

Department of Social Sciences and Asian Languages

**A Sociological Examination of the Contemporary Animal Advocacy
Movement: Organisations, Rationality and Veganism**

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of
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Statement of Authorship

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.ⁱ

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature:

Date:

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List of Abbreviations

AAM	Animal Advocacy Movement
AAO	Animal Advocacy Organisation
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ALF	Animal Liberation Front
ALV	Animal Liberation Victoria
HSI	Humane Society International
HSUS	Humane Society of the United States
NFP	Not for Profit Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PETA	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
RSPCA	Royal Society for the Protection of Animals
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
UPROAR	United Protection and Rescue Organisation for Animal Rights
US	The United States of America

Abstract

This thesis analyses the animal advocacy movement, examining the ideologies of animal welfare and animal rights, as well as the rising importance of veganism. Animal welfare campaigns strive for better treatment of the non-human animals used for human ends, while animal rights campaigns aim to end the exploitation and slaughter of other animals. Animal rights campaigns generally focus on eradicating a particular form of animal exploitation (single-issue campaigns) or encouraging individuals to adopt a vegan lifestyle, in which individuals avoid all forms of animal exploitation.

The campaigns of animal advocacy organisations are analysed primarily by considering the different forms of rationality that drive social action, with a focus on ideological rationality, emotive rationality and organisational rationality. Organisations and individuals in the movement are guided by ideologies such as animal welfare or animal rights and influential theorists such as Peter Singer, Tom Regan and Gary Francione. Many campaigners do not purely promote animal welfare or animal rights, but rather promote a mixture of animal welfare and rights messages. Some campaigners are also motivated by emotion, with an attempt to shape campaigns so that an increasing number of people are encouraged to demonstrate their compassion towards non-human animals. Theories such as bureaucratisation, new privatisation and resource mobilisation were used to explore the way in which organisational considerations can influence animal advocacy campaigns.

Animal advocacy campaigns and the various forms of rationality behind these campaigns are analysed by examining a range of animal advocacy organisations in Australia and the United States, with particular emphasis on factors that are leading to rising interest in veganism within the movement, in the media and in the community.

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Introduction

This thesis analyses the animal advocacy movement (AAM),² examining the ideological foundations of animal welfare and animal rights, and the rising importance of veganism in the movement. It also analyses the organisational implications of various campaigns within the movement. Animal advocates have generated a high profile for many issues related to harm inflicted on non-human animals by humans, raising public awareness of their plight and causing some people to reflect on their consumption choices. The potential for issues around human/non-human animal relationships to become a major focus of national attention was exemplified by the Australian live animal export “crisis” in 2011.³ The reactions to this issue provide instructive insights into the way the public, the media and the AAM understand humans obligations towards other animals.

The live export issue tapped into strong community affinity for other animals amongst Australians. According to a survey of 1 202 Australians in 2010, ‘99% of Australians are against cruelty to animals’ (The Vegetarian/Vegan Society of Queensland 2010, p. 4), with this general concern often leading to a groundswell of support for efforts to improve the situation when cases of animal cruelty are exposed in the media.⁴ Widespread concern for the suffering of animals can be found in many countries. One in twenty-eight Americans is a member of the largest animal advocacy organisation (AAO) in the country, the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) (HSUS 2011a, online), and a study has found that nearly three quarters of American adults believe that humane education that encourages people to consider the welfare of non-human animals is “very” or “somewhat” important (Humane Research Council 2011a, online).

Animal welfare is an important ideology in the AAM and beyond. This perspective proposes that non-human animals should be afforded some basic protections but does not object to humans using and killing other animals for their own purposes (Bourke 2009, pp. 132-133). In contrast, animal rights gives other animals inalienable rights, regardless of the benefits humans receive from violating these rights (Regan 2007, first published 1987, pp. 23-25). This thesis uses the “philosophical” or “scholarly” understanding of the term “animal rights” (O’Sullivan 2006, pp. 6-7) associated with the rights-based theories of Tom Regan and Gary Francione. They focus on the rights of other animals to be free from exploitation and death, regardless of their treatment or the benefits to humans. According to Francione (2010a, pp. 64-65, 71), the concept of veganism puts animal rights and

rejection of the property status of other animals into practice on an individual level. Veganism is a lifestyle that avoids the use of animal products for food and clothing, as well as avoiding other forms of animal exploitation such as entertainment that involves non-human animals. The choice to maintain a diet free of animal products without taking on the broader commitment is differentiated by referring to it as a “vegan diet”.

Animal Advocacy as a Social Movement

A social movement is understood to be a population (including individuals, groups and/or organisations) with a shared collective identity based on shared opinions and beliefs, aiming to achieve some form of social change, which can be political and/or cultural (McCarthy and Zald 1997, p. 153; Diani 2000, p. 156). Randall Collins (2001, p. 38) observes that the broad movement that emerged in the late 1960s, including civil rights, antiwar, and counterculture aspects, later branched into a number of what have been termed “new social movements”. Amongst these movements are gay rights, environmentalism, and animal advocacy (Collins 2001, p. 38; Crossley 2002, p. 11; Munro 2012, p. 166-167, 171). Brian Furze *et al.* (2008, p. 499, 506) argue that these new social movements are less concerned with issues of political power than on questioning lifestyles and values, and often focus on the everyday life of people and changing individual behaviours.

While there are various ideological streams within the AAM, it can still be considered as a single social movement. Social movements typically are diverse and have significant internal differences, and the AAM is no exception (Taylor 1999, p. 27; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 272). As Soule and King (2008, p. 1568) point out: ‘Social movements are rarely unified phenomena; instead, they comprise organizations that vary with respect to objectives, strategies, and tactics’.

James Jasper and Jane Poulsen (1995, p. 493) refer to the AAM as a ‘protest movement’ and protesting is one obvious example of social movement activity that occurs in the AAM (see, for example, Sinha 2012, online; Donnelly 2012, online). Quite often public awareness of a social movement is due to media coverage of protest activity. The movement against live export in Australia was sparked by media coverage of an investigation by Animals Australia and footage of the protests after this coverage led to further awareness of the issue.

On 30 May 2011, the Australian current affairs program *Four Corners* aired graphic footage from Animals Australia, which featured cows exported from Australia being slaughtered in Indonesia. This led to constant media coverage of the issue across Australia and beyond. It generated widespread

public indignation and support for the campaign to end live animal export, with social media playing a vital role in spreading awareness about the campaign (Christensen 2011, p. 31). Thousands of Australians attended rallies opposing live export after viewing this footage (ABC News 2011b, online; Wills 2011, online; Wearne 2011, online). Even the progressive political organisation GetUp!, which had not previously campaigned for non-human animals, joined the campaign against live export (GetUp! 2011, online).

Although social movements can be associated with a drive for political change, they are most frequently associated with striving for cultural change (Crossley 2002, p. 7-9), especially in the case of new social movements (Cherry 2006, p. 156). Nick Crossley (2002, p. 8-9) explains that beyond protest, social movements also aim for 'a transformation in the habits, including linguistic and basic domestic habits, that shape our everyday lives'. While the AAM has a protest aspect to it, for example the many protests against live export in 2011 that were referred to above, transformation of habits and practices relating to animals is a particularly important aim of the movement.

The ideological foundations of the AAM are a significant focus of this thesis. John Thompson (1990, p. 5) defines ideology as 'the thought of the other' and ideologies as 'systems of thought' and 'systems of belief' related to 'social action or political practice'. In his writing on ideology, he focuses on the ways in which meaning serves relations of power which are systemically asymmetrical, what he calls 'relations of domination' (Thompson 1990, p. 7). He therefore speaks about ideology as 'meaning in the service of power' (Thompson 1990, p. 7). Thompson (1987, p. 536) makes the case that language is central to ideology, as it is vital in creating meaning and sustaining relations of domination.

Joan Dunayer (2001, p. 10) contends that the AAM attempts to change the linguistic habits of the public in order to counter the speciesist language that is the norm in society. Speciesism refers to discrimination based on species. She maintains that this is particularly important in the context of advocating for non-human animals, as they cannot change this language themselves (unlike the victims of other forms of discrimination such as racism and sexism): 'Their victims cannot, through their own voices, alter oppressive language. Humans have a verbal monopoly. And our language inscribes our prejudices. Speciesism...pervades human communication, from scholarly jargon to street slang' (Dunayer 2001, p. 10).

One example where animal advocates have attempted to change the linguistic habits of the public is through the use of alternative words to “animals”, such as the term “non-human animals”. Such language is used in the movement by large AAOs such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) (2010c, online) and the Humane Society (2008, online); prominent “bloggers” in the movement such as Francione (2007a, online) and sociologist Roger Yates (2007, online); and in books promoting animal rights, such as *The Animal Question: Why Nonhuman Animals Deserve Human Rights* (Cavalieri and Woollard 2001) and *Beyond Prejudice: The Moral Significance of Human and Nonhuman Animals* (Pluhar 1995). For these activists, using these terms is important, as using the word “animal” to describe non-human animals implies that humans are somehow separate from other animals (Williams 2012, pp. 13-14). Sociologist Elizabeth Cherry (2010, p. 472) stresses the importance of changing language to blur or shift these harmful symbolic boundaries, arguing that: ‘A central goal of animal rights activists is to dismantle the human-animal boundary, a process scholars have called “boundary shifting” ’ (Cherry 2010, p. 458).

Since the late nineteenth century, when evolutionary principles progressively became more widely accepted in Western societies, there has been increasing recognition that humans are animals, and merely one type of animal, rather than being separate to other animals (Sutherland and Nash 1994, pp. 174, 181; Williams 2012, pp. 13-14). The hope of advocates for non-human animals is that by changing the language used in reference to non-human animals, people will be encouraged to think about how they are similar to non-human animals, rather than focusing on ways in which they are different (Williams 2012, p. 47). The term “non-human animal” tends to be more often used by those with a more radical animal rights ideology, such as Francione and Yates, than those who embrace a more moderate message, such as PETA and HSUS.⁵ Nonetheless, while language towards other animals varies greatly in the AAM, there is a common desire amongst advocates with various ideologies to change linguistic habits to reflect non-human animals being sentient beings (conscious beings capable of experiencing suffering and pleasure), rather than objects (Munro 2012, p. 169; Freeman 2013, p. 98).

The changes in ‘basic domestic habits’ are particularly important to the AAM. As Crossley (2002, p. 9) explains: ‘Movements problematize the ways in which we live our lives and...call for changes in our habits of thought, action and interpretation’. A key aspect of the AAM is to problematise lifestyles in which non-human animals do not enter, or at least rarely enter, people’s ethical considerations and to propose alternatives. Francione (2010a, p. 83) acknowledges that we live ‘in a world in which eating animal products is considered by most people as normal or natural in the way that drinking

water or breathing air is'. He attempts to problematise the consumption of all animal products, with veganism proposed as the alternative (see, for example, Francione 2010a, p. 62). Cherry (2006, p. 156) explains that for vegan advocates, this focus on changing 'everyday practices in one's lifestyle' is particularly important.

Other animal advocates problematise different aspects of lifestyle, such as the consumption of products from animals that have been factory farmed (intensively confined), with a variety of alternatives proposed, including avoiding factory farmed animal products and reducing the consumption of animal products (see, for example, Animals Australia 2009d, 2009b, 2009e). These contrasting positions reflect ideological differences but are also based on organisations shaping their message to be more consistent with dominant public attitudes. Even though different aspects of animal exploitation are problematised by various elements of the AAM, and different solutions proposed, there is still a shared desire to problematise lifestyles in which animals are not ethically considered at all in people's consumption and to provide alternatives where animals are being considered.

Purpose, Central Research Question and Objectives

As noted, the purpose of this thesis is to analyse the AAM, examining its ideological foundations and other factors that influence AAOs, with a particular emphasis on the theories of animal rights and animal welfare, as well as the emergence of veganism. Animal welfare campaigns strive for better treatment of the non-human animals used for human ends, while animal rights campaigns aim to end the exploitation and slaughter of other animals. Animal rights campaigns generally either focus on eradicating a particular form of animal exploitation (single-issue campaigns) or encouraging individuals to adopt a vegan lifestyle, in which individuals avoid all forms of animal exploitation. The animal advocacy campaigns of these AAOs are analysed from a sociological perspective, drawing on theories that address aspects of social movements and organisations. The central research question is: how are animal advocacy campaigns consistent with different forms of rationality and organisational forms?

My enquiry was guided by the following objectives:

1. To examine the contemporary AAM in Australia and the United States, including key organisations and actors in the movement. This includes both large-scale organisations and activism taking place on a smaller-scale. These two countries were chosen because the initial

aim was to focus on Australia and animal advocates in the United States exert a strong influence on the AAM in Australia. AAOs based in the United States also provide particularly clear examples of the organisational processes explored in the thesis.

2. To analyse the different ideologies that influence the AAM, with a focus on animal rights and animal welfare, and how these ideologies impact on the campaigns of AAOs.
3. To expand and enrich sociological theories on organisations and social movements. This will be achieved by applying them to the context of the AAM and analysing how organisational priorities and determinants affect the campaigning and resource bases of AAOs.
4. To investigate various AAOs through case studies to inform analyses for objectives 1, 2 and 3, considering issues such as ideology, membership, finances, decision-making structures and campaigning.

Significance

Professor David Weisbrot, President of the Australian Law Reform Commission, has referred to the AAM as 'perhaps the next great social justice movement' (cited in Sankoff and White 2009, p. 2). Despite the significance of this social movement and widespread concern for animals, it has historically been largely neglected in sociological literature. Clifton Bryant (1993, p. 557) argued that despite the significance of the AAM, 'with very few exceptions, sociologists have ignored human-animal relationships and have taken only cursory notice of such related topics as animal liberation and the animal rights movement'. Similar views about sociology's neglect of human/non-human relations and the AAM have continued to be repeated (Nibert 2003, pp. 5-6). As Julian Groves has observed:

It is one of the most troublesome contradictions of our time, yet a relatively unexplored topic in the sociological literature: the way we both sentimentalize and exploit the natural world, and in particularly our closest relatives in it, the animals (Groves 1999, p. 347).

Bryant (1993, p. 557) argued that studying the AAM can assist in providing greater insight into broader issues: 'Understanding the circumstances and rationalizations of the animal rights movement is a step in understanding the larger topic of animal-related human behavior'. These steps are beginning to be taken, as Kari Weil (2012, p. 3) explained in her recent book *Thinking*

Animals: Why Animal Studies Now?: 'In the past few years, there has been an explosion of conferences, books, and discussion networks around the question of the animal'. The field of animal studies is growing, and the social sciences and sociology specifically are part of this expansion (Hamilton 2011, pp. 130, 140; Gorman 2012, online; Taylor 2010, p. 85).

In 2002 the American Sociological Association recognised the Animals and Society Section. It is also now common for sociology departments to offer courses on 'Animals and Society' (Irvine 2008, p. 1955). Leslie Irvine (2008, p. 1955) argued that more sociological research on human/non-human relations will benefit sociology as a discipline through expanding sociological insights into a relatively unexplored area (Irvine 2008, p. 1955). Despite this increasing attention, a great deal of sociological analysis remains to be done in order to better understand human/non-human relations, and particularly the AAM (Hamilton 2011, pp. 130, 140; Munro 2012, pp. 166, 177). In his review of the sociological literature on the AAM, Lyle Munro argued that this movement 'remains one of the most misunderstood and understudied social movements of our era' (Munro 2012, p. 177).

This thesis is part of the emerging sociology and animals literature, which is currently making up for the historical neglect of non-human animals in sociology, and is shedding light on topics that were previously not given adequate attention in sociological research. Sociologist Cary Williams (2012, p. 53) argues that research into these unexplored areas will enrich understanding of both human and non-human animals. It is my intention that this thesis will contribute to what sociologist David Nibert (2003, p. 22) calls '*sociology for all humans and other animals*' (his italics).

Sociology, which has a rich and proud history of exposing and challenging oppression and inequality based on gender, race, class, age and sexual orientation, must now widen its scope to include other animals in its sphere of study, and to include speciesism in its rightful place alongside other forms of oppression (Flynn 2012, p. 122).

Situating the Thesis in the Field

I have been involved in the AAM through voluntary work with AAOs for several years, though none of these are referred to in this thesis. This has meant that I have not directly drawn on my personal experiences as an activist as a source of information on these organisations. However, the topic for this thesis certainly comes out of my own interests and experiences. Noted sociologist Alvin

Gouldner came to the conclusion that the social sciences are not, and cannot be, value free (objective) (Pedraza 2002, p. 75). In his influential article 'Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology', he argued that sociologists' selection of problems to address, and their choice of certain theoretical perspectives over others to understand these problems, are based on subjective personal values (Gouldner 1962, p. 212).

Animal advocate and historian Bernard Unti (2012, online) explained that 'the notion of scholarly objectivity has become both problematic and dubious these days'. He goes on to say that: 'It's natural for people to take on the study of topics in which they have a personal interest' and are therefore likely to have strong views about, but this does not mean that their work cannot meet the professional standards of the discipline. Similarly, Yates (2004a, paragraph 43) points to feminist theory, particularly 1970s "radical feminism", as providing many examples of academic writing that is 'an overt political act...to actively be of *use* to particular social movement activists and thinkers' (his italics). It is my hope that this thesis will not only enhance the sociological literature on human/non-human relations and the AAM, but will also be 'something that is relevant and indispensable to practitioners' in the movement, which 'can be utilized by activists in their various campaigns' (Munro 2012, p. 174, 175). I also hope that this research can assist in predicting future trends for the organisations covered and the AAM as a whole.

I situate this thesis in the broad field of "Animal Studies" (also known as "Human-Animal Studies") 'devoted to the investigation of the relationships between human and nonhuman animals and their environments' (Australian Animal Studies Group 2011, online). More specifically, it fits under the area of "Critical Animal Studies", associated with the Institute for Critical Animal Studies, established by philosopher Steven Best and education professor Anthony Nocella in 2001.⁶ This Institute has now spread around the world, with branches in North America, Latin America, Africa, Europe and Oceania (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 1). As mentioned above, I approach this topic as both an activist and academic, which is consistent with the focus of Critical Animal Studies. In their book *The Rise of Critical Animal Studies: From the Margins to the Centre*, Nik Taylor and Richard Twine (p. 11) explain that: 'In common with anti-capitalist, anti-racist and feminist research, CAS [Critical Animal Studies] scholars often assume a dual identity of activist and academic'.

While there are certainly crossovers between Critical Animal Studies and Animal Studies, with Animal Studies scholars sometimes touching on issues associated with Critical Animal Studies, for example, there are also important differences. These distinctions are highlighted by scholars in both areas of study (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 2). Critical Animal Studies is more ‘overtly political’ and ideological ‘than the often wholly academic’ Animal Studies, explicitly opposing speciesism (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 2). It rejects ‘theory-for-theory’s sake’ (Best 2009, p. 28) and, in common with critical sociology (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 7), instead favours ‘engaged theory’, which is ‘theory intended to support social change directly or indirectly’ (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 6). Best (2009, pp. 17, 40, 48, 49, 51) explained that scholars situated in the field of Critical Animal Studies do not just want to study our current relationship with other animals, they also want to change it.

This idea of not just studying society but desiring to bring about social change goes well beyond human/non-human relations and can be traced back to the beginnings of sociology. For example, philosopher Karl Marx, named as one of the “founding fathers” of sociology (see, for example, Slattery 2003, p. 1; Bottomore 1960, p. 33), famously stated: ‘The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it’ (Marx 1976, first published 1888, p. 65). There are strong links between Critical Animal Studies and the critical sociology outlined by sociologists such as Gouldner and Yates above. Both have an ‘attentiveness to issues of power’ and are concerned with ‘working toward progressive social change’ (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 3). As this thesis is grounded in both of these perspectives, it draws on sociological insights and authors, but also theorists outside of sociology who are providing a critical perspective on human/non-human relations. This is consistent with the multidisciplinary focus of Critical Animal Studies (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 3).

The intent of this thesis is consistent with some of the aims of Critical Animal Studies in ‘its emphasis on the need for total liberation stressing the commonalities binding various oppressed groups; and the importance of learning from and with activists’ (Best 2009, p. 13). This intersectional approach highlighting the similarities between different forms of oppression is generally applied in engaged theory generally and critical sociology specifically. Critical Animal Studies extends this intersectional framework to include non-human animals, a link that has historically been neglected in other engaged theory (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 7). Regarding the importance of activism, the Institute for Critical Animal Studies conferences invite both activists and academics to attend and present papers, ‘in order to contest academic boundary-making and to attempt to create links between scholarship

and activism' (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 11). These conferences also typically feature stalls from campaign groups and public protest events (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 11). Munro (2012, p. 175) explains that academic theories are enhanced by drawing on the 'practical knowledge' and 'activist wisdom' of participants from the social movements they are studying. Scholar-activist discussions are likely to generate useful information for both parties (Munro 2012, p. 176).

This activist focus is one of the differentiations between Critical Animal Studies and Animal Studies (what Best terms "mainstream animal studies") (Best 2009, p. 13; Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 2). Another point of departure is that in Critical Animal Studies there is a 'willingness to engage and debate controversial issues such as anti-capitalism...and the use of sabotage as a resistance tactic' (Best 2009, p. 13). My thesis observes the way neoliberalism ("free market capitalism") and consumerism have shaped society (Cahill 2007, pp. 221-227; Munck 2005, pp. 65-66), and have also influenced the advocacy of AAOs. It also touches on the "direct action" movement, the Animal Liberation Front, which engages in sabotage in the name of non-human animals (for more on these issues, see, for example, Torres 2007; Best and Nocella 2004; Nibert 2002; Glasser 2011a).⁷

Research Design and Methodology

As this thesis is grounded in Critical Animal Studies and critical sociology, I am taking an interpretive approach. Such an approach does not merely give a literal reading of the data, analysing aspects such as 'form, content, structure, style, layout' (Mason 2002, p. 149), it also considers the broader structural context in which this data was produced (Neuman 2003, p. 81). Jennifer Mason (2002, p. 110) acknowledges the importance of such an approach, pointing out that documents are 'constructed in particular contexts, by particular people, with particular purposes, and with consequences—intended and unintended'.

Through using a qualitative approach, I was able to draw on multiple research methods. Three methods were used to generate data: document analysis, interviews and case studies. The use of three methods provides methodological triangulation, with the different research methods complementing each other (Della Porta and Keating 2008, p. 34). Through drawing on these range of methods, the topic of animal advocacy was explored through a wide range of sources. All of these research methods contain strengths and weaknesses, so the weaknesses of each method were overcome by drawing on other techniques for data collection. Methodological triangulation allows a

range of perspectives to emerge, which can be explored and analysed in relation to the central research question and objectives.

Stage One: Document Analysis and Literature Review

When conducting a literature review, it is useful to organise research around key concepts (Babbie 2008, p. 471). The key concepts for this project were animal rights and animal welfare. The literature review focused on the central research question, the objectives and the organisations covered as case studies. Other focus areas included the key theorists that drive the AAM and relevant academic work on the sociology of organisations and social movements, particularly those theories related to bureaucracy, new privatisation and resource mobilisation. The literature drew on academic sources, texts that were deemed significant to the AAM, as well as information from the organisations studied themselves. Some information about their organisational characteristics was available through publically-available documents; however, further insight into these organisations was obtained through in-depth interviews and content analysis.

Stage Two: In-Depth Interviews

A total of eleven in-depth interviews were conducted. This was a sufficient number to gain insights directly from all of the AAOs that were covered in detail throughout the thesis, as well as some additional voices beyond these organisations. These interviews complemented the literature review and further analysis of the AAM was achieved through content analysis of the emails AAOs sent to their subscribers and the mainstream media coverage of the live export issue. Both of these are outlined in more detail below.

Key figures from all of the organisations chosen for case studies were interviewed in order to develop a greater understanding of these organisations themselves, as well as their reflections on the broader AAM. These case studies are outlined below. Questions asked depended on the individual being interviewed, however, there were some standard questions asked of all the key figures of AAOs. Having similar questions allowed easier comparison between organisations. These questions can be found in the Appendix and were selected based on the different ideological and organisational considerations organisations face. These interviews assisted the exploration of how decisions are made within organisations and how ideologies such as animal rights and welfare affect the activism of these organisations.

Interviews were also undertaken with individuals who were from AAOs which were not selected as case studies or who were not involved with a particular AAO. These individuals were selected because their observations of the AAM were relevant to the thesis and interviewing them allowed me to gain greater insights into their views on the movement, with questions specifically tailored so that they were relevant to the individual being interviewed and the objectives of the thesis. All of the individuals who were interviewed are listed in the table below.

Table 0.1 The Individuals Interviewed and their Position

Interviewee name	Position
Mark Pearson	Executive Director of Animal Liberation New South Wales
Patty Mark	President of Animal Liberation Victoria
Glenys Oogjes	Executive Director of Animals Australia
Gary Francione	Animal rights lawyer and creator of the Abolitionist Approach website
Andrew Rowan	Chief International Officer and Chief Scientific Officer of HSUS CEO of Humane Society International
Katrina Fox	Freelance journalist and animal advocate
Ashley Fruno	Senior campaigner for PETA Asia
Peter Singer	Philosopher and animal advocate
Richard Jones	First Convenor of Friends of the Earth Founder of Fund for Animals Co-founder of Greenpeace Australia
Noah Hannibal	President of United Protection and Rescue Organisation for Animal Rights
Jeffrey Flocken	Regional Director of the International Fund for Animal Welfare

A semi-structured interview model was followed for all interviews where ‘several recommended questions are listed as part of each topic to be covered’ (McMurray, Pace, and Scott 2004, p. 196). This form of interview has the benefit of granting some latitude for interviewees, while also providing somewhat standard topics so that responses can be more easily compared as the topics covered are relatively consistent (McMurray, Pace, and Scott 2004, p. 196). Open questions, which ‘ask for broad or general information...and allow interviewees to phrase their answers as they wish’ (McMurray, Pace, and Scott 2004, p. 198), were prepared for all of the interviews. Using these techniques allowed participants to reflect on information or opinions without being too confined by the parameters of the question.

Interviews were roughly one hour, however, due to the open questions, the length of the interviews varied depending on the length of the interviewee’s responses to the questions. Interviewees were mostly contacted via email, although contact was also made by telephone where required. My research assistant took notes during the interviews, I then edited these notes and sent them to the

interviewee for approval before use in the thesis. Throughout the thesis, when a point is taken from one of the interviews I conducted, this will be indicated through the inclusion of 'interview' in the reference.

Stage Three: Case Studies

Cary Williams (2012, p. 1) makes the case that AAOs 'are one of the primary ways the public is educated about animal issues'. Organisations advocating for animals are key players in the AAM, and need to be understood as social movement organisations (SMOs). Building on their definition of a social movement, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1997, p. 153) define a SMO as 'a complex, or formal, organisation that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or countermovement'. Case studies of SMOs were used as a comparative tool to assist in answering the research question and to test the organisational theories examined (Babbie 2008, p. 326). The case studies involved in-depth investigations into key AAOs throughout the thesis. Robert Yin (1984, p. 23) defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

The American organisations, PETA and HSUS, were chosen as case studies for two reasons. Firstly, they represent long established and large AAOs, which are particularly suited for study through the lens of organisational theories such as resource mobilisation, new privatisation and bureaucratisation. Secondly, the ideologies, promotional practices and campaigning of these organisations are considered by some to be contentious: both have generated considerable attention and attracted criticism (see, for example, Glasser 2011c, pp. 58-63; Torres 2007, pp. 90-92, 137-140; Francione 2010a, pp. 60-74). Although there have been previous studies of these organisations (see, for example, Unti 2004; Francione 1996, pp. 62-74; Beers 2006, pp. 8-12, 156-163), most were not in the context of the sociology of organisations, meaning that these case studies will contribute to the body of sociological knowledge in that area. There is substantial information available on both PETA and HSUS. Primary information accessed from publically-available documents included finances, membership, staffing, purposes of the organisations, and outlines of their actions and activities. Secondary sources were also accessed to provide a more thorough analysis.

Animals Australia was chosen due to its relatively large size and its recent high-profile campaigns that included widespread public advertising. There was little information available through Animals Australia's publically-available documents and a review of the academic literature did not come up

with any further material. The interview with Glenys Oogjes, Executive Director of the organisation, provided insights into the organisation which contribute original information to the organisation's limited profile in terms of academic research.

Animal Liberation Victoria (ALV) and United Protection and Rescue Organisation for Animal Rights (Uproar) were chosen because they are very different organisations to the three described above, both in terms of organisational form and advocacy. Both are totally volunteer run and focus on "animal rights vegan activism". Angela Guntha (2006, p. 73) differentiates "animal rights vegan activists" from other animal advocates because most or all of their advocacy is focused on promoting veganism. Organisations pursuing this method of activism will be referred to as "animal rights vegan organisations". There was some information about these organisations online, although most of the material included was obtained through interviews. Collectively these case studies were used to examine links between their organisational form and the types of campaigns they choose to conduct.

The final stage was synthesis of the information obtained through the literature review and interviews. This information was analysed to examine the relationships between the different animal advocacy campaigns and the organisational forms of AAOs carrying out these campaigns. The process was informed by consideration of the different forms of rationality that drive various animal advocacy campaigns. The case study approach draws on the data collection methods of document analysis and interviews. The use of case studies therefore complements and builds upon the research methods already discussed by using them to demonstrate in a practical manner some of the different ideologies, campaigns and organisational forms in the AAM.

Ethical Issues

All interviews were approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee. To ensure that interviews were conducted ethically, participants were informed in detail about the project and purpose of the interview. They were asked for their written consent to participate and were advised of their rights. Participants were given the option of remaining anonymous and advised that they could remove themselves and any information they provided at any time. They were given the opportunity to correct anything in the interview notes that did not accurately reflect their views. Any points in the thesis that are based on these interviews come from the final approved notes, not the original notes that were sent to participants after their interview.⁸ These approved notes from the interviews can be found in the Appendix of this thesis.

The cooperation and support of interviewees was most appreciated. Their valuable contributions have enabled a more thorough study of the AAM and AAOs than would otherwise have been possible. It is hoped that these participants will benefit from the information presented in the thesis, and, if they are activists, be able to gain insights that help to make their advocacy more effective.

Animal Rights, Animal Welfare and Animal Liberation

The concepts of animal rights and animal welfare, which have been outlined above, provide a useful starting point in understanding AAOs and their campaigns. However, many AAOs and individual animal advocates cannot be labelled as purely promoting animal welfare or animal rights, as they promote a mixture of both. For example, PETA believe in animal rights as their ideal “end goal” but engage in animal welfare campaigns alongside their animal rights campaigns, in order to achieve short-term, pragmatic gains (Newkirk 2010, online). This shows that the concepts cannot necessarily be viewed as binary distinctions but are more accurately perceived as a continuum (O'Sullivan 2006, p. 3; Oogjes 2010, interview; Pearson 2011, interview).

It is also important to note that animal welfare and rights are not the only theories which provide a framework in which to understand our obligations to non-human animals. Other perspectives include the feminist ethics of care and the animal liberation perspective. While the primary focus will be animal rights and welfare, due to the particular importance of these theories to the AAM (Garner 2006a, p. 161; Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 346; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266), the significance of these other perspectives is acknowledged and addressed in the thesis. For example, Chapter One will investigate some of the emotional drivers of the AAM, which will include discussion on the feminist ethics of care theory.

The animal liberation perspective is similar to the animal rights position in that it demands the abolition, rather than reform, of animal exploitation and slaughter. However, it differs particularly in terms of tactics, with a focus on direct action such as the actions carried out by the Animal Liberation Front, rather than working within institutions such as the state (Best 2009, p. 25). The liberation approach is also associated with total liberation – seeking liberation for both human and non-human animals, rather than focusing just on non-human animals. There is an acknowledgement that different forms of oppression, such as speciesism, sexism and racism, are built on a common logic and all need to be opposed – rather than focusing on one in particular (Glasser 2011c, p. 53;

Best 2009, p. 13). As noted above, this thesis is grounded in Critical Animal Studies and will incorporate this intersectional analysis, particularly in Chapter Three, which will explore how animal advocacy campaigns can contribute to other forms of inequality.

Overview

Chapter One

This chapter provides some context on the influence of ideology and emotion on the AAM, particularly focusing on the theories of animal rights and welfare. Analysis throughout the thesis was informed by close attention to several theoretical models. Max Weber's various forms of rationality were used as a tool to understand the way AAOs function and the various types of campaigning they initiate. His concept of *Wertrationalität*, or value rationality, refers to decisions being made according to an absolute value or belief, such as a religious or other ideological commitment. This form of rationality is referred to throughout the thesis as "ideological rationality". Emotive rationality is a driving force for many people within the AAM, and other movements, who passionately advocate for various causes. It relates to decisions being based on specific states of emotion (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101). Weber's work generally was not central to this thesis but these different forms of rationality provided a useful starting point in analysing the AAM.

In order to explore the different ideologies that underpin the movement, philosophical writings on human/non-human relations by influential theorists such as Regan, Francione, and Australian ethicist Peter Singer are explored. While Regan and Francione's work has not been as influential as Singer's in the AAM and beyond, there is a focus on their work as well because they provide clear articulations of rights-based views. Unlike Regan and Francione, Singer is a utilitarian whose philosophy is closer to the animal welfare perspective than animal rights. He focuses on the importance of animal suffering but not of continued life for non-human animals. This idea is central to the animal welfare position (Francione 2009b, pp. 3-7). Debates rage in the AAM between the relative merits of rights and welfare approaches to animal advocacy (Garner 2006a, p. 161; Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 346; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266).

While this is significant, it is also important to take into account the complexities of the animal rights and welfare continuum, as well as the limitations of analysing the AAM purely through the lens of

animal rights and welfare, which were both outlined above. In order to account for these factors, this chapter introduces the idea of analysing animal advocacy campaigns in terms of the way they can be considered to reflect what noted sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein refers to as anti-systemic or integrationist social change. Anti-systemic social change seeks to destroy the existing system perceived to have led to inequality, whereas integrationist social change works to speed up progressive gains within this current system (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 653, 658).

In this chapter the concept of veganism and its history are also explored. Vegan campaigns are an example of anti-systemic social change – they challenge existing attitudes and laws towards other animals. The vast majority of the population in Western countries consume animal products. Welfare campaigns work for integrationist social change within this construct – the animal welfare ideology is widely accepted in both public opinion and in the laws of Western countries (White 2009, p. 97; Francione 1996, pp. 1, 163; Sankoff 2009, p. 9; Garner 2006a, p. 161). Single-issue animal rights campaigns that oppose particular forms of animal exploitation are often integrationist. This is because they typically focus on forms of exploitation that are already unpopular in the community, such as dog fighting, the dog meat trade, cock fighting, seal clubbing or whaling. Rejection of such practices is mostly in tune with prevailing attitudes, and often laws, in countries such as Australia and the United States (Kamenev 2010, online; World Society for the Protection of Animals 2011, online).

Chapter Two

In addition to ideological commitment and philosophical influences, animal advocacy campaigns are also driven by organisational imperatives. This chapter explores the body of theory, including concepts of instrumental rationality and bureaucracy, new privatisation and resource mobilisation, that explore ways in which organisations tend to become increasingly motivated by organisational considerations, particularly as they grow larger (Smith 2007, p. 15).

In order to explain these trends, this chapter focuses on the key concept of instrumental rationality. This form of rationality is associated with an orientation towards economic considerations and bureaucratisation, with control concentrated in the hands of managerial elites through procedural rules. George Ritzer (2000, pp. 12-15), in his text *The McDonaldization of Society*, commented that

trends towards 'efficiency, calculability, predictability and control' permeate all aspects of society. New privatisation is closely linked to instrumental rationality. It refers to a situation where 'the organizational culture of government and non-profit sectors is restructured according to market principles' (Jurik 2004, p. 2). This trend has greatly accelerated as a result of the dominance of neoliberalism since the 1980s (Jurik 2005, p. 41; 2004, p. 1). Resource mobilisation theory holds that the power of organisations increase as they grow in size and accrue organisational complexity, material and other resources (Furze et al. 2008, p. 502). This tendency can be used to explain and understand collective behaviour and social movement activity (McCarthy and Zald 1997, pp. 151-152; 2001, p. 545) .

Resource mobilisation literature investigates the way in which organisational decisions can become strongly influenced by issues such as resource acquisition, organisational survival and career considerations rather than ideology or emotional concerns. In terms of maximising participation and financial support, actions such as 'giving money and signing a petition' are optimal because they 'require little effort and imply no long-term involvement' from those supporting their campaigns (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 543). This assertion of McCarthy and Zald's is referred to as the "little effort paradigm" in the thesis. Throughout the thesis, the term "organisational rationality" is used when referring to these theories and processes in general. These concepts are introduced in this chapter and applied to the features and actions of AAOs and their associated campaigning modes in later chapters.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three explores the relevance of the organisational theories outlined in the previous chapter to the AAM. Larger AAOs were seen to be oriented towards integrationist campaigns such as welfare campaigns and single-issue campaigns rather than more anti-systemic campaigns promoting veganism. PETA is a clear example of an organisation that moderated its campaigns and message as it acquired resources, grew larger, more professional and more centralised. When PETA was much smaller it dismissed the efforts of welfarists to reform ways in which non-human animals are exploited (Francione 1996, pp. 62-64, 71). Since then it has increasingly embraced "pragmatism" and now has a strong focus on regulating the industries that use and kill other animals (Newkirk 2010, online). PETA also pursues integrationist activism in other ways. It uses modern advertising and marketing techniques to get its messages out to a broad audience, capitalising on dominant

attitudes towards celebrity culture, consumerism, patriarchy, nationalism and militarism. While this integrationist approach has clear organisational benefits, this style of campaigning is controversial and has many critics. As noted above, PETA's campaigns will be analysed from an intersectional perspective, as well as drawing on notions of integrationist and anti-systemic social change.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four presents a case study investigating the online campaigns of some key AAOs. It analyses the actions promoted in emails sent out by larger AAOs such as PETA, HSUS, Humane Society International (HSI), and Animals Australia, which were examined to see to what extent they reflected integrationist or anti-systemic advocacy. The analysis also considered whether emails promoted welfare oriented and single-issue campaigns or veganism. Finally, the emails were assessed for their consistency with the little effort paradigm suggested by McCarthy and Zald. The case study demonstrated integrationist activism in the AAM and its association with larger organisational forms.

Chapter Five

Chapter Five investigates the media coverage of human/non-human relations in order to establish the wider ideological framework in which AAOs work within. The animal welfare perspective, rather than animal rights, was found to be the dominant or hegemonic way in which this society understands its obligations to other animals. This is particularly clear in the way in which the media frames news stories about our relationship with them. Framing is 'the way the news is packaged' (Parenti 1993, p. 201) and it influences how audiences understand and interpret issues and events, as well as their evaluations of political action (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 216). A case study was undertaken of the media framing of the live export crisis, which, as noted earlier, captured enormous media and public attention following graphic footage of Australian cows being slaughtered in Indonesia on a *Four Corners* program aired in May 2011. Mainstream media coverage was analysed to assess the extent to which either the animal welfare frame, that accepts "humane" animal slaughter, or the animal rights frame, that rejects all slaughter, were promoted.

Chapter Six

The Internet has been used to create new, alternative spaces for a variety of communities and interests that are not well catered for or represented in traditional media forms (Goggin 2006, pp. 259-276). Chapter Six draws on the sociological concept “claims making”, which refers to individuals making claims and their cause benefiting if they are accepted as true (Ferrante 2011, p. 178). It uses this concept to investigate the growing success of vegan claims making. It explores the potential for animal rights vegan activists to use the Internet to promote alternative frames to the dominant animal welfare frame generally presented in mainstream media. Francione’s website *Animal Rights: The Abolitionist Approach* has been very influential, not only within the AAM, but also beyond it. His arguments promoting veganism and animal rights, together with those of other animal rights commentators like Victor Schonfeld, have been increasingly reported in mainstream media sources such as the *BBC*, the *Guardian*, and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, spreading the message to a broader, more “general” audience (Boyd-Barrett 2006, pp. 206-207). Not only are the arguments for veganism of animal rights advocates like Francione being mainstreamed, but also strong environmental and health reasons are being canvassed in the mainstream media.

Collectively, this promotion has increased awareness and interest in veganism in the community. This has led to more and more vegan options in supermarkets, take away food outlets and restaurants. This in turn makes it less difficult to become a vegan, although this decision still requires strong commitment. While animal welfare and “humane” slaughter remain the dominant paradigm for understanding our obligations to other animals, this dominance is being challenged by growing recognition and acceptance of animal rights and veganism, which together oppose animal slaughter for human purposes, regardless of how it is carried out.

Chapter Seven

Chapter Seven explored how the rise of veganism in broader society has shaped the role of veganism in the AAM. New organisations have recently developed which participate in animal rights vegan activism. Uproar was examined as an example of one of these organisations. Additionally, some existing organisations, ALV, have changed direction to mainly focus on veganism. Finally, larger organisations such as Animals Australia, which previously promoted “humane” animal products to the public, are now encouraging animal-free alternatives and PETA has more recently begun to embrace the term “vegan” and include vegan campaigns in its advocacy. These trends were explored

in terms of the importance of ideological, emotive and organisational rationality in influencing organisations to move towards (and away from) veganism.

Chapter One:

A Theoretical Overview of Ideological Rationality, Emotive Rationality and the Animal Advocacy Movement

Introduction

There are significant differences in ideologies (Snow and Benford 1988; Snow 2004; Oliver and Johnston 2000) and types of activism accepted and practised by the wide range of individuals and organisations that make up the animal advocacy movement (AAM). Their views on human/non-human relations diverge markedly, as do their views about the best methods to achieve their goals. There is still enough commonality amongst the various participants and ideologies, however, to identify one broad movement.

The chief ideological divide is between animal welfare and animal rights (Garner 2006a, p. 161; Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 346; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266). Put simply, animal welfare accepts the idea that humans should continue using and killing non-human animals, while ensuring some protection for animals. Animal welfare is associated with “humane” animal products such as free-range eggs and organic milk. Animal rights theory provides a more fundamental challenge to our current relationship with other animals. The ideology of animal rights contests the concept of other animals being here for humans to use and slaughter; regardless of how “humanely” or otherwise this is done. It holds that humans should confer fundamental rights to other animals. Animal rights is closely tied to veganism, which involves an individual commitment to not eat or otherwise consume animal products, as well as to avoid other instances of animal exploitation, such as the use of other animals for entertainment (Williams 2012, pp. 13-14).

These ideologies are important in driving activism in the AAM, but so are emotional concerns, although these are often downplayed by activists. Feminist vegan scholar Carol Adams and other feminists believe that the approach of theorists on human/non-human relations such as Peter Singer, Tom Regan and Gary Francione privilege the “masculine” traits of reason and rationality, while failing to embrace emotions and caring as a legitimate source for moral considerations (Adams 1996, pp. 171-175; Munro 2012, p. 168). The ethics of care theory emerged in the 1980s and has been applied to the issue of animal exploitation by Adams and other theorists, such as Josephine

Donovan (Hamington 2008, pp. 178-179). On this issue, the feminist ethics of care is neither an animal rights nor welfare theory, but is an alternative perspective. From this viewpoint, humans have moral obligations to other animals because they are beings with feelings and people must respond to those feelings based on the particularities of the situation (Donovan and Adams 2007, pp. 2, 3, 13). This chapter will introduce some of the ideologies and emotional considerations that shape the campaigns of the AAM.

Rationality in the Animal Advocacy Movement

As was noted in the Introduction, the different forms of rationality identified by German sociologist Max Weber provide a useful starting point in examining the forces that shape the AAM. *Zweckrationalität*, or instrumental rationality, means making decisions according to planned results. In this case, the social actor chooses the means and ends of an action. In the context of bureaucracies, this form of rationality can have the effect of concentrating control in the hands of managerial elites through procedural rules. It is these elites that have power within organisations, as they define the ends and police the means (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101). Instrumental rationality and bureaucratisation will be explored in more detail in Chapter Two in the discussion on concepts of organisational rationality.

Another form of rationality identified by Weber, *Wertrationalität*, or value rationality (Oakes 2003, p. 25; Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101), refers to decisions and actions being directed by an absolute value or belief, such as a religious or other ideological commitment. Here, the ends of an action are driven by these values (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101; Scott and Marshall 2009). This form of rationality has also been referred to as “axiological rationality” and “value conformity” and refers to situations where a social actor is acting in conformity with the values that they have internalised (Boudon 1997, p. 4). This occurs when there is ‘congruence between the values one endorses and one’s actions’ (Boudon 1997, p. 5). This form of rationality will be referred to as “ideological rationality” throughout this thesis. Finally, emotive rationality occurs when decisions are based on specific states of emotion (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101).

Ideological Rationality

Ideology is an important factor in motivating actors in social movements generally (Snow 2004, p. 383), as well as the AAM specifically. The need for many activists to provide ‘intellectual justifications for their feelings’, and perhaps a desire to be seen as being driven by a clear ideological

rationality, rather than more emotive forms of rationality, has led to animal advocates looking to philosophical writings on our relationship with other animals to underpin their goals and actions (Groves 2001, p. 221; Taylor 2005, p. 46). These writers include Regan and Francione, whose impact has been considerable, especially since the widespread adoption of the Internet (Yates 2008; 2004b, paragraph 17; Groves 2001, p. 221). The opportunities opened up through the use of the Internet will be discussed in Chapter Six. Peter Singer's philosophy has been, and continues to be, very influential. Ingrid Newkirk (2010, online), President of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), recently drew on Singer's arguments, rather than using more emotional appeals, to defend PETA against criticism of some its activism. Groves (2001, p. 222) labels the philosophers of the AAM as the "high priests" of the movement. Sociologist Bob Torres (2007, pp. 111, 164) uses similar language to Groves in his depiction of the role of Singer as the unquestionable "god" or at least "father" of the AAM.

Peter Singer and Animal Welfare

James Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin's (cited in O'Sullivan 2006, p. 3) comment that 'philosophers served as midwives of the animal rights movement in the late 1970s' captures the significance attached to these writers. In this period, before Regan and Francione's work began to influence the movement, Singer's utilitarian philosophy was vital to the growth of both the AAM and a catalyst for an increase in concern amongst the general public about our relationships with other animals. Singer's text *Animal Liberation* was first published in 1975 and led to not only an 'organizational explosion' in groups advocating for animals, but also assisted in the rise of the animal rights arm of the AAM (Beers 2006, p. 3). Mark Pearson, Executive Director of Animal Liberation New South Wales, has highlighted the importance of Peter Singer in "legitimising" concern for non-human animals:

Singer's work caused a big shock wave in faculties, industries, companies, animal industries and beyond because of his clear logic rather than the emotion and anthropomorphism usually associated with animal rights groups. Singer's work tore away the armoury that industries usually used to dismiss the claims of animal rights activists due to his rationality (Pearson 2011, interview).

In his book *Animal Liberation*, Singer drew on liberation sociology to understand that through "othering", dominant groups assume their interests are more important than the interests of the oppressed group. This fundamental dynamic is useful in understanding racism and sexism, as well as

speciesism – discrimination based on species (Wicks 2004, p. 269; Singer 2012, interview). Non-human animals are sentient, meaning that they have interests (for example, an interest in avoiding suffering), yet, due to speciesism, their interests are denied simply due to their species (Wicks 2004, p. 269). Singer’s notion of animal liberation and discussion of speciesism was a strong influence in the more widespread adoption of an animal rights ideology that challenged human-imposed hierarchies.

These views challenged long held values related to the animal welfare ideology, which was, and remains, focused on limiting the harm caused by the lower place in the hierarchy of living beings ascribed to non-human animals. The focus is on working for better treatment of other animals used for human ends (Beers 2006, pp. 3-4; Singer 2012, interview). Animal welfarists oppose acts of cruelty towards other animals, but not what they view as the humane use of animals for most uses, such as for food and clothing (Beers 2006, p. 3). While there had been individuals advocating for vegetarianism and against vivisection (experimentation on live animals) since the 1800s, before the 1970s, a more radical movement with a significant animal rights component did not exist. Most AAOs were traditional animal welfare organisations like the RSPCA, as well as cat and dog societies (Singer 2012, interview; Leneman 1999, p. 219).

Welfarists not only accept human supremacy over all other animals but also uphold hierarchies amongst non-human animals: while all animals deserve ethical consideration, some are given more than others (Beers 2006, p. 3; Munro 2012, p. 170). For example, ‘the family companion animal, they contend, unquestionably earns a higher place on the pyramid than a cow or pig’ (Beers 2006, p. 3). Cherry (2010, p. 458) explains that in Western culture, cats and dogs are seen as ‘symbolically unfit for consumption’, in contrast to other animals socially constructed as “food animals”. Welfarists do not challenge these social constructions.

Singer’s (2012, interview) rejection of speciesism and the serious consideration he gives to a wide range of species places his position closer to animal rights theorists such as Regan than the traditional animal welfare approach in this respect. Although Singer has played a key role in the move towards animal rights in the broader AAM and, as noted above, has often been labelled as the “father of the animal rights movement”, he explicitly rejects a rights-based approach (Bourke 2009, p. 136; Singer 2007, first published 1987, p. 15; Munro 2012, p. 171). Singer’s philosophy of “animal

liberation” can be viewed as a “middle ground” approach, between animal welfare and animal rights (Munro 2012, p. 173). As was touched on in the Introduction, this shows that these ideologies should be viewed as a continuum rather than a binary, with many views falling somewhere in between the two.

Singer (2012, interview) explains that he is ‘far from those who take a rights-based approach philosophically’. He acknowledges that there is ‘more than a verbal difference’ between the approaches and in fact the philosophical differences are ‘fundamental’. These differences are also likely to have ‘practical implications’ (Singer 2007, first published 1987, pp. 14-15). He considers that philosophically, as a utilitarian, he is closer to philosopher Ray Frey who Singer argues would not want to change anything in terms of our current relationship with other animals. Singer’s perspective on our ideal relationship with other animals would, however, be in practice very different from Frey’s, in that Singer, like Regan, would like to see very radical changes to our interactions with other animals, though Singer focuses particularly on factory farming (Singer 2012, interview; Munro 2012, pp. 171, 173).

Singer uses the term “animal rights” as a ‘shorthand reference’ for ‘the way in which the needs and desires of animals’ means that we have ‘moral obligations’ towards them (Singer 2007, first published 1987, pp. 14-15). His association with the term “animal rights”, at the same time as philosophically rejecting a rights-based position, illustrates the widespread confusion over the term “animal rights” (Bourke 2009, pp. 136, 143; Francione 1996, p. 2). The use of the term in this thesis was explained in the Introduction and will be discussed further in this chapter in the section on Regan, Francione and animal rights.

It is Singer’s utilitarianism that leads to him avoiding a rights-based position. It is the “rights” aspect of “animal rights”, rather than the “animal” aspect that Singer objects to. He contends that to say human beings have rights just because of their species is an example of speciesism and that if humans did have rights, then so should other animals. He rejects human rights too, and rights in general (Singer 2007, first published 1987, pp. 15-16). Singer (2007, first published 1987, pp. 15-16) maintains that rights are not the only way to raise the status of animals. Instead he proposes that we focus on animals’ interests and other considerations, such as preferences and experiencing pleasure or pain.

The focus on interests is consistent with a utilitarian approach, although other philosophical approaches also use the concept of interests. Utilitarianism focuses on the result of one's actions (Taylor 1982, pp. 129, 131). Utilitarians use the universal 'greatest happiness principle' to judge actions, with actions considered right if they produce happiness (defined as pleasure and the absence of pain) and wrong if they produce the opposite of happiness (defined as pain and taking away pleasure) (Mill 2004, p. 386). Utilitarians preference actions that lead to the 'general good' (Williams 1973, p. 99) or more specifically, 'the greatest net satisfaction of interests' or 'the greatest good for the greatest number' (Matheny 2006, p. 15). This principle acts as a mathematical equation for determining the resolution to moral problems. It has been argued that the principle allows the individual to act purely on the basis of logic, without needing to use their own judgment (Caputo 2003, p. 172).

Singer (2007, first published 1987, p. 16) contends that animal interests 'should be given the same consideration as the like interests of any other being'. Singer's (2012, interview) critique of speciesism means that his approach to animals is different to the traditional animal welfare perspective, which contains 'an in-built assumption that human interests are almost always more important than those of animals' (Bourke 2009, p. 133). Giving animals equal consideration in these cases would not allow practices 'based on treating animals as things to be used for our advantage, without any thought being given to the interests of the animals themselves' (Singer 2007, first published 1987, p. 16). The phrase 'without any thought being given to the interests of the animals themselves' is critical. It clearly differentiates Singer from animal rights-based theorists. Unlike their theories, Singer's (2007, first published 1987, p. 16) utilitarian viewpoint would not necessarily protect animals from uses such as experimentation, but would require weighing the animals suffering against the benefits to humans.

