because of the benefits to budgets and people; animal welfare arguments are almost always more persuasive when they benefit people.

### **Document Source Review**

Nocella, Sorenson, Socha, and Matsuoka's (2014) *Defining Critical Animal Studies: An Intersectional Social Justice Approach for Liberation* argues that "The animal liberation, advocacy, and rights movements have emerged out of ideas, theories and actions based upon the seemingly simple, but profoundly radical premise that non-human animals are subjects with agency, not objects to be used as humans see fit" (Book Introduction). The emergence of critical animal studies (CAS) was formed from the history of the movement's ideology, enmeshed with other movements and struggles. The introduction to the essays in this book states that Peter Singer compared the modern

animal advocacy movement to black, gay and women's liberation movements but Singer does not accept credit for the key arguments found in *Animal Liberation*; Henry Salt espoused animal rights and socialist alternatives to progressive causes in *Animals' Rights Considered in Relation to Moral Progress* (as cited in Nocella et al., 2014). Yet, animal rights activists often remain disconnected from other social justice movements for two core reasons, the first being that due to the need for intervention from human oppression, animal activists often overlook other movements, and other social movements, affected by speciesism prejudice, scorned animal advocacy as a waste of time and money (Nocella et al., 2014, p. xx).

In their introduction, Nocella et al. (2014) state,

Critical animal studies is rooted in animal liberation and anarchism, is an intersectional transformative holistic theory-to-action activist led based movement and field of study to unapologetically examine, explain, be in solidarity with, and be part of radical and revolutionary actions, theories, groups and movements for total liberation and to dismantle all systems of domination and oppression, in hopes for a just, equitable, inclusive, and peaceful world.

CAS claims to be against positivism and argues for engaged critical praxis (theory and action combined): "1. Theory is scholarship, which includes research, publishing, presenting, workshops, lectures, debates, trainings, teach-ins, conferences, books, journals, documentaries, and book series. 2. Practice is activism, which includes protests, rallies, sit-ins, die-ins, rallies, press conferences, candle light vigils, boycotts, civil disobedience, banner drops, letter writing to prisoners, home demos, occupations, leafleting, tabling, blockades, call-ins, petitions, memes, and social media activism". The

CAS core stresses that animals indeed have a voice and agency, a voice that may not be understood by humans. CAS promotes a holistic approach to social struggle that includes and respects nonhumans (Nocella et al., 2014, p. xxvii).

“The Ten Principles of Critical Animal Studies” (The Institute for Critical Animal Studies, 2017) include:

1. Interdisciplinarity: it supports collaborative work of scholars from different fields to provide a deeper, comprehensive insight into human-animal relations.
2. Subjectivity: it questions the notion that academic analysis can be entirely objective, devoid of normative values and political commitments.
3. Theory-to-practice approach: it perceives theory as a starting point for political action and social commitment.
4. Intersectionality: it draws attention to common roots of many forms of oppression, such as speciesism, sexism, racism and other violence-based ideologies, considered as components of global systems of domination.
5. Antihierarchical approach: it provides anti-capitalist stance, aimed at democratization and decentralization of the society.
6. Solidarity: it does not concentrate solely on animal issues. Instead, it aims at making alliances with other social movements devoted to struggle against oppression.
7. Total liberation: it emphasizes the need for human, non-human and Earth liberation and perceives them as a common struggle.
8. Deconstructing binaries: it undermines socially constructed oppositions, such as human-animal and nature-culture.

9. Radical politics: it supports all tactics promoting change used in social justice movements, such as economic sabotage and direct action.
10. Critical dialogue: it promotes constructive dialogue between diverse academic groups, activists and individuals, public and non-profit sectors.

CAS has two further goals regarding higher education: to abolish nonhuman animal oppression, exploitation, and murder on college and university campuses and to provide space and place for the advocacy of all oppressed groups, including nonhuman animals. What may be the most startling stance in the history of the CAS is that its proponents theoretically support the Animal Liberation Front's anarchic philosophy, tactics, and strategies. The ALF was labeled a terrorist group by the FBI, due in part to the animal exploitation industries' efforts at "propaganda" and labeling the ALF's efforts at saving animals as terrorism (Nocella et al., 2014, p. xxix). However, *Defining Critical Animal Studies* insists that the ALF is not an organization, but rather a set of ideas based on the principles to inflict economic damage to those who profit from the exploitation of animals; liberate animals from labs, factory farms, fur farms, etc. and place them in appropriate homes; make public the horror and atrocities committed against animals (using nonviolent direct actions); to take all necessary precautions against harming animals; and to include in the ALF any person who is not a meat eater and who carries on the guidelines of the ALF (Nocella et al., 2014, pp. xxix to xxx). Those principles do have the propensity to be interpreted as possible terror tactics.

CAS also argues for alliance of human activists (not just animal rights activists) and academics with nonhumans for "total liberation to end all oppression, domination, and authoritarianism" (Nocella et al., 2014, p. xxxi) and to do so by participating in other



movements beyond nonhuman animal liberation and becoming politically engaged with active organization and activism. The ICAS concentrates its efforts for all activism primarily through academic resources, while at the same time challenging the system of domination that higher learning tends to encourage. CAS opposes anthropocentrism, humanism, speciesism and carnism. The Institute for Critical Animal Studies embraces all theories battling all forms of oppression, including post humanism, feminism, liberalism, holistic ecological defense, especially environmental justice, green criminology, and veganism while encouraging all forms of activism, but most importantly, academic and political activism (2017).

*The Rise of Critical Animal Studies* (Taylor & Twine, 2014) reiterates much of the prior source's philosophy and adds the following: speciesism has not historically been addressed by sociology (in that the idea of social is based on social subjects-namely humans). The book addresses the need to include nonhuman animals and animal studies in the sociology spectrum. Again, political activism is not only encouraged, but is a primary focus of Critical Animal Studies. Taylor and Twine (2014) go on to include essays on laboratory animals and their roles in clinical trials and the cultural hegemony of the meat and animal industry. The book's conclusion regards academic involvement of animal studies, suggesting that there are strong and committed animal rights movements both in and outside of academia, even suggesting that critical animal studies is a strand of critical theory, applying critical theory to animal liberation. Recommendations go on to state that including critical animal studies as part of general animal studies is counter-productive and tends to depoliticize the force (Taylor & Twine, 2014).

The field of animal studies is further explored in Paul Waldau's *Animal Studies: An Introduction* (2013); it again stresses political discussion but adds a further point for contemplation. This source, however, does not address Critical Animal Studies which, based on the previous sources, indicates a separate study of critical theory. Historically, the scientific perspective regarding animals fails to recognize animal studies as relevant (Waldau, 2013), but due to its exhaustive methods of research, and its commitment to seeking animals' realities, science adds depth to the field. The political arena provides a much more pragmatic energy and a broader theory regarding animals. The combination of science and politics affords a richer worth to animal studies. Comparative studies of the legal system, religion, and culture also provide a deeper insight into the political and economic justice for diverse groups. Interactive and diverse organizations and governments can address problems that may be viewed differently across cultures and different realities.

The Humane Society of the United States has been effective in changing corporation policy, more so than its effect on legislative policy. The Humane Society's former President/CEO, Wayne Pacelle, author of *The Humane Economy*, develops a profound insight into how "conscience and creativity are driving a revolution" (Pacelle, 2016) into business practices that are changing how animals are treated. Pacelle (2016) argues that "every business is ripe for disruption" (2016, n.p.) in that consumer pressure, driven by a new ethics, is demanding transparency and accountability in the food and agriculture, pharmaceutical, chemical, and cosmetics industries. Pacelle (2016) discusses the efforts to end the suffering of billions of animals yet maintain business' profitability and their customers' values.

The Advocacy Center of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) works with local, state, and federal legislators to help enact protections for animals. The center offers advocacy training and support for community members who wish to engage in grassroots lobbying. The organization's website is a valuable resource for alerts, events involving current legislation, and locating legislators. It includes a step-by-step guide for those who wish to become more involved in advocacy. Especially noteworthy is the section that helps with using social media to follow legislators and organizations relevant to the issues. The site will prove useful in examining the ways in which communities can effect change (American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals).

The following sources of related published information from the larger animal welfare/rights organizations were examined and coded for emerging themes. The thematic summary was then be compared to themes emerging from interviews for cogency and useful additional background information. The 2014 through 2018 HSUS' Annual Reports list the accomplishments of Humane Society of United States and the voting records of the bills underscored by the HSUS, including Strengthening the U.S. Anti-Cruelty Framework. Included in the report are summaries of several legislative victories and "failures" that HSUS has worked on. Also included is *Ending the Era of Extreme Confinement of Animals on Factory Farms*, which calls for commitments from some of the nation's largest pork producers, like Smithfield Foods and Cargill, to abandon gestation crates. In addition, the New York and New Jersey legislatures banned the sale of ivory, the first state laws of their kind (Humane Society of the United States, 2014). All the HSUS annual reports will support positive or negative findings. The voting

records concerning animal welfare for all the federal legislators are published in these reports.

The Humane Society Legislative Fund's reported mission "is to get political for animals ensuring animals have a voice in the halls of Congress & state legislatures, educating elected officials and the public on animal welfare issues and electing humane candidates to public office" (Humane Society Legislative Fund, 2019). The HSLF, formed in 2004 as a separate lobbying affiliate of The Humane Society of the United States and the Fund for Animals, is a separate entity from the Humane Society of the United States and its sole purpose is to affect policy. HSLF works with federal and state lawmakers in a position to pass legislation. The Humane Society Legislative Fund recognizes that becoming a separate political arm has increased the public policy work of the humane/animal welfare movement by training and retaining political activists who work with grassroots organizations, community awareness and direct lobbying to pass animal protection laws at both the local, state and federal levels, to educate the public about animal protection issues, and to support humane candidates for office. The HSLF utilizes its lobbying expertise to get laws passed which will protect animals, and for political purposes, supporting or opposing candidates (Humane Society Legislative Fund, 2015). The HSLF has valuable resources to incorporate into the research. The *Humane Activist*, published bi-monthly by the Humane Society Legislative Fund, is a review of the HSUS' efforts to pass laws to protect animals. It addresses efforts to protect American horses from slaughter, both in America and abroad. Addressed in the July/August issue are the pets and cruelty, farm animals, animal research, wildlife, and equines legislative efforts. The HSLF combines its lobbying efforts with congressional

district volunteers in the communities to encourage political involvement in the community.

The animal protection movement has had great success in carefully selecting and winning initiative and referendum campaigns on behalf of animals. Unfortunately, anti-animal industries that profit from the inhumane treatment of animals have tried, sometimes successfully, to deny access to the initiative process. Fortunately, The HSUS, HSLF and other groups have largely been successful in defeating these counter-measures and will continue to be diligent in our efforts to safeguard the process, propose animal protection initiatives and referenda, and stop the animal-use industries' attempts at overturning our efforts (Humane Society Legislative Fund, 2019).

The Humane Society Legislative Fund's *Animals and Politics* (Humane Society Legislative Fund, 2019) lists the most current issues addressed during the 115th Congress' second session, some of the setbacks, but also the FY18 omnibus appropriations deal signed into law in March and the Farm Bill enacted in December contained containing wins for animal protection. The Farm Bill that passed included some victories, most importantly, the blocking of the King amendment introduced by Rep. Steve King, R-Iowa, (2019) that threatened to override state and local laws on animal protection (including making the sale and consumption of dog meat legal in all states), food safety, and other agriculture-related concerns. The HSLF also successfully countered amendments to eliminate the Animal Welfare Act (AWA) and its requirement for annual U.S. Department of Agriculture inspections at animal research laboratories.

Additionally, amendments to weaken Endangered Species Act (ESA) protections were thwarted. Three key pro-animal measures in the final package:

The Pet and Women Safety (PAWS) Act extends federal domestic violence protections to include pets and authorizes grant money to help domestic violence shelters and other entities arrange shelter for survivors with pets.

The Parity in Animal Cruelty Enforcement (PACE) Act clarifies that federal prohibitions on animal fighting apply in all U.S. jurisdictions, including territories where cockfighting is still openly practiced.

The Dog and Cat Meat Trade Prohibition Act prohibits the domestic slaughter, trade, and import/export of dogs and cats for human consumption, preventing an appalling trade from taking hold in the U.S. and strengthening our standing to end it worldwide. (Animals and Politics. *Humane Society Legislative Fund*, 2019).

Current priorities for FY19 budget await final resolution:

The horse slaughter defund provision is in the Senate bill but not the House bill. Both the House and Senate bills include the prohibition on the slaughter of wild horses and burros for human consumption, but the House version also directs immediate initiation of a surgical sterilization program despite a lack of evidence that the method can be performed humanely or effectively. The House bill contains riders to undo ESA protections for gray wolves and block the reintroduction of grizzly bears in Washington State.

Setbacks for 2018 included the failure of legislation to bring urgently needed changes agriculture checkoff programs—so their funds are no longer misused to lobby against animal welfare reforms—failed in the Senate. A farm bill

amendment to end the cruelty of horse “soring” was blocked from House floor consideration. Numerous animal protection bills, detailed in the 2018 Humane Scorecard, garnered hundreds of bipartisan co-sponsors but stalled because House and Senate leadership refused to call them up for a vote (Animals and Politics. *Humane Society Legislative Fund*, 2019).

The 2018 Humane Scorecard is indicative of the political dissention regarding the above-mentioned successes/failures, particularly emphasizing how Democrat industrial state legislators versus Republican agriculture state legislators voted on pro-animal issues. The Humane Society Legislative Fund scores the legislators on their pro-animal votes. For example, New Jersey has two Democrat senators, Senator Cory Booker and Senator Robert Menendez; each receiving a score of 100 on pro-animal positions. New York Democrat Kirsten Gillebrand scored 100, while Senator Charles Schumer was not evaluated as he is the Senate Minority Leader. Connecticut’s Democrat Senators Richard Blumenthal and Christopher Murphy both received a score of 100. California’s Democrat Senators Diane Feinstein and Kamela Harris also received scores of 100. The contrasting Republican Senators from Georgia, Johnny Isaacson and David Perdue, each received a score of 12. Alabama’s Senators, Doug Jones (D) and Richard Shelby (R) each received a 25. Mississippi’s Republican Senators, Cindy Hyde-Smith and Roger Wicker received scores of 12 and 25. The two Republican Senators from Texas, John Cornan and Ted Cruz received a 12 and 25 (Humane Scorecard 2019, *Humane Society Legislative Fund*).

Information from The Humane Society Legislative Fund (HSLF) and the Animal League Defense Fund proves significant as both dedicate resources and advocacy efforts to legislative change. The Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF) has been fighting to

advance the interests of animals through the legal system and lobbying. Founded by attorneys active in shaping the emerging field of animal law, the ALDF has advocated for stronger enforcement of anti-cruelty laws and more humane treatment of animals in every corner of American life. The ALDF's efforts to push the U.S. legal system to end the suffering of abused animals is supported by attorneys and members and supporters (Animal Legal Defense Fund, 2019).

The Animal Legal Defense Fund published the 2018 State Animal Protection Laws Ranking Report and the bottom tier for animal protection includes: North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Alaska, South Carolina, Hawaii, Idaho, North Dakota, Utah, New Mexico, Wyoming, Iowa, Mississippi and Kentucky (Kentucky ranks #50). At the top of the rated states are: Illinois, Oregon, Maine, Colorado, Massachusetts (most improved), Rhode Island, Louisiana (most improved), California, Washington, Indiana, Texas, Michigan, Florida, Virginia and Pennsylvania (Illinois ranking #1). The ALDF attributes these rankings which, in some states indicate agricultural priorities; and for some, indicate no related political parity. The inconsistency in states' animal protection laws reveals that, in many states, the law diminishes animals' interests. But ALDF claims, as new laws are enacted and utilized, states and territories build upon statutes that have been successful in other jurisdictions to create strong and effective protections for animals (Animal Legal Defense Fund, 2019). What can be garnered from these statistics partially supports the theory that animals are further protected under the state law in Democrat, industrial states any more than Republican, agricultural states. However, these statistics apply only to state and local law and ordinances whereas the numbers supplied by HSUS are based on federal lawmakers; in general, the same theory holds true.



This project compares some bills backed by the HSUS and ALDF as an example to highlight not only successes (or failures) but to distinguish legislative differences in animal protection. The Farm Bill is a conglomerate of several measures and appropriations but killing the King Amendment was one of the biggest campaigns that HSUS launched. The amendment would have by-passed states' rights to make illegal the sale and consumption of dog meat, thereby allowing and even forcing states like California, the most progressive state in animal protection, to allow the sale of dog meat into the state. The Farm Bill was passed by the 115th Congress late in 2018, without the King Amendment.

While the Farm Bill (sans King Amendment) was eventually passed by the 115 Congress, the King Amendment (House Resolution 4879/3599, officially known as the "Protect Interstate Commerce Act" and dubbed the "States' Rights Elimination Act" by opponents) authored by Rep. Steve King, Iowa, (Iowa is a leading egg and pork producing state) and co-sponsored by Rep. Pittenger, Robert, Rep. of North Carolina, also supported by Republican representatives from Iowa, Nebraska, Alabama, Missouri, Kentucky, and Oklahoma (Representative Steve King, 2019). It was endorsed by the House Agriculture Committee and supported by the Ag associations, the National Egg Farmers. Since, King has advocated to nullify animal protection laws like the ones in California and Massachusetts.

California's controversial "egg-law", was challenged by "Missouri Attorney General Hawley, a Republican who was running for US Senate in 2018, is leading the lawsuit. Other plaintiff states are Alabama, Arkansas, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Utah and Wisconsin. All have Republican

attorneys general except Iowa, which has a Democrat” (Associated Press, Los Angeles Times, Dec. 4, 2017).

Existing law, enacted by Proposition 2, an initiative measure approved by the California voters at the November 4, 2008 statewide general election, prohibits a person from tethering or confining a calf raised for veal, a pregnant pig, or an egg-laying hen on a farm in a manner that prevents the animal from lying down, standing up, fully extending its limbs, or turning around freely, except under specified circumstances. Existing statutory law prohibits a shelled egg from being sold or contracted for sale for human consumption in California if the seller knows or should have known that the egg is the product of an egg-laying hen that was confined on a farm or place that is not in compliance with the above-specified animal care standards.

This bill would also prohibit a farm owner or operator in California from confining an egg-laying hen in an enclosure that is not in compliance with specified standards, except as provided. The bill would prohibit a person from selling or contracting to sell shell eggs or liquid eggs in California from an egg-laying hen that was in an enclosure not in compliance with the specified standards. The bill would make a violation of the bill’s provisions a misdemeanor, thereby imposing a state-mandated local program. The bill would require the Department of Food and Agriculture to promulgate regulations for the implementation of those provisions on or before September 2019 (California Legislative Information, 2019).

While the final Farm Bill was upheld by the majority of Democrat Senators and Representatives, most of the Conservative Republican Senators and Representatives who represented agricultural states, voted against the bill without the King Amendment

(Humane Scorecard, Humane Society Legislative Fund, 2019). This record would support the theory that conservative republicans from agricultural states are less likely to support animal protection legislation due to economy.

The Animal Welfare Institute website concerns government affairs and legal information regarding the health and welfare of animals. (Animal Welfare Institute, 2016). The Animal Welfare Institute (AWI) “engages in precedent-setting litigation on behalf of animals in state and federal courts across the country,” and has been actively involved in promoting the welfare of horses, elephants, bats, and marine mammals. AWI has a legislative affairs division that sends “alerts to individuals and organizations interested in animal protective legislation, informing them of ways in which they may help - often by writing to Members of Congress or other government officials and to the editors of newspapers” (Animal Welfare Institute, 2016). The website lists specific legislation, current and prior bills that affect animal welfare, e.g.

In addition to litigating to protect animals, AWI works to promote the enforcement and strengthening of both state and federal animal protection laws, including but not limited to the Animal Welfare Act, Endangered Species Act, Humane Slaughter Act, Horse Protection Act, Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act, Marine Mammal Protection Act, and Shark Conservation Act, as well as state anti-cruelty laws (Animal Welfare Institute, 2016).

Michigan State University sponsors an Animal Legal and Historical Center with resources highlighting animal welfare legislation, particularly the U.S. Animal Welfare Act, and discusses in length the history surrounding the AWA. What is especially significant is the introduction of animal welfare in the early 1960s, a momentous time for

human rights legislation (Michigan State University, 2002). The act, which is the only Federal law that regulates the treatment of animals in research, exhibition, transport and by dealers, was signed into law in 1966, two years after the Civil Rights Act was signed.

The USDA (United States Department of Agriculture) National Agricultural Library, a resource for the Animal Welfare Information Center, has archived animal related legislation, including the original AWA and all its amendments since 1970. The original text of the 1966 Animal Welfare Act, current law and current regulations as well as state and local regulations and international laws, regulations, policies, and guidelines from governments and organizations outside the United States are available (United States Department of Agriculture, 2016). While the reports from the above resources will be included for context; however, the current administration has in effect eliminated a large portion of material from the database.

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) maintains a legal division in efforts to protect animals which span from federal laws to local courts to community engagement. Alongside the advocacy and rescue missions, the Legal Advocacy department provides legal assistance to prosecutors, police and cruelty investigators to help ensure successful prosecution of animal cruelty and animal fighting cases, providing legal support through the coordination of legal services in animal cruelty prosecutions. Advocacy also serves as legislative counsel to the Government Relations department, providing legal analysis of proposed animal-related legislation and policy. For the cases with substantial potential to improve legal protections for companion animals, “the Legal Advocacy Department will bring legal proceedings corollary to the criminal prosecution including writs, declaratory judgments and petitions for injunctive

relief, and will initiate or support civil litigation on the state and federal level to promote those heightened legal protections” (ASPCA.2019). Based on the founder’s philosophy that legislation was a key component in protecting animals and preventing cruelty, the ASPCA’s mission to better protect animals by establishing public policy through the legislative process, citizen initiatives and consumer education campaigns. The advocacy branch offers advocacy training and support for citizens who wish to engage in grassroots lobbying (ASPCA, 2019).

The current public policy issues the ASPCA is addressing includes retail pet sales in response to growing awareness about the cruel puppy mill industry; cities and towns across the country are passing laws that prevent puppy mill-bred puppies from being sold at community pet stores. The Safeguard American Food Exports (SAFE) Act (H.R. 961), to prohibit the slaughter of horses for human consumption in the United States and ban their export abroad for that purpose was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives. (ASPCA, 2019). The Cost of Animal Care laws can establish a legal process, often separate from the criminal trial, that shifts the financial burden of caring for seized animals whose owners are charged with cruelty away from animal shelters and local law enforcement agencies (ASPCA, 2019). Under these provisions, lengthy shelter times can be avoided, as the court can order the accused to surrender the animal so it can be rehomed.

An additional issue that has captured nationwide attention is the conflict between agri-business (factory farms), and animal protection organizations. More commonly known as the “AG-gag” legislation. The animal-agriculture industry has been behind the introduction of "ag-gag" bills designed to silence whistleblowers revealing animal abuses

on industrial farms, penalizing those who investigate the day-to-day activities of industrial farms, including the recording, possession or distribution of photos, video and/or audio at a farm. In fact, Upton Sinclair's 1906 book *The Jungle*, which uncovered atrocious conditions inside America's meatpacking plants that shocked the nation's conscious led directly to the passage of the federal Meat Inspection Act, the Pure Food and Drug Act, and the eventual formation of the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) (ASPCA, 2019). A 2012 poll conducted for ASPCA revealed that most of the general American public agrees that farm animals should be treated in a way that inflicts the least amount of pain and suffering possible. The same poll also revealed that American adults support undercover investigative efforts to expose farm animal abuse on industrial farms (ASPCA, 2019). Due to pressure from animal protection groups, more and more ag-gag laws are found unconstitutional; yet states are introducing different bills to restrict access to/observation of farms, such as bans on the use of drone photography over concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs) (ASPCA, 2019). Especially significant but not surprising is the political and economic climates of the states which passed an ag-gag laws, "making it illegal to obtain access to property "by false pretenses" and to possess records obtained by deception" (ASPCA, 2019). Those states are the agricultural economies, obviously, but also lean toward conservative and still maintaining these laws, including Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Kansas, Missouri, N. Dakota, Texas, Washington, W. Virginia. Other states have related statutes that are sometimes called "eco-terrorism" or "animal enterprise interference" laws (ASPCA, 2019). Opposing state legislatures, or those mostly antagonistic toward these laws include failed attempts to introduce or sustain "right to farm" laws. These " Ecoterrorism or

Agroterrorism” statutes, initially defined as political terrorism intended to damage natural environment or sabotage intended to damage the environment or the ‘deliberate introduction of an animal or plant disease for the purpose of generating fear, causing economic loss, or undermining social stability” (USDA, 2017) by the USDA is now erroneously ascribed to those attempts at investigating farm animal abuse by those state legislatures that would benefit from AG-gag laws.

PETA, on the other hand, does not emphasize lobbying, but instead prefers to employ expose, pressure and community strength (a.k.a. consumerism) to compel industries and corporations to change policy. Crucial examples of this success are the fashion industry’s decrease of fur use, the recent demise of Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus due to pressure and the exposed abuse of elephants, and the SeaWorld debacle after PETA exposed the mistreatment and deaths of orcas. Procter & Gamble just recently pledged to end animal testing for cosmetics. PETA’s use of graphic content, celebrity endorsements and highly controversial protests has proven that change in policy is through economic sanctions. PETA’s “Uncompromising Stands on Animal Rights” is an overview of what sets PETA apart from all other animal rights organizations. While PETA succeeds through public education, cruelty investigations, research, animal rescue, legislation, special events, celebrity involvement, and protest campaigns, PETA has had a major influence on U.S. and international policy by employing public pressure via protests exposes, leaks, investigations and events. PETA’s philosophy can be explained by the following statement:

Human beings create temporary and arbitrary boundaries to exclude beings who aren’t like them. Human beings have justified wars, slavery, sexual violence, and military

conquests through the mistaken belief that those who are “different” do not experience suffering and are not worthy of moral consideration. These boundaries change throughout history, and we’re horrified now to recall the abuse inflicted on others once classified as outsiders: the extermination of Jewish people by the Nazis, the enslavement of African people by American plantation owners, and the slaughter of Christian people for entertainment by Roman centurions. Laws now forbid discrimination based on gender, race, religion, ability, age, and sexual orientation. Yet just a century ago, human beings who were seen as different by those with power faced torture, exploitation, and death. Sometimes those in power claimed that juvenile or dark-skinned human beings couldn’t feel pain. Sometimes the powerful claimed that their superiority was granted by God. Our society no longer believes that any human being has the right to rape, torture, or enslave another human being for any reason. We accept that all human beings share a fundamental value and celebrate our differences. (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, 2019).

PETA provides materials and training for grassroots startups as well as help in planning protests, events, provides action alerts for advocates to take part in campaigns. The activist guide provides instructions for advocacy and relevant to this research, PETA also offers support for effective promoting animal friendly legislation. PETA generally offers a more hands-on approach for effective advocacy; although best known for its confrontational approach in its campaigns, activists are also instructed, through volunteerism, the most efficient ways to transform public policy through lobbying.

*The Journal for Critical Animal Studies* is an on-line journal comprised of submissions by activists for activists to advance awareness, consciousness of practical



animal liberation, history of liberation theory, and how the perception of animal liberation is addressed in policy. Regarding human and non-humans as agents of change, the authors of *Animal Resisters: On the Right of Resistance and Human Duties of Non-Return and Abolition*, (Allen, von Essen, *The Journal for Critical Animal Studies*. 15(6). 2018) discuss animal escapes from slaughterhouses, comparing oppression of these animals to slavery, capture public attention and sympathy, but still have not motivated widespread overall public criticism and condemnation of the industrial meat production system. While the community insists that successful escapees from slaughterhouses deserve to live, the non-escapees continue to suffer their grisly fate in the “Eternal Treblinka” (2018, pg. 4). The authors suggest such an oppressive approach regarding animals is “consistent with Marxism to the extent the latter does not deny that oppressed groups unaware of their oppression are oppressed” (2018, pg.14). Surprisingly little work has been done in this area to address the concept of a right of resistance already acknowledged in the political philosophy literature for the case of runaway human slaves (2018, pg. 5). “Human runaway slaves confer on the rest of us obligations not to return them to servitude and to work towards abolishing the institutions of oppression. addressing the moral imperative of abolishing the systemic oppression of animals in industrial meat production” (2018, pg. 5). Resistance, historically a significant mode of opposition to unjust institutions and oppressive relations, appeals to notions of agency or the power to produce effects that can exact change within the current system of social institutions. What motivates reasonable persons to set in motion processes reducing oppression tout court (*Journal for Critical Animal Studies*. 15(6). 2018, pg. 19)? By asking the question of reasonable persons, in this case, animal rights advocates, this

project considers what they feel they are obliged to do as resistance regarding animal rights, especially to reduce oppression and facilitate liberation.

“Resistance-acts by animals depend on human agency to provide descriptions revealing their normative contents and entailments as well as motivate sustained political action to abolish oppressive institutions and explain the grounds of justification for abolition (2018, pg. 25)”

... in the case of escapes from slaughterhouse and market, resistance-acts by animals depend on human agency to not only provide descriptions revealing their normative contents and entailments, but also motivate sustained political action to abolish oppressive institutions, explaining and justifying the grounds of justification for abolition. Reasonable human persons must do the higher cognitive work of describing, explaining and justifying. However, they must acknowledge animals also engage in forms of agency qualifying them as agents and resisters. As such, animals are co-contributors to a total reduction in oppression, across species lines (Allen and von Essen, 2018, pp. 1-2).

Unfortunately, the animal protection crusade has suffered in the last two years of the Trump administration’s federal agencies. The blackout of thousands of Animal Welfare Act and Horse Protection Act inspection and enforcement records from the USDA website makes it harder for the public and agencies to find which puppy mills, roadside zoos, research facilities, and other enterprises have failed to comply with animal protection laws. The USDA has also cut back on warnings, official complaints and license revocations applied to the worst puppy mills. Former Secretary of the Interior Zinke established the “International Wildlife Conservation Council” advisory panel

stacked with those persons interested in trophy hunting, particularly from endangered animals. The ban on importing Zimbabwe elephants and lion trophies was lifted. In 2018, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service removed Yellowstone-area grizzly bears from the Endangered Species Act and with the National Marine Fisheries Service proposed weakening the Endangered Species Act. The Department of Justice has increased funds to battle court conflicts to make this move permanent. Lastly, and perhaps the most egregious, is the Department of Interior's rollback of Obama-era regulations that banned the worst hunting practices on federal public lands in Alaska. These practices included killing hibernating bears and their cubs, shooting wolf and coyote pups and their mothers in their dens, and baited bear hunts, hunts accomplished from helicopters, shooting swimming caribou, and using dogs to hunt black bears (Amundson, S. and Block, K. (Feb. 5, 2019).

Congress recently demonstrated that animal protection can be a bipartisan value, with members from both sides of the aisle coming together to introduce bills to attack horse soring, horse slaughter, shark finning, and malicious animal cruelty. We hope that in the coming year, we will see more of an effort by the administration to work for, and not against, animals. Animal protection is an American value and most of us—Republicans and Democrats—do not want to see innocent creatures hurt or killed needlessly Amundson, S. and Block, K. (Feb. 5, 2019. The state of the animal union under the Trump administration. Animals and Politics. Humane Society of the United States. 2019).

It would be negligent to leave out the positive steps taken during Trump's administration...work to augment the wolf population in Michigan; a third party's

independent investigation of the Food and Drug Administration's animal research programs and establishing a new Animal Welfare Council to refine animal studies; designation of a critical habitat in Hawaii for killer whales and the Environmental Agency released a plan to promote non-animal testing methods (Amundson, S. and Block, K., 2019).

While the HSUS stresses humane education is priority regarding abuse, political involvement, local government and local ordinances, collaborative efforts and recognizes that “most laws are passed because of persuasive arguments about their benefits to budgets and people. These arguments are almost always more persuasive than the benefits to animals” (2019). Examples of this discussion: the ban on single use plastic bags (helps to protect marine animals) but ordinances have been successfully adopted because of the argument that the ban decreases cost to local government for litter pick up; retail sales ban on puppies (protects dogs in and from puppy mills) promotes adoption of dogs from shelters results in fiscal benefit to the local community; tethered dogs ordinance (helps chained dogs) argues that property values plummet in neighborhoods where dogs are chained. Legislators care about the opinions of those who vote for them; they care little about the views of those who don't (2019).

Today, the bald eagle is no longer considered threatened, partly due to the continued impact of the Endangered Species Act in protecting habitat. The act has broad influence over wildlife management and regulations, beyond what it achieved for eagles and raptors. By classifying the relative health of different species—from endangered to ‘least concern’ status—the Endangered Species Act helps various agencies understand how to respond to the factors that threaten healthy ecosystems. The Trump administration

is attempting to limit the Endangered Species Act. The argument that animal protection only matters when the protection covers people is also evident in current issues.

The National Butterfly Center filed a lawsuit in Washington D.C. Monday against the Department of Homeland Security demanding that the Trump administration follow the constitution and legal due process before attempting to build a border wall through the 100-acre nature and wildlife sanctuary in South Texas. The center is accusing the federal government of unlawful incursion, deprivation of due process and violating the Endangered Species Act and the National Environmental Policy Act, which mandates that the federal government conduct an environmental assessment prior to making decisions on construction and other major projects. If the wall is built through the center, according to the lawsuit, it will “cut off two-thirds of the NBC, effectively destroying the Center and leaving behind a 70-acre no-man’s land between the proposed border wall and the Rio Grande.” “We understand that not everyone in the country may be as interested in butterflies or in the environment as we are,” said Glassberg. “But everyone should care when the government thinks it can do whatever it wants on your private property.” (del Bosque, M., 2019).

The Green New Deal, (H. Res. 109) was authored and introduced Feb. 7, 2019 by Representative Ocasio-Cortez, of the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020). The bill is now in the Subcommittee on Energy and Mineral Resources. The resolution addresses the 2018 report entitled “Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5 °C” by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and the November 2018 Fourth National Climate Assessment report found that—

1. human activity is the dominant cause of observed climate change over the past century
2. a changing climate is causing sea levels to rise and an increase in wildfires, severe storms, droughts, and other extreme weather events that threaten human life, healthy communities, and critical infrastructure;
3. global warming at or above 2 degrees Celsius beyond preindustrialized levels will cause—
  - a. mass migration from the regions most affected by climate change;
  - b. more than \$500,000,000,000 in lost annual economic output in the United States by the year 2100;
  - c. wildfires that, by 2050, will annually burn at least twice as much forest area in the western United States than was typically burned by wildfires in the years preceding 2019;
  - d. a loss of more than 99 percent of all coral reefs on Earth;
  - e. more than 350,000,000 more people to be exposed globally to deadly heat stress by 2050; and
  - f. a risk of damage to \$1,000,000,000,000 of public infrastructure and coastal real estate in the United States; and whereas climate change, pollution, and environmental destruction have exacerbated systemic racial, regional, social, environmental, and economic injustices (referred to in this preamble as “systemic injustices”)
4. the goals described in subparagraphs (A) through (E) of paragraph (1) (referred to in this resolution as the “Green New Deal goals”) should be accomplished

through a 10-year national mobilization (referred to in this resolution as the “Green New Deal mobilization”) that will require the following goals and projects

- a. working collaboratively with farmers and ranchers in the United States to remove pollution and greenhouse gas emissions from the agricultural sector as much as is technologically feasible, including—
  - i. by supporting family farming;
  - ii. by investing in sustainable farming and land use practices that increase soil health; and
  - iii. by building a more sustainable food system that ensures universal access to healthy food.

The bill addresses the harm to people from continued neglect or human contribution to climate change. The Green New Deal briefly addresses supporting family farming to reduce pollution and greenhouse gas emissions. Representative Ocasio-Cortez is aware that factory farming is harmful but instead of focusing on the actual real harm to the eco-system, agricultural animals, she realizes that alerting legislators to the dangers of “farting cows” (i.e. agri-business, factory farming, or CAFOs), harming the atmosphere, contributing to the effects of climate change and, ultimately, is harmful to people is what will sell her bill.

Animal protection organizations realize the threat to animals from global warming. From polar bears in the Arctic to marine turtles off the coast of Africa, wildlife is at risk from the changing climate. Humans and wild animals face new challenges for survival because of climate change. Wildlife communities are impacted by flooding, rising sea levels, warmer temperatures on land and in water, and changes in seasonal

rainfall patterns and storm events. Rising temperatures and sea levels will change the makeup of entire ecosystems, forcing wildlife to shift their ranges or adapt, and if not, become extinct. More frequent and intense drought, storms, heat waves, rising sea levels, melting glaciers and warming oceans can directly not only harm animals, destroy the places they live, livelihoods and communities. Animal welfare agencies encourage the United States to play a pro-active, constructive role in developing global climate agreements. Climate is changing, both naturally and due to human exploitation. “There is already undeniable evidence that animals, birds and plants are being affected by climate change and global warming in both their distribution and behavior. Unless greenhouse gas emissions are severely reduced, climate change could cause a quarter of land animals, birdlife and plants to become extinct... Humans have already destroyed many of the natural migrations of animals. (Climate Change - effects on animals, birdlife and plants., 2018).

To further illustrate the constraints in effecting solid animal welfare lawmaking, it is helpful to address specific, current bills that have been introduced to Congress and for various reasons which has been introduced in this research, the bill has not yet been approved, has been shelved or finally passed with much editing and pressure. For example, The Humane Society Legislative Fund listed successes along with delays for some of the issues that have been ongoing for several congressional sessions; some passed in the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress yet several were passed over. Some were included in the final passage of the Farm Bill which was passed without the Representative King’s “Protect Interstate Commerce Act” Amendment. Some have hopes of passing in the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress.



The Prevent All Soring Tactics (PAST) Act makes the necessary changes amend the Horse Protection Act of 1970 to once and for all bring an end to the cruel and inhumane practice of soring, the unethical and illegal practice of deliberately inflicting pain to exaggerate the leg motion of horses to gain an unfair advantage in the show ring. The PAST Act would make the act of soring illegal and disallow the show industry's own inspectors from reviews. "The bill will ban the harmful devices used to hide and worsen the effects of soring; end the horse show industry's failed self-policing system; and improve the USDA's ability to oversee inspections and punish violators. The PAST Act will not create a new federal law, but rather improve an existing law that has been on the books for more than 40 years and ineffective at ending soring" (AVMA n.d.). The inhumane practice of soring, despite being illegal for more than forty years, is still used far too often by many owners and trainers to win in the show ring. "Unfortunately, many factors—including insufficient funding and other resources for enforcement, unethical owners and trainers, show judges that reward bad behavior and strong political influence by the industry—have contributed to a culture of corruption so that now, more than 40 years later, we are still seeing horses sored" (AVMA n.d.). This bill was first introduced in 2013 and has been re-introduced every year since then. The obstacle: The culture of the Tennessee Walking Horses has fought this bill since then; the history of the Tennessee Walking Horses is teeming with violations of the Horse Protection Act.

The Animal Legal Defense Fund, for instance have an on-going battle with the ag-gag laws seeking to "gag" (prohibit) would-be whistleblowers and undercover activists by punishing them for recording footage of what goes on in animal agriculture. Originally designed to prevent the public from learning about animal cruelty, these laws

are still being passed in agri-business focused economies. The Animal Legal Defense Fund is fighting for these farmed animals by developing creative legal strategies to take factory farms to court, working with lawmakers to write and pass stronger laws to protect farmed animals, and striking down unconstitutional Ag-Gag laws. However, as fast as these laws are struck down as unconstitutional, as in Idaho and Utah, for violating the First Amendment, new laws are introduced, as in North Carolina and Arkansas.

AG-gag laws currently exist in states: Alabama, Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, Texas, West Virginia. All of those states are primarily agricultural, historically Republican, conservative states. Other states have related statutes that are sometimes called "eco-terrorism" or "animal enterprise interference" laws: Wyoming, Washington (research and/or agricultural); Utah (animal enterprises and agriculture); Tennessee (farm and research animals); South Dakota (animal enterprise); South Carolina (farm animals and research); Oklahoma (farm animals); Ohio (undefined); New York (research laboratories); North Carolina (Property protection); New Hampshire (undefined); Montana (farm animals and research); Maryland (research laboratories); Louisiana (research laboratories and animal management); Kentucky, Mississippi (animal research and exhibitors), Virginia (animal research and production), Kansas (farm animals); Illinois (animal research and production); Iowa (undefined); Georgia (farm animals, crop and research); Arkansas (farm animals and research); Alaska (farm animals, research); and a Federal Animal Enterprise Terrorism, which governs any animal enterprise commerce against damaging or interfering with the operations of an animal enterprise. Every one of these laws have been designed to protect the economy of animals raised for food, research or other animal

enterprise. It would appear that the economy, not culture, religion or political party has as much weight for protecting the use and abuse of animals (Michigan State University, 2018).

Superstition or religion, shelters are always full, but the number of black dogs in shelters has historically outweighed any other population. The “Black Dog syndrome” may be to blame; it is “a phenomenon in which black dogs are passed over for adoption in favor of lighter-colored animals” (Rodriguez, (2014). For centuries, various religious and superstitions have hounded darker-colored animals. During the early days of Christianity, a large black dog called the grim was believed to frequent graveyards. It was once believed that vampires took the form of black dogs. Eastern European lore speaks of how these beasts were seen roaming the countryside right after livestock had been attacked. This led many people to believe these dogs, oftentimes called “hellhounds were a malevolent force and were behind the attacks. These tales also found themselves ingrained in North American culture. More recently, tales of the ill portents brought by the grim became famous once again in Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban (Rodriguez, (2014). All of this results in what animal shelter workers and activists call “Black Dog Syndrome”. Hundreds of years of behavioral conditioning have led humans to see dark-furred canines as less adoptable, less friendly, and more intimidating. In animal shelters, they are often the last to find a home, meaning they either live their entire life in a kennel or they become the first to be euthanized (Rodriguez, (2014).

The Yulan Dog Meat festival—religious custom or culture... The Yulin “Lychee and Dog Meat” festival is an annual ten-day event where over 10,000 dogs are eaten. The festival is new the custom can be traced back at least 400 years; the first festival took

place in 2009 to mark the summer solstice. Dog eating is traditional in China, and according to folklore eating the meat during the summer months brings luck and good health. Some also believe dog meat can ward off diseases and heighten men's sexual performance. Activists have reported that animals are slaughtered inhumanely using clubs in public. There are also complaints that dogs are brought to Yulin from across China in cramped conditions, beaten regularly--which is said to improve the meat, and festival visitors have reported seeing some animals with collars, indicating they are stolen pets” (Rodriguez, (2014).

The act of religious animal sacrifice has been in existence for centuries. Shaktism is a sect of Hinduism that focuses on the worship of the Hindu Divine Mother along with various consorts of Shiva and Vishnu. Killing a goat in the name of the goddess Kali, is believed to relieve one of negative emotions such as fear, anger, and jealousy (Rodriguez, (2014). Rescue groups specializing in the rescue of abused or neglected animals face special challenges. The Arrow Fund, a rescue group out of New York, states on their website:

While we will help anywhere, we are needed, our primary focus is in our “home” state of Kentucky that has been ranked as the worst state in the nation for animal protection laws for more than a decade. Animals in this legal system are viewed as commodities that are owned and have no value other than that their “property owners” assign to them. The result is widely unchecked violence and neglect toward animals across the state. Until we have laws that stop them from being perpetrated, we will be here helping the victims of the crimes that occur. (Arrow Fund, 2019).

Rescue Dogs Rock out of New York's mission is to "raise awareness of the ever-growing plight of homeless animals in this country, both in shelters and those dumped on our streets. Way too many amazing animals are euthanized every single day simply because they are homeless". (Rescue Dogs Rock NYC, 2019).

Noah's Ark Rescue out of South Carolina is a specialized rescue for abused, abandoned or neglected animals. Noah's Ark

...is all about giving an Abused Animal a second chance at Life and to experience what true love is. We take animals that have been tortured, abused and neglected and supply the emergency medical care that is required to get them well. We then supply rehab physically and mentally to prepare them for their new home and new life" (Noah's Ark Rescue, 2019).

New York Bully Crew is a nonprofit organization that specializes in the rescue and care of Pit Bulls.

We work tirelessly every day to rehabilitate and find loving homes for the animals we take under our care. We rescue dogs from all over the county and frequently work with international partners; no animal in dire need of rescue is turned away. NYBC strives to educate and make the public aware of the challenges the breed faces in today's society. We strongly believe that there are no bad dogs, but rather, just bad owners. Dog fighting forces incredibly loving and intelligent dogs to exhibit behaviors that are aggressive and dangerous. As a result, these dogs will be considered a menace to society. The horrific "sport" is a major source of cruelty towards Pit Bulls and the individuals that commit such despicable acts must be held accountable. Moreover, abused and neglected dogs that no longer

serve a purpose to their owners are often left at kill-shelters that utilize inhumane methods of euthanasia (New York Bully Crew, 2019).

The four rescues represent various locations, and all specialize in rescuing abused, abandoned animals. Three are based in New York and one in South Carolina, yet they accept animals from everywhere. They all save horrifically abused animals, often abused by the owners and regardless of the state's political identity, regardless of any animal protection laws that exist, the abuse goes unabated. A national animal abuse registry is needed, but animal neglect and abuse is so deep-seated. What may spur legislators to establish a national animal abuse registry is the correlation between animal abuse and domestic violence, another example of how animal welfare is unrecognized unless humans are affected.

According to the Animal Legal Defense Fund, the states with the lowest rankings for animal protection laws include North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Alaska, South Carolina, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Utah, New Mexico, Wyoming, Iowa, Mississippi, Kentucky. The worst five states are: New Mexico, Wyoming, Iowa, Mississippi, and Kentucky. The worst state for animal protection is, in fact, Kentucky. Those states possess comparable liabilities such as:

Felony provisions available only for cruelty and fighting, both against only select animals; No felony provisions for neglect or abandonment Inadequate definitions/standards of basic care; No increased penalties when abuse is committed in the presence of a minor or involves multiple animals; No mental health evaluations or counseling for offenders; No statutory authority to allow protective orders to include animals; No cost mitigation or recovery provisions

for impounded animals, except for horses; No provisions for forfeiture of cruelly treated animals, other than horses; No restrictions on future ownership or possession of animals following a conviction; No provisions for select non-animal-related agencies/professionals to report suspected animal abuse; Veterinarians are prohibited from reporting suspected cruelty or fighting; No provisions for sexual assault (Animal Legal Defense Fund 2019).

The most conservative Republican states are; Alaska, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi and Alabama.

The top five states for animal protection are: Illinois, Oregon, Maine, Colorado, Massachusetts. The best states embrace the following protections:

Felony penalties for cruelty, neglect, and fighting; thorough and adequate definitions/standards of basic care; inclusive definition of “animal”; increased penalties for repeat animal abusers, repeat domestic violence offenders, when abuse committed in the presence of a minor, and cases involving multiple animals; limited pre-sentence mental health evaluations; permissive court order for counseling/ anger management; protective orders may include animals Court may order cost mitigation & recovery measures for impounded animals Pre-conviction forfeiture allowed Court may order forfeiture of animals on conviction Mandatory restrictions on future ownership or possession of animals upon conviction Mandatory reporting of suspected aggravated animal cruelty by veterinarians; Peace officers have an affirmative duty to enforce animal protection laws; Animal fighting is a predicate offense under state RICO laws; Strong animal fighting provisions Comprehensive sexual assault of animals law Animal cruelty

is an abatable nuisance; Civilians have civil immunity for rescuing animals trapped in unattended vehicles (Animal Legal Defense Fund 2019).

The most liberal, Democrat states are Minnesota, Oregon, California, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. There seems to be no significant correlation between the states' animal protection statutes (as opposed to federal welfare or rights) and laws and the predominant state political party.

Iowa lawmakers recently enacted a new AG-Gag law just months after the Animal Legal Defense Fund's filed a lawsuit overturning a similar law. This new attempt to criminalize investigations at factory farms, slaughterhouses, and puppy mills is a "blatant attempt to circumvent the federal court's ruling and stifle free speech about the appalling conditions that animals endure in industrial animal agriculture" (ALDF, 2019). The Animal Legal Defense Fund successfully filed lawsuits to overturn Ag-Gag laws in Utah and Idaho, and litigation is pending against Ag-Gag laws in North Carolina and Kansas.

In January of 2019, the ALDF, partnered with the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, hosted a formal judicial convening focused on animal cruelty cases. The ALDF provided training in animal cruelty crimes to judges, marking the beginning of the first formalized partnership between an animal protection organization and a national judicial group, Especially highlighted was the link between human violence and animal cruelty cases; "the crucial impact that cross-reporting and inter-agency communication can have on both human and animal victims; and important tools for judges to implement in these cases, such as inclusion of animals in domestic violence



protection orders and prohibiting animal ownership for a certain period of time” (ALDF, 2019).

Further illustrating the correlation between animal abuse and violence against humans, with animal protection measures as a peripheral benefit, the Animal Legal Defense Fund is working on strengthening animal protection laws across the country. California’s The Animal Cruelty and Violence Intervention Act of 2019 (ALDF, 2019), (retrieved from <https://aldf.org/project/the-animal-cruelty-violence-intervention-act/>) SB 580, addresses the link between violence against humans and animal cruelty by requiring people convicted of certain animal abuse crimes to undergo mental health evaluations and, if necessary, ongoing treatment to break the cycle of violence. In Texas, the Possession-ban bills SB 804/HB 2012 (ALDF, 2019) would allow judges to prohibit people convicted of animal cruelty from future contact with animals, and the SB 250/HB 810 (ALDF, 2019) protects dogs and other companion animals left in hot cars by granting civil immunity to Good Samaritans who rescue companion animals from motor vehicles in certain circumstances. The ALDF is working in conjunction with the Humane Society of the United States and Texas Humane Legislation Network on both of those bills. In New York, a bill named in honor of a dog beaten to death in Long Island in 2016, Bella’s Bill, A 342, (ALDF, 2019) would strengthen New York’s animal cruelty laws by moving them from the Agriculture & Markets section to the Penal Code. The ALDF is leading a coalition of more than a dozen local and national groups to make this bill law.

The American Anti-Vivisection Society (AAVS) sanctions “Ending the use of animals in science through education, advocacy, and the development of alternative methods” (AAVS, 2019). The society released a report regarding the United States

Department of Agriculture's (USDA) decreasing transparency and its failure to protect animals. Regarding the number of reported violations of the Animal Welfare Act (AWA), The Washington Post (as cited in AAVS, 2019) reported the total dropping sixty percent from 2017 to 2018. Serious or critical citations dropped over sixty-one percent. While appearing to portray good news; it is the opposite; it covers up those who violate the AWA. The USDA instead prefers to call violations "teachable moments" (2019) for inspectors to address violations but without documenting them. There are no more unannounced inspections and inspectors rely on self-reports from facilities. The ill treatment of animals in research, breeding, exhibitions, and for dealers is hidden from public view and the responsibility is directly placed on the United States government. The AAVS stresses alternative research methods. AAVS strives to eliminate the use of animals in education and assisting educators and students in finding non-animal methods of teaching. A newly released joint report by the American Anti-Vivisection Society (AAVS) and The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) investigates and exposes a research industry fraught with questionable science and consumer deception, drawing much-needed attention to the animals and people who are being exploited for profit.

"Dying to Learn" is the result of a two-year investigation of animal acquisition and use from 92 public colleges and universities in the U.S. It reveals that 52% of colleges and universities are using live and dead dogs and cats for teaching even though viable alternatives are available and are being used by other schools. In addition, the report identifies specific schools that are obtaining animals from unethical sources. (AAVS, 2019)

Senator Cory Booker was interviewed by AV magazine, a publication of the American Anti-Vivisection Society (AAVS, 2019) to review his involvement in the “Frank R. Lautenberg Chemical Safety for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Act which updated the Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA of 1976) and requires the Environmental protection Agency (EPA) to use more non-animal testing methods” (AAVS, 2019). New Jersey Senator Booker, currently a presidential candidate for the Democrat Party primary, enlisted bi-partisan support to pass the act. Booker is known for his support of animals, (he is vegan) and he has learned that reliable and accurate non-animal testing methods are readily available. Simultaneously, strengthening the act gives the EPA clearer authority to restrict or ban dangerous chemicals in use or newly introduced, giving the public greater protection against toxic chemicals. This statement further indicates the relative position of protecting animals has behind public safety. The article mentions that the current administration’s EPA has promulgated regulations allowing it to ignore known exposures from hazardous chemicals resulting in increased risks to vulnerable populations.

Reported by the *Washington Post*, and documented by the Humane Society of the United States, the “U.S. Department of Agriculture inspectors documented 60 percent fewer violations at facilities that use animals in 2018 compared to 2017”... and “is the latest sign that the federal agency is pulling back from its job of enforcing the Animal Welfare Act, which protects animals used by puppy mills, zoos and research labs, among others” (HSUS, 2019). The *Post* also noted a drop in the number of serious violations that would trigger faster follow-up by the agency and possible enforcement action. “In 2017, inspectors recorded more than 4,000 citations, including 331 marked as critical or

direct. In 2018, the number of citations fell below 1,800, including 128 that were critical or direct” (HSUS, 2019).