Singer does not necessarily rule out the use of non-human animals for food either. Singer and Jim Mason (2006, pp. 255-256, 258) point out that due to animals being killed in the egg and dairy industries, as well as the meat industry, a vegan diet that involves avoiding animal-derived foods is the only one that does not require the killing of animals. However, unlike animal rights theorists, Singer and Mason do not totally rule out eating animal products, as they believe you should 'give some weight to your own interests and even your own convenience'. Singer's theories have some differences with an animal welfare approach, which sees humane slaughter and animal products as totally unproblematic (RSPCA 2011d, online; Bourke 2009, p. 133; Williams 2012, p. 13). His

inclusion, however, of animal products in his “ideal situation” and acceptance of humane slaughter means his views have much more in common with animal welfare than animal rights in this respect:

If it is the infliction of suffering that we are concerned about, rather than killing, then I can also imagine a world in which people mostly eat plant foods, but occasionally treat themselves to the luxury of free range eggs, or possibly even meat from animals who live good lives under conditions natural for their species, and are then humanely killed on the farm (Singer 2006, cited in Francione 2009b, p. 6).

The idea of animal welfare came about with the realisation that animals’ physical and emotional well-being is important, not just their productivity for human ends (Bourke 2009, p. 132). Cary Williams (2012, p. 12) explains that ‘both animal rights and animal welfare advocates agree that animals should be protected, and that animals are sentient creatures’. These ideologies however vary greatly in the protection that should be granted to non-human animals as a result of their sentience. According to an animal welfare approach, when humans use other animals for their own ends, they have a duty to provide the following five freedoms for animals: ‘to be free from thirst and hunger; to have adequate shelter; to be kept free from pain, injury and disease; to be permitted to express normal behaviours (by providing sufficient space); and to be free from fear or distress’ (Bourke 2009, p. 132).

Despite the widespread acceptance of the idea of animal welfare in attitudes and legislation, these freedoms are not necessarily guaranteed for animals, who continue to be routinely crowded, confined, and harmed. The animal welfare approach, which opposes “unnecessary” suffering to the animals used by humans, assumes that animal pain and suffering can be acceptable, as long as humans believe the pain and suffering caused is “reasonable” or “necessary”. Even when the five freedoms are ensured, animal welfare ideology gives animal lives no value at all, and it totally accepts their slaughter and use, while facilitating and regulating the process (Bourke 2009, p. 133; Taylor 2005, p. 47; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266).

Singer’s utilitarian weighing of interests is primarily focused on pleasure and pain, much like the animal welfare perspective, however, Robert Nozick (1974, pp. 42-45) criticises utilitarianism as being too focused on experiences of pleasure and happiness, while ignoring other considerations. Singer’s views are also questioned by Francione (2000, p. 141), who objects to Singer’s position on

“replaceability”. Singer (2012, interview) explains that ‘replaceability refers to the argument that one could defend raising animals in good conditions and kill them based on the fact that other animals could replace them’. Singer rejected the concept of replaceability in the first edition of *Animal Liberation* in 1975 but in the second edition of this book, published in 1990, he explained that this rejection was not sound. Singer is now somewhat undecided on the concept, but is more inclined to accept it than he once was (Singer 2012, interview).

Singer’s position that animal suffering is important, but continued life for animals is not, is similar to traditional animal welfarists such as John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham (who were also utilitarians). Bentham’s famous quote about animals is “the question is not, Can they *reason*? nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?” However, Bentham, like Mill and Singer, did not see killing an animal as imposing harm in itself (Francione 2009b, pp. 3-7). According to Francione, the utilitarian focus on pleasure and pain (Matheny 2006, p. 15) leads Singer to overlook animals’ interest in the continuation of their lives. To account for all animal interests, rights-based theorists such as Francione and Regan argue that both utilitarianism and animal welfare are inadequate.

Tom Regan, Gary Francione and Animal Rights

Regan (2007, first published 1987, pp. 28-29) applies fundamental moral rights to all sentient beings regardless of intelligence or rationality. This includes vulnerable humans such as infants and severely mentally disabled people, as well as all sentient non-human animals. According to rights-based theories, ‘the rights of the individual “trump” the collective interest. In the moral game, the rights card is the trump card’ (Ronald Dworkin, cited in Regan 2007, first published 1987, p. 25). Regan gives a number of examples which provide rights-based critiques of utilitarianism. One striking example was the Nazi’s use of human prisoners for hypothermia research. Without rights as a “trump card”, a utilitarian has to weigh what was learnt through this research and how the results would benefit other people, with the suffering of these prisoners. To the rights theorist, such benefits are very much beside the point and do not justify this research, as individuals have had their right to bodily integrity violated (Regan 2007, first published 1987, p. 25).

In the context of animal rights, Regan (2007, first published 1987, pp. 23-27) believes that other animals should also have certain moral rights such as the right to bodily integrity and the right not to suffer. These rights place limits on what humans can do to animals, with their individual rights trumping any benefits that come about to others as a result of violating their rights. For example, unlike Singer’s utilitarian perspective, Regan’s rights theory would totally protect other animals from

being forced organ donors and being subjects in medical experiments, regardless of the benefits to humans.

Francione's rights-based theories share many similarities with Regan's, but also some differences. Regan (2007, first published 1987, pp. 24-25) focuses on moral rights, but says legal rights are an entirely separate matter, while Francione is a lawyer focused on legal rights for non-human animals. Under the law, there are two categories, persons and property, and 'animals are legally classified as property' (White 2009, p. 97). The problems created by the legal status of non-human animals as the property of humans has been a 'constant theme' of Francione's work (Francione 2009b, p. 2). Francione (1996, p. 25) argues that instrumentalism, the view of animals as means to humans ends, is only possible due to the property status of animals, as 'to be property means precisely to be means to an end exclusively' (Francione 1996, p. 10). This instrumentalism is central to the exploitation of other animals, as exploitation is defined as 'use or utilization, especially for profit' and 'selfish utilization' (Random House Inc. 2012, online). For Francione, it is the use of other animals as property, for profit and other selfish reasons such as enjoyment, which is central to the problem of our current relationship with other animals (see, for example, Francione 2010a, pp. 3, 22, 62-63). These human interests are placed above the fundamental interests of their non-human animal property, such as avoidance of suffering and continuation of life (Francione, cited in Torres 2007, p. 67).

The egg and dairy industries are good illustrations of these processes in action. As will be discussed in more detail below under the heading 'Veganism', in these industries, males are generally killed within a few days of birth because they cannot produce the desired product (Francione 2010a, p. 41; RSPCA 2010b, online; 2011e, online). Similarly, females are slaughtered once they are no longer producing enough eggs or dairy to be profitable (Singer and Mason 2006, pp. 255-256). There is no desire to keep animals alive, feed them food and water, provide them with space and attend to their other needs when they are no longer profitable to their property owners.

The property status of animals is the basis for Francione's critique of animal welfare. Lisa Chalk, spokesperson for the RSPCA, explains that animal welfare is based on the idea of balancing the interests of the industries using other animals and the interests of the animals themselves (cited in AAP 2011, online). Francione argues that it is not possible to meaningfully balance the interests of

non-human animals and the industries that use them. This is because this balance is meant to occur between property and the property owner, but the property owner always wins out (cited in Torres 2007, p. 67). As a result, despite animal welfare regulations designed to provide animals with some protection, 'animals are largely unprotected from harm, so long as an overriding human interest can be identified' (White 2009, p. 97).

Francione (2010a, p. 30) believes that industries using animals only improve the treatment of animals when such gains are in their economic interests. As animals are property, there will not be any gains in their treatment for their own sake, but only coincidentally. For example, there is a widely held belief amongst companies producing animal products, and even animal advocates, that minimising stress (especially prior to slaughter) and generally better treatment of non-human animals leads to better quality meat (see, for example, Grandin 2013; Mettricks Butchers 2013; American Meat Institute 2007; Humane Society International and the World Society for the Protection of Animals 2009).

Another example from the poultry industry is provided by some companies moving to controlled-atmosphere killing of chickens. This is touted as a welfare gain in comparison with other methods of slaughter, such as slitting animals' throats or blending them alive, although this is debated by some experts (see, for example, RSPCA 2010b, online). Francione contends that this measure has been implemented because it is a more efficient way to kill chickens, rather than out of concern for the chickens themselves. Economically, there are benefits to the industry, including reducing worker injuries (Francione, cited in Torres 2007, p. 67; Francione 2010a, p. 30). To sum up the point Francione is making, while non-human animals are property under the law, the only improvements in their treatment will be negligible and are only initiated to make their exploitation and slaughter more efficient or profitable.

Regan also rejects animal welfare. He explains that death penalty abolitionists, who believe that capital punishment is inherently wrong in principle, rather than just sometimes immoral in practice, call for the complete abolition of the practice, rather than attempting to reform it to make it more "humane". He makes comparisons between the debates about the death penalty, and other debates in the past about issues such as human slavery or child labour, with the animal rights and animal welfare debate. He sees differences but also some commonalities in the issues and the logic used in

opposing these practices. He argues for the abolition of the exploitation of animals, rather than attempting to make it more “humane”. Regan urges animal rights activists to take up this call, just as human rights advocates call for the abolition of the death penalty (Regan 2007, first published 1987, p. 27). Similar arguments have also been made by others such as Torres (2007, p. 92) and Francione (2009b, pp. 9-10).

As noted previously, this thesis uses the term “animal rights” in the sense that it is used by rights-based theorists like Francione and Regan (O’Sullivan 2006, pp. 6-7). Unlike other perspectives, such as the animal welfare perspective, animal rights ‘does not invite a cost benefit analysis of animal suffering to human benefit’ (O’Sullivan 2006, p. 6). Rather, animal rights philosophy provides other animals with inalienable rights, regardless of the benefits to humans: their individual rights override any benefits that others might gain by violating these rights (Regan 2007, first published 1987, pp. 23-25; Taylor 2005, p. 47).

In terms of practical differences between animal rights and animal welfare, animal rightists are necessarily abolitionists – seeking to abolish animal exploitation rather than merely regulating it (Regan 2007, first published 1987, pp. 26-27; Francione 2010a, pp. 1, 75; Taylor 2005, p. 47; Munro 2012, pp. 170, 172). They consider that exploiting and killing other animals for human ends is wrong in principle, rather than occasionally wrong in practice. Therefore, it is ‘not larger cages, but empty cages’ that animal rightists call for (Regan 2007, first published 1987, pp. 26-27). As Francione (2010a, p. 24) states, the problem with our current relationship with other animals from the animal rights perspective is *that* we kill and use other animals, in contrast to the animal welfare perspective, which is concerned with *how* we treat them and *how* we kill them’.

While Francione and Regan’s theories taken together provide a useful summation of the animal rights perspective, there are differences in their approaches, beyond Francione’s focus on legal rights and Regan’s focus on moral rights. One of these differences is more philosophical. When discussing the hypothetical situation of dogs and humans on a lifeboat that cannot support everyone, Regan reveals that he believes that death is a much greater harm for humans than non-humans. As a result, he contends that a dog should be sacrificed before humans, and even one million dogs should be sacrificed to save one human, as the loss of human life is such a greater harm (cited in Francione 2008b, pp. 212, 227). In contrast, Francione (2009b, p. 2) defends the idea ‘of the

moral equality of human and nonhuman life'. This view goes against the consensus, even amongst "pro-animal" philosophers, 'that human life is more valuable than animal life' (Garner 2010, p. 115). There are also other differences with more practical implications for activism.

Regan and Francione's views diverge markedly when it comes to the types of animal rights campaigns they advocate. Regan (2011, paragraph 78) favours 'winnable abolitionist campaigns' that focus on unpopular uses of animals, with the aim of abolishing these practices (rather than campaigning for better treatment). He cites examples such as: animals performing in circuses, greyhound racing, seal slaughter, whaling, animals in product testing, and the fur industry (Regan 2011, paragraphs 88-90). In contrast, Francione (2010a, p. 79) sees single-issue campaigns focussed on just one form of animal exploitation, rather than campaigning against all animal exploitation, as inconsistent with the aim of furthering progress towards the abolition of all animal exploitation. He maintains that single issue campaigns 'almost always reinforce the notion that certain forms of animal exploitation are better than others' (Francione 2010a, p. 79). For example, he asserts that a campaign that opposes non-human animals being killed for their fur, while not mentioning leather or wool, implies that fur is ethically a "worse" product (Francione 2011a, online). This difference between single-issue animal rights campaigns and campaigns that focus on animal rights for all uses through veganism is at least as important as the distinction between animal rights and welfare. This is why in this thesis, animal advocacy campaigns are analysed in terms of integrationist and anti-systemic social change, rather than purely relying on an animal rights and welfare focus.

Just as the property status of animals is central to Francione's analysis of the current problems with our relationship with other animals, this concept also underpins his solution to achieving legal rights for non-human animals. Francione (2000, p. 101) explains that his concept of animal rights does not mean giving other animals the same rights as humans, as many human rights, such as the right to vote or free speech, have no application to non-human animals. He believes, however, that all sentient beings deserve the right to not be considered the property of someone else, so non-human animals need just one right, 'the right not to be treated as the property of humans' (Francione 2005).

According to Francione (2008a, p. 61), if this right is extended to non-human animals, they will become moral persons. This means that they will be considered beings with morally significant interests, rather than things. Francione (2000, p. 101) explains that in the case of human slavery, where certain groups of people were classified as merely chattel property rather than persons, there

was some attempt to create a third legal category for slaves, being “quasi-persons” or “things plus”. He argues that this did not work because this alternative category did not grant these individuals the right to have equal consideration given to their interests and therefore they were still at risk of being treated as things. Francione explains that there are only two kinds of beings recognised in the moral universe, persons and things, and that for the rights of non-human animals to be taken seriously, they also need to be granted legal personhood.

In order to achieve the legal personhood of non-human animals, Francione (2010a, pp. 64-65, 71) believes the focus of the AAM should be on “vegan education” (the promotion of veganism) as the main tactic to incrementally move towards the goal of the abolition of animal exploitation. He explains that ‘ethical veganism is a profound moral and political commitment to [the] abolition [of animal exploitation] on the individual level and extends not only to matters of food but also to the wearing or using of animal products’ (Francione 2010a, p. 62). Ethical veganism beyond just diet is a rejection of the idea of non-human animals as merely resources for human use and a recognition of their intrinsic moral value (Francione 2010a, p. 62). Francione (2010a, p. 62) believes that this ‘rejection of the commodity status of nonhuman animals’ through veganism leads towards the legal personhood of non-human animals and the abolition of their exploitation. He sees this as being achieved through reducing the demand for animal products immediately and building a long-term movement objecting to the use of animals as “things” or property, which can lead to meaningful prohibitions on animal use in the future (Francione 2010a, pp. 64-65, 71).

Veganism

Through exploring the concept of veganism, the ideological differences between animal rights and animal welfare can be more clearly established. The focus on veganism is also important in differentiating between animal rights campaigns, such as the vegan campaigning encouraged by Francione and the single-issue campaigns advocated by Regan, which were outlined above. The centrality of veganism in this thesis is consistent with the Critical Animal Studies approach adopted. In his article on Critical Animal Studies, co-founder of the Institute for Critical Animal Studies, philosopher Steven Best (2009, p. 21), explains that veganism is one of the ‘logical consequences’ of valuing non-human animals ‘as living beings rather than as signs, referents, texts, and publications’.

As was mentioned in the Introduction, there are points of departure between Critical Animal Studies and Animal Studies. These differences often manifest themselves as tensions between scholars in the different areas of research, particularly when it comes to the catering of conferences. For Critical

Animal Studies scholars, catering is viewed as highly political and is directly connected to the oppression of non-human animals. Unlike Animal Studies conferences, the Institute for Critical Animal Studies always ensures all vegan catering, as ‘the consumption of animal products at events where “the question of the animal” is the organising theme is seen as contradictory, unnecessary, disengaged and oppressive’ (Taylor and Twine 2014, pp. 2, 11-12).

Best (2009, pp. 19, 44) highlights ‘the profound importance of veganism’ and argues that ‘veganism is a crucial and necessary step for total liberation’. The inclusion of the word ‘step’ is significant, as Taylor and Twine (2014, p. 12) explain that while the Critical Animal Studies approach is certainly supportive of veganism, they also stress that it ‘needs to be moored to a broader political vision’. As was outlined in the Introduction, Critical Animal Studies also places a heavy emphasis on intersectionality and building alliances between different social movements, as well as rejecting capitalism (Best 2009, pp. 24-25, 44; Taylor and Twine 2014, pp. 9, 12). Theorists in the field of Critical Animal Studies have raised criticisms of vegan advocacy, including its white-dominated nature (Harper 2010, pp. 5-27) and the neoliberal focus on consumption and consumerism (Wrenn 2011, pp. 17-19). While veganism will be a central concept in this thesis, it will be analysed in a critical manner, including exploring some of these critiques of vegan advocacy from intersectional and anti-capitalist perspectives.

The idea of avoiding eating the flesh of other animals for health and ethical reasons has been around for millennia, in many different cultures all around the world, often as part of religious convictions and practice. In Western countries, the first formal efforts by adherents to organise began in Britain. A national Vegetarian Society was set up in Britain in 1847 to promote a meat-free diet. Over time a need emerged for a term to describe individuals who refused all animal products, not just flesh, as both the Vegetarian Society, and most British vegetarians, permitted the consumption of egg and dairy products (Leneman 1999, p. 219). Ultimately, Donald Watson coined the term “vegan” in 1944, after unsuccessfully attempting to form a non-dairy section of the Vegetarian Society. This term was formed using the beginning and end of the word “vegetarian”. Watson formed The Vegan Society in November 1944 and he also created the newsletter *Vegan News*, which was posted to 500 readers. The Vegan Society still continues today (The Vegan Society 2012, online).

The main reason why both the Vegetarian Society and vegetarians in general permitted ‘the consumption of dairy products and eggs’ was ‘on the grounds that it was not necessary to kill the animal to obtain them’ (Leneman 1999, p. 219). This idea, and the problems with dairy and eggs in

general, has been challenged for a long time. Watson explained in 1946 that he found it 'strange that for ninety years vegetarian literature contained nothing to question either morally or physiologically the use of animal foods other than flesh' (cited in Leneman 1999, p. 219). This was not true. Consumption of dairy and eggs had been challenged much earlier in *The Vegetarian Messenger and Health Review* (The Vegetarian Society's magazine) from 1909-1912. There were many articles in the magazine pointing out that dairy and egg products involve the slaughter of the males who cannot produce the desired product. Others raised the issues of the slaughter awaiting females once they no longer produced enough eggs or dairy to be profitable and, in the dairy industry, the separation of the mother and her calf – her male calves to be stolen away and slaughtered for veal so that the mother could be continually impregnated to produce milk (Leneman 1999, pp. 222-223).

In the early twentieth century there were also attempts by vegetarians to justify consumption of dairy products. Writing in *The Vegetarian Messenger and Health Review*, Florence E. Sexton and Henry Kirk explained that they did not believe that the separation of mother and calf necessarily involved much suffering, especially if, Sexton argued, 'they are not allowed to see or lick it [their calf], and if it is placed so far away that they cannot hear it' (cited in Leneman 1999, p. 223). Sexton also argued that 'if there was a demand only for milk and none for meat, the bull calves could be humanely destroyed at birth' (cited in Leneman 1999, p. 223). After 1912, Historian Leah Leneman (1999, p. 223) did not see any more examples of The Vegetarian Society attempting to argue that dairy and egg products are not responsible for suffering and death to non-human animals.

The slaughter of non-human animals who produce dairy and eggs, and not just flesh, is a common starting point for contemporary arguments for veganism. For example, Francione explains that 'there is no coherent distinction between meat and dairy or eggs' (Francione 2010a, p. 63). One reason for this is that in the egg industry, 'roosters are killed—usually by suffocation—at birth because they cannot produce eggs' (Francione 2010a, p. 41), with the male calves in the dairy industry also being killed because they cannot produce dairy. As a result, Francione explains that:

...It is simply wrong as an empirical matter to say, as some do, that flesh is the result of death and that eggs and dairy products can be produced without killing an animal. Death is a necessary part of the production of any animal product (Francione 2010a, p. 71).

In their book *The Ethics of What We Eat*, ethicist Peter Singer and attorney Jim Mason (2006, pp. 255-256) pointed out that many people become vegetarians because they reject the idea of killing otherwise healthy non-human animals just so they can eat them. Similarly to Francione, they explain that due to the slaughter of non-human animals in the egg and dairy industries, putting this idea into practise requires a vegan, rather than vegetarian, diet. Animal welfare organisations also acknowledge the slaughter of non-human animals in the dairy and egg industries, but not as a starting point to argue for veganism. The RSPCA explain that:

For cows to produce milk, they have to give birth to a calf every year. Most calves are separated from the cows within twelve hours of birth to reduce the risk of disease, and most do not stay on the farm for long. The term 'bobby calves' means newborn calves that are less than two weeks old and not with their mothers. Essentially, they are surplus to dairy industry requirements as they are not required for the milking herd...Bobby calves are housed together and fed colostrum, milk or milk replacer, usually only once a day. They are then sold, mostly for slaughter, at five days old. Products from processed calves include young veal for human consumption, valuable hides for leather and byproducts for the pharmaceutical industry...Each year, this is the fate of around 900 000 bobby calves in Australia (RSPCA 2011e, online).

The RSPCA's solution is not to avoid the consumption of dairy, as the killing of a non-human animal does not present a problem from the animal welfare perspective (Bourke 2009, p. 133; RSPCA 2011d, online; Francione 2010a, p. 24; 2009b, pp. 3-7). Rather, the RSPCA's solution is to minimise suffering before slaughter:

...The RSPCA believes bobby calves should be at least 10 days old and be fed at least four hours before being transported. Further, transport to the abattoir should be for less than 10 hours and in trucks that have protection from the elements, bedding and enough room for all calves to lie down. Calves should be handled humanely at all times so they do not become

injured or distressed. This means no rough handling, prodding, use of dogs or electric prodders (RSPCA 2011e, online).

Similarly, the RSPCA (2010b, online) explain that male chicks are killed shortly after birth in the egg industry because ‘they cannot lay eggs and they are not suitable for chicken-meat production’. The solution for the RSPCA lies in attempting to reduce the suffering of these male chicks, rather than avoiding the consumption of eggs. The RSPCA (2010b, online) explains that these chicks should be ‘destroyed promptly by a recommended humane method’. These examples demonstrate the strong connection between animal rights and veganism, but not animal welfare and veganism – as animal welfare strives for “humane” animal products rather than no animal products (RSPCA 2011b, online; Williams 2012, p. 14).

Although the slaughter intrinsic to the dairy and egg industries is acknowledged by both animal welfare and rights advocates today, it has been shown above that up until 1912 there were some attempts to philosophically defend the consumption of dairy products in *The Vegetarian Messenger and Health Review*. Subsequently, the Vegetarian Society endorsed the consumption of dairy and eggs based on practical, rather than ethical considerations. While the Vegetarian Society accepted that dairy and eggs could not be justified ethically, it was argued that it was too difficult to give up all animal products and that vegetarianism was a transitional stage to a more humane, “pure vegetarian” diet that avoided dairy and eggs as well as flesh (Leneman 1999, pp. 225-226). It appears that, at least for the Vegetarian Society, this “transitional stage” continues. It continues to encourage people to give up flesh but not eggs and dairy (Vegetarian Society 2012a), while endorsing free-range eggs (Vegetarian Society 2012b), which involve the slaughter of animals (RSPCA 2010b, online; LaVeck and Stein 2012, online; Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary 2012, online). This is despite having information elsewhere on its website challenging the concept of humane slaughter (Vegetarian Society 2012c).

The perceived difficulty of practising veganism is an important consideration in terms of the necessity of the “transitional phase” of vegetarianism. From early in the twentieth century some people were already making statements about the lack of difficulty in veganism. The first vegan cookbook *No Animal Food* was written by C.W. Daniel and published in 1910 (Leneman 1999, p. 220). The review of this book by the editor of *The Vegetarian Messenger and Health Review* explained that these recipes showed that it was ‘not at all impossible to obtain a variety of palatable

dishes without recourse to either eggs or milk' (Leneman 1999, pp. 220-221). Much later, Eva Batt, chairperson of the English Vegan Society from 1967-1982 and a long-time vegan activist, explained that veganism required some effort but was very possible:

Putting veganism into practice will require a little patience, some knowledge of nutrition (which is easily learned and is a most rewarding study) and perhaps a bit of help from other vegans who have acquired local knowledge about the availability in the area of pure foods, humane clothing and household products (Batt 1964, p. 4).

With the rising interest in veganism in recent years, which will be discussed in Chapter Six, being a vegan is easier, with growing public and business awareness of veganism and supermarkets, restaurants and other businesses increasingly catering for them. How easy it is to practise veganism is still being debated within the AAM. Views range from 'incredibly easy' (Francione 2011c, online) to not 'all that easy in a speciesist society' (Gier 2011). This issue has important implications when it comes to animal advocacy campaigning. It affects whether advocates believe 'a pure vegan message is appropriate for the general public' (Matt Ball, cited in Marcus 2010, online) or if other options such as vegetarianism and "humane" animal products are promoted instead or as well.

There is no clear answer to the question of how difficult it is to practise veganism – it is different for each individual and will depend on a range of factors including geographic location and socioeconomic status. For example, vegans are generally better catered for in major urban centres than in rural areas. Amie Breeze Harper's research focuses on 'intersections of black feminisms, critical race theory, and food politics' (Harper 2012, online). She explores the way in which veganism is easier for wealthier and more privileged individuals than lower socio-economic groups and less privileged people (Harper 2010, p. 19). More privileged people are likely to be in a better position to be able to deal with the extra time, inconvenience and possibly costs associated with specialised diets such as the vegan diet (Wrenn 2011, p. 19).⁹

Even amongst advocates who agree on the importance of campaigning for veganism, perceptions of public attitudes towards veganism influence the language used in campaigns. It is quite common for organisations to promote a diet free of animal products and only include vegan recipes in their materials, while using the word "vegetarian" rather than "vegan" (Freeman 2013, pp. 94, 109). One such organisation is Mercy for Animals. There are explanations on its website for why this is done.

One reason is to “reclaim” the word “vegetarian” to mean a diet free of animal products. “Ovo-lacto” vegetarianism, avoiding flesh but consuming dairy and eggs, has become the dominant understanding of the word “vegetarian” and Mercy for Animals is trying to change this situation. Another reason cited is the belief that the term “vegetarian” is more familiar to most people than “vegan”. It is argued that using the word “vegetarian” leads to more discussions with people in person and more hits to its website. People entering the website are informed of the cruelty inherent not only just in the meat industry, but in the egg and dairy industries as well (Mercy for Animals 2012, online). The rationale adopted by Mercy for Animals (2012, online) is that ‘it is important to meet people where they are’ and ‘people new to these issues...find the word vegan daunting and unachievable, whereas vegetarian often seems more acceptable and accessible’.

There have been criticisms of this approach on the grounds that this can be a “self-fulfilling prophecy”: if animal advocates never embrace the term “vegan”, perhaps it will always be a “foreign” term to the “general public” outside the AAM. Animal rights advocates such as Francione and James La Veck, who runs the website *HumaneMyth.org*, argue that it is because animal advocates have not embraced a vegan message that considering veganism then ‘becomes unreasonable and ridiculous’ (cited in Stahler 2011, p. 64). Patty Mark from Animal Liberation Victoria explained that in the 1980s, her organisation was even concerned about using the word “vegetarian” because it might put people off and marginalise the organisation as being too radical (Mark 2010, interview). Now “vegetarian” is a widely recognised mainstream term, but this is only because advocates used the word, promoted vegetarianism, and demanded vegetarian options. Many advocates argue that now is the time to do the same with veganism – to mainstream and “normalise” the term (see, for example, Mark 2010, online; Francione 2009c; Torres and Torres 2008c; Hannibal 2010, online). Animal advocate Gary Yourofsky, who travels around the world giving lectures on veganism, also criticises the approach of organisations such as Mercy for Animals and many others for avoiding the use of the term “vegan”. When asked on *Animal Rights Zone*, a website that explores the views of influential figures in the AAM, about this issue, he responded by saying:

I feel those people are disingenuous politicians. Politics has NEVER and will NEVER make the world a better place. If people stopped mimicking the politicians they claim to despise, we’d have made way more progress with animal liberation by now. Animal rights is the only social justice movement that insists on playing imbecilic political games, dressing up in costumes and saying ‘advocacy’ instead of ‘rights’. The enemies of animals don't respond

better if you say 'plant-based' instead of vegan. They don't respond better if you say 'animal advocate' instead of 'animal liberationist'. They don't respond better if you are polite instead of militant. Just look at the anti-animal rights websites. They say that HSUS and the ALF [Animal Liberation Front] are one and the same when everyone in the animal rights movement knows that HSUS has as much in common with the ALF as Al Gore does with environmentalism (Yourofsky 2011, online).

There are not just tensions in the AAM in terms of the centrality of the term "vegan", but different organisations and individuals also promote different versions of veganism (Cherry 2006, p. 156). In 1951, only seven years after the term was coined, the definition of veganism was extended to be far more all-encompassing than just a diet. The Vegan Society redefined veganism to mean seeking 'to end the use of animals by man for food, commodities, work, hunting, vivisection and all other uses involving exploitation of animal life by man' (Cross 1951). In 1964, Batt explained that 'veganism is by no means concerned only with food; vegans deplore the slaughter or exploitation of any creature for any reason' (Batt 1964, p. 5). She also explained some of the forms of animal exploitation that vegans avoid, including their use for food, clothing, entertainment and household products. Batt (1964, p. 5) went on to say that: 'This may seem a formidable list...However, for all the above there are humane alternatives'. Humane alternatives, not just for food, have markedly increased since then.

Despite the increased availability of animal-free products for food and other products, it has mainly been the dietary aspect of veganism, rather than the broader philosophy and lifestyle, that has become more recognised in mainstream media and society (Hill 2011). Some organisations promote veganism as a lifestyle, that is, asking people to consider non-human animals in all the choices they make, not just what they eat but also what they wear and use (see, for example, Uproar 2011j). However the dominant approach, at least for larger organisations, is to promote veganism purely as a diet, with no mention of animal exploitation beyond food (see, for example, PETA 2010h).

Perhaps this dietary focus is linked to many organisations singling out the use of non-human animals as food as the most important to focus on. Mark Pearson, Executive Director of Animal Liberation New South Wales, explains that his organisation's "driving force" (though they do cover other issues) is to advocate on behalf of farmed animals. Those in Animal Liberation New South Wales 'consider that this is the largest amount of animals who are exploited by humans – and there is also the

greatest extremity of interference and degree of abuse' (Pearson 2011, interview). Similarly, Paul Shapiro, who was then campaigns director of Compassion over Killing and is now Senior Director of the Factory Farming Campaign of HSUS, justifies a focus on non-human animals raised for food along similar lines:

Today more than ever before, animal advocates have focused increased attention on the abuse endured by animals raised for food, and with good reason. Approximately 99 percent of all the animals killed in the United States each year die to be eaten. As shocking as it may seem, even if we abolished the fur industry, animals in "entertainment," and the animal testing industry, but didn't change the farmed animal situation, we would have helped only about 1 percent of the animals killed every year. The cruelty "food animals" endure on factory farms is immense... (Shapiro 2004, online).

The desire to make veganism seem easier and therefore more accessible may be another reason for organisations to focus on the dietary aspects of veganism. For similar reasons they may also promote a less strict version of the vegan diet. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, PETA (2010n) is one organisation which encourages people 'not to worry too much' about consuming small amounts of animal products. With many organisations believing a strict diet is too difficult to "market" to the general public, it is perhaps not surprising that these same organisations do not promote veganism as a broader philosophy and lifestyle beyond diet. These AAMs consider that it is too difficult to ask people to be careful rather than flexible with a vegan diet. It would be a step too far from their point of view to ask people to take on a range of other restrictions beyond diet. These organisations argue that by decreasing the effort required, more people are likely to become vegans.

Integrationist and Anti-Systemic Social Change in the AAM

Progressive social movements can be anti-systemic, seeking to destroy the existing system which has led to inequality or, on the other hand, they can be integrationist, working to speed up progressive gains within the current system (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 653, 658). The AAM is a typical social movement in that it is made up of a diverse range of individuals and organisations with different objectives and tactics (Soule and King 2008, p. 1568). As a result, it cannot be simply categorised as entirely anti-systemic or integrationist but is comprised of elements of each. As a result, the campaigns that AAOs conduct reflect a wide range within this spectrum.

But what is the “system” that animal advocates can either work within or oppose? There are several significant characteristics of humans’ interaction with non-human animals, all of which were outlined above: the property status of non-human animals, instrumentalism and speciesism. Animal advocates can choose to oppose or work within the dominant paradigm in which humans use non-human animals as property and a means to human ends, while non-human animal interests are overlooked due to speciesism.

Animal welfare is an integrationist, conservative approach to understanding and addressing humans’ relationship with non-human animals (O’Sullivan 2006, p. 3; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266; Munro 2012, p. 170; Williams 2012, p. 46; Freeman 2013, p. 108). The animal welfare approach accepts and promotes the idea of non-human animals being used for human ends in most cases, as long as certain safeguards are put in place to offer some protection for these animals (Francione 1996, p. 1; Bourke 2009, pp. 132-133). It also accepts the current property status of non-human animals and speciesism but attempts to place constraints on how this property may be treated and limit the damage caused by speciesism through animal welfare regulations (White 2009, p. 97; Francione 1996, p. 10; Best and Nocella 2004, p. 26; Beers 2006, pp. 3-4; Munro 2012, p. 170).

Animal welfare has been taught to children in schools from as early as the 1940s (Beers 2006, p. 148) and could be classified as the “default” position in society, or ‘the status quo position’ (White 2009, p. 97). In Western countries at least, it is widely viewed as a ‘moderate and respectable’ position (Francione 1996, p. 163) and is accepted by ‘almost everyone’ (Francione 1996, p. 1). This includes a large majority of citizens (Sankoff 2009, p. 9; Freeman 2013, p. 108) and even those who directly use and kill other animals for purposes such as food or experimentation (Francione 1996, p. 1; Garner 2006b, p. 161).

Recent surveys have shown that ninety-five per cent of Canadians ‘agree that animal suffering and pain should be reduced as much as possible’ (World Society for the Protection of Animals 2011, online) and over ninety-three per cent of Australians have some level of concern about farm animal welfare (Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 354). In a survey of 2000 Australians, ninety-three per cent of people either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that it is: ‘Quite acceptable to eat meat

so long as animals are reared and killed humanely' (Franklin 2007, p. 22). Surveys have also indicated that approximately ninety per cent of people in the United States and eighty-six per cent of Australians are happy to pay more for animal products to ensure that animals are raised humanely (Kline, Murray, and Lancaster 2012; Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 351).

While most people in the countries referred to above are 'concerned' about animal welfare, the level of concern varies. In the Australian survey referred to above, when indicating their level of concern for animal welfare, people most commonly indicated that they were 'concerned' (about thirty-six per cent). About twenty-three per-cent of respondents were 'very concerned', twenty-two per cent 'mildly concerned' and twelve per cent 'extremely concerned' (Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 355). Tania Signal and Nicola Taylor's (2006, pp. 266-272) study on attitudes towards non-human animals in Australia demonstrated a much greater concern for animals amongst animal advocates compared to the general public, as well as a greater concern for animal welfare amongst the general community compared to those working in animal industries. A study on dairy farmers' attitudes towards cow foot health found that while seventy per cent of the dairy farmers had an intention to take action to improve dairy cow foot health, the cost-effectiveness of measures was the most important factor in whether such measures were implemented or not, and twenty-five per cent did not believe cows could suffer pain (Bruijnise-mail et al. 2013, p. 103). Signal and Taylor's (2006, pp. 266-272) findings also demonstrated that females overall were more concerned about animals than males. All of these findings were consistent with previous studies that they cited.

Even though there is variation in the degree of concern for animal welfare, it is clear that most people's views, including those involved in using and killing animals, are consistent with the ideology of animal welfare: that is, they consider it acceptable for humans to use other animals, as long as their well-being is considered (Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266). The idea of animal welfare has been in existence for the last few hundred years, whereas animal rights theory only emerged in the late 1970s (Francione 1996, p. 1; Singer 2012, interview; Beers 2006, pp. 3-4).

Animal rights philosophy is anti-systemic in that it challenges dominant beliefs and is generally viewed as radical and extreme (Cherry 2010, p. 451; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266; Munro 2012, pp. 172-174; Williams 2012, p. 46). It involves a total rejection of instrumentalism and the property status of non-human animals (the use of non-human animals as resources), human-imposed

hierarchies (speciesism), and demands the abolition (rather than regulation) of animal exploitation (Francione 1996, pp. 1, 25-26; Munro 2012, pp. 172-173; Beers 2006, pp. 3-4). The close connection between the animal rights ideology and veganism was outlined above (Francione 2010a, pp. 22, 62-64, 75; Williams 2012, p. 14). Rejecting the everyday exploitation of non-human animals that most Western people participate in regularly and take for granted, including the consumption of widely socially accepted products such as meat, dairy, eggs and leather, represents an anti-systemic approach to animal advocacy. Taylor and Twine (2014, pp. 3, 12) argue that veganism is a 'counter-hegemonic' practice that is key in 'subverting the taken-for-granted devaluation of the "animal".'

In terms of challenging widely accepted practices and being closely tied to an animal rights ideology, veganism is anti-systemic. In other ways it is a form of integrationist social change. Critical/cultural studies researcher Carrie Freeman (2013, p. 105) argues that because most AAOs 'propose a consumer solution instead of a government solution, this could be construed as valuing the notion of personal responsibility, consumer choice and free-market capitalism'. This is in reference to AAOs encouraging people to boycott factory farming rather than all animal products. While veganism is a more radical consumer solution, it is still a consumer solution. Sociologist Corey Wrenn (2011, pp. 17, 18) explains that such solutions, where society is shaped by 'the consumer's economic vote', have been critiqued as functioning within and supporting capitalism. When framed in terms of capitalism, veganism can be viewed as integrationist rather than anti-systemic, however, in terms of human/non-human relations, in rejecting instrumentalism, the property status of non-human animals and speciesism, it is anti-systemic.

While vegan advocacy is one example of anti-systemic advocacy in the AAM, there are others. For example, the direct action movement the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) is guided by animal rights as an end goal, but their short-term tactics are also quite radical, and certainly would not be classified as welfarist (Taylor 1999, pp. 39-41). Munro (2012, p. 174) argues that these activists 'pose more of a threat to the financial and physical well-being of its targets' than other animal advocates. The movement attempts to oppose and sabotage any form of animal exploitation, rather than only targeting certain forms. The combination of an animal rights approach and breaking laws on behalf of non-human animals certainly means that ALF action is anti-systemic, as it works outside of existing attitudes and laws. The ALF features in Chapter Three in the discussion on how PETA's activism has changed over time.

Some single-issue campaigns, such as the anti-dairy campaign by Animals Australia outlined in Chapter Seven, are also anti-systemic. The vast majority of people in Western countries consume dairy products and do not have an ethical problem with doing so. However, when it comes to certain uses of non-human animals, taking a rights approach (aiming to abolish the use rather than regulate it) can actually be integrationist. To explain, advocating a rights position on specific unpopular uses of non-human animals such as dog fighting, cock fighting and whaling, at the same time as not condemning all animal exploitation, is actually consistent with prevailing community attitudes: it is not challenging dominant societal views on these issues.

Recent surveys found that ninety-four per cent of Australians were opposed to whaling (Kamenev 2010, online) and eighty-seven per cent of Canadians are against cock fighting and dog fighting (World Society for the Protection of Animals 2011, online). Welfarists, who accept that humans can use other animals for their purposes '*for the most part*' (my italics) (Francione 2008c, p. 5), would also generally join the rightists in completely objecting to, rather than attempting to regulate, such practices. These types of campaigns reinforce the dominant notion that some forms of animal exploitation are acceptable, while others are not (Francione 2010a, p. 79). Even those directly involved in killing non-human animals for food, clothing or experimentation generally join much of the public in completely objecting to (rather than desiring to regulate) certain uses of non-human animals (Sjeklocha 2009, online).¹⁰

Emotive Rationality

The Sociology of Emotions and Ecofeminism

Emotions have been studied for a long time, even before sociology was a separate discipline (Webster and Walker 2014, p. 127). However, for most of sociology's first 150 years, emotions have been neglected (Stets and Turner 2014, p. 1). This is not to say that emotion has been absent from sociological analysis. In fact, the nineteenth-century founders of sociology such as Max Weber (with his notion of the 'spirit of capitalism'), Emile Durkheim (with his focus on feelings of 'solidarity'), and Karl Marx (with his analysis of alienation, resentment and anger) all incorporated the importance of emotion into their analysis of society (Hochschild 1998, p. 3). The neglect was in the fact that emotions, while subtly acknowledged, were not systematically incorporated into sociological analysis, with only very few exceptions (Stets and Turner 2014, p. 1; Hochschild 1998, p. 3). Jeff

Goodwin, James Jasper and Francesca Polletta (2004, p. 413) argue that emotions have been neglected in social-scientific theories because ‘they have been considered too personal, too idiosyncratic, too inchoate, or too irrational to be modelled or measured properly’.

While sociology was late in acknowledging the importance of emotions, the discipline has made up for this oversight since the 1970s (Stets and Turner 2014, p. 1; Hochschild 1998, p. 3). The sociology of emotions is now ‘a burgeoning field of enquiry’ (Stets and Turner 2014, p. 7). Jan Stets and Jonathan Turner point out that: ‘Today, few would question the assertion that emotions are one of the driving forces of human behaviour, interaction, and social organization’ (Stets and Turner 2014, p. 1). The growing focus on the sociology of emotions has gone “hand in hand” with a rise in the sociology of human-animal interaction, with both taking ‘issue with previously drawn lines between the subjective and the objective’ (Taylor 2010, p. 85). The historical neglect of emotions in sociology can be linked to feminist critiques of sociology, which argue that sociologists historically did not focus enough on women and women’s concerns, as well as not looking at social life with a “feminine eye” (Hochschild 1975, p. 280).

This feminist perspective that acknowledges the importance of emotions is important, particularly due to the Critical Animal Studies perspective adopted in this thesis. Like Critical Animal Studies, feminist academia is also strongly linked with political activism (Taylor and Twine 2014, pp. 4-5). Taylor and Twine point out some of the connections between feminism and animal advocacy:

Both animal and feminist politics are similarly targeted against dispassionate, institutionalised scholarship based on a rationalist, liberal interpretation of (hegemonic) masculinity, and both seek to expose and over-throw the routinised and naturalised forms of practice based on oppression and abuses of power, which flow from this (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 4).

As was noted above, philosophers such as Singer were important in sparking a debate on animal ethics. However, ecofeminist writings throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s also played a significant role in this. The move towards intersectionality, a key concept in Critical Animal Studies

that focuses on the links between different forms of oppression, was also originally pursued by ecofeminists (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 4). Ecofeminism is a theory that has emerged from feminist scholarship and activism in a range of social movements, including the AAM, as well as the environment, peace, labour and of course feminist movements (Gaard 1994, p. 1). Prominent ecofeminist scholar Greta Gaard outlines the theory of ecofeminism, highlighting the strong focus on intersectionality:

Drawing on the insights of ecology, feminism, and socialism, ecofeminism's basic premise is that the ideology which authorizes oppressions such as those based on race, class, gender, sexuality, physical abilities, and species is the same ideology which sanctions the oppression of nature. Ecofeminism calls for an end to all oppressions, arguing that no attempt to liberate women (or any other oppressed group) will be successful without an equal attempt to liberate nature (Gaard 1994, p. 1).

Ecofeminism values emotion – associated with femininity and women due to dominant, gender-based social constructions. As was noted above, emotion plays an important role in society generally, but of particular relevance to this thesis is the significant role emotion plays in social movements (Stets and Turner 2014, p. 6; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2004, p. 413).

Emotion and the Animal Advocacy Movement

Just as sociology has historically neglected the importance of emotion, there is also a tendency for people within the AAM to seek to downplay the importance of emotion and portray the movement as not being driven by emotional impulses. It may be that the downplaying of emotion as a driving force in the movement, or at least the appearance of a lack of emotion, is a result of the movement's interactions with "outsiders" (Groves 2001, p. 228; Taylor 2005, p. 46).

Activists tend to be very sensitive to potentially negative perceptions of the movement by outsiders. Such a view is confirmed by interviews with animal advocates carried out by Julian Groves. According to this study, animal advocates struggle to be taken seriously. There is a dominant view to dismiss these advocates as merely "animal lovers" (cited in Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001, p. 22). Don Barnes, an animal researcher who became an animal advocate, even went so far as to deny

his affection for animals – telling a crowd at an animal advocacy protest that “I’m not an animal lover” (cited in Groves 2001, p. 223). This desire to be taken seriously rather than dismissed as “animal lovers” may help ‘to explain why the animal rights movement embraces a scientific, philosophical outlook rather than takes the form of a movement for compassion and kindness’ (Groves 2001, p. 214).

According to Groves, the perceived role of emotion in the AAM was strongly influenced by perceptions concerning gender. The study found that some activists criticise emotion from animal advocates (particularly females), using “emotional” as a negative term to dismiss those who they see as unprofessional, irrational, or feminine. In contrast, men’s expression of emotion, particularly anger, is seen as legitimate. To be taken more seriously, women, who comprise a vast majority of people in the movement,¹¹ often felt it necessary to support their feelings about animal cruelty using scientific arguments, as well as through gaining the support of men (cited in Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001, pp. 21-22). Groves (2001, p. 225) argues that the support of men (who are perceived to be more rational) is seen to add credibility to the movement.

Adams (2010, pp. 313-314) also explores this negation of femininity and women in the AAM. She points out that, although there are exceptions, such as PETA’s President Ingrid Newkirk, the majority of leaders in the AAM are men, while the majority of grassroots activists are women. She notes the ‘ongoing need to disassociate from women and women’s voice’ in the movement (Adams 2010, pp. 313-314). She highlights a quote that ran in newspapers after the 1990 March for Animals in Washington DC from American organiser, Cleveland Amory, a long-time prominent voice in the American AAM, who claimed that the AAM was ‘no longer just little old ladies in tennis shoes’ (cited in Adams 2010, p. 314). HSUS President Wayne Pacelle demonstrated that this view persisted when he was quoted in the *New York Times Magazine* in 2008 repeating this quote from Amory (who was his mentor) and adding ‘we have cleats [football shoes] on’ (cited in Adams 2010, p. 314). Adams (2010, p. 314) maintains that this quote sums up ‘the masculinizing of the animal movement in three ways – the [male] speaker [and leader of this large organisation], the negation of women, and the football or sports association of the shoes’.

Adams (1996, p. 171) considers the role of gender and emotion in her analysis of the exploitation of non-human animals. She maintains that the purely rational approach of philosophers such as Singer and Regan is inadequate when employed in reference to the interests of animals. Both use classic ethical theories to advocate for animals: Singer uses teleological theory because he is looking at the

end result and the greatest happiness for the greater number; and Regan employs deontological theory because he is considering his moral obligations to others (Hamington 2008, p. 178).

Adams (1996, pp. 171-173) believes that both Singer and Regan fail to address a fundamental issue: how human male domination links the oppression of women and other animals. This is an issue that Adams has explored in her books *The Sexual Politics of Meat* (2000), *The Pornography of Meat* (2004) and other works. She explains that Singer's utilitarian approach to animal issues rejects emotions as having a role to play in moral considerations and instead favours rationality. She argues that reason and rationality have been traditionally viewed as characteristics of men in order to justify the dominance of men over women. According to Adams, the same principle applies to animals, who are considered irrational and therefore inferior to humans. To overcome this sexism and speciesism, Adams proposes utilising the ethics of care theory, which embraces emotions and caring as a legitimate source for moral considerations. Adams argues that by acknowledging that emotion does have a role to play, the ethics of care theory operates outside this sexist-speciesist framework (Adams 1996, pp. 171-175).

Feminist Ethics of Care

The ethics of care theory emerged in the 1980s as an additional ethical framework distinct from the dominant moral tradition that favours justice and rationality. Rather than being posited as an alternative to replace other ethical theories such as animal rights and animal welfare, ethics of care reframes moral questions and offers another perspective (Hamington 2008, pp. 178-179; Donovan and Adams 2007, pp. 2-3, 13). Carol Gilligan was the first theorist to articulate this approach in her celebrated work, *In a Different Voice*. Gilligan's work was soon followed by others such as Nel Noddings (*Caring*, 1984) and Sara Ruddick (*Maternal Thinking*, 1989) (Donovan and Adams 2007, p. 1). Gilligan (1993, pp. 19, 59) defines the ethics of care as being 'concerned with the activity of care...responsibility and relationships', in contrast to the dominant 'conception of morality as fairness', which she argues is generally favoured by men. Gilligan does not see the individual as autonomous and separate; rather she sees individuals as being connected by a web of relationships (Donovan and Adams 2007, pp. 1-2).

In the 1990s, theorists such as Adams and Josephine Donovan began to apply the ethics of care theory to the issue of animal exploitation (Hamington 2008, p. 179). This approach was an alternative to the rational theories on human/non-human relations outlined by theorists such as Singer, Regan and Francione (Adams 1996, p. 171; Hamington 2008, p. 178). In relation to animals,

the feminist ethics of care regards humans as having moral obligations to other animals because they are beings who have feelings and communicate them to others. To respond to these feelings, Donovan and Adams (2007, pp. 2-3, 13) contend that we must consider the particularities of the situation. Attention should be paid not only to the individual suffering animal but also to the political and economic frameworks that actually cause the suffering. This, they argue, is a key difference between the ethics of care theory and animal welfare theories, which do not seek to challenge any of the systems that cause animals' oppression. When applied to non-human animals, the feminist ethics of care shares a lot of similarities with ecofeminism, which was outlined above. However, Adams (1991, p. 125) argues that ecofeminists have failed to give non-human animals a significant enough place in their analysis of the natural world.

Professor of Ethics and Women's Studies, Kathy Rudy (2011, pp. xii-xiii), in her recent book *Loving Animals: Toward a New Animal Advocacy*, maintains, similarly to Donovan and Adams, that emotion can actually be an important force in building the contemporary AAM. She explains that emotion and love are often dismissed as too "soft" to bring about change but argues against this line of thinking, pointing out that it is not just 'when objective, rational arguments are made' that political change occurs (Rudy 2011, p. 203). She considers that emotion is an important force in driving change, stating that: 'When our hearts are moved by something, when our spirits are awakened by another's struggle, we are compelled to act' (Rudy 2011, p. 203).

While Francione (1996, pp. 32-33, 36, 44, 46, 109-110) downplays the importance of compassion in his approach to animal advocacy, in his 1996 text, *Rain Without Thunder*, he acknowledges that emotions such as compassion are nevertheless a significant factor in the movement. Many advocates argue that it is compassion that is important, rather than ideology. For example, Zoe Weil of the American Anti-Vivisection Society maintains that philosophical differences between rights and welfare are irrelevant and only 'compassion, concern and respect for animals' matter (cited in Francione 1996, pp. 32-33).

Kerstin Jacobsson and Jonas Lindblom (2013, pp. 58-60) outline the growing body of research on emotion in social movements and analyse the way in which emotion is very significant for animal advocates. Frank Dobbin (2001, p. 75) asserts that internal discussions within social movements contain emotion, particularly where participants make sense of their actions. He explains that both emotion and ideology are still very important, though perhaps such forms of rationality are not

expressed as publicly as the “business-like” impression that many SMOs like to project, which will be explored in Chapter Two.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the concepts of ideological rationality and emotive rationality. Both strongly influence animal advocates and are therefore very useful in understanding campaigning in the AAM. Organisational rationality has also been alluded to, and this will be considered in the next chapter. Veganism is closely associated with animal rights ideology, advocated by theorists such as Regan and Francione. Animal rights advocates challenge humans’ use of other animals, regardless of how they are treated or the benefits to humans. Animal rights activists attempt to abolish animal exploitation, rather than regulate it. In contrast, the ideology of animal welfare accepts the use and slaughter non-human animals, as long as certain protections are granted to these animals. Animal welfare activists attempt to regulate the exploitation of other animals, striving to ensure better treatment for non-human animals. Many advocates fall somewhere between these positions in the animal rights and welfare continuum, supporting a mixture of animal rights and welfare campaigns.

Focusing on the role of veganism in animal advocacy campaigns is important. If analysis of campaigns is reduced to animal rights or animal welfare, the major differences within animal rights between the ‘winnable abolitionist campaigns’ proposed by Regan (2011, paragraph 78) and the vegan education proposed by Francione (2010a, pp. 64-65, 71) are overlooked. Through analysing the theories of animal rights and welfare, as well as the ideas of Singer, Regan and Francione, a variety of different campaigns can be identified. These include animal welfare campaigns that strive for better treatment of the animals used by humans, single-issue campaigns that attempt to abolish a particular form of animal exploitation, and vegan campaigns that encourage the public not to contribute to the demand for any form of animal exploitation.