To influence legislators and regulators, direct lobbying is the preferred tool; the larger animal welfare coalitions have acquired advanced lobbying techniques in addition to paid lobbyists and well-trained staff through offshoot PACs (political action committees) for that single-minded commitment. Direct lobbying with an official or assigned staff is a tool utilized by high level volunteers for HSUS; but lobbying from a distance through letter writing and telephone calls has proven to be effective and a simple method for supporters. Petitions and sign-on letters are sent to public officials for maximum impact with minimal effort and is often used to encourage the general public to participate in this advocacy. Of course, the ultimate activism for any organization is to develop relationships with key personnel within the legislative body through which bills can be amended to add on or remove certain elements; the Farm Bill is an example of this process (Rubin, 2018).

The challenge of animal advocacy is the tendency for the public to hang on to old beliefs, the cultural part of resistance to change. Most believe animal suffering does not matter; even when confronted with graphic, explicit documentation most people will cling to the natural order of the world (Humane Society of the United States, 2013). Most would rather prove there is no need for change, but the animal welfare advocate’s job is to change minds and behavior. While industries that exploit animals have financial advantages over advocate organizations, well planned sophisticated movements have successfully encouraged large companies to act on behalf of animals through well planned strategies. Social marketing resulted in changed behaviors by the public, policy

changes by the corporate, legislative and judicial entities (Humane Society of the United States, 2013).

Developing a strategy for animal protection is challenging due to the massive incidents or areas of animal abuse. Focusing on one small issue rather than allocating resources to wider spheres of exploitation raises the question of how this action will save the lives of the few, or improve the lives of many, a utilitarian dilemma. A dedicated targeted campaign may be more beneficial than a sparsely energized or ill-funded crusade. Increments in animal welfare (like HSUS and ASPCA) may be more realistic and practical, yet, not as desirable or gratifying as PETA's campaigns. HSUS emphasizes the importance of secondary research, both academic and activist, as crucial to a well-planned campaign, yet just as, if not more important is to recognize your adversaries. Identifying competition and competitive behaviors as well as learning from past failures is an important step to consider in motivating an audience. Choosing the battle—being realistic about the opposition as well as understanding the advocate's own limitations is part of a well-planned strategy as is assessing one's own strengths and weaknesses; it also adds credibility. The advocate's goal should be clear, specific, attainable and well defined. Society values freedom of choice, and that mantra is personified by the hunting lobby, beside the dairy and meat industries (Humane Society of the United States, 2013).

Profits drive barriers to change. Buying cage free eggs is more expensive, concern for animal welfare does little to maximize profit. Based on traditional corporate culture, the vegan philosophy and lifestyle is a threat. Animal welfare does not conform to expectations; one of the reasons why the animal rights movement lacks diversity; men should not be overly concerned about animal welfare issues. HSUS recommends defining

the audience and limiting the target to a segment of those who can be motivated. Considering demographics but also “psychographics” (Humane Society of the United States, 2013) the attitudinal factors such as interest in animal issues, political outlook and the belief in community involvement. To work with elected officials, it is wise to consider political affiliation and philosophy; for business, consider the company’s approach to animal issues. Social scientists identified five stages to changing behavior: awareness, interest, decision, action and maintenance (Humane Society of the United States, pg. 21, 2013).

The Center on Congress at Indiana University in conjunction with the Center of Civic Education for the Alliance for Representative Democracy explains lobbying and advocacy in *Making Your Voice Heard: How to Work with Congress* (2010). The article emphasizes the impact of local constituents to local legislators; district votes matter, another factor to keep in the advocate’s arsenal of effective tools, yet still, another factor to consider as opposition to passing animal protection legislation. The pamphlet lists steps to successfully making a case: be factual, know your research; be clear and concise, stick to the important issue; be personal, connect with the issue; be inclusive, bring in other like-minded organizations or groups; be constructive, help solve the problem; be informed about Congress, know your legislators history and how Congress works; be a listener, learn more about your representative’s position; be courteous; be aware of rules; and especially be open to compromise, recognize others’ viewpoints and be prepared for agreement; be patient; be persistent, follow up; and lastly, join with other interest groups or political parties for common goals (Alliance for Representative Democracy (2010)).

Controversy is a ubiquitous element of activism, particularly animal activism; Peter Singer and Jeff Sebo (2018) focus on not only the pragmatic disagreements between factions of the animal rights movement, but the relationship between animal activism and animal studies. Disagreements over what issues to address, what goals to pursue, how to achieve goals and how to measure success. Evidence of success and effective animal activism is a challenge. The discourse on these disparities mentions how activists should engage the public and other social movements, through structural, social, political and economic change or advocate for animal rights and personhood for animals. By engaging in the animal rights movement, should activists focus exclusively on non-humans or should they stand in solidarity against all oppression with other social movements, including civil rights (2018, pg. 34)?

Especially pertinent to this study, and all other academic works of animal studies is the dualistic roles scholars may play. The activist coalesced with the researcher provides a personal stake in both fields, along with its benefits and costs; the investigator garners knowledge from the activist in the field, yet the activist may tend to address effective activism in a self-serving approach. (Singer and Sebo contend that studying animal studies is already activism). This ethical dilemma can skew research, so it is imperative that the researcher address the bias so that it becomes part of the case study or narrative. A relatively new concept in animal activism is effective activism (EA), a social movement that attempts to utilize evidence and reason to do the most good (2018, pg. 35). Hoping that using EA to solve some of the dilemmas and disagreements that stand in the way of progress. The argument is that EA may be more suitable to some areas than others; for example, the Animal Charity Evaluators (ACE) estimates that “more than 99%

of domesticated animals used and killed by human are farm animals, yet, farmed animal advocacy organizations receive less than one percent of all donations for domesticated animals used and killed by humans, according to Animal Charity Evaluators (as cited in Singer and Sebo, 2018, pg. 36). Additionally, it is less costly to save farmed animals than companion animals. If this holds true, then “farmed animal suffering is a massive, neglected, and tractable issue relative to companion animal suffering (2018, pg. 36). Wildlife suffering is also massive and neglected, although not as tractable. Although EAAs recommend researching interventions (assisting wild animals with migration, help to relieve drought, famine or predation) in wild animal suffering, to carry out these interventions at this time, may not be feasible (2018, pg. 37).

Kristen Stilt’s essay, Law (2018) states animal protection law is used to protect animals from humans, and criminal law in the area of animals is increasing. Stilt recognizes that all fifty states and the District of Columbia have at least one anti-cruelty law that is a felony although animal cruelty is not recognized as a federal offense. Still, criminal law protecting animals is often used for human benefit, intended to protect animals only as the property of a human when harmed by another human. Animals are still considered property and not recognized as entities in a court of law. An example of how animal protection law works for its benefit to a human is the violence concern. Committing violence to an animal is indicative and often a pre-cursor to violent behavior to other humans, as in domestic violence. The ongoing effort by activists to create a national animal abuse registry is using this reasoning to convince legislators that the registry is a valuable resource to combat domestic violence. Companion animals are considered more deserving of protection than others (farmed animals), and some pain and



suffering is more worthy of prevention than others (cruelty versus CAFO) (Stilt, 2018). The large agri-businesses that own farmed animals do not want treatment of their animals regulated.

An important consideration is that humans afford legal protections to animals based on human values; i.e. cows are protected in India for religious reasons, dogs are treated terribly in Egypt due to the belief that dogs are impure (2018, pg. 202). Local customs determine animal protection law. Another example of speciesism is found in the U.S Animal Welfare Act (AWA). Its initial concern was for animals used in research, but only in research, exhibitions and limited transportation and only for warm blooded animals. The Act now covers animal fighting, but the AWA does not protect animals raised for food; it is merely an expression of human priorities. Because of agri-business' vast lobbying power, farmed animals have little protection, even though most Americans agree that animals raised for food should be treated humanely.

The theory and controversy of animal rights, as discussed by Kymlicka and Donaldson, (2018), becomes contradictory when used in academic versus public debate. In its simplest, overarching concept, animal rights (AR) encompasses any improvement in animal welfare; i.e. slaughter and living conditions of animals used for food, animals used for medical research. Yet, animal rights per se, is a much narrower set of attitudes, especially pertaining to inviolable moral rights which would prohibit the use of animals to the benefit of humans, and it is within this framework that the authors of "Rights" (Kymlicka and Donaldson, 2018) discuss AR and its conflicting application within the advocacy movement. As a response to the challenge, liberal political theorists turned to the idea of inviolable rights, a belief that trumps the "greatest good for the greatest

number” concept (2018, pg. 322). Utilitarianism fails to recognize the wrongness of sacrificing individuals for the greater good. This rights theory became hegemonic, displacing attempts to afford rights within the utilitarian idea. “From human rights to animal rights” (2018, pg. 323) is a concept that may not be so easily accepted; there are few who believe an animal should not be sacrificed for the sake of the greater good—of humans. Nozick summarized this concept as “utilitarianism for animals, Kantianism for people” (as cited in Kymlicka and Donaldson, 2018, pg. 323). Rationalism for humans, it seems, overrules any moral violation of animals’ lives; humans are self-validating.

Defenders of animal rights disagree; as it is wrong to kill a human for the good of others, it is equivalently wrong to kill a non-human for the sake of the greater good, regardless of the outcome. The utilitarian ethics approach to animal rights, then, is inadequate, just as it was inadequate for humans—as in the case of the liberal democracy’s response to African Americans; individuals are not respected as “self-originating sources of moral claims” (2018, pg. 323). The utilitarian view has affected the response to those against animals killed for food; slaughter and its aggregate has long-term effects on humans and the environment, as in the case of factory farming leading to global warming, an example of how animal lives are only protected when the protection presents positive results for people. The argument that a non-human is a sentient being, to most, is not adequate to afford equal rights as that of a human. The basic logic of animal rights theory is based on whether the animal is sufficiently like a person to warrant inviolable rights, rather than respecting animals as unique beings and different from humans, still entitled to rights. This belief assumes the theory that “man is the measure of

all things” (2018, pg. 327), reinforcing anthropocentrism but at the same time, erasing animal uniqueness.

Animal welfare is a concept that most people agree should be afforded to all animals; it is seldom controversial. Yet this “sense of welfare” for animals, as postulated by Palmer and Sandoe (2018), rests on the belief that welfare should be afforded to animals from the perspective of the animal itself, rather than the human. But again, the authors realize that animal welfare matters balance the animal’s welfare against concerns for human interests. If humans are to benefit from medical experiments at the cost of animal lives, then animal lives are expendable; if humans are to eat meat, then it is acceptable to raise animals for food. Animal welfare interests attempt to minimize animal suffering by compromise. Thus, the focus on animal welfare and minimizing suffering is intent within the context of factory farming and agri-business. The Brambell Committee formed by the United Kingdom government to investigate reports of animal cruelty in livestock farming. The committee’s report conceptualized animal suffering and welfare and formed the basis of British and European animal welfare legislation regarding the suffering of animals used for human benefit (whereas previous anticruelty legislation focused on pointless suffering without human benefits) (2018, pg. 425). The Report focused on an animal’s needs and the suffering if those needs were not met, significantly expanding the understanding of suffering, as defined by the “frustration of behavioral urges”, in the form of discomfort, stress and other negative mental states (2018, pg. 427). It is an important concept, as it recognizes that calves being separated from the mother may not cause physical pain, but the animals were prevented from engaging in natural and even essential behaviors. Animal welfare can be perceived as positive and negative

welfare; experts believe that many unpleasant natural states cannot be prevented. Attempting to minimize natural negative states such as hunger, thirst, discomfort, pain and injury across an animal's life may be all that can be achieved. Mellor (as cited in Palmer and Sandoe, 2018) believes that it may not be desirable to eliminate these states; some are necessary for survival. The Brambell Report touched on the concept of the subjective experiences of animals. The innovative "Five Domains" model of animal welfare suggests that welfare should be understood along multiple domains; four physical areas of health, nutrition, environment and behavior and the mental domain which embraces the negative and positive experiences of the animal (2018, pg. 429).

### **Themes Emerging from Document Sources**

The Following are the themes that can be deduced from the review of source data:

1. *Every agency emphasizes humane education, community outreach and awareness, education campaigns.*
2. *All agencies call for legislative advocacy, often through grassroots lobbying. In fact, lobbying and legislative action is highly proposed.*
3. *Culture and Agri-business is a major factor in states' economic interests; all sources reiterate the conflict between powerful agri-business (factory farms), and animal protection organizations.*
4. *Sources blame the United States Government, particularly the current administration, for failure to protect animals in favor of big business.*
5. *Much of the time, animal protection is a by-product of legislation passed to benefit people.*

6. *PETA has been successful and endorses corporate pressure, through protests, advertising and consumerism.*

### **Interviews and Participants: Collective Interviewee Profiles**

Fifteen participants from various backgrounds and affiliations were voluntarily interviewed for this research. All the interviewees were given an informational packet explaining the details and intentions for this research, guidelines for participatory research, contact information for the school advisors, and a consent form detailing how their information will be kept confidential. Copies of the consents, signed by the participants and this researcher, were then returned to them.

Of the fifteen interviewees participating in the research, demographic representation is as follows:

Females:	Ten
Males:	Five
Agency Staff:	Ten
Agency Volunteers:	Three
Other:	Two (veterinarian and an author)

All the interviewees are white, middle class, and have educations extending beyond high school; thirteen have college degrees. Ages run from mid-twenties to mid-fifties. Eleven participants reside in Washington D.C., New York, New Jersey or California; they are more progressive states. Four reside in Georgia, a more conservative state. Regarding political affiliation, out of the fifteen interviewed, one participant claimed to be moderate but leans liberal for animals and other rights movements, five articulated they are democrats, five independent and four advised they either have no

affiliation. Religion seemed to be insignificant, as all but one interviewee declared having no meaningful religious association; four were said to be spiritual and the rest had no response. The demographic questions were not included in the interviews.

The profile of agencies represented consists of:

Community rescues: Two

National Animal Rights/Welfare Organizations: Eight

State or County Government: Two

Other: Three

Of these organizations, three are animal rights organizations; five are animal welfare organizations; three are considered academic or educational; one local (foot soldier) rescue and two government-related or governmental affairs; one private practice. Additional information was volunteered through animal law sources.

### **Individual Participant Profiles**

Staff State Director of Humane Voters, Jay is “a real animal rights person”. He has worked in the field of animal rights advocacy for “30 years”. His role; he “tries to get good guys for animals elected, and the “bad guys” out of office”. Staff in a large animal rights organization, Ally has been interested in animal welfare since college. She is responsible for campus outreach. Her role is to motivate college students to become activists, how to plan events, “setting foundation for change”.

“Doc” is a veterinarian “for 12 years. “I’ve worked in the veterinary field for 22 years and I served as a board member for the Humane society as well as a volunteer; previously donated my time/ surgical skills to TNR (trap neuter release) of feral cats in

Chatham County”. I am responsible for being an advocate for my patients - doing everything I can do to be sure their quality of life is the best it can be.

Advocate/educator, MDM, is a director of an animal studies program, was a “longtime volunteer (30 years) in animal rescue, a former staff member at an animal rights organization, and a current staff member at an animal protection organization (10 years)”. She has multiple roles; “a variety of roles in different rescue/sanctuary/animal rights groups. ...I see my role as primarily as an educator...my hope is to help students see animals differently”

Dan is not a volunteer with any NGO but has a long history of participation in “such groups as ARK II, Animal Alliance of Canada, University of Toronto Students for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Canadian Vegans for Animal Rights, Action Volunteers for Animals, Toronto Vegetarian Association, and the Toronto Animal Rights Society, among others”. He sees himself as a “knowledge worker who produces academic and lay accounts of animal protection ideas and facts

Volunteer at a local animal shelter has a graduate certificate from the Humane Society University in Animal Studies, August 2014. Karyn is a member of the Humane Society, ASPCA and PETA. “I see myself as an animal rights and animal welfare advocate. I achieve this by educating others and keeping up with the latest news and legislation on animal treatment”. This supporter is proud of the success in her area; the Suffolk County animal abuse registry. “This is the first animal abuse registry in the country.

Missy is an activist and a full-time staff member of an animal welfare organization since 2017. She remembers getting involved with animal welfare after

“repeated exposure to the plight of farmed animals led me to make dietary changes over the last 8 years, with a complete switch to a vegan diet in 2016. When I made this decision, likely the most important one I’ve made in my life thus far, I also committed to finding a career that would enable me to focus on animal welfare full-time”.

Cer is an animal rights advocate is a campaign manager for a humane league. He has been with a humane league for three years. His current role is to “ensure that the people of California have the opportunity to create the strongest animal protection law on the planet this November 2018. My role is to inform them about the benefits of such a law and to encourage them to vote yes on these protections. My overall role is to end the needless suffering of animals on factory farms”.

Reba is a State Director for a National Animal Protection org; she works on Public Policy and Legislation at State and Local Level. She is currently staff for over four years, and first volunteered for the same organization for approximately seven years prior to employment. Her role to address issues that are beyond the scope of local organizations. “My position also allows opportunities to be the catalyst for coalitions and collaborative efforts”.

Ben’s role has been involved with the movement in 1984 and 1985 during the Head Injury Clinical Research Center (Gennarelli laboratory) controversy in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the University of Pennsylvania. “Then, in 2004, I joined an organization full-time to work, and I have spent my last fifteen years or so as a professional in the field”. Dr. U sees himself as a leader in thought and action encouraging both a strong passion for the issues and a relevant academic background to the work. “I am unhappy about the failure of support for humane education by animal



protectionists. The emphasis is on lobbying, litigation, policy, and the like, and there is little to no commitment on our parts to educating the next generation. I think that's a big mistake. I think we must do a lot more to bring along young people to our ideas and values, in media, in schools, in popular culture, all of that."

Matt is a Chaplain in the SPCA. His career in animal welfare began in 2005, when he was hired by the SCPCA as an animal cruelty agent. He retired after completing approximately 2,000 animal cruelty investigations. Prior to his retirement as a cruelty officer, he obtained his interfaith ordination and was appointed as the Chaplain. His position and perspectives are exceptionally unique and different when compared to many who work in the animal welfare field. He has a long history of employer-labor relations.

Dobin is a high-level volunteer for the Humane Society and has been involved in the organization for one year. She became involved engaged through volunteerism, but she has always been sensitive to the needs of animals. She knows her knowledge of animal abuse has increased. She feels she is moving toward becoming more aware of what /how she consumes food, clothing, etc., and how she votes in elections. She sees her agency as the largest and foremost in the field effecting change.

KK is volunteer/staff and the cofounder and CEO of a local rescue where she has worked since 2013. Her overall interest and role are animal welfare with animal rights motivation. She became involved because "Too many homeless animals dying in our local shelters." She finds her role "Very rewarding, exhausting. I enjoy trying to educate others on animal responsibility and "We are busy rescuing many and we are in the process of working on animal rights to be a better voice to protect them. We provide the

vetting, love, care they need until a home is found.” The rescue takes animals from local kill shelters and keep them until a perfect home is found.

Charrie has been in the animal welfare movement for about six or seven years. She was a volunteer with the Humane League in Boston, then full-time position as volunteer coordinator in Boston, then Philadelphia director for two years, then started campus outreach programs to get and paid students activated. She was also the animal welfare liaison for the New York City Mayor for maybe a year. She is currently staff in the Brooklyn Borough Presidents office as deputy strategist for healthy eating and nutrition side of plant-based eating (Nutrition and plan based eating).

Lima has a couple of roles. Currently, she is an outreach manager in “Grassroots Outreach and Engagement Program” for the high-level volunteer program for a large animal welfare organization for four years. She was involved in the 2014 startup leader program (power of action). Prior to that she was an outreach coordinator in the same organization for the national volunteer center program for two years. She was administrative assistant in the campaign department. She was first an intern for two semesters in the Government Affairs Department.

Brooke is an attorney with the Animal Legal Defense Fund’s Criminal Justice Program. She assists prosecutors and legislators throughout the country with enforcing and strengthening animal protection laws.

### **Interview Summary**

The fifteen participants interviewed represent a broad spectrum of demographics, backgrounds, positions, beliefs, wish lists and plans for future activism within the animal rights movement parameters. As to be expected, the female participants outnumber the

males 2:1; all are white, middle class, with at least some college education. This statement represents the lack of diversity and most activists view this as problematic. Participants were most likely to be staff at an animal rights/welfare organization but started as volunteers. I found the staff to be most enthusiastic about their responses regarding their agency's mission and more identifying regarding purpose. The three volunteers who participated varied in background and tended to be less critical and finite regarding conflicts within the movement. The two "others" represented authors or educators. The profile of agencies represented: two community rescues; eight national animal rights/welfare organizations; two state or county governments and three others (academy, student or literary). The organizations represented by these participants include three animal rights organizations, five animal welfare organizations, one community rescue, one lobbying group, one private practice, one educational academy, one literary, one city government and one in a non-related profession. Every participant had a least one companion animal.

Most of the fifteen participants had been involved in the animal rights movement in some way for many years; most are vegetarians or vegan. They generally believe that animals have rights, but some believe it is not an attainable goal. Every participant believed animals need to be treated better, even if animals are used by humans. Thirteen out of fifteen interviewees have made animal welfare their career. Except for one participant, all had comprehension of the differences between animal rights, welfare and protection. One participant had just begun volunteering and although she had little experience to draw upon, she was eager to take part in research. The areas in which each contributed to the animal rights movement varied: education, legislation, community

grassroots, rescue, literary, government outreach and implementation, college outreach, student, veterinary medicine. One of the interviewees “specialized” in the religious healing of persons who are grieving for their lost pets. One participant held a high-level un-paid position in a national organization which she left, disappointed in the political characteristics of the board yet still involved in animal welfare.

All participants possessed some knowledge of current legislative issues; some expressed frustration with legislature. In fact, several participants expressed concern regarding current politics, the current administration and the abandonment of animal and environmental protection. The lobbyist held nothing back when placing blame for the lack of animal safety. Not all the participants believed that animals should have the same rights as humans. Some can recall when they first became aware of animal suffering or animal welfare; some attributed it to reading a book or comparing pets to animals they ate. Some of the interviews signaled stress or tension between the rights and welfare groups. All of those interviewed felt positive about their organization’s success, or the movement’s progress, albeit some mentioned that although progress was a long time coming; there is still a lot to be done. Almost all wished for additional resources, whether it be additional funding, more staff or volunteers, humane education, more vegan choices. Most of those interviewed agreed that corporate money was a formidable power and a serious problem. Every participant was dedicated to animal welfare in some way. Two wished for more time in the day to do more for animals. Not one welfarist interviewed recognized much less discussed any failures, only more opportunities for learning. All participants are optimistic about the future of animal welfare; some are pragmatic

regarding incremental goals. The collective identity of those who participated is altruism, and they believe that most people want to do what is right.

### **Research Questions: Responses and Emerging Themes from Interviews**

Has the animal rights movement and animal welfare advocacy affected public policy, and if not, why? What conflicts do advocates face?

1. How do advocates see their and their agency's roles in the animal rights movement?
2. How did they become involved? How has their advocacy affected their lives?  
How do advocates view the theory of animal rights as opposed to animal welfare and protection?
3. Do advocates see significant impact of the animal rights movement on public policy? How? If not, why? (political partisanship, economy, culture, religion?)  
What do they see as obstacles or conflicts that blocks animal welfare legislation?  
What is preventing animal protection from becoming public policy?
4. What do advocates hope to accomplish in the field of animal rights? What do they view as successes or failures? What do they see as the future of the movement?
5. Have advocates of the animal rights movement see the struggle comparable to the other rights or social movements, past or current, including the 1960's civil rights movement?
6. What conflicts do advocates see within the movement? What does the movement need to be more formidable?

The responses from the participants' twenty interview questions have been reviewed and codified in order to illustrate emerging themes according to the original

research questions. After each research question, response quotes will follow. The interviews were conducted in-person, by telephone or email. Several interviews were obtained from various conferences.

### **Themes Emerging from Interview Questions**

This researcher established the following themes that developed from the interview questions:

Theme One: *There is a pattern of longevity in the field.*

Theme Two: *Advocates see their roles as benefitting the interests of animals through humane treatment and education and by community legislative action.*

Theme Three: *Advocates are strongly motivated by the awareness of suffering or a triggering event; they distinctly remember what the event was and when they became vegetarians. After doing so, their lives have significantly changed in positive or in profound ways.*

Theme Four: *Animal rights activists take a hard, uncompromising line on animal rights. They disregard anything less; however, they will reluctantly accept incremental changes.*

Theme Five: *For some, the terms are ambiguous, and the theory of animal rights is not popular. There is no absolute definition of animal rights. The animal rights, animal welfare and protection terms are ambiguous. Some advocates reject the idiom “animal rights”.*

Theme Six: *The animal movement has considerable impact on public policy due to grass roots community movement. But more advantageous, humane education generates a deeper understanding of animal welfare and powerful consumer partners.*

Theme Seven: *Advocates are specific when asked how conflicts can be resolved, what is needed to continue change. Resolutions include humane education, diversity, better legislation, more representation, and money.*

Theme Eight: *The advocates defined success as the movement expanding and the decline of several animal use practices; advancing the awareness of the cruelty of animal use industry and historic policy change through unprecedented legal reforms and soring public awareness and making progress in policy via legislation and consumer pressure.*

Theme Nine: *Most effective tools: advocates list humane education, community awareness and public pressure, media.*

Theme Ten: *Every advocate responded similarly; with few exceptions, failures are recognized as learning opportunities but were not emphasized.*

Theme Eleven: *The similarity to other social movements depends on the focus of animal welfare and rights.*

Theme Twelve: *There is a tendency for competition within the movement rather than collaboration, a big problem for the organizations. The advocates' report on what they feel is needed for the success of the animal rights movement reflects the remarks about what is lacking in the movement. The list is varied which can indicate that there is a lack of cohesion. But the primary necessities include diversity, humane education, compassionate society through awareness, and humane laws.*

The following are the supporting data that demonstrate the themes that emerged.

All data are in the participants own voice.

**Theme One: *There is a pattern of longevity in the field***

**Jay:** "I worked in the area for 30 years".

**Ally:** (I am) PETA staff, college campaigns assistant, interested in animal welfare since college, started outreach on campus. After graduation, I worked with PETA and visited colleges for outreach.

**Dan:** I have a long history of participation in such groups as ARK II, Animal Alliance of Canada, University of Toronto Students for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, Canadian Vegans for Animal Rights, Action Volunteers for Animals, Toronto Vegetarian Association, and the Toronto Animal Rights Society, among others.

**Doc:** Staff member, veterinarian for 12 years. I've worked in the veterinary field for 22 years and I served as a board member for the Humane Society as well as a volunteer; previously donated my time/ surgical skills to TNR (trap neuter release) of feral cats in Chatham County.

**MDM:** I am a longtime volunteer (30 years) in animal rescue.

**Jay:** Currently League of Humane Voters, animal rights, came to this through the portal of animal welfare.

**MDM:** I got involved in animal rescue after getting my first rabbit about 30 years ago, and immediately started volunteering for House Rabbit Society. From there, things just snowballed, and I realized that helping animals was sort of my calling....a former staff member at an animal rights organization, and a current staff member at an animal protection organization (10 years).

**Cer:** I became involved in animal welfare after becoming vegan while working in biotechnology. I was doing some animal testing at the time as a part of my job, with insects specifically. As I learned more about being vegan, I started an



organization called Vegan Kalamazoo. I focused my actions on a mission to reduce the amount of animal suffering I contributed to in my life. I realized that my employment was not consistent with my values, so I quit my career to start a new one

**Reba:** Volunteered for same org for approx. 7years prior to employment.

**Lima:** Became involved as a volunteer w/advocacy org (HSUS) following years of local work, including shelter volunteer.

**Ben:** I became involved with the movement in 1984 and 1985 during the Head Injury Clinical Research Center (Gennarelli laboratory) controversy in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the University of Pennsylvania. I worked in the field for a few years at the American Anti-Vivisection Society (1985-1992), and I was a volunteer with different local and regional groups (Trans-Species Unlimited, Farm Animal Reform Movement, Lehigh Valley Animal Rights Coalition, PETA and others) at many levels. Then I went to graduate school, where based on my activity in collecting literature on the history of concern for animals, I wrote a dissertation on the anti-cruelty movement. Then, in 2004, I joined an organization full-time to work, and I have spent my last fifteen years or so as a professional in the field.

**Matt:** My career in animal welfare began in February of 2005.

**Dobin:** Volunteer District Leader for HSUS One year I have always been sensitive to needs of animals. As I became aware of animal welfare organization, I volunteered, more recently through work with the HSUS.

**Charrie:** I have been in the animal welfare movement for about 6-7 years. I was a volunteer with the Humane League in Boston, then full-time position as volunteer coordinator in Boston (1 yr.) then Philadelphia director for two years, then started campus outreach programs to get and paid students activated. New York City Mayor DiBlasi office called me and I was the animal welfare liaison for (Mayor) DeBlasio for maybe a year.”

**Lima:** I was involved in the 2014 startup District leader program (power of action). In 2010 I was administrative assistant in the campaign department. I was first an intern for two semesters in the Government Affairs Department. Prior to that I was outreach coordinator in HSUS national volunteer center program for 2 years (2011 to 2013) International volunteer center. Centralized all volunteer programs.

**Theme Two: *Advocates see their roles as benefitting the interests of animals through humane treatment and education and by community legislative action***

**Ally:** Responsible for campus and college issues with PETA (vegan). I arrange College events, future activists, foundation for change. I don't work with policy directly, but I work with college students to become activists, how to plan events, campaigns, setting foundation for change.

**Doc:** I am responsible for being an advocate for my patients - doing everything I can do to be sure their quality of life is the best it can be. Typically, this looks like education clients on what their pets have been diagnosed with and the treatment options available to help them.

**MDM:** I see myself as having multiple roles; I've run an international rabbit rescue group for many years, plus have had a variety of roles in different rescue/sanctuary/animal rights groups. But currently, and for the past 10 years, I see my role as primarily as an educator; through my books, my teaching at Canisius, and my work with ASI, my hope is to help students see animals differently.

**Ms. D:** Our role is to keep up with legislation, legislative lobbying, grassroots education; contributions toward local, state and federal laws to protect animals.

**Jay:** The League of Humane Voters tries to get good guys for animals elected, and the "bad guys" out of office. (We) work with homeowner associations and community groups to resolve conflicts that home or landowners have with deer, etc. and keeping hunters off private property affecting wildlife.

**Cer:** To end needless suffering of animals on factory farms, reducing animal suffering through awareness programs.

**MDM:** ...my work is primarily to promote the field of human-animal studies, which in my mind, helps further the understanding of, and interest in, animals among students, which will go a long way towards changing attitudes towards animals. House Rabbit Society rescues rabbits plus is the major advocacy organization for rabbits in the world, so for this animal who is so exploited, and whom I feel so much personally, I am happy that we can do whatever we can for them.

**Dan:** I see myself as a knowledge worker who produces academic and lay accounts of animal protection ideas and facts.

**Ben:** (I am) a leader in thought and action, high level influencer through organizations.

**Lima:** Animal awareness campaigns, shaping public opinion on animal cruelty.

**Karyn:** I am a volunteer at a local animal shelter. I received a Graduate Certificate from Humane Society University in Animal Studies, August 2014. I am a member of the Humane Society, ASPCA and PETA. I see myself as an animal rights and animal welfare advocate. I achieve this by educating others and keeping up with the latest news and legislation on animal treatment.

**Missy:** I am a full-time staff member, (after volunteer work) currently in the role of annual campaigns for humane education manager. I have been with my current employer, a farmed animal welfare organization, since February 2017.

**Ben:** I see myself as a leader in thought and action, bringing both a strong passion for the issues and a relevant academic background to the work. I have a strong general knowledge of the issues, an unmatched historical knowledge of the work, and a broad and long practical experience. I have grassroots experience, but I don't see myself as a foot soldier at this stage of my life. I see myself as a high-level influencer through organizational networks and other channels of advocacy.

**Cer:** My current role in the animal welfare movement is as the California Campaign Manager for The Humane League. I am a full-time staffer and have been working in this capacity for the last eight months. Previously, I worked for two years as the Boston Grassroots Director for The Humane League. My current role is to ensure that the people of California could create the strongest animal

protection law on the planet this November 2018. My role is to inform them about the benefits of such a law and to encourage them to vote yes on these protections.

**Cer:** My overall role is to end the needless suffering of animals on factory farms.

**Jay:** The Humane Leagues involvement in the field of humane education for animal interests is to reduce animal suffering as much as possible.

**Ms. D:** State Director for National Animal Protection org; I work on community awareness of Public Policy and Legislation at State and Local Level.

**Reba:** (My role is) to address issues that are beyond the scope of local organizations. My position also allows opportunities to be the catalyst for coalitions and collaborative efforts.

**Dobin:** The agency I work for, HSUS, is involved in so many activities to benefit the interests of animals, including education and awareness, investigations, large scale rescues, legislative, regulatory and policy change, new ideas, and more.

Examples: including the creation of World Spay Day, and the conversion of traditional puppy stores to adoption centers.

**Matt:** In sum, here is my role-

- a. To be a strong shoulder for the current officers and staff of the SPCA who face animal cruelty cases on a regular basis and are exposed to seeing things that they never thought could exist.
- b. To help make some sort of spiritual sense of why a loving God would allow such abhorrent acts of inhumane treatment to these beautiful creatures with whom we share our planet.

- c. To provide the patrons of the SPCA with support when their beloved animal companion is ready or has already made their final transition to join Saint Francis. I do this by providing a funeral or memorial service equivalent to what we believe we are entitled to receive when our time on Mother Earth has come to an end. Be Praised, My Lord, through All Your Creatures, Both Great and Small.
- d. To fight from a spiritual perspective on behalf of all animals when dealing with local, state or federal elected officials. I have provided testimony at every level as it relates to various animal welfare issues. My favorite line to use comes from Saint Francis who is my patron Saint for obvious reason; “Not to hurt our humble brethren is our first duty to them. But to stop there is not enough; we have a higher mission- to be of service to them whenever they require it!” While I always loved animals, my direct involvement did not begin until I was hired by the New Jersey State SPCA. It really was a chance meeting. I attended the Super Pet Expo in Edison New Jersey where the SPCA had a booth. After speaking with them at length, they felt I would be a nice addition to the department and happened to be hiring at the time. Sometimes in life, God puts you in the right place at the right time.

The statement below truly represents all that the Monmouth County is and hopes to continue to be on behalf of all the animals within our jurisdiction and beyond.

The Monmouth County Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in 1945 to care for the community's homeless, neglected and abused animals. The MCSPCA is not affiliated with any other shelter or welfare organization.

Our Mission is to protect, care and advocate for all animals. We are dedicated to enforcing animal cruelty laws; providing a safe haven for homeless, abused and abandoned animals while they await adoption; reducing over-population through spay/neutering; and cultivating their humane treatment through education and advocacy services as a valuable community resource.

Our Vision is to be established firmly with our own unique identity throughout NJ and the animal welfare community as a leader in all things related to animals in Monmouth County and the people who care for them. We will be responsible for ensuring that all animal abuse is prosecuted and will increase our support of campaigning for the rights of animals in NJ. We will be a strong partner with other animal welfare organizations throughout the state in order to develop and share best practices, and to work together to make NJ a place where every animal is treated with respect, kindness and love.

**Charrie:** Now, I am Brooklyn Borough Presidents office as deputy strategist for healthy eating and nutrition side of plant-based eating (Nutrition and plant based eating).

**Lima:** A couple of roles. Currently, I am Outreach manager in Grassroots Outreach and Engagement Program for the District Leaders Volunteer program for HSUS for 4 years (staff). Strong partners with other animal welfare organizations. Making society a more humane society.

**Lima:** HSUS role is more animal protection and welfare. My goal is to empower folks across the nation to take local action in local community and state, federal to give animals a voice. Currently, working with army (Cleveland Armory).

**Cer:** As stewards of animals. Making progress in public awareness, letting people know issues. Raising public awareness, corporate outreach. Make society a humane society. Work with farmers (supply chain) and away from CAFO. Legislative action, enforcement.

**Matt:** Dedicated to enforcing animal cruelty laws.

**Ms. D:** The Humane Society provides direct care as well as contributing to help pass local, state and federal laws to protect animals. Humane Society also tries to shape public opinion on animal cruelty through awareness campaigns and investigations.

**Matt:** I am the Chaplain of the Monmouth County SPCA in Eatontown, NJ. when I was hired by the New Jersey State SCPCA as an animal cruelty agent. I officially retired as a Sergeant from the Monmouth County SPCA in December 2015 having completed approximately 2,000 animal cruelty investigations. Prior to my retirement as a cruelty officer, I obtained my interfaith ordination in August 2014 and was appointed as the Chaplain; first for just the law enforcement division, and then for the entire Monmouth County SPCA (March,2015) once my career in law enforcement ended.

**KK:** Providing a safe haven for the community's homeless, abused and abandoned animals awaiting adoption. Animal welfare w/ animal rights



motivation. We follow up on reports of homeless and shelter animals. We provide the care they need until a home is found.

**Brooke:** I am an attorney with the Animal Legal Defense Fund's Criminal Justice Program. I assist prosecutors and legislators throughout the country with enforcing and strengthening animal protection laws.

**Cer:** Our organization occupies a unique place in the movement because we are the only national organization focused primarily on advancing animals' interests through the legal system. Although we do work to affect change through society's perceptions of these issues, we are primarily focused on affecting legal change. The majority of people in our country recognize that animals are sentient beings and worthy of protections in and of themselves. Therefore, a great deal of our work is to progress the legal status of animals to be in line with the public's view of animal status.

**Theme Three:** *Advocates are strongly motivated by the awareness of suffering or a triggering event; they distinctly remember what the event was and when they became vegetarians. After doing so, their lives have significantly changed in positive or in profound ways*

**Jay:** (Involvement) is usually motivated by some event; When you talk to people about the subject, a given individual will usually have some type of event, that made them decide to be an animal activist. I had a girlfriend whose neighbor's dog was tied up all day outside and howled piteously all day. It was the first time I called animal services. It turned out that the people could not afford the dog or its care, and the dog was allergic to grass. That was a bad situation and I started

calling around and wanted to meet a leader in the animal movement. I wanted to meet people and I wanted to change things.

**Jay:** I was put in touch with Jane, a leader of our old group. She was already a vegetarian for 30 years. She was going to have a demonstration against fur in Atlanta and invited me to come. This was the beginning of the group.

**Ally:** At age 8 years old, became vegetarian with her mom because I rescued animals and was an animal lover.

**MDM:** What motivates me? I don't know, honestly. I never had that "aha" moment that a lot of people have when they become an activist. I just know that nothing makes me as passionate as animals and what happens to them.

**Karyn:** My love for my own pets is what motivates me to advocate for all animals. Unfortunately, I am also motivated by the news and videos showing just how awful we {as a society} treat all animals.

**Missy:** I strongly believe that every single person influenced or inspired to take action on behalf of animals is vital to our work. And in that sense, my responsibilities have the capacity to do just this on a scale that I would be incapable of reaching if acting alone. When I made this decision, likely the most important one I've made in my life thus far.

**Doc:** I also committed to finding a career that would enable me to focus on animal welfare full-time. I am motivated by the fact that my efforts can and do have a positive impact on the lives of animals and our planet.

**Ben:** Reading a book on animal welfare.

**Jay:** I read the book by Tom Regan.

**Ally:** At age 16, I read Singer's book.

**Dave:** I became vegetarian around 1998 after reading *Animal Liberation* by Peter Singer.

**Lima:** ...as a child from comparing pets to animals as food.

**Doc:** Was offended at eating animals." "I grew up around animals, on a farm, and I decided to be a vet at the age of 7. I'm motivated by my love for animals and people.

**Jay:** Compassion for wildlife.

**Jay:** ...for me, an event led to wildlife. I also wondered why wildlife was in such a mess in America and how did it get this way.

**Jay:** At age 8 years old, living in Atlanta suburbs, where are the wild animals that are supposed to be living here? It is a naïve child's question. When I was in Boy Scouts working on merit badges, there was a choice to get a nature badge or wildlife management. I went with nature.

**Karyn:** Initially, the motivation came from news and reports of abuse and neglect, I became involved when I started contributing to ASPCA and PETA. I started paying more attention to reports of animal abuse and neglect.

**Missy:** Aware of the plight of farmed animals, Repeated exposure to the plight of farmed animals led me to make dietary changes over the last 8 years, with a complete switch to a vegan diet in 2016.

**KK:** Too many animals dying in the local shelter.

**Cer:** Witnessing suffering of animals raised for food

**Cer:** What motivates me is the service to those who are helpless. Farmed animals are bred, raised, and killed, without any choice to do so. They are literally “live-stock”. I believe this is morally corrupt and needs to be stopped, just as murder, rape, assault, and theft need to be stopped. I do this for the altruism of the actions and to live in line with my values.

**Dobin:** Motivated by a need to reduce—hopefully end—animal suffering. It seemed to me that HSUS had/has big picture understanding and programs to address animal welfare issues in a meaningful and long-lasting way.

**Ben:** When I was a boy, I experienced several things that made me want to be a vegetarian. And I have been one since age eight. I always had an aesthetic revulsion to meat but only when I went to a conference in Baltimore in 1985 did I really connect with the animal movement, and buy some literature. I read one book, *Animal Factories*, by Jim Mason and Peter Singer, that got me thinking that if I was against such suffering, I needed to do more than be a vegetarianism and avoid cruelty of various kinds myself. I needed to join a movement that sought to persuade others.

**Matt:** I can't quite pinpoint what exactly motivates me. As you may imagine, some days are better than others. Sometimes, it's the right conversation. Other times, it's a new cruelty case, event, or issue. At this stage, though, if I had to attribute it to one thing in particular; it is Saint Francis. In order to “work” in animal welfare, you don't necessarily have to work all the time...

**Carrie:** I was volunteer with the Humane League. Suffering, female pigs, health care system. Suffering doesn't need to exist. We have enormous amounts of

suffering currently that is necessary, pigs in gestation crates does not need to exist. Health care system is more of a sick care system, needs to be prevention focused.

**Lima:** Age 4, connections between pigs and cats. As a child compared food to pets (pigs and cats). Asked her father about the connection with meat and animals, animals to pets. Didn't want to eat meat, parents were supportive eventually.

When I got to college, I really got involved in vegan and animal activism. Was a vegetarian in college, got more involved with HSUS, I tried to get meat free menu in school. Started internship. I was a member of HSUS since I was a kid; it was an outlet to channel my energy and connect with others. I went from vegetarian to vegan, I realized more about the dairy industry, farmers' and ranchers' treatment of animals.

**Jay:** I was not a vegetarian starting out. Jane and others in the group taught me about animal agriculture so I became vegetarian. Healthier diet, dating (woman did not want to be with a non-vegetarian), vegetarian. Difficult to have dinner with a vegan, because I still eat some fish. I save money at the grocery store. I'm 68 and do not take any prescription drugs. It's hard to get shoes.

**Ben:** That's fifty years of vegetarianism and/or veganism.

**Jay:** Being vegetarian or vegan, vegetarian diets improved health.

**Jay:** (My life has) changed a lot

**Ally:** I am empowered to be more active in the movement, stick up for animals....outspoken, emotional.

**Ally:** At first, I didn't admit I was vegan but after I got involved, I felt empowered.

**Doc:** I see how important the human animal bond is and I see how hurtful it is when that is broken. We will all lose pets, but I like for their time with their human to be as long and as happy as possible. My empathy gets deeper with more time in this field- it has a lot to do with seeing people on one of the worst days of their life and helping to comfort them. The feeling of making that transition as painless and carefree as it can be for the animal is rewarding and it makes me realize how much they trust us... these things reinforce my commitment to animals and our bond with them.

**Charrie:** Possessing deeper empathy, very rewarding.

**Missy:** Surrounded by likeminded people, feeling like I found my place in the world...Fulfilled, positive change.

**Doc:** Family, education, career? Without this commitment, I would not be as committed to continued education and keeping up with the best way to help them. Most of my life was dedicated to the education needed to be in this career. I'm 38 and only 12 of those years have I gotten to be a practicing veterinarian, the education took a long time, but it was worth it. We protect their health and therefore happiness / length of time on this earth.

**Doc:** My most effective tool is the ability to effectively communicate with owners about what is wrong with their pet and what we need to do to help them; empathy has also been very important - I have be able to communicate the medical part but

they also need to see that I care in order to trust me. I think it's a blessing to be effective with both of these things.

**Karyn:** I am aware of what I wear and eat, what I use to clean the home.

**Missy:** Every day has purpose.

**Cer:** I discovered changes in my value system.

**Matt:** I have personal growth from different roles, greater respect for all creation.

**Charrie:** More knowledge of animal welfare, educating others.

**RR:** My time occupied by social justice movements and animal rights movement.

**MDM:** Since I began working for animals, every facet of my life has changed.

The vast majority of my friends are all involved in this world, and almost everything that I do—except knitting, which is my main leisure activity—is directly involved with and around animals and animal issues. My career is 100% different, especially since I discovered the field of human-animal studies.

**Dave:** It has self-evidently affected my lifestyle to eat and buy vegan. It is part of a blossoming of a whole philosophy which has been shared but also is currently under development. Many of my family members are vegan or vegetarian

**Dan:** I then became active with Canadian Vegans for Animal Rights, among other concerns. Many of my best friends come from activism, which to me is no small thing. I have produced many peer-reviewed publications on animal welfare/rights and have delivered many public addresses and completed a doctorate on animal rights ethics. I have taught more than a dozen university courses on the topic.

**Karyn:** Over the years, I have become so much more aware of how animals are affected through everything that we as human beings do. What we eat, what we

wear, what we use to clean our homes, how animals are treated for the entertainment of humans. I had lived my life day to day not realizing how animals have suffered just for the simple things I use every day. My perspective now is that I can live without most of these things and I don't have to eat meat. I will survive, and I will live without certain things if animals are mistreated or killed inhumanely to make clothing or food or to provide entertainment. Even if animals are killed humanely to provide food, these are foods I can live without.

**Missy:** Working for an animal welfare organization is a continuous learning process. I am surrounded by like-minded individuals, giving me a feeling of having found my place in the world. In moving from the for-profit sector or non-profit, my perspective has changed in a very positive way. I value things that are far more important than material wealth, and now that I am no longer selling commercial products, I have a much smaller carbon footprint.

**Cer:** This role has positively changed my life. My life is infinitely better than it ever has been before. I live every day with purpose and determination. This role has changed my perspective about many things but most importantly, I have a positive outlook on the lives of others.

**Cer:** I believe that many people want to help make the world a better place but are often unknowledgeable, unmotivated, and uninformed about what is going on in the world and how to help. I have a lot more patience with citizens and understand the importance of connecting over shared experience prior to discussing the issues of the world and how to fix them.



**Reba:** I have a broader perspective on the issues facing animals and better understanding of the various roles that organizations and volunteers play, including Municipal v private, etc. The job has no “end” at this time, so my work hours are long and erratic. Could not have handled if I was still raising our daughter. This job requires a great deal of flexibility to respond to inquiries and events that were not expected.

**Ben:** Well, my experience with the animal movement has been pretty significant in my life. For one thing, I found what I consider my “tribe,” the people who are gifted enough to see that so many things are wrong and need to be changed for animals. I was lucky to receive support from my family and strong buy-in. And I decided to take a shot at becoming a professional in the field, twice, and of course, I focused my scholarship on animal issues, too. I have a Ph.D. as a result, and I have become an important interpreter of the movement’s history, its present, and its future, as a participant, an observer, a lecturer, and a scholar.

**Ben:** I am extremely proud of my organization and its achievements, historical and contemporary. I consider that we benefit from a strong founding vision and declaration of mission, and that we’ve had generally good leadership through the decades. We’re working on all issues, from a national perspective, with a full range of tools and approaches, and a strong core of dedicated advocates. People expect a lot from us, and that’s hard, because it’s hard to make the necessary investments in all of issues that public sentiment might wish to see.

**Matt:** My position and perspectives are exceptionally unique and different when compared to many who work in the animal welfare field. I was always surrounded

by true blue working-class people and as a result, I often speak to others and convey my messages regarding the inherent rights of animals and their welfare firmly, convincingly and directly; with little room for bullshit in between and just enough expletives to make my message functional. I worked this way when I was an animal cruelty officer and continue to do so working as the Chaplain. Too often I feel the animal welfare movement is seen from the outside as too soft, too elitist, too entitled, and too easily outraged.

**Matt:** Each role I have played as an Animal Welfare Advocate, first as an Animal Cruelty Officer, then as the Chaplain, has allowed for different changes and personal growths. An easy example of this change involves horse racing. I used to love going to the track and betting on the horses. My cousin and uncle were big players and talking about big horse races was good family time. After I became active in animal welfare, and I learned about the horrors associated with horses that aren't big time winners, I stopped going to the racetrack and stopped betting on horse races all together. I thought, just like so many others, that horses that don't race well enjoy many wonderful years of retirement out in some pasture. I was wrong... very wrong. Now, when the topic of horse racing comes up in conversation, I do my best to educate and inform others of what happens to horses that aren't in the Winner's Circle.

As I stated earlier, this is a very simplistic answer of one way in which I have evolved. Yet it yields a larger picture, for it shows how I have developed a greater respect for ALL of Creation. My role in Animal Welfare has opened my eyes to what little regard so many humans have for the beauty that exists

throughout the world and that one of my jobs while here on this planet is to try and fix it. Animal Welfare has allowed me to greater understand my role in the World as well as this Universe. It has allowed me to develop a true relationship with God through Saint Francis, one which developed while I was an Officer and came into full fruition when I became Ordained. My beliefs and positions, through my words as well as my actions, have directly impacted my immediate friends as well as my family; as I have seen them evolve and their positions change on a wide variety of issues. As Animal Welfare Advocates, we must lead by example, and others will be sure to follow. As Saint Francis said, “Always Preach the Gospel, And When Necessary, Use Words!”

**Dobin:** My knowledge of animal abuse has increased. I am moving toward becoming more aware of what /how I consume food, clothing, etc., and how I vote in elections.

Very rewarding, exhausting. I enjoy trying to educate others on animal responsibility.

**Charrie:** Opportunity with plant based and healthy eating. Single, so I do not have a family role. Time is occupied by this system and social justice movement. But I have a life like everyone else. Self-care needs to happen. Developing plant-based foods. Nutritional meals.

**Lima:** Also saw connections with others at HSUS. Realized how many people across the nation care about animals. Local ordinances, local action whereas before I was focused at federal level, I found ways to energize action at local and state levels. Getting people together to focus on legislative action.

**Brooke:** Our efforts to improve the law do in turn affect public perception and activism—by identifying and shining a light on some of the greatest injustices, we help educate the public in animal rights and welfare issues. Members of the public then adds their voices to demand enforcement of existing laws and to advocate for changes to the way our legal system treats animals.

**Theme Four:** *Animal rights activists take a hard, uncompromising line on animal rights. They disregard anything less; however, they will reluctantly accept incremental changes*

**Ally:** PETA is controversial. PETA is always uncompromising, that is their (her) view and stand. Uncompromising on animal rights. Though unpopular, overview positions always drive to end animal abuse worldwide.

**Jay:** I am a real animal rights person, hard line animal rights person, more than animal welfare.

**Ally:** PETA's theory: against all uses of animals. PETA Animals are entitled to life, total liberation for all animals. Food, entertainment, experimentation, clothing industries. Total liberation. Animal protection is basic and arguably superficial. Animal protection is most superficial, trophy hunting, conservation programs for zoos. Trophy hunters donate money but are killing thousands. Animal welfare is HSUS does, like saving companion animals but don't really push veganism, so don't really see the larger scope of all animals. They kind of save a handful of animals but don't really see the scope of it.

**Karyn:** Animal rights advocates believe that humans do not have the right to use animals for their own purposes, such as, food, clothing and entertainment

**Cer:** Animal rights is a legal framework to provide certain inalienable permissions for the animals on the grounds that these permissions are inherent to them. Animal rights generally implies that we have no right to use animals for our purposes. Animal rights: universal law given to all creatures (including humans) to safety, food, shelter, dignity.

**Cer:** I view “animal rights” is a philosophical recognition of animal sentience, which leads to the inescapable conclusion that animals have their own inalienable rights entirely distinct from whatever rights humans see fit to bestow.

**Lima:** Many believe that animals have an absolute right to not be consumed by humans in any sense of the word. Animal welfare efforts might therefore even be seen as counterproductive to animal rights, because it could encourage complacency with the status quo.

**Theme Five:** *For some, the terms are ambiguous, and the theory of animal rights is not popular. There is no absolute definition of animal rights. The animal rights, animal welfare and protection terms are ambiguous. Some advocates reject the idiom “animal rights”*

**Lima:** Personally, I am a little more on animal rights.

**Reba:** I see animal welfare as trying to give animals the best life possible but accepting their use for human needs.

**Karyn:** Advocates for animal welfare believe that humans do have the right to use animals but that they should be treated better while they are alive and killed humanely

**John:** Animal welfare is better than nothing. I believe that not everyone is equal. Regarding animal welfare, I think of happy meat, free range livestock still get taken to slaughterhouses and get killed just like the animals on CAFO. I am glad they get better treatment; it is better than nothing. Better still, we don't eat them. I have an herbivore parrot and two cats who are meat eaters (carnivores). It's a moral dilemma. I am open to suggestions.