Despite the role of emotion often being downplayed by participants in the AAM, at least publically, emotion is a significant driving force for many in the movement. While some activists are guided by specific ideologies and theorists, others are motivated by alternative theories such as the feminist ethics of care, which emphasise, rather than devalue, emotion and compassion for animals. The influence of emotion in shaping animal advocacy campaigns will be further explored in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Two:

The “Dark” Side of Social Movement Organisations: Organisational Rationality

Introduction

Chapter One explored some of the ideological and emotive considerations that influence the AAM. It is also important to focus on organisational considerations, as they have a considerable impact on the actions and campaigns of organisations (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 659-661). The types of campaigning that animal advocacy organisations (AAOs) undertake are shaped in part by their size and organisational structures. Andrea Smith (2007, p. 15) contends that as organisations grow larger and more professional, there is a danger that they can become ‘an end unto themselves’. There is a tendency for larger organisations to select activities based around self-promoting organisational priorities such as securing and maintaining resources, organisational survival and career maintenance, rather than the founding ideological tenets or emotional considerations.

Robert Christensen *et al.* (2009, pp. 213-215) observe that while not for profit organisations (NFPs) may have positive or “light” roles in society, there can also be a “dark” side to their activities. They often face light/dark tensions, with light aspects being based around the organisation’s social purpose mission and dark aspects being non-mission based concerns that detract from the mission, such as corruption and mission drift. Adopting this terminology, Chapter One focused on the light, ideologically and emotionally driven aspects of NFPs, whereas this chapter will focus on the dark aspects. Mission drift occurs when organisations depart from their mission and move in different directions, based on external factors not related to their mission or cause. This dark side is sometimes revealed in scandals that emerge from time to time in NFPs, as well as in the increasing links between the NFP sector, governments and businesses. Ultimately these processes can lead to growing attention to accountability in NFPs (Christensen *et al.* 2009, p. 214; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 810).

There are a number of sociological theories that analyse what was denoted in the Introduction as forms of “organisational rationality”, which respond to and reinforce “non-mission” or “dark” pressures on SMO activities. A key theory in this regard is resource mobilisation, which focuses on the role of resources in explaining social movement activity (McCarthy and Zald 1997, pp. 151-152).

As organisational considerations become increasingly important, the actions and campaigns of SMOs tend to moderate (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 659-661; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813). The development of resource mobilisation theory was a response to earlier, problematic theories of social movements that were chiefly premised upon the irrational basis of collective action. In proposing a model of social movement industries based on rational choice theory, resource mobilisation has been criticised for ignoring the ideologically and emotionally driven aspects of social movements. These criticisms are well placed; however, this chapter seeks to retain the insights of resource mobilisation theory by viewing “organisational rationality” not as an inherent condition of rational individual behaviour that drives organisational development but rather as a process that is increasingly influencing behaviour across different organisational fields.

Max Weber’s concept of instrumental rationality is related to bureaucratisation in organisations as they progress and grow, associated with a hierarchical structure and an increasing focus on self-maintenance and procedural rules (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, pp. 94-95, 101). Weber (1953, p. 24) and subsequent theorists such as George Ritzer (2000, pp. 12-15) have identified the dominance of bureaucracy across the whole of society, including NFPs. New privatisation is another concept relevant to organisational rationality. While instrumental rationality was viewed as a tendency within modern societies, new privatisation emphasises the historically specific importance of neoliberalism in driving a particular form of organisational rationality. This theory focuses on the way in which NFPs tend to increasingly operate according to market principles in a “business-like” manner – similar to for-profit organisations (Jurik 2004, pp. 2-5; 2005, p. 212; 2008, pp. 69-71). This chapter outlines the theories referred to above and these theories will be applied to the AAM in later chapters. Viewing the AAM through the lens of these theories is consistent with the Critical Animal Studies approach adopted in this thesis, which has a ‘healthy scepticism’ of ‘formalisation and professionalization’ within radical movements (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 5).

The Resource Mobilisation Perspective

Resource mobilisation theory is useful in investigating forces that shape AAOs. Resource mobilisation can be defined as ‘a process by which groups engage in more collective action as their power increases due to their growing size and increasing organisational, material and other resources’ (Furze et al. 2008, p. 502). Scholars using the resource mobilisation approach are particularly concerned with ‘how organizations and organizational processes facilitate the procurement of resources essential to movement activity’ (Soule and King 2008, p. 1572). The ability to mobilise resources is seen as central to the emergence and success of social movements.

The theory emerged in the 1970s as a tool for analysing social movements, when it became clear that existing theories failed to adequately explain the 1960s civil rights movement in the US and the movements that followed. While Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian's (1957) formulation of the collective behaviour tradition was suitable for explaining short-term, spontaneous actions, it was not so relevant for analysing longer-term, more organised and political forms of protest (Buechler 1997, p. 193-194). William Kornhauser's (1959) relative deprivation theory, which proposed that only the most marginalised and socially isolated members of society became involved in collective behaviour was also found to have limited applicability (Buechler 1997, p. 194). Participants in the 1960s social movements featured many relatively affluent participants (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 533). These reservations also apply to the AAM, which draws many of its participants from middle to high socio-economic groups (Torres 2007, p. 136; Lowe and Ginsberg 2002, p. 203).

Jackie Smith and Tina Fetner (2010, p. 14) explain that generally the most deprived members of society do not engage in protest, as they are not well placed to undertake risky political action. Reasons for this include the lack of economic resources, time and political skills. Many also face discrimination, leading them to retreat from the public sphere. The relative deprivation perspective was argued to have 'too many serious conceptual, theoretical, and empirical weaknesses to be useful in accounting for the emergence and development of social movements' (Gurney and Tierney 2008, p. 33).

Development of the resource mobilisation framework provided an alternative (Buechler 1997, p. 194), accounting for collective action beyond deprivation and self-interest (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 553). Sarah Soule and Brayden King (2008, p. 1572) argue that McCarthy and Zald's (1977) article, 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory', introduced the concepts of SMOs and the "social movement industry", as well as triggering a change in social movement studies from an approach focused on "collective behaviours", such as fads, mobs, and panics, to an interest in exploring organisational and rational bases of social movements. Research using this approach has made significant progress in clarifying various issues, including questions regarding recruitment, mobilisation, strategy, and tactics (Buechler 1997, pp. 193-195).¹² Much of this work has been from a sociological perspective (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 534).

In their theory of resource mobilisation, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (2001, p. 536) call members of social movements like the AAM “conscience constituencies” who ‘believe in the rightness of the cause’ even though they themselves, or even their friends and relatives, will not be the direct beneficiaries of the desired changes. They use the term “social movement industries” to encompass all of the SMOs from a particular social movement (McCarthy and Zald 1977, p. 1213). A central assumption of the theory is ‘that SMOs operate like any other organization, and consequently, once formed, they operate as though organizational survival were the primary goal. Only if survival is ensured can other goals be pursued’ (McCarthy and Zald 1997, p. 159).

According to the resource mobilisation perspective, resources are crucial in explaining and understanding collective behaviour and social movement activity (McCarthy and Zald 1997, pp. 151-152). Resources include land, labour, and capital (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 545). Resource mobilisation is focused ‘on the role of money and its mobilization and on techniques of mobilization of SMOs’ (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 557). The ability to mobilise resources is seen as central to the emergence and success of social movements. Resources are required to form new organisations and engage in collective action that challenge dominant frames and present the movement’s interpretation of reality (McLaughlin and Khawaja 2000, p. 425). This perspective emphasises the variety and bases of resources; using costs and rewards to explain social movement activity from both individuals and organisations (McCarthy and Zald 1997, pp. 149-152).

Resource mobilisation views social movements as an extension of politics that can be analysed in the same manner, with a particular focus on conflicts of interest. Collective action is viewed as a case study in political and organisational sociology. According to this perspective, social movements can be analysed in terms of organisational dynamics, like other institutionalised action (Buechler 1997, pp. 193-194). Smith and Fetner (2010, p. 13) explain that ‘any attempt to understand social change requires attention to questions about how the resources and power needed to define and defend group interests are distributed within a society’. Soule and King (2008, pp. 1569-1570, 1572) use the resource mobilisation approach of McCarthy and Zald to argue that SMOs in a social movement industry compete with each other for resources available in that “industry”, rather than cooperating to achieve a common goal: ‘SMOs compete for participants’ contributions of money, time, energy, and skills and for symbolic goods, such as prestige’ (Soule and King 2008, p. 1570). SMOs also often compete for media attention, which will be explored in Chapter Five.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, resource mobilisation theory had become the dominant theory for analysing social movements in sociology (Buechler 1997, p. 193; Clemens and Minkoff 2004, pp. 155-156). In fact, the importance of resources in explaining collective action was by that point mostly taken for granted (Cress and Snow 1996 cited in McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 546). Collective political behaviour has often been written about as highly rational, where 'social movement activity proceeds much as business activity proceeds' (Dobbin 2001, p. 74), with SMOs seen to function essentially as 'protest businesses' (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 810). According to this approach, social movements are 'spearheaded by ideological entrepreneurs, competing in markets for the allegiance of potential participants' (Dobbin 2001, p. 74).

Resource mobilisation theory has difficulty in accommodating other influences, such as ideological rationality and emotive rationality, which were addressed in the preceding chapter. As a result, it has been subject to criticism (see, for example, Cress and Snow 1996; Buechler 1997; Maddison and Scalmer 2006; Snow 2004). David Snow (2004, p. 382) argues that scholars such as McCarthy and Zald have emphasised the importance of resources in driving social movements, 'with mobilizing ideas and beliefs not just placed on the back burner but metaphorically taken off the stove'. Similarly, in the structural and organisational paradigm, of which resource mobilisation has been a key part, 'emotions have been dismissed as unimportant, epiphenomenal, or invariable, providing little explanatory power' even though they 'are a part of all social action' (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2004, p. 413).

Despite these shortcomings, it is considered that resource mobilisation theory does provide a useful tool for analysing AAOs. The theory focuses on SMOs and their power (Maddison and Scalmer 2006, pp. 23, 94, 256, 261), meaning it is well suited to provide some insight into organisational considerations and how they shape animal advocacy. The limitations identified above will be overcome in this thesis by not only drawing on other theories coming under the umbrella of organisational rationality, but also through examining the way ideological rationality and emotive rationality shape animal advocacy campaigns. In addition, Steven Buechler's (1997, pp. 205-206) concern that movement diversity is not addressed by the resource mobilisation perspective will also be addressed, by exploring both anti-systemic and integrationist advocacy, as well as various organisational forms in the movement.

Competition and Fracturing

The language that the activist Amanda Perez (2007, pp. 92-93) uses to describe SMOs is definitely consistent with the resource mobilisation perspective. She explains that SMOs, particularly those relying on foundation money, 'engage in the organizing market'. In this market, 'consumers are foundations to which organizations offer to sell their political work for a grant. The products sold include the organizing accomplishments, models, and successes that one can put on display to prove competency and legitimacy' (Perez 2007, pp. 92-93). The primary concern of many organisations is to attract and retain funders rather than organising mass-based movements, which leads them to "niche market" their organisations (Smith 2007, p. 10; Perez 2007, pp. 92-93). SMOs, just like businesses, have to specialise to differentiate their "product" (their tactics and goals) from their competitors and capture a distinct segment of the "market" (attracting a specific set of potential participants or benefactors) (Soule and King 2008, pp. 1573-1574). This niche marketing encourages a fractured movement rather than a mass-based movement for social change (Smith 2007, pp. 10-11; Perez 2007, pp. 92-93).

This competitive environment, where organisations see groups doing similar work as competing with them for limited funding (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 814), hinders any chances 'of a movement-building culture' (Perez 2007, pp. 92-93). Smith (2007, p. 10) maintains that the Non-Profit Industrial Complex promotes a non-collaborative, narrowly focused and competitive culture. She believes that competition for funding means that groups promote only their own work, whether it is successful or not, in an attempt to retain the support of benefactors. This desire to only promote a group's own work and frame everything as a success means that there is no opportunity for collaborative dialogues amongst groups, where successes and failures are honestly shared and opportunities taken to learn from the experiences of others.

Framing all actions as successful means repeating the same strategies, as funding bodies get the impression they are successful, even if they are not in reality. This leads to inflexible, repetitive activism. To be a movement for social transformation requires fluid and ever-changing strategies, dependant on constant, critical, and honest analysis and re-evaluation of tactics (Perez 2007, pp. 97-98; Smith 2007, pp. 10-11). When organisations limit themselves to working on a specific issue or strategy, they can lose perspective of larger goals (Smith 2007, pp. 10-11). Smith (2007, pp. 2, 7) particularly associates these trends with SMOs working within the 501(c)(3) non-profit model, which refers to the status that non-profits must achieve in order to ensure that they are eligible to receive foundational grants and donations made to them are tax deductible. Since the 1970s, most social justice organisations in the US have adopted this model.

These analyses of the business-like nature of SMOs and their competition for funding from the resource mobilisation perspective are also very similar to the picture of SMOs provided by the theory of new privatisation, which will be discussed below. Jurik's (2008, p. 57) studies into new privatisation in NFPs discovered that many 'shifted their goals and activities over time in order to align their programs with the ideas and expectations of funders'. She maintains that 'increasingly, nonprofit organizations (like neoliberal nation states) discipline themselves in accord with market ideals or risk being ostracized by their field and rejected by funders' (Jurik 2005, p. 212).

The Influence of "Careerists"

In their work on resource mobilisation, McCarthy and Zald (1997, p. 151) argue that when analysing collective behaviour, it is important to focus on 'career benefits', amongst other factors. This is because 'it seems increasingly clear that significant numbers of SMO leaders and cadres are paid for their efforts' (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 544). As SMOs grow larger and attract more resources, professionalisation may occur, where individuals develop specific skills in leading and managing SMOs, leading to the development of careers within certain social movements (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 537; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813).

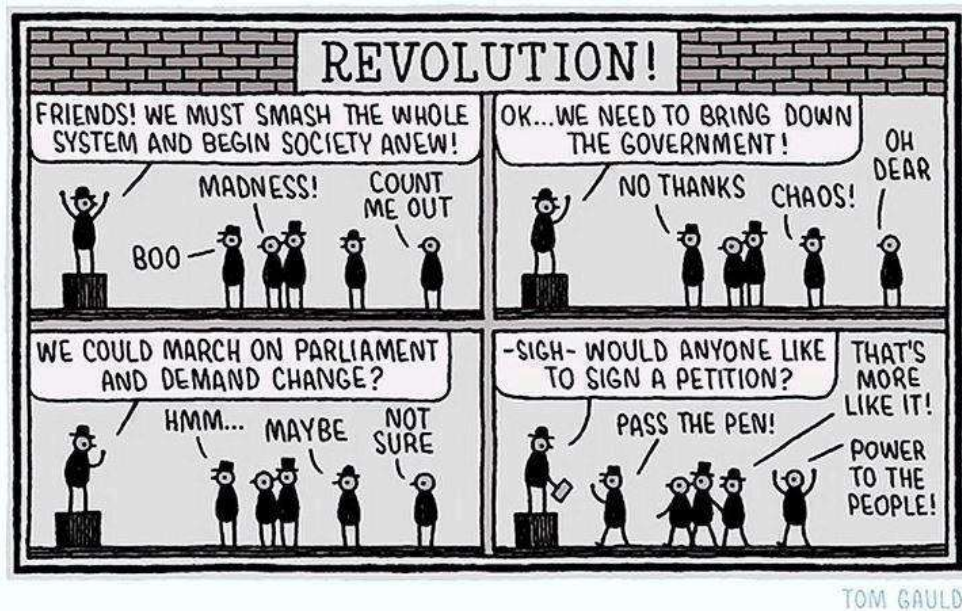
Smith (2007, p. 10) also acknowledges the importance of careerists. She asserts that the Non-Profit Industrial Complex encourages people to think of social justice organising as a career, which means you only do the work if you can get paid for it. She argues that such a model is unsustainable as a mass movement requires the involvement of millions of people, most whom will not get paid for their efforts. The careerist model means a very small number of people are doing most of the work. Jurik (2005, p. 162) contends that 'professionalised nonprofits gain respect and funding opportunities in the community at the loss of grassroots appeal'. Smith (2007, p. 10) notes that foundations only give money to more established non-governmental organisations with "expertise," however these self-proclaimed "experts" are not generally part of the communities that they advocate for and as a result, do not contribute to building grassroots leadership.

In focusing on the influence of those with careers in social movements, it is very important to understand that careerist motivations do not necessarily apply to everyone within SMOs. For example, from their case study of young activists, Hensby, Sibthorpe and Driver (2011, pp. 817, 820) found that while SMO staff members viewed other organisations as "the competition", this sentiment was not necessarily shared by activists who were not the paid staff on an SMO.

Mobilising the Public

According to the resource mobilisation perspective, career considerations and professionalisation may influence organisational aspects such as 'programs, tactics, and goals' (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 537). For example, they may influence the way adherents are encouraged to become involved in actions. The forms of activism people participate in vary considerably in terms of the duration, effort, and risk that they require. Actions such as 'giving money and signing a petition require little effort and imply no long-term involvement' (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 543). Bert Klandermas (2004, p. 360) explains that these forms of participation are limited in terms of the time, effort, and risk involved. In the same vein, Allison Sephton (2006, online) points out that, in the context of online activism, participation can be 'made as simple and non-committal as going online and signing a petition or adding one's name to a pledge or email distribution list'.

In an article about the Australian progressive political organisation *GetUp!*, which often encourages people to take political action by adding their name to an online petition, James Arvanitakis (2011, online) asserts that 'to sign something is easy' but 'GetUp! as an organisation and we their supporters need to do more than take three seconds out of our day to sign a petition'. He adds: 'An online petition does not signify an engagement with an issue, a sense of empowerment to act or a willingness to change voting behaviour' and that 'we cannot rely on online activism alone'. He maintains that the challenge for organisations like *GetUp!* is how to transform large numbers of online signatories into active members who do more (Arvanitakis 2011, online). Similarly, sociologist Theresa Petray (2011, pp. 923, 925) argues that this online 'push-button activism' is 'most effective as just one component of activism, as an enhancement to offline activism, rather than the main tactic'. While the cartoon by Tom Gauld shown in Figure 2.1 makes light of this issue of commitment, it poses clear organisational constraints for AAOs and SMOs in general.



Source: (Gauld 2012, online)

Figure 2.1 Little Effort Means Maximum Involvement

Che Green (2011, online), founder and executive director of the Humane Research Council, raises similar concerns about social media. He cites Malcolm Gladwell, author of the book *Tipping Point*, who argues that: ‘Social networks are effective at increasing participation - by lessening the level of motivation that participation requires’. Gladwell explains that: ‘In other words, Facebook activism succeeds not by motivating people to make a real sacrifice but by motivating them to do the things that people do when they are not motivated enough to make a real sacrifice’ (cited in Green 2011, online). Green (2011, online) makes a similar point to Arvanitakis in the context of the AAM, stating: ‘You’ve made it easy for people to “like” your organization on Facebook, but the real challenge is to turn that low-level participation into a deeper level of engagement in animal causes’. Referring back to petitions, leaders of many Australian AAOs argue that in their experience, this campaign strategy is ineffective in bringing about changes for animals (see, for example, Pearson 2011, interview; Oogjes 2010, interview; Mark 2010, interview). These critiques from the AAM and beyond indicate the tensions between an organisation wanting to maximise public involvement in their activities and achieving meaningful change for their cause (Petray 2011, pp. 934-935).

Participation in social movements through civil disobedience such as sit-ins, occupations, and strikes is only short-lived but may require a great deal of effort and risk (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 543; Klandermans 2004, p. 360). While there will always be those who will be willing to put more time

and effort into an issue, actions that can be done quickly and easily are likely to attract more people than actions that ask more of people. For most organisations, participation is largely passive, involving actions such as signing a petition or making a donation (Petray 2011, pp. 934-935; Ostrander 2005, p. 8). Such actions, as well as other actions that require little effort and commitment, are therefore likely to be favoured to maximise participation in, and resources for, the organisation. Promoting such actions is consistent with career benefits and organisational survival (McCarthy and Zald 1997, p. 159; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, pp. 810, 813) – they make the most sense from a financial and organisational perspective. As was mentioned in the Introduction, this phenomenon will be referred to as the “little effort paradigm” throughout this thesis.

Instrumental Rationality and Bureaucracy

Weber’s principle of *Zweckrationalität*, or instrumental rationality, was introduced in Chapter One. It means making decisions according to planned results. In other words, the social actor chooses the means and the ends of an action (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101) based on ‘deliberate planning’ (Weber 1978, cited in Parsons 2003, p. 86; Swedberg and Weber 1999, pp. 199, 281) and a ‘methodical weighing of means, ends, values, and consequences’ (Emirbayer 2005, p. 191). Instrumental rationality includes ‘rational economic as well as technically oriented action’ (Levine 2005, p. 123) as opposed to action being driven by an ideological commitment (value rationality – referred to as ideological rationality in this thesis).

In the context of a bureaucracy, instrumental rationality can have the effect of concentrating control in the hands of managerial elites through procedural rules. It is these elites that have power within organisations, as they define the ends and police the means. According to Weber, bureaucracy and the associated concepts of power, authority, and hierarchy are central to understanding organisations (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, pp. 94-95, 101). Weber defined a rational or “pure” organisation as a bureaucracy with characteristics such as: a clear hierarchy of offices, with a level of power and fixed income relevant to a person’s position in the hierarchy; candidates for positions appointed and not elected using criteria based on technical qualifications; strict control and discipline maintained through rules; formalistic impersonality; central control; and administrative staff completely separated from the ownership of the means of production (Weber 1953, pp. 19-22, 27). Weber (1953, p. 24) believed a purely bureaucratic (monocratic) organisation could achieve the highest degree of efficiency. To one degree or another, his bureaucratic model typifies most organisations in the contemporary Western world.

Weber (1953, p. 24) wrote of the 'continual spread of bureaucratic administration' to all kinds of organisations, including 'armies, political parties, economic enterprises, organizations to promote all kinds of causes, private associations, clubs, and many others'. Years later, Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell (1983, p. 147) wrote that 'bureaucracy remains the common organizational form' and they point to 'homogeneity in structure, culture, and output' amongst a wide range of organisations. Alexander Hensby, Joanne Sibthorpe and Stephen Driver (2011, p. 810) point out that organisationally SMOs 'operate in the most part as modern bureaucracies' with central management and control.

A good example of how NFPs can come to be dominated by bureaucratic administration is provided by Perez, an activist from the organisation Sisters in Action for Power. This organisation began as a group of young women in Portland, Oregon striving to achieve a free bus service for students to and from high school. Perez's experience of working for Sisters in Action for Power is very significant, as it provides practical examples of some of the processes outlined in this chapter and it also shows that even organisations with radical ideologies can be shaped by organisational considerations.

We had to learn to set up accounting programs, a process for paying bills and spending money, legal requirements insurance, liability, personnel policies, and payroll. We were informed of the need to incorporate as soon as possible and secure our own 501(c)(3). A long list of administrative steps and documents were required, including hundreds of pages of legal credentials, bylaws, articles of incorporations, and other forms and contracts...For purposes of staffing, we were expected to produce job descriptions, job announcements, a formal hiring process, and official methods of supervision. And, of course, we needed letterhead, business cards, a fax machine, copier, printer, computers, e-mail accounts, and information packets promoting our accomplishments and successes. In the end, the ongoing work to maintain and prospect foundation money, combined with administrative obligations and developing infrastructure, was more taxing and exhausting than confronting any institution to fight for policy change (Perez 2007, p. 93).

George Ritzer has drawn on Weber's work on bureaucratisation in his text *The McDonaldization of Society*, where he maintains that standardisation and efficiency are coming to dominate society

(cited in Jurik 2004, p. 8). Ritzer (2000, pp. 12-15) argues that the focus on 'efficiency, calculability, predictability and control' has traditionally dominated the corporate sector, but there have been general societal trends towards these outcomes in all aspects of society. Like Weber, Ritzer (2000, pp. 243-244) is concerned about this "McDonaldization" – the term he uses to define the spreading rationalisation of society – but believes it is virtually inescapable, despite isolated examples of individual resistance.

Bureaucracy is often used as a pejorative term in our society, referring to the strict adherence to rules (even against logic) and unnecessary "red tape" (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 811). Despite Weber's endorsement of the efficiency of bureaucracy, he was concerned about some aspects. These included the way bureaucracies created human cogs in a machine, "specialists without spirit" mindlessly following procedures in an "iron cage" that was impossible to escape. He was very pessimistic about the chances of bureaucracy leading to human freedom and happiness (cited in DiMaggio and Powell 1983, p. 147). Weber saw bureaucracy as 'the rational spirit's organizational manifestation' that was so efficient as a means of control 'that, once established, the momentum of bureaucratization was irreversible' (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, p. 147).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983, p. 147) drew on Weber's work and used the term 'institutional isomorphism' to explain the way in which 'the engine of rationalization and bureaucratization has moved from the competitive marketplace to the state and professions'. While much of the research on organisations focuses on differences between organisations, DiMaggio and Powell's (1983, p. 148) research into institutional isomorphism points to sameness, arguing that there is actually 'startling homogeneity of organizational forms and practises'. Reasons for this rationalised homogeneity includes 'external pressures exerted by government, regulatory, or other agencies to adopt the structures or systems that they favour', 'contractual obligations with other actors, which constrain organizational variety' and an expectation to 'conform to standards of professionalism and to adopt systems and techniques considered to be legitimate by relevant professional groupings' (Ashworth, Boyne, and Delbridge 2009, p. 167). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) maintain that organisations focused on an issue will eventually yield to isomorphic pressures or they will risk losing their external support and compromise the survival of their organisation (cited in Ashworth, Boyne, and Delbridge 2009, p. 167). Like theories of new privatisation and bureaucratization, institutional isomorphism highlights the tendencies towards sameness across a variety of organisational forms.

Accountability and Mission Drift in Not For Profit Organisations

Accountability in NFPs is a complex issue. Exactly who they are accountable to is often not as straight forward as it is with companies and businesses (Young 2002, pp. 3-4). According to Dennis Young (2002, p. 4), NFPs are 'accountable for achieving the missions for which they have been established and granted special societal benefits, and they are responsible ultimately to society as a whole for achieving those benefits'. To achieve this, NFP leaders cannot simply make their "masters" (including powerful entities like governments, corporations and foundations which often fund NFPs) happy, but rather they must stick with their mission even when it makes their masters unhappy (Young 2002, pp. 3-4). Young (2002, p. 8) argues that: 'They must rely on strong, internalised values and understanding of their mission to keep an appropriate path' and avoid the potential mission drift caused by powerful forces, unrelated to their mission, that make paths departing from their mission more comfortable and secure (Young 2002, pp. 3-4). Tensions are common in NFPs between their mission and organisational considerations.

Young (2002, p. 7) explains that contemporary NFP leaders sometimes depart from their mission due to external factors, arguing that there are examples of this in areas such as 'education, research, public health, social justice, and many other realms in which nonprofits toil' (Young 2002, p. 8). The reasons for this can vary widely but include financial considerations and movement towards the corporate sector. This departure from their mission can even occur inadvertently. Although there have been links between NGOs (non-governmental organisations), corporations and foundations for a long time, these links have increased in recent times (Young 2002, p. 7). Laurie Lewis (2005, p. 243) explains that there has been growing interaction between the for-profit and NFP sectors. According to Andrew Hoffman and Stephanie Bertels (2007, p. 14), this collaboration has become 'more strategic, commercial and political' in its collaboration. Corporate involvement with NFPs is now much more integral to the 'corporation's plan for its own success' (Young 2002, p. 6). Similarly, NFPs are becoming more dependent on corporations for financial support and this reliance can affect the integrity of their missions (Young 2002, pp. 6-7).

This mission drift as a result of increasing crossover between corporations, foundations and NGOs is also explored by Hoffman and Bertels (2007, pp. 3, 14-15). They argue that these collaborations take many forms including cause-related marketing, scientific collaborations, and corporations and foundations sponsoring events and donating money and products to NGOs. These alliances can affect all involved, including corporations making concessions to the causes promoted by NGOs that they fund. An example would be a corporation moving to more environmentally-friendly practices

due to their involvement with an environmental NGO. On the other hand, these relationships can work in reverse, leading to a change in focus and mission drift or “mission deflection” on the part of the NGO. Actions can become compromised as NGOs attempt to satisfy the interests of their funding bodies:

NGOs begin to emulate the strategies, management style and goals of their for-profit partner, often creating clashes between the differing cultures and purposes of the alliance partners. This can ultimately lead to mission drift where the NGO loses sight of its tax exempt purpose and focuses on commercial activities and cost saving [or profit enhancing] measures to the exclusion of its community oriented purpose (Hoffman and Bertels 2007, p. 14).

Grant Jordan and William Maloney argue that ‘as soon as social movements become large institutions, the emphasis on achieving campaigning goals and developing new repertoires of activism quickly becomes sidelined by the overwhelming demands from the bureaucratic organization to sustain itself’ (cited in Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, pp. 812-813). Many activists have outlined the way in which such processes have occurred in the SMOs they have been involved with. Richard Jones (2011, interview) has been a campaigner for the environment and non-human animals for many years. He was the first convenor of Friends of the Earth, founder of Fund for Animals and co-founder of Greenpeace Australia. He explains that he has witnessed many organisations become self-serving, self-funding cumbersome bureaucracies where much of the large amount of money raised was no longer spent on the purposes for which it was purportedly raised.

Similarly, Perez (2007, p. 94) considers that in her experience with Sisters in Action for Power, ‘foundation funding and building a non-profit took more time than their actual organising work and seemed very distant from the purpose they had got involved with organising in the first place’. Smith (2007, pp. 1-20) argues that this is not a new phenomenon and in fact the roles of NFPs and businesses have always been somewhat blurred. She focuses on the role of foundations set up by multimillionaires and corporations, and their influence over NFPs and social movements.

In the book *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, Smith (2007, p. 3) explores the influence of foundations over NFPs in the US and highlights the crossovers between corporations, NFPs and the state. Smith uses the term “Non-Profit Industrial Complex” to explain the way in which capitalist interests and the state use NFPs to monitor and control social justice movements, ensure the transfer of public money into private hands through foundations, control dissent and assist in making the world safe for the long-term interests of capital. She asserts that the energies of activists are redirected into career-based models of organising instead of mass-based organising capable of actually transforming society in meaningful ways. The Non-Profit Industrial Complex enables corporations to mask their own exploitation and colonialism by drawing attention to their “philanthropic” work. It also encourages social movements to model themselves after capitalist structures instead of challenging them.

These crossovers between NFPs, businesses and the state present a challenge to the idea of NFPs being a more caring and independent “third-way” alternative to government or business (Jurik 2004, p. 5; 2005, p. 212). SMOs are generally becoming more wealthy, professional, and business-like. Such moves are particularly pronounced in the US, though these developments are also being replicated internationally.

New Privatisation

Sociologist Nancy Jurik’s (2005, p. 163) research, which has been central to the development of the theory of new privatisation, has found that as formalisation and bureaucratisation increase, the operations of organisations grow more business-like. She argues that in the US at least, ‘nonprofits have been moving towards corporate practises’ due to specific reasons such as ‘economic downturns that increase competition for funding’ as well as more generally through the rise of the new privatisation ideology that ‘regards business sector-practises as superior to government and nonprofit operations’ (Jurik 2005, p. 163). In fact, this process of NFPs becoming more business-like is often viewed as a part of the organisation’s maturity (Jurik 2005, p. 163), rather than being seen in a negative light.

New privatisation is where ‘the organizational culture of government and NFP sectors is restructured according to market principles’ (Jurik 2004, p. 2). This is because there is increasing pressure for

NFPs to frame themselves and operate as business-like organisations (Jurik 2005, p. 212; 2008, p. 71). Many organisations reform in the image of the for-profit sector and the market, mimicking many of the same characteristics as for-profit businesses, including culture and management models (Jurik 2008, p. 69; 2004, pp. 3-5; 2006, pp. 122, 127; 2005, p. 212; Lewis 2005, p. 243). NFPs are increasingly focused on private sector efficiency, cost-effectiveness, competitiveness, funding, and measurable outcomes – all consistent with a neoliberal ideology (Jurik 2008, pp. 59, 69; Perez 2007, pp. 92-93, 95; Jurik 2006, pp. 127, 129; Lewis 2005, p. 243; Jurik 2005, p. 212; Ingram and Schneider 2006, p. 181).

The phrase “new public management” has been developed to describe this trend of the management of public organisations increasingly reflecting theories of new privatisation (Lane 2000, p. 36; Rainnie et al. 2012, p. 106). Its characteristics include the importation of management and accounting techniques and models from the private sector to organisations in the public sector, as well as a strong focus on efficiency and marketisation (Ferlie et al. 1996, p. 31; Broadbent and Laughline 2002, p. 95; Carroll and Steane 2002, p. 198; Lane 2000, p. 60; Cheung 2002, p. 244). Hensby, Sibthorpe and Driver (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813) explain that throughout the 1980s, many SMOs began to recruit their leaders based on their “management expertise”, as opposed to ‘their personal commitment to political activism’.

While some of the processes covered in this chapter, such as the role of foundations and 501(c)(3) organisations, is focused on the US, new privatisation and new public management are very relevant to Australia. As Alistair Rainnie *et al.* (2012, p. 107) explain, ‘Australian governments have been deeply involved in processes of NPM [new public management] policy experimentation’. Peter Shergold, Chair of the Economic Audit Committee and formerly Secretary of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet for conservative Australian Prime Minister John Howard, has argued that: ‘Third-party delivery has the capacity to evolve into a partnership in which public and private goals and values become ever more similar’ (cited in Rainnie et al. 2012, pp. 107-108). This sentiment is also reflected in the 2009 report ‘Putting the Public First’ by the Western Australian government, which aims to reform public sector management (Rainnie et al. 2012, pp. 104-108).

This “blurring of the lines” between businesses, governments and NFPs is not a new phenomenon. Trends towards new privatisation were already occurring in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Jurik (2004, p. 8) asserts that new privatisation can be seen as an extension of Karl Marx’s notion of

the continuous commodification of social life under capitalism. According to Jurik (2004, p. 8), new privatisation can also be viewed as an extension of Weber's notion of 'the increasing domination of Western, formal rationality based upon bureaucracy and calculation'.

Movement to more business-like practises by the public sector is often viewed as shifting it away from bureaucracy and instrumental rationality. Similarly, movement towards new privatisation is often seen as creating "dynamic" and "efficient" organisations in place of old-style, stagnant bureaucracies (Schmid 2003, p. 308; Rainnie et al. 2012, p. 105). In fact, in the context of social movements, these processes are actually very similar in that, whether the focus is on bureaucratic self-maintenance or a business-like desire for profit, decisions made are still being driven by organisational considerations. They are in the vein of organisational rationality rather than reflecting ideological or emotional commitments.

The shift towards new privatisation has greatly accelerated as a result of the influence of neoliberalism. Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has become the dominant political and economic system in Western countries, and its influence is spreading all around the world. Neoliberalism involves a market-orientated theory based on the belief that the government is inefficient and the private market is efficient (Rainnie et al. 2012, pp. 105-106; Schmid 2003, p. 308), as well as an actual set of policies which facilitate the free movement of capital (Munck 2005, pp. 60-62). Neoliberalism has led to 'the hegemony of market standards' (Jurik 2005, p. 41) across all aspects of social life, including community, family, and individual life, as well as governments and NFPs (Jurik 2004, p. 1; Rainnie et al. 2012, p. 108).

A core aspect of neoliberalism is privatisation. One reaction to the neoliberal assumption that the private market is efficient, while government institutions are inefficient, is to privatise government services, which is referred to by Jurik as direct privatisation. This is where private sector firms directly take control of services and organisations previously administered by the government (Jurik 2004, p. 2; Schmid 2003, p. 308; Rainnie et al. 2012, p. 106). Whether or not services are directly turned over to private businesses becomes increasingly irrelevant, as connections and overlap between government, NFPs, and for-profits sectors continues to increase (Jurik 2005, pp. 41, 212; 2004, p. 6; Lewis 2005, p. 243). Jurik (2005, p. 41) argues that business-like cost effectiveness increasingly shapes the conduct of organisations across all sectors as the new privatisation ideology 'regards business sector-practises as superior to government and non-profit operations' (Jurik 2005,

p. 163). This really challenges the idea of NFPs being a more caring and independent “third-way” alternative to government or business service provision (Jurik 2004, p. 5; 2005, p. 212), or an alternative to market-based logic (Jurik 2006, pp. 128-129).

Just as with for-profit businesses, new privatisation agendas ‘view free market principles as offering the best avenue for solving today’s most pressing social problems’ (Jurik 2006, p. 122). Rather than challenging the narrative of the free market presented by businesses, NFPs increasingly promote the same “free market” ideals. This reflects ‘an increased confidence in an unfettered free market as the solution to both economic and social problems’ (Jurik 2005, p. 85). As a result, NFPs increasingly reinforce, rather than challenge, dominant Western values such as entrepreneurialism and individualism (Jurik 2006, pp. 128-129).

Ronaldo Munck (2005, pp. 65-66) notes that neoliberal theory tends to construct citizenship as best expressed through individual consumption. People are increasingly viewed as consumers rather than citizens (Munck 2005, p. 231; McChesney 1998, p. 11; McMichael 2004, p. 154; Rainnie et al. 2012, pp. 108-109). Consumption has become a more important part of people’s identities as a result of forces such as advertising and marketing, neoliberal policy, and corporate mass media – which is particularly important in explaining and introducing new commodities (Hamilton and Denniss 2005, p. 16-17; Cahill 2007, pp. 226-227). The exploding consumerism that characterises contemporary life for many Australians and others around the world is seen by some neoliberal advocates as a legitimate alternative to citizenship, even a superior one. This phenomenon must be understood as occurring within (and encouraging) the current neoliberal focus on consumerism and “consumer choice” as political activism (Wrenn 2011, pp. 17-19). This rationality is focused on individuals making choices in the market (Johnson 2007, pp. 196-197), rather than on social movements with broader concerns and tactics.

Replacing citizenship with consumption in neoliberal theory is argued as being democratic, as consumers can constantly “vote” for their preferred products, services and companies through their consumption choices. If people do not like the practices of a certain company, they can simply refuse to consume its products. This is at best a very limited form of participation and cannot be sustained as a viable alternative to citizenship. The term “citizen” implies an embrace of the larger public interest in the political sphere, while consumers are associated with being focused on indulging individual wants in the economic sphere (Cohen 2001, p. 203). The promotion of individual

consumption in the “free market” as a solution to social problems is problematic in terms of citizenship, but is consistent with the solutions offered by NFPs influenced by processes of new privatisation.

Jurik (2004, p. 10) lists a number of authors who have explored processes of new privatisation, including the way in which nursing homes are run (Diamond 1992), and the increased privatisation and commodification of higher education (McCoy 1998; Shore and Wright 2000). A seemingly more unlikely example of new privatisation has occurred in a non-profit organisation supporting children with very serious illnesses. This organisation works with these children and their families to identify their dreams and then makes “magic” happen by making these dreams a reality by paying for and arranging them. Influenced by financial considerations, the organisation has shifted to a more business-like mentality in order to reduce costs, with new performance standards implemented that promote cost-efficiency. This theoretical shift has affected the operations of the organisation, which now encourages “responsibility” in the dream-making process, focusing on cost-containment. Volunteers are trained to encourage those with very high expectations to emphasise the dream “experience” rather than the tangibles of the dream and the organisation also pushes “standard” dreams as much as possible, which are time and cost-efficient. Accompanying this has been an emphasis on attracting donations for specific dreams from individuals or corporations, focusing especially on dreams that are likely to generate positive media coverage for the organisation (Julie Cowgill, cited in Jurik 2004, pp. 5-6).

These examples demonstrate how changes to practices consistent with new privatisation have had very tangible impacts on the activities of these organisations. Jurik (2004, p. 10) recognises their value, asserting that ‘we need more case studies that critically analyse new privatization language and applications’. Chapter Three will explore theories of new privatisation in the context of the AAM.

Organisational Rationality and Integrationist Social Change

The processes outlined above tend to push organisations towards more moderate social change. As was outlined in Chapter One, progressive social movements can be anti-systemic, seeking to destroy the existing system which they believe has led to inequality. On the other hand, movements can also be integrationist, working to speed up progressive gains working within the current system (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 653, 658). Herbert Haines (1984, p. 31) argues that ‘nearly all social movements divide into “moderate” and “radical” factions at some point in their development’.

Historically, in progressive social movements, radicals have realised the need for long-term organisation to make a real difference. This ultimately led to the creation of bureaucratic organisations with members, offices, and financial concerns. This tendency has limited the degree to which progressive movements adhered to anti-systemic agendas. Previously radical individuals began to work within organisations that no longer threatened existing social structures (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 659-661).

Historian Immanuel Wallerstein's arguments about the growing size and bureaucratisation of SMOs and the accompanying moderation in their strategy are relevant to a wide range of social movements, both historical and contemporary (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813; Young 2002, p. 8), including the civil rights movement in the 1960s (Smith 2007, p. 5; Haines 1984, pp. 33-36; Allen 2007, first published 1969, pp. 55-62) and the contemporary environmental movement (Hoffman and Bertels 2007, p. 14; Hutton 2010, online; Torres 2007, pp. 140-141). These ideas will be explored in the context of the AAM in Chapter Three.

The effect of financial imperatives on SMOs is highlighted by Perez. She explains that 'over time, funding trends actually come to influence our work, priorities, and direction' and have the potential to compromise the 'radical edge' of non-profits (Perez 2007, pp. 93, 98). This is because foundations push for non-profits to package and produce success stories and strive for measurable outcomes (Perez 2007, pp. 92-93). Perez explains that this push means that: 'For many activists, this [funding] has shifted the focus from strategies for radical change to charts and tables that demonstrate how successfully the work has satisfied foundation-determined benchmarks' (Perez 2007, p. 93). Such processes are not inevitable however, as the discussion below on Perez's work with Sisters in Action for Power demonstrates.

Resisting Bureaucracy

Frank Dobbin (2001, p. 74) asserts that contemporary collective political behaviour is often written about as highly rational, with social movements based on the calculated employment of well-defined organising strategies. He sees this as part of a society-wide move towards the rationalisation and demystification of social life. There has been a 'transformation of passionate action into calculative interest-driven action not merely within social movements but across social realms' (Dobbin 2001, p. 74). Nicholas Gane (2002, p. 2) contends that there has been a 'rationalisation of culture', where

ultimate values are devalued and are 'replaced increasingly by the means – ends pursuit of material interests'. This has meant the sidelining of ultimate beliefs and value rationality in favour of instrumental rationality, with its rational calculation and routinised action (Gane 2002, p. 2).

Dobbin (2001, p. 75) observes that until quite recently, social movements were depicted by theorists as based on 'beliefs, ethics, and sentiment'. He makes the case that: 'Human action is increasingly framed as driven by interest and calculation, even in realms that were, not long ago, thought to operate on other principles' (Dobbin 2001, p. 75). Theorists have begun to see social movements more like business enterprises. Metaphors from rational choice theory are being used to explain individual behaviour (Dobbin 2001, p. 75). Ongoing processes of bureaucratisation may not only explain the prevailing rationalist social-scientific paradigm, but also explain why social movements increasingly 'depict themselves as oriented to rational calculation – as "managed" in the conventional sense, rather than as spontaneous, devotional, and charismatic' (Dobbin 2001, p. 75).

While ideology and emotion were often neglected in academic analysis of social movements from the 1970s onwards, partly due to the dominance of the resource mobilisation theory, more recent analyses are starting to again acknowledge their importance in shaping social movements (Snow 2004, p. 383; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2004, p. 413). Dobbin (2001, p. 75) asserts that while outwardly-focused descriptions of activity may sound business-like and akin to the language of strategic management, we should not take this rhetoric of social movement leaders as a totally accurate depiction of the way social movements operate in practice. He believes that away from the public face of organisations, emotion exerts a strong influence on internal discussions within social movements.¹³

Dobbin (2001, p. 74) attempts to challenge the highly rational image of social movement activity portrayed by many of the theorists referred to in this chapter. He argues against the dominant theoretical paradigm – portrayed by theories such as resource mobilisation – which emphasise rational calculation among movement "entrepreneurs". He sees:

...A different kind of social movement, driven by indignation, fear, hope, a sense of right and wrong. One might see the project as an effort to re-romanticize political activity, in that it recalls an era when social

movements were self-consciously about ideology and right versus wrong – an era when the language of rational political calculation had not yet invaded either social movements or the social-science theories that described them (Dobbin 2001, p. 74).

Alvin Gouldner (cited in van Krieken et al. 2000, p. 303) argues that ‘bureaucracy is not inevitable’ and ‘can be successfully resisted’. A good example of this is the organisation Sisters in Action for Power. In its initial efforts to become a NFP, it shifted its focus from organising to corporate management (Smith 2007, pp. 9-10). Perez (2007, p. 92) explained that initial efforts to gain grants from foundations meant that a lot of their work was not reflective of the organisation’s own internal priorities. Once funding was granted, a lot of time and energy was put into maintaining foundation money through administrative work and demonstrating to foundations how the activism they initiated had been successful (Perez 2007, p. 93). The organisation moved ‘further from social change efforts’ and instead shifted ‘toward non-profit building work’ (Perez 2007, p. 94). After a successful campaign to support poorer families by creating a new student bus pass that halved the original fare, the organisation was encouraged to grow by taking steps such as hiring more staff and increasing its membership base (Perez 2007, p. 94).

After considering potential implications for the organisation, Sisters in Action ‘resisted the pressure to expand’ (Perez 2007, p. 94). The negative impact of being drawn into the Non-Profit Industrial Complex was a major consideration. A conscious effort was made to reject the corporatised model of running an organisation. Structures were developed that were more closely modelled on the vision of society that they were trying to create (Smith 2007, pp. 9-10; Perez 2007, pp. 91, 97). They agreed to maintain only a small staff and a manageable budget, which meant less time was required for administration and more time to evaluate and adjust the organisation’s focus and progress. A grassroots fundraising program was introduced, where money was raised at events and by selling items such as T-shirts. The aim was to generate half of their funding from these types of sources to reduce dependency on foundations. Through taking steps such as these, they have been able to operate as a 501(c)(3) organisation, while still maintaining their revolutionary commitment and activism (Perez 2007, pp. 97-98). Hensby, Sibthorpe and Driver (2011, p. 812) maintain that ‘through political and organizational self-reflection, social movements can retain a crucially progressive edge’.

Perez's experience with Sisters in Action is consistent with Torres' critiques of the 'ossified activist bureaucracies' that he believes dominate the current AAM, as well as the solution he proposes. He argues that 'any movement that challenges hierarchy must, itself, refuse to participate in the pointless hierarchies that have plagued our social order for so long' and what is required is 'a broad-scale, anti-authoritarian and anti-hierarchical movement that provides social justice for all' (Torres 2007, p. 90). Similarly, Carl Friedrich (1953, p. 31) states that cooperative organisations should be strived for. He considers that they are more developed in terms of humanitarian values and the actual results they can achieve. This promotion of alternative models is reflected in academic writing on SMOs which has moved from a focus predominantly on the 'monolithic model of hierarchical organization' to an increasing interest in 'varied and malleable organizational forms' (Clemens and Minkoff 2004, p. 156). Some SMOs are moving away from this monolithic model and are instead striving for the "post-bureaucratic" principles of 'decentralization, consensus forming and networked relations', with greater active participation from members (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, pp. 810, 814-815).

Smith (2007, p. 1, 2, 10-11) maintains that a fatal error of many activists is presuming that a large amount of money is needed to effect meaningful social change. The organisation, INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, saw many groups doing extraordinary work with little funding and no reliance on grants from foundations or corporations. This led to the organisation questioning its own reliance on foundation grants. Although many contemporary activists feel they cannot do work without setting up a NFP first, Smith believes that radical social movements for change can achieve as much, or possibly more, operating outside of the NFP system.

There is a growing trend for SMOs to critically re-think their involvement in the 501(c)(3) system and look for alternative ways of funding social change without having to rely on state structures. Reasons include the 2007 world economic crisis, which caused foundations to donate less, as well as increased surveillance and control from the Department of Homeland Security (Smith 2007, pp. 10-11). Much of the research on NFP accountability tends to focus on how externally imposed rules such as government regulations influence the activities of NFPs. While these forces are significant, it is important to avoid viewing the organisations as "passive victims" of government-imposed rules or other forces that can cause them to stray from their social purpose mission. In fact, organisations

often create their own solutions to resist such forces and balance mission-related tensions (Christensen et al. 2009, pp. 214-215).

Conclusion

Organisational rationality refers to a range of sociological theories that stress the importance of organisational considerations, such as finances, members and bureaucratic self-maintenance, in the decision-making of organisations. The influence of organisational rationality has been shown to be strongly linked to mission drift, which involves organisations departing from their original objectives as other quite separate considerations come to dominate the activities of the organisation. There are moderating impacts as they strive towards bureaucratic self-maintenance, resource acquisition and business-like efficiency, often at the expense of their social purpose missions. Such trends often emerge as organisations grow larger and wealthier.

Organisations affected by these processes are more likely to pursue integrationist social change (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 653, 658), seeking reform rather than revolution (Haines 1984, p. 33). This is because integrationist social change is more consistent with organisational considerations such as attracting funding and members (Perez 2007, pp. 92-98). The theories of resource mobilisation, instrumental rationality and bureaucracy, and new privatisation provide useful explanations for these trends. This chapter has examined examples of how these theories apply to organisations in a range of social movements. Chapter Three will explore their relevance to the AAM.

Alternatives to using organisational rationality as the primary analytical tool for understanding organisation behaviour have also been raised. It has been shown that sometimes organisations make conscious decisions to avoid bureaucratic tendencies. Weber (1953, p. 25) saw the reversion to small-scale organisations as the only possibility to escape the influence of bureaucracy to any considerable extent. Although a more corporatised model is increasingly common in SMOs, the move to this model is certainly not a “foregone conclusion” and Chapter Seven will explore animal advocacy occurring at a more “grassroots” level. Perez (2007, p. 92) and Smith (2007, p. 15) contend that NFPs can be effective and beneficial to social movements, even if they receive funding from foundations and work within the 501(c)(3) model, however, to do this they need to develop ways to

be true to their missions and continue to be a part of social movements, rather than becoming self-serving entities.

Chapter Three:

Organisational Considerations and Integrationist Social Change in the Animal Advocacy Movement

Introduction

Chapter One provided some insights into the influence of ideological and emotional considerations on the types of campaigns AAOs choose to conduct. It also outlined the concepts of integrationist and anti-systemic social change in the context of animal advocacy. Chapter Two explored ways in which organisational considerations can push organisations towards moderate, integrationist social change that works within an existing system of inequality, especially when they become larger and more bureaucratic. Through drawing on the interviews I conducted and existing research on the AAM, this chapter examines how organisational drivers can be a force in shaping the directions and campaigns of larger AAOs. It will explore the way in which the growing size, bureaucratisation and professionalisation of AAOs has the potential to push them towards integrationist campaigns.

In the context of animal advocacy, integrationist campaigns that promote animal welfare or focus on the eradication of an unpopular form of animal exploitation are most beneficial from an organisational perspective. This chapter explores the way in which these campaigns make it easier to publicise victories and also work within existing societal attitudes and behaviours, meaning that there is a large potential donor base. Integrationist campaigns have the additional advantage of enabling members of the public to participate without investing too much time or effort. Large AAOs generally concentrate most of their energies on this type of campaigning. Anti-systemic campaigns that challenge existing attitudes and systems cannot sustain such large organisations, as they do not bring these organisational benefits with them.

PETA is a good example of an AAO taking an integrationist path, often working within and even contributing to dominant attitudes, rather than challenging them. This chapter covers the way that through integrationist advocacy, on human/non-human relations and other issues such as celebrity culture, patriarchy, nationalism, militarism, and consumerism, AAOs like PETA are able to attract widespread support. Although other AAOs such as HSUS will also be examined, PETA will be the primary focus of this chapter because it presents a particularly clear example of an organisation

which has moderated its approach as it has increased in size, wealth and centralisation of power. This organisation is also discussed in detail because it is active in both of the countries focused on in this thesis – Australia and the US. As noted in the Introduction, PETA’s campaigns are analysed through an intersectional, anti-capitalist lens, consistent with the Critical Animal Studies approach adopted in this thesis. It is also important to note that while PETA has moderated, it is still more radical than organisations such as HSUS, as its campaigns include promoting veganism and animal rights alongside welfare campaigns. Its controversial campaigning style and radical rhetoric have also continued its radical reputation.

Victories

As was discussed in Chapter One, there are ideological and emotional reasons why integrationist campaigns are privileged over other types of campaigns, such as vegan campaigns. After conducting research on anti-factory farming literature, Jared Prunty and Kevin Apple (2013, p. 265) made the case that ‘animal advocacy efforts may more effectively generate public support for the cause by framing appeals to capitalize on what polls show most people already believe (i.e., that animal cruelty ought to be prevented)’. These types of campaigns also bring a range of financial benefits to organisations.