**Ally:** The rights animals are entitled to is life and being able to live their life, without being caged. They deserve to not have that life taken away from them or their bodies used. It is complicated. It is okay for incremental changes. Goals are to change minds for change; immediate, small steps. and long term, push for total animal liberation. Long term: animal liberation. Immediate goals: protecting and treating animals better, getting better legislation for them. We believe the food industry can change, like making gestation crates larger. PETA would work to push for it to happen, but we don't congratulate them for doing that. We do work for incremental change, but we don't stop there.

**Doc:** I think humans are absolutely responsible for the welfare of animals. In my opinion people who don't feel this way likely have some pretty serious psychology issues. behind that. animal rights- I do feel like there is a hierarchy on earth amongst animals and humans, I don't think animals have the exact same rights as humans. But rather than this being a problem for animals it should be a good thing - when you feel responsible for the quality of life for a being that may have different rights, you should be dedicated to taking care of them and making sure they are happy.

**MDM:** see them (animal rights, welfare and protection) as all necessary. I'm not a person who thinks reform gets in the way of achieving rights; I think reform right now is critical as is rescue for those who need it right now; but I also know that people have to work on the longer, harder, systemic issues that cause animals to suffer and that's where animal rights work comes in.

**Dan:** I wrote an encyclopedia article for the Encyclopedia of Animal Rights and Animal Welfare, available at (removed due to confidentiality), which outlines 6 different senses of animal welfare. There is a right to welfare, arguably, so that is only one example. "Protection" seems to be an umbrella term to reference rightists and/or welfarists, who do not always identify together.

**Missy:** I believe that all animals want to live free of suffering. My organization is a good example of an organization that is commonly viewed by others as being an animal welfare organization because of our efforts to reduce suffering at factory farms. However, our ultimate goal is to end factory farming. All staff members are vegan, and we strongly advocate for compassionate, plant-based diets. We do not fight for more humane treatment of farmed animals because we believe that if relative reforms are put in place, then it is ok to slaughter animals for food – we fight for animal protection laws and policies because we know that the road to a vegan world is long and arduous.

**Karyn:** Animal welfare is the act of advocating for the improvement in conditions that animals are subjected to as a result of their use for humans in society.

**Karyn:** Animal welfare: overall wellbeing/health and physical) of all animals.

**Charrie:** Supportive of systematic approach to social change, but animals should have rights. Take what we can get, focus on what movement agrees on. (meatless Mondays is favorite campaign and private sector education. The health and hospital clinic at Belview is a campaign for nutrition. I believe animals should have rights just like anyone else, but we are not there yet. Animals should not suffer.

**Lima:** I love all three. I personally agree with rights, but there is a negative stigma (re: rights) from uninformed people or understand the value of animals, so I try to avoid it. I try to avoid the term, animal rights.

**Cer:** “Animal welfare” is the recognition that the suffering of animals who are used for human consumption (whether that be literal consumption as food, or more abstractly “consumption” for entertainment, companionship, research, etc.) should be minimized as possible while still meeting the “needs” of humans.

**Brooke:** However, I personally tend to frame “animal rights” much more broadly. I personally believe that animal welfare is a manifestation of animal rights, because the foundational principle of animal welfare is an acknowledgement that animals are capable of suffering, and that therefore animals have some *right* to have their suffering minimized. I personally support incremental, animal welfare-oriented approaches, because I believe in the minimization of animal suffering wherever possible, *and* because I believe such measures will ultimately further the cause for animal rights.

**Charrie:** Consensus is animal welfare with animal rights goal, animal welfare as the next big social justice movement as in women’s and LGBTQ movement.



Empower the public nationwide to take local action in local, state and federal levels.

**MDM:** In terms of theory, there's not one theory of animal rights!

**Dave:** It is superficial always to try to separate rights and welfare.

**Chris:** Animal protection includes both animal rights and animal welfare advocates. Advocates of animal protection believe that animals deserve some moral consideration. I lean more towards animal rights. Animals are sentient beings. Animal use and animal abuse are the same thing to me.

**Reba:** Animal protection is the field of protecting individual animals from certain actions whether those actions are legal or illegal. I view the theory of animal rights to be a fallacy just as all rights are a fallacy. I believe that rights (Right to privacy, right to free speech) are nothing more than a socially accepted, agreed collection of privileges which have no standing in logic. Rights are an idea and not something tangible, but our society believes in these ideas and are respected, honored, and coveted in the United States of America. This is not to say that respect for privacy and autonomy should not be granted but I find the idea of rights themselves to be a misguided attempt, a successful attempt (would be) to create a basic moral understanding for society to act on.

**Reba:** Definitions are fluid and may be interpreted differently by different advocates.

**Reba:** Animal protection is a term that can cover welfare and rights but can also be used by environmentalists who want to preserve species for our own benefit (healthy ecosystem).

**Charrie:** Lots of disagreement within the field, but we all agree on animals should not suffer.

**Ben:** Most of the time, I don't believe that there is a great difference between the concepts. If we look at an issue like fur, for example, we have pretty broad agreement that it is cruel and not necessary, and that good people shouldn't wear it or have anything to do with it. Moreover, because we live in a pluralist society, where change is incremental, there is not much radical change being advanced in normal channels. So, the agenda is pretty well agreed upon if you look at legislation, policy, etc.

Taken to their logical end, animal rights would pose the most dramatic challenge to contemporary practices. I have, in my past, articulated in many forums the principles and ideas behind animal rights, but I generally feel that it is not a workable term or concept, and that we do better when we speak of protection, or welfare. That doesn't stop most people from calling the movement the "animal rights movement," of course. I am interested in the notions of Bio-politics and Zoopolis, which challenge us to think about ways in which society can and should incorporate animals' interests to the greatest possible degree.

**Matt:** In Genesis 1:26, God gave humankind "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth." I often wonder if we, human beings, have lived up to God's expectations. Does having dominion mean we are to have an absolute disregard for these animal's welfare, rights, and protections? Or is it supposed to mean that since God saw what he had

created as being “good”, that we are also to respect the goodness each individual creation inherently possesses and treat it with the same kindness, dignity, and respect we are expected to extend to one another?

To me, “dominion” is not meant to be domination, but instead a stewardship over all Creation. That means, that the welfare of the animals of the planet is our God given responsibility and that each living creature is entitled to be protected from neglect, harm and abuse. By doing this, we ultimately extend rights to all creatures, both great and small. So, while all three may be very different issues, one cannot and will not exist without the other two factors.

**Dobin:** Not sure what you mean by the “theory of animal rights”.

**Cer:** I think animal protection is a manmade law derived to ensure that animal rights and welfare are maintained and adhered to.

**KK:** We are busy rescuing many and we are in the process of working on animal rights to be a better voice to protect them.

**Lima:** Animal protection I love, and that is HSUS, to be good stewards of animals. Not sure of the difference between animal protection and welfare, but I love them both.

**Brooke:** “Animal protection” is a broad term that is generally not afforded the same level of attention or discussion as “animal rights” or “animal welfare.” My understanding is that “animal protection” and “animal protection laws” can exist for reasons that have nothing to do with the animal himself/herself. For example, the Endangered Species Act is an animal protection law, but it is primarily motivated by a desire to preserve an entire species, rather than minimizing the

suffering of an individual animal. Likewise, laws criminalizing harming or killing an animal belonging to another person are animal protection laws, but they are primarily motivated by concerns over property rights rather than animal welfare.

**Dan:** I understand that many people view “animal welfare” as something distinct, even mutually exclusive from, “animal rights.”

**MDM:** There are disagreements in the field over the concept and practice of animal rights.

**Theme Six:** *The animal movement has considerable impact on public policy due to grass roots community movement. But more advantageous, humane education generates a deeper understanding of animal welfare and powerful consumer partners*

**Jay:** The animal movement is a grass roots movement, coming up from beneath

**Ally:** Public policy changes through community awareness.

**Charrie:** Rescue brings about community awareness (adoption events).

...public awareness of suffering, public information raises all of society and environment, promotion of animal welfare, empowering and engaging.

**Ally:** Public policy, awareness, community awareness, changes in clothing industry, humane education (ex. Campuses), corporate policy changes for clothes, PETA uses media. All of it has affected public policy through community awareness.

Why doesn't HSUS publicize suffering. PETA does through billboards, etc. media as advertisement (demonstrations catch attention). Fashion week gets attention when PETA demonstrates against fur. Animal suffering commercials are hard to watch. Leaflets, etc. Social media.

**Karyn:** Community awareness is stronger than it has ever been with the help of social media. Facebook, twitter and Instagram are always showing videos about inhumane treatment as it is being uncovered all over of the world. Many people are not and have not been aware of the treatment of animals. The community is discovering how farms, shelters, pet stores, etc. are abusing domestic and nondomestic animals on a daily basis. Before social media came of age, people just carried on with their everyday lives, unaware of how the animals they are eating, watching for entertainment, and buying are suffering. Many women now aware of how animals suffer for the beauty products that they use.

**KK:** Rescue does bring community involvement; it takes an army.

**Jay:** Education is the key, more legislative action by educating decision makers. Lack of interest in education is a big obstacle.

**Cer:** The resolution would be “Education, grass roots”. The biggest obstacle if the lack of education for people who are around animals and who care for them.

**Lima:** Education is key to informing of proper care, more work in legislation is needed locally.

**Jay:** Educating decision makers, public awareness of suffering, public information, not enforcement, just bringing it to light. People don’t know about it...echo chamber metaphor within agencies. They don’t know what is done to pigs and chickens. Trying to educate our decision makers and let them come to decisions.

**Ally:** Consumers can vote with their dollars, can impact the demand for better-sourced food, mobilizes the public to participate against harmful anti-animal laws.

A lot of companies banned fur; things are definitely changing. Pressure on corporations, pressure on clothing industries, community pressure. Public pressure creates change, affects public policy through education (not legislation).

**Missy:** Once you have public pressure, things start changing for companies.

The same is true for corporate policy reform; we've seen a lot of commitments by companies to do more and better in support of animal welfare through their corporate social responsibility programs. Some of the commitments affect the lives of billions of animals.

**Dobin:** I think it is/can be very effective. They incorporate strategies on a corporate level to exact change

**Dobin:** Working with corporations, local communities, governments/...passing animal friendly legislation. Statistics concerning laws passed show progress, but some uses of animals get political support.

**Lima:** I think where groups like HSUS and other groups that work on legislation and corporate policy have succeeded is not only changing the public's attitudes towards animals, but in achieving concrete victories at the polls, in corporate policies, and in consumer's spending. I would like to see even more of this but am excited that so much of it is happening now.

**Ally:** I feel that the animal welfare and rights movement is directly affecting public policy as we are continuously working to upgrade animal protection laws all across the United States and around the world. We are continuously working with corporations, governments, and local communities to encourage them to help

create a world that is better for animals. We have the ability to create a better world for animals and plan to do so.

**Reba:** In recent years, much policy has been affected by the passage of animal friendly legislation. One example in Georgia includes State preparation and response for animals in emergencies; a policy enacted after HSUS led the passage of the PETS act. Obstacle... Officials and citizens who are afraid of change. Same as above; many fear changes. Especially rural lawmakers.

**Ben:** During the last few years, we've seen a phenomenal investment of resources, energy, and time in public policy work. The statistics concerning laws passed, etc., show a great amount of progress, and the issue has legitimacy in many legislatures around the country. During the period 2005 to 2017, animal organizations have helped to pass more than 1,500 animal protection laws and ordinances at the state and local levels, on animal fighting and cruelty, companion animals, equine issues, farm animal welfare, puppy mills, wildlife and other topics.

Because some uses of animals have substantial social sanction, or political support, it's simply harder to secure meaningful advances against their cruelties. This is why we have a harder time with regard to factory farming or consumptive practices like hunting, I believe.

**Brooke:** I can really only speak to the legislation aspect of this question, because that is an area that I focus on. I oversee our annual Rankings Report, and therefore have a birds-eye-view to the various trends in animal protection legislation. There has been tremendous improvement in the strengths of animal protection laws

since ALDF began tracking state laws in 2006. These improvements are due in no small part to the tireless advocacy of those in the animal rights/welfare movement. The movement is also responsible for a number of innovations in animal protection laws, like for example Courtroom Animal Advocate Programs, like that which was established in Connecticut under Desmond's Law...as a constituent, for legislation...partisanship and kowtowing to corporate interests.

**Ben:** We have registered some victories in the realm of public awareness, also. I think that the public has a deeper understanding of animal welfare, its connection to key issues of human interest, like violence, health, and environment, for example.

**Matt:** Religion can work in our favor as we have seen, for there is a basic moral position about the importance of animals and their good treatment, and it's evident in many religious traditions.

**Ben:** More people today are aware of the plight of animals both at home and abroad than ever before. This has been effectively accomplished through the continued efforts of animal advocates daily; maybe even hourly... and it is because of the wide range of political alliances (Republicans, Democrats, Independents, etc.) that we have achieved, and will continue to achieve, so much success.

**Lima:** Raises all of society, environment, for example, Pets for Life program, helps people. Add promotion of animal welfare, state affairs and goals, helped people. Empower engage and mobilize. Ohio bill passed to regulate puppy mill industry. Society norms not changing fast enough. Society normalizing humane



measures., not knowing about the cruelty of puppy mills. People don't know enough. Should be non-partisan, should not be controversial. Hierarchy of needs (humane is more expensive) cock fighting is cultural. Animal issues should not be controversial, especially welfare. The farm bill was a campaign; representatives of territories (Puerto Rico, etc.) were against farm changes due to culture issues. Some people may not be concerned about animal issues due to the prioritizing their own needs, getting costs down for humane products, especially in underserved communities (vet care, more humane meat). Finally, in cases involving "nuisance" animals it can be extremely difficult to convince law enforcement or prosecutors to pursue cases of animal cruelty because such animals are simply not regarded as "worthy" of protection as companion animals.

**Theme Seven:** *Advocates are specific when asked how conflicts can be resolved, what is needed to continue change. Resolutions include humane education, diversity, better legislation, more representation and money*

**Jay:** Legislative partisanship.

**Jay:** Trump Administration.

**Missy:** Economy, partisan politics.

**Cer:** Not allowing public to vote on animal issues (because the vote would be in favor of animals).

**Lima:** Rural lawmakers.

**Ben:** Most republican legislators are protective of the consumptive paradigm management. Many republicans sympathetic or allied with confinement agriculture.

Regulation can be an issue, reporting, accountability, transparency.

**Jay:** Trend toward deregulation and consumer choice,

Jay: Politicians are not leaders; they are followers. The people have to make the politicians do what they want.

**MDM:** The biggest obstacle to change in legislation is the economy.

**Jay:** Legislation is a concern: “Donald Trump answered that eloquently”. “Think about Trump...his fundamental bad character as a person. He’s a bad man at the base of him. Narcissism. He’s been a con man all his life. I think the Mueller investigation will show that he is Putin’s asset. Trump is the head of a crime family. He would like to be a dictator for life. I talk to challengers and incumbents, compare them regarding animal rights votes.

Younger people don’t know how hard it is. Walmart is a dealer of death, and only mildly responded to gun control. Delta was going to stop giving discounts for NRA members. The grassroots people have to drag the politicians to do what they want; it’s hard because the politicians are bought and paid for by those who exploit animals. Not all, some don’t understand. It is participatory democracy to get in there and start changing things. It is gratifying to just grab the reigns to persuade individuals, groups, talk to legislators. You have to give yourself permission to do poorly at first. Learn as you go. Everyone has something to offer the movement, their special stuff they can contribute for animals. It feels good and is rewarding over time but can be frustrating over short periods.

**Dave:** Insufficient impact. I believe abolishing factory farming is a winnable goal though. Some bits of factory farming are restricted in some jurisdictions. But animal rights are largely excluded from public law and policy.

**Matt:** The animal welfare movement transcends political policy affiliations. Traditionally, Democrats have and are more embracing of animal welfare issues, but some Republicans support crucial animal welfare.

To a great extent, we benefit from bipartisan support for the general cause of animals' protection. That distinguishes animal issues from a number of other issues currently in the public eye. There are some fault lines (many Republican legislators are protective of the consumptive paradigm in wildlife management, and allied with the NRA against animal welfare positions, and many of them are also sympathetic to or allied with intensive confinement agriculture). However, on a range of other issues, it's just as likely to find Republican as it is to find Democratic officials in support.

**Jay:** Biggest conflicts: bad guys with power, corporate money and power.

**Cer:** Animal industry is spending millions to combat legislation. Big business in bed with politicians, money talks. (The animal) industry failing to protect animals.

**Missy:** Big opponents, interest groups, that are well resourced, ready to invest,

**Missy:** Animal use industries mobilize around a general opposition to regulatory, finding support in congress.

**Jay:** NRA against animal welfare positions.

**Matt:** Anti-animal legislation sets back the movement; follow the money.

**Dan:** Regardless of what culture, religious arguments they make, the true motive is money.

**Lima:** Money

**Reba:** Rise of corporations using animals. Companies holding profit above compassion...animal industry.

**Dobin:** Economy

**Jay:** Good people are naïve about power; they don't want power; they think it is unseemly. Good people need to take power. Biggest conflicts: "The bad guys, power,

**Cer:** Animal agriculture industry against legislation.

**Doc:** I think it's (animal rights movement and policy) all very important but it's often in the hands of the wrong people rather than the ones who would make the best decisions.

Anti-animal welfare legislation can set the movement back decades.

**Matt:** And the reasons behind its formation is very clear- follow the money! Legislators can make whatever cultural or religious argument they wish, but the true motive behind this agenda is simple dollars and cents. Not so much whom will be most affected by humane farming standards or elimination of puppy mills, but how will it impact the financial bottom line. Whenever someone gives me the religious reasoning and position behind legislation that will negatively affect my animal brothers and sisters, I refer them to the book "Black Beauty". One of my favorite lines in the book is as follows: "There is no religion without love, and people may talk as much as they like about their religion, but if it does not teach

them to be good and kind to man and beast, it is all a sham,- all a sham, James; and it won't stand when things come to be turned inside out and put down for what they are.

**Ally:** Yet, if anyone wants to understand the human resistance to advancements in the animal welfare world, they just need to simply follow the money. Factory farming generates millions, if not billions of dollars annually. It has been reported that the farm bill currently before the U.S. Congress, will be more advantageous to the factory farming industry than to small, local, humane farmers. A change in their current system of farming, while in livestock's best interest, will ultimately impact their bottom line. The same can be said for the puppy mill industry.

Monies are generated off the backs of our "best friends" and as long as there is profits to be made, those who work in this industry could care less about the impact their business has on the welfare and wellbeing of the animals under their care. Puppy Millers and their political allies may hide behind the line of consumer freedom of choice and how they are just providing a product the American People want and need. But the truth is, it's all about money, always has been, always will be! Fighting individuals and corporations who support these two industries will always be our biggest challenge.

**Cer:** The only concern for legislation is the animal agriculture industry itself. They are the only thing stopping animals from the immense cruelty that is done to them. When people are allowed to vote on issues that protect animals, they overwhelmingly vote in favor of the animals. Animal agriculture is willing to spend millions of dollars to combat common sense legislation to protect animals.

**Missy:** One of the biggest conflicts, as I mentioned, is with the animal agriculture industry themselves.

**Brooke:** Other than outright opposition, the biggest obstacle is indifference. I commonly encounter people who feel that focusing on animal issues inappropriately ignores the many issues concerning human suffering, and people who simply believe that animals are lesser and therefore underserving of certain protections. This is particularly problematic when it comes to enforcement of animal cruelty laws.

**Lima:** Naturally, we've got some big opponents too, interest groups, and so on, and they are always pretty well-resourced and ready to invest in the creation of obstacles to our progress.

**Karyn:** Obviously animal agricultural industry is a major obstacle for any legislative improvements to animal protection laws.

**Charrie:** Money, not enough money into investments for clean meat.

**KK:** Southern culture, lack of education and care of animals in the south.

**KK:** Culture; i.e. cock fighting is cultural, so is dog fighting.

**MDM:** Lack of public awareness.

**Reba:** Biggest obstacle is breaking down societal norms. Changing people's views on things. When people eat meat, they don't see an animal's body. Unless we change that, we will not have legislative change. Economically, people are not buying ethically produced food.

**Charrie:** Fear of change is a big part, especially regarding meat substitute

**Karyn:** Apathy, trivializing animals; people don't have enough information

**Doc:** Animals regarded as property.

**Karyn:** Animals as property, belief that animals are ours to use.

**Charrie:** (Lack of) access to veg-friendly options for low income communities, government food subsidization.

**Jay:** Sometimes it feels like nothing is happening.

**Jay:** DNR grows deer for hunters; they alter the habitats of the vegetation to support dense deer populations, and the deer reproduce and breed. The hunting regs makes the deer populations expand. The deer overflow from the areas and get killed or are nuisances. Thousands of deer hit by vehicles every year. They are hostile to natural predators that affect the deer populations, so the GA Coyote contest beginning March 1. Coyote families (mistakenly called packs) have alpha males (the hunters) for the purpose of starving the cubs. It is a bounty contest. DNR does not care for any wildlife protection. Their political constituency are the hunters and trappers who buy license. The Pittman law helps the state DNR supporters to make the money from the license. These are the ones making the decisions and policy regarding wildlife since 1930s.

**Jay:** Education, Representation, humane legislation, strong legislators.

**Dobin:** Diversity within the movement.

**Reba:** Legislation monitoring breeders (puppy mills, backyard breeders),  
Protesting.

**Lima:** Innovation, further development of social impact campaigns, focus on shared mission.

**Ally:** Addressing challenges, coordinated efforts of creating legislation on the local, state and federal levels.

**Ben:** Compromise! patience, persistence. Don't know if there is a resolution creating larger movements for better voice and support.

**Brooke:** Animal rights is excluded from public law and policy.

**Matt:** Religion can either work for animal welfare (a basic moral position.)

Karyn: Social media to educate and connect

**Brooke:** Regulation is sometimes an issue, because our policy work frequently calls for enhanced or active enforcement, reporting, accountability, transparency, etc., and many animal use industries mobilize around a general opposition to regulatory activities and find support for that position in the Congress and elsewhere.

**Matt:** Unlike so many other social initiatives, the animal welfare movement often transcends political party affiliations. While traditionally Democrats have been more embracing of the issues near and dear to the hearts of animal protection advocates, I have seen many Republicans provide necessary support to insure passage of crucial animal welfare legislation; particularly in New Jersey.

Monmouth County, where I both work and live, is a Republican stronghold (even though I am a registered Democrat). Yet, the Monmouth County Board of Freeholders, of which every member is a Republican, passed a Resolution in 2016 aimed at pet stores who source their animals from Puppy Mills; stating that all cats and dogs in pet stores must come from shelters or rescue groups. Another example is our Congressman, Chris Smith. Smith is a Republican with a 91%



voting record with HSUS on animal related issues in the House of Representatives. He is also a member of the Congressional Animal Protection Caucus.

**Matt:** The biggest obstacles I have and continue to experience in my role as Chaplain is getting staff, officers, and patrons to utilize my counseling services. Too often, people choose to bury their pain, grief, and anguish when it relates to acts of animal cruelty or the loss of their pet. As a result, they let all their associated frustrations build up inside and never address the emotional weights they are now forced to carry on their shoulders.

*Theme Eight: The advocates defined success as the movement expanding and the decline of several animal use practices; advancing the awareness of the cruelty of animal use industry and historic policy change through unprecedented legal reforms and soring public awareness and making progress in policy via legislation and consumer pressure.*

**Jay:** Grass roots participation. Animal rights movement is grass roots and that is what is going to persuade politicians.

**Jay:** Animal friendly legislators.

**Ally:** Ok for incremental changes for now in longer reaching goal; immediate goal is to protect and defend animals.

**MDM:** Human-animal studies programs in colleges.

**Missy:** Offer a case for animal rights that will be taken seriously and to change lives for the better.

**Cer:** Combatting large scale cruelties, a humane world has a specific goal of reducing animal suffering.

**Lima:** Create a more humane society, end intense confinement of farm animals, end puppy mills, dog meat, fur, testing, horse slaughter and soring, trophy hunting, global anti-cruelty, end of factory farming.

**KK:** Protection and change for all animals, be part of the change, take as many animals as they can from the shelter to provide them with homes.

**Charrie:** Awareness of plant-based nutrition...

**Ben:** Empower, engage and mobilize, facilitate meetings with corporations, work with companies, farms.

**Ally:** End abusive practices in entertainment, wild animal performances, state affairs lobby.

**Karyn:** We need to change our language when we speak about animals. We need to say, “animals who” instead of “animals which”. It is also another thing to eat “it” instead of eating “him,” or “her.”

**Brooke:** By upgrading the language, advocates encourage the public to see the harm in contusing to define animals as “property.” Until the law protects the interest of animals, the animal rights movement will by definition will be something that is considered radical.

**Ally:** Campaign against for-profit business that exploits animals. More public awareness.

**Brooke:** Move to mainstream, our visions and values are ascending.

**Ben:** Biocentrism; acceptance of animals as our brothers and sisters. A society that respects all sentient beings, no more selective compassion.

**Jay:** Putting animal use in the past, no uniform global future for now. The future of animal rights hashed out in legal system and corporations.

**Ben:** But morally, the animal rights movement has to be radical. WE must work to establish a way of living that will allow animals of the world to “fare well” with humans. Many more will openly care about animals when they feel it is “socially safe.”

**KK:** Better local laws, humane education.

**Jay:** Reaching every legislator, “block” votes, advise constituents of those against us.

Hoping to pass legislation that eliminates some of the cruelest practices in the state.

**Reba:** Passage of the SAFE Act (horse slaughter).

**Karyn:** Finding alternatives for food without using animals, but since animals are property, they will never have rights. We need to change language when we speak about animals. I expect to see more vegan products. Welfare for the animals used as food, wildlife... more progressive in local area.

**Dan:** The exponential and continuous growth of animal welfare/rights organizations. Growing movement.

**Ally:** The expansion of the public’s hearts and minds and exposure of the hidden truths of commercial industries (farming, fishing, animal testing).

**Dobin:** There has to be an increase in regulation; more legal protections to reduce animal cruelty.

**Karyn:** The link between animal cruelty, to animals and interpersonal violence advancement on behalf of humane treatment.

**Lima:** End factory farming. Transferring former lab animals. Ending puppy mills.

**Lima:** Ending the dog meat trade in South Korea. Banning the sale of cats and dogs in pet stores (also local ordinances). Meatless Mondays in schools.

**Reba:** Every state has its priorities. For example, agricultural states will concentrate on factory farming, and states like Ohio and Missouri have too many puppy mills, so the focus is different there.

**Ben:** Yet, we must be certain to remember, evolution is a slow process, anything worth fighting for takes time, and in politics, the name of the game is compromise. Keeping this in mind, the changes we seek will not take place overnight. But just like in “The Shawshank Redemption”, if we pick at the wall slowly, eventually there will be a big enough hole

**Ben:** Furthermore, we will continue to see these changes in the “red” states as well, as more and more of “my people” leave “blue” in pursuit of lower taxes and re-locate to “red” jurisdictions. People like me will take our humane ideals with us and politicians will have no choice but to address our concerns if they wish to remain in office.