According to resource mobilisation theory, competition for resources is a strong factor in shaping the activities and campaigns of SMOs (Soule and King 2008, pp. 1569-1572). Historian Bernard Unti (2004, pp. 26-29) outlined the rise of a more radical animal rights ideology in the 1980s and how this led to many new AAOs being formed. He explained that: ‘Heightened competition for the animal protection dollar from the early 1980s onward certainly drove the HSUS to nurture an increasingly public campaign strategy’ (Unti 2004, p. 29). As was outlined in Chapter Two, this competition for funding amongst SMOs pushes them to strive for measurable outcomes so they can package and produce success stories and victories (Smith 2007, p. 10; Perez 2007, pp. 92-93).

Integrationist single-issue campaigns and welfare campaigns dominate the advocacy of large AAOs (Glasser 2011a, p. 194). As was noted earlier, single-issue campaigns focus on a particular form of animal exploitation. These campaigns frequently focus on a use of animals that does not have widespread community support, such as the fur industry, circuses or seal clubbing. Welfare campaigns attempt to improve the treatment of the non-human animals exploited by humans. One

reason why single-issue and welfare campaigns are beneficial from an organisational perspective is that they are consistent with claiming victories.

PETA (2013b, online), which pursues many integrationist campaigns, not only lists its victories on its website, but also regularly sends emails to its subscribers informing them about successful campaigns. For example, in the period January to March 2011, three out of seven emails sent to subscribers claimed a victory and used the word 'victory'. One email titled 'Victory: Brookstone Takes Cruel Frog-O-Spheres Off Its Shelves!' explained a successful PETA campaign to convince the company Brookstone to stop selling African dwarf frogs as pets in tiny boxes (PETA 2011k). Another email titled 'Victory: No More Animal Testing for Lipton Tea!' explained that PETA had convinced Unilever – the world's largest tea maker, responsible for Lipton and other brands, to agree 'to end all non-required animal testing for their teas and tea-based beverages worldwide' (PETA 2011l).¹⁴ The final email, 'Victory! University of Utah Stops Tormenting Shelter Dogs and Cats in Labs!' explained that 'the University of Utah...has announced that it will no longer purchase dogs and cats from the North Utah Valley Animal Shelter (NUVAS) – or any other animal shelter – for use in cruel and deadly experiments!' (PETA 2011j, online).

Torres (2007, p. 139) argues that AAOs want "winnable" campaigns to raise more funds, which shapes their actions and the campaigns they carry out, as well as the ones they choose not to pursue. These PETA campaigns are typical of "winnable" campaigns that Torres identifies. For example, the "Frog-O-Spheres" were not a huge part of Brookstone's business, as they sell over 50 categories of items, and these frogs are only a small part of one these categories – pet supplies (Brookstone 2011, online). Similarly, convincing Unilever to stop all "non-required" animal testing for their tea-based beverages is a much more winnable campaign than convincing Unilever to stop animal testing altogether. Convincing the University of Utah to stop experimenting on dogs and cats from shelters, but not necessarily other dogs or cats, or other animals, is much more winnable than convincing a university to no longer experiment on any animals at all.

Aiming for victories through winnable single-issue campaigns can carry the risk of losing focus of larger goals (Smith 2007, pp. 10-11). As part of PETA's campaign against circuses, actress Olivia Munn posed nude for a PETA billboard. At the unveiling of the billboard, someone noticed that she was wearing what appeared to be leather boots. Someone in the crowd questioned: 'Are those boots leather?' and in reaction PETA staff at the event responded angrily: 'This isn't a leather

campaign' (cited in The Superficial 2010a, online). Although the boots may not have been leather (Munn claimed they were not) (The Superficial 2010b, online), it is significant that the PETA staff were apparently not concerned about leather in this case, despite PETA condemning leather elsewhere (see, for example, PETA 2011d, online). They were focused on the issue at hand, while perhaps losing sight of the larger goal of ending animal exploitation, meaning no animals in circuses, but also no animal products such as leather.

The organisational desire for winnable campaigns pushes organisations towards single-issue campaigns that focus on a particular use, company or species, while discouraging them from engaging in animal rights vegan activism. As is explored in more detail in Chapter Seven, vegan campaigns make it much more difficult to identify a particular "measurable outcome". It sheds light on why integrationist campaigns are more consistent with large organisations than anti-systemic campaigns promoting veganism.

Integrationist Campaigning and Funding

According to resource mobilisation theory, the activities of SMOs are heavily influenced by their desire for the resources, primarily financial, which are required for organisational survival (McCarthy and Zald 1997, pp. 151-152, 159; 2001, p. 557; Soule and King 2008, p. 1572). Chapter Two raised ways in which careerists in social movements can affect the types of campaigns that SMOs choose to follow (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 537). It was observed that paid staff in these organisations are likely to support actions that maintain their careers, possibly at the expense of riskier and more radical activities. The motivations for this can often be laudable, choosing to continue a career as a full-time advocate for non-human animals, rather than transferring to another career for which they have less passion. Large AAOs have a significant number of paid staff, with HSUS advertising 'a career working to protect animals' and 'humane careers' (HSUS 2011c, online).

Jurik's (2008, p. 57) studies on NFPs discovered that they often modified their activities over time to satisfy the desires of their funders. Some AAOs receive corporate and state funding, and these sources influence the directions organisations take to a degree (Young 2002, pp. 6-7; Hoffman and Bertels 2007, pp. 14-15). Sociologist Carol Glasser (2011a, p. 133) outlined the way in which HSUS, particularly throughout the 2000s, has positioned itself 'as in line and in partnerships with mainstream multinational corporations'. Both current HSUS President Wayne Pacelle and former President Paul Irwin have stressed the importance of working with corporations in their opening

letters of HSUS member newsletters, with Irwin speaking of the benefits of corporate partnerships as a method to make charitable work more mainstream (Glasser 2011a, pp. 137, 180).

AAOs are often reliant on the general public for much of their funding (see, for example, Rowan 2011, interview; Pearson 2011, interview; Mark 2010, interview; Oogjes 2010, interview; Fruno 2011, interview; Hannibal 2010, interview). This is typical of SMOs across a range of social movements, which generally have at least eighty per cent of its income from donations and membership fees (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813). Corporate or state funding does set an agenda for organisations, but provides a clear avenue of funding, at least as long as the period for which it is negotiated. However, being mainly reliant on public funding does place pressure on AAOs to develop strategies to meet their funding needs, and in some cases this can include using mainstream marketing techniques (Jones 2011, online; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813). It also means that large organisations like PETA and HSUS are interested in attracting a broad membership base (Glasser 2011a, pp. 79, 185). This pushes them towards integrationist advocacy, as organisations that keep within dominant societal views are likely to attract greater participation (Williams 2012, pp. 10, 46).

Francione (2010a, pp. 64, 74) argues that large AAOs have attempted to shift the blame for animal exploitation away from the public (who create the demand for animal exploitation through what they buy, eat, wear, and so on) and put the blame elsewhere, for example, on the industries that exploit non-human animals. From a sociological perspective, Francione's approach emphasises individual agency at the expense of structural factors that also play a role in influencing demand (Germov and Hornosty 2009, pp. 7-8). Rather than purely being a matter of individual choice, factors such as advertising by industries that use animals and the lack of availability of vegan products, particularly in poorer communities, also play a role in creating the demand for animal products (Wrenn 2011, p. 19).

Despite these critiques, Francione's analysis has resonance with the little effort paradigm, and the influence that careerists can have on campaign choices. In the section on resource mobilisation in Chapter Two, the concept that is summed up by the phrase "little effort paradigm" was considered. It was established that promoting actions that require little effort maximise the amount of resources that organisations bring in and are therefore optimal in terms of career benefits (McCarthy and Zald

2001, p. 543; 1997, p. 159). Francione believes large AAOs strive for the largest donor base possible by asking people to do as little as possible and making them feel as good as possible about doing it:

...It is clear that the welfarist rejection of veganism as a moral baseline is also related to the purely pragmatic self-interests of large, wealthy animal organizations that are more concerned with the size of their donor bases than with the moral message they promote. For example, according to PETA, half of the PETA membership is not even vegetarian. An organization whose membership is half non-vegetarians and half vegetarians (but not necessarily vegans) is not likely to respond favorably to the position that veganism is a moral baseline. This may account, at least in part, for why PETA's campaigns are welfarist and why it gives awards to sellers of "happy" meat and animal products and to slaughterhouse designers... [This] allows PETA to seek a donor base that includes people who eat at McDonald's or buy "Animal Compassionate" meat at Whole Foods. This may make terrific business sense for PETA, but it does nothing to stop animal exploitation (Francione 2010a, p. 74).

Francione argues that it makes sense from an organisational point of view for AAOs to encourage their members to support welfare campaigns, which 'are easy for advocates to package and sell' and 'do not offend anyone' (Francione 2010a, p. 64). Organisations recognise that 'people are generally supportive of animal welfare', therefore they are not striving to get people to change their values, but are striving to change behaviours within this dominant mindset (Freeman 2013, p. 108). Francione (2011b, online) explains that, in terms of their ability to garner interest and support, welfare campaigns have similar attractions to AAOs as single-issue campaigns, focused on a particular use or product like foie gras (goose liver) or fur, that most people do not consume (Driscoll 1992, p. 39; Hickman 2011, online).¹⁵ In contrast, campaigns that promote a vegan message are far less likely to gain widespread traction amongst the public and potential supporters (Francione 2011b, online).

After journalist Victor Schonfeld's recent analysis of the AAM, he reached similar conclusions to Francione. Schonfeld directed an influential and hard hitting 1981 documentary, *The Animals Film*,

which explored the way in which humans exploit non-human animals for purposes such as food, entertainment, and research. He recently did a follow-up to the film in a *BBC* radio documentary, *One Planet: Animals & Us*, investigating what has changed for non-human animals in the thirty years since he made *The Animals Film*. Soon after Schonfeld's radio program he wrote an article on the same topic, which appeared in the *Guardian*. In this article, he argued that the AAM places too much focus on animal welfare at the expense of promoting veganism. He criticised AAOs for encouraging companies to improve animal welfare rather than expose the public's contribution to animal exploitation, which creates the demand for animal products. He maintained that:

Instead of animal rights organisations promoting a clear “moral baseline” that individuals should become vegans to curb their own demands for animal exploitation, groups have given their stamp of approval to deeply compromised marketing concepts such as “happy meat”, “freedom foods”, “sustainable meat”, and “conscientious omnivores” (Schonfeld 2010a, online).

In reference to HSUS's approach to advocacy, Chief International Officer and Chief Scientific Officer of HSUS, Andrew Rowan (2011, interview), states that HSUS ‘are a mainstream organisation, we think we hold the views of a large majority of the US public’ and its website states that it is ‘America's most mainstream force against cruelty’ (cited in Williams 2012, pp. 18-19). This desire for mainstream appeal means ‘seeking more shallow incremental changes’ and ‘moving away from controversial topics to topics that could garner a broader base of support’ (Glasser 2011a, p. 96). Examples include promoting the “All American Pet Photo Contest” and the “dolphin safe” tuna campaign. This campaign ‘places the plight of a more “liked” species of animal over that of a species with less broad-based appeal’ – it rejects the killing of dolphins but not tuna, or the other maritime animals beyond dolphins who are inevitably swept up in tuna nets (Glasser 2011a, p. 96).

The financial motivations for such an approach is reinforced by Sjeklocha (2009, online), who asserts that: ‘Activism has become an industry. Many activists, whether involved in animal rights or environmentalism, have made activism a full-time job’. Sjeklocha, though not using such terms, highlights the way in which an integrationist approach allows greater resources to flow to

organisations than a more radical approach would. He points out that in contrast to the moderate image HSUS present to the public, 'Wayne Pacelle, the president and CEO of HSUS, is a strict vegan and enforces a "no animal products" rule in the Washington office of HSUS' (Sjeklocha 2009, online). Pacelle's veganism has signalled to many a move away from moderation within HSUS (Glasser 2011a, pp. 135-136).

This "hidden animal rights agenda" of the HSUS, regularly promoted by industry groups like the Center for Consumer Freedom (see, for example, Center for Consumer Freedom 2009, online),¹⁶ is not necessarily an accurate representation. While Pacelle has led to the organisation having a greater focus on farm animals, making this a major campaign (Rowan 2011, interview), its advocacy for farm animals is focused on striving for reforms ensuring more humane treatment. Ideologically, this is not a departure from the very first national initiative they took part in, where they pushed for a humane slaughter act for farmed animals in 1957 (Glasser 2011a, pp. 135-136). Rowan (2011, interview) explains that the no animal products rule is implemented because they cannot be sure of where the animal products come from. It is a way to make sure there are no products that have been obtained from animals who have not been treated according to their standards.

Sociologist John Sorenson's research on animal advocacy in Canada found that industries that use animals label moderate animal welfare reformers as "terrorists", "extremists" and "radicals" (Sorenson 2003, cited in Munro 2012, p. 174). Unti (2004, p. 28) points out that critics from various industries 'sought to tarnish the reputation of HSUS with unfounded claims about its affiliation with the perpetrators of illegal action' throughout the 1980s. This illegal action was carried out by the Animal Liberation Front, whose actions include inflicting property damage against institutions that exploit non-human animals.

Nevertheless, it is significant that Sjeklocha understands that "credible" campaigns focusing on animal welfare and unpopular uses of animals bring in more money for the organisation than a message of veganism and animal rights would. While he applauds some of its moderate campaigns such as opposing dog and cock fighting, donating to veterinary colleges and assisting starving or malnourished horses, he argues that 'most of these seemingly benevolent gestures have an ulterior motive — they offer a false sense of credibility so more donations will flow in' (Sjeklocha 2009, online).

The Pepsi Refresh Project provides a good example of HSUS bidding for funds for an animal welfare campaign. Although Sjeklocha believes the organisation has animal rights as its “end goal”, this welfare campaign has much greater potential attractiveness to sponsors over an animal rights campaign. In November 2010, HSUS were awarded \$250 000 by Pepsi for a project ‘to rescue animals who are suffering from extreme neglect’ (Pepsi 2011, online). The risk associated with animal rights campaigning was emphasised by discussion about Pepsi’s decision. Some people responding to this decision urged Pepsi not to support the organisation because they believed that HSUS had an animal rights perspective and some even declared they would boycott Pepsi due to their connection with HSUS (cited in Pepsi 2011, online).¹⁷

Coles faced similar backlash for its support of the Australian AAO Animals Australia. The business agreed to sell Animals Australia shopping bags promoting their “Make it Possible” campaign, which encourages ‘consumers to use their purchasing power to get laying hens out of cages and a better quality of life for pigs and meat chickens’ (Animals Australia campaign director, Lyn White, cited in B & T 2013, online). Soon after the bags begun being sold in Coles, Animals Australia withdrew the bags after a campaign launched by the National Farmers Federation, with many farmers threatening to boycott the chain over its support of the AAO (B & T 2013, online). In a media statement, the National Farmers Federation argued their concerns about Animal Australia relate to ‘their real agenda’ which they believe is ‘to end animal agriculture’ (cited in Nason 2013, online). Both Pepsi and Coles faced this backlash for their support of AAOs despite the fact that the campaigns they supported could in no way be labelled as animal rights and were actually very “safe” in terms of working within, rather than challenging, existing attitudes.

It is possible that concerns about this type of feedback could explain, at least in part, why HSUS took down its list of corporate supporters around this time. This list was removed from the site for at least a year. HSUS state that these corporations were removed because ‘spammers appear to have set their sights on some of our corporate supporters’ (HSUS 2010g, online). The success of the bid, and the negative comments directed at the sponsor, even though the campaign was a “safe” target, underline the business sense in promoting animal welfare and opposing already unpopular practices. There is clearly a real concern for corporations about potential backlash from the public if they support organisations with a more radical animal rights approach, real or even perceived. When he

was CEO of HSUS, Paul Irwin valued the legitimacy and respectability that moderate animal advocacy afforded in comparison to an animal rights agenda. He felt that animal rights threatened the 'kind of respectability that HSUS and a number of organizations have worked hard to achieve in order to distinguish the legitimate animal protection movement from the more radical elements' (cited in Taylor 1999, p. 38).

The Animal Liberation Front

This desire for large AAOs to be associated with the "respectable" animal welfare position has not only meant that vegan campaigns have mostly been avoided, it has also meant that these organisations have distanced themselves from the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). Working with other groups has often been avoided by larger AAOs, which see this as potentially damaging their 'image and reputation as ... reasonable and lawful activist group[s]' (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 815). Larger AAOs not only avoid working with more grassroots and sometimes illegal animal advocacy groups and individuals, but often go further and condemn illegal actions carried out for non-human animals (Taylor 1999, pp. 38-39). HSUS even offered a \$2 500 reward for anyone who gave information that led to the arrest of "underground" activists responsible for targeting researchers carrying out animal testing (Glasser 2011a, pp. 144, 161).

Glasser (2011a) explores the relationship between the ALF and "above-ground" organisations in her PhD thesis, *Moderates and Radicals Under Repression: The U.S. Animal Rights Movement, 1990-2010*. She explains that HSUS has always distanced itself from, and publically condemned, ALF activity (Glasser 2011a, p. 7). Even when it focused on reducing the use of animals in research, it never mentioned ALF raids in its newsletters (Glasser 2011a, p. 77). Through separating itself from more radical activity, HSUS were able to gain more mainstream acceptance. In 1994, HSUS were given the opportunity to testify to Congress on the issue of animal testing and HSUS representatives were considered valid experts on animal issues. In contrast, just two years before this, the co-founders of PETA and other staff members were subpoenaed to grand jury hearings (Glasser 2011a, pp. 77-78). They were subpoenaed because the FBI believed they may have information about illegal animal rights activity and the whereabouts of Rod Coronado from the ALF (Glasser 2011a, p. 74).

PETA, in its early days, differentiated itself from more moderate organisations like HSUS by openly affiliating with radical activists, including the ALF. PETA strongly condoned the ALF and acted as the ALF aboveground liaison and press office by sending out press releases on behalf of the ALF and

other radical activists when they received anonymous communiqués. It also ran pro-ALF advertisements: a 1990 copy of its newsletter *Animal Times* featured a full page advertisement encouraging support for the ALF. In its newsletters, PETA also spoke out against government repression and encouraged people to participate in illegal direct action through civil disobedience actions like blockades, sit-ins and even hunt sabotage (Glasser 2011a, pp. 64, 76-78, 134).

However, by 1995, PETA no longer published ALF communiqués and from this point onwards, the ALF was not mentioned in *Animal Times* (Glasser 2011a, p. 79). Glasser (2011a, p. 79) explains that: 'Political rhetoric was replaced with a focus on famous personalities, shocking and colourful advertising campaigns and undercover (but legal) investigations'. This meant that PETA began to attract more mainstream appeal (Glasser 2011a, pp. 85-86). PETA continued to support the ALF throughout the 1990s however, just in more subtle ways. Examples include funding ALF activist Rod Corano's legal defence; not running ALF ads in its newsletters but not denouncing ALF activity; continuing to focus on fur and animal experimentation in its advocacy (which were the main focus of ALF activity at the time); and participating in above-ground radicalism by promoting other forms of direct action outside of ALF actions, such as civil disobedience (Glasser 2011a, pp. 79, 97-98, 130).

In its newsletters to members in the late 1990s, it began to move away from promoting such actions, and instead had a greater focus on letter writing and boycotts. During this time, as PETA grew in size as an organisation, it expanded its strategy to incorporate more moderate tactics, as it completely distanced itself from the radical flank of the movement and reduced its use of radical tactics (Glasser 2011a, pp. 6, 95, 101). In the 2000s, its action alerts mainly focused on call-ins and letter writing, as well as occasionally encouraging people to enter contests, such as the "Sexiest Vegetarian Next Door" competition (Glasser 2011a, pp. 134, 158-159).

Bureaucratisation and Animal Welfare

Increasing professionalisation in NFPs, including SMOs, lends them credibility. It means that they can 'gain respect and funding opportunities' (Jurik 2005, p. 162). The downside is that this can be at the expense of 'a loss of grassroots appeal' (Jurik 2005, p. 162). Singer (2012, interview) describes this trend in the AAM. He argues that in the past there were many grassroots campaigners in the movement who had a lot of enthusiasm but little campaign experience. Over time these campaigners 'have been replaced by larger organisations who can employ full-time campaigners and staff, and know how to be more effective and maintain a supporter base and be effective lobbyists' (Singer 2012, interview). PETA is typical of the trend Singer identifies. Since the mid-1980s it has

moved towards professionalisation and centralisation of power and reduced its connection with “grassroots” campaigning.

Francione (1996, p. 71), who was involved with PETA in the 1980s, considers that it was a far more grassroots organisation in the early days. It sponsored chapters all around the United States, mostly run by volunteers, that were active at the community level. According to Francione, PETA closed the chapters in favour of a more top-down, centralised model, partly out of a concern about the lack of control over these offices. Control was then concentrated at PETA “headquarters”, with policies determined by co-founders Ingrid Newkirk and Alex Pacecho, who argued that grassroots activists failed to understand that ‘the world is run on politics, [and] decisions are financial. That’s the world that needs to be addressed. We’re in the business, figuratively speaking, of selling compassion’ (cited in Francione 1996, p. 71). Glasser directly links this kind of thinking to moderate or integrationist social change:

When any social movement frames their arguments in a way in which they embrace “selling” an idea, rather than challenging an oppressive system, they are accepting short-term, moderate goals using means counterproductive to achieving a society that actually values equality (Glasser 2011c, p. 63).

In the past, PETA’s approach was quite different: in the 1990s PETA only promoted rights-based ideas and there are examples where it vehemently rejected welfare campaigns (Glasser 2011a, pp. 160-161, 167). Early in his career, animal advocate Henry Spira had been involved with campaigns opposing the use of animals for food and experimentation. Despite his belief in animal rights and long-term commitment to the abolition of animal exploitation, throughout the 1980s he gradually changed his position in favour of regulating these uses. He came to see welfarist pursuits as more effective in the short-term. He attempted to make animal testing and poultry raising and slaughter more humane, as well as encouraging companies to reduce the animals they used in their animal testing (Francione 1996, pp. 62-64). For years he had unsuccessfully attempted to get Revlon to make changes when it came to animal experimentation. Finally Revlon reacted when Spira placed a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* with the slogan “this is what beauty costs”, with images of non-human animals who had suffered from experimentation. Revlon decided to dedicate five per cent of its profits to research into alternatives to animal testing, although it continued its

current animal testing program. After Revlon made this change, Spira put a smaller ad in the same paper congratulating Revlon for the action it had taken (Pearson 2011, interview).

PETA criticised his efforts to make these industries more humane and claimed that his strategy conflicted with the animal rights position. PETA created its own Compassion Campaign opposing all animal testing, urging companies to stop animal testing, rather than just reducing the animals they used or refining their practises (Francione 1996, pp. 62-64). Mark Pearson (2011, interview), a long-time Australian animal advocate who was in regular contact with animal activists in the United States at the time, explained in reference to Spira, that in 1989 PETA President Ingrid Newkirk was ‘tearing him to shreds’ in the media. Newkirk stated that:

[Spira] is hobnobbing in the halls with our enemy. Six or seven years ago, we had a lot in common. Everything he did then was putting gravel down for other people to pave roads, which is crucial. But I think Henry was deceived by the industry response. [He] was unable to cut himself loose from the mire of becoming an industry mediator (Newkirk, cited in Francione 1996, pp. 64-65).

In more recent times, Newkirk’s position and that of PETA has changed significantly, as ‘PETA have certainly done very similar things’ (Pearson 2011, interview) and are now often criticised for similar reasons that it used to criticise Spira. Pearson (2011, interview) explains that Newkirk is ‘actually very flexible and she may not actually have that view now’ – ‘they were the early days when she was really hardline’. In his article ‘Citizens All? Citizens Some! The Making of the Citizen’, Wallerstein (2003, pp. 659-661) argued that historically the growing size and bureaucratisation of organisations has led to a moderation in strategies. While PETA has not really changed its stance on animal testing over time, its change in attitude towards reforming the raising and slaughtering for animals such as chickens for food has been drastic. Though retaining its animal rights slogan of ‘animals are not ours’ (PETA 2010i, online), PETA has increasingly embraced welfare reforms (Glasser 2011a, pp. 160, 180, 193).

When it comes to the use of animals, for food at least, the importance of the animal rights position has taken a “back seat”. Newkirk recently stated: ‘Absolute purists should be living in a cave’ and

‘anybody who witnesses the suffering of animals and has a glimmer of hope of reducing that suffering can’t take the position that it’s all or nothing. We have to be pragmatic. Screw the principle’ (cited in Fastenberg 2010, online).

An article that Newkirk wrote for the *Guardian* in response to Schonfeld’s (2010a, online) article mentioned above, explains her approach. Schonfeld had criticised PETA and other large AAOs for praising businesses ‘after “negotiations” for small [animal welfare] changes that leave the systems of exploitation intact’, rather than promoting animal rights and veganism. Newkirk’s article is consistent with Dobbin’s (2001, p. 75) assessment of SMOs as increasingly depicting themselves ‘as oriented to rational calculation’. The article was titled ‘A Pragmatic Fight for Animal Rights’ and the article overview spoke of PETA’s ‘real work of animal protection’. Newkirk refers to PETA ‘working with corporations to achieve animal welfare reforms in their industries’ and its ‘campaigns for improved slaughter practises for chickens, better living conditions for hens and larger cages for animals in laboratories’. Newkirk argues for ‘incremental change’ and ‘incremental improvements’, supporting her arguments using the theories of ‘the *practical* philosopher Peter Singer’ (my italics) (Newkirk 2010, online). Glasser (2011a, p. 144) points out that in more recent times PETA is ‘working within the system rather than around it’.

As a small organisation, in its formative stages, PETA may have given the impression of being ‘spontaneous, devotional, and charismatic’ (Dobbin 2001, p. 75). In the mid-1980s, there were clear differences between PETA and HSUS. It has already been shown that at this time PETA openly supported the radical activism of the ALF, while HSUS strongly condemned it (Glasser 2011a, pp. 7, 64, 76-78, 134). PETA activists were all vegan, in contrast to the more mainstream HSUS, whose staff were not all vegans and wore suits (Francione 2011b, interview). HSUS was seen as the “establishment” organisation (Unti 2004, p. 26). In 1988, HSUS president John Hoyt expressed concern about the rise of animal rights:

Those of us who had been working for the protection of animals for decades were [now being] viewed with both suspicion and disdain. We were castigated because the change we were seeking was not all-encompassing; we were censured for our willingness to accept compromise, even though such compromise often resulted in achievement; and we were condemned for being successful, for realizing both organizational growth and financial success. We were made to feel guilty

and, all too often, we permitted ourselves to feel guilty (Hoyt, cited in Unti 2004, p. 27).

Since this time, PETA has achieved significant 'organizational growth and financial success' (though not to the same degree as HSUS) and has demonstrated a 'willingness to accept compromise'. PETA's membership skyrocketed from less than 100 in 1980, to more than 500 000 in 1995 (Kruse 2001, p. 70), to more than three million today (Williams 2012, p. 44). As PETA became larger and more moderate throughout the 1990s and beyond, it sought to affiliate itself with large corporations (Glasser 2011a, p. 104). Glasser (2011a, p. 6) explains that despite starting with more radical activism, PETA 'had generally moderate tactics, ideologies, and goals by 2010'.

In recent years, PETA has worked with many corporations to encourage them to reform their practices relating to the raising and slaughtering of animals (Glasser 2011a, pp. 160, 180). One specific example of welfare activism by PETA is the reform of methods for slaughtering chickens. Despite previously rejecting Spira's efforts to work with industries for reform, PETA has since worked with KFC Canada to alter its treatment of the chickens it uses. PETA successfully lobbied KFC Canada to move to controlled-atmosphere killing, where the birds are gassed rather than killed by other methods such as slitting their throats. The changes made by KFC have been labelled a 'historic victory!' by PETA (Prescott 2008, online) but PETA has attracted widespread criticism in the AAM.

The concerns critics raised within the movement are similar to those that Newkirk made in regard to Spira's efforts in the 1980s. Some have questioned whether: 'Killing chickens is a victory?' (Torres and Torres 2008b, online) and others have argued that the work of PETA with corporations such as KFC to promote its "humane" use of animals has led the organisation to become business partners with industries that exploit non-human animals (Francione 2010a, p. 60). Such criticism is by no means limited to PETA. For example, Torres (2007, p. 101) argues that HSUS 'act as economic advisers to industry' by promoting the economic benefits of welfare measures.

Even within the welfare paradigm, the benefits of the move to controlled-atmosphere killing are not totally clear. According to the animal welfare organisation the RSPCA, gassing is even less humane than "quick maceration" (blending chickens alive):

Quick maceration ensures the chick is killed within a second and is considered more humane than gassing with high concentrations of carbon dioxide. Gassing results in gasping and head shaking and, depending on the mixture of gases used, it may take up to two minutes for the chick to die (RSPCA 2010b, online).

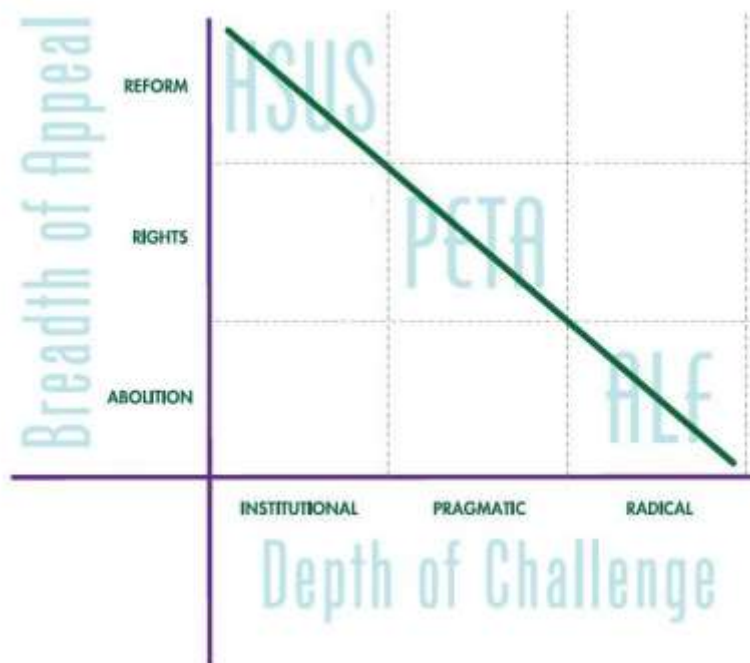
Perhaps PETA's desire to claim a victory has led them to overlook the welfare (and rights) problems of controlled-atmosphere killing. Another similar example of the way PETA has moderated its advocacy is the decision to give an award to Temple Grandin (Glasser 2011a, p. 134), who designs more humane slaughterhouses and 'makes the handling and killing of animals for human consumption significantly more effective and profitable' (cited in Torres 2007, p. 92). Grandin (2013, online) makes no secret of the benefits of her work for companies involved in killing animals, stating on her own webpage that she established the site with the goal of 'educating people throughout the world about modern methods of livestock handling which will improve animal welfare *and productivity*' (my italics) (cited in Torres 2007, p. 92).

Grandin argues that 'handlers can often control animals more efficiently if they exert dominance over animals' and recommends methods such as shoving 'a pig against a fence with a board pushed against the pig's neck' (cited in Francione 1996, p. 99). Grandin clearly differentiates herself from animal rights activists, stating that her desire is to 'reform the meat industry' while the 'activists want to shut it down' (cited in Francione 1996, p. 99). She further distances herself by claiming to 'have a radical dislike of radicals' (cited in Francione 1996, p. 99). The bestowing of the award to Grandin by PETA sparked a negative reaction from many parts of the AAM. Torres argues that PETA has taken a confusing position on the issue:

What defies rational comprehension is how a group that supports animal rights would see Grandin as a "visionary." This, however, is the title that the supposedly "radical" group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) applied to Grandin in their annual Progress awards, which are intended to highlight people that are "contributing to a more humane way of life for our entire society." PETA gave Grandin the award for her help in changing the slaughter process at AgriProcessors, the world's largest glatt

kosher slaughterhouse, and said that improvements in slaughterhouses decrease the amount of suffering that animals experience in their final hours (Torres 2007, pp. 91-92).

Glasser (2011a, p. 161) links this moderate advocacy to economic considerations, stating that in recent years 'PETA has expanded further into the moderate field by curtailing some of their claims in order to reach a broader base'. The examples considered in this discussion amply demonstrate PETA's move towards "pragmatism" and are consistent with Dobbin's (2001, p. 75) 'rational calculation' model mentioned above. As is shown in Figure 3.1, which demonstrates how more moderate animal advocacy has greater appeal but less of a challenge to animal exploitation, there remain differences between PETA's advocacy compared to HSUS. It is clear that HSUS is still comparatively more moderate and welfare-focused, while PETA has a greater number of animal rights campaigns and even vegan campaigns, alongside its welfare campaigns (Glasser 2011a, pp. 104, 134, 157, 167; Freeman 2010, p. 169; Williams 2012, pp. 17-18, 36, 39, 45). However, with PETA's increasing embracing of welfare reforms, there are now more similarities between the two organisations.



Source: (Glasser 2011a, p. 40)

Figure 3.1 Breadth of Appeal, Depth of Challenge

It is not just organisations that tend towards conservatism as they grow larger: individuals often reflect this tendency too (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 659-661). Previously radical individuals working within integrationist organisations often become more “practical” and lose their radical beliefs about animals. For example, Paul Shapiro, who was previously known for more radical activism such as open rescues and was critical of cage-free and free-range eggs before he was employed by the HSUS, is now the Director of the HSUS Factory Farming Campaign and is leading its campaign for cage-free eggs (Francione 2010a, p. 41; Glasser 2011a, pp. 135-136). Similarly, the activist J.P. Goodwin was once involved in the ALF and previously stated: ‘My goal is to abolish all animal agriculture’. He is now the grassroots coordinator of HSUS (Smith 2009, p. 88), which promotes “humane” animal products and works with industries that use and slaughter non-human animals for food.

Celebrity Culture

The moderate animal advocacy conducted by large AAOs like HSUS and PETA attracts widespread support and promotion from celebrities. In contrast, animal rights vegan activists do not have nearly the same number of celebrities that they can draw upon to support their objectives. By focusing on

just one (widely condemned) use of animals, such as fur or circuses (Hickman 2011, online), moderate organisations have managed to get a huge amount of celebrity support – though these celebrities usually do not accept PETA’s (2010i, online) ‘animals are not ours’ slogan for all, or even many, uses. While PETA has always drawn on celebrity support to some degree, Glasser (2011a, pp. 168, 187) traces the way that as it grew in size and moderated as an organisation, it increasingly focused on attracting mass appeal and media attention, which led to a heavier emphasis on celebrities in its campaigns.

Comedian Ricky Gervais has given his voice to a PETA advertisement opposing fur (PETA 2011i, online) and has also supported PETA’s campaign against *foie gras* – a product obtained through force feeding geese (Vegetarian Star 2011b, online). However, *Vegetarian Star* (2009, online) explains that ‘Gervais, like many other celebrities who partake in animal rights campaigns, eats meat’ – not to mention other animal products such as dairy and eggs (Graff 2008, online).¹⁸ PETA’s huge celebrity support can be explained by its strong focus on single-issue campaigns. This support is crucial to PETA attracting media attention. Dan Brockington (2009, p. 26) explains in his text *Celebrity and the Environment: Fame, Wealth and Power in Conservation* that in our celebrity-driven culture and mass media, celebrities contribute authority and attention to a cause.

Actor Hugo Weaving is another celebrity said to be ‘a passionate advocate of animal rights’ due to his opposition to duck shooting and circuses involving non-human animals, as well as his support for Voiceless (Dunn and Schwartzkoff 2007, online). Voiceless is a relatively new AAO in Australia, with a strong focus on laws regarding non-human animals, although they also advocate for consumer changes. Despite the animal rights label, Weaving, however, continues to use animal products such as leather and to consume fish (Dunn and Schwartzkoff 2007, online).

While it has been seen that Wallerstein (2003, pp. 662-664) asserts that organisations moderate their practice as they grow larger, he also observes that it is common for them to maintain their radical rhetoric. Glasser (2011a, pp. 159-160, 180, 187) asserts that PETA have moved ‘from having radical tendencies to complete moderacy’, seeking welfare reforms while maintaining its rights-based language. PETA’s work with celebrities such as Gervais, as well as the award it gave to Temple Grandin discussed earlier, are good illustrations. Both Grandin’s and Gervais’s beliefs and consumption choices are “at odds” with PETA’s animal rights belief of ‘animals are not ours’ (Torres 2007, p. 92; Vegetarian Star 2009, online),¹⁹ yet their association with PETA has been influential in

them being identified as 'animal rights activists' (see, for example, Arutcheva 2012, online; Naudziunas 2012, online; Denison University 2008, online; Ecorazzi 2011a, online; 2011b, online).

PETA's tactics have contributed to a "watering-down" and devaluing of the meaning of the term "animal rights" in popular culture (Bourke 2009, pp. 136, 143; Francione 1996, p. 2), even though this term 'is theoretical and has specific political implications' (Glasser 2011b, p. 307). Rowan (2011, interview) explains that the public do not see any distinction between animal rights and welfare. He argues that this was indicated in a 2003 poll, where people were asked the same questions using rights, welfare and protection. There were over 1 000 responses and, with the exception of one question, there was no significant difference in the responses – the term used did not matter much to the public.

Weaving himself is critical of the role of celebrities in the campaigns of social movements, stating: 'I often think it does the organisation a disservice because celebrities are easy targets. Do you want the organisation to be taken seriously or do you just want the immediate attention a famous face brings?' (cited in Dunn and Schwartzkoff 2007, online). For some advocates, this immediate attention is vitally important, despite any negative aspects stemming from the use of celebrities to promote their cause.

William Gamson (2004, p. 243) argues that the mass media is vitally important in spreading 'changes in languages and political consciousness'. Resource mobilisation theory would expect SMOs to be 'competing for attention' (McCarthy and Zald, 2001, pp. 557-558), including media attention, however, they do not only have to compete with other SMOs (Kruse 2001, p. 68). Gamson (2004, p. 251) explains that reporters are rarely assigned to cover a social movement, which means that: 'Movement actors must not only compete with officials and spokespersons for political parties, corporations, and other heads of large organizations, but they must struggle to gain any standing at all'. The fact that 'activists have to compete with a cacophony of other groups and events shouting for attention' (Groves 2001, p. 217) can help to explain this desire to harness celebrity, as Weaving identified. McCarthy and Zald explain the way in which SMOs have to rely on the media to get their message across:

In modern societies, which are usually large with dispersed communities, the conditions and injustices that SMs [social movements] wish to rectify are not directly experienced or perceived by bystanders. Similarly,

bystander publics do not directly perceive the actions of SMOs and SM activists. Instead, mass media (print, television, and radio) filter perceptions through their reporting routines and the images that they convey...SMOs and SM cadre are dependent on and strategically attempt to shape the amount and nature of media coverage of the movement (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 538).

This is particularly important in the context of animal advocacy in Western countries such as Australia and the United States, where the exploitation of other animals is generally hidden from view (Wicks 2011, p. 194). This leads to widespread ignorance about animal issues, which is major hurdle for animal advocates to overcome (Cherry 2010, p. 451). Groves (2001, p. 216), in his study of the AAM, explained that for some animal advocates, the movement 'lives and dies by its ability to capture the media's attention' and because of the 'triviality that the public accords to animals...What matters at the end of the day is that "you have a story" ' (Groves 2001, p. 217). Sometimes activists 'find themselves in a situation where they must choose between negative coverage and no coverage at all' (Kruse 2001, p. 69) and for some of the activists that Groves spoke to: 'Bad coverage is better than no coverage' (Groves 2001, p. 217). This sentiment seems to be shared by some AAOs, particularly PETA.

Ashley Fruno, a Senior Campaigner for PETA Asia, is very aware of the need to attract media attention. She explains that: 'Unfortunately, getting the animal rights message to the public is not always easy and straightforward. Unlike our opposition, which is mostly composed of wealthy industries and corporations, PETA must rely on getting free "advertising" through media coverage' (Fruno 2011, interview). PETA's desire to 'use all available opportunities to reach millions of people with powerful messages' (Fruno 2011, interview) means that celebrities play a key role in its campaigns, due to the attention their high profile attracts (Freeman 2013, p. 107; Williams 2012, pp. 45-46). As explained above, focusing on single issue campaigns, particularly unpopular uses of non-human animals, maximises the number of celebrities who are likely to become involved in PETA campaigns.

Patriarchy and Dominant Gender Roles

PETA not only takes a single-issue approach when it comes to focusing on specific types of animal exploitation but is also single-issue in its concern for non-human animals but not human rights issues. This type of attitude is not uncommon amongst larger AAOs. Francione (2010a, p. 83) explains that in the early 1990s he was invited to speak at a meeting of the leaders of large AAOs about his 'view that the animal rights position entailed a rejection of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and other forms of discrimination and human rights violations'. He described how he 'was told by most of these leaders that the animal rights movement had no position on human rights issues' (Francione 2010a, p. 83).

Many of the pioneers of the AAM in the United States and the United Kingdom were actively involved in human rights causes such as women's rights and opposing slavery (Beers 2006, pp. 24-25), however, the neglect of human rights described by Francione has become more dominant in the movement over time. Singer (2012, interview) describes how in the late 1970s, the organisation, Feminists for Animal Rights, had a significant presence in the movement. It argued that you could not be a feminist unless you were concerned about non-human animals. Singer (2012, interview) points out that: 'Politically there is not that much of that kind of thing anymore, groups see they need to specialise and they want to be broad and draw everyone in'.

Competition between different SMOs typically leads to these organisations prioritising their goals over the goals of other social movements. In debates over live animal markets in San Francisco's China town, animal advocates have presented the welfare of other animals as the most important issue, while community activists have framed cultural autonomy as most important (Glasser 2011c, p. 51). The privileging of an organisation's main issue in this way is typical of many organisations in the AAM and beyond, but PETA's campaigns are more unusual in that it provides examples where 'social movements actively oppress other disadvantaged groups to further their own aims' (Glasser 2011c, p. 52).

This is not a new phenomenon amongst social movements. Wallerstein (2003, pp. 669-670) traces the tensions between the women's movement and the movement against slavery. Many advocates in the anti-slavery movement argued that people should not be pushing for women's rights while slavery persists and women's rights activists actively participated in racism through campaign posters that denigrated African-Americans. He also observes that throughout the nineteenth century, trade unionists advocated for workers' rights, but at the expense of women's rights and equal rights amongst different ethnicities. They advocated for equal rights, but were particularly

focused on males of the dominant ethnic group. They also strived to ensure a minimum wage, however, this was based on the patriarchal idea of the male bread winner (Wallerstein 2003, p. 665). In an Australian context, the labour movement and the Labor party played a role in the introduction and maintenance of the White Australia Policy, which restricted non-white immigration to Australia (Jupp 2002, pp. 7-8). Wallerstein sums up these tensions between different social movements throughout history:

They promoted the rights of the particular group they represented and tended to be silent about, often directly opposed to, the struggle of other excluded groups, seeing them as rivals, at least as rivals in priority. They tended to act as though they wished to secure a place on a lifeboat called citizenship, but feared that adding others after them would overload it (Wallerstein 2003, p. 657).

PETA not only neglect to take a position against sexism, but actually directly engage in it through its campaigns. It operates within a patriarchal society that treats women as sexualised objects (Adams 2010, pp. 304-308). Rather than challenging this, PETA regularly 'rely on the sexualization' of women 'to sell their message' (Glasser 2011c, p. 58). This advertising is now quite central to PETA's campaigning (Glasser 2011a, pp. 97-98; Freeman 2013, pp. 107-108). A *Google* image search of the term 'PETA' results almost exclusively in the depiction of sexualised women selling PETA's message.²⁰ The desire for media attention drives this choice of campaign strategy, as is highlighted by Fruno:

We often do outrageous things to get the word out about animal abuse, because, sadly, the media usually do not consider the facts alone "interesting" enough to cover. Colorful and controversial gimmicks, on the other hand—like having activists "bare skin rather than wear skin"—consistently grab headlines, thereby bringing the animal rights message to audiences around the country and, often, the world (Fruno 2011, interview).

When PETA vice-president Dan Matthews was interviewed on the popular political podcast *Citizen Radio* (Kilstein and Kilkenny 2010, online), he explained that it is mainly women who are featured in naked or semi-naked PETA campaigns because people are more interested in seeing women rather than men naked. Similarly, Claire Fryer, PETA Australia's campaigns co-ordinator, explains that while PETA use both male and female nudity, the focus is on females because 'media coverage of women vastly outweighs coverage of men' (cited in Price 2013, online). This approach of giving people "what they want" is typical of PETA's integrationist campaigning. In a response from PETA to accusations that some of its campaigns are sexist, it explained that:

PETA does make a point of having something for all tastes, from the most conservative to the most radical and from the most tasteless to the most refined, and our campaigns have proved extremely successful. In the three decades since PETA was founded, it has grown into the largest animal rights group in the world, with more than 2 million members and supporters worldwide (PETA, cited in Glasser 2011c, p. 64).

From an organisational point of view, when benefits such as the number of members attracted are considered, there is no doubt that PETA's 'campaigns have proved extremely successful' (PETA, cited in Glasser 2011c, p. 64). Single-issue organisations tend to 'develop a larger base of supporters' and are also more likely to attract resources, funds and political allies (Glasser 2011c, p. 51). In contrast, taking a stand on a broad range of issues can be detrimental financially. The organisation INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence found this out when it was offered a half year grant of \$100 000 from the Ford Foundation. Ford reversed the decision because they found that INCITE supported the Palestinian struggle against occupation (Smith 2007, p. 1). Taking a stand on a broad range of issues minimises the potential for funding from the public, as well as from other sources such as foundations. In contrast, a single-issue approach maximises the potential donor base from people and businesses.

PETA president Ingrid Newkirk (2010, online) has defended campaigns that rely on sexualised representations of women's bodies as 'harmless antics', although feminist critics, such as Jean Kilbourne, suggest otherwise. PETA uses female nudity much like it is used to sell any commodity in the advertising world (Torres 2007, p. 108). As is shown in Figure 3.2, this includes PETA's preference

for the socially constructed “ideal” or “perfect” body type for the women in its campaigns (Kilbourne 2003, p. 246; Gaarder 2011, p. 120), which is very ‘thin and fragile’ (Kilbourne 1994, p. 397). This ideal ‘is unattainable to most women, even if they starve themselves’ and only approximately the thinnest five per cent of women reach this ideal (Kilbourne 1994, p. 396). According to Kilbourne, the constant use of this female body type in advertising leads to women hating their bodies and hating themselves, resulting in ‘feelings of inferiority, anxiety, insecurity, and depression’ (Kilbourne 1994, pp. 396), as well as playing a role in the increased prevalence of eating disorders (Kilbourne 1994, p. 398; 2003, p. 246).



Source: (Ad Punch 2010, online)

Figure 3.2 PETA’s “Lettuce Ladies” and the “Ideal” Body Type

PETA has gone beyond just contributing to the damaging idea of the ideal body type for women by actively denigrating those who do not fit this ideal (Freeman 2013, p. 106). PETA recently carried out a controversial billboard campaign, which is shown in Figure 3.3. The billboards featured a large woman in a bikini, which read ‘Save the Whales, Lose the Blubber: Go Vegetarian’. This campaign has been blasted as ‘fat-shaming’ on the prominent feminist website *Feministing* (cited in Goldstein 2011, online). While PETA President Ingrid Newkirk (cited in Goldstein 2011, online) correctly pointed out the problem of ‘America’s obesity epidemic’, her comment that ‘the majority of fat people need to have some discipline’ ignores structural issues that contribute to obesity, such as class and ethnicity (O’Dea 2008, online). This billboard, and PETA’s explanations of it, disregard health concerns. PETA’s press release for this billboard read:

Going vegetarian can be an effective way to shed those extra pounds that keep them from looking good in a bikini...Anyone wishing to achieve a hot “beach bod” is reminded that studies show that vegetarians are, on average, about 10 to 20 pounds lighter than meat-eaters...“Trying to hide your thunder thighs and balloon belly is no day at the beach,” says PETA Executive Vice President Tracy Reiman (cited in Goldstein 2011, online).



Source: (Goldstein 2011, online)

Figure 3.3 PETA's 'Save the Whales' Billboard

After widespread public outrage, PETA took down the billboard and replaced it with one that read: 'GONE: Just like all the pounds lost by people who go vegetarian' (Goldstein 2011, online). Even so, the fact that it ran the billboard in the first place demonstrates PETA's willingness to participate in some of the more troubling aspects of the advertising industry's representations of women. Feminist scholars have shown how the objectification of women in advertising can act to create a social climate that is dangerous for women (Bongiorno, Bain, and Haslam 2013, p. 5). While PETA campaigns cannot be said to directly cause violence, they do contribute to a culture that views women as sexualised objects, which can be linked to violence against women:

Adverts don't directly cause violence...but the violent images contribute to the state of terror. Turning a human being into a thing, an object, is almost

always the first step towards justifying violence against that person...This step is already taken with women. The violence, the abuse, is partly the chilling but logical result of the objectification (Jean Kilbourne 1999, p. 287 cited in Gill 2011, p. 255).

PETA's campaigns objectifying women increase the media coverage of PETA, including coverage in places like men's magazine *FHM* (2009, online), which would otherwise be unlikely to include stories about PETA. From an organisational point of view such campaigns are beneficial in terms of spreading awareness of PETA and increasing the potential to attract more donors and members. However, such magazines are extremely problematic in terms of gender equality. Psychologists from Middlesex University and the University of Surrey recently found that the descriptions of women taken from the most popular men's magazines (including *FHM*) are indistinguishable from comments about women made by convicted rapists (Horvarth and Hegarty 2011, online).

Media coverage in these magazines is not only negative in terms of gender equality, but is even doubtful in terms of encouraging individuals to make changes to their habits concerning other animals. Fruno (2011, interview) explains that PETA aims to 'grab people's attention and even shock them in order to initiate discussion, debate, and, of course, action' and its 'goal is to make the public think about the issues'. Media stories on PETA's campaigns that objectify women, however, do not seem conducive to people discussing their obligations towards other animals and making changes to their behaviour, because the coverage is more about PETA and its tactics. For example, both the content of the article in *FHM* (2009, online) and the comments after it focussed on whether PETA's explicit Super Bowl advertisement 'Vegetarians have Better Sex' should have been banned or not, rather than on the ethical implications of eating other animals. Of course PETA could claim that animals benefit from this type of exposure more than if there was no coverage, and it may prompt people to think about their actions towards other animals. However, media coverage is not a positive in itself: how the organisation is portrayed is also important, as the legitimacy of organisations can be undermined by certain representations (Kruse 2001, p. 69).

The potential benefits from media coverage such as that described above would have to be weighed against the possibility that PETA's 'publicity-grabbing activism that values attention above all else' turns people away from the movement and from considering other animals in their daily lives (Torres 2007, pp. 90-91). A study conducted in the United States by sociologist David Nibert (1994,

pp. 122-123) found a strong link between concern for other people and support for the idea of non-human animals having some rights. Torres (2007, pp. 90-91) maintains that PETA's activism 'has managed to alienate activists in other communities' advocating for causes such as human rights.

Such activists are more likely than most people to consider non-human animals, due to what has been called "intersectionality". This concept refers to the way in which 'all forms of discrimination, including homophobia, racism, sexism, speciesism, ageism, disableism and bias based on weight and citizenship status, are rooted in the same system of oppression', although 'such systems of oppression intersect differently for different individuals' (Glasser 2011c, p. 53). An awareness of intersectionality was illustrated by a comment made in response to PETA's 'State of the Union Undress', which involved a video of a woman who strips completely naked while explaining PETA's achievements for the year. The online visitor 'eljagg01' commented that: 'Progressive minded-people who are most likely to support PETA'S (sic) cause are also most likely to be turned OFF by objectification of women' (cited in PETA 2010p, online).

PETA's campaigns objectifying women make it difficult for it to make intersectional links to the causes promoted by other social movements, although they have made some attempts. In its responses to questions on its website, other social movements such as women's and African American's rights are frequently referred to (Williams 2012, p. 27). PETA also released the booklet: 'All Animals are Equal or why Supporters of Liberation for Blacks and Women should Support Animal Liberation, too'. In this booklet, there is a section called 'Animal Rights: A Feminist Issue' (PETA 2003, booklet). This claim demonstrates an awareness of intersectionality, however, activists in other social movements are likely to question PETA's sincerity when it not only refuses to take a stand against sexism, but directly participates in it through its campaigns (Glasser 2011c, p. 52). While coalition building with other movements can run the risk of confusing organisation's agenda (Munro 2012, p. 176; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 815), sociologist Lyle Munro (2012, p. 176) makes the case that 'in the case of the animal movement, this may be a risk worth taking as it seems unlikely that a relatively small and unique movement could prosecute its campaigns globally without initiating common cause with like-minded activists'.

PETA's use of sexism also reinforces speciesism, as both forms of oppression are built on a similar logic (Glasser 2011c, pp. 58, 61, 63). Glasser (2011c, p. 52) contends that 'all oppressions are interlocking and when any oppression is embraced all oppressions are strengthened'. Francione (2010a, p. 84) believes that PETA's attitude toward sexism makes its argument against speciesism

less than convincing. He explains that PETA argues that speciesism is wrong because it is similar to other forms of discrimination. This logically implies that other forms of discrimination are wrong and ‘that animal rights advocates do – or at least should – have a position on’ them (Francione 2010a, p. 84).

Such views are reinforced in recent research by Renata Bongiorno, Paul Bain and Nick Haslam (2013, p. 1), which found that PETA’s sexualised advertising is ineffective because seeking ‘to increase moral concern for some living things, such as animals, is inconsistent with and likely to be undermined by sexualized imagery that diminishes moral concern for others (e.g. by dehumanizing women)’. In both of the studies they conducted for this research, one focusing on young men and the other a mixed-gender community sample, sexualised advertising reduced their intention to support PETA and to make changes to their behaviours that would be beneficial to animals (Bongiorno, Bain, and Haslam 2013, p. 4).

Nationalism and Militarism

In the US, where PETA pursues most of its advocacy, there is widespread attachment to nationalism and militarism (Altheide 2004, pp. 290-292, 300-302). The way PETA taps into these attitudes is another example of the way it works within the framework of dominant societal views. PETA has, however, occasionally challenged some actions of the military. These criticisms have focused on the use of other animals for training, with ‘animals including monkeys, goats and pigs...receiving wounds from having been burnt and fired upon...to teach Army personnel how to manage critically injured patients within the first few hours of their injury’ (Fiddian 2008, online). Such criticisms, however, have been confined to this direct use of other animals.

While it is perhaps not surprising that PETA does not challenge nationalism and militarism, it goes further and supports both of these ideologies. PETA has given two marines Compassionate Action Awards for rescuing two homeless cats in Baghdad (PETA 2010f, online; Croce 2010, online) and has also praised the military for introducing vegetarian MRE’s (Meals Ready-to-Eat or Military Ration for Emergencies). The Winter 2001 edition of PETA’s newsletter *Animal Times* stated: ‘Three cheers for the red, white, and ... green? Yes, green’ (cited in Ida 2008, online).

Another example relates to *Playboy* magazine. After air force drill sergeant Michelle Manhart got into trouble with the air force for posing for the magazine, PETA invited her to pose nude for its “I’d

Rather Go Naked Than Wear Fur” campaign. Figure 3.4 shows her contribution to this campaign, which features her pictured in front of an American flag, wearing a military-style cap (PETA 2007a, online). One animal advocate has criticised ‘PETA’s support for racism, colonialism, and militarism, with no regard for the far-reaching implications it has on the Earth and all life that inhabits it’ (Ida 2008, online). This viewpoints highlights that the many military excursions initiated by the United States over the past several decades have had implications far beyond harm to animals used by the military. They have resulted in extensive harm and death to both humans and other animals, as well as massive environmental damage.



Source: (PETA 2007a, online)

Figure 3.4 Air Force Drill Sergeant Michelle Manhart Posing for PETA

A more recent example was the killing of wanted terrorist Osama bin Laden by the US military. In the article ‘Bite Bin Laden’s Head Off’, PETA (2011b, online) wrote: ‘If you’re a little hungry after being up all night watching the news and chanting “USA! USA!” we’ve got the perfect snack for you’. PETA (2011b, online) explained how these chocolates were sent to troops in Afghanistan a few years before, and said ‘they were great for cravings and target practice’. In reference to the chocolates, which are shown in Figure 3.5, PETA (2009b, online) spoke of a ‘cruelty-free beheading’. It said that the troops it sent the chocolates to could ‘satisfy their confectionary craving while getting some sweet revenge by taking a bite out of Osama’s head’ (PETA 2009b, online). Immediately after Bin Laden’s death, PETA (2011b, online) sent the chocolates ‘to the Navy SEALs who took the terrorist down in order to show our appreciation’.



Source: (PETA 2011b, online)

Figure 3.5 PETA's Bin Laden Bites Chocolates

PETA's celebration of the death of Bin Laden overlooked human rights concerns expressed by organisations such as Amnesty International (2011, online) and Human Rights First (Rona 2011, online), as well as lawyers including high-profile Australian QC and human rights lawyer Geoffrey Robertson (ABC News 2011a, online), who questioned whether it was necessary for an unarmed man to be killed. In contrast, PETA fed into the patriotic reaction that swept the country after his death (Pilkington 2011, online; Zernike 2011, online). In their discussion of Bin Laden's death, PETA (2011b, online) added that: 'You can also show your patriotic pride with our "Proud to Be a Vegetarian American" bumper sticker, just re-released to celebrate the occasion'. On PETA's official online store it sells shirts and other items that proclaim 'Proud to be a Vegetarian American' with the American flag (PETA 2011h, online; Freeman 2013, p. 105). The bumper sticker with this design is shown in Figure 3.6.



Source: (PETA 2011b, online)

Figure 3.6 PETA's Proud to be a Vegetarian American Bumper Sticker

Consumerism

The AAM does not take place in a “vacuum” but is influenced by broader changes occurring in society. Consumerism has dominated Western society from as early as the 1920s (Advertising historian Stuart Ewen, cited in Klein 2000, p. 95). This trend has accelerated even more since neoliberal ideology became such a dominant paradigm in Western countries from the 1980s (Cahill 2007, p. 227). According to this ideology, rational consumers are seen as making self-interested choices in the free market (Ruthjersen 2007, pp. 44, 104-107). The only concerns when purchasing a product for “rational” consumers are the price and the quality, not where and how the product is made.

Consumerism pervades society and influences AAOs such as HSUS and PETA. The subject of an email from HIS (Humane Society International), the international branch of HSUS, contains the message ‘Shop to save...animals!’. It urges people to ‘do good, go shopping!’ and to ‘go shopping, help animals’ – explaining that doing so ‘makes a world of difference for animals’ (HSI 2010e, online). Similarly, in an email sent automatically to its supporters one month before their birthday, PETA President Ingrid Newkirk encourages people to browse the PETA catalogue for cruelty-free products and then make a “wish list” for friends and family. Getting these products from the catalogue will make the individual’s birthday ‘something that animals can celebrate too’ and ‘animals everywhere will be grateful’. Newkirk urges people to: ‘Keep on Shoppin’ in the Free World... Compassionately’ through buying from PETA or buying from companies that do not test on animals if they want something beyond the PETA catalogue (PETA 2010t, online).

This idea of shopping in the “free world” is very much linked to dominant post-September 11 narratives in the US, where individuals were encouraged by the government and businesses to consume in order to express ‘patriotism and national unity in a time of terrorism’ (Altheide 2004, p. 292). This advice neglects issues exacerbated by consumerism, such as environmental degradation and the exploitation of workers. In her article ‘Race as a “Feeble Matter” in Veganism: Interrogating Whiteness, Geopolitical Privilege, and Consumption Philosophy of “Cruelty-Free” Products’, Amie Breeze Harper (2010, pp. 14, 16, 18, 19) argues that many products labelled “cruelty-free” by animal advocates and AAOs, including non-fair trade chocolate, sugar and cotton, are not cruelty-free when it comes to the (mainly) people of colour who experience suffering to create these products, sometimes under conditions of modern-day slavery. Similarly, Torres (2007, p. 136) asserts that many vegans are ‘too ready to purchase things that are vegan, but which may be otherwise caught up in other negative production practices that exploit people or harm the ecosystem’. Torres elaborates on the way in which veganism is not immune from consumerism:

...It is more useful to urge vegans to move beyond the bourgeois lifestyle politics and the upper-class “ecosexualism” some vegans promote through consumption. Magazines like *VegNews* are veritable porn for this lifestyle, and they take it to the extreme, detailing twenty-thousand dollar vegan weddings; vegan vacations in Tahiti and other exotic locales; and above almost all else, promoting a brand of vegan consumerism which would make one believe that the magazine editors really feel like we can buy our way to redemption, if only we can find the perfect pleather [a vegan substitute for leather] handbag and take delivery on this year’s new, more efficient Toyota Prius in Seaside Pearl with the Bisque interior (Torres 2007, p. 136).

Magazines such as *VegNews* appear to fit the model of magazines escalating lifestyle expectations which encourage consumerism (Hamilton and Denniss 2005, p. 9) ‘through the promotion of a lifestyle and matching consumer goods that are impossible or difficult for most people to accrue’ (Torres 2007, p. 137). This focus on an upper-class market and consumerism neglects the more political and meaningful potential of veganism, as well as failing to reach many people and particularly other social movements (Torres 2007, p. 136-137). This phenomenon must be understood as occurring within (and encouraging) the current neoliberal focus on consumerism and “consumer choice” as the way to bring about social change. This form of activism is focused on

individuals making choices in the market (Johnson 2007, pp. 196-197), rather than on participation in social movements with broader concerns and tactics.

In some ways involvement and activism in social movements is being promoted as another consumer choice in itself. This includes activism within the AAM on behalf of non-human animals. Torres (2007, p. 140) contends that the desire for profit amongst large AAOs has meant that “animal rights activism” has been reduced to giving money to large organisations such as PETA. This opinion is supported by statistics on the movement, at least in the US. According to the Humane Research Council’s study of over 1 500 individuals in the US, twenty-five per cent of respondents had donated to an animal group, whereas only five per cent have volunteered for an animal group (Humane Research Council 2008, pp. 2, 10; 2011b, online). Torres (2007, p. 141) believes that “activism” purely through giving money is disempowering and that it is not enacting ‘real and meaningful changes in the world – changes that do more than simply make us feel better about being *active*’ (Torres 2007, p. 90). Such trends are in no way limited to the AAM and similar criticisms have been levelled at many other social movements. Examples of how this type of critique has been applied to the environmental movement were outlined in Chapter Two.

Conclusion

Resource mobilisation theory emphasises the powerful influence that the drive for resources (primarily financial) required to ensure organisational survival and growth has on the directions that social movement organisations take. This chapter explored some of the reasons why integrationist animal advocacy is the dominant framework of large AAOs. It examined their motivations for taking this course, and the benefits that can follow, including financial rewards. Integrationist social action undertaken by large AAOs is primarily manifested in welfarist and single-issue campaigns operating within the boundaries of existing societal attitudes.

Integrationist advocacy is attractive to AAOs partly because of its ability to generate a larger potential donor base. Campaigns that focus on specific unpopular uses of animals lend themselves to the promotion of the achievement of clearly expressed measurable outcomes which can be claimed as victories. This is a vital asset in attracting and retaining private, corporate and public sponsors. These types of campaigns also allow people to participate without requiring them to take too much time or effort, or to reconsider their existing consumption choices. Most of the

organisational characteristics and trends exhibited by larger AAOs examined in this chapter are consistent with expectations of Weber's concepts of instrumental rationality and bureaucracy, as well as many of the features of new privatisation and resource mobilisation theory. Smaller organisations, however, have greater capacity to engage in anti-systemic activism, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

While other organisations such as HSUS have been examined, analysis primarily focused on PETA. Its integrationist advocacy harnesses prevailing attitudes widely accepted in society (such as celebrity culture, consumerism, patriotism, militarism and patriarchy). This strategy has assisted PETA in considerably expanding the size and support base of the organisation. While its modes of advocacy have received widespread criticism, the type of campaigning PETA uses has allowed it to attract a great deal of media attention and reach a large number of people. Media coverage is important for all social movements, however, it is particularly critical for animal advocates in Western countries, as the exploitation they are addressing is generally hidden from public view (Wicks 2011, p. 194).

As it has grown larger, PETA's animal advocacy has increasingly embraced moderate welfare reforms, despite rejecting such actions in the past, when the organisation was smaller. PETA's gradual change in direction is consistent with Wallerstein's (2003, pp. 659-661) research into bureaucratisation and moderation in social movements historically, as were many examples from organisations in other social movements examined in Chapter Two. The extent to which the campaigns of PETA and other large AAOs are integrationist or anti-systemic will be considered in a more statistical manner in Chapter Four, which will analyse the emails these organisations send to their subscribers.

Chapter Four:

Campaigns of Larger Animal Advocacy Organisations²¹

Introduction

Chapter Three examined the integrationist campaigning of large AAOs which included those that aim to regulate animal exploitation and make it more humane (welfare campaigns) and others that seek to eradicate a particular form of animal exploitation (single-issue campaigns), usually one that is unpopular amongst the general public. It was seen that larger, wealthier AAOs predominantly engage in these types of campaigns, which are more likely to attract corporate and public sponsorship. They do not generally become involved in anti-systemic campaigning, such as single issue campaigns challenging widely accepted practices (like those targeting the dairy industry) or promoting veganism.

This chapter evaluates the extent to which the actions large AAOs undertake can be considered as integrationist or anti-systemic. It also examines how different forms of activism in the AAM are consistent with various organisational forms. This is done through a case study that analyses the actions promoted in emails sent out by PETA; HSUS; HSI, the global arm of the United States-based HSUS (HSI Australia 2011, online); and Animals Australia. Additionally, the emails were assessed for their consistency with the “little effort paradigm” posited by the key resource mobilisation theorists, McCarthy and Zald. This paradigm includes an assumption that the promotion of actions that require little effort, such as giving money and signing petitions, is most beneficial in terms of securing resources and support (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 543). Finally, the emails were analysed to see how consistent they were with the critiques of Francione (2010a, pp. 64, 74; 2011b, interview) and Schonfeld (2010a, online) outlined in Chapter Three. This meant considering the degree to which those receiving emails were encouraged to make ‘compassionate choices about the foods we eat, the things we buy, and the activities we support’ (Fruno 2011, online).

This chapter also discusses ways in which the campaigns promoted in the case study are consistent with various forms of rationality. While the primary focus is on investigating organisational motivations for integrationist campaigns, ideology and emotion also considered: they also play a part in decisions about the types of campaigns that AAOs conduct. Singer (2012, interview) has

backed the value of welfare reform campaigning because of the potential breadth of the support that can be harnessed. Regan (2011, paragraph 78) provides animal advocates with arguments in favour of campaigning to abolish unpopular forms of animal exploitation. He argues that these are more likely to be able to capture public imagination and engagement. These integrationist campaigns can also appeal to people's compassion towards non-human animals.

Organisational Considerations, Little Effort and Integrationist Social Change

Background

There are several reasons why PETA, HSUS, HIS and Animals Australia have been chosen. Firstly, they all have characteristics which at least indicate a potential to promote veganism. In Chapter One, it was established that veganism would be a central concept for this thesis and the primary form of anti-systemic advocacy that will be focused on. It was also noted that there are other forms of anti-systemic social change in the AAM and that veganism is integrationist in terms of being a consumer-based solution that functions within capitalism. Nevertheless, it will be focused on as primarily anti-systemic advocacy that rejects widely unquestioned practices, such as the consumption of dairy and egg products.

All of the organisations chosen have vegans in senior positions in their organisations (see, for example: Oogjes 2010, interview; Driver 2003, online; Vegetarian Times 2012, online). This situation contrasts with traditional animal welfare groups, such as the RSPCA, which 'is not a vegetarian or vegan organisation' (RSPCA 2011f, online) and is certainly not run by vegans. It is careful to separate itself from the concept of veganism.²² In contrast to the RSPCA, Ashley Fruno (2011, interview), a senior campaigner for PETA Asia, explains that the 'PETA U.S. founders wanted to promote a healthy vegan diet and to show how easy it is to shop cruelty-free'. Fruno emphasises the importance of encouraging the public to make choices about its food consumption and other products on behalf of non-human animals:

In today's world of virtually unlimited choices, animal exploitation is simply unacceptable. We can eat better, educate ourselves better, clothe ourselves better, and entertain ourselves better without tormenting and killing animals. We have the power to spare animals excruciating pain by

making compassionate choices about the foods we eat, the things we buy, and the activities we support (Fruno 2011, interview).

Similarly, Glenys Oogjes (2010, online), President of Animals Australia, explains that in the past, the organisation focused too much on changing laws and now has moved its focus to people in the community, particularly attempting to influence 'what they choose to buy and support'. Additionally, there are many examples of these organisations promoting an integrationist, animal welfare approach (see, for example, Animals Australia 2010e, online; Torres 2007, p. 92; HSUS 2011d, online). As discussed in Chapter Three, analyses by both animal rights advocates as well as those opposed to animal rights have linked organisational considerations to much of the integrationist activism undertaken by HSUS and PETA (see, for example, Francione 2010a, p. 74; Sjeklocha 2009, online).

Finally, these organisations are all large in size in terms of staff, membership and finances, at least compared to organisations undertaking animal rights vegan activism (which will be discussed in Chapter Seven). The trend towards organisational rationality outlined in Chapter Three is stronger and more prevalent in larger organisations. PETA has an annual revenue of over 34 million dollars and its assets are worth over 24 million dollars. It also has 263 paid employees and over three million members (PETA 2013a, online; BBB 2012c, online; 2012b, online). HSUS is even larger and wealthier, with 11 million members, 629 paid staff, an annual revenue of 160 million dollars and assets of over 200 million dollars (BBB 2012a, online; HSUS 2013, online). Even compared to organisations in other social movements, HSUS is sizeable – it is the 155th largest charity in the United States (HSUS 2013, online). PETA is also comparable to other well-known SMOs in terms of membership – Amnesty International, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund each have over two million members (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 810).

In the Australian context, Animals Australia has nine full-time, paid staff (Oogjes 2010, interview), an office in central Melbourne and over three million dollars in annual income (Animals Australia 2012a, online). This seems small, and it certainly is compared to HSUS and PETA, but it is large compared to animal rights vegan organisations in Australia, such as Animal Liberation Victoria and Uproar, which are totally run by volunteers (Hannibal 2010, interview; Mark 2010, interview). Also,

Animals Australia receives some funding from the Australian government (Oogjes 2010, online). This government grant only makes up part of the four per cent of their income marked as 'other', which also includes AGM income and the sale of merchandise (Animals Australia 2012a, online). Oogjes (2010, interview) explains that this is only 'a small grant' and 'is only a very small part of our income', however, it is still significant that they receive government funding at all. The animal rights vegan organisations mentioned above, ALV and Uproar, receive no government funding.

Research Methods

Content analysis was chosen as the method for this study, as it assists in providing "real-life" examples in which to investigate more abstract theories such as resource mobilisation (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 228). Emails have been chosen for analysis due to the high priority attached to online campaigning in the AAM, acknowledged by key figures in AAOs (see, for example Mark 2010, interview; Hannibal 2010, interview; Oogjes 2010, interview; Pearson 2011, interview). The Internet has enabled organisations to very quickly and cheaply publically disseminate footage of animal cruelty (which is very powerful in terms of visual impact) without having to rely on mainstream media, where there is sometimes reluctance to show graphic images (Singer 2012, interview; Pearson 2011, interview; Fruno 2011, interview). It has also enabled the public to easily contact organisations and government officials to lobby for changes to policies concerning non-human animals, as well as more generally allowing organisations to promote their messages to a broad audience. Social media and forums amplify this reach (Oogjes 2010, interview; Fruno 2011, interview). Online campaigning is an important vehicle not only for the AAM but for social movements generally (Trumpbour 2010, pp. 3-4; Singer 2012, interview; Petray 2011, pp. 923-924). For example, online campaigning and networking have been shown to be influential in the downfall of the Egyptian President in 2011 (Eltantawy and Wiest 2011, pp. 1212-1218; Petray 2011, p. 936).

While it is acknowledged that other sorts of actions seeking support are undertaken by AAOs, such as face-to-face interaction with members or the general public, the AAOs chosen for this study engage with very large constituencies, especially PETA and HSUS. This means that their preferred public communication method is overwhelmingly online, rather than face-to-face. This is not purely via email – there are also websites and use of social media, however, email is a key platform for these organisations to link to websites and encourage people to promote campaigns through social media.

The emails for the entire year of 2010 were analysed so that data would not be skewed by over-representation at certain times of year. For example, there is often a surge in emails around Christmas focused on buying gifts from these organisations. Some emails contain a range of actions, however, only the main action being promoted was counted statistically. This was the one that was “framed” by the organisation as being the most important. Framing shapes how people evaluate the action they should take (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 216). As a result, the action being promoted as most important was considered to be the one that is most likely to be carried out by those receiving the email. Framing includes aspects such as interpretation, selection, exclusion, emphasis, placement, visual effects, and labelling (Parenti 1993, p. 201; Reese 2001, p. 11), which were all considered when deciding the main action being promoted. When two or more actions were framed as being equally as significant, they were all included in the results.

Often the central action promoted in the email was watching a video or reading about some form of animal abuse. This was not counted as the main action, as it was aimed at drawing people’s attention to a certain issue, rather than asking them to take action on it. In its emails, HSUS often had a video that it asked people to watch, but it was the action accompanying the video that was counted as the action, whether it was adding a name to a pre-written letter, donating, or something else. Many of the emails from HSI involved similar types of actions, involving either a video or a photo. Often emails from HSUS and HSI had a ‘take action’ section, so the two actions in this section were counted as the main actions. In Animals Australia’s emails, some contained a section titled ‘campaign action of the month’ – making the main action in these emails particularly obvious. The main action PETA was promoting was clear from the text and title of its emails.

The case study involves both qualitative and quantitative analysis, with statistical data from the case study and an interpretation of the results presented. A key point of reference was McCarthy and Zald’s explanation of the preferred form of activism from a financial and organisational point of view, for example, petitions and donations, and more generally, actions that require little effort. McCarthy and Zald (2001, p. 543) differentiate between one-off donations and membership because they consider that donations imply ‘no long term involvement’ whereas membership implies longer-term involvement. However, in this analysis, emails promoting membership were counted interchangeably with those calling for one-off donations because the organisations themselves use

the terms “donation” and “membership” interchangeably. For example, PETA (2011a, online) refers to its membership as an ‘annual donation’. Membership is therefore very similar to one-off donations in terms of the “little effort” paradigm. The only real difference is that members are given a reminder in case they want to donate to become a member the following year.

The integrationist or anti-systemic nature of the emails was considered on the basis of whether they challenged or worked within existing behaviours and attitudes towards non-human animals. Chapter One provided an in-depth analysis of integrationist and anti-systemic social change in the context of the AAM. With the focus on veganism referred to above, the content of the emails was analysed to see how closely it matched the critiques by Francione and Schonfeld. This involved checking whether those receiving the emails were encouraged to change their own consumption on behalf of non-human animals. Beyond the abbreviations already mentioned, the organisation Animals Australia will be referred to as ‘AA’ in the table with the results of this study. The categories in the table are all explained in the ‘Discussion’ section below.

Results

Table 4.1 Results of the Case Study

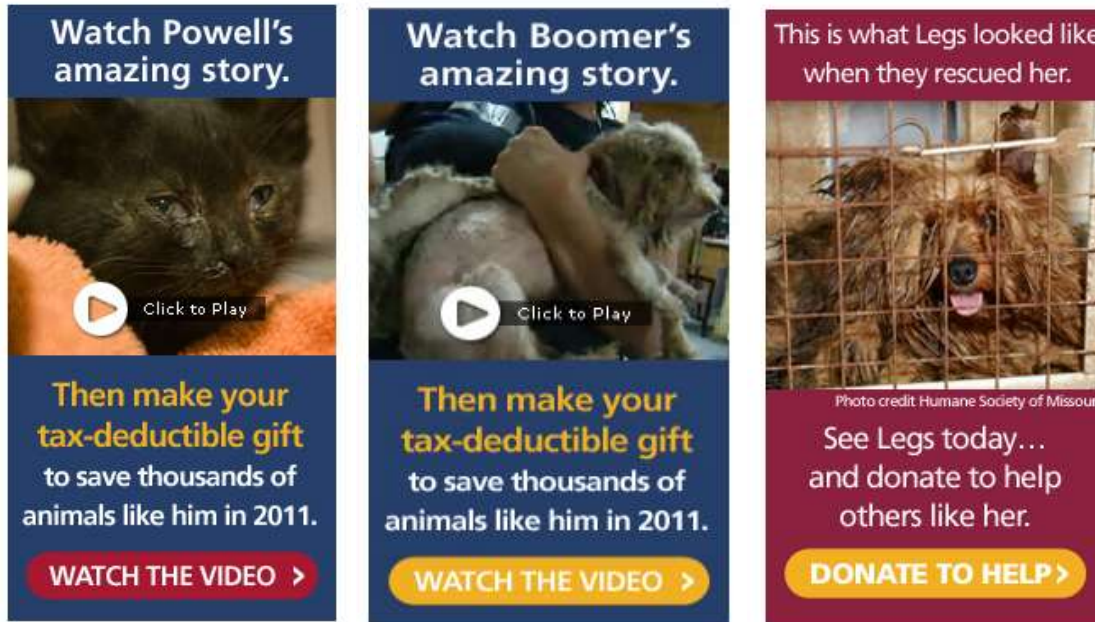
Organisation	Petition/ pre-written Letter	Phone	Donate	Buy	Send to Friends	Change Lifestyle	Other	Totals
AA	7	0	7	3	0	3	0	20
HSUS	10	1	34	9	4	2	18	78
HSI	23	0	8	5	0	4	1	41
PETA	12	1	5	0	6	3	5	32
Totals	52	2	54	17	10	12	24	171

Discussion

The main actions promoted by these organisations generally fit the “ideal type” activism postulated by McCarthy and Zald. Over 30 per cent of the main actions promoted were petitions, or much more

commonly, pre-written letters. These are letters to an official (generally a politician or other political figure, or business leader) requesting some form of change. The letter is pre-written by the organisation but the individual can personalise the letter and add whatever they like. The individual, however, only has to add his or her name to the pre-written letter and hit 'send'. These actions are very similar to petitions, in that very little effort is required. People were very rarely asked to take a step further and telephone an official (HSUS 2010o, online; PETA 2010e, online). Although this takes slightly more effort than adding a name to a pre-written letter, it still can be done very quickly, and is fairly similar to petitions or pre-written letters.

Even more commonly, the main action promoted was seeking donations to the organisation in question, another of McCarthy and Zald's ideal actions for the little effort paradigm. Over 31 per cent of the main actions were to donate. The push for donations was particularly strong from HSUS, with over 43 per cent of the main actions promoted being a call for donations. Very regularly, the main picture or video highlighted some form of animal abuse or neglect with the main action requested from people being a donation, with similar messages from HSI (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below). With the graphic from an email from HIS, pictured on the left in Figure 4.2, if you click 'Yes!' it takes you through to a page to donate. Similarly, with the emails from HSUS, even if 'donate' is not explicitly in the graphic that accompanies the emails, once viewers click on the graphic they may be directed to another screen where a donate option pops up. This has to be closed before accessing the page and viewing the video or reading the information. Interestingly, it is HSUS which most frequently asked for donations, and it is also the wealthiest of the organisations chosen for this case study.



Sources: (HSUS 2010n, online; 2010k, online; 2010j, online)

Figure 4.1 Some Examples of Typical Graphics from HSUS's Emails



Sources: (HSI 2010g, online; 2010f, online)

Figure 4.2 HSI Encourages People to Donate to Help Street Dogs

As was touched on in Chapter Three, the private sector-backed Center for Consumer Freedom has an ongoing campaign against HSUS and PETA that is conducted online, as well as in print and television advertisements. An example of this campaign is shown in Figure 4.3, which features a large billboard in Times Square, New York. It shows that the criticism directed at HSUS focuses on the way the organisation appeals to the affection many people have for dogs and cats. Through such an approach, it has been able to attract greater membership than if it pursued more radical campaigns. The Center for Consumer Freedom is making the case that HSUS is attracting this widespread support on false pretences. According to its campaign, HSUS is not making clear their radical “hidden agenda” of ending animal agriculture (Center for Consumer Freedom 2014, online).



Figure 4.3 A Billboard from the Center for Consumer Freedom's Criticising HSUS

HSUS and PETA used these "smear campaigns" as an opportunity to canvass donations from supporters. In one email, PETA (2010r, online) urged people to show that 'animals are important to you' and 'send a message to animal-abusing industries that real change for animals will occur regardless of their tactics' by donating. Similarly, an email from HSUS President Wayne Pacelle asked people to donate to show the Center for Consumer Freedom 'that those who care about animals won't back down' (HSUS 2010l, online). An article about the conflict between HSUS and the Center for Consumer Freedom on the website *HumaneSpot.org*, which has resources that assist animal advocates, received this comment from a respondent: 'I think HSUS's response has been too blatantly a donation request. It looks like HSUS is just using an easy and cheap opportunity to ask for money' (cited in Green and Bellotti 2010, online). As with many other problems raised by HSUS, the solution to the problem of the negative publicity was framed as being a donation.



Sources: HSUS (2010l, online) and PETA (2010r, online)

Figure 4.4 HSUS and PETA Respond to the Center for Consumer Freedom’s Campaign

Nearly 10 per cent of the time the main action was to buy something, generally from the online shops of these organisations. Much like donating, this requires little effort. It is also important to note that this neoliberal focus on consumerism and advocacy through giving money fits the critiques of large AAOs made by theorists such as Torres, which were outlined in Chapter Three. Overall, 62 per cent of the actions promoted by these organisations are directly compatible with the two forms of actions that McCarthy and Zald argue are optimal for attracting resources to an organisation (donations and petitions). If the similar actions of phoning an official and buying something are included, over 73 per cent of actions are consistent with McCarthy and Zald’s expectations.

Just fewer than 6 per cent of actions were included under ‘send to friends.’ Four of these came from HSUS, where people added the email address of their friends to send a pre-written message on

issues such as puppy mills, protecting wildlife and dog fighting (HSUS 2010m, online; 2010i, online; 2010d, online; 2010e, online). The other six emails that fell under this category were from PETA. Some related to new social networking sites, including reposting “tweets” and updating individual’s *Facebook* status to oppose seal clubbing in Canada (PETA 2010b, online; 2010s, online), as well as joining a *Facebook* page opposing Chinese fur farms (PETA 2010k, online). One email from PETA encouraged people to tell others about the cruelty involved in animal testing (PETA 2010o, online) and another encouraged people to write their own “anti-McDonald’s” message on an online sign and send it to their friends (PETA 2010l, online).

PETA’s campaign against McDonald’s is being run because the restaurant, unlike KFC Canada, has not yet changed to the controlled-atmosphere killing of its chickens (PETA 2010u, online). While some of these actions went well beyond just adding email addresses to a pre-written message (for example, one email from PETA asked people to take a picture of themselves with a sign opposing circuses to post on *Facebook*) (PETA 2010v, online), overall, actions in this category did not significantly depart from McCarthy and Zald’s little effort paradigm and certainly did not challenge the criticisms of AAOs made by Schonfeld and Francione. They were not asking people to change their consumption habits.

Emails in the ‘change lifestyle’ category focused on the lifestyle of the people receiving the email, for example, what they eat, wear, buy and support. Less than 7 per cent of the actions promoted in the emails provide some challenge to the activities of the people receiving the email. Out of the twelve emails that fell in the ‘change lifestyle’ category, I have classified nine as ‘minor’ lifestyle changes and only three as ‘major’ lifestyle changes. This is demonstrated in Figure 4.5 below. The actions classified as major lifestyle changes are all switching to a vegetarian diet (two emails from Animals Australia, one from PETA). The minor lifestyle changes promoted are: avoiding factory farmed products (Animals Australia); avoiding pet shops and caged eggs (HSUS); going fur-free, boycotting Canadian seafood, and two emails encouraging people to not support the wild animal industry from HSI; and two emails from PETA encouraging people to adopt companion animals. These emails are discussed in further detail below.

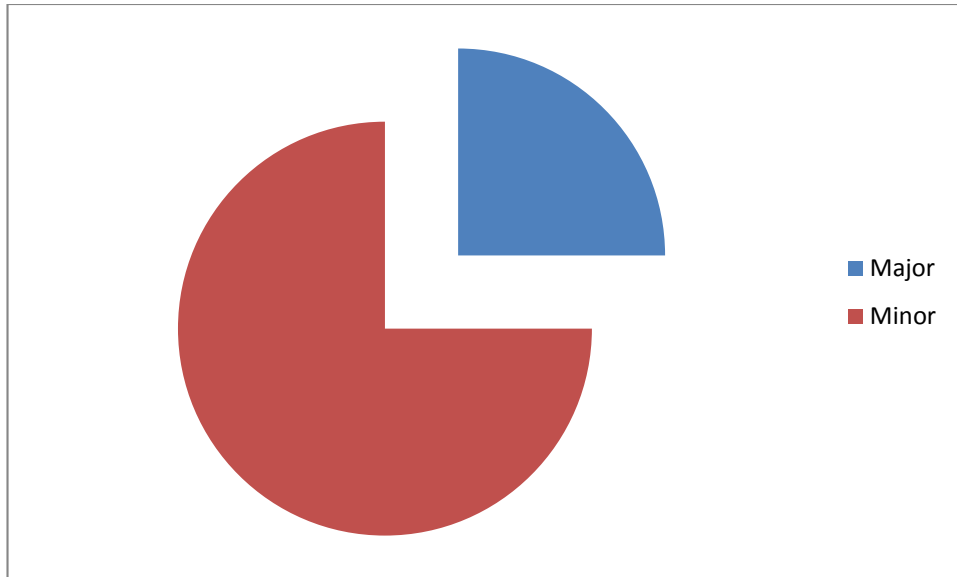


Figure 4.5 Major and Minor Lifestyle Changes Advocated

The activities that these emails focused on were mostly consistent with integrationist social change. From HSUS and PETA, these mainly related to pets, whose well-being attracts very broad concern in Western countries like the US and Australia. In one email, HSUS encouraged people not to buy pets from pet shops or the Internet (HSUS 2010f, online), while PETA encouraged people to adopt a pet and spay and neuter, rather than breeding or buying pets (PETA 2010m, online). Often HSUS is characterised as an organisation for “dog and cat people” that is not as concerned about the exploitation of animals in other situations, such as farm animals raised for food. There have been some changes in recent times, with Pacelle bringing to the organisation a greater focus on farm animals, as was noted in Chapter Three (Rowan 2011, interview). However, the emails from HSUS are still covered with pictures of dogs and cats, meaning that visually there is a strong focus on these domestic pets. Visually, pictures of dogs and cats are likely to attract more donations than pictures of other animals, like cows and pigs (Guéguen 2013, p. 240). It is interesting though that when PETA, viewed as a much more radical organisation, encourages people to take action in their own lives, it is generally in regard to pets rather than animals raised for other uses.

It is also interesting to note that HSUS, the largest organisation in the study, not only most frequently asked for donations, but also least frequently asked people to change their own actions towards animals (it did so in less than 3 per cent of its emails). HSI had four emails in this category.

One encouraged people to pledge to be fur-free (HSI 2010d, online). For those wishing to take this pledge, this may mean no change at all to their lifestyle, as many people already do not wear fur (Hickman 2011, online), especially those living in warmer climates. For the small number of people on this email list who currently do wear fur, signing the pledge could mean a slight change in their future consumption, however, it does not rule out wearing other more common animal products such as leather.

One email from HSI called for people to boycott Canadian seafood in response to Canadian seal hunting (HSI 2010b, online). This campaign asked people to give up one product if it was produced in one particular country – Canada. It did not rule out seafood in general, or any other animal product. Interestingly, in an email from HSUS that was not in this category, people could select a variety of “pro-Canadian” things they would do if Canada stopped its seal hunt (HSUS 2010p, online). One option provided by HSUS was to ‘buy Canadian seafood’ and, incidentally, it was the most chosen option (HSUS 2012, online). Providing this option embraces the idea of consuming (some) animal products.

Two emails from HSI encouraged people to pledge not to support the wild animal industry. This involved committing to not keeping these animals as pets, buying items made from them or patronising attractions where animals are kept captive in inhumane conditions (HSI 2010c, online; 2010a, online). Signing this pledge would rule out adopting certain pets (although wild animals would be harder to find than more conventional pets). It was also unlikely to change people’s consumption, as most items that contain animal products are made from domesticated, rather than wild, animals. The final aspect of this pledge is not to patronise attractions where animals are kept captive, which could rule out entertainment such as circuses involving non-human animals and zoos, however, the inclusion of the phrase ‘under inhumane conditions’ means that such activities are not ruled out altogether, as long as the individual deems the conditions to be humane. The pledge could only have a marginal impact and does not address the much larger issues associated with the consumption of domesticated animals.

When it came to food, only the consumption of caged eggs was challenged (once) but not eggs in general (HSUS 2010c, online), dairy consumption was not challenged even once, and meat eating was only rarely challenged. A couple of emails challenged the consumption of factory farmed

products (Animals Australia 2010c, online), but did not rule out the consumption of animal products from other sources. It could mean people simply changing to differently produced and labelled versions of these products, such as free-range eggs. This was considered a minor lifestyle change, as unlike giving up animal products altogether, it does not require finding new recipes and having to work out new ways to meet people's dietary requirements.

A few emails promoted vegetarianism for the environment (PETA 2010g, online) and for animals (Animals Australia 2010b, online) but sometimes the organisations framed vegetarianism in quite a "soft" way – promoting vegetarianism as a positive action for people to take, but not a necessity for anyone concerned about non-human animals (Animals Australia 2010a, online; PETA 2010j, online). An email from Animals Australia (2010a, online) promoting vegetarianism opened with a quote from Jamie Oliver, which read: 'Vegetarian as a general concept is a brilliant thing...We've got to stop eating so much meat. We are eating too much meat'. This same email encouraged people 'to go meat-free for the week'. So while vegetarianism was promoted, reducing meat consumption and eliminating meat for the week were also framed as meaningful actions that people could take without becoming vegetarians. This email linked to a pledge to be "veg" for World Vegetarian Week, either for a week, 30 days, or life (Animals Australia 2010d, online). The focus is on meat but mention is also made of 'a plant-based diet'. A vegan diet is promoted only obliquely, with only vegan foods suggested, but no mention of the word "vegan". Also written is: 'Already vegetarian or vegan? Challenge a friend to take the pledge!'. Such a message promotes the idea that being vegetarian is "enough" to do for animals and also does not differentiate between veganism and vegetarianism.

PETA's email promoting vegetarianism was about 'Hug a Vegetarian Day'. The email was not directly saying people receiving this email should become vegetarian themselves, although it did have a "pro-vegetarian" message, so it was included under the 'change lifestyle' category. The day is dedicated to 'animal lovers' which is equated with being vegetarian. The email also promoted vegetarianism by stating: 'Going vegetarian is one of the best ways that you can save animals'. Veganism was never promoted by the organisations chosen for this case study, with the closest being the mention of 'a plant-based diet' described above (Animals Australia 2010d, online). Even with this email, however, the focus was more on eating less meat and vegetarianism, both of which still involve the slaughter of animals, as was outlined in Chapter One. This contrasts to more radical

animal rights vegan organisations such as Animal Liberation Victoria, which promotes veganism as the “baseline” of the AAM (Mark 2010, interview; Patty Mark, cited in Vaughan 2007, online). It regularly uses the term in its advocacy and argues that a vegan lifestyle is the only one that takes animal interests seriously. Such organisations will be explored in Chapter Seven.

Finally, 14.5 per cent of the actions promoted by these organisations did not fall under the categories discussed above. Many of these actions are consistent with the “little effort” model. These included: joining an email list concerning puppy mills (HSUS 2010q, online; 2010r, online); reading an article by HSUS President Wayne Pacelle on HSUS’s electoral victories on puppy mills and wildlife, and its defeat on the issue of “canned hunts” (HSUS 2010b, online); watching videos on topics such as animal issues in the media (HSUS 2010h, online), rescued dogs (HSUS 2010a, online) or an explanation of PETA’s tactics and campaigns (PETA 2010x, online); and fundraising activities such as creating a fundraising page online.

Other fundraising activities promoted by the organisations require more time and effort, such as organising a vegan bake sale (PETA 2010a, online). However, the focus remains on raising money rather than making changes to individual choices to ‘curb their own demands for animal exploitation’ (Schonfeld 2010a, online). PETA (2010d, online) encourage people to request an action kit to stop dogs suffering in hot cars. This involves more dedication from the individual than easier tasks such as donating to an organisation or requesting someone else make a change through a petition. However, like all emails in this category, it does not challenge what people buy or consume.

Rationality and Campaigns from Large Organisations

The case study of the four AAOs selected has shown that the actions advocated in their email campaigns are broadly consistent with McCarthy and Zald’s description of the tendency for large organisations to gravitate towards actions that require little effort of their target audience and maximise opportunities for involvement and fundraising. Nearly 62 per cent of the actions are directly compatible with these actions (petitions and donating). That figure rises to over 73 per cent if similar actions such as telephoning an official and buying products are included. For the remaining 26 to 27 per cent of actions, very few depart from the little effort paradigm and even fewer encourage people to make significant changes to their own lifestyle.

The heavy focus on petitions and donations meant that people were often asking businesses or politicians to reform a certain type of animal exploitation, representing some form of animal welfare action. Where people were encouraged to request the abolition of a certain use (animal rights) this was usually for forms of animal exploitation that already do not have widespread public support, such as seal clubbing, dog fighting or the fur industry (Hickman 2011, online; World Society for the Protection of Animals 2011, online). Individuals were generally only being asked to push for welfare changes or the elimination of certain forms of animal exploitation that they were not participating in themselves. When it came to donations, individuals were requested by the organisation to donate to support action on these issues being taken by these organisations themselves. For example, PETA asked people to make donations to assist it in its negotiations and lobbying in its campaign to get KFC to minimise the suffering involved in raising and slaughtering chickens.

Although there is significant debate in the movement between the approaches taken by animal rights and animal welfare advocates (Garner 2006a, p. 161; Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 346; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266), this is far from the only divide within the movement in terms of the types of advocacy undertaken by AAOs. For example, the differences between the organisations featured in this case study and smaller AAOs focused on animal rights vegan activism are not confined to larger organisations asking people to switch to cage-free eggs while animal rights vegan organisations campaign for people to refrain from eating eggs altogether. The case study points to these larger organisations rarely advocating for people to make changes to their current consumption choices at all, whether based on animal welfare or animal rights arguments, while, as will be discussed later, the smaller organisations that will be examined in Chapter Seven regularly do.

Although the findings of this case study in terms of campaigning practices of AAOs resonate with the resource mobilisation theory, it is necessary to avoid reducing 'complex social processes to economic questions' (Sinclair 2006, p. 19). As was discussed in Chapter Two, the theory has been criticised for over-emphasising the material and organisational, while ignoring ideological and cultural factors (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 555). The types of activism exhibited by larger organisations cannot be seen as only a reflection of financial and other organisational considerations. For example, Newkirk (2010, online) responded to Schonfeld's criticisms of PETA's

integrationist, welfarist activism, justifying the approach being used by citing the utilitarian philosophies of Singer. Similarly, Mark Pearson (2011, interview), who is Executive Director of Animal Liberation New South Wales, explains that, while ideally people would not be eating animals, he feels a responsibility to the non-human animals suffering in these industries to strive to ensure that there are improvements to their treatment. While the campaigns of the organisations considered in this case study are consistent with resource acquisition and maximising supporters, the significance of ideology and emotion in their decision-making should not be overlooked.

Even amongst animal rights campaigns, there are clear differences between the ‘winnable abolitionist campaigns’ proposed by Regan (2011, paragraph 78) and the vegan education proposed by Francione (2010a, pp. 64-65, 71), which were both discussed in Chapter One. The emails studied reflected a strong preference by these large AAOs towards Regan’s approach. They are attractive partly because of their potential to attract support and interest through the emotional responses to the issues that they raise. A good illustration of this combination of winnable campaigns and emotional appeals is provided by Laura Shields (co-founder of St. Louis Vegan). She recently organised a demonstration against medical students practicing tracheal intubation by sticking a plastic tube down kitten’s windpipes at Washington University’s School of Medicine. She explained that: ‘This is such an easy campaign to win’ and went on to say that: ‘People have cats at home. To imagine someone restraining your cat, opening their mouth and cramming a tube down it, must really upset a lot of people’ (Shields, cited in Greenbaum 2012, online). A fellow advocate, Peter Young, was also involved in this campaign. He had previously served two years in prison on domestic terrorism charges as a result of freeing animals from various Midwest fur farms. Young explained that, from an animal rights perspective, putting an end to cat intubation is ‘like low-hanging fruit for us’ (Young, cited in Greenbaum 2012, online).

While Shields and Young clearly have a more extensive animal rights belief beyond just opposing this form of exploitation of cats, they have chosen this issue because it was identified as a winnable campaign that had widespread support and could serve as a stepping stone to working towards greater changes in the future. An alternative campaign choice that challenged people’s attitudes and behaviours could be predicted to be much less winnable. Using Regan’s prescription for working towards animal rights, such a campaign makes more sense ideologically than less winnable campaigns. Advocates striving for winnable campaigns, whether single-issue animal rights

campaigns, or welfare campaigns, aim to bring in as many people as possible and use the power of numbers to exert political pressure:

These organisations [which are] doing the most to drive the agenda forward – they can't draw their support only from vegans. If the live export campaign asked only vegans to contact the minister, nothing would have happened. They need support from non-vegans and non-vegetarians (Singer 2012, interview).

There is ongoing ideological debate about whether going after the “low-hanging fruit” is a useful tactic for achieving substantial gains for animal rights (see, for example, Francione 2007b, online; Unpopular Vegan Essays 2012, online). Focusing on more “safe”, winnable campaigns that evoke strong feelings of compassion for non-human animals in the community bring the potential to involve large numbers of people, even in small ways. Proponents can claim that these campaigns at least draw the public into issues that are concerned about care for non-human animals.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a case study as a vehicle to explore the types of campaigning promoted by larger AAOs. While there were a small number of exceptions, the forms of animal exploitation focused on in the emails were generally geared towards those that fitted easily with existing attitudes and behaviours towards non-human animals. The actions were mainly aimed at seeking support to regulate animal exploitation or eradicate an unpopular form of animal exploitation that most people already opposed and did not support through their consumption. Most commonly the emails encouraged people to sign a petition or make a donation, actions that McCarthy and Zald suggest are most productive from an organisational perspective, as they require a limited amount of effort and maximising involvement, bringing with them financial benefits to the organisation.

Focusing on donations and avoiding measures that ask people to help the cause of animals by making changes to their current habits have been shown to be a feature of larger and wealthier organisations. This was particularly clear in the case of HSUS, which asked for donations most frequently and requested people to change their lifestyle the least, and it is the largest and

wealthiest organisation of those chosen for the case study. What was not included in the actions promoted by these large organisations is a more extensive animal rights position that not merely attempts to abolish some already unpopular forms of animal exploitation, but opposes all animal exploitation through the promotion of veganism. Actions seeking to change existing attitudes and behaviours are challenging to run. They also do not have the capacity to engage widespread community involvement and raise levels of compassion and empathy for animals to the same degree as other campaigns that fit the little effort paradigm. AAOs that do take an animal rights approach will be explored in more detail in Chapter Seven.

The case study has confirmed the tendencies expected by theories of organisational rationality (outlined in Chapters Two and Three) for larger organisations to pursue more moderate, integrationist styles of animal advocacy. Ideological and emotive reasons for organisations taking this approach were also touched on. Singer makes the case for the benefits of pursuing welfare improvements and Regan provides an ideological basis for campaigning against unpopular forms of animal exploitation. The broad community support that integrationist campaigns can gather potentially enables large numbers of people to demonstrate, usually in small ways, their compassion towards non-human animals.

Chapter Five:

Live Animal Export, Humane Slaughter and Media Hegemony

Introduction

Chapters Three and Four explored ways in which larger organisations gravitate towards moderate, integrationist modes of animal advocacy. This chapter will consider how these better resourced, more moderate organisations have been able to influence mainstream discourse about society's obligations towards non-human animals more than smaller groups with a more radical message. This has been most apparent in relation to the issue of live animal export in Australia.

Since the airing of graphic footage of cows exported from Australia being slaughtered in Indonesia on the *Four Corners* episode 'A Bloody Business' in May 2011, there has been heated debate about Australia's live export industry. *Four Corners* is the flagship current affairs program of the national broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). Many different voices have been heard in the media on this issue; however, most of these have promoted the animal welfare frame – seeking to regulate rather than abolish animal slaughter. Frames set parameters for 'what is going on' (Gregory Bateson 1972, cited in Oliver and Johnston 2000, p. 5) – different frames present different ways in which to understand issues and put these issues into a broader context (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 216; Oliver and Johnston 2000, p. 5; Williams 2012, p. 3).

The animal rights frame which opposes animal slaughter, regardless of how it is carried out, has generally been neglected. This is an example of media hegemony, which involves 'the manufacturing of consent' through 'excluding alternative visions and discourses' (Scott and Marshall 2005, online). Debate and disagreement occurs only within a limited framework. This is beneficial to dominant interests, as dissenting voices are excluded, meaning that prevailing ideologies are unchallenged and are therefore accepted and taken for granted (Artz and Murphy 2000, p. 254). Wealthy industries that use animals are the biggest beneficiaries from the neglect of voices promoting animal rights. While animal welfare regulations can be an inconvenience for these industries, it is animal rights that provides a fundamental challenge to their profit.

Ideally, the media should present a wide range of frames on political issues, which is consistent with the public sphere. This concept was developed by Jürgen Habermas and it refers to the 'realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed' (Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974, first published 1964, p. 49). According to Habermas's understanding of this concept, in its optimal form, the media would function as an integral part of the 'political consciousness and a vibrant site of resistance' (Marden 2003, p. 89) to "common sense" political discourse, where the public can hear all views on an issue (Schiller 1989, p. 53). Topics related to the relationships of humans with, and responsibilities towards, other animals are part of this equation. It would be impossible for the media to present all views on any given issue, but according to these principles, in the case of human/non-human relations, the media should at least present the animal rights as well as the animal welfare frame.

In this chapter, the frames presented in 'A Bloody Business' and the subsequent media coverage of the live export issue will be examined through content analysis. Content analysis is useful because it can successfully link the media hegemony thesis with framing research, as well as provide real-life examples to support media hegemony research (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 228). The focus of this analysis is to determine the extent to which the dominant or hegemonic frame of animal welfare was promoted, or the counter-hegemonic frame of animal rights.

The episode 'A Bloody Business' and the media coverage following this issue was one of the most, perhaps even the most, striking examples of the suffering of other animals reaching mainstream consciousness in Australia (Christensen 2011, p. 31; Textor 2011, p. 17). Psychologist Tania Signal's research has found that 'sensationalist reporting of chronic animal welfare issues via TV and the internet can emotionally engage the public but often the responses are narrow or superficial' (cited in Barnbaum 2013, online). The overwhelming public reaction over live export is likely to be based around an emotive concern for non-human animals. While emotion can attract such a reaction in the short-term, sustained education is important in making a difference in the longer term (Signal, cited in Barnbaum 2013, online).

James Jasper and Jane Poulsen (1995, pp. 498, 505-506) have explored the way in which graphic depictions of animal suffering have been effective in attracting new recruits to the AAM. Elizabeth DeCoux (cited in Wrenn 2012, p. 450), Associate Professor of Law at Florida Coastal School of Law in

the United States, also writes about the importance of highlighting animal suffering. She argues that welfare advocates have 'been able to tap into the empathy and concern that is resultant from descriptions of suffering' and therefore dominate discussions around our obligations towards non-human animals. However, because animal welfare does not fundamentally challenge inequalities, welfare advocates 'channel those emotional reactions into ineffectual tactics'. This is why it is important to focus on the ideologies being promoted in the coverage of this issue.

Media Framing and the Hegemony of Animal Welfare

The two main frames in which human/non-human relations can be viewed are the animal welfare frame and the animal rights frame. In Chapter One, the ideologies of animal welfare and animal rights were explored. It was seen that animal welfare organisations accept humans slaughtering other animals, as long as it is done in a certain way (Bourke 2009, p. 133; Williams 2012, p. 13), which they refer to as "humane slaughter" (RSPCA 2011d, online). They also accept the consumption of meat and other animal products, including eggs and dairy, which involve the use and slaughter of non-human animals (RSPCA 2010a, online; 2011a, online; 2010b, online; 2011c, online; 2011b, online). This acceptance of humane slaughter is a key point of divergence from the animal rights perspective. From the animal rights perspective, exploiting and killing other animals for human ends is wrong, regardless of how it is carried out (Francione 2010a, p. 24; Regan 2007, first published 1987, pp. 26-27). As has been touched on previously, many AAOs promote a mixture of animal welfare and rights campaigns.

Linking framing to the ideologies of animal welfare and animal rights can assist in overcoming some of the shortcomings of a lot of research on framing, which David Snow and Robert Benford (2000, p. 55) observe has tended to neglect 'ideology and its relationship to frames'. Analysing framing in the context of these ideologies is very important, as frames can be understood as extensions of existing ideologies (Williams 2012, p. 3). Frames shape how audiences understand and interpret issues and events, as well as their evaluations of political action (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 216; Kruse 2001, pp. 67-68). Framing is based on 'principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters' (Gitlin, cited in Freeman 2013, p. 95). SMOs construct frames that define problems, suggest solutions and encourage participation (Freeman 2013, p. 95).