**MDM:** Humane education will eventually become part of the curriculum in schools and colleges. Students will no longer be using live animals for experiments.

**Cer:** Corporations will lose money unless they find an alternative for using animals as a money-making process. Businesses that use animals for experiments for beauty products, medication and retail will lose money unless they find alternatives for testing.

**Jay:** Legislation will change, and we will be voting for representatives that care enough to acknowledge the importance of passing laws that protect animals. It will be difficult because major business corporations and pharmaceutical companies have strong ties to making sure that legislation is in their favor.

**Cer:** If our movement did not take action, animal abuse would continue and likely worsen with absolutely no opposition. Corporations big or small do not volunteer improvements to their policies because they would mean a decrease in profit. But when animal rights activists raise awareness on these important topics and expose abuse, it inspires consumers to vote with their dollars and impact the demand for and production of better-sourced foods and products; and it mobilizes the public to participate in fighting against harmful, anti-animal laws.

**Jay:** Replacement of animal legislation, abolition of hunting, trapping, game management. I hope to kick all the 14 guys that voted the wrong way on that bill today (GA State house) I would like their seats to be occupied by animal friendly folks.

**Jay:** Abolition of hunting and trapping and game management, the production of the target animals that are hunted. Successes? Today's vote...fur industry...hunting declining. Not quite dead, but damn near dead. (I see) more biocentrism, broadening of subject in the public mind. Acceptance of animals as

more our brothers and sisters. More like us than not like us... Eric Fromm wrote "The Heart of Man". People in love with life (organic, growing) vs. those in love with order.

**Jay:** (My goal) is to reach 180 state reps, and 56 senators. Are coming up for re-election. State House has more control than the Federal. midterm elections, "block" votes. If their heart is in the right place, they can learn.

**Ally:** I see eventually more staff...crazy animal people, more inclusion, reaching out, behind scenes. Reach out to more people, we don't always advertise. Almost 600 staffers and we get a lot done that we don't really talk about. I like speaking to people every day.

**Ally:** (I would like) to see the struggle in the past as ridiculous. Wondering how we ever endured such cruelty. We would like to think of that as the past. In the future? I expect to see the end of seal slaughter, SeaWorld, PetSmart selling animals, coyotes, Canada Goose, so many pending campaigns going on at once. PetSmart expose, seal slaughter commercial; this past winter, we put a lot of pressure on Canada Goose abuse. Link on our website about all of our campaigns.

**MDM:** Just speaking for ASI, my goals are that human-animal studies courses and programs are as common as women's studies in colleges, and that they impact the real world understanding of animals in much the same way. Of course, we all know that women's issues still have a bizarrely long ways to go, but I still feel that the scholarly efforts behind the activist movement are critical. This is a big question!

**MDM:** For me personally, it's writing and teaching. Back when I was young, and did a bit of street protests and leafleting, it was terrible. I was not good at it and was very unsuccessful. For me, writing and teaching is what I am good at and where I think I can make an impact. I hope to offer a case for animal rights that will be taken seriously and change many lives, human and other, for the better.

**MDM:** I can't speak for the broader movement since I am involved in a peripheral way. But I will say that I think the future lies in not just legislation, but in helping companies to bring out more products that don't use animals; as those products become cheaper, better, and more easily available, more people will buy them, and fewer animals will be killed.

**Dobin:** The Humane Society seeks a humane world for animals in the United States and countries all over the world by combating large scale cruelties such as puppy mills, animal fighting, factory farming, seal slaughter, horse cruelty, captive hunts and the wildlife trade.

**Karyn:** My wish list includes a National Animal Abuse Registry so that animal abusers who are on the list in one state, cannot travel to another state and own an animal. I wish for a society that is humane in their thinking and practices. If we can't stop people from using animals for their own purposes, can we at least teach these people to respect that animals have feelings too and for their short time on this earth, can we cause no harm to them?

**Cer:** I see continuous and exponential growth of animal welfare/rights organizations the expansion of the public's hearts and minds and they are exposed to the hidden truths of various commercial industries such as factory farming,

commercial fishing, and animal testing. While unable to disclose future campaigns, but current ones include a campaign against McDonald's – calling for the elimination of the worst abuses to chickens raised for meat; and a ban on drift net.

**Missy:** An end to factory farming and everyone adopting vegan lifestyles!

**Cer:** I hope to assist the amazing team of dedicated people working to end the suffering of animals on factory farms. My personal goal is to 10x my output at reducing the suffering of farmed animals every 1.5 years. My immediate goal is to secure a yes vote for animals in California on November 6th with Prevent Cruelty CA.

**Missy:** I see the future of animal rights being hashed out through the legal system and by corporations. As new products, vegan products, come out onto the market, the demand for animal products will be reduced as people learn about the cruelty associated with those products. As people have more opportunities to vote on measures that help animals, we will have more legal protections to reduce animal cruelty. Lastly, as clean meat comes onto the market, it will satisfy the demand for animal products without any extreme animal cruelty. We are just at the tipping point for this and I expect a large amount of positive change to occur in the near future.

**Cer:** Our current campaigns for The Humane League include our campaign against McDonald. You can learn more at [imnotlovinit.com](http://imnotlovinit.com). We are asking them to adopt a meaningful animal welfare policy for their chickens used for meat. We are also a part of a coalition of groups working to upgrade California's Animal



Protection laws regarding the extreme confinement of egg laying hens, veal calves, and mother pigs.

**Cer:** On my wishlist is for clean meat, meat grown in a lab without the animals, to be

introduced into the market without any issues so animals aren't tortured for meat.

**Cer:** People want meat, but not the suffering. That is the infinite struggle with consumers.

**Cer:** Another wish is for our laws to continuously be upgraded to reflect the will of the people who overwhelmingly wish to protect animals.

**Charrie:** Create a more Humane Society that benefits Animals and Humans.

**Reba:** A society that respects all sentient beings. No more selective compassion. I do not know how long this will take. Can't reveal all but expect to have to defend against a for profit business that exploits animals, again. Hope to pass legislation that eliminates some of the cruelest practices in GA. Change of heart by people who see animals as possessions, not living beings.

**Ben:** Although we work on a full range of issues, we're focused on a few big concerns as part of concentrating our work for impact. The main issues include intensive confinement of farm animals, puppy mills, dog meat, fur, cosmetics testing, primate use in research, horse slaughter, horse soring, and trophy hunting. It would be good to focus on other things, and we're reaching out across our borders, for example, to expand the global anti-cruelty framework. That's going to be a longer timeline. Personally, I'd like to see the end of factory farming by 2050; I think it's realistic. I believe that climate change will modify our

understanding and approach to many issues, also. Well, I think the changes we've seen and continue to see with regard to factory farming and cosmetics testing provide rather good examples of success. These areas have been the subject of significant public policy work and that policy work has driven or reinforced corporate reform efforts as well.

We've achieved dramatic changes in production, in consumption, in procedures, all of that, as a result of the policy pressure and policy shift. I suppose that communication with the broader public and with other stakeholders has been the most important of tools. Without a good communications strategy and the language that gets across our beliefs and ideas, we'd not be very far along.

But I think that the most successful strategies have also been multi-pronged, including litigation, lobbying, education, communication, technical analysis, and social marketing. Together, these elements of work function like the fingers on the hand, and sometimes, like the fist!

**Ben:** We are in the middle of several big moves on the factory farming front. A ballot initiative in California is the most important. We're trying to become smarter about strategic planning and in the future, I expect we might narrow our focus as part of making sure we can concentrate the resources we need to stay effective. We're also involved in bringing pressure on the poultry industry to institute major welfare reforms. We are pushing hard for funds to support the transfer of former laboratory animals – chimpanzees – to sanctuary. We are trying to cripple the puppy mill industry through a variety of measures and initiatives.

We're working to stop dog meat trade in South Korea by closing dog farms that supply the trade, and to discourage dog meat consumption in other Asian nations.

**Matt:** The Monmouth County SPCA is the premier animal welfare agency in New Jersey. I am not just saying that because of my position as their Chaplain, but because of their continued commitment to the above statement. In addition to animal adoptions, we operate a full-service veterinary clinic, a pet food pantry, a thrift store, animal control, humane education, TNR services, and of course, most important- a Chaplain of all Denominations to provide funeral/memorial services for animals and their people, bereavement counseling, and compassion fatigue support for all the staff; particularly for the animal cruelty officers. To my knowledge, I am the first Chaplain serving an animal welfare agency with no additional religious/spiritual affiliations and responsibilities; and no other assignment within the shelter. Plainly speaking, the SPCA is my church, the SPCA is my temple. My hope is that more animal welfare agencies look to provide the services that I offer for the animals and staff of Monmouth County SPCA. In addition, I wish that I were busier.

For the movement to continue to succeed, it must be certain to align itself with those who will suffer the most from any potential displacement. This will stifle the opposition's arguments. Take for example the dog meat farms in Asia. While you and I might find eating dogs to be horrific, and I am by no means advocating on their behalf; how do you convince someone who has been in this business, possibly for generations, to give up his only means of earning a living because we deem raising dogs for meat to be socially and morally unacceptable?

If we wish to continue to change and affect public policy, we must be willing to go beyond our comfort zone and assist people in positions like the one I just referenced, to find new viable economic opportunities so they can continue to provide for themselves and their children. After all, this is the goal of All Animals. As I stated earlier, I have had two distinct, different positions with the Monmouth County SPCA. Yet, despite their differences, the tools which make me functional are the same. My tools for future success are as follows:

Communication- Without an ability to effectively communicate to staff, volunteers, officers, or patrons, I would be useless. I remember, when I was going for my Ordination, I was accused by a seminary administrator of “not knowing my audience.” Apparently, she has never been to New Jersey! While she may not have appreciated my methods, they seem to work for me so far...

Compassion- Animal welfare cannot be “just a job.” You need to have compassion for the animals you serve and those who are looking to bring a new pet into their home. Every time I do a new pet blessing, I see the joy in the eyes of new pet parents; how much they appreciate the blessing, and how in some ways it creates a covenant between them and the animal they have chosen to become part of their family.

Courage- When I see bullshit, I call bullshit! Courage is often different than honesty. Honesty is being truthful. Courage is truth with passion, even when you’re afraid. Remember, courage is not the absence of fear, it is doing what is right in the presence of fear. I see continued advancement on behalf of animals to be treated more humanely. Since the 21st Century began, there has been more

positive changes on behalf of animals than in the past 100+ years; since the inception of the animal welfare movement. To me, the most important thing is that all animals, whether they are our companions, being raised for food, or living their lives in the wild; be treated kindness, dignity, and respect.

**Matt:** Right now, the political campaign in which I am most engaged, is passing statewide legislation that would ban the sale of cats and dogs in pet stores that come from puppy mills. We are working on drafting legislation that mirrors the state ban that was passed most recently in Maryland. Until that can be accomplished, I have been traveling from municipality to municipality, at the direction of the HSUS State Director, and speaking at their city council meetings in support of passing a municipal ordinance to this effect. So far in New Jersey, over 125 municipalities have passed this ordinance. However, now that we have entered the Season of Creation, I will be unavailable for any additional appearance until after my All Faiths Blessing of the Animals Event on Sunday, October 7th. Right now, that is my most important campaign.

**KK:** Hopefully our area will become more progressive and better laws will be set in place. (Mission on our website) We take animals from local kill shelters and keep them until a perfect home is found where we adopt them into. We feel successful as we have saved over 3500 animals in five years. Compassion and supporting over foster homes 100% in vetting and supplies. (Mission on our website)

**Ben:** Legislation, and enforcement, to move away from CAFO, to give animals a voice, document HSUS' goals for next 5 years, empower, engage and mobilize.

To sit down with corporations and work with companies, farms. End abusive practices in entertainment industry, wild animal performances, end greyhound racing in FL. Major game changes and schema for animals. State affairs lobby days in states, three campaigns in each state. Farm animals are now on public radar. Ending the King amendment is a current campaign. Grocery stores are normalizing vegetarian and vegan foods are normalizing, progress in helping community cats, rescue cats, cat protection, raising wildlife awareness. Cats' rates of euthanasia is insane. Drowning racoons in FL. Letting people know that animals are feeling beings. Killing the mother bear and cubs while hibernating in their den (see follow up) people are becoming engaged and aware.

Volunteers, people in the community and on the ground. Bill passed in PA. Two years to get the legislation through. District leaders supporting legislative with tools supplied by HSUS. We work with bipartisan legislators. Growing, getting more involved, children, humane education, more people, getting info out to society. Finding more caring people. Kids are important, humane education for children... King Amendment (killed), puppy mills, Safe Act (Horse Slaughter pipeline), PA state level puppy mill bill. Every state has its own priorities, every state is different but not like California. In PA, tethering laws. More laws passed, multiple ways to target, getting people to see animals as sentient, feeling beings. King Amendment. Using dollars to support humane, getting costs of humane food down. To get people to care and be disturbed at trophy hunting. Get laws against bestiality passed in all states. The Trump administration wants to cut back on protection, whereas the people and most

companies have already expressed “Green” interests. Public wants to feel good about what they are purchasing.

**MDM:** Humane education will eventually become part of the curriculum in schools and colleges. Students will no longer be using live animals for experiments.

**Jay:** Legislation will change, and we will be voting for representatives that care enough to acknowledge the importance of passing laws that protect animals. It will be difficult because major business corporations and pharmaceutical companies have strong ties to making sure that legislation is in their favor.

**Brooke:** ALDF’s mission is to protect the lives and advance the interests of animals through the legal system. I do this by working with advocates, legislators, law enforcement, and prosecutors throughout the country to enforce and strengthen animal protection laws.

The movement has grown exponentially over the past 50 years, and I expect it to continue to do so. Animal law, specifically, will continue to develop into its own established area of specialty. I also expect, as climate change continues to worsen, certain aspects of animal law to grow and develop in conjunction with environmental law.

**Ally:** Big business certainly has an “in” where legislation and regulation are concerned. Money talks and I’m sure big business doesn’t mind contributing to campaigns of the politicians who will encourage the growth of their business. Pharmaceutical companies use animals for testing and factory farming will suffer

with the animal rights/welfare movement if legislation is passed to protect animals.

**Ben:** Factors arising from Globalization will be the biggest challenge in the animal welfare/rights movement. To be more specific, these factors are the rise of corporations in animal-use industries; the trend towards deregulation and consumer choice; the rapid spread of information and communication technologies. Of course, people who believe that animals are ours to use.

**Dan:** Future? There is no uniform global future for the time being. There is a traditional Jewish saying: "I am optimistic about the long-term but pessimistic about the short-term."

**Ally:** Hopes to accomplish: Grass roots participation. Animal rights movement is grass roots and that is what is going to persuade politicians. Animal friendly legislators. Ok for incremental changes for now in longer reaching goal; immediate goal is to protect and defend animals, better legislation, human-animal studies programs in colleges, offer a case for animal rights that will be taken seriously and to change lives for the better, combatting large scale cruelties, a humane world has a specific goal of reducing animal suffering. Create a more humane society, end intense confinement of farm animals, end puppy mills, dog meat, fur, testing, horse slaughter and soring, trophy hunting, global anti-cruelty, end of factory farming.

**KK:** Protection and change for all animals, be part of the change, take as many animals as they can from the shelter to provide them with homes.



**Charrie:** Awareness of plant-based nutrition... empower, engage and mobilize, facilitate meetings with corporations, work with companies, farms, end abusive practices in entertainment, wild animal performances, state affairs lobby

**Ally:** Decline in fur industry, decline of animal use in circuses (Ringling Brothers).

**Reba:** Decline in the use of products that use cosmetic testing.

**Ally:** Circuses, vegan, clothing industry, fur, public policy. The larger goal is policy. Small steps for larger goal. Animal free circuses. Media, community awareness, buying shares of companies (like SeaWorld, Ringling Bros, so we can go to a shareholder meeting). They have a legal team, but pressure works best. Not so much lobbying as pressure on companies. One person is change...failure, not doing more. Hard to see what a failure is, if we can reach one person, it is a success.

**Missy:** I think one of the biggest successes is convincing the mainstream public that factory farming is cruel. Of course most people still eat meat (and eggs and dairy) and still eat factory farmed meat at that, but I think that if it was easily done, most people would spend a bit more on meat/eggs/dairy that is raised a little bit less cruelly than in the factory farm system. I know that doesn't sound like much, but I think steps like this are important.

**Ben:** One, the huge and expanding number of animals on this planet, two, the expanding global human population, and three, that animals cannot organize to defend themselves.

**Jay:** There has, however, been a shift in the right direction noting that more than half of Americans are opposed to sport hunting, and the wearing of fur.

**Charrie:** Borough of Brooklyn—awareness of nutrition, medical schools are not teaching nutrition in general, much less plant-based nutrition. We convene with doctors and nutritionists, trying to bring this information to the decision makers. So much, celebrities speaking out. Beyoncé tweeted out intention of going vegan. Vegan food in the grocery stores, 10% of the market. We don't need everyone to be vegan, as long as the end result is to reduce meat consumption and animal suffering. Few victories on federal level, but meatless meals in city school system is a success. Most success is in private sector. Educating re: factory farm system. Education, outreach, create a new market in vegan foods, create a new system. Create another system of humane eating. End of factory farming. Clean meats being cheaper, than bottom line will be clean meat.

**Missy:** Mercy for Animal's investigations that exposed the cruel reality of factory farming (hence, AG-gag laws), which resulted in secured criminal charges against individual workers caught on video abusing animals.

**Missy:** Historic policy change, unprecedented legal reforms and soaring public awareness. But there have been so many! Here are a few examples of MFA's recent successes: 1.3 billion animals protected annually from cruel cages, mutilation, and agonizing slaughter thanks to corporate policy successes; 500,000 animals spared annually from miserable lives at factory farms because MFA persuaded schools and other institutions to reduce meat, dairy, and eggs served; MFA worked with members of Mexico's congress to introduce first-of-its-kind

federal legislation to protect millions of animals from being cut open while still conscious and able to feel pain; international news coverage of our investigations has exposed the cruel reality of factory farming to hundreds of millions of households around the world; MFA's legal team has secured criminal charges against dozens of factory farm workers caught on video abusing animals, resulting in multiple convictions with significant fines and jail time; and after pressure from MFA, Perdue pledged to reduce suffering for nearly 680 million birds a year with the farthest-reaching animal welfare policy ever adopted by a major chicken producer. Our dedicated staff, undercover investigators, volunteers, constituents who are willing to take simple actions on behalf of animals, i.e. by signing a petition, and social media.

**Reba:** Animal cruelty is a felony in all 50 states, serious dog fighting laws.

**Karyn:** Creation of the Animal Abuse Registry; it may help prevent abusers from adopting or buying pets. But the reason this law passed is because of its indicators for domestic violence to humans.

**Matt:** The animal welfare movement has done a tremendous job in addressing the challenges they face. This has been successful in large part to the coordinated efforts of creating legislative changes on the local, state, and federal level. No politician wants to be labeled as the anti-animal Assemblyman, Congressman, or Senator. Overall, particularly in the "blue" states, we have seen how effective we can be as a unified force on behalf of all of God's creatures.

**Reba:** The PETS Act

**Ben:** Significant public policy work that has driven or reinforced corporate reform. The pendulum is slowly swinging in the right direction for animals; businesses hinder the movement due to economy, long time culture.

**Cer:** Making California the safest state in the country for animals; animals protected from cruel cages, mutilation, and agonizing slaughter. Cage free egg policy, new animal welfare laws ending the use of battery cages in California. End of gestation crates for mother pigs in California. End of veal crates for baby cows in California. Integration of vegan products into major retailers.

**Karyn:** The greatest success in the area in which I live is the Suffolk County animal abuse registry. This is the first animal abuse registry in the country. Abusers will not be able to adopt or buy a domestic animal if they are on this list. I believe that the passing of this law was influenced by the fact that in many cases animal abusers will go on to hurt human beings.

**Karyn:** There has also been a notable difference in that scientists and protectionists have become joined in questioning animals as a source of food. The truth is that the law will never be able to protect animals as long as they are considered property. So how do we persuade people that we do not have the right to use and exploit animals?

**Cer:** The movement's successes are far too numerous to mention here. A few of the biggest ones have been supported by The Humane League. 5 years ago, very few businesses had adopted a cage-free egg policy for their business. Today, some of the largest retailers and food service providers have adopted such a policy. McDonalds, Walmart, Costco, and many more have committed to such a policy

by 2025. General Mills announced a global cage free egg policy thanks to THL's Open Wing Alliance, a global coalition of animal advocacy organizations is working to end the use of battery cages from the world. Another success is the integration of vegan products into major retailers in the US. Availability of these products helps to satisfy a new demand for clean, cruelty free, and healthy products. Having these products available on the market is a tremendous step forward in protecting farmed animals. This progress has led to new animal welfare laws such as the Yes on 3 campaign in Massachusetts which bans the use of battery cages for egg laying hens, gestation crates for mother pigs, and veal crates for baby cows. This measure also prohibits the sale of products from these confinement practices in the state of Massachusetts. This measure passed with 78% of the vote in November of 2016 leading to the Prevent Cruelty California Campaign which will do the same in the state of California if passed in November 2018. We need to meet each other halfway and come to a he most effective tool for our mission is the relationships that we build.

This is a social movement and it is of the utmost importance that we are kind, respectful, polite, and friendly to everyone we speak with about animal welfare/rights issues. compromise on what we believe is the proper treatment of animals. I have given presentations to thousands of people and everyone believes that animal should be treated kindly rather than cruelly. Creating this common shared statement of values and then suggesting that by supporting factory farming, those individuals may not be living in line with their own statement of values is the most important realization that we need to help facilitate.

**Reba:** Animal Cruelty is now a felony in 50 states. In GA, we have serious dog fighting laws now. PETS act above affects Hurricane and disaster response.

**Ben:** In the early stages of my career and years of involvement, I felt as many did, that we were in a minority with our thought and opinions, and behaved as something of an outsider, a critic, and an alienated person. But over the course of many years, I have felt and observed a shift, and in many respects, I view our values and ideas as ascendant. We've moved from the margins to the mainstream, in other words. I think that we can gain still more ground as people come to think harder about the issues, as factors like climate change, sustainability, the connection between human and animal health, and the link between cruelty to animals and interpersonal violence come into greater focus.

**Matt:** Evolution is a very slow process. Yet, since the inception of animal welfare laws in the United States over 100 years ago, the pendulum has continued to swing in the right direction on behalf of God's Creatures. Domestic animal adoptions are up, euthanasia numbers are down, farm animals are now beginning to be treated humanely, and more people appear to understand their responsibilities to care for Mother Earth now than ever before. Yet, despite this awareness, there are still too many who wish to forgo progress and impede our continued evolution. While new policy is introduced on behalf of animals and to improve the overall welfare of the planet, current business models and concerns over changes in the economy hinder their advancement.

**Brooke:** Animal law did not exist as a field until the late twentieth century. The very fact that ALDF exists, that dozens of law schools throughout the country

offer courses in animal law, is in itself a success. Animal law has paved the way for improvements in legislation. In the 1990s, only a handful of states had felony-level animal cruelty laws. Today, all 50 states consider certain forms of animal cruelty to be a felony-level offense. This shift marks a deeper change in how seriously society treats animal cruelty crimes. Animals are also beginning to be recognized as crime victims.

**Brooke:** For example, the Oregon State Supreme Court has explicitly acknowledged that animals can be crime victims. In Connecticut, a court may appoint a third-party advocate to represent the interests of the animal victim in cruelty cases involving cats and dogs. Enforcement of animal cruelty offenses has also improved as law enforcement agencies have become better trained in the importance of cruelty cases. We are also finally beginning to receive some (albeit incomplete) data tracking animal cruelty cases nationally through the F.B.I.'s NIBRS system. All of these measures reflect a growing emphasis on animal rights and protection.

**Missy:** Inclusion, veganism.

**Jay:** Changes in legislation and the legislators.

**MDM:** Humane education

**Karyn:** National abuse registry.

**Cer:** End to factory farming

**Charrie:** Clean meat grown in labs without animals. Struggle for consumers, they want meat but no suffering. Humane products less costly.

**Cer:** Continuously upgraded laws to reflect the will of the people who wish to protect animals.

**Karyn:** Change of heart by people who see animals as possessions, not beings. The demand and consumption decline in the interests of animals, people and the planet.

**Jay:** Concern about wildlife, trophy hunting, habitats, tremendous negative impact on the environment. Trump wants to cut back on protection, but people and companies have already expressed “green” interests.

**Doc:** Would like to see people behave and live like non-humans lives matters.

**Matt:** Continue to make a positive impact people with big money...

**KK:** No kill movement, more support for shelters

**Charrie:** McDonalds to sell veggie burgers...

**Dan:** getting people to see animals as sentient beings,

**Reba:** laws against bestiality in all states.

**Ben:** Reprogramming society. Unfortunately to do this animal rights/welfare has to be presented as being beneficial to humans. We can already say that factory farming is not healthy for humans and we can already prove that an animal abuser will most likely commit other crimes, especially towards humans. We need to teach children early and we need to have this taught in schools. Often times children learn things in school that they are bringing home to their family members, such as with drugs and alcohol abuse. So why not animal rights and welfare?

**MDM:** Humane education is needed.



**Karyn:** And again, changing the way we speak about animals. They are not property; they are sentient beings.

**Lima:** Education, protesting, humane legislation, strong legislators.

**Ally:** The biggest challenge is continuing to secure funding to support our lifesaving programs.

**Cer:** We need to use science and research to determine what actions create the most impact at reducing animal suffering. I will be happy to try any tactics, assuming legal, that has been proven to create positive change for animals. I would only change our tactics and tools if we had research to back up that they actually work.

**Missy:** We need to be strategic about our methods and need to be sure that our tactics are working to help reduce animal cruelty.

**Jay:** The bad guys, power, inter (animal) group competition. All animal groups act together, coordinate. People who are dedicated to animals need to recognize others' efforts. I could learn and benefit by understanding other groups' efforts. They all continue to a broad front for animals.

**Dobin:** To broaden ourselves and our outlook. Education, grass roots.

**Jay:** The most destructive law effecting wildlife is the Pittman Robinson Act. Change the Pittman Robinson Act. Critics of the legislation claim that state Fish and Wildlife agencies allocate funds primarily towards the creation of new hunting opportunities. There is a feeling amongst hunters, in general, that their tax money collected from firearms purchases should benefit them, given that it is they who pay the tax and establish the funding. The result is that little money is spent

directly on initiatives other than those increasing hunting opportunities.

Representation that is proportionate. Diversity. Expanding reach, intersectionality; vegan is a “white” thing.