There is a limited amount of research on the media coverage of human/non-human relations. Jasper and Poulsen's (1995, pp. 503-508) research, referred to above, explored the frames presented by animal advocates and how this affects whether new people join the AAM or not. Marie Mika (2006, pp. 915-941) used focus group research to investigate similar issues, focusing particularly on PETA's controversial campaigns and how they are perceived by people outside of the AAM. Corwin Kruse (2001, pp. 67-87) has covered the way the media has framed the issue of animal experimentation. Claire Molloy's (2011, pp. 15-39, 102-123) explores the way the mainstream media covers a wide range of animal issues, including animal activism and emotion, as well as the media's role in depicting farmed animals and selling animal products.

While the animal welfare versus animal rights debate is the most significant in the contemporary AAM (Garner 2006a, p. 161; Taylor and Signal 2009, p. 346; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266), a review of the literature has found a limited amount of research exploring media framing in the context of animal welfare and rights. Two recent studies have provided valuable insights into these issues. Carrie Freeman (2010, p. 170) studied the campaign materials of PETA, Farm Sanctuary, Farm Animal Rights Movement, Compassion Over Killing and Vegan Outreach. These organisations were selected because they had 'a mission supporting animal rights and veganism in contrast to a more moderate welfare mission primarily promoting "humane" farming' (Freeman 2010, p. 169). Despite focusing on such organisations, she still found that these organisations most frequently framed the problem of our relationship with other animals as 'the suffering of animals due to cruelty' (Freeman 2010, p. 170).

This study demonstrated the dominance of animal welfare framing. Even amongst organisations with mission statements supporting animal rights and veganism, the welfare frame of animal cruelty was used much more frequently than frames more consistent with a rights-based position, such as framing the problem in terms of 'the commodification of animals as objects' (Freeman 2010, p. 170). This framing shows that these organisations recognise that 'people are generally supportive of animal welfare', therefore they are not striving to get people to change their values, but are striving to change behaviours within this dominant mindset (Freeman 2013, p. 108).

Cary Williams (2012, p. 26) reached similar conclusions. She investigated the framing of the campaign materials of PETA, HSUS and the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

Animals. She found that, while there were certainly differences in the framing of these organisations, all of them primarily framed the key problem in terms of our relationship with other animals as animal cruelty. PETA's framing differed from the more moderate organisations, but shared the similarities of focusing on the welfare issues of opposing 'intensive confinement and the inability to express natural behaviors', as well as ensuring the five freedoms for non-human animals that are central to the animal welfare ideology, as was outlined in Chapter One (Williams 2012, pp. 30, 32).

These results correspond with those reported in Chapter Four, where it was established that PETA's emails were not significantly different in focus to HSUS. This chapter will seek to build on the previous chapter, as well as the work of Williams and Freeman, by investigating the framing of human/non-human relations in the context of mainstream media sources, rather than the campaigning materials of AAOs. The focus on the significant issue of live animal exports will also add to the existing literature in the broader area of framing and animal advocacy.

Kruse (2001, p. 68) explains that 'framing defines the boundaries of the debate by placing the question within a certain sphere of meaning'. Presentation of a wide range of frames allows the public to gain a greater understanding of an issue and make more informed evaluations of political action (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 216). Such a representation, consistent with an ideal public sphere, rarely occurs in the mainstream media because of the reliance on "official" sources such as politicians from major parties and industry leaders, which tends to mean that controversial and radical views that challenge the status quo are excluded from the debate (Kruse 2001, p. 69).

The media generally excludes views opposed to the dominant ideology of animal welfare, which confines debate to the best way of implementing improvements in the treatment of animals. Without counter content, this approach can appear to be "common sense" (Parenti 1993, p. 203; King and deYoung 2008, p. 123). This certainly seems to be the case: it was previously noted in Chapter One that animal welfare has been labelled 'the status quo position' (White 2009, p. 97) – it is accepted by most people in Western countries (Francione 1996, p. 1; Garner 2006b, p. 161; Sankoff 2009, p. 9). Attitudes to live animal export are a good example of this. A 2012 survey found that 69 per cent of Australians believe 'that the live export trade should be ended' (WSPA 2012,

online), while only a very small proportion extend this opposition to other forms of animal slaughter through veganism (The Vegetarian/Vegan Society of Queensland 2010, pp. 3-4).

Framing does not develop in a political vacuum, but rather is shaped by the power relations between multiple social actors. Influencing the framing process requires economic and cultural resources, which is why framing contests routinely favour political elites, who are best equipped with such resources (Carragee and Roefs 2004, pp. 215-220, 224-228). In the context of animal advocacy, there are two dominant groups with the economic and cultural resources to dominate the frames presented when the issue of animal suffering is raised in the media. These two groups are industries involved in the exploitation of other animals and the larger AAOs.

Animal industries are very profitable, with over AU\$15 billion made from animal products produced in Australia alone from 2006 to 2007. This is more than was made from all crops produced in Australia combined for this same period (Australian Pork 2008, p. 40). The dairy industry alone made over nine billion Australian dollars from the sale of dairy products from 2008 to 2009 and is Australia's third largest rural industry (Dairy Australia 2009, online). While the economic power of these industries is unsurprising, many AAOs around the world also have sizeable financial resources:

'Some groups have over 100,000 members and operate with multimillion-dollar annual budgets. The nineteen major organizations [in Europe and the United States], each with more than \$500,000 in total revenue, had total membership or contributors of more than 3 000 000 and total revenues of \$243.6 million...' (Guither 1998, p. 35).

This wealth is particularly pronounced in American AAOs like PETA and HSUS (Economic Research Institute 2009, online; Home Box Office 2009, online; HSUS 2007, online; PETA 2009a, online). In Australia, the animal welfare organisation RSPCA has many paid staff, receives government funding and has over ten corporate supporters (RSPCA 2012b, online; 2012a, online). As was outlined in Chapter Four, Animals Australia, a mainly animal welfare-oriented organisation, has 10 paid staff, receives a small amount of government funding (Oogjes 2010, interview) and has an office in central Melbourne. Although relatively small compared to organisations such as HSUS, PETA and the RSPCA,

Animals Australia is considerably larger than other Australian AAOs focused on promoting animal rights vegan activism. Examples of organisations that exhibit this approach include ALV and the Vegan Society of New South Wales, which are both run by volunteers (Vegan Society NSW 2011a, online; Mark 2010, interview).

Resources are critical to mounting a challenge to dominant frames and presenting an organisation's interpretation of reality (McLaughlin and Khawaja 2000, p. 425). Larger and more professional organisations are likely to have a more significant political presence, as well as greater resources and ability to contact the media and get their message out to the public (Singer 2012, interview; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 812; Kruse 2001, p. 68). Smaller AAOs such as the ones mentioned above are likely to find it difficult to influence frames presented in the mainstream media. Their chances of getting media attention is further limited by the more radical, counter-hegemonic vegan message these organisations promulgate (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 3), which is generally viewed as less legitimate than the 'moderate and respectable' animal welfare message of the larger organisations (Francione 1996, p. 163). In summary, while a welfarist message is more associated with larger organisations, animal rights vegan activism tends to rely more on small, local organisations and individual online activism (Francione 1996, p. 5).

Media Framing of the Live Animal Export Crisis

Research Method

It is important to focus on framing in order to gain a greater understanding of social movements such as the AAM (Munro 2012, pp. 168-169). William Gamson (2004, pp. 245, 247) explains that: 'Today, we recognize contests over meaning as framing contests' and that 'competition among frames within a movement about which one should be promoted and emphasized is one major component of a frame-critical analysis of movements'. The contests between welfare and rights advocates over how people interpret our relationship with other animals and the actions they should take as a result of these understandings is a clear example of a contest over meaning.

By assessing the ideological nature of media content and paying more attention to 'what is being said and how it is said' (Rajagopal 1991, p. xi in Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 222), theorists can begin to evaluate which frames dominate particular news stories and why. Using real-life examples, as is done in this analysis, avoids alleged shortcomings of media hegemony research, such as 'its broad claims, its overly theoretical character, and its failure to successfully operationalise the concept'

(Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 222). The hegemony of the animal welfare frame was tested by content analysis of media coverage in Australia in response to the ABC's May 2011 television program 'A Bloody Business', and its revelations about the appalling conditions for cows exported from Australia to Indonesian slaughterhouses.

There are two reasons why the framing of the program, 'A Bloody Business', was chosen for the first part of the analysis. Firstly, it was the catalyst that thrust the live export issue into the national spotlight and the story "set the tone" for future coverage. Secondly, it was very influential, receiving an overwhelming reaction from the Australian public. A good demonstration of this was illustrated by feedback on social media. On *Twitter*, the hashtags #4corners and #banliveexport 'exploded' just a few minutes after the show started (Christensen 2011, p. 31). In fact, 'the hashtag #4corners was moving so fast it was difficult to track specific comments in real-time; the discussion stream was bombarded with opinion tweets conveying shock and disgust, and uniquely, the sentiment was almost 100 per cent negative' (Textor 2011, p. 17). Due to the widespread public revulsion and outrage after the airing of the episode, the animal welfare organisation RSPCA Australia and the progressive political advocacy organisation GetUp! managed to gather 65 000 signatures for their online petition in just 24 hours, and 220 000 within a week after the episode (Christensen 2011, p. 31).

The newspaper coverage of the issues raised by the program made up the second part of the analysis. The analysis assessed the extent to which coverage was consistent or otherwise with the framing applied in the 'A Bloody Business' episode. Newspapers have been chosen partly due to their agenda setting role, which is created through the influence they exert over other media, such as talkback radio (Manne 2005, cited in Bolton 2006, online). Multiple newspapers have been chosen to account for any differences in coverage between various mainstream media (JingJing 2006, p. 5). The two major media companies in Australia are News Limited and Fairfax. One paper was chosen from each of these companies to include content from both of these significant companies and account for any differences in the perspectives they provide.

The *Australian* has been chosen partly because it is a nation-wide newspaper with influence across the country. Another reason is that it is the News Limited paper with the highest readership amongst the wealthiest 1 per cent of Australians. This cohort comprises the 'most senior Executives and Directors' of Australian companies who are 'crucial to the success of newspapers' because they exert

enormous power and influence (Roy Morgan Research 2006, p. 1). The *Sydney Morning Herald*, owned by the Fairfax group, is mainly aimed at the state of New South Wales. It has the highest readership amongst the wealthiest 1 per cent of Australians of the state-based newspapers in Australia (Roy Morgan Research 2006, p. 1).²³ Content from this paper has further reach, as much of it is replicated in the Victorian newspaper, the *Age*.

The third newspaper examined was the *West Australian*, which represents a category of state-based newspaper not owned by either of the major companies. This newspaper has also been chosen because, while the live export issue is important nation-wide, it is particularly contentious in Western Australia, as many live export ships leave from Fremantle (O'Sullivan 2011, online), where cattle trucks heading to port and the ships themselves are highly visible. The mayor of Fremantle, Brad Pettitt, has pushed for live export to be banned and there have been numerous rallies opposing live export in Fremantle (Gardiner 2010, online; Pucar and Leitch 2012, online; Love 2011, online).

The coverage from these newspapers was obtained through searching the *Factiva* news database for the terms 'live export', which was restricted to the chosen time period and the above newspapers only. The time period analysed was from 1 June 2011 (the day after 'A Bloody Business') until 7 June. The analysis ended on this date because the Australian government suspended live export to Indonesia on 8 June, which changed the discourse from a focus on the suffering of animals to the negative economic impacts of the government's decision on farmers. From this search, all of the articles for the three relevant newspapers were accessed. Statistics on how the articles fitted into frames were collated, together with an analysis of the coverage and explanations for the placement of the articles into certain frames (Goot 2008, p. 107). For both the newspapers and the television program, 'A Bloody Business', the composition of experts sought out for opinion was analysed. The choice of experts is important as it affects the range of frames presented, as was noted earlier, and it also influences which voices the public perceive as legitimate and which ones are not (Gamson 2004, p. 251).

All media coverage, within the parameters of the study, was analysed to identify which frame they matched. The three frames chosen on the issue of animal slaughter were:

1. *Animal welfare*, which involves framing the problem as the animals being slaughtered in the "wrong way", with the solution being to improve the way this is done. The idea of humane slaughter is accepted and promoted.

2. *Animal rights*, which involves challenging the idea of humane slaughter or proposing that other animals should not be slaughtered at all, rather than being slaughtered more humanely.
3. *Neither*, where the concept of humane slaughter is neither challenged nor accepted.

Four Corners Episode – A Bloody Business

This episode was a clear example of the hegemony of animal welfare, with a variety of different views expressed, but all firmly within the limits of the animal welfare perspective. The animal rights view was not presented at all. The problem presented in this episode was *how* the cows were slaughtered, not the fact that they were slaughtered – a central tenet of the animal welfare perspective (Francione 2010a, p. 24). For example, in one voiceover in the episode, journalist Sarah Ferguson says: ‘Despite all the Australian training at Gondrong, many animals were still alive minutes after the throat [was] cut. According to international rules on slaughter, they should be dead within 30 seconds’ (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). Another reason that this quote falls within the animal welfare frame is that it refers to animal welfare laws governing slaughter.

The guests drawn on throughout this episode further reinforced the animal welfare frame presented by the journalists. Although there was disagreement between the animal advocates and industry spokespeople interviewed about whether live export should continue, the validity of the concepts of humane slaughter and animal welfare were accepted by both sides. In order to conform to the dominant interpretation of objectivity, which involves providing “both sides of the story”, there is a tendency for media outlets ‘to reduce controversy to two competing positions’ (Gamson 1988, p. 169, cited in Kruse 2001, p. 69). In the context of animal welfare and rights framing, presenting the views of animal welfare advocates and industry spokespeople can mean the issue is framed in a narrow manner.

Some quotes from industry spokespeople and animal advocates were virtually indistinguishable. For example, Luke Bowen from the Northern Territory Cattleman’s Association stated: ‘We in Australia expect that *animals should be slaughtered* quickly and speed and efficiency is what it’s about’ (my italics) (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). The “alternative” perspective from animal advocates is mainly presented by the animal welfare organisation Animals Australia, with their Communications Director Lyn White arguing that: ‘*We should be killing the animals* here under

Australian conditions, under our control, and then they should only be shipped as meat products, not live animals' (my italics) (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). While there was debate over *how* and *where* the animals should be slaughtered, the slaughter of other animals was accepted by all parties.

Another area of agreement between all parties was that killing a non-human animal did not impose harm or suffering in itself. This idea that other animals have an interest in avoiding pain, but not in continued life, has been central to the animal welfare perspective, both historically and currently (Francione 2009b, pp. 3-7). Ferguson states: 'You say we've got to have patience but why should the animals suffer while we help Indonesia get its act together on stunning?' (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). Such a statement implies that other animals do not suffer as a result of having their life ended, as long as they are slaughtered in a certain way. From an industry point of view, Ken Warriner, Chairman and CEO of Consolidated Pastoral Company, spoke of treating animals kindly and not tolerating cruelty to animals (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online), however, he did not see slaughtering them as breaching these principles. Similarly, Dr Bidda Jones, Chief Scientist of RSPCA Australia, was concerned that slaughter was not being carried out with enough 'skill' or with sharp enough knives (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online), but just like industry representatives, she did not see slaughter itself as imposing a harm.

Finally, all parties agreed not only that humane slaughter existed, but that stunning ensured it. Ferguson explained that: 'Some of the cattle shipped to Indonesia will die humanely, stunned before slaughter in conditions similar to those in Australia. Most will not' (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). Stunning is the RSPCA's (2011d, online) requirement for humane slaughter and the industry representatives accepted this as the ideal process. Warriner stated: 'Our mentality is we've got to get these ... stunning guns in soon as we can' and Rohan Sullivan, President of the Northern Territory Cattleman's Association argued that: 'We need to be moving towards stunning...as our ultimate goal' (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). The RSPCA was not the only AAO which equated stunning with humane slaughter. White, from Animals Australia, also promoted this idea, stating: 'Even if mark one was humane, even if there was stunning there, workers could still have chosen to do what they were doing in that facility and kill animals in a different way out the back' (cited in Ferguson and Doyle 2011, online). When it came to the key tenets of the animal welfare perspective, particularly humane slaughter, all views presented in this episode fitted comfortably within this

frame. Aspects of slaughter were challenged, such as *how* and *where* it was carried out, but the idea of slaughtering animals for food itself was not challenged at all – the animal rights frame was not presented.

Newspaper Coverage

Table 5.1 Frames of the Newspaper Coverage

Number of Articles for Each Frame				
Newspapers	Animal Welfare	Animal Rights	Neither	Total
The Australian	8	0	1	9
Sydney Morning Herald	6	0	0	6
The West Australian	3	0	0	3
Total	17	0	1	18

In the mainstream media coverage of the live export issue after the *Four Corners* episode, the hegemony of the animal welfare perspective was just as clear. All but one of the 18 articles clearly presented the animal welfare frame. This one article that did not fit the norm was about social media in the campaign against live export. While it did not promote animal welfare, it also neither presented a rights-based view nor challenged the animal welfare frame (Christensen 2011, p. 31). The rest of the articles accepted and promoted concepts such as humane slaughter in Australia, the idea that slaughter is potentially but not inherently problematic, and seeking solutions that attempted to improve rather than abolish slaughter.

The idea of animal welfare laws ensuring humane slaughter in Australia was unchallenged. Two articles referred to Australia’s high standards in animal welfare (Lawson 2011, p. 48; Rickard and Loney 2011, p. 5); another quoted cattleman John Wharton as saying: ‘It is not the way we do things in this country’ (cited in McKenna and Shanahan 2011, p. 2); and another quoted independent politicians Nick Xenophon and Andrew Wilkie: ‘if abattoir workers in Australia treated beasts in such a fashion, they would be in jail’ (cited in Coorey 2011b, p. 1). Similarly, one article included a quote from RSPCA’s chief scientist, Dr Bidda Jones, who pointed to ‘substandard practices which would be

illegal under Australian laws' and this article also quoted Dr Barry Smyth, President of the Australian Veterinary Association as saying: 'The live export of all cattle to Indonesia should be suspended until the same animal welfare standards as Australia's can be assured' (cited in Burke 2011, p. 5). The slaughter of other animals for food in Australia was generally framed as being totally unproblematic. Not only this, but it was generally lauded as being carried out according to high standards that punished any wrongdoing, and was portrayed as the ideal to which other "less developed" countries should aspire. The underlying racism in the live export campaign is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The article 'Economics Overrides Ethics when it comes to Animal Husbandry' by Brian Sherman and AnneMarie Jonson from the animal law think tank Voiceless, represented the only deviation from this theme. This article linked concerns about the animal export trade to the situation for other animals in Australia, which was certainly problematised. In the article it was claimed that: 'Hundreds of millions of animals on our own doorstep live lives of misery and deprivation...'. However, the addition of 'on factory farms' exemplified the animal welfare tone of the article (Sherman and Jonson 2011, p. 14). It focused on the *intensive* confinement of battery hens, hens raised for their flesh and pigs raised in sow crates. Directly after referring to the confinement of battery hens, Sherman and Jonson point out that: 'Once spent, she is killed. Her male chicks, surplus to requirements, are killed by maceration: that is, placed alive in a grinding machine' (Sherman and Jonson 2011, p. 14). While this is standard practice in all commercial egg production, including free-range, organic or humane (RSPCA 2010b, online; LaVeck and Stein 2012, online; Peaceful Prairie Sanctuary 2012, online), this point was only made in relation to chickens raised intensively. The raising and slaughtering of other animals for food as a general concept, and alternatives to factory farming like free-range farming practices, were not problematised.

The article also provided some challenge to the idea of humane slaughter in Australia. The authors explained that:

Australian standards for domestic halal slaughter require stunning. However, it has been reported that several large slaughterhouses have allowed slaughter without stunning... [and] Given the nature of the

industry, it is highly likely that there exist other Australian slaughterhouses practising ritual slaughter without stunning (Sherman and Jonson 2011, p. 14).

While this article moved away from an uncritical acceptance that slaughter is humane in Australia, it did not depart from the dominant idea that stunning ensures humane slaughter. This idea was reinforced very clearly, when Sherman and Jonson spoke of the likelihood of ‘introducing humane slaughter methods based on stunning into Indonesian abattoirs’ (Sherman and Jonson 2011, p. 14). Rather than challenging the core concepts of animal welfare, such as beliefs that stunning ensures humane slaughter and the importance of the welfare requirement of providing adequate space for non-human animals raised and slaughtered for food, this article actually reinforced them – it just challenged cases in Australia where these standards were not met.

The idea that the footage shown on *Four Corners* was a case of a few “bad apples” in an otherwise unproblematic industry was also argued from all sides of this discussion. Wharton spoke of ‘a few dodgy abattoirs’ (cited in McKenna and Shanahan 2011, p. 2). Kooline Station manager Peter Stammers argued that the ‘brutal treatment shown in graphic footage was not common’ and he blamed it on ‘the poor behaviour of a few overseas slaughterhouses’ (cited in Rickard 2011, p. 5). The Nationals leader, Warren Truss, said ‘cattle growers were just as horrified as the general public’ (cited in Coorey 2011b, p. 1). Jubilee Downs station manager Keith Anderson said ‘the footage was disturbing and the brutal treatment shown was not something he wanted his cattle to go through’ (Rickard and Loney 2011, p. 5). WA Farmers Federation president Mike Norton said he ‘supported a ban on facilities which undertook cruel treatment’ (cited in Rickard and Loney 2011, p. 5) and Heytesbury Cattle Company chief executive Paul Holmes a Court ‘praised the Federal Government for cutting out abattoirs found to be killing Australian cattle inhumanely, which he believed were a minority’ (Rickard and Loney 2011, p. 5). The animal welfare view that slaughter is potentially, but not inherently, problematic was also promoted by animal advocates. Just like in ‘A Bloody Business’, White did not challenge the idea of humane slaughter, stating: ‘Anywhere, *except for the four facilities that are using stunning procedures*, animals are going to be brutalised’ (my italics) (cited in Schliebs 2011, p. 8).

Not only were the problems framed in terms of animal welfare, but so were the solutions. Wharton suggested 'Australia increase aid and education programs to Indonesia on animal treatment' (cited in McKenna and Shanahan 2011, p. 2). Wilkie argued 'money should be invested in building abattoirs in northern Australia to do the slaughtering and create local jobs' (cited in Coorey 2011b, p. 1). Truss 'advocated redirecting foreign aid to Indonesia to clean up the slaughterhouses' (cited in Coorey 2011b, p. 1). One of Australia's biggest live export companies, Wellard, supported 'an increase in animal market handling education in Indonesia' (cited in Rickard and Loney 2011, p. 5). Holmes a Court said 'all slaughterhouses should use stun guns' (cited in Rickard and Loney 2011, p. 5). Smyth maintained that 'pre-slaughter stunning must be mandatory and the appropriate use of restraining boxes...[must be] enforced' (cited in Burke 2011, p. 5). West Australian Premier Colin Barnett urged 'a progressive transformation of the industry that could include exporting chilled carcasses or semi-processed meat' (cited in Rickard 2011, p. 5). Pollster Mark Textor (2011, p. 17) stated that 'Australia should export live cattle only to the 10 or so abattoirs in Indonesia which use stun guns prior to slaughter' and the Australian cattle industry contended that the number of Indonesian abattoirs that slaughter Australian cattle should be reduced from over 100 to just '25 abattoirs which meet acceptable standards' (cited in Coorey 2011a, p. 5). While the solutions varied, they all focused on seeking to improve (rather than abolish) slaughter, either by reforming slaughter methods in Indonesia or moving slaughter to Australia.

There were many different groups represented in the newspaper coverage of the live export issue in the week following the controversial *Four Corners* episode including journalists, politicians, animal advocates, animal farming industry representatives and veterinarians. Although the coverage drew on many different groups, the perspectives provided were very narrow, with all voices firmly within the dominant animal welfare frame. Even AAOs like Animals Australia clearly fell into this category, although it sometimes presents arguments closer to a rights-based position on other issues, such as encouraging people to choose dairy-free alternatives rather than more humane dairy products (Animals Australia 2011f, online).

The Animal Rights Frame

It is necessary to look elsewhere than the mainstream media to get any significant coverage from an animal rights perspective. Animal rights advocate, Gary Francione, expressed forthright views on the

issue in which he drew attention to the neglect of the animal rights perspective and the implicitly racist tone of some of the Australian commentary using the welfare frame:

Yesterday the Australian government announced they were lifting the ban on live export. I've been asked about it and I said my response is: If I'm going to kill you, should I slit your throat here or drag you over glass then slit your throat there? It's not particularly difficult to answer, I guess I should do it here, but that doesn't answer the question about whether I should do it in the first place. It was racist, calling Muslims barbaric. Then there is this idea that Australia is civilised, reinforcing the idea that there is a right way to slaughter animals. The Australian animal community lost an important opportunity [to promote animal rights and veganism] (Francione 2011b, interview).

Smaller Australian AAOs such as the Vegan Society of New South Wales and ALV provided an alternative, rights-based perspective, calling for veganism rather than chilled meat as the solution to the slaughter shown on *Four Corners*. The Vegan Society of New South Wales argued that one of the proposed solutions, that is, exporting chilled meat from Australia to Indonesia, 'does not go nearly far enough' and that for anyone concerned with the plight of other animals, the solution is to 'just stop eating or using them and call for others to do the same' (Vegan Society NSW 2011b, online).

Similarly, ALV argued: 'Believing that humane killing exists in any abattoir is effectively turning our backs on an unjust reality in order to preserve a way of life we have been conditioned to see as acceptable' (ALV 2011a, online). It also hoped that having the spotlight of the country being placed on this issue would 'force all Australians to question the practice of killing animals for industry and personal greed. Not just how, but why?' (ALV 2011a, online). At a live export protest in Melbourne, many large ALV vegan banners were visible (ALV 2011a, online). While the welfare frame dominated the mainstream media discourse on the issue, there were clearly other ways in which to understand and interpret the footage from Indonesian slaughterhouses. Voices outside of this frame certainly existed, and were promoted online (see, for example, ALV 2011a, online; Vegan Society NSW 2011b,

online), however, the rights frame was missing from 'A Bloody Business' and the subsequent newspaper coverage.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the hegemony of animal welfare in the mainstream media coverage of human/non-human relations. Some of the reasons why the animal rights frame tends to be neglected in the media have been explored. These ideas were tested through content analysis of the media coverage of live animal export in Australia. The presentation of the ABC *Four Corners* current affairs television program 'A Bloody Business' and the subsequent newspaper coverage of the issue were closely considered. This study found that the animal welfare perspective dominated commentary across a variety of media outlets.

While many different voices were heard in the rush to comment on the issue, the animal rights frame was not present in either 'A Bloody Business' or the newspaper coverage. The animal welfare frame on the live export issue was represented by industry spokespeople and animal advocates alike. There were debates and disagreements, but all within the confines of the animal welfare frame – this limited debate is consistent with the maintenance of hegemony (Artz and Murphy 2000, p. 254). The frame promoting the idea that the Indonesian slaughter shown on 'A Bloody Business' was being carried out in the "wrong" way is just one viewpoint from which to understand the issue.

The alternative animal rights frame, presented by some smaller AAOs, expounding the horrors of all animal slaughter and exploitation was ignored in the mainstream media coverage. These organisations did not have the finances or perceived legitimacy to be able to contest the dominant animal welfare frame in the mainstream media. However, the animal rights-based message was aired in the public sphere through the Internet. This is an important tool for small AAOs with a limited resource base to challenge the hegemony of the animal welfare frame. Alternative methods that they use to get their messages out will be explored in Chapter Six.

By providing the animal welfare perspective and ignoring the animal rights frame, mainstream media does not enable the public to get a good appreciation of the broader issues involved in human/non-

human relations. Adding animal rights perspectives would move the media away from a narrow, hegemonic portrayal of these issues that excludes 'alternative visions and discourses' (Scott and Marshall 2005, online) and towards a type of coverage that would more closely match the concept of the ideal public sphere (Schiller 1989, p. 53). On the issue of human/non-human relations, or any other political issue, in a healthy democracy it is important that people are given a wide range of perspectives. This allows people to gain a greater understanding of issues and make more informed evaluations and choices (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 216).

Chapter Six: Veganism Enters the Mainstream

There has been a huge change regarding veganism. When *Animal Liberation* first appeared [in 1975], you couldn't use the word 'vegan' without an explanation. The Vegan Society in Britain had only 300 members. There was a US vegan group that was small. There has been an enormous difference, an interesting difference. I was surprised – if you had asked me in 1975, I would have said I think vegetarianism would spread, and it would have been at a higher level in the public than now. I would have been surprised veganism caught on to the extent that it has (Singer 2012, interview).

Introduction

Aspects of veganism have been explored in previous chapters.²⁴ In Chapter One, veganism was established as a central concept in this thesis, which is consistent with the Critical Animal Studies approach adopted. This chapter also outlined some of the origins of veganism. Initially, the term referred to a diet free of animal products but by the 1950s it had come to encompass a broader philosophy and lifestyle that rejected all forms of animal exploitation and slaughter. Both meanings are still often used and confusion over the use of the term still prevails in the media and within the AAM. Nonetheless, veganism as a term and concept is increasingly evident in mainstream media and in public consciousness. This chapter will examine the growth of veganism in the Western world, with particular reference to the situation in Australia and the United States.

While earlier chapters showed that veganism has not been prioritised in the campaigns of large AAOs, there have been an increasing numbers of articles in mainstream publications promoting animal rights and veganism. This is assisting in spreading awareness of veganism and providing a much more viable environment for vegan advocacy (Sneijder and Molder 2009, pp. 626, 628; Munro 2012, pp. 169, 173). These developments have been reinforced by a growing awareness of the environmental consequences of consuming animal products. Major reports by respected agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (Steinfeld et al. 2006, p. 20) and the Worldwatch Institute, have warned about the enormous contribution that animal agriculture makes to worldwide greenhouse gas emissions (Goodland and Anhang 2009, online).

Famous individuals, particularly those who do not fit any “vegan stereotype”, have helped to normalise and mainstream the concept of veganism (Sneijder and Molder 2009, pp. 626, 628; Munro 2012, pp. 169, 173). Many celebrities have used their high profile to generate mainstream media coverage of their message and subsequently raise the public’s consciousness of the health benefits. Former United States President Bill Clinton’s improvement in health since moving away from a diet high in animal products has been particularly widely publicised (see, for example, O’Connor 2011, online; Hellmich 2011, online; Brown 2011, online; Shah 2011, online; ABC 2011, online). Best-selling books and documentaries like *The Kind Diet*, *The China Study*, *Forks Over Knives* and *Skinny Bitch*, which all explain and promote the health benefits of the vegan diet, have further increased awareness.

Snow (2004, p. 383) explains that social movements are ‘embroiled in conflict over competing claims about aspects of reality’. An important sociological concept in understanding social movements and social change is “claims-making”. ‘Claims makers are people who articulate and promote claims’ and their cause is benefited ‘in some way if the targeted audience accepts their claims as true’ (Ferrante 2011, p. 167). Individuals and organisations encouraging people to become vegans are examples of claims makers. Carrie Freeman (2013, pp. 94, 109) notes that common claims made by vegan advocates are that becoming vegan has benefits in terms of assisting non-human animals, the environment and human health (see, for example, ALV 2012d, online; PETA 2011f, online).

Attracting media attention for such claims is important to successful claims-making (Ferrante 2011, p. 169). Vegan advocates are now having more success in getting their claims heard, partly due to mainstream media being more receptive to the vegan message. This success has been strengthened by claims about animal rights, environmental and health benefits of veganism emanating from sources outside the AAM. Endorsement of claims commonly made by animal advocates from highly regarded institutions, like the United Nations, have helped to increase the perceived legitimacy of these claims (Williams 2012, pp. 9-10).

This chapter will explore some articles and stories which have appeared in mainstream programs and the publications of media heavyweights like the *BBC*, the *Guardian*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *New York Times*. Articles in these publications have been chosen due to their large reach, which extends well beyond animal advocates to a much more general audience (Boyd-Barrett 2006, pp. 205-207). The fact that they are being included is significant: it demonstrates a belief within mainstream media that audiences have sufficient familiarity and interest in veganism to engage with

the subject. Due to time and space constraints, media rarely present material with which their audience is unfamiliar (Flew 2008, p. 11).

While veganism is increasingly entering the mainstream media and consciousness, it has been mainly the dietary aspect of veganism rather than the broader philosophy and lifestyle that has attracted the most attention (Hill 2011, online). This is because it is particularly the health and environmental arguments that have attracted the most attention. Adopting a vegan diet for these reasons does not involve an embracing of animal rights ideology or a rejection of speciesism (Waters 2014, online).

Vegans in the United States and Australia

Elizabeth DeCoux (2009, pp. 18, 25-27), Associate Professor of Law at Florida Coastal School of Law in the United States, argues that if the empirical data is explored, it is clear that the percentage of the population in the United States who are vegans is not increasing, and may actually be decreasing. Her conclusion draws on a variety of surveys in the United States between 1997 and 2009 commissioned by vegetarian organisations or publications and a *Time* magazine poll in 2002. The poll in *Time* showed the lowest proportion of vegans in America as compared to the other surveys (0.2 per cent). DeCoux maintains that this is likely to be the most accurate, as it had the largest sample size and was not commissioned by pro-vegetarian sources. The highest figure cited was 1.8 per cent in 2003 and the most recent survey she drew on (from 2009) put the figure at only 0.8 per cent. All the polls involved around 10 000 respondents or less. The very limited sample makes it difficult to make strong conclusions about trends or proportions of vegans in the population, but they do show that numbers were clearly very small. More recent surveys do show results of two to three per cent, however, once again, the small sample sizes make it difficult to draw reliable conclusions (Stahler 2012, online; Newport 2012, online).²⁵

Unfortunately, there is very little data available on the number of vegans in Australia (Lawson 2008, online; Vegan Society NSW 2012, online). More research would be valuable. In a 2009 Australian survey conducted by Newspoll for the Vegan/Vegetarian Society of Queensland, 1 per cent of respondents claimed to be vegan. However, once these people were questioned about what they ate, most ate animal products, at least some of the time. In fact, only one of the 1 202 people surveyed was actually vegan – meaning that the proportion of vegans was only 0.06 per cent (The Vegetarian/Vegan Society of Queensland 2010, pp. 3-4). These Australian examples highlight the

difficulties of getting accurate information from survey respondents about dietary preferences. At the time of writing, the Vegan Society New South Wales (2012, online) plans to 'commission a poll to determine [the] number of vegans in Australia and number of people who consume vegan meals'. This is likely to provide more substantial Australian information.

While at present there is little reliable data to make conclusions about the number of vegans in Australia and the United States, this chapter will demonstrate that there is a growing awareness of, and interest in, veganism in both countries and beyond. Munro (2012, p. 169) proposes that the 'normalization of previously exotic issues' is crucial to the success of social movements. Petra Sneijder and Hedwig te Molder (2009, pp. 626, 628) analyse the ways in which vegan advocates commonly use the Internet to participate in normalising 'vegan food choice and practices' in order to 'construct and protect veganism as an ideology'. Carol Glasser (2011a, p. 192) pointed to some success being achieved through such advocacy when she noted that 'there is clearly a cultural and corporate recognition that refusing to use animals for their flesh, skins, or excretions is a legitimate perspective'.

Veganism and Animal Rights Online and into the Mainstream

While veganism has been discussed and promoted through alternative media sources for some time, it is now being increasingly taken up by more mainstream sources as well. Analysing alternative and mainstream media in the form of opposing binaries and totally isolated entities is problematic. For example, there is a crossover of journalists, ideas, content, and style between these two supposedly oppositional media forms (Harcup 2005, cited in Bolton 2006, online). It is clear, however, that in recent times the vegan message has gone from being promoted on sources that score highly as far as Boyd-Barrett's (2006, pp. 206-207) criteria for alternative media, to sources that fit many of the characteristics he identifies for mainstream media.

Alternative media sources are those that are more likely than mainstream media to: originate from small, ideologically committed groups; have cheap and accessible distribution; rely on funding from users; exhibit non-commercial behaviour; contain a diversity of sources and perspectives; be politically oppositional; promote activism; and present ideologies not well represented in the mainstream media (Boyd-Barrett 2006, pp. 206-207). Websites from individual vegan advocates or organisations promoting veganism meet many of these criteria.

As was discussed in Chapter Five, activists promoting veganism have used the Internet to create blogs, podcasts, and websites where they can present their views, which are often excluded in the mainstream media. The Internet is decentralised in comparison to other forms of media: it has put media tools in the hands of “ordinary people”. New media practices and forms, new ways of consuming and using media, and alternative spaces for a variety of communities and interests not well catered for or represented in traditional media forms are emerging (Goggin 2006, pp. 259-276; Petray 2011, pp. 924-925).

The Internet has created the opportunity for arguments promoting veganism to be supported in detail through books, slideshows, documentaries, articles and podcasts. This development has enabled veganism and animal rights to be explained without being reliant on traditional media, with its time and space constraints. McLaughlin and Khawaja (2000, p. 425) argue that resources are required to promote a social movement’s frame, however, the media landscape is in a rapid period of change and the animal rights frame is being promoted very cheaply online.

Not only are such sources presented without reliance on a large resource base, but they can, and in some cases do, reach a large audience. An example is the popular *Vegan Freak Radio* podcast by sociologist Bob Torres and foreign language specialist Jenna Torres. It was able to attract 70 000 listeners per month in 2007 and was regularly one of the most voted for podcasts on any topic on the site *Podcast Alley* (Torres and Torres 2007, online). This site provides a ranking of a wide range of podcasts, including some focused on much more “mainstream” topics. Through the Internet, animal rights advocates have been able to increasingly challenge the hegemony of the animal welfare ideology, which was described in Chapter Five (Wrenn 2012, p. 451).

The arrival of the Internet has not led to a totally “level playing field” between large media companies and “ordinary citizens” (Hill & Hughes, cited in Goot 2008, p. 99). Mainstream media companies have the capital to create original news, while those looking to create more radical, alternative media are rarely well resourced. Original news is expensive to gather and produce, which is why alternative sites are often forced to rely on the better-resourced mainstream media for most of their information (Boyd-Barrett 2006, p. 205). This means that the Internet has not necessarily led

to changes in traditional news-gathering practices (Bolton 2006, online). The lack of diversity of sources and perspectives presented by many alternative websites, due to reliance on mainstream sources, may even further consolidate mainstream power (Boyd-Barrett 2006, p. 207). Those members of the public actually seeking alternative information are often accessing online content originating from mainstream sources.

Boyd-Barrett (2006, p. 205) is aware of this significant constraint, but is still optimistic about the Internet's ability to be used to challenge hegemony in the media. He believes that many alternative websites can provide new, original and critical information, as well as oppose hegemonic institutions and ideologies. This is being achieved by reframing stories from the mainstream media to support alternative positions and ideologies. Reframing involves placing the original article, often from a mainstream source, into a new context. The article can be accompanied by an added introduction or discussion, be positioned with other texts or links that were not in the story's original environment, and be read with a far greater knowledge of the subject (due to the high volume of information that is typical of these sites).

These techniques are being used by animal rights vegan activists. For example, on the podcast *Vegan Freak Radio*, the hosts regularly referred to stories initiating from more mainstream sources such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* and *The New York Times*. These were reframed and used to criticise the inadequacies that they saw in the promotion of an animal welfare perspective. The stories were presented and juxtaposed with alternative views advocating veganism (see for example Torres and Torres 2008c, online; 2008a, online).

Another significant source of information for advocates and others interested in veganism is Francione's website *Animal Rights: The Abolitionist Approach*. He similarly takes stories from mainstream media and uses these stories as an opportunity to critique the welfarist messages presented, while promoting animal rights and veganism as the alternative. For example, Francione reframed an Australian media story from the *Australian Broadcasting Commission's (ABC)* current affairs program *Lateline* titled 'From Farm to Fork' (Barlow 2010, online). Francione (2010b, online) criticised Singer, who was interviewed on this program, for 'once again reinforcing that animal exploitation is morally acceptable' through advocating the consumption of organic animal products and arguing that we should be eating *less* animal products. Francione contended that 'locally

produced or organic flesh/products come from animals who are tortured’ and that ‘the amount [of animal products] that we should be eating is *zero*’ (his italics) (Francione 2010b, online). Individuals who view these stories along with critiques from such websites, which also contain a large amount of further information promoting veganism, are likely to see the stories differently and perhaps be influenced to make different choices.

Francione’s site has been critical in generating rising interest in animal rights vegan activism. He explains that he gets 30 000 - 40 000 “hits” (people visiting his site) per month (Francione 2011b, interview). Irish sociologist Roger Yates (2008, online) labelled the establishment of this site in 2006 as the birth of the animal rights movement. While Yates is very aware of the use of the term “animal rights” being used for a long time before this, he believes that this site has helped create a movement of people basing their activism on animal rights theory, rather than using “rights” as a “shorthand” or “slogan” to refer to any activism done “for animals” – the popular notion of animal rights. As has been seen in earlier chapters, the vegan movement within the broader AAM cannot gain much support from large AAOs. The way the Internet has been used so successfully as an alternative is even causing some advocates to question the need for organisations at all (Francione 2011b, interview; Cherry 2010, p. 156).²⁶

Animal rights vegan activists are able to cheaply distribute their own leaflets, videos, blogs, articles, podcasts and much more using the Internet, without the assistance of organisational structures (Yates 2008, online; Wrenn 2012, p. 451). Pamphlets promoting veganism, created by individuals rather than organisations, are readily available on a range of animal rights websites. While the creation of pamphlets and other information with this message were certainly created in the past, the Internet has allowed such materials to more easily spread beyond the location they are produced and reach more people. Francione’s animal rights pamphlet is available online in 19 languages on his site (Francione 2010c, online) and it is also on the *Vegan Freak Radio* website, along with many other vegan flyers (Torres and Torres 2008d, online). These can easily be distributed online or printed by individuals and handed out. Arguments for promoting animal rights rather than animal welfare are not new; they have simply gained greater traction through the use of the Internet (Wrenn 2012, p. 451).

Before the Internet was available to promote veganism and challenge the hegemony of welfarism, large organisations had almost total control of the means to expose people both inside and outside the AAM to their views on animal advocacy. The leaders of these large organisations have had an ongoing history of supporting animal welfare (Yates 2004b, paragraph 16; Wrenn 2012, pp. 443-447) and generally only take a rights-based approach on certain forms of animal exploitation, as was seen in Chapter Four. Francione's 1996 text *Rain Without Thunder: The Ideology of the Animal Rights Movement* strongly rejected welfarist activism and made the case for an animal rights approach instead. Not surprisingly, this text was "ignored" by the large organisations, which promote books by philosophers such as Singer (PETA 2009c, online), who supports (and sometimes participates in) welfare campaigns (SATYA 2006, online).

Although the ideas of Francione and others promoting veganism have been marginalised in the past (Yates 2004b, paragraph 17), such ideas are much more frequently heard now, as large AAOs now have less dominance in influencing the views on animal advocacy that are heard (Wrenn 2012, pp. 438-439, 451). Arguments for veganism are also gaining more currency in broader society through coverage in more mainstream media. Several sources are presented to demonstrate this mainstream media interest in veganism. These sources have many characteristics that alternative media are less likely to have, including: carrying advertising; conforming to professional conventional standards in terms of job specialisation and content; and addressing members as a mass, white or middle-class collectivity (Boyd-Barrett 2006, pp. 206-207).

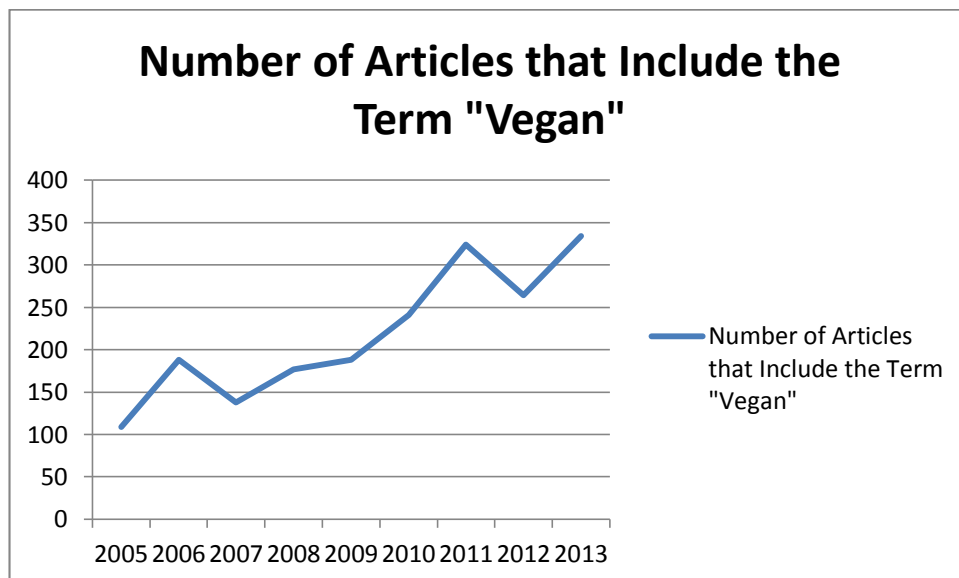
A significant example of veganism in the mainstream was provided in Chapter Three. It was described how the BBC radio documentary, *One Planet: Animals & Us*, by journalist Victor Schonfeld, investigated how the treatment of other animals had changed in the thirty years since he made *The Animals Film*. He drew the conclusion that no significant improvement had occurred. This radio program finished with Francione calling for veganism as the only option for anyone concerned about other animals (Schonfeld 2010b). While *The Animals Film* did not promote a welfare message of reforming the use of animals, it also did not have the vegan message of Schonfeld's more recent work.

Schonfeld followed up the radio program with an article on the same topic, which appeared in another mainstream source, the *Guardian*. This article, titled 'Five Fatal Flaws of Animal Activism', made an even more ardent plea for veganism than the radio documentary. He encouraged AAOs to promote 'a clear "moral baseline" that individuals should become vegans to curb their own demands for animal exploitation' (Schonfeld 2010a, online). While these ideas are not new and have been regularly made online for some time, they are beginning to appear in established high circulation media forms. These examples demonstrate that just as mainstream media can influence the content of more alternative online media, as was discussed above, alternative media can also shape mainstream coverage (Petray 2011, p. 924). The *Guardian* has over a million readers (Media Works 2009, online) and the *BBC World Service* is the most widely listened to radio program in the world, reaching an average of 188 million people per week (Blumenberg 2010, online). Schonfeld's pieces are not the only recent examples of arguments for veganism for animal rights reasons getting exposure in mainstream sources.

Freelance writer and animal rights activist Katrina Fox published the article 'Call Meat Happy, but it is Never Humane' in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. This newspaper has one of the highest circulations in Australia, with a readership of 741 000 during the week and over a million on Saturdays (Fairfax Media 2010, online). The website for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *smh.com.au*, also has over two million unique browsers per month (Ricketson 2007, online). In her article, Fox (2009, online) argued against the move towards the promotion of "humane" animal products and called for veganism as the alternative. More later published a similar piece for the *ABC* (Fox 2010, online).

Another mainstream source that has recently had content promoting veganism for animal rights reasons is the *New York Times*. It published an "Op-Ed" by Professor of Philosophy Gary Steiner, titled 'Animal, Vegetable, Miserable'. *The New York Times* newspaper reaches nearly 225 000 people (The New York Times 2009, online) and many more than this view the content of the paper online (Bianco 2005, online). In his article, Steiner identified himself as a strict ethical vegan (beyond diet) and addressed topics such as living as a vegan and the failure of "humane" animal products to lead to any significant gains for non-human animals (Steiner 2009, online).

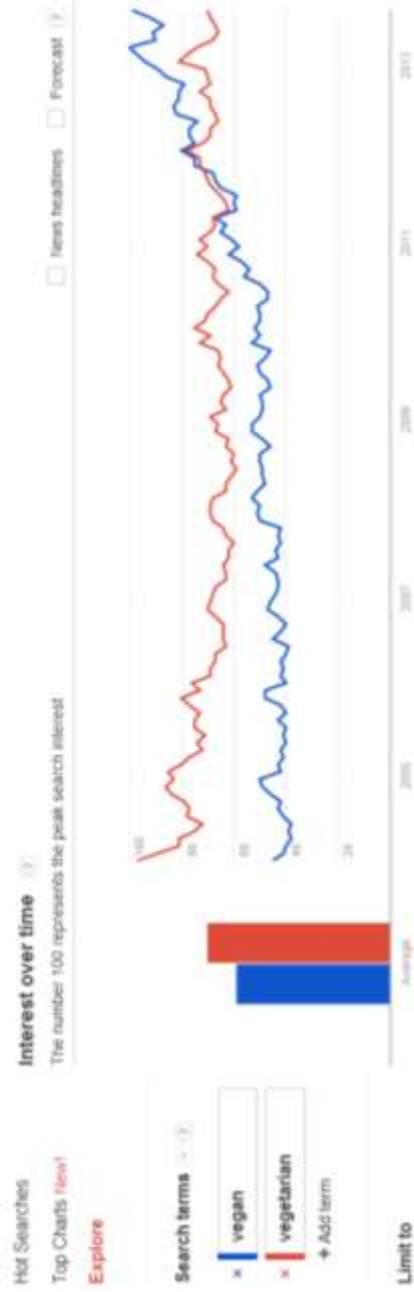
This is new territory for vegan messages: it is difficult for alternative ideas like arguments for veganism to break into mainstream media coverage. Scarcity of space (in print media) and time (in broadcast media) serve to marginalise different, new, and critical voices from the media (Flew 2008, p. 11). ‘In a three-minute stretch between commercials, or in seven hundred words, it is impossible to present unfamiliar thoughts or surprising conclusions with the argument and evidence required to afford them some credibility’ (Chomsky 1989, p. 10). Repeating familiar information that does not depart too far from dominant understandings does not face these problems (Chomsky 1989, p. 10). Such understandings are accepted as “common sense” and therefore require little or no explanation. The publication of the articles presented above indicates that the public now has sufficient familiarity with veganism for media to be more receptive to the topic. It has reached a point where it has overcome some of the problems for attracting media coverage that Chomsky defined. *Figure 6.1* below demonstrates the increasing number of times the word “vegan” is used in Australian newspapers. The data was obtained through searching the *Factiva* database for the term “vegan” in all Australian newspapers.



Source: (Factiva 2014, online)

Figure 6.1 The Growing Coverage of Veganism in Australian Newspapers

Further evidence that veganism is entering mainstream consciousness can be found from *Google* data. In 2011, for the first time ever, “vegan” was regularly getting a higher “search volume index” (number of searches) than “vegetarian”, as well as sometimes achieving a higher “news reference volume” (number of news stories) (Google 2012, online). These statistics, displayed in *Figure 6.2*, clearly demonstrate a growing number of Internet searches for “vegan” (shown in blue/the darker colour) compared to “vegetarian” (shown in red/the lighter colour) over time. As Singer’s quote at the beginning of this chapter indicated, he has been surprised at how much the popularity of veganism has increased in the last few decades.



Source: (Google 2013, online)

Figure 6.2 Google Trends on Veganism and Vegetarianism

Environmental Concerns and Veganism

Mainstream media has regularly raised the issue of links between environmental degradation and animal products in recent times. This link was highlighted in the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations report 'Livestock's Long Shadow' in 2006, which revealed that 'the livestock sector emerges as one of the top two or three most significant contributors to the most serious environmental problems, at every scale from local to global' (Steinfeld et al. 2006, p. 20). This report had a powerful impact at the time due to the prestige and legitimacy of the United Nations. One particular fact from the report that has been repeated numerous times by media outlets and AAOs alike, is that livestock are responsible for 18 per cent of worldwide greenhouse gas emissions – more than all forms of transport combined (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2006, online).

The findings of this report were highlighted by a range of AAOs. HSUS promoted them in an advertising campaign (see *Figure 6.3*) and PETA attempted to convince environmentalist Al Gore to become a vegetarian based on the results of this report (see *Figure 6.4*) (PETA 2007b, online). Both of these campaigns were covered in the article 'Trying to Connect the Dinner Plate to Climate Change,' which was published in *The New York Times* (Deutsch 2007, online).



Source: (Deutsch 2007, online)

Figure 6.3 The Humane Society Reveals an Important Fact from the Recent UN Report



Source: (Deutsch 2007, online)

Figure 6.4 PETA Encourages Gore to Become a Vegetarian

While in the past PETA has encouraged people to become vegetarians as a result of the impact meat production has on the environment (PETA Asia-Pacific 2008, online; PETA2 2008, online), it is now broadening its framing of the problem. On its *Meat's Not Green* website, it no longer focuses purely on meat production and argues that 'raising animals for food' leads to more greenhouse-gas

emissions than all forms of transport combined. This site now has a *vegan* pledge, where people pledge to try *veganism* for one week (PETA2 2011b, online). As was discussed in Chapters Three and Four, and will be covered further in Chapter Seven, veganism is not central to PETA's campaigning. However, it is significant that PETA is now framing all animal-based foods as a key factor in world environmental problems, with the solution being veganism. Incidentally, though PETA were requesting Gore become vegetarian in previous years, he has recently changed to a vegan diet, which PETA reported on (Kretzer 2013, online).

This changing discourse on the environmental impact of animal agriculture is not limited to PETA. There is a growing move amongst mainstream organisations outside of the AAM to frame the problem in a similar way to PETA. This is not totally new – even before the 2006 United Nations report, researchers from the University of Chicago explained in *New Scientist* that their research found that people could do more for the planet by changing to a *vegan* diet than replacing a standard car with an eco-friendly one (New Scientist 2005, online). The term 'vegan' is increasingly used in reference to the environmental problems of animal agriculture, as the term gains more mainstream recognition, as was demonstrated in Figures 6.1 and 6.2.

Since the 2006 United Nations report, there have been more reports that draw attention to the link between environmentalism and veganism. A report released in 2009 by the environmental organisation, the Worldwatch Institute, argued that the report from the United Nations underestimated the environmental impact of animal agriculture. It found that animal agriculture is actually responsible for at least 51 per cent of worldwide greenhouse gas emissions (Goodland and Anhang 2009, online). A further United Nations report made a very strong statement advocating 'a substantial worldwide diet change, away from animal products' and 'a global shift towards a vegan diet' as a way of reducing world 'hunger, fuel poverty and the worst impacts of climate change' (cited in Carus 2010, online). This report was highlighted in the article 'UN Urges Move to Meat and Dairy-Free Diet', which appeared in the *Guardian* (Carus 2010, online).

Although PETA mentioned the 2009 Worldwatch Institute report among a list of environmental organisations which recognise that animal agriculture is one of the most pressing environmental issues (PETA 2011e, online), neither AAOs nor mainstream media gave these later reports anywhere near the same attention as was paid to the 2006 report. The reason could lie partly with "climate

change fatigue”: the notion that over-exposure to the issue has led to the public and media losing interest in the last few years (Nordhaus and Shellenberger 2009, online). Climate change was very topical in the media around 2006 when the United Nations report was published, the same year as Al Gore’s influential documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* was released. The fact that the earlier report was associated with the United Nations, with its higher profile, may have also contributed to the more limited attention paid to the Worldwatch Institute’s findings. While the 2006 report attracted more attention, the findings were not regularly tied to veganism at the time. Vegetarianism was sometimes mentioned, but rarely veganism – most likely because people were less familiar with the term at that time.

The environmental impact of animal products remains a mainstream environmental issue and coverage of the issue is increasingly linked to veganism. PETA and other AAOs have highlighted findings provided by organisations very separate to animal advocacy such as the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, the UK Government (Clover 2007, online), and the University of Chicago (New Scientist 2005, online). The findings of these reports have been repeated by respected media sources such as the *Guardian* (Carus 2010, online), the *New York Times* (Kenter 2007, online), and *New Scientist* (New Scientist 2005, online).

These articles provide an indication of mainstream media’s willingness to engage with the environmental problems associated with the consumption of animal products. They also illustrate the vegan diet being advocated in mainstream media as a response to these problems, and the ways in which the term “vegan” is being recognised and adopted. Cary Williams (2012, pp. 9-10) explains that credibility for claims makers is partly achieved through the ‘credibility of frame articulators’ and the institutions articulating the frame of animal products being environmentally damaging are widely viewed as credible sources. This coverage is assisting in animal products being viewed more broadly as a legitimate environmental concern, and not just an issue for animal advocates.

Celebrities, Health and Veganism

Arguments in favour of veganism on animal rights, environmental and health grounds are increasingly being presented in the mainstream media. In an article published in *Bloomberg Businessweek*, Michael Hill (2011, online) wrote: ‘You’ve come a long way, vegan. Once mocked as a

fringe diet for sandal-wearing health food store workers, veganism is moving from marginal to mainstream in the United States'. Similarly, Raman Nijjar (2011, online) argues, in his article 'From Pro Athletes to CEOs and Donut Cravers, the Rise of the Vegan Diet', published in *CBC News Canada*, that: 'It used to be that vegetarian and vegan diets were looked down upon as almost sect-like fads'. Singer (2012, interview) explains that even the term "vegetarian" had this type of association for the public when he wrote *Animal Liberation* in the 1970s: the best vegetarian restaurant in London gave itself the tongue in cheek title of "Cranks", reflecting the perception of vegetarianism at the time.

This situation has changed, which is likely to be due in part to increasing numbers of high profile people adopting vegan diet, motivated mainly by awareness of the health benefits. In our celebrity-driven culture, and particularly media, celebrities contribute authority and attention to a cause (Brockington 2009, p. 26). Celebrity vegans have been very important in bolstering the exposure veganism is given and normalising the concept.

Probably the most publicised example of a person advocating the health benefits of a vegan diet is former US President Bill Clinton. Throughout his presidency, Clinton ate a diet high in animal products. He was overweight and narrowly escaped death due to heart problems, enduring two heart operations. Now that Clinton has dramatically changed his diet, tests show that he is starting to reverse the damage to his heart and blood vessels caused by cardiovascular disease. He has lost over nine kilograms in weight and claims he has more energy than before (Martin 2011, online; Brown 2011, online). Clinton's story was featured on a recent hour-long *CNN* documentary on heart attacks (Gupta 2011, online). His dietary change has received widespread media coverage, not just on *CNN*, but also in *The New York Times* (O'Connor 2011, online), *USA Today* (Hellmich 2011, online), *The Los Angeles Times* (Brown 2011, online), *Huffington Post* (Shah 2011, online) and the *ABC* (2011, online), to name just a few of the many outlets that have covered this story.

There are many other examples of celebrities who have raised the profile of veganism. Talk show host Ellen DeGeneres became vegan and promoted veganism on her popular talk show (Hill 2011, online). She also established the website *Going Vegan With Ellen*, which has extensive resources on both why people should become vegans and how to make this change (DeGeneres 2011a, online). This site also lists forty-two other celebrity vegans, including: actors Alec Baldwin, Woody Harrelson, Joaquin Phoenix, Alicia Silverstone and Olivia Wilde; musicians Alanis Morissette, Andre 3000 from

the band Outkast, Moby, Bryan Adams and KD Lang; former Olympic athlete Carl Lewis; and former boxing champion Mike Tyson (DeGeneres 2011b, online). Some of these vegans, like DeGeneres, have been very pro-active in their promotion of veganism.

Silverstone wrote a number one best-selling book in 2009 called *The Kind Diet*, which promotes a vegan diet (Hill 2011, online). She also set up a website of the same name where she posts vegan recipes and other information daily (Silverstone 2011b). The website includes a vegan book club, where each month she announces a “book of the month” (Vegetarian Star 2011a, online) and a forum where people can discuss these books and other aspects of veganism such as vegan food, health, shoes and beauty products (Silverstone 2011a, online).

In his article ‘The Rise of the Power Vegans,’ published in *Bloomberg Businessweek*, Joel Stein (2010, online) explains that ‘a growing number of America’s most powerful bosses have become vegan.’ Stein’s list of “power vegans”, in addition to Clinton and Tyson, include famous businessperson Steve Wynn; American business magnate and third richest person in hip hop – Russell Simmons; real estate billionaire Mortimer Zuckerman; Ford Executive Chairman of the Board, Bill Ford; Twitter co-founder Biz Stone; venture capitalist Joi Ito; and Whole Foods Market Chief Executive Officer John Mackey. Wynn became a vegan after watching the documentary *Eating*, which promotes a vegan diet mainly for health reasons. Since then, Wynn has bought 10 000 copies of the documentary and given one to each of his employees to keep his workforce healthier. He has now persuaded most of his senior management to become vegan. He now ‘offers vegan menus at his restaurants in Las Vegas and Macau, including the steakhouses’ (Stein 2010, online).

Stein (2010, online) explained that ‘Wynn’s a convincing salesman, but a decade ago even he couldn’t have given away free seitan [a vegan wheat gluten-based product]’. He went on to explain that in 2004, pundits listed politician Dennis Kucinich’s veganism as a reason why he could not be the Democratic Presidential nominee. Kucinich explained: ‘People weren’t sure if it was another political party or an ethnic group they’d never heard of’ (cited in Stein 2010, online). Things have certainly changed in a very short amount of time: ‘in 2008—Kucinich’s diet has become so accepted that he was able to persuade Representative Robert A. Brady..., the head of the Committee on House Administration, to include vegan options in the congressional cafeteria’. Kucinich has recently decided to embark on his own diet book (Stein 2010, online).

Beyond film stars, powerful businesspeople, and politicians, other high profile American vegans include 'ex-NBA star John Salley, Atlanta Falcons tight end Tony Gonzalez, former National Hockey League brawler Georges Laraque', and Ultimate Fighting Championship mixed martial artist Luke Cummo (Stein 2010, online). World Boxing Organisation welterweight champion Timothy Bradley and Australian fast bowler Peter Siddle have both seen their sporting performance improve through embracing a vegan diet (Guthrie 2013, online; Salazar 2012, online; Boxing Scene 2013, online). These people do not fit commonly held and unjustified stereotypes about vegans (Hannibal 2010, interview). They are also quite outspoken about their veganism, with King of the Cage World Champion fighter Mac Danzig collaborating with PETA2 (the youth-focused arm of PETA) to promote veganism (PETA2 2011a, online) (see Figure 6.5) and Mike Tyson teaming up with the organisation Last Chance for Animals to create a pro-vegan billboard displayed in West Hollywood (see Figure 6.6) (dEstries 2011, online).



Source: (PETA2 2011a, online)

Figure 6.5 King of the Cage World Champion Fighter Mac Danzig Promotes Veganism



Source: (dEstries 2011, online)

Figure 6.6 **Billboard Featuring Former Boxing Champion Mike Tyson**

The “Not Your Typical TreeHugger Campaign” from the Australian AAO Uproar is ‘like a PR campaign for veganism’ that ‘counters the problem of most people thinking vegans are weak pale tree huggers’ (Hannibal 2010, interview). Such messages are now being promoted by many other sources. In *Bloomberg Businessweek*, Hill (2011, online) explained that: ‘Today’s vegans are urban hipsters, suburban moms, college students, even professional athletes’. The message that people from all walks of life are vegans is being taken up in the mainstream media. Hills theme is very similar to that pursued by the Uproar campaign, but it has come from a mainstream journalist, quite separate to the campaigns or claims of AAOs. Also published in *Bloomberg Businessweek* was the article ‘Where the Power Vegans Eat’, in which Leslie Robarge (2010, online) wrote about five vegan-friendly restaurants across the United States. This is similar to Animal Liberation Victoria’s (2011f) *Vegan Easy* website, which lists vegan-friendly restaurants all around Australia.

In recent years many influential books have heightened awareness and interest in veganism. Bill Clinton’s move to a vegan diet was influenced by *The China Study*. This represented a comprehensive survey of 6 500 Chinese people, who each contributed 367 facts about their diet (Wicks 2004, pp. 276-277). It was found that: ‘People who ate the most animal-based foods got the most chronic disease...People who ate the most plant-based foods were the healthiest and tended to avoid chronic disease...’ (Campbell and Campbell 2009, online). At the same time, the move away from a traditional Chinese diet in some regions to a more “Westernised” diet higher in animal products was found to result in an increase in “diseases of affluence” such as cardiovascular disease, cancer and diabetes (Wicks 2004, pp. 276-277). A book based on this study that was released in 2006 has sold over 500 000 copies and has become one of the best-selling nutrition books in the United

States (Parker-Pope 2011, online). Not only have the findings been promoted by AAOs (see, for example, HSUS 2011b, online; ALV 2011b, online), a totally plant-based or vegan diet is being advocated quite separately to the claims of these organisations (see, for example, T. Colin Campbell, cited in Parker-Pope 2011, online).

The messages of *The China Study*, and the 2011 documentary *Forks Over Knives*, which features author of *The China Study* T. Colin Campbell, have been featured in *The New York Times* (Parker-Pope 2011, online; Bittman 2011, online), *Huffington Post* (Campbell and Esselstyn 2011, online), the popular American health show *The Dr. Oz Show* (Benbella 2011, online), *The Boston Globe* (Pierce 2010, online) and the popular talk show *Larry King Live* (Benbella 2009, online). *Forks Over Knives* has convinced celebrities like comedian Russell Brand and musician Ozzy Osbourne to adopt a vegan diet for health reasons (d'Estries 2011, online; Forks Over Knives 2011, online).

Skinny Bitch, a book by Rory Freedman and Kim Barnouin, promotes a healthy, vegan diet in a gritty, conversational and entertaining way set against a backdrop about the suffering of animals in the food industry (Rich 2007, online). This book is an international bestseller. There are at least two million copies in print and the book has been translated into twenty languages (Freedman and Barnouin 2011a, online). Initially only 10 000 copies were printed, but after celebrity Victoria Beckham, famous for being “Posh Spice” in the pop group, The Spice Girls, and her marriage to well-known English soccer star David Beckham, was photographed with the book, sales soared. This occurred immediately in Britain and shortly afterwards in the United States when *E-News* ran a story about Victoria Beckham being photographed with the book (Rich 2007, online). The authors have followed-up with a range of similarly themed and titled books including a general cookbook, another specifically aimed at men, and a further book dealing with diets for pregnancy (Freedman and Barnouin 2011b, online).

Growing Interest in Veganism

As the term ‘vegan’ and arguments for veganism increasingly enter mainstream media and consciousness, it is becoming easier to be a vegan. In Australia, Canada, the United States and many other Western countries, vegan staples like tofu and tempeh, as well as vegan “meat substitutes” such as vegan “chicken” and “bacon” are increasingly available at local grocery stores and

restaurants (Hill 2011, online; Nijjar 2011, online; Nadalin 2012, online). These meat substitutes assist some vegans, particularly those making the transition from a non-vegan diet, as they can substitute foods that are more familiar to them with vegan products (Nath and Prideaux 2011, paragraphs 15-19). Many chain restaurants and university cafeteria's in the countries mentioned above now mark their vegan options and big brands like Kraft Foods now sell products like vegan burgers and crumbles. It was a very different story even ten years ago, with far fewer options available for vegans (Hill 2011, online; Nijjar 2011, online; Grasgreen 2011, online; Vegan Easy 2012, online).

This growing interest in the vegan diet has mainly been a result of environmental and particularly health concerns, rather than a strong sense of ideological commitment to animal rights. As a result, there has been growing awareness of the vegan diet but not necessarily the broader vegan philosophy and lifestyle (Hill 2011, online). An example of this occurred when famous musicians Jay-Z and Beyoncé went on a 'Three Week Vegan Diet' as a 'spiritual/physical cleanse' and during this time, Beyoncé was seen wearing fur and suede (ABC News 2013, online). While veganism is often promoted as an ethical practice beyond diet by animal advocates, outside of the movement there tends to be more trivial representations (Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 12).

Mainstream oversight of animal exploitation beyond food is a cause of concern for many animal rights vegan activists, who view the non-human animals harmed and killed for other purposes, such as clothing and entertainment, as just as important as those slaughtered for food. There has been an attempt by some to differentiate eating a vegan diet for reasons such as health or the environment from the broader vegan philosophy. As discussed previously, Campbell advocates people avoid eating animal products purely to avoid the health risks. He explains why he uses the term "plant-based diet" rather than "vegan":

I don't use the word "vegan" or "vegetarian". I don't like those words. People who chose to eat that way chose to because of ideological reasons. I don't want to denigrate their reasons for doing so, but I want people to talk about plant-based nutrition and to think about these ideas in a very empirical scientific sense, and not with an ideological bent to it (Campbell, cited in Parker-Pope 2011, online).

For someone to give up animal products beyond diet, there needs to be this ‘ideological bent’ involving a commitment to animal rights. No one could argue that wearing a leather jacket is detrimental to people’s health and the use of animals in circuses is hardly a huge environmental issue. Those becoming vegans for animal rights reasons will not only boycott animal exploitation beyond food but they are also likely to stay vegan in the long-term. This is demonstrated by studies which focus on commitment to vegetarianism, though the results are also relevant to veganism.

In their study on exiting vegetarianism, Kenneth Menzies and Judy Sheeshka (2012, p. 163) found that ‘ex-vegetarians were more likely to have become vegetarians as a result of concern about the well-being of animals and the environment, not animal rights, a value more difficult to compromise’. An example of this is DeGeneres, whose veganism was discussed above, revealing that she now eats eggs from chickens raised in her neighbour’s backyard, ‘because they’re happy’ (cited in Claire 2012, online). An animal rights philosophy, summed up by PETA’s slogan of ‘animals are not ours’, totally rules out consuming animal products. More general concern for animals without this animal rights philosophy leaves greater leeway for people to return to consuming those animal products that they view as humane.

Considering the interests of animals (even if not specifically based on animal rights) leads to greater commitment than health or environmental concerns. Sarah Hoffman et al. (2013, p. 139) found that people who became vegetarian for ethical reasons had stronger feelings of conviction than those who did so for health reasons, and for this reason stayed vegetarian longer. Freeman (2013, p. 94) agrees that ethical concerns lead to greater commitment, arguing that those cutting out animal products for health reasons ‘may be tempted by the convenience of a meat-based diet and new lower-fat meat items’. She believes that while health and environmental factors are useful in encouraging people to reduce their consumption of animal products, it is concern for animals that is most effective in convincing people to give up animal products all together (Freeman 2013, p. 95). As discussed above, Bill Clinton has had a dramatic health improvement as a result of significantly reducing the amount of animal products he eats, but he acknowledges that ‘once a week or so’ he will indulge in a serving of salmon or an omelette (Larson 2013, online). Those who are vegan for animal rights reasons are far less likely to have such “indulgences” – as noted above, this value is ‘more difficult to compromise’ (Menzies and Sheeshka 2012, p. 163).

However, health concerns can be an “entry point” to animal rights, if people who choose to eat a vegan diet for health reasons ‘are incorporated into a community where they are exposed to

broader concerns of animal well-being' (Waters 2014, online). Even though many may only embrace the dietary aspect of veganism, a growing interest in the vegan diet is still very significant, as an overwhelming majority of non-human animals used and killed by humans is for food (Pearson 2011, interview; Shapiro 2004, online; Green 2008, online; Freeman 2013, p. 93). It also provides a more fertile environment to promote a broader vegan philosophy based around an animal rights position on all forms of animal exploitation, of which diet is a significant part.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the growing normalisation of veganism in the Western world, focusing particularly on Australia and the United States. While the limited research done to date indicates that there are clearly still a proportionately small numbers of vegans, there is evidence that veganism is gaining a more prominent place in both the media and community consciousness. Vegetarianism gradually became more widely known and accepted during the mid to latter part of the twentieth century, while veganism remained a "fringe" concept. Now there are signs that this is changing. Mainstream media has increasingly highlighted the animal rights, environmental and health benefits of veganism. This type of mainstream coverage assists in legitimising these claims when they are made by animal advocates. It has also assisted in achieving much greater familiarity with the word and the concept amongst the public. With growing interest in veganism and demand for vegan options, service providers are beginning to respond to the market potential and create more vegan options, which in turn make it a less difficult choice to become a vegan.

It has mainly been health and, to a lesser degree, environmental arguments for becoming a vegan that have captured the most mainstream media attention, rather than those advocating for a broader animal rights agenda. Therefore the greater attention being given to veganism amongst the mainstream media and the general public has centred mainly on its dietary aspects. Raising the level of awareness of the broader concepts of veganism beyond a narrow focus on dietary aspects remains a task for animal advocates to address. The final chapter will explore ways in which this mainstreaming of veganism has influenced the campaigns of AAOs.

Chapter Seven:

The Rise of Veganism in the Animal Advocacy Movement

Introduction

Various forms of rationality were introduced in Chapters One and Two. It was established that ideological rationality is the dominant force for organisations when there is strong ideological commitment to a cause. Economic-focused theories emphasise bureaucratic self-maintenance and organisation rationality, however, ideology remains an important driving force in a wide range of social movements (Snow 2004, p. 383). This chapter will argue that while organisational and emotive rationality play a part in shaping the way veganism is promoted by AAOs, ideological commitment is the primary motivation for those campaigning for veganism.

The previous chapter discussed rising levels of interest in veganism in both the media and the general public. There has also been a trend in recent years for AAOs to increase their promotion of veganism. Some of these AAOs are new organisations run by “animal rights vegan activists” who devote most or all of their advocacy to promoting veganism (Gunther 2006, p. 73), while others are existing organisations that have taken on animal rights vegan activism. There is another category of AAOs that promoted “humane” animal products in the past but now encourage use of animal-free alternatives. Other organisations have increasingly embraced the term “vegan” in their advocacy. To demonstrate these trends, this chapter will focus on Animal Liberation Victoria (ALV), United Protection and Rescue Organisation for Animal Rights (Uproar), PETA and Animals Australia. These organisations have been chosen because they have a primary or increasing focus on veganism.

As noted in Chapter Six, Francione’s animal rights theorising has been very influential in shifting individuals and AAOs towards the promotion of veganism. Some of the AAOs listed above (but not all) base their principles on those set out by Francione. His approach explicitly places ideology above emotive rationality (based on emotional responses and considerations) and rejects the importance of compassion, which is a significant driving force for many participants in the AAM.

In Chapter Three it was explained that targeting animal industry practices that already attract a high level of public disapproval are optimal in terms of maximising support and resources. Those AAOs promoting animal rights vegan activism forgo the organisational benefits of these types of moderate campaigns and instead promote putting animal rights theory into practice at the individual level through veganism (Francione 2010a, p. 62). This is a fundamental premise of the vegan approach to achieving animal rights. It holds that cultural change can be created by individuals through lifestyle changes. These organisations encourage people to live their 'life in a certain way [that] may be considered a manifestation of the movement's goals, as well as a strategy for achieving that goal in the broader society' (Cherry 2010, p. 452). It was seen in Chapter One that there are debates within the movement on how difficult it is for people to take on a vegan lifestyle. While it is now less daunting to adopt veganism, it is clear that asking people to become a vegan involves far more commitment than supporting non-human animals through signing petitions or making donations.

This chapter will examine the different ways in which veganism has been promoted by AAOs. It will also trace tensions between different forms of rationality and social action within the movement. These themes are wider than the AAM itself. They are relevant to all social movements which invariably manifest some degree of tension between ideological rationality and internal organisational concerns, such as protecting, maintaining and expanding the organisation (Christensen et al. 2009, pp. 213-215; Young 2002, pp. 3-4).

A Change of Approach for Existing Organisations: Animal Liberation Victoria

There have been recent examples of AAOs changing the emphasis of their campaigning. One of these is Animal Liberation Victoria (ALV). The transition that ALV has undergone provides a microcosm of changes that have occurred amongst some other Australian AAOs. In its early years in the 1980s, ALV focused more on welfare campaigns targeted at practices such as factory farming, but now its campaigning is more strongly orientated towards animal rights vegan activism. It is guided by the principles set out on Francione's website *Animal Rights: The Abolitionist Approach* (ALV 2012a, online). These principles stress the importance of the property status of non-human animals (examined in Chapter One); the need to strive to 'abolish, and not merely regulate, institutionalised animal exploitation' (which is what Francione and others are referring to when they use the term "abolitionist"); and the importance of veganism and vegan education (promoting veganism) in reaching this goal (Francione 2009a, online).

In 2010, ALV President and founder Patty Mark argued that veganism should be the “baseline” of the AAM (Mark 2010, interview).²⁷ This call echoes similar sentiments frequently expressed by Francione (see, for example, Francione 2010a, pp. 22, 62). ALV’s statement of purposes rejects animal welfare and calls for animal rights (ALV 2012a, online). Veganism is its primary tactic to achieve animal rights, with links such as ‘Go Vegan: A Guide to Vegan Living’ (ALV 2011d, online), ‘Vegan Recipes’ (ALV 2012c, online) and ‘The Vegan Easy Challenge’ (ALV 2011f, online) on its site. Mark (2010, interview) maintains that ‘the most important thing is to live a vegan lifestyle and promote veganism’.

ALV began as a loose organisation run by a group of friends led by Patty Mark and was not incorporated until 1984 (Mark 2010, interview). It was not the first Animal Liberation organisation in Australia: Christine Townend founded Animal Liberation in New South Wales in 1976, based on the philosophy set out in Singer’s book *Animal Liberation* (ALNSW 2009, online). There are now Animal Liberation organisations in most Australian states. While they share the term ‘Animal Liberation’ in their names, they are entirely separate organisations (Mark 2010, interview).

Mark became a vegetarian in 1974 and became inspired to do more for animals after reading *Animal Liberation*. In 1977, she wrote a letter to Singer asking how she could help. Singer recommended that she look into two AAOs based in Melbourne: the Humane Society and Animal Rights. Both groups were happy to have Mark become involved but after she said she wanted to focus on factory farming (one of the key issues explored in *Animal Liberation*) she did not hear back from either organisation (Mark 2010, interview).

Soon after, Mark heard about Animal Liberation New South Wales and got in touch with Townend. After some correspondence between the two, Townend asked Mark to set up an Animal Liberation organisation in Victoria. The organisation began with Mark putting up a hand-written notice that said “Help the Hens” at her local milk bar, asking people to attend a meeting. Fortunately for Mark, a well-known journalist saw the notice and found it “odd” so reported it in his column. This meant that the meeting was promoted to a lot more people than it otherwise would have been. Subsequently, seventeen people attended the first meeting in December 1978 (Mark 2010, interview).

Both Mark and Townend were inspired by Singer, who was then (as now) referred to as “the father of the animal rights movement”. When they heard he was coming back to Australia after a sabbatical in the United States, they organised a “welcome home” for Singer at a member’s home. This was the first time Mark had met Singer, and she asked if he would attend an ALV meeting, which he did in 1980. Singer continued to attend ALV meetings and became President, with Mark taking the role of Vice-President. Mark focused on researching and organising events while Singer took on more of a “media spokesperson” role. Singer could not take a “hands-on” activist or organising role as he was fully occupied with writing and teaching philosophy. Singer and Mark were united in their dedication to opposing factory farming. In the early days of the organisation, Singer and Mark were invited to visit a free-range farm, and Mark was very excited about this, as her dream was to get free-range eggs into the grocery stores (Mark 2010, interview).

After Singer and Mark worked together for about five years, differences of opinion began to emerge. While Mark was not aware of these theories or labels at the time, she became instinctively opposed to Singer’s welfarism and utilitarianism and more inclined towards an animal rights approach. Her attitudinal change reflected a broader shift across the Australian AAM in the mid to late 1980s, when divisions were becoming increasingly evident between welfarists and animal rightists (even though these terms were not used then) (Mark 2010, interview). These divisions and tensions reflect ideological differences in organisations that affect the campaigns that are chosen. They also have implications for organisational forms.

Initially, Mark did not want to use the word “vegetarian” as she thought its associations would lead people to label the organisation as too “radical”. After a few years, ALV started to promote vegetarianism, and by the 1990s, began to promote veganism. It was then that a split in the organisation occurred. Singer is now involved with Animals Australia (Mark 2010, interview), which, as was noted in Chapter Four, is mainly focused on welfare campaigns (see, for example, Animals Australia 2009a, online) and sometimes vegetarianism (see, for example, Animals Australia 2009e, online).

ALV's move to an animal rights approach has led to significant changes in its "open rescue" operations, which involves rescuing animals and documenting their conditions. Although open rescue involves entering private property without permission, it differs from what are often referred to as "direct action" tactics by movements such as the Animal Liberation Front, because participants do not hide their identity by using masks or carry out any property damage (ALV 2012a, online; Mark 2010, interview). ALV began open rescues in 1993 (Mark 2010, interview) and Mark has been referred to as the 'open rescue pioneer', with her operating model spreading around the world to countries such as the United States, Spain and New Zealand (Compassion Over Killing 2003, online). ALV has not abandoned open rescues as the ideology of the organisation has changed, but the focus of these rescues has significantly shifted. While rescuing sick animals, getting them veterinary assistance, and finding good homes for them has remained constant, ALV no longer focuses on exposing animal welfare violations. Mark used to take her tape measure with her to the open rescues to measure cage sizes, but now the footage of the conditions is obtained to promote veganism (Mark 2010, interview).

The following is a description of an action from about 2007 that played a role in this ideological shift. When Mark and the rest of the ALV rescue team were doing an open rescue at an RSPCA approved barn-laid egg shed, they heard loud screams a few paddocks away. They followed these screams and discovered parent breeding sheds. This raised wire shed was one of the worst Mark had seen. Chickens in these sheds are confined for a year or even fifteen months where they endure horrible conditions and constant mating. The chickens produce hens that are eventually used in caged, barn-laid and free-range facilities. Mark realised then that all hens used in the egg industry (free-range or otherwise) come from chickens suffering in these facilities who all end up being slaughtered. This sort of experience played a part in gradually moving ALV towards a vegan focus in its campaigning, rather than just opposing factory farming (Mark 2010, interview).

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Francione's animal rights theory has been very influential for many in the movement, including Mark. She first became aware of him around 2000 when she heard him being interviewed. She said hearing Francione outline his views on animal rights 'was like turning on a light in a dim room' (Mark 2006, online). Being exposed to these ideas caused Mark (2006, online) to contemplate 'the enormous impact of the property status of animals' and began to see that 'this legality is the linchpin of speciesism and what keeps all animals underfoot on the human treadmill'. Mark (2006, online) was strongly influenced by Francione's call for abolition

and the importance of veganism, acknowledging that: ‘Rather than encouraging makeshift and provisional “solutions” animal activists now have a road map against speciesism that clearly defines the route’.

Mark (2010, interview) explains that she would be surprised if half of ALV’s supporters are vegetarian and even one in ten are vegan, although all the organisation’s main active volunteers are vegan. As was outlined in Chapter Four, this profile is typical of many AAOs, including more moderate ones. The people “running” the organisations are generally vegan, but not many of their supporters. ALV differs from larger organisations in that its heavy emphasis on vegan campaigning is likely to only attract vegan volunteers, even at “lower levels” of the organisation. In contrast, larger organisations, which put most of their efforts into campaigns other than veganism, can draw on a wider range of volunteers.

ALV also differs from many of the larger organisations in that it places strong importance on encouraging its members to become vegans. For example, Mark (2010, interview) writes an editorial, which always promotes veganism, in ALV’s *Action* magazine that is sent to members. This promotion of veganism comes mainly from an animal rights viewpoint, but also highlights the health and environmental benefits. Mark (2010, interview) sees promoting veganism to ALV’s members as a ‘great start to reaching the wider community’. ALV’s primary focus on ‘vegan education’ (Mark 2010, interview) and encouragement of its supporters to become vegans has implications for the size and structure of the organisation, which will be discussed later in the section on veganism and organisational forms.

New Organisations Promoting Veganism: Uproar

The Melbourne-based AAO Uproar emerged in 2010 with a focus on animal rights vegan activism. For Uproar President Noah Hannibal (2010, interview) there is ‘a pretty important distinction’ between animal rights and animal welfare.²⁸ He explains that there are ‘animal welfare groups running campaigns that promote “free range” or “happy meat”, or campaigns that seek to kill sheep in Australia rather than send them to the Middle East to be killed’ but ‘there is nothing “humane” about getting killed in a slaughterhouse, no matter which way you spin it’. Happy meat is the pejorative term used by animal rightists to describe the welfare approach of trying to ensure that

animals destined for slaughter experience what are considered to be “humane conditions” during their lives.

Hannibal (2010, interview) argues that ‘you wouldn’t see an abolitionist slavery campaign for better conditions for slaves. If you think animals shouldn’t be exploited then you should be abolitionist’. Uproar’s aim is ‘a world in which animals aren’t exploited and treated as property’, one which ‘treats animals as ends in themselves, that we can’t use for our own purposes’ (Hannibal 2010, interview). He contrasts this outlook with that of animal welfare, which ‘allows animals to be treated as means to our ends, so long as this is done “humanely” ’ (Hannibal 2010, interview).

Uproar campaigns focus mainly on animal rescue and vegan education (Hannibal 2010, interview). Its open rescues seek to get animals out of situations where they will be killed for food or other uses. They are provided with veterinary assistance and homes. Much like ALV, Uproar’s animal rescue efforts complement their vegan education. Uproar’s open rescue team documents the conditions where the rescued animals have been kept and put the footage together (Hannibal 2010, interview) in order ‘to educate the general public about the hidden cruelty behind the animal farming industry’ (Uproar 2010, interview). These rescues are animal rights-orientated, as the evidence gathered about animal farming is used to encourage people not to support these industries. This is in marked contrast to animal welfare focused open rescues, which attempt to expose animal welfare violations.

Hannibal wants Uproar to promote veganism with the aim of bringing it more into the public consciousness, without diluting the message or selling out the organisation’s ethics. Uproar strongly promotes veganism, not just the diet but also about the broader vegan philosophy and lifestyle. On the “You Can Help” link on its website, the very first thing listed in terms of actions for animals is “Choose Compassion”, which is explained as follows: ‘The single most important thing you can do to save animals is to stop eating them, wearing them, or using any products that come from their bodies’ (Uproar 2011j, online).

Uproar aims to get its vegan message out in innovative, different ways (Hannibal 2010, interview), often using irony and public prejudices about vegans to capture attention. One example of this is its “Not Your Typical TreeHugger Campaign”, which was referred to in Chapter Six. This online campaign

provides a space that encourages people to ‘meet real vegans from all walks of life and challenge your ideas about who vegans are’ (Uproar 2011a, online). A new profile of a vegan who does not fit the “vegan stereotype” is regularly placed on the website for this campaign. The first profile entered was Australian body builder Joel Kirkilis (Uproar 2011b, online). There are now over fifteen profiles on the site, including a lawyer (Uproar 2011i, online); actor and personal trainer (Uproar 2011c, online); doctor (Uproar 2011e); professional arm wrestler (Uproar 2011h, online); engineer (Uproar 2011f, online); a bouncer, union organiser, paramedic and Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu instructor (Uproar 2011g, online); and a screenwriter and radio broadcaster (Uproar 2011d, online). The online campaign will eventually be bolstered with posters and postcards placed in public places such as libraries and cafes (Hannibal 2010, interview). Recently, a vegan strength and body building show, which promoted a similar message to its Not Your Typical TreeHugger Campaign, was organised by Uproar as part of the 2012 Sustainable Living Festival in Melbourne (Uproar 2012c, online). An advertisement promoting this event, featuring Kirkilis, Hannibal and Billy Simmons, is shown in Figure 7.1.



Source: (Uproar 2012c, online)

Figure 7.1 An Advertisement for the Vegan Strength and Bodybuilding Show

The Internet is ‘central’ to Uproar’s campaigning due to its ‘cost-effective’ nature (Hannibal 2010, interview). Two committee members are web designers who have maintained a very professional and visually appealing website without the need to pay external design specialists. Hannibal (2010, interview) explains that ‘the Internet is our key tool for drawing people [in] and it can be an effective tool for motivating people to take action’. The organisation not only reaches out to the public through its website, but also through social networking sites such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*. Uproar’s *Facebook* page is followed by over 2 900 people (Uproar 2012a, online) and over 2 800 people follow

Uproar on *Twitter* (Uproar 2012b, online). These sites promote the Not Your Typical TreeHugger campaign and other campaigns, as well as veganism more generally. Uproar is financed primarily through donations from members, with additional funds from merchandise sales. It is run by volunteers and some key campaigners have assisted from their own finances (Hannibal 2010, interview). It does not even have physical office space.

Larger Organisations Promoting Animal-Free Alternatives and Veganism

Animals Australia

Animals Australia is the largest national animal protection organisation in Australia, with thousands of individual supporters and forty member societies all around the country (Animals Australia 2009c, online; 2009a, online). It is quite a different organisation to groups like ALV and Uproar, both ideologically and in terms of organisational structure. As was discussed in Chapter Four, Animals Australia has ten paid staff (Oogjes 2010, interview) and an office in central Melbourne, in contrast to the very limited resources of these other organisations.

Animals Australia has more of an animal welfare orientation, focused particularly on factory farming practices. It ‘believes that we can create a better world for all through promoting kindness to animals’ with a goal to ‘significantly and permanently improve the welfare of all animals in Australia’ (Animals Australia 2009a, online). This viewpoint is often reflected in campaigns such as the promotion of chilled meat in place of live export (Animals Australia 2011k, online), urging fast food chains to source their animal products from cage-free facilities (Animals Australia 2010e, online) and attempting to maintain certain welfare standards for chickens producing free-range eggs (Animals Australia 2011d, online). As was discussed in Chapter Four, Animals Australia also generally avoids the term “vegan” – opting instead for words such as “vegetarian” or “veg”, although on its *WhyVeg.com* site, alternatives for eggs and dairy are suggested and all recipes are actually vegan (Animals Australia 2011g, online; 2011h, online). While Animals Australia continues to mainly promote animal welfare reforms and vegetarianism, and its campaigns are chiefly directed against factory farming, a clear shift towards veganism in the organisation can be discerned.

According to its website, Animals Australia is ‘the only national animal protection organisation that actively exposes animal abuse and promotes a cruelty-free lifestyle’ (Animals Australia 2009a,

online). This promotion of ‘a cruelty-free lifestyle’ has changed over time to emphasise animal-free alternatives to animal products rather than free-range animal products. For example, as is shown in Figure 7.2, materials from its SaveBabe campaign in 2005 stated: ‘If you purchase pork, bacon, or ham – choose free-range’. Their “Pro Pig Pledge” involved pledging not to eat *factory farmed* pig products (Animals Australia 2005, pamphlet). While factory farming is still framed as the worst form of raising animals, the problems associated with all forms of animal production are now highlighted: ‘Whilst factory-farming is the cruellest method of animal “production” in Australia, *all* methods of animal production end in fear and suffering for animals at the slaughterhouse’ (Animals Australia 2012b, online). Its “Pro Pig Pledge” has also changed significantly. It now reads: ‘I pledge not to buy or eat pork, ham and bacon products’ (Animals Australia 2012b, online). Similarly, as will be discussed later in this chapter, Animals Australia also encourages people to choose alternatives to dairy, rather than more humane dairy products (Animals Australia 2011f, online).



Figure 7.2 A Postcard from Animals Australia’s SaveBabe Campaign from 2005

PETA

As described in Chapters Three and Four, PETA continues to work with companies that exploit animals in an attempt to encourage more humane ways of slaughtering animals (Freeman 2010, p.

169; Glasser 2011a, pp. 160, 180; Prescott 2008, online). While PETA has advocated for animal industries to improve conditions for animals, unlike Animals Australia, it has never actively promoted “humane” animal products to the public. PETA has not, for example, encouraged people to consume free-range, rather than factory farmed, animal products. However, in contrast to organisations like Uproar and ALV, PETA’s campaigns have tended to avoid using words like “vegan” or “veganism” – instead focusing on encouraging people to “go veg” or “go vegetarian” (PETA 2010w, online).

This is beginning to change. PETA’s campaign “Go Vegan in 2011”, launched in late 2010 and pictured below in Figure 7.3, had a clear vegan message. The launch of this campaign, which saw PETA, an influential AAO, embracing the term “vegan”, represents a major shift. However, while elsewhere in their advocacy they focus on a wide range of different forms of animal exploitation, their vegan campaign frames veganism in terms of food and a vegan *diet* (PETA 2010h, online). This is in contrast to the broader definition of veganism, which involves opposing the exploitation of non-human animals for all uses, including clothing and entertainment. Even though the campaign is concentrated on opposing animals being used for food, its significance is underscored by the fact that, as noted in Chapters One and Six, an overwhelming majority of animals killed by humans are killed for food (Shapiro 2004, online; Pearson 2011, interview).



Source: (PETA 2010q, online)

Figure 7.3 PETA Urges People to Make the Switch to a Vegan Diet in 2011

Other PETA campaigns have followed this pattern in the change of language. As seen in Chapter Three, PETA is well-known for using provocative advertisements with semi-naked women, often opposing fur or encouraging people to “go veg” or “go vegetarian” (see, for example, PETA 2011c, online; 2011m, online; FHM 2009, online). In one of these advertisements a few months after its “Go Vegan in 2011” campaign, the message now read “go vegan” (Sanchez 2011, online). The language of its starter kits has changed too. PETA used to give out and promote Vegetarian Starter Kits. These are now titled “Vegetarian/Vegan Starter Kit” on its website (PETA 2011f, online) and “Vegan Starter Kit: Go Vegetarian, Go Vegan!” for hard copy pamphlets. In Figure 7.4, these pamphlets are pictured in Washington DC, where they are freely available to the public on city streets. Its site *goveg.com* now links to the “Vegetarian/Vegan Starter Kit”, which encourages people to pledge to try a *vegan* diet for thirty days (PETA 2011g, online).



Figure 7.4 PETA's Vegan Starter Kit

PETA continues to work for welfare reforms; promote single-issue animal rights campaigns (such as their ongoing campaign against fur); equate vegetarianism with veganism (for example with their Vegetarian/Vegan Starter Kit); and promote veganism as a diet rather than a broader lifestyle and philosophy (Freeman 2010, p. 169). It is clear that the advocacy of PETA, like Animals Australia, could not be classified as animal rights vegan activism – promoting veganism is not its primary focus. However, it has begun to move in this direction over recent years, exemplified by the changing language in its campaigning materials.

Veganism, the “Little Effort” Paradigm and Organisational Forms

It was previously noted that materially, promoting veganism benefits AAOs far less than other types of campaigning, which maximise memberships and donations. The requirements involved in asking people to make the change to a vegan lifestyle does not fit within the “little effort” paradigm suggested by McCarthy and Zald (2001, p. 543). Vegan campaigns also do not lend themselves so easily as welfarist and single-issue campaigns to claiming clear cut victories that capture the imagination of supporters amongst the public and corporate sponsors (Francione 2010a, pp. 64, 74). While Irish Sociologist and animal advocate Roger Yates (cited in Bailey et al. 2011, online) has argued that each new ethical vegan can be claimed as a “little victory” on the path towards animal rights, these types of victories appeal less to a predominantly non-vegan donor base than others that result in improvements in the treatment of animals. As journalist Emma Brockes (2009, online) put it in her article on PETA Vice President Dan Matthews, veganism is a ‘harder pitch’.

These comparative limitations curtail the ability of organisations pursuing animal rights vegan activism to generate funds and resources. Some, like ALV in the past, did have an office in central Melbourne when its campaigns were less focused on veganism. Now it has had to change its modes of operation and organisational structure as it has become more vegan-oriented. ALV still have some “office space”, but this is just space set aside at Mark’s residence (Mark 2010, interview).

Campaigns promoting veganism are unlikely to be supported by people who are not vegans themselves. From an organisational perspective, it makes much more sense to promote campaigns that already have the potential donor base “on side” than to attempt to persuade the public to make substantial changes to its consumption choices. PETA’s membership is made up of ‘half non-

vegetarians and half vegetarians (but not necessarily vegans)' (Francione 2010a, p. 74) and as mentioned above, ALV's membership profile is fairly similar. The difference is ALV makes a concerted effort to convince its supporters to become vegans (Mark 2010, interview).

If promoting veganism is so inconsistent with organisational considerations, how is it that larger organisations are increasingly promoting veganism, or at least moving in a "vegan direction"? The answer comes down to *how* veganism is promoted. Smaller organisations such as ALV and Uproar generally promote veganism as *the way* to take the interests of other animals seriously. These organisations promote veganism as the "baseline" – the least people can do to take the interests of other animals seriously. While other actions are promoted, these actions are not generally framed as meaningful in their own right, without veganism.

In contrast, when larger organisations are promoting veganism (if they do this at all) it is as *one way* amongst many to take action on behalf of other animals. Veganism is offered amongst a "smorgasbord" of other options (Francione 2011b, interview). Francione (2011b, interview) maintains that PETA promote veganism not as a "moral baseline" but rather as a way to have "something for everyone" – from omnivores to vegans. HSUS President Wayne Pacelle's has recently published the book *The Bond: Our Kinship with Animals, Our Call to Defend Them*. The book finishes with fifty things people can do for animals. Pacelle (cited in Vegetarian Times 2012, online) explains: 'whether you go vegetarian or vegan, reduce consumption, or stop buying products from factory farms, everyone can do something'. While some larger organisations promote veganism as a great choice to make, they also present a range of other actions more consistent with the little effort paradigm as meaningful actions in their own right, regardless of whether the individual becomes a vegan or not. When alternatives are presented in this way, according to McCarthy and Zald's theory, it is likely that most people will choose easier options rather than deciding to become vegans.

When large organisations do promote veganism, it is often a "softer" version that advocated. An example of this was provided earlier in this chapter in reference to PETA limiting its use of "veganism" to mean just the vegan diet (PETA 2010h, online). Francione (2010a, pp. 11, 69) has pejoratively labelled "down selling" of vegan principles as "flexible" veganism. For instance, PETA (2010n, online) encourages people 'not to worry too much' about reading 'every ingredient to check for tiny amounts of obscure animal products'. PETA also discourages people 'from grilling waiters at

restaurants about micro-ingredients' such as 'a tiny bit of dairy products in the bun of a veggie burger' (PETA 2010n, online). It encourages people to '*keep an eye out for* products that aren't tested on animals and don't have animal ingredients' (my italics) (PETA Asia-Pacific 2011, online). In terms of Australian organisations, PETA's wording is quite similar to more welfare-focused organisations like Animals Australia, but quite different to smaller organisations like ALV and Uproar, which focus on animal rights vegan activism. The reaction of the larger organisations to the "bobby calf" issue that recently reached the Australian mainstream media is discussed below. It demonstrates the "softer" way that they tend to promote veganism and contrasts this approach with the commentary provided on the issue by smaller animal rights organisations.

Bobby Calves and Veganism

In 2010, Animals Australia carried out a "bobby calf campaign" publicising information that male calves of no use to the dairy industry are slaughtered shortly after birth. Until the campaign, most members of the public were completely oblivious to this fact (Oogjes 2010, interview). Animals Australia ran advertisements in major newspapers all around the country exposing this "secret" of the dairy industry. It also attacked a new practice that the dairy industry was advocating, which would allow calves to be deprived of liquid food for the last thirty hours of their lives. The advertisements were followed by articles in mainstream newspapers, discussions on popular radio stations, and a segment on the *7pm Project*, a prime-time panel show on channel 10, a major commercial television channel in Australia (Animals Australia 2011a, online; 2011c, online).

The two co-founders and managing directors of the Australian animal protection think tank Voiceless, Brian Sherman and Ondine Sherman (2011, online), had a comment piece in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, where they argued that 'the whole [dairy] trade is unconscionable'. They went on to qualify this by saying: 'But surely, at the barest minimum, anyone with the slightest compassion for these doomed creatures, the forgotten wastage of the dairy industry, would not want their distress worsened by having them starved for their last hours on this earth'. They finished the article with a call for submissions to Animal Health Australia opposing the starving of calves before they are slaughtered. Similarly, Animals Australia encouraged people to make submissions to the authority, while also promoting donations for its bobby calf campaign. Figure 7.5 shows that it also encouraged people to send a pre-written online message to Dairy Australia calling for the industry to be more transparent, have more public consultation, and abandon cruel practises. Animals Australia also

urged people to consider cruelty-free alternatives to dairy (Animals Australia 2011a, online; 2011c, online; 2011e, online; 2011b, online).



Source: (Animals Australia 2011b, online)

Figure 7.5 Animals Australia Encourages People to Take Action for Bobby Calves

In contrast, ALV's home page read: 'You can do MORE than give a baby a drink on the way to slaughter. Take the babies OFF the killing line...' (ALV 2011e, online). This was linked to its 'Dairy Destroys' link that contained the following: 'All of the pain, suffering and death inflicted on bobby calves (and their parents) can be stopped by simply choosing not to consume dairy' (ALV 2011c, online). ALV used the interest that mainstream attention to this issue was generating to promote its own campaigns:

There is a better, kinder way, and you're just in time to give it a go! ALV is launching the latest 30 Day Vegan Easy Challenge (to be held March 1 - 30) and we warmly welcome you to sign up now. Save the lives of these little calves and enjoy your improved health! (ALV 2011c, online).

ALV's 30 Day Vegan Easy Challenge website contains information on the arguments for veganism as well as practical help to assist people making the transition to this lifestyle, such as recipes,

commonly available vegan products, and vegan-friendly restaurants all around Australia (ALV 2011f, online). On the 'Dairy Destroys' link, ALV encouraged people to:

Please let the Government know that you are not only disgusted with their proposal to withhold feed for 30 hours, but that you are also disgusted with their endorsement of the dairy industry in general...Tell the Government that you refuse to consume dairy and that you are choosing to Save Lives instead! (ALV 2011c, online).

On this site, ALV asks people to join or donate to ALV under the heading 'what can you do', however, this call is placed after people are encouraged to contact ALV to learn how to cut dairy out of their diet and to: 'Take a stand against cruelty to animals by going vegan' (ALV 2011c, online).

The contrast in the way ALV and Animals Australia address this issue typifies their differences. While ALV does promote some actions fitting the little effort paradigm, such as letters to officials and donations, these actions are put forward as "additional" actions that people can take beyond going vegan (the organisation's "baseline"). Although Animals Australia promotes alternatives to animal products, actions fitting the little effort paradigm are promoted as meaningful actions in their own right. For example, under the heading 'take action', the first step people are asked to take is to send off a pre-written letter to Dairy Australia (Animals Australia 2011b, online). Next, people can 'spread the word' about the campaign by adding the email addresses of their friends (Animals Australia 2011i, online). Finally, they can 'support the campaign' by once again sending it to friends, "discovering" dairy-free alternatives, posting the campaign video on *Facebook* or printing out a flyer about it, and donating to the campaign (Animals Australia 2011j, online).

In this scenario, giving up dairy is "framed" as just one way to support the campaign. Animals Australia asks: 'On a dairy downer? Discover delicious calcium-rich dairy-free milks, yoghurts, ice creams and chocolates and more' (Animals Australia 2011j, online). This links to the site 'Go Deliciously Dairy-Free' which advises the reader that: 'Many caring people are choosing to cut back or go dairy-free to save the lives of bobby calves' (Animals Australia 2011f, online). Although Animals Australia put out many messages voicing concerns about the dairy industry, the framing of the

messages reflect a much “softer” line than ALV’s. For example, Animals Australia asks people *if* they are on a dairy downer. In contrast ALV maintains that people *should be* on a dairy downer as a result of the information they are receiving. Again, Animals Australia argues that ‘many people’ *are* making these changes, not necessarily that people *should*, as ALV bluntly state. Similarly, people can “discover” dairy alternatives without totally giving up dairy and, unlike ALV, Animals Australia frame cutting back on dairy as a “caring” choice.

As was discussed in Chapter Five, most AAOs use the dominant animal welfare frame of cruelty, even when they are encouraging people to take rights-based actions such as not consuming animal products (Freeman 2010, p. 170; 2013, pp. 108-109). This was definitely the case in Animals Australia’s framing of this issue. When interviewed on the current affairs program *The Project*, Glenys Oogjes (cited in The Project 2011, online), Executive Director of Animals Australia, explained that: ‘People can certainly make their own personal choices, that is to avoid cruel products. And unfortunately *at the present time*, dairy products are coming from a cruel industry’ (my italics). Dairy was framed as being *currently* cruel due to specific practices, but not *inherently* something that should be opposed from a rights-based perspective opposing the commodification of animals (Freeman 2010, p. 170).

While this discussion has highlighted the lower level demands that messages sent by larger AAOs place on people responding to their campaigns on the bobby calves issue, it also reinforces the increasing willingness of existing, larger AAOs to move towards the promotion of veganism. While Animals Australia has been shown to be less ardent in its promotion of veganism than smaller AAOs like ALV, it is quite significant that during this campaign it included encouragement for people to turn to dairy free alternatives.

The Rise of Veganism and Ideological Rationality

As was discussed in Chapter One, animal rights philosophy is closely linked to veganism. Francione (2010a, pp. 64-65, 71) advocates the promotion of veganism to incrementally move towards animal rights and maintains that ethical veganism is the only position consistent with the ideology of animal rights, in terms of recognising the intrinsic value of other animals and objecting to treating them as things or resources for human use (Francione 2010a, p. 62).

While some organisations take a rights-based position in their single issue campaigns (seeking to abolish a certain practice, such as aiming to end seal clubbing), they do not necessarily take that position on other uses of animals, such as their exploitation as a food source. They are not promoting animal rights “across the board”. Others promote vegetarianism rather than veganism. Again, this approach takes a rights-based approach towards meat – encouraging people to give it up rather than seek “humane” meat. However, even people who they convince to accept this position on meat are not necessarily going to adopt this same position for other uses of animals, such as the use of animals for dairy and eggs. It is only veganism that puts into practice a wider commitment to animal rights for all animal use.