**Lima:** Education, diversity.

**Ally:** Push for vegan, consumerism, more inclusion, end of SeaWorld and aquariums.

**Doc:** I see lacking a worldwide education for those thinking of getting a pet...maybe a pipe dream. The biggest challenge to animal welfare-- the fact that anyone can breed animals, and anyone can adopt. I see a resolution possibly laws involving dog breeding and adopting. Also, dog bite prevention at all schools and after school care programs.

**Dan:** Effective leadership. I seek to develop useful work and to publicize it. The fight between animal rightists and animal welfarists I see as tragic. For the moment at least, there is no resolution.

**Karyn:** In developing countries, the perception that the idea of animal welfare is a luxury for the privileged.

**Matt:** We don't have enough resources to achieve all that we'd like, in politics, education, culture and so on. All programs and initiatives require funds and good people and good vehicles for advancing the mission. So, we need more of all three.

**MDM:** One thing I think is absolutely necessary is the role of non-whites in the movement. As long as this movement remains primarily white/middle class, then it will never succeed”. The biggest conflicts or challenges? “Money. Apathy.

Trivializing animals”. The conflicts/challenges may be resolved by “attitude changing, little by little, through everything from education to sites like the Dodo.

**Cer:** More experience; growth towards senior-level decision making opportunities. Staff resources, monetary resources, access to veg-friendly options for low-income communities, government food subsidization, public awareness, companies holding profit above compassion. Possible resolve? Innovation, further development of social impact campaigns.

**Cer:** What I see lacking is a deficit in employees with high level skill sets and talent for corporation and government relations. We are still a new movement in its infancy and

**Ally:** As we grow larger, this deficit is slowly decreasing. People are starting to come into and own these types of positions so soon we will have a major representation in those circles.

**Reba:** I wish that there was more diversity in the movement. Cultural changes are needed to achieve goals, and they are happening, albeit slowly. 2 animal advocates, 3 opinions LOL. Not all in the movement agree on goals, policies, and language. Personally, I believe that calling open admission municipal shelters “kill” shelters puts the onus on the staff, rather than the community, and will drive away compassionate people. Again, persistence.

**Ben:** Resolution of issues will help. For instance, it used to be harder to accommodate vegetarianism and veganism as part of the messaging. Now it is easier because both are more mainstream and out there in the world. We’re not going out on a limb in saying it’s something people should consider, i.e., a change

of diet. The issues change and so does the landscape, so a lot of factors like availability of water and other resources, climate change, costs of inputs, non-animal alternatives in every sector, will play a role in undermining animal use in many contexts.

**Ben:** The movement can accelerate some changes, but it is also the case that it must be smart enough to leverage structural changes in the economy and elsewhere that will allow us to gain ground. I have seen a lot of good things happen in more than thirty years of activism, of course. I'm worried about the unsustainability of meat consumption worldwide, and I'd certainly like to see demand and consumption decline in the interests of animals, people and the planet. I'm also anxious about the devastation of wildlife populations and their habitats. Between human development, meat consumption, the wildlife products and trophy hunting markets, and climate change, we're witnessing a tremendous negative impact on the environment and on wild animal species throughout the world. They're here at our mercy. I would like to see people live and behave and pursue their livelihoods as though non-human life, especially wildlife, mattered.

**KK:** Volunteers! Not really sure here, possible creating a large movement/group similar to MADD to help/force better voice, support. No kill movement/campaign. More support for our local shelters.

**Lima:** Factory farming vs, humane care and slaughter of animals. Battery cages vs. humane chicken raising. Where do you go from here...Prop 12, come together?

**Lima:** More laws passed, multiple ways to target, getting people to see animals as sentient, feeling beings. King Amendment. Using dollars to support humane, getting costs of humane food down.

**Doc:** in media, in schools, in popular culture, all of that.

**Ben:** The most important long-term challenges are effective fundraising methods and strategies, and diversity outreach. Many organizations have yet to resolve the challenge of building an integrated fundraising approach, one that's efficient, sustainable, and tailored to future needs.

**Ben:** Resolution of those issues will help. For instance, it used to be harder to accommodate vegetarianism and veganism as part of the messaging. Now it is easier because both are more mainstream and out there in the world. His agency is not going out on a limb in saying people should consider a change of diet. The issues change and a lot of factors like "availability of water and other resources, climate change, costs of inputs, non-animal alternatives in every sector, will play a role in undermining animal use in many contexts." While the movement can accelerate some changes "it must be smart enough to leverage structural changes in the economy and elsewhere that will allow us to gain ground".

**Dobin:** Needs: Funds, good people, vehicles, for advancing the mission.

**Theme Eight: *Most effective tools: advocates list humane education, community awareness and public pressure, media.***

**Jay:** Grass roots participation.

**Dan:** Education, learning. Humane education, writing and teaching.

**Lima:** Media, community awareness.

**Ally:** Corporate and public pressure.

**Karyn:** Communication and social media, public awareness of inhumane treatment.

**Missy:** Undercover investigators.

**Lima:** Volunteers.

**Reba:** Constituents, media, petitions.

**Cer:** Relationships. Education through presentations, compromise.

**Reba:** Team of experts, “brain bank”, communication.

**Dobin:** Litigation, lobbying.

**Ben:** Technical analysis and social marketing working together as multi-pronged.

**KK:** Compassion, support of foster homes, outreach for adoption out of shelters.

**Charrie:** Creating new vegan market, humane eating...farm animals on radar.  
Vegan and vegetarian foods in grocery stores.

**Jay:** Raising wildlife awareness, people becoming engaged and aware.

**Karyn:** As previously stated, social media is the biggest tool in humane education and public awareness of inhumane treatment. This has been by far the most effective tool in reaching the public. I think that social media is exactly what we needed. There are daunting realities that threaten the future of the animal rights/welfare movement.

**Matt:** Individual stories are the most effective tools that I have found. As the old adage goes, “one death is a tragedy, a million deaths is a statistic.” The mass suffering of animals, particularly those in industries like agriculture, can be overwhelming. The public has a tendency to shut down and distance themselves

emotionally from those realities. By focusing public attention on the rights and welfare of an individual animal, it is much easier to connect on a deeper, more meaningful level. I do not mean to say that we as a movement should tokenize individual animals, using one to represent the whole. Instead, we should focus on individuals because animals *are* individuals, and it is important to regard them as such.

**Theme Nine:** *Every advocate responded similarly; with few exceptions, failures are recognized as learning opportunities but were not emphasized.*

**Missy:** No failures, only learning opportunities.

**Ally:** It is slow going. It is overwhelming.

**Dobin:** Unable to help because the powerful people in charge.

**Ally:** Don't spend time on regrets.

**Lima:** Disappointed that animal rights people are uncompromising.

**Cer:** Attempts that didn't work, no failures, just initiatives that have not yet progressed. "our work is just a drop in the bucket" "the suffering and exploitation is just so large.

**Ben:** Our gains do not always last or stick, renewed attack.

**Missy:** Efforts against factory farming were long coming.

**KK:** Every life saved is a success.

**Charrie:** Rather stay positive

**Reba:** Not getting enough resources.

**Doc:** I left the humane society board before three years - there were a lot of powerful people who got their way rather than me being utilized for my

knowledge and credentials, I was not able to help in this way (as a board member). I will not try again; it has been my experience with boards that people with power and money get their way rather than the ones who have the best ideas/ education / ability to carry out plans. differently?

If I had to do it over, I would not have ever signed up, just keep doing spays and neuters and working this way rather than on the board. It would be better if the humans making choices for animals aren't the ones who have a personal interest (example, they want the organization to "look good", make money etc. and they base decisions on this rather than decisions being based on what is best for the animals. I hope that makes sense. I hope animal welfare will be commonplace/ the normal way to do things.

**Jay:** So many...sees failures as learning opportunities. Make your way through failures on the way to success.

**MDM:** I don't know. There are a million things that I could have done better, or my organizations could have done better. But that's just not something I spend too much time thinking about.

**Dan:** Lack of education is not only the biggest obstacle; it is a failure.

**Dan:** I thought that when I dialogued with anti-instrumentalists – who argue animal rights or nothing – that they would be given to civilized dialogue. The exact opposite is the case. They respond with primitive bullying and refuse even to address my writing in a scholarly fashion, as they have done for 11 years. I have some ideas on movement strategy that are on my website and blog. Others are under development and are yet to be released.



**Cer:** I feel that I have failed to make my personal education on certain animal rights topics a priority. As a representative of my organization, it is important to always be fully prepared to speak to any and all program aspects. Tactics that fail should not be repeated, and those that succeed should continuously be built upon.

**Matt:** No failures, so far. Just initiatives that have not progressed as quickly as I would like to help the animals. Will keep trying, of course. Not much that I can do differently, just be persistent. Actually, very pleased with the toolbox provided. The things that need to change or not in my control.

**Ben:** Well, it should be said that even a great day, or a great month, or a great year in our work is just a drop in the bucket when it comes to animal suffering. Their suffering and exploitation is just so large. The other thing to recall is that our gains do not always stick or last. They come under renewed attack, or suffer erosion of some kind, for a lot of reasons. So it's not just a progression of wins and steady progress, it's a sequence of advance, challenge, consolidation of gains and reengagement. It's a changing landscape all of the time, whether of opportunity or of threat and challenge.

This movement has not been successful until recently in its efforts against factory farming, so that might have been a failure in my eyes twenty years ago. Today, I think in terms of issues we're not doing much about, like bird mills and the incredible number of long-lived exotic birds that are at risk and not getting the help they require. No national group works on the issue in any serious degree. There are other examples of emerging challenges where we have much more work to do, or even to begin. I am unhappy about the failure of support for

humane education by animal protectionists. The emphasis is on lobbying, litigation, policy, and the like, and there is little to no commitment on our parts to educating the next generation. I think that's a big mistake. I think we must do a lot more to bring along young people to our ideas and values, in media, in schools, in popular culture, all of that.

**Matt:** My failures are more personal in nature. Like most children, we feel we never live up to the expectations of our parents and always think in some way are a disappointment. And, just like Saint Francis, in the past I have been the unholy of holy. The only failures I have had though, as it relates to animal welfare, involves old animal cruelty cases. Not the cases in which I charged someone with an offense or removed an animal from their possession, but in cases where individuals were just outside the law and nothing could be done. Those were the most difficult and often still haunt me to this day; wondering whatever became of that dog or cat. My only hope is that they can forgive me and the failures of the state for not being able to provide them with adequate protection from neglect.

Animal Cruelty Officers have an easier time today that I did since my retirement. Thankfully, there have been changes to the New Jersey State Animal Cruelty Statutes (4:22) which now would allow for charges to be levied or the confiscation of the animal in cases like the ones I spoke of earlier that still fill me with guilt. Unfortunately, when reflecting on the past, there is very little I would change; as I was stuck between a rock and a hard place. Had I not maintained my composure; I would be writing my responses to you from prison.

**KK:** We always make changes to improve. Every life saved is a success. More marketing to find more foster homes to save more lives.

**Charrie:** Born into a failure of society! In that factory farming even exists. We are up against a giant, but we are slowly winning. Rather focus on wins. Have I introduced concepts to decision makers? I am a softball person, foot in the door, ex: meatless Mondays. McDonalds to sell veggie burgers. Products that offer options.

**Lima:** I would rather stay positive, “don’t let perfection be the enemy of the good”

**Theme Ten:** *The similarity to other social movements depends on the focus of animal welfare and rights.*

**Karyn:** Yes, I see similarities in all social movements, struggles.

**Lima:** It is time for animals. It is time for LBGTQ rights. I see marches for gun control, marches for kids in schools becoming victims of mass shootings. But animal rights are going to be a long struggle, and it is going to take perseverance and courage. Sometimes I believe it is going to take more than devotion or dedication. Perhaps it needs extremism, even radicalism until people actually get the point.

**Charrie:** Animal welfare is the next big social justice movement just as women’s and LBGTQ movement.

**Jay:** I think the analogy of animal rights with the analogy with civil rights as unfortunate, but I am egalitarian.

**Ally:** Animal welfarists often draw comparisons between the animal rights movement and other social justice movements, like the anti-slavery campaigns, women's liberation etc. But, the problem with the comparison between the animal issue and other (human) social struggles is that humans are satisfied with small incremental victories. This should not be the case with animals. It is not okay to provide mother pigs with more space to feed babies, and then we kill them for food.

**Missy:** I don't really think all other social movements are alike. It depends on the focus. There is similarity between the animal rights movement and the environmental movement. Both movements want to protect the environment. But environmentalists believe in the protection of ecosystems over all individual lives, whereas animal rights activists aim to protect every individual animal.

Environmentalists have somewhat of a utilitarian view of protection, the best actions for the greatest number. Both want to protect wildlife from habitat loss, pollution and climate change. Both movements also work to protect endangered animal species. Animal rights activists work to protect animals because they are sentient beings, but environmentalists want to see individuals protected for the survival of the species.

**Missy:** To animal rights advocates, animals should not be considered a "resource". For example, the World Wildlife Fund sees potential threat of GMOs to the environment, outweighing the lives of animals who are used for GMO safety testing.

**Karyn:** Women and slaves used to be considered “property”. Now animals are considered property. There is a similarity there.

**Karyn:** I see this movement similar to the civil rights movement, but even before that, slavery. The abolitionists struggled for rights for slaves. I think we still are struggling for equality for African Americans.

**Karyn:** What about concentration camps? I see that as similar to how CAFO works. Concentrated feeding for the use of animals as food. It’s like concentration camps for animals, and I know that animals try to escape. They sense danger. Anyone who tells you they don’t hasn’t seen them going to slaughterhouses. They know. It’s heartbreaking. Those trucks taking them there are like the trains that took Jews to concentration camps, or the boats that took Africans to America for slavery. Same thing, only different victims. Some people get annoyed when the animals are compared to people. Same crimes...different victims.

**Matt:** Absolutely! It’s not the idea that’s different, it’s the victims of harm—women, gays, blacks, animals. Animals have no voice, so they need advocates, just like slaves had no voice. Women had to fight for a voice. But animals really don’t have any voice at all. They cannot organize. This movement is different only because of that voice issue.

**Lima:** There is a lack of presence for animals.

**Dobin:** Because of the lack of diversity within the movement, our impact is now questionable as women.

**Dobin:** Animals are the most abused ever.

**KK:** But people today are so indifferent. It is probably because they don't know about the horrors of factory farming, or using animals in entertainment, like greyhound racing or roadside zoos. Even closer to home, do most people know that their county shelters kill animals for lack of space? Do the owners of pedigreed dogs know the horrors of puppy mills? Do people want to see what goes on in laboratories when they use animal testing and experimentation? Do they care? Most don't want to know, and those who do don't think anything can change it.

**Jay:** Current administration setting back rights with deregulation, money over ethics.

**Cer:** Rights movements are in danger of going backwards. I think Trump and his "Republican gang" are taking women's rights backwards. I don't think the current administration cares about women, blacks, gays, and they certainly are not going to take time to think about animal welfare. I think we are in danger of losing our rights, and that is making our struggle for animals even harder but more important.

**Jay:** Even the environment is in more danger. Climate change is having a huge impact on animals and humans. Species are in danger of becoming extinct, and our president couldn't care less. The current administration boasts of deregulation, and everything that went before to safeguard water, land, wildlife is being struck down. Trophy hunting is more permissible, even after we took such care to convince airlines not to ship animal trophies.

**Jay:** Money has taken over common sense and morality. Roe vs. Wade is threatened...no one would have believed that a decade ago. Police brutality against black kids, even more exposed than ever, has slipped into complacency.

**Karyn:** It seems like rights movements are cyclical...about every fifty years or so? Have we made so much progress? Women's rights...seems like we are still struggling. Blacks...still struggling. Seems like we take two steps forward, and one back. Animal rights movement as a social movement...sure. Why shouldn't it be? Who said social movements cannot apply to non-humans? The people who don't want animals to have rights, I guess.

**Lima:** The awful history of animal abuse may not be history after all.

**Theme Eleven:** *There is a tendency for competition within the movement rather than collaboration, a big problem for the organizations. The advocates' report on what they feel is needed for the success of the animal rights movement reflects the remarks about what is lacking in the movement. The list is varied which can indicate that there is a lack of cohesion. But the primary necessities include diversity, humane education, compassionate society through awareness, and humane laws*

**Dobin:** Animal groups need to work together, too much dissention; they should coordinate and work together.

**Matt:** There is a lack of unity among groups within the movement, competition for funds, time, funds, physical resources.

**Cer:** A problem is infighting between animal advocacy groups, lack of adhesion in groups, not all movements agree on goals, policies and language

**Matt:** Competition among groups for funds, territoriality, again, follow the money i.e. factory farming.

**Dobin:** Too many organizations doing the same thing, vying for the same resources may cause animal welfare to take a back burner in local legislation.

**Cer:** Another conflict worth noting is the in-fighting between animal advocacy groups. Thankfully, I have been experiencing less and less of this nowadays.

**Jay:** All animal groups (need to) act together, coordinate. People who are dedicated to animals need to recognize others' efforts. I could learn and benefit by understanding other groups' efforts. They all continue to a broad front for animals".

**Ben:** Regarding the in-fighting, by complimenting each other and supporting everyone's effort to achieve the same goal, ending factory farming. Humans will always find differences in one another but by focusing on our shared mission to reduce animal suffering, we will achieve great things for animals.

**Karyn:** The movement needs diversity (more "non-whites" in the movement), because the movement is primarily middle-class white.

**Reba:** Animal welfare is elitist. A need for more diversity in the movement, but cultural change is slow.

**Jay:** There are too many good old boys against us; we need more men, more college students. The movement needs need people of color, different classes, races, experiences; now, the movement is one of wealth white, well educated.

**Reba:** Advocates see a lack of intersectionality; they see a problem that others see veganism as a "white" thing.



**Ben:** A challenge is effective fundraising and diversity outreach, integrated fundraising.

**Reba:** Not getting enough resources. HSUS delegate program, get resources out to volunteers.

**Dobin:** Focus on fewer issues, (so many issues) volunteers. So many issues. Focus energy.

**Dobin:** There is a lack of support from other social justice movements.

**Reba:** There is a need for effective leadership, lack of urgency and efficiency in many organizations.

**Cer:** There is a lack of skilled employees with talent to deal with corporation and government relations.

**MDM:** Role of non-whites in the movement. As long as the movement remains primarily white/middle class, then it will never succeed.

**Karyn:** Where are all the men? The organizations are all women. We need diversity.

**Ben:** More volunteers, specialists, more skilled, more people in politics to understand complexity.

**Ben:** Influence, more people, more resources, more partnerships for coalitions, strong alliances with other movements and organizations.

**Lima:** Lack of long-term sustained campaigns

**Ben:** The movement has not reached its full potential and strength due to: Lack of urgency about the mission; lack of professionalism and efficiency in many organizations; lack of capacity, skills and expertise for dealing with animal

welfare within the movement; lack of long termed sustained campaigns; the tendency towards competition rather than collaboration; lack of collaboration and support from other social justice movements; lack of funding

**Matt:** There appears to be a lack of unity within the animal welfare movement; yet everyone has the same purpose and goals. I believe this is a direct result of every group and organization constantly having to “chase the same nickel” for their continued success and survival. For the animal welfare movement to move forward, we must stop being so critical of one another; finding a way to work through our differences and instead have a joint effort to achieve the greatest results possible for our animal brothers and sister. I have always been amazed when I see the struggles that exist within the animal welfare movement. One would think that treating animals with kindness, dignity, and respect is a “no brainer”, and that disagreeing with this fundamental principle indicates an individual with a complete lack of sympathy or compassion for ALL living things- humans and animals alike... including even themselves.

**Dobin:** Lack of enough time, money and physical resources to effectively make change. Office politics, too many organizations too many orgs. Doing the same thing. Jealousy of each other turf wars. All are vying for the same resources/attention. Don't know if there is a resolution. People with big \$ provide enough \$ to actively provide needed resources on a continuous basis.

**Lima:** Non-whites, religious, diversity (ex: too many good old boys in GA) need more men involved. The movement is mostly of middle age white women.

College students, nonwhites, non-vegans, religious people. Vegan-vegetarian.

Humane challenge to get rights vs. welfare. External and internal

**Lima:** Because there are so many people working day in and day out to improve the lives and status of animals and working towards this goal in so many different ways, I see no major gaps in our efforts. There is unfortunately some conflict within in the movement, over ideals and resources. To the extent feasible, I think collaboration and rational, respectful discussion will help the movement to apply our resources more effectively.

**Ben:** Whatever our achievements, we still lack influence on the scale we need to win the biggest of the fights. We need more people, more resources, and more partnerships to build winning coalitions in support of our interests. We don't have the strong alliances with other movements and organizations that we need to really advance our programs in a larger way. I think that the most important long-term challenges are effective fundraising methods and strategies, and diversity outreach. Many organizations have yet to resolve the challenge of building an integrated fundraising approach, one that's efficient, sustainable, and tailored to future needs.

Second, I think that this movement, largely a white, well-educated, and wealthy one, is in desperate need of engagement with people of color, people of different classes and experiences, and so on. That's how the country is going to look and that's why we need to identify and draw in people of different races, ethnicities, experiences, and classes. The day-to-day challenges at present are the classic ones: territoriality, competition for funds, collaboration around joint areas

of concern, identification of correct strategies. All of this is much better than when I was younger, but there are still concerns.

### **Interview Response Thematic Summary**

The prominent themes associated with roles, motivation, advocacy affecting lives include serving as volunteers prior to becoming staff; longevity in the field; volunteered with several organizations. Then agency's overall roles featured education and educating clients, roles as educators. Roles highlight keeping up with legislation, with intentions to end needless suffering of animals on factory farms. Advocates saw their agency's roles as leaders in thought and action, either due to an academic background, or as a high-level influencer through organizations and channels of advocacy. Some see the movement as too soft, elitist, entitled, easily outraged. The consensus is advocating for animal welfare with animal rights goal. Animal welfare is the next big social justice movement just as women's and LGBTQ movement. A common goal is to empower the public nationwide to take local action in local, state and federal levels.

Initial motivation as children from farms or comparing pets to animals as food, or compassion for wildlife. Motivation after reading an animal welfare book. Growing up or becoming vegetarian early. News and reports of abuse and neglect, plight of farmed animals, offended at animal research, read Animal Factories and found need to do more, serendipity, spiritual calling regarding animal cruelty, sensitive to animals' needs, too many animals dying in the local shelter, witnessing suffering of female pigs. Their lives changed for the better, vegetarian diets improved health. Empowered, outspoken. Deeper empathy; I am aware of what I wear and eat, what I use to clean the home. Surrounded by likeminded people, feeling like I found my place in the world, fulfilled. Changes in value

system; job not consistent with new values, positive change. Life, every day has purpose. Wants to help uninformed people. No end to this job, long hours. Focused my scholarship on animal issues. Personal growth from different roles, changed values, greater respect for all creation. More knowledge of animal welfare, educating others. Time is occupied by social justice movements and animal rights movement, need self-care.

Differences in rights, welfare and protection: Animal welfare is okay if animal rights can only be achieved incrementally. Not all preferred animal rights, but most insist on better treatment of agricultural animals. Against factory farming. Humans are responsible for the welfare of animals, being property makes them responsible. Not a believer in animal rights, but all necessary, not one theory. Too superficial to try to separate the three, animal protection can be an umbrella term to reference rights and/or welfarists who do not identify together. Animal use and abuse is the same to me. Animal rights theory does not allow for any use of an animal. Animals want to live free from suffering. Fights for animal protection laws and policies, but views animal rights theory as a fallacy. Animal rights or rights at all is nothing more than a socially accepted, agreed collection of privileges. Definitions are fluid; animal welfare is giving them the best life but accepting their use for human needs. Animal rights poses a challenge to contemporary practices. Rights is not a workable concept or term. We do better when we speak of protection or welfare and incorporate animals' interests to the greatest possible degree. God gives humans dominion (stewardship) over creatures, of does having dominion mean (domination) disregard for rights, welfare, protection. Disagreements in the field. Agrees with rights, but there is a negative stigma associated.

PETA is uncompromising. Protect health, promote animal studies, awareness campaigns, protection of animal health, direct care and contributors toward local, state and federal laws to protect animals, shaping public opinion on animal cruelty. Reduce animal suffering. benefit the interests of animals, including education, awareness, investigation, legislative, rescues, regulatory policy change. Provide haven for the community's homeless, abused and abandoned animals awaiting adoption, dedicated to enforcing animal cruelty laws, strong partners with other animal welfare organizations. Developing plant-based food, nutritional meals. As stewards of animal, making progress in public awareness, issues, making society a more humane society, work with farmers, legislative action, enforcement.

Hopes to accomplish is grass roots participation. Animal rights movement is grass roots and that is what is going to persuade politicians. Animal friendly legislators. Ok for incremental changes for now in longer reaching goal; immediate goal is to protect and defend animals, better legislation, human-animal studies programs in colleges, offer a case for animal rights that will be taken seriously and to change lives for the better, combatting large scale cruelties, a humane world has a specific goal of reducing animal suffering. Create a more humane society, end intense confinement of farm animals, end puppy mills, dog meat, fur, testing, horse slaughter and soring, trophy hunting, global anti-cruelty, end of factory farming. Protection and change for all animals, be part of the change, take as many animals as they can from the shelter to provide them with homes. Awareness of plant-based nutrition... empower, engage and mobilize, facilitate meetings with corporations, work with companies, farms, end abusive practices in entertainment, wild animal performances, state affairs lobby.

How the movement affects public policy, “Grass roots is a participatory democracy” animal movement is a grass roots movement. Public policy changes through awareness, community awareness, humane education. Change public policy through education, not legislation. By public pressure (economic pressure) policy often in the hands of the wrong people, changing corporate policy, consumer spending affected and affects. Insufficient impact. Community awareness via social media, making the public aware of animal use. Humane education will become part of the curriculum at schools, corporations will lose money unless they find alternatives for animal use. Legislation will change and voting for caring representatives will succeed. The obstacle is corporations using animals. If we do not act, animal abuse will increase. Corporations won’t change if it means a decrease in profits. Consumers can vote with their dollars, can impact the demand for better-sourced food, mobilizes the public to participate against harmful anti-animal laws. By upgrading animal protection laws across the country, working with corporations, local communities, governments from passing animal friendly legislation. Statistics concerning laws passed show progress, but some uses of animals get political support. Deeper public understanding of animal welfare. The animal welfare movement transcends political policy affiliations. Traditionally, Democrats have and are more embracing of animal welfare issues, but some republicans support crucial animal welfare. Rescue brings about community awareness (adoption events) education is the key, more legislative action by educating decision makers, public awareness of suffering, public information raises all of society and environment, promotion of animal welfare, empowering and engaging,

Movements successes would include the decline in hunting, fur industry, circuses, convincing the public that factory farming is cruel, humane meat may cost more but aware people will pay it. Animal rights is excluded from public law and policy. Animal Abuse Registry may help prevent abusers from adopting or buying pets. The reason this law passed is because of its indicators for domestic violence. Historic policy change...unprecedented legal reforms and soring public awareness. Many successes. (In CA) animals protected from cruel cages, mutilation, and agonizing slaughter. MFA's investigations that exposed the cruel reality of factory farming (hence, Ag-Gag laws), secured criminal charges against individual workers caught on video abusing animals, pressured Perdue to reduce suffering of 680 million birds. Cage free egg policy, ending the use of battery cages, integration of vegan products into major retailers, new animal welfare laws ending the use of battery cages, gestation crates for mother pigs, veal crates for baby cows. Animal cruelty is a felony in all 50 states, serious dog fighting laws, PETS act...factory farming, cosmetic testing...significant public policy work that has driven or reinforced corporate reform. The pendulum is slowly swinging in the right direction for animals. Businesses hinder the movement due to economy, long time culture. Vegan food in grocery stores, reduction of meat consumption, meatless meals in school system; most success is in private sector.