Australian animal rights vegan organisations exhibit a strong ideological commitment to their cause. Hannibal (2010, interview) from Uproar sees the distinction between animal rights and welfare as ‘a pretty important distinction’ and points to a ‘shared ideology’ and ‘a good consensus’ amongst its core group of campaigners. Similarly, Mark (2010, interview) from ALV sees a ‘major’ difference between rights and welfare, and her ideological commitment to animal rights has seen major changes in the campaigning of the organisation.

Oogjes (2010, interview) would also ideally like to see animal exploitation stopped altogether. She differs from Mark and Hannibal, however, in placing less importance on the ideology of animal rights in shaping campaigns. She believes that there is ‘not a great deal of difference’ between animal rights and welfare. She argues that these differences are not ‘as clear as people think or as important as people think’ (Oogjes 2010, interview). According to Oogjes (2010, interview), ‘the debate can be quite vigorous between animal welfare and animal rights but I think it’s a waste of time’ and that it is ‘less about philosophy and more about strategies’. She believes that ‘our efforts should go into improving welfare and make animals lives worth living’ (Oogjes 2010, interview).

The importance that they place on animal rights ideology, not just as an ideal “end goal”, but as something to guide current campaigns, explains why organisations such as ALV and Uproar put so much effort into promoting veganism, in contrast to other organisations such as Animals Australia with a much stronger focus on animal welfare.

Gary Francione and Emotive Rationality

It was observed earlier in this chapter that Francione has been outspoken in his view that animal rights ideology should be a far more important consideration for advocates than emotional concern for animals. He acknowledged in his 1996 text, *Rain Without Thunder*, that many other commentators and advocates do not share this view. He cites Don Barnes, former education director at the National Anti-Vivisection Society, as arguing that distinctions between animal rights and animal welfare are 'artificial' and that animal advocacy requires only that 'a person [feel] compassion toward other animals and [seek] to aid their plight' (cited in Francione 1996, p. 36). Animal advocate David Irving explains that becoming vegan and promoting veganism is just one way amongst many in terms of being compassionate towards other animals:

Surely compassion must be our guide and a requirement for any model used to educate the public or to take some form of action in the name of ending the exploitation of animals. Compassion has always stirred in the hearts and minds of animal rights people past and present who find that they have no alternative but to stand up to the powers that protect the abuse and exploitation of animals. It manifests itself in a variety of ways that may include non-violent vegan education like Gary Francione advocates, but also appears in the efforts of sports stars and celebrities baring their skin in order to take a stand against fur (Irving 2010, online).

Francione (2010a, pp. 65, 71, 80, 83) concentrates on the demand for animal products from individuals, rather than the supply end of the equation – the institutional users of animals. He proposes that through veganism the demand for animal products can be reduced, meaning that fewer animals are harmed and killed. He rejects other tactics such as working with industries for welfare reforms, or more "direct action" tactics that rescue animals and sometimes carry out property damage. He argues that working with industries for welfare reform, imposing property damage on institutional users of animals, and even rescuing animals will not reduce the demand for animal products and therefore animal exploitation.

In Chapter Three, some inadequacies of this theory were highlighted, focusing on the way it overlooks structural factors that also contribute to the demand for animal products. Another critique comes from Irving (2010, online), who emphasises the lack of emotion in Francione's approach. He argues that 'this supply/demand model does not include the victim caught in the trap' and 'there is

no room for compassion' in this model. He argues that "vegan education" cannot rescue other animals from cruel and exploitative industries:

We need only to ask what the animals in these gruesome situations would want if they could speak. Would they say "don't bother rescuing us from these human animals who have imprisoned us and are torturing us – we're just part of the supply – if you rescue us, demand will just replace us – so you don't need to bother?" (Irving 2010, online).

Francione's response is that veganism is a matter of fundamental justice rather than compassion. He associates compassion with animal welfare and believes that the idea that we need compassion to take action on behalf of, and advocate for, other animals is actually speciesist. For example, in the human context, we do not need to be compassionate towards humans to support human rights, it is simply a matter of justice – he believes the same should be the case for other animals (Francione 1996, pp. 1-2, 27, 44, 79, 110). He contends that: 'The primary concern for the rights advocate is not kindness; after all, we do not make respect for the interests of minorities or women dependent upon some "kindly" disposition towards these people. Respect is instead a question of *justice*' (his italics) (Francione 1996, p. 110). Francione's approach sidelines the importance of emotive rationality and favours a strong ideological commitment to animal rights.

This is consistent with Siobhan O'Sullivan's interviews with Australian animal advocates, where she found that welfare advocates were concerned about compassion, whereas the rights advocates downplayed compassion and were very much focused on reason:

For example, in the response given by one old welfare representative he stated that 'I'm really caught up at the moment about the concept of children and getting kids to care for animals...If we get care and empathy and kindness happening there, it's not just the animals that are going to benefit, it's the people as well'. Such a view sits comfortably with an old welfarism ideology because it emphasises kindness and benevolence, as opposed to rights. Furthermore, it understands compassion towards animals as capable of making humans kinder to each other. By contrast, the animal rights advocate who spoke about the importance of education stated that animal advocates should 'most importantly be knowledgeable

about the issues, so that when they argue their case they can argue with reason rather than emotion' (O'Sullivan 2006, p. 23).

Similarly, in the Australian vegan magazine *Vegan Voice*, vegan advocate Susannah Waters maintained that veganism was not about compassion, but simply respected the rights of non-human animals:

The idea that vegans don't eat animal products simply because they "love" animals is a flawed but popular perception. You know, the view that we're just an overly sentimental bunch. It's a very simplistic way of analysing the motivations behind veganism. Saying that veganism is merely driven by a love for animals undermines the notion of rights. It frames veganism within the needs and emotions of humans rather than the intrinsic right of all creatures to freedom and self-determination. It detracts from a deeper analysis of the issues. I strongly believe in animal rights. "Love" is a misleading term. I love the concept of respect and rights for all species (Waters 2011, p. 24).

These are just a few samples of the views of people advocating for veganism and animal rights and are not shared by all animal rights vegan activists. For example, DeCoux (cited in Wrenn 2012, p. 450) believes that animal rights vegan advocates would have greater success if they put more effort into engaging people emotionally. She argues that animal rights vegan activists have failed 'to create a critical mass of vegans because of its reluctance to utilize descriptions of suffering'. It is also important to note that some of those with a different approach to Francione also favour reason over emotion. As was discussed in Chapter One, while Singer's approach to animal advocacy differs greatly from Francione's, his utilitarian philosophy is also fundamentally based on reason over emotion (Pearson 2011, interview).

Also, while AAOs such as ALV and Uproar have been strongly influenced by Francione, their activities are not totally guided by his theories. Despite the increasing prominence of veganism in their campaigns, both organisations continue to place a high priority on open rescue missions and do not necessarily downplay compassion in the way that Francione does. As was mentioned above, Uproar

encourage people to “Choose compassion” (Uproar 2011j, online). The use of the word “compassion” by Uproar displays elements of emotive rationality and less than complete acceptance of Francione’s argument. Uproar simply encourages people to show compassion for non-human animals by living a vegan lifestyle.

However, AAOs pursuing animal rights vegan activism do so at some cost, particularly the limit placed on the number of people that they can potentially galvanise to demonstrate their compassion towards other animals. It was demonstrated in Chapter Four that larger organisations tend to encourage people to show compassion by making easier choices, such as signing petitions to end a particular form of animal exploitation (Francione 2010a, pp. 64, 74). Avoiding campaigning on more populist platforms has been shown earlier to have other implications, including limited access to financial support.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the growing importance given to veganism amongst AAOs in Australia and the US. Existing organisations have changed their approach to animal rights vegan activism and new animal rights vegan organisations have emerged. Larger organisations are increasingly promoting animal-free alternatives rather than “humane” animal products and are freely using the term “vegan” in their advocacy. These trends can be interpreted through the way they reflect various forms of rationality.

Animal rights ideology has been a critical factor in shifting the focus of AAOs. While organisations can promote animal rights without advocating for veganism through single-issue animal rights campaigns, vegan campaigns put the theory of animal rights into practice for all uses of non-human animals. AAOs that integrate veganism with their animal rights campaigning often do not emphasise emotive rationality: they do not allow people easier ways to demonstrate their compassion towards animals other than becoming vegan. They do not regularly offer the public other options to act for animals, such as signing petitions or donating to the cause. By “setting the bar” for compassion higher than larger organisations they limit the public and corporate support their campaigns can attract, and hence their organisational resource base. None of the organisations made up of animal rights vegan activists have paid staff. However, in a movement that is increasingly dominated by online campaigning, resources and infrastructure are becoming less important.

It has been shown that some larger AAOs are also changing their approach towards a greater emphasis on veganism. PETA is a good example. While it maintains a focus on promoting ways that the public can support other animals that are more consistent with the little effort paradigm, it has increasingly promoted veganism in its campaigning. Animals Australia is another relatively large (by Australian standards) organisation that has also moved in this direction.

Chapter Six outlined the increasing familiarity, acceptance and recognition of veganism in the media and community. While being vegan continues to require more commitment and time than some other animal advocacy actions such as signing petitions and making donations, with more vegan options available than ever before, veganism does not depart from McCarthy and Zald's "little effort paradigm" as much as it did in the past. This had made the promotion of veganism much more viable. This mainstreaming of veganism is due in no small measure to some AAOs and individual animal advocates tapping into the huge potential of online campaigning. It has been particularly valuable for the growing number of smaller organisations made up of animal rights vegan activists. The Internet has lowered the cost of communication, meaning that networking amongst advocates can more easily be fostered outside of large AAOs (Francione 2011b, interview; Wrenn 2012, pp. 438-439, 451). AAOs promoting veganism still have much to overcome to convince the public, but the environment for their advocacy has improved greatly over the last decade.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the influence of the ideologies of animal welfare and animal rights on the campaigns of AAOs, as well as the rising importance of veganism in the AAM. It has analysed the way in which a variety of ideological, emotive and organisational considerations shape the campaigns carried out in the movement. The central focus has been on the way in which various types of animal advocacy campaigns are consistent with different organisational forms for the AAOs running these campaigns. This has been achieved by investigating key organisations and actors in the contemporary AAM in Australia and the United States. Case studies have been used to analyse their campaigns.

Max Weber's various forms of rationality have been used as a tool to understand the way AAOs function and the various types of campaigning they initiate (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101). The thesis has argued that the influence of ideological rationality is a very powerful influence within the AAM. The discussion has provided in-depth analysis of the philosophical and theoretical frameworks that guide the AAM. In particular, this included an exploration of the utilitarian views of Peter Singer and the animal rights positions of Tom Regan and Gary Francione, as well as the various forms of campaigning that they advocate. The case studies and interviews conducted in the research have illustrated ways in which the activities of many individuals and organisations are guided by the theories of writers and speakers like Singer, Regan and Francione.

It has also been shown that Weber's concept of emotive rationality is a significant motivator for many animal advocates. There is powerful emotional attachment to non-human animals amongst many people in the countries studied and this can be fertile ground for advocates. Campaigns that appeal to people's compassion are usually directed at "safe" targets that tap into dominant societal attitudes. The importance of emotion and compassion towards other animals is downplayed by some advocates seeking more extensive changes to humans relationship with non-human animals. However, this thesis has also acknowledged the ways in which others embrace compassion while also being strongly guided by animal rights.

The thesis has examined the two main approaches to achieving improvements in the situation of animals that are evident in the AAM. On the one hand, animal welfare focuses on the importance of

limiting animal suffering but not on continued life for non-human animals (Francione 2009b, pp. 3-7). Welfarists accept the slaughter of animals for food and other uses but seek to limit the suffering through regulation that aims to ensure certain living standards for these animals (Bourke 2009, p. 133; Taylor 2005, p. 47; Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 266). In Western societies, the welfare frame is accepted by most people – it is the dominant paradigm in which to understand humans obligations towards other animals (Francione 1996, p. 1; Garner 2006b, p. 161; Sankoff 2009, p. 9). This perception is reinforced by mainstream media coverage. Animal rights, on the other hand, focuses on the inherent rights of other animals not to be exploited or harmed by humans, including being slaughtered, regardless of the treatment or benefits to humans (Francione 2010a, p. 24; Regan 2007, first published 1987, pp. 26-27).

While I began the thesis focusing on the distinction between animal rights and animal welfare in understanding animal advocacy campaigns, I soon realised that while this distinction is important, there are complexities that need to be considered. Not only do many advocates promote both animal rights and welfare messages, but there are also important differences amongst animal rights campaigns. For instance, some single-issue animal rights campaigns that seek to abolish a specific unpopular form of animal exploitation actually work within existing attitudes, rather than challenging them. In contrast, vegan campaigns encourage people to put into practice an animal rights philosophy for all uses of non-human animals.

As a result, I changed the focus to exploring animal advocacy using the concepts of integrationist and anti-systemic campaigning (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 653, 658), rather than the animal rights and animal welfare dichotomy. In doing so, the campaigns of larger AAOs were found to be mainly integrationist: they mostly work within existing attitudes and behaviours towards other animals and seek incremental welfare changes. When they do seek to abolish forms of animal exploitation, this activity is often directed at practices that most people in the countries they operate in already oppose. In contrast, animal rights campaigns promoting veganism challenge existing attitudes, behaviours and laws towards other animals and are anti-systemic. It was shown that the tensions between integrationist and anti-systemic social change in the AAM had resonance with similar processes in a variety of other social movements, both historical and contemporary.

Organisational theories stress the importance of organisational imperatives in understanding the activities of social movements. Throughout the thesis, the term “organisational rationality” has been used to refer to processes such as bureaucratisation, new privatisation and resource mobilisation

collectively. Resource mobilisation theory includes a premise that as organisations grow larger they tend to become increasingly motivated by organisational considerations. Their decisions can be strongly influenced by organisational issues such as resource acquisition, organisational survival and career considerations rather than ideology or emotional concerns (McCarthy and Zald 2001, p. 537; Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 813). It has been seen that the shift in goals and activities over time by some AAOs may be attributed to the desire to align themselves more closely with the expectations and requirements of their funders. The concept of organisational rationality has been useful in providing another perspective for analysing the choices and actions that AAOs take.

The thesis has presented the case that in the AAM, the types of animal advocacy campaigns run by AAOs are closely related to their organisational forms. Numerous examples and case studies of organisations in the AAM and other social movements have been explored with reference to sociological theories. Larger AAOs were found to favour welfarist or single issue campaigns focused on practices that do not have widespread public support, that are more likely to generate broad public support and corporate sponsorship. These types of campaigns appeal because they work within existing attitudes and they are also more likely to achieve victories that can be promoted and celebrated. As a result, they attract attention and positive media publicity for their organisations. These types of campaigns offer potential supporters easier options for becoming involved, enabling them to take small steps to assist, rather than providing more demanding options that require stronger commitment. All of these tendencies are consistent with the premises of theories based upon organisational rationality.

While organisational considerations do play a role in animal advocacy campaigns and this was explored in the thesis, I shifted to having a greater focus on the organisational *implications* of campaigns. Organisational considerations are significant, however, it can be difficult to ascertain whether organisations carry out campaigns based on organisational considerations, or the campaigns they choose for ideological and emotive reasons happen to have organisational benefits. To develop a greater understanding of the impact of organisational considerations on animal advocacy campaigns, more interviews with animal advocates working for large organisations would be helpful. Through such interviews, the links between different forms of campaigning and various organisational forms could be established with greater certainty.

The Rise of Veganism

The thesis has proposed that the rise of veganism in the AAM in Australia and the United States has been bolstered by the evolution of small organisations promoting animal rights vegan activism, as well as existing, larger organisations increasingly embracing veganism in their advocacy. The ideology of animal rights has been essential to providing a strong conceptual base for animal rights vegan activism. While some AAOs put animal rights into practise by campaigning against the exploitation of certain uses of animals, it is veganism that promotes the abolition of all animal exploitation. The thesis has noted that animal rights vegan organisations find it difficult to acquire resources, membership and publicity. As a result, they are invariably small and rely on grassroots organisational forms.

The discussion has illustrated the way in which vegan campaigns cannot tap into the public's emotional response to the suffering of non-human animals to the same extent that many welfare and single-issue campaigns can. It is much more difficult to ask people to change their lifestyle substantially than to take small steps to show compassion for other animals by becoming financial members of an organisation, making donations or sending pre-written letters to officials. While organisations undertaking animal rights vegan activism forgo these benefits, they are successfully developing alternative, less resource intensive approaches to campaigning that capitalise on rapidly expanding mediums such as online campaigning, including social media. The success of these strategies, the promotion of veganism by celebrities, the increasing tendency of the mainstream media to include vegan issues in its coverage, and the way larger AAOs are gradually incorporating veganism in their promotion have all contributed to a rising interest in veganism in the broader community.

Analysis of the way ideologies impact on the campaigns of AAOs and the influence of organisational considerations on the campaigning and resource bases of AAOs has been informed by case studies on key organisations within the AAM. Two of the most significant AAOs in the United States, HSUS and PETA, are large in terms of staff, membership and finances, compared to most AAOs. The analysis in the thesis has shown how they exhibit some tension in balancing integrationist and anti-systemic social change – they are not traditional animal welfare organisations only concerned with integrationist social change. While vegans are increasingly taking up influential positions in HSUS,

the term “animal rights” is far more likely to be linked in the minds of the public to PETA than HSUS or any other AAO.

The thesis has argued that PETA’s high public profile has been achieved partly by a campaigning style that operates within the frameworks of accepted societal views, not just in relation to other animals, but also in the way it incorporates celebrity culture and the objectification of women into its mainstream advertising and marketing techniques (Glasser 2011a, pp. 97-98; Freeman 2013, pp. 107-108). PETA has benefited organisationally through its ability to gain public and corporate backing by seeking integrationist social change while maintaining the anti-systemic animal rights slogan of “animals are not ours”. This radical rhetoric, yet moderate practice, is typical of organisations which become more moderate as they grow larger (Wallerstein 2003, pp. 659-661).

Animals Australia is the largest AAO in Australia that is not a traditional animal welfare organisation like the RSPCA. Like HSUS, Animals Australia is run by vegans, but employs a mostly moderate, integrationist approach to animal advocacy. This has enabled it to achieve far more media coverage, membership and finances than other more radical groups. ALV and Uproar are examples of smaller organisations that focus most of their efforts on anti-systemic campaigns promoting veganism. Animal rights vegan organisations have a strong ideological commitment to animal rights and are less shaped by organisational considerations. They have overcome their limited resource bases by evolving alternative and innovative ways to get their messages out. They have placed growing importance on the opportunities afforded by online campaigning, reaching large numbers of people quickly and cost-effectively.

Furthermore, the discussion has shown that, in addition to new AAOs promoting animal rights vegan activism, some larger organisations such as PETA and Animals Australia have increasingly moved towards embracing and promoting veganism, although mostly in a limited form, alongside their integrationist campaigns. Exactly how the promotion of veganism affects membership and finances varies from organisation to organisation. It depends on *how* and *how much* veganism is promoted. If an organisation promotes veganism regularly as a lifestyle that is essential to take the interests of non-human animals seriously and includes all of the choices people make, including both food consumption and the exclusion of all other animal products, only a relatively small audience is likely to be attracted, given the level of commitment required. Some larger organisations, like PETA, promote veganism and still attract a level of supporters and sponsorship that provide resources for paid staff and office space. These outcomes are only possible if veganism is promoted only

occasionally, as one of many options that people can take on behalf of other animals, and as a flexible diet without the additional lifestyle commitment associated with avoiding all animal products.

The promotion of veganism by larger organisations such as PETA and Animals Australia is certainly useful in veganism becoming more widespread, due to the large reach of these organisations. However, these organisations have a limited ability to regularly promote a vegan message, due to their need to bring in a large amount of resources to sustain costs such as their offices and paid staff, which is inconsistent with animal rights vegan activism. It is more grassroots organisations that have far greater scope to consistently promote a vegan message. Of course this more radical message means that they reach far fewer people due to their limited funds. Both larger and smaller organisations are limited in their ability to move society towards the wider adoption of veganism but both can achieve this to some degree.

Contribution to Knowledge

This project has enhanced sociological understanding of the AAM, a significant social movement that has historically been overlooked by sociologists (Groves 1999, p. 347; Bryant 1993, p. 557). While this is beginning to be rectified, Munroe (2012, p. 177) has argued that a lot of work is still needed to be done. This thesis builds on the growing body of literature on sociology and animals, which is currently covering new ground in sociological research.

As previously discussed, Weber's concepts around different forms of rationality have been examined. During the course of the thesis, many examples have been outlined which reflect social action being influenced by instrumental rationality (organisational rationality), value rationality (ideological rationality) and emotive rationality (Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips 2006, p. 101). As with any theory, real-life examples exploring Weber's theories on rationality assist in operationalising the concept (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 222).

These and other sociological theories focused on organisational attributes, including new privatisation and resource mobilisation, were referred to collectively throughout the thesis as

organisational rationality. They proved to be a useful tool for examining organisational aspects of the AAM. The relevance of McCarthy and Zald's little effort paradigm has been strongly demonstrated through applying it to the AAM. The idea that from an organisational point of view, it is best to promote actions such as petitions and donations, which require little time and effort, is central to explaining why some animal advocacy campaigns are consistent with large organisations, while others are not. Drawing on this notion of organisational rationality has enabled greater depth of analysis than could have been achieved by a narrower focus purely on ideological differences. Through in-depth analysis of the many currents of thought and modes of organisation that influence the AAM, this thesis applied existing sociological theories to new examples, enriching and testing these theories (Jurik 2004, p. 10).

This thesis has also expanded the scholarly understanding of human/non-human relations and the AAM. More specifically, it is a contribution to the expanding field of Critical Animal Studies. Many of the issues covered throughout the thesis build on the contributions made by other scholars in this field. Such issues include: taking an intersectional approach to analysing the AAM and linking animal advocacy to other forms of oppression; exploring the relationship between "above ground" AAOs and the Animal Liberation Front; the critical investigation into capitalism, neoliberalism and consumerism; and the focus on veganism. It will also assist in bridging the gap between academia and activism, a key part of what Critical Animal Studies is trying to achieve (Best 2009, p. 13; Taylor and Twine 2014, pp. 2, 7, 9, 11).

Although this thesis is aimed at an academic audience, it may also be helpful to those advocating for other animals. For example, the site *HumaneSpot.org* was established to provide information for animal advocates (Humane Research Council 2012, online), but it is also very useful for academics studying the movement. It has proved to be a valuable source for this thesis. It is anticipated that this thesis will also be useful for animal advocates in gaining a better appreciation of the movement as a whole. Of particular use for advocates is the overview of the major ideological currents underpinning the various elements of the movement, analyses of different forms of campaigning and the influences affecting AAOs. Greater awareness and understanding can lead to better informed, more effective activism and, as a result, better outcomes for other animals. Just like *HumaneSpot.org*, it is hoped that this thesis will provide animal advocates with 'valid, relevant, and insightful information' which can 'improve conditions for animals' (Humane Research Council 2012, online).

Avenues for Further Research

The number of case studies conducted is necessarily limited by time constraints as well as by the length of the thesis, which is why key organisations and actors in Australia and the United States were focused on. There is definitely scope for further research to be carried out that explores similar trends across other organisations within the AAM in these countries, as well as in other countries (Williams 2012, p. 51). It would be valuable to investigate if the results found in this thesis would apply elsewhere, particularly in non-Western countries, where animal advocacy obviously takes place in a very different context.

There would be benefits from further analysis of the application of theories such as bureaucratisation, new privatisation and resource mobilisation to the AAM, with these theories applied to additional real-life examples, beyond the organisations covered in this thesis (Jurik 2004, p. 10; Munro 2012, p. 166). The analysis of the business-like tendencies and embrace of market principles by some AAOs would assist in building on and testing Jurik's (2008, p. 69; 2004, pp. 3-5; 2006, pp. 122, 127; 2005, p. 212) thesis that NFPs are increasingly indistinguishable from for-profit businesses. The attitudes of animal advocates have been largely neglected in research. This thesis has contributed to overcoming this gap in the field, however, there is still a considerable amount of work in this area that is required (Signal and Taylor 2006, p. 273). As mentioned above, further in-depth interviews with animal advocates, particularly those working with large organisations, would be useful in gaining greater insight into the relative importance of different forms of rationality in shaping animal advocacy campaigns.

This thesis has focused on animal advocacy campaigns generally, but has particularly focused on veganism and the mainstreaming of veganism in Australia and the United States. It has been found that there is a lack of statistical data on the numbers of people who consider themselves to be vegans. Further research in these two countries and beyond, including more comprehensive surveys on the proportion of vegans in these countries, would be very useful in gauging the extent of gains being made for veganism.

The media coverage of human/non-human relations was also explored. While the animal rights frame is increasingly presented, even in mainstream media sources, the welfare frame is still very dominant. To gain a greater scholarly understanding of the variety of perspectives provided by the media on the issue of human/non-human relations, further empirical research would be useful, with content analysis being able to provide real-life examples to support media hegemony research (Carragee and Roefs 2004, p. 228). Such analysis could evaluate the extent to which the welfare frame continues to dominate in the context of veganism being increasingly recognised in the mainstream media. There would also be benefits from further research on the potential of the Internet to promote alternative frames and reframe stories from other media on the issue of human/non-human relations (Boyd-Barrett 2006, p. 205).

One idea that was considered for this project, but was abandoned due to time and space constraints, was focus group research. Focus groups could be used to give some indication of the perception of the relative importance of different forms of rationality within AAOs, from the viewpoint of participants in the movement. This would provide an opportunity to test and add to the assessment of the influence of forms of rationality on animal advocacy campaigns made in this thesis (Williams 2012, pp. 52-53). Focus groups are used as a tool to 'explore, define, and generate ideas' (McMurray, Pace, and Scott 2004, p. 203) and the ideas generated from these focus groups could be compared with the results from this project.

More broadly, further research that involves focus groups in Australia or the United States would be beneficial in gaining a greater understanding of the themes explored in this thesis. Participants could be found from local vegan and vegetarian social groups in Australian or American cities. It would be important to ensure that the people from these social groups had some knowledge of the AAM and it would also be beneficial if these groups contained a mixture of people involved in large-scale AAOs, smaller-scale AAOs and also those not involved with any AAOs – in order to ensure a diversity of perspectives. Cary Williams (2012, p. 53) makes the case that 'future research in all areas of the field of human and animal interactions will produce a deeper understanding of not just animals, but humans as well'.

Appendices

Appendix 1.1 Standard Questions for Animal Advocacy Organisations

- Could you please describe the structure your organisation?
- Could you please describe the decision-making processes of your organisation?
- How is your organisation financed?
- Could you please give a brief history of your organisation? Who were the significant actors in setting up the organisation and what was the “driving force” behind the organisation being set up?
- If your organisation was successful in achieving their objectives, what would this mean for animals? What are you striving for as an ideal end goal?
- Please describe some of the recent campaigns or actions your organisation has carried out and why these campaigns have been carried out.
- Have your campaigns changed over time?
- How do you keep your day-to-day operations in line with your overall goals? What issues does this raise for your organisation?
- How has the use of the Internet impacted on your organisation?
- Do you feel that the Internet has been beneficial for your organisation or do you feel that it has led to more activism that is less organisation-based?
- Do you feel there is a link between human rights and animal rights? How does this influence your organisation?
- How do you view the difference between animal rights and welfare?
- How does this inform the ideology and activism of your organisation?
- Is there anything else you would like to add about your organisation, its role in the animal advocacy movement, or anything about the animal advocacy movement itself?

Appendix 1.2 Participant Information Form

Information Letter to Participants

Title of Study: Institutional Development in the Animal Advocacy Movement

The purpose of this Doctoral research project is to develop a sociological understanding of the animal advocacy movement and the various forms of activism that make up this movement. This research aims to understand the range of ideologies, organisational forms, and key actors within the movement. The main focus will be on the animal advocacy movement in Australia; however, there will also be some study into the movement in the United States. The purpose of the interviews is to gather information about the relationship between the organisational forms and structures, campaigns, and activism that constitute the animal advocacy movement, from the perspective of key actors from animal advocacy organisations. These interviews will explore the ways in which these factors give rise to different forms of activism and campaign strategies in the movement. Nicholas Pendergrast will be doing this research project as part of his Doctoral thesis at Curtin University of Technology. This research will be supervised by Senior Lecturer Dr Jan Sinclair-Jones from the School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages.

By agreeing to participate in this research you will be asked to take part in the following activities;

- ✿ Sign a Consent Form (Attached)
- ✿ One interview: taking approximately 60 minutes, which will take place at a time and location that is suitable to you. During this interview process you do not have to answer questions you are not comfortable answering. With your permission the interview will be recorded and transcribed and you will be provided with a copy of the transcript for correction of errors in transcription.
- ✿ You may be asked to for a brief follow-up/clarification interview after all of the interviews have been completed.

Due to the nature of this study and the roles of the people I am talking to, any information you give me may be quoted as having come from you. If you wish to provide any information which you do not want to be identified as coming from you, please tell me at the time of the interview. Information gathered from this study will be securely stored for a period of five years. Custodians of this personal information will be Nicholas Pendergrast and supervisor Dr Jan Sinclair-Jones.

It is not compulsory for you to participate in this research project and you can withdraw at any time without consequence. By withdrawing from the study all information gathered from you will be destroyed and not used in the findings. There is no harm or possible risk connected with participating in this study. Your ideas about this issue will greatly assist in developing an understanding of the animal advocacy movement.

If you are willing to assist please sign the consent form attached. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this Doctoral research project please do not hesitate to contact Nicholas Pendergrast. You can do this by contacting Nick via:

Email nicholas.pendergrast@postgrad.curtin.edu.au

Mobile 0421 879 004, Home (08) 6460 1695

Or by contacting Nick's supervisor: Senior Lecturer Dr Jan Sinclair-Jones:

J.Sinclair-Jones@curtin.edu.au

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in this study,

Nicholas Pendergrast

(Sociology PhD Student)

Department of Social Sciences

Curtin University

This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number HR 01/2010). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. Its main role is to protect participants. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au.

If you wish to make a complaint about this research project on ethical grounds please contact the Human Research Ethics Committee (Secretary) via:

Phone (08) 9266 2784

Email hrec@curtin.edu.au

Writing C/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth WA 6845

Appendix 1.3 Notes from the Interviews

Notes from the Interview with Noah Hannibal, President of Uproar

**Could you please describe the structure of your organisation?*

I'm with Uproar, we're a new group, an incorporated organisation with a committee, including a secretary, treasurer, general committee members, volunteers and supporters. We have a core group that discusses campaigns.

**Could you please describe the decision-making processes of your organisation?*

It is pretty democratic – basically we have a discussion with the core group and decide on the best campaigns that would be most effective. Decisions are made through the committee and key campaigners.

**How is your organisation financed?*

Finance is primarily from members but also our own money, as well as from merchandise. In future we envisage being financed by memberships and donations.

**Could you please give a brief history of your organisation? Who were the significant actors in setting up the organisation and what was the "driving force" behind the organisation being set up?*

A lot of people in Uproar are ex-committee members from other animal rights groups – there is a lot of experience. The groups we were involved in took on too many campaigns and were less effective as a result, the idea of Uproar was to focus on a small number of key campaigns to optimise our effectiveness.

We are striving for a world in which animals aren't exploited and treated as property, we don't think we'll see it in our lifetime but we want to raise awareness and promote the advantages of going vegan. Principally for moral reasons but also for reasons of health and environment.

**Please describe some of the recent campaigns your organisation has carried out and why these campaigns have been carried out.*

We're in the process of launching a few, one of our first campaigns to promote veganism counters the problem of most people thinking vegans are weak pale tree huggers. We've done 50 interviews and profiles of doctors, lawyers, weight lifters, etc that don't fit the vegan stereotype – it's like a PR campaign for veganism. We're launching it on June 1 with a different profile each week on the website and eventually we'll bolster it with a poster/postcard campaign in libraries, cafes etc. That's the main one – our two areas are animal rescue and vegan education.

We carry out open rescues, we visit rabbit farms, battery farms and we're going to do piggeries, we put footage together to show the public what happens behind closed doors. We document the conditions and rescue animals, sometimes we get the animals in the worst condition out so they can receive veterinary care, but we'll get others out to take to a sanctuary too. We won't do a rescue if there isn't a home.

**Have your campaigns changed over time?*

** How do you keep your day-to-day operations in line with your overall goals? What issues does this raise for your organisation?*

We're all volunteers – we focus on our main campaigns and try to stick to what we have to do. There is a shared ideology, There is a good consensus.

**How has the use of the Internet impacted on your organisation?*

It is pretty central to our campaigning, it's cost-effective. Two of us on the committee are web designers so it will be the main focus of our campaigning. We'll have an activist centre online where people can download campaign materials. It is predominantly online, if we get enough funds we could do more printing. We're going to produce a Melbourne Vegan Guide. The site will have information sections with a print out section for printing posters.

**Do you feel the internet is beneficial for your organisation or do you feel that it has led to more activism that is less organisation-based?*

I think the internet is our key tool for drawing people and it can be an effective tool for motivating people to take action. We have a website launching in the next few weeks and a Facebook page.

**Do you feel there is a link between human rights and animal rights? How does this influence your organisation?*

Yeah, absolutely. Humans are animals. We don't distinguish between the rights of humans and animals, no one deserves to be treated as an object or abused.

**Is there statement along those lines on your site?*

In campaigning for a better world we align ourselves with other groups working for social change against animal abuse, racism, sexism, homophobia, and in defense of human rights and the environment.

**Isn't there something on the Facebook page about the link – a quote from Gary Francione?*

Yeah actually there is something on the Facebook page against sexism and racism.

**How do you view the difference between animal rights and welfare?*

It is a pretty important distinction. Animal rights treats animals as ends in themselves, that we can't use for our own purposes. Animal welfare allows animals to be treated as means to our ends, so long as this is done 'humanely'. It results in animal welfare groups running campaigns that promote 'free range' or 'happy meat', or campaigns that seek to kill sheep in Australia rather than send them to the Middle East to be killed. There is nothing 'humane' about getting killed in a slaughterhouse, no matter which way you spin it.

You wouldn't see an abolitionist slavery campaign for better conditions for slaves. If you think animals shouldn't be exploited then you should be abolitionist.

**How does this inform the ideology and activism of your organisation?*

**Is there anything else you would like to add about your organisation, its role in the animal advocacy movement, or anything about the animal advocacy movement itself?*

With Uproar a large part of what we want to do is get the message out there in different innovative ways, a lot of animal rights organisations campaigns aren't working or are diluting the message. We want to make veganism mainstream without selling out our ethics.

**So reaching a wider audience without resorting to animal welfare or compromising human rights?*

Yes exactly.

Notes from the Interview with Patty Mark, President of Animal Liberation Victoria

**Could you please describe the structure and decision-making processes of your organisation?*

Structure – it is ALV, we're a non profit animal right organisation dedicated to abolitionist principles, mainly the property status of animals. We are incorporated, I started the group in 1978 as a group of friends then we got incorporated (1984). We have a mission statement and a constitution, we have an AGM every year and it all gets monitored by the government. If you make more than 200 000 (per annum) you get audited – which we don't. We have a committee, which is responsible for decisions. There have been a lot of ups and downs with organisation, it was the first AL in Australia after AL NSW. The first Animal Lib was founded by Christine Townend in 1976, they had 5 – 10 people as 'members' the rest were basically supporters. Her husband was a lawyer who drafted/wrote their Rules of Association (constitution) so he had more experience how to set up the best constitution to keep the management tighter and thus able to keep the organisation/mission statement along the lines intended.

Originally anyone who signed up and paid a fee were automatically added as members of ALV, this led the group open to infiltration and takeovers. So now, Everyone who joins us has to be invited to be a voting member. We join people up as supporters, but to have full voting rights you have to apply to committee and be approved, like what AL NSW did in 1976. Members meet once a year at the AGM and vote in the committee. The committee runs the organisation. I have been booted out of the organisation twice. We've been infiltrated by police and the industry. There can be a select interest group that vote out the committee and votes themselves in.

In 1996 there was a move to get rid of me, I was voted off despite being founder and president, which led to the group then focusing on cats and dogs instead. This is even though I set up ALV to oppose factory farming initially, and now animal agriculture in general. I used to bend over backwards to let everyone have their say but some people have their own agenda. If I was advising someone starting an activist organisation now, I'd tell them to do it like a business – get people who you trust are on the same page with the same goals and aims to be part of your management structure.

Decisions are made by a small committee. Advantages are is that it is less time consuming – there are less debates about what is too radical, what is not radical enough etc. With these time-consuming discussions – your passion dilutes, you get stunted and it's not good for the group or for the animals.

I used to get frustrated with other animal groups when I thought they weren't taking a front line approach for animals. Now I just focus on what I want to do and don't focus on infighting and what other groups may or may not be doing.

I think it is important that the movement is abolitionist but we shouldn't spend too much time trying to convince other animal welfare groups about that especially if they are obviously set in their ways. The important people to focus on with vegan education is the general public. Some people think abolitionists are holier than thou, some vegetarians get blasted by vegans for not being vegan. This is not how I would speak to vegetarians though I would try my best to keep encouraging to go vegan and tell and or remind them about the dairy industry. There is so much antagonism in the movement on both sides. This can be counter productive. I think it's especially hurtful and unproductive when animal welfarists refer to abolitionists as high and mighty.

One of the committee members died – there are currently 6 of us.

**How is your organisation financed?*

No government funding, financed by the support base – through donations and the occasional bequest. We have a \$35/\$25 concession yearly subscription. There are also donations, which are received at stalls such as at Sustainable Living Festival, as well as money from selling merchandise at stalls and online.

**Could you please give a brief history of your organisation? Who were the significant actors in setting up the organisation and what was the "driving force" behind the organisation being set up?*

I came to Australia in 1975, I was from mid west USA, there was no farmed animal movement back then. When I was in Greece on a bicycle trip I saw goat head's soup after stopping to play with a herd of goats and their kids at the side of the road, I became vegetarian when a half hour later I saw a goats head in a cauldron of soup at a road side cafe. this was in 1974. Once in Melbourne in 1975 my husband bought me books, including Animal Liberation by Peter Singer. I had a hard time reading this book and learning about what was happening to animals esp farmed animals as I grew up right near these farms where animals were raised and slaughtered in the conditions described in Animal Liberation yet I hadn't been aware of them.

In 1977 I wrote letters to Peter Singer asking how I could help. Singer wrote back and told me to check out two local Melbourne groups called, Humane Society and a group called Animal Rights. I contacted both groups, they said they were happy for me to help. I told them I wanted to focus on factory farming but they didn't get back to me. Then one day in the local library I saw a woman's magazine that mentioned a new groups called Animal Liberation NSW and I wrote to them and started a steady correspondence with the founder, Christine Townend. Christine liked my letters and eventually asked me to set up my own group in Victoria, I put up a hand written notice saying HELP THE HENS in my local milk bar and our first meeting was held in December 1978. 17 people came to this meeting. This was because a well known journalist at the Herald Sun, had seen my notice thought it an oddity and mentioned it in his column. As we grew in those early days, most people thought that Peter Singer founded the group but he didn't. He was overseas and didn't come back to Australia until 1980 and then joined us. I didn't find Peter Singer as a hands-on activist, he was usually more than willing to be a media spokesperson but did not take on bulk organising jobs. He was extremely busy being a philosopher.

Chris and I kept in close regular contact and referred to our two organisations as 'branches' of Animal Liberation. When in fact both groups were autonomous (again recommended by her lawyer husband). From memory, Jackie Kent started AL QLD in the next year, then an AL was started in ACT by Jenny McDougal (a dairy farmer) [gives you an idea where we were back then] , then AL SA was set up by George Karroli, then AL TAS was set up by Pam Clarke who became a household name in Tasmania for her work against the battery cage. All these groups worked together closely for the next 8-10 years or so. We circulated Action Magazine (formerly OUTCRY) which I founded and edited to all the 'branches' of Animal Liberation, even though we were all autonomous.

In 1979 Chris and I heard Peter Singer was coming back to Australia (he had been on sabbatical in USA) and he agreed to come to one of our meetings in 1980, in Melbourne. At that time (and still) Singer was referred to as the father of the animal liberation movement. Christine and I were totally inspired with him. We organised a big 'welcome home' to Singer at one of our member's homes in the beautiful dandenongs. This was well attended. At this afternoon tea (the first time I met Peter Singer, I asked him if he would be interested in attending an ALV meeting. He said yes and then continued to come to meetings. so we then asked him if he would become President of ALV (we were not Inc. at this time. I then became Vice-President. For the next 4 or 5 years Peter and I worked closely together. I would research and organise events for which Peter would be the media spokesperson.

After 4 or 5 years we started to have differences of opinion with the philosophy. I wasn't that knowledgeable about different types of philosophies and their labels, With my stand on animal issue, I went mostly by my gut instincts. I later found out about utilitarianism, which Peter followed. I'm not a utilitarian, to me every individual animal matters. So it became clearer to me why we weren't agreeing on everything and why our viewpoints started to digress and differ. (the beginning of me 'discovering' 'abolition' perhaps, and realising that peter was an animal welfarist)

From mid to late 80s there developed a major shift in the aussie animal movement. There became clear divisions between what was welfarism versus abolitionism (although that terminology didn't exist). For instance when Animal Liberation started, I didn't want to say or use the word vegetarian, as I thought it may put people off, they thinking we were too radical. But after about 3 years we started to use the term vegetarian. By the 1990s ALV wanted to promote veganism, it seems wrong to promote vegetarianism now. This caused a split within ALV. Peter Singer is now involved and working with Animals Australia. ALV have been marginalised more or less within the Australian animal movement as being too fanatical.

I founded Action Magazine (formerly *Outcry*) in 1980. This was something very important to me because I saw it as a 'campaign' as much as a newsletter/magazine. The movement needed a good quality, professional looking magazine to get the message out there. In the early days I kept in close contact with all the other Animal Liberation Organisations who sent me articles for the magazine that I edited and then circulated nationwide. In the late 80s and early 90s when the organisations were no longer working that closely together, there was a move to transfer the magazine to Animals Australia. As founder/editor I was fighting to keep Action Magazine with ALV where I knew it would remain more hard line and forceful, rather than more welfarist. Which was the direction Animals Australia would take it. I didn't believe their message was strong enough –and if they edited it Action Magazine (which I thought of as my 'third child' would become welfarist. There were strong moves amongst several of the other animal liberation groups and individuals (including Peter Singer) to merge *Action Magazine* with Animals Australia's magazine *Animal's Today* to increase circulation. (Most of the Animal Liberation groups except ALV were members of AA (at that time called ANZFAS Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies). At the Adelaide AGM (from memory in 1993), Singer spoke against me retaining control/editorship of the magazine. Or the compromise was to send both Action Mag and Animal's Today to all subscribers of all organisations and ask the people which one they preferred.

Also a couple years later Singer also got behind the cat and dog people who booted me out of ALV (which included another attempt to gain the subscribers to Action Magazine, which thank goodness I won the vote at the Adelaide AGM to keep editorship of Action Magazine). Some loyal supporters organised a special general meeting at the time I was booted out (1996) to which Peter Singer wrote a letter to all ALV members advising them to vote with the takeover group. After 3-4 years, members were concerned with how ALV was being run and asked and encouraged me to please come back. This turned into a very hard but successful struggle. The people who took over were mostly doing dog and cat re-homing.

So we got back in control of ALV in January 2001. However we then discovered that ALV was heavily in debt and facing bankruptcy. It took us a lot of hard work to get the organisation back in the black.

Currently Peter and I agree to disagree, I think his approach and some comments he makes publicly are counterproductive and I tell him that. I don't believe that he is leading the movement in the way it should go, yet he is perceived as the global 'figurehead'. For example, Singer promotes humane meat and says that chickens are replaceable but I totally disagree with this. Chickens are individuals and intelligent. I still get upset when I hear or read things he's written along this vein, except now I just put the blinkers on and keep focusing on ALV and vegan education. But no more would I ever call or consider Peter Singer to be the father of the animal movement.

The driving force behind setting up ALV was initially opposing factory farming. We started out as a welfare group back in 1978. I remember back around 1980 Singer and I were invited to visit a free range farm on King Island. I was so excited, at the time, as my dream back then was to get free range eggs into the grocery stores. I naively believed at that time, that if free range eggs were available to consumers that would be the end of the battery cage. Now, 30 years later free range eggs are readily available yet there are more battery hens than ever before. And I see these ads on TV for free range chickens and I cry. I've learned so much over this time about the animal industry, and now I realise it's not about 'free range' at all because the animals still get killed.

For instance, a strong discovery for me heading towards the vegan path was finding out around 3 years ago about parent breeding sheds. These are the sheds where the parents of all the laying hens and meat birds are confined. We were doing an open rescue at an rspca barn laid shed that was empty. But then our team heard these loud screams. We followed our ears and a couple paddocks away we came across a egg laying parent shed. It was one of the worst sheds I've been in. The hens and roosters were packed in tightly together and were screaming, you could not hear yourself talk from the screams and the loud ventilation fans. It was like a broiler shed except it didn't have litter as flooring, but raised wire, this was the whole floor. This because these birds were confined in this shed for over a year, up to 15 months. There are parent birds sheds and even grandparent bird sheds.

The offspring of these tormented roosters and hens become free range, barnlaid, and caged hens. The animal movement itself still isn't very aware of these sheds, much less the general public. There are approximately 53

billion chickens killed globally every year. This includes laying and meat strains and their parents. All the parents are confined in these horrible putrid smelling sheds where the hens have no respite from constant mating and their backs become red and raw and then roosters are totally exhausted from a year of 'servicing' all the hens. There are approximately one rooster to six hens and these hens lay 150 fertile eggs a year.

I'm not aware of any 'free-range parent bird' farms anywhere. This is why I believe it is wrong to promote free range because of all the suffering to the parent birds, plus it's still death and it's still wrong. All the animals, whether free range, or caged, or semi-intensive... they all end up at the abattoir. Also in some sheds, the roosters are so depleted/exhausted after one year they are killed, but then replaced with younger roosters who continue to mate the already bald backed hens for a further three months.

I can somewhat understand what the animal welfarists mean by 'incremental change' and yes it may take some time for people to change. But I strongly believe the public aren't stupid, and deserve to know exactly what is happening to all the animals including the 'free range ones and their parents. Consumers may still make the wrong choice, but at least they know they do have choices. And more importantly how badly animals suffer in all types of animal agriculture and by promoting a vegan lifestyle we can connect the dots and get people where they need to be much quicker.

**Please describe some of the recent campaigns your organisation has carried out and why these campaigns have been carried out.*

Vegan education is a very important campaign. veganeasy.org is our new website and main campaign promoting vegan education. I would be surprised if half of ALV supporters were vegetarian and 1 out of ten were vegan, so you can imagine why it's so important. Of course the main active volunteers are vegan. Reaching ALV supporters with veganism is a great start to reaching the wider community. I write an editorial in the ALV magazine and always promote veganism. We always try to link veganism to the animals of course, because they are the ones who benefit the most! though it's still important to talk about health and the environment so we help everyone. ALV is now more oriented to vegan education.

For over four years we weekly distributed leaflets outside KFCs in line with a PETA campaign. But we changed their leaflets to an abolitionist ALV one because we didn't want to promote killing chickens in gas chambers which was on their leaflet. PETA see this as an incremental step. But ALV don't believe it's ever the job of an animal activist to promote killing animals. ALV wants fast food places to change to mock meat instead. We realise this is a big ask, but it must be stated and worked toward.

We're currently producing a new vegan booklet which is near completion, it is 32 pages and it is called *Spot the Vegan*. We want it to be positive and uplifting with mostly positive photos. It will display a cross section of people who are vegan to show the public that vegans aren't just 'hippies' but cover a wide and diverse groups of people from all different ages and groups.

We are continue with Open rescues, which we started in 1993. Before that ALV had done street marches, petitions, meetings with the Ministers for Agriculture, speaking at schools and so on. However, nothing really changed with these actions.

Then one day I had a call from a worker inside a battery hen farm. This woman was distressed and wanted to talk about what was happening at her workplace. She told me about chickens 'falling into manure pits', she said the chickens would fall into the manure pits and get stuck in the excrement then the other staff would use them for target practice at lunch time, shooting at them often missing them or leaving them wounded. One of our volunteers offered to work there for a few days to confirm her story. The guy worked there for three days, confirming what we were told.

Diana Simpson, one of our volunteers lived in that area and said she would get some footage. In the middle of the night, she went into manure pit and filmed dead and dying hens, then brought the footage to Melbourne. I couldn't believe what I was seeing. I said we have to go there immediately and get them out, I called Darren Hinch (who ran the top rating HINCH AT SEVEN current affairs program at the time) and told him we were going to rescue the birds ourselves as the legal authorities never acted. There were five activists and the channel 7 film crew. That night we successfully rescued around 20 hens from the manure pit. The story ran on national TV, called the Dungeons of Alpine Poultry. It was a big breakthrough and that was the start of

OPENRESCUE. The more media we got, the more tip offs we got and the word spread. In the early days of Openrescue we would look for and document violations to the Code of Practice for Poultry, hoping to get a prosecution case against the industry. Now we still rescue and document but use the results to promote veganism.

I was invited to give a talk at a 1999 Animal Rights Convention in the USA hosted by United Poultry Concerns about our Openrescue work here in Australia. 90 people were at the conference and they were all shocked at the footage we had obtained, and impressed with how openrescue operated. The ALF were very active at the time and they also presented at the same conference. They would cover their faces/identity because they did property damage.

Openrescue operates differently (without making any judgement about ALF). We don't do property damage, we rescue sick animals, showing our face saying who we are, we take the animals to vets for treatment and then to good homes. A couple animal groups in the USA then started to do open rescues. However now with the strict anti-terror laws and the Shac 7 getting huge prison sentences, there is no current openrescues that I'm aware of in the USA. Instead now many of the larger groups get people to work legally undercover in the farms/abattoirs and take footage that they then release to the public. There are strong openrescue groups currently operating in Spain (igualidadanimal.org) and in New Zealand, as well as here in Australia.

I've just discovered that Gary Francione who is a world leader in promoting vegan abolition and runs abolitionistapproach.com website is saying that open rescues are not helpful. I generally really admire Gary's work, but I don't agree with him on this issue. I see open rescue as similar to the Underground Railroad where many slaves were successfully freed in the USA. Openrescue does save animal's lives and takes hardhitting footage to show the public the horrible conditions the animals are in.

I know the animals we get out are better off. I was told that one of Gary's points was that we should pay for "spent" or downer animals from the abattoirs and save them that way, but I think this encourages the property status of animals, which is the main thing ALV would like to change. In extreme circumstances, for instance if I was right there and able to save a life by paying someone without 'illegally taking the animals' then I would do this, but I wouldn't do it as a regular thing.

Just as I no longer take a tape measure on openrescues anymore to check the size of the cages/pens to see if the Code of Practice is being breached. Our rescue teams also always took the sickest animals and those in poor condition near death but now we take some healthy ones too to give them a chance of life. Our openrescue philosophy no longer just covers animals confined inside factory farm sheds. If I knew an animal in a paddock was going to a slaughterhouse, I still think this animal should be rescued.

It was distressing for me to learn that vegan abolitionists were criticizing openrescues. I would like to get inside the heads of these activists in case I'm missing something... like I was many years ago when I was a welfarist. But my gut level is strong, in that I don't want to *pay someone* for an animal, as animals aren't property and can't be bought and sold.

I've been to jail twice but only for short times. There are currently 8 warrants for my imprisonment and I could go again at any time, this is stressful. But after all I've seen and all I now know about, I believe there is nothing wrong with going into these huge industrial factory farms to rescue and give aid to the sick and dying who are ignored by the industry. I think it would be wrong not to. I feel super confident during rescues that it is about giving urgent help where it is desperately needed, like coming across a train wreck and doing all you can to help the victims.

**How has the use of the Internet impacted on your organisation?*

It's huge, everything is changing. We have two part time people employed who help out with internet work, we now rely less on our magazine and more on our e-news to reach our supporters. But we still produce Action Magazine as a hard copy always comes in handy and our older members are often not on the internet. We do a lot of campaigning online now through the website and Facebook pages.

**Internet Beneficial?*

There are so many online petitions, it helps people feel involved but I don't believe it does that much other than educate people. Other uses of the internet are good, for instance here in Victoria the Premier has a special function on his website where you can list what issues concern you. Our current OSCAR'S LAW campaign is one of the leading items on this list. This sort of approach works for puppies (which always pulls the public in) but not chickens, whose plight does not attract as much interest.

The puppy campaigning is against dog farming – the parent dogs who are kept in appalling conditions, they are bred back to back and female dogs can have up to 100 puppies over their breeding lives. These cute little pups are sold as 'impulse buys' in pet shops, on the internet etc. Puppies are so expensive which is why so many are being bred for a quick buck. Puppy farmers admit that when the breeding dogs are no longer viable they are shot. This campaign is a part of the overall stance against the property status of animals.

**If your organisation was successful in achieving their objectives, what would this mean for animals