Effective tools would include grass roots participation, education, learning, media, community awareness, pressure, communication, writing and teaching. Social media, humane education and public awareness of inhumane treatment, undercover investigators, volunteers, constituents, media, petitions. Team of experts, "brain bank", communication, litigation, lobbying, education, technical analysis and social marketing



working together as multi-pronged. Communication, social media for education, compassion, support of foster homes, education, outreach, creating new vegan market, humane eating...farm animals on radar. Vegan and vegetarian foods in grocery stores, raising wildlife awareness, people becoming engaged and aware. Volunteers, community.

There are no failures, only learning opportunities. It is slow going. It is overwhelming. Unable to help because the powerful people in charge, don't spend time on regrets, disappointed that animal rights people are uncompromising. Failure to better educate myself. Attempts that didn't work, no failures, just initiatives that have not yet progressed "our work is just a drop in the bucket" the suffering and exploitation is just so large. Our gains do not always last or stick, renewed attack. Efforts against factory farming were long coming, failures are personal in nature, unsure, every life saved is a success. Born into a failure of society. Rather stay positive, not getting enough resources.

Changes in tactics and the more aggressive work, focus on boldness, take power, more staff, more inclusion. People making decisions apart from money, future lies in legislation. Bring more products that do not use animals, making those products cheaper and better. Successful tactics should be repeated; wish we had research to back up what tactics worked, more staff is the failure of support for humane education by animal activists, emphasis on lobbying, policy, litigation, but no commitment on education. More marketing to get more foster homes, introducing concepts to decision makers get resources out to volunteers, delegate program, focus on fewer issues.

Future of movement means more public awareness, biocentrism, acceptance of animals as our brothers and sisters, putting animal use in the past, no uniform global future for now. More people opposed to hunting and wearing fur, finding alternatives for

food without using animals, but since animals are property, they will never have rights. Changing language when we speak about animals. The exponential and continuous growth of animal welfare/rights organizations, the expansion of the public's hearts and minds and exposure of the hidden truths of commercial industries (farming, fishing, animal testing). The future of animal rights hashed out in legal system and corporations, more vegan products, more legal protections to reduce animal cruelty. A society that respects all sentient beings, no more selective compassion. Move to mainstream, our visions and values are ascending. The link between animal cruelty, to animals and interpersonal violence advancement on behalf of humane treatment. Welfare for the animals used as food, wildlife... more progressive in local area, better local laws, end of factory farming, clean meat, humane education, growing movement.

Biggest obstacles are that politicians are not listening. Biggest conflicts: bad guys with power, corporate money and power. Group competition. Societal norms, lack of education, large corporations and industries vested in animal use. Lack of interest in education. Reprogramming society. Early humane education, animals regarded as property, lack of funding. Industry failing to protect animals; its officials and citizens afraid of change. Not enough resources in politics, education, culture. Needs: Funds, good people, vehicles, for advancing the mission. Big opponents, interest groups, that are well resourced, ready to invest, people not using his services, legislative partisanship, corporate interests. Lack of education and care of animals in the south, political leaders, not enough money for clean meat investment social norms slow to change, people don't have information.

If legislation is a concern, why: Economy, Trump administration. Economy, partisan politics. Big business in bed with politicians, money talks, animal agriculture industry against legislation, not allowing public to vote on animal issues (because the vote would be in favor of animals). Animal industry is spending millions to combat legislation. Fear of change, rural lawmakers. Most republican legislators are protective of the consumptive paradigm management. NRA against animal welfare positions, many republicans sympathetic or allied with confinement agriculture. Religion can either work for animal welfare (a basic moral position.) Regulation can be an issue, reporting, accountability, transparency. Animal use industries mobilize around a general opposition to regulatory, finding support in congress. Anti-animal legislation sets back the movement; follow the money. Regardless of what culture, religious arguments they make, the true motive is money. Money, religion, culture, partisanship culture and economy, partisanship, humane food expensive, cock fighting is cultural, culture issues.

Pending campaigns are reaching every legislator, “block” votes, advise constituents of those against us, working on next book, the ban on drift net. McDonalds, campaign against for-profit business that exploits animals, hoping to pass legislation that eliminates some of the cruelest practices in the state. Factory farming, transferring former lab animals, puppy mills, dog meat trade in South Korea. Banning the sale of cats and dogs in pet stores (also local ordinances). Meatless Mondays in schools, hospitals learning about plant-based nutrition. Plant-based foods, fighting the King amendment, puppy mills, SAFE Act (horse slaughter), every state has its priorities.

Animal groups need to work together, too much dissention. Coordinate and work together, lack of intersectionality, seeing veganism as a “white” thing. Education, more

“non-whites” in the movement. Movement is primarily middle-class white...effective leadership, lack of urgency and efficiency in many organizations, lack of capacity, lack of long term sustained campaigns, tendency for competition rather than collaboration. Lack of funding, lack of support from other social justice movements. Animal welfare is elitist. Lack of skilled employees with talent to deal with corporation and government relations...more diversity in the movement, cultural change is slow. Influence, more people, more resources, more partnerships for coalitions, strong alliances with other movements and organizations, lack of unity among groups within the movement, competition for funds, time, funds, physical resources. More volunteers, specialists, more skilled, more people in politics to understand complexity, non-whites, diversity, too many good old boys, more men, more college students.

One of the largest challenges is there is no diversity in the movement, bad guys, inter-group competition, diversity, (animal) breeding loopholes, apathy, money, trivializing animals, fight between rights activists and welfarists. Rise of corporations using animals, trend toward deregulation and consumer choice, animals as property, belief that animals are ours to use. Staff and monetary resources, access to veg-friendly options for low income communities, government food subsidization, public awareness, companies holding profit above compassion...animal industry. Infighting between animal advocacy groups, lack of adhesion in groups, not all movements agree on goals, policies and language. Challenge is effective fundraising and diversity outreach, integrated fundraising. Diversity is an issue, need people of color, different classes, experiences, the movement is one of wealth white, well educated. Need races, ethnicity, experiences. Competition among groups for funds, territoriality, again, follow the money i.e. factory

farming. Those who benefit from making money off animals and their political allies; too many organizations doing the same thing, vying for the same resource's animal welfare taking a back burner in local legislation.

***Major Themes Garnered from Combination of all Sources***

The common major themes from the combination of data sources and interviews emerge:

1. There is a need for humane education.
2. The biggest obstacle to animal protection and welfare is the power wielded by the wealthy animal-use industries; the most common theme is wealth controlling legislation.
3. There is a lack of diversity within the movement
4. Inter-group conflict and competition create conflict.
5. Political partisanship reflects the economy and culture; animal legislation is hindered by several motives with economy as the chief obstacle.
6. Community awareness and grassroots organization are tools for success
7. Governmental de-regulation is escalating the problem. Less vocalized but not insignificant is the mention of the current administration's failure to protect animals.
8. Advocates reject failure; they see it as delayed but extended campaigns. It is interesting to note that neither the data sources nor interviewees discussed failure. PETA and HSUS newsletters considered the longest ongoing campaigns as issues that have not yet been successful. Most participants saw failures as delayed successes, in tune with the value statements of the organizations they represent.

9. The common goal to end animal suffering, especially factory farming.
10. Comparison to slavery.
11. The animal rights theory is ambiguous.

### **Conclusion**

The leading themes emerge as animal welfare is consequential to human benefit; animal legislation is hindered by several motives with economy as the chief obstacle; political partisanship reflects the economy and culture; agri-business the biggest conflict; the most common theme is wealth. Humane education, community political action is needed. No failing efforts, just prolonged attempts. The representatives interviewed from the various animal welfare/rights organizations postulate thematic commonalities. The most prevalent themes appear to be the need for more diversity, need for humane education, inter-group conflict, need for grassroots organization and community action, and no failures, just delayed successes. The most formidable obstacles are powerful corporations with money; this administration and governmental lack of protection; and lack of diversity in the movement and inter-group conflict. Chapter four is a presentation of report results. The chapter includes all relevant sources, a summary of those sources, and quotes from all the participants, sources used in the literature review, with a review summary of the responses. The comparison of major themes from data sources and interviews are reviewed and discussed.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### **Discussion of Findings**

This research project built on a previous study indicating the Animal Rights Movement had very little impact on public policy (Allen, 2005). In order to expound on how much, if any, progress has been made in animal protection, and what effect on policy the animal rights movement has had, various sources of printed and on-line information from animal rescue groups, animal welfare groups and animal rights groups are reviewed, and responses collected from interviews of advocates in the field of animal welfare and rights. Thematic summaries of the data sources are evaluated, given equal consideration together with the responses from interviews, for comparison and consideration.

### **Discussion of Thematic Summaries**

Regarding the propositions stated prior to this research, I reiterate my initial questions:

*Has the animal rights movement and animal welfare advocacy affected public policy, and if not, why? What conflicts do advocates face?*

A review of predominant themes from both data sources and interviewees' responses point towards a strongly articulated need for humane education. Currently, other than the curriculum offered by animal welfare organizations, there are no known educational programs that focus on humane animal treatment education in public or private schools, elementary or higher learning. The need for diversity postulated by a good portion of the interviewees is not a problem that can be easily remedied. It is a problem that is glaringly identifiable. The history of the animal welfare is undeniably

resplendent with activities of white, middle-aged females which is unfortunate due to the previously mentioned biases regarding the “emotional” woman.

Sadly, various animal welfare/rights organizations compete for funding and all other resources which results in inter-group disputes is a reminder that funding and charitable contributions rely mostly on individuals and public sourcing, and this is now going to be even more challenging with the recent tax law deductions. The irrefutable challenge that all agencies face is the power that wealth affords to animal-use industries, a fact that is not exclusive to animal protection. In a capitalistic society that is America, wealth directs much of how the populace is governed. “Follow the money” was mentioned several times during these interviews; confronting wealth and power is a grim reminder for these advocates that affluence dominates influence.

I initially proposed that advocates of animal rights/welfare/protection view the influence and successes of the animal rights movement as a positive example of change in public policy; however, not all advocates’ assessments are similar. Animal rights advocates see changes merely as incremental stages toward the desired goal whereas animal welfare advocates see changes as success. Furthermore, advocates overall are frustrated not only with the limited successes attained and attribute failure to political partisanship but are overwhelmed by the all-encompassing scope of animal abuse and lack of protection.

After review of the interview and data source summaries, it is apparent that advocates emphatically believe their work has influenced public policy through legislation, but more through community and consumer awareness and corporate pressure. Until this administration, wildlife protection has been safeguarded, the fur



industry has suffered, and due to advocacy, California and Massachusetts have the most pro-animal legislation in the country, so much that the infamous King Amendment: was excluded from the 2019 Farm Bill. Advocates' advocacy has significantly animal protection measures; however, most supporters will admit the process has been tedious, lengthy, and precarious.

While the animal rights activists acknowledge the successes that have been achieved through welfare advocacy, they will adamantly defend their goal which is rights for animals; but they will remind supporters of welfare that the incremental steps are helpful, but merely steps. Most of the welfarists agree that while they prefer animal rights, they realize the difficulty in achieving them. It is important to note that this specific issue of rights vs. welfare is one of contention among the welfare/rights organizations. Another important consideration is that advocates of either conviction do not acknowledge failure. Some of the print resources and two participants mentioned the similarity between the animal rights movement and other civil rights movements. One source compared slavery to animal confinement. This issue was also prevalent in other responses and data sources.

All the participants and data sources discussed the difficulties in effecting positive legislation for animals; they acknowledge that the biggest obstacle is wealth, and that the wealthy and powerful animal use industries (CAFO) utilize that wealth to influence politicians. That power is tied to the industry's dominance in certain agricultural states, and that is tied into the economy and culture. Religious doctrines, while they do exist, do not appear to be a significant issue in the United States. As a result of triangulation, this researcher finds that the themes from both the written information sources and the in vivo

themes from the personal interviews have developed commonalities, and the predominant themes or points taken from the literature reviews also indicate general matters; need for humane education, difficulty effecting animal welfare laws due to wealthy, powerful adversaries and their influence over politicians, lack of diversity among animal protection groups, group competition and disagreement between rights and welfare groups. Additionally, the theory of animal rights is ambiguous.

The four uppermost themes collected from all sources imply a need for humane education, difficulty effecting animal welfare laws due to wealthy, powerful adversaries and their control over politicians, lack of diversity among animal protection groups, group competition and discord between rights and welfare groups (that the theory of animal rights is unclear may promote disagreement). The animal rights movement, as a new social movement, is often compared to other current social and past movements. The current Trump administration's role in removing animal protections has a profound influence on advocates' efforts.

Regarding the original question: Has the animal rights movement and animal welfare advocacy affected public policy, and if so, how? If not, why? Reviews of newsletters and publications of data sources and interview responses suggest that the movement has affected public policy through two avenues; legislatively through state and federal regulations, but perhaps more so through community education, awareness and corporate/consumer pressure. As a social movement, is the animal rights movement similar or dissimilar to other social movements, past or present?

My original intention for this project was to determine the reasons why animal welfare legislation is so difficult to enact. What is it that precludes legislators from voting

in favor of animal welfare? Upon review and corroborating the history of animal use, abuse and the pioneers of animal welfare, once concrete explanations were firmly established, I then anticipated bringing the dispute between the welfarists and politicians into the realm of conflict resolution. Ultimately, access to legislators or aides' accurate, concrete explanations for voting one way or another was particularly difficult. Hence, the decision to interview those who work for animals as a necessity resulted in valuable insight, as did current sources of information from the larger welfare/rights organizations. The focus of the research was changed to document how advocates experience their work. By comparing advocates' interview responses with published sources, the collective ethical drive became well-defined. Conversely, this undertaking established that ultimately, there is no clear definition of the moral vs. immoral. To activists, animal use is viewed as animal abuse, but it varies with the moral mindsets of the advocates and consumer. The reasons for enacting or not passing certain acts are confusing and ambiguous. In fact, the animal rights theory is vague, even contentious at times. Nonetheless, constructive information regarding group diversity and inter-group competition has been chronicled with the implication for use of conflict resolution.

My original proposition argues that Advocates recognize the obstacles to effecting animal protections. The promoters of animal rights/welfare/protection view the influence and successes of the animal rights movement as a positive example of change in public policy; however, not all advocates' assessments are similar. Animal rights advocates see changes merely as incremental stages toward the desired goal whereas animal welfare advocates see changes as success. Furthermore, advocates overall are unfulfilled due to the limited successes attained and attribute failure to political partisanship. They are

overwhelmed and discouraged by the all-encompassing scope of animal abuse and lack of protection.

The advocates who participated in this project are emphatic about the significance their work has had on animal protection measures. Their only regret is how long it takes to make a real impact, but they do not dwell on disappointments, they focus only on successes yet to come. Most of the interviews contained hopes for enhanced accomplishment with more resources. Some of the participants revealed the dissonance they felt between the welfarists and the rights activists. For the rights advocates, the goal is rights and nothing less, even if they must accept the incremental progress. As the PETA representative stated, their vision is uncompromising. The welfarists appear to be satisfied with protection and reducing animal suffering, although most of them desire animal rights, they see it as an unobtainable goal; in fact, two of the participants stated firmly that rights is not a realistic concept.

The animal rights movement has had a positive effect regarding pro-animal legislation in the last decade and closely shadows other rights movements. Has the animal welfare “movement” followed the civil rights resurgence, and how will progress in human rights predict present and future legislation in animal rights? Have any advocates of the animal rights movement seen the struggle comparable to the other rights movements, including the civil rights movement of the 1960’s? Several of the sources I used made connections between the animal rights movement and other civil rights movements. Some of the interviewees for the most part did not recognize this connection but mentioned support and joint efforts from similar current movements. While I am surprised that it was not a topic to which more advocates referenced, the interviewees

who did comment on that subject responded fervidly; not only seeing similarities but saw comparisons with slavery and concentration camps.

While it appeared the animal rights movement was making progress and had an impact on public policy, the Trump administration shows reversal of protection in favor of power and money; allowing hunting in national parks and reserves, permitting unorthodox hunting methods, relaxing regulations put into place to protect the environment, trimming the endangered species list, allowing trophy hunters to import animal parts. Every advocate and activist I have had the privilege of meeting is frustrated with deregulations, and particularly discouraged that the USDA has hidden much information regarding violators of the Animal Welfare Act. It is apparent the obstruction to transparency is powerful animal use industry maneuvering policymakers and regulation. Advocates are unsure where this strategy headed, but they fear the damage done is irreversible.

Not only has the animal rights movement suffered setbacks under the current administration, so too has the women's movement, namely abortion rights. Rights for the LGBTQ population initially appeared to have made progress but it too, has deteriorated, i.e. the ban on transgender military personnel. All forms of discrimination and prejudice, intolerance, and xenophobia have blossomed under this administration, white supremacy leading the way. How do advocates experience failures, how and to what degree of failure do they blame political partisanship, economy, culture or religion? As previously stated, advocates do not consider failures. This is also evident in the data sources I referenced. The Humane Society of the United States' position is focused on delayed success, as evidenced by current attempts to get bills passed that have been in and out of

congressional committees for years. Yet, the overwhelming response for conflict, obstacles, and lack of animal protection progress was the power that wealthy animal-use industries wield over politicians. The economy and culture are often tied to legislation; partisanship appears to be a certainty in most areas.

Religion was not a major influence; neither was it a source of inspiration as it was earlier. That may be due to the decline of overall religious adherence in America, or that practice of faith regarding the use of animals is not cognizant, but more underlying much of social norms. I was fortunate to have been able to interview a chaplain; we discussed domination vs. domain over animals. Like much of religious doctrine, the implication can be skewed to suit the recipient.

Advocates of animal rights/welfare/protection view the influence and successes of the animal rights movement as a positive example of change in public policy; however, not all advocates' assessments are similar. Animal rights advocates see changes merely as incremental stages toward the desired goal whereas animal welfare agencies see changes as success...period. For welfarists, the notion of granting animals rights is distant and intangible. However, contrary to what I proposed; advocates overall are not frustrated with the limited successes attained; on the contrary, they do not see their successes as limited. Although the all-encompassing scope of animal abuse and suffering is so easily overwhelming, and advocates demonstrate a positive attitude, they only wish for more resources to attend to the many areas of animal suffering.

Activism does have an impact on government policy, but its affect is regarded both negatively or positively, either supported or thwarted by other factors. Allen (2005) examines the progress of the movement, its political achievements, and the areas where

improvement is needed. She finds that animal rights activities have matured to engagement in political tactics. Allen (2005) researched the effectiveness, success, or lack of success of the animal welfare (different from animal rights) movement, its history, the agencies and organizations that support animal welfare, and those that oppose it. Allen's (2005) problem statement is one of lack of research in the policy efficacy difficulties of the animal rights movement; she introduces the research subject as an examination of the politics of the animal rights movement and examines the political agendas, tactics, strategies, and the impact of animal rights organizations, including PETA and HSUS. Because this study was conducted in 2005, Allen's suggestion for further improvements is almost visionary, as she was not aware of how the HSUS' lobbying efforts have come to fruition. The HSUS now has its own PAC (HSUS Legal), PETA has made significant strides in animal protection (elephants will be phased out in circus attractions), and even the Animal Defense League Foundation has taken up the legal issues of animal rights. The fight for animals' legal status is now on the horizon.

Further research is granted an opportunity to find if the resurgence of human rights struggles; the efforts for same-sex marriage, gun control, LBGTQ equality, better policing policies in primarily black neighborhoods, etc., resurges mean that animal welfare policies could follow suit. An argument which most certainly will appear is the ethical question of animals' rights being as important as human rights. That philosophical debate emerges even more so as humans encroach more into animals' traditional territory. I simply state that in as much as human civil rights are as equal as animal rights, we are not comparing the victims; rather, we compare the perpetrator and crime.

Regarding the animal rights movement, there are numerous theories of new social movements. Some characterize new social movements as post-industrial, lacking political savvy or involvement. However, I believe new social movements can be differentiated from traditional, in that they are politically sophisticated. Since the 1960s, protests have been for the most part organized, but they are revolts against policy. Since the Vietnam War, protesters have expressed dissatisfaction with public policy. True, new social movements are targeting identity and humanity, but so did the civil rights movements. Suffragette movements targeted women's rights; labor movements targeted workers' rights. Those fighting for women's rights, gay rights, and black rights want the same things...the right to live with dignity, without persecution and the right to equality. Those fighting for animal rights are fighting for their right to live and life without suffering at the hand of humankind. Prior movements did not have the political shrewdness or tactics that are evident now. Traditional movements became contentious; new social movements have the propensity to do the same. There are no differences between past and new social movements other than advancement in political opportunity, communication and organization, and institutionalism.

Additionally, there are some animal rights groups that have acted in extreme manners, which can thwart efforts by the less radical groups. The effects of groups such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) have not served as a positive testimonial for the protection of animal welfare; in fact, these groups have been labeled domestic terrorism factions by the FBI (2016). An attempt to examine some of the negative impacts of these and other groups, even PETA, and how the extremism can hurt the ethical forces in play to reduce animal suffering has resulted in



little information. Unfortunately, interviews with members of these organizations were not conducted due to their regrettable label as terrorists.

The study will add to the narrative of conflict analysis and resolution, animals and societal welfare, as well as social movement theory by illuminating the new social movement's philosophies (animal rights movement, environmentalism), tactics and advances and how important advocacy can be as a change agent in policy and politics. It may also serve as support to advocates who become frustrated or overwhelmed during the struggle; knowing they are not alone in their weariness. Advocates are often reminded by agencies to practice self-help. Celebrating successes, overlooking mischance keeps the battle going. That groups are often in conflict with one another can serve to alienate the campaigner; cooperation and support would enhance the advocate's convictions as well as their confidence in their struggle.

The implication for the field of conflict resolution is significant. The benefits of the study will add to the field of conflict resolution as it pertains to activism, social movement, social movement conflict, and change, competition. The study explores not only the advocates' emotions and moral compasses behind their work, but also what they believe to be the cause and effect of advocacy. Furthermore, the results of the study provide valuable information to the discipline of facilitation for advocates and activists attempting to reconcile differences. For the academic sphere, the need for humane education could establish a new branch of study in countless disciplines. I see humane education reaching elementary schools, veterinary practices, psychology and counseling studies and more importantly, in the current field of animal studies. As much as I attempted to research as broad a population as possible within the animal rights

movement, research has been limited as I am unable to interview the extremists. In addition, I limited my questions to like-minded persons. I never interviewed anyone who was not in favor of animal welfare and/or rights. Hence, the research is biased and therefore limited to the advocates' opinions on policy. I tend to assume that animal welfare is the moral and only legitimate choice, and I did not interview any persons who thought otherwise. A further suggestion for research is to attempt a broader sample of participants to include people who are not advocates for animals. It could be advantageous to find how any other population sample would view the impact of the animal rights movement. Surveying the public regarding the issue of animal suffering may also prove to be useful for the animal welfare advocates in their quests to end suffering.

I would like to have interviewed lawmakers and asked why they voted against or for animal welfare. Their responses may have added another element to this research; however, their responses may not have been straightforward; I expect their explanations may have been convoluted. Additionally, due to the current political climate, legislators were difficult to reach. Regardless, future research may find political input valuable. I certainly did not consider interviewing those who are clearly against animal welfare; that would be a different research topic entirely. It could, however, prove to be useful in the same way this project would; knowing the opposition's mindsets and discords could be a valuable resource for advocates wishing to resolve disputes. Additionally, I did not include a question on the effect that the actions of pro-animal extremist groups might have on public policy. Could excessive activism have a deterrent effect on advocacy, public policy and the animal rights movement?

Regarding the long-term effects on policy from the Trump administration, further research is again indicated after the Trump presidency to determine any changes in public opinion regarding animal welfare, how the conservative legislators' deregulations have affected wildlife protections and factory farming. Thousands of species are becoming extinct due to man's exploitation of natural resources; while contributing to detrimental consequences on air and water. Climate change concerns have gone unheeded by this government; with extremes in climate, animals suffer. Global warming exacerbated by human depletion of natural resources has been discounted and downplayed.

Furthermore, a current theme in public policy is preserving rights, but for whom is the question. For example, gun rights vs. gun control; abortion rights vs. right to life ideology and Christian values vs. same-sex marriage. My question then is: what could be the outcome if exercising one's right impedes on another's rights? If I purport animals' rights to be the only moral choice, whose rights might I be discounting? Still, I am convinced that moral rights should trump civil rights, and that is a discussion for the field of conflict resolution and perhaps political science. Animal welfare attorneys are already testing animal rights in courts. I theorize that the dialogue regarding animal rights has a place in this field, substantially as valuable as any other social movement.

I have learned limited new information from my research, it is because being a volunteer in the field of animal welfare, there is a limited amount of information not already available to myself. I was painfully aware of a lack of diversity, but unaware of the extent. I was not aware of any serious inter-group competition; I was aware only of differences in mindsets. I was unaccustomed to the "no failure" attitude, but I am familiar with the high-spirited attitudes of welfarists. The animal rights movements can

be viewed under the overarching umbrella of social movements is a significant addition to the existing literature on animal rights/welfare in that as social movements' lifespans or energies can be chronicled, the animal rights movement may show to be still in its infancy, on a track to wider possibilities, stalled, or headed toward redundancy. The inter-group conflict within the movement is an indication of a larger need for conflict resolution. Regarding wealth, power and animal welfare, it can work in favor of animal welfarists...when the wealth and power changes hands to more compassionate elected representatives, and wealthy corporations that benefit by financial gain by protecting animals rather than exploiting them. Neither scenario, I fear is in the foreseeable future. It is my belief that the biggest obstacle in the acknowledgement of animals as sentient beings is their lack of a voice. With that understanding, it is imperative that activists, welfarists continue to speak for them. This research illustrates the impact that these organizations can make when the groups work together. Valuable concerns produced from this research garnered from the interviews and other data should be examined for conflict resolution; conflict solution and humane education in all arenas appear to be the first steps forward.

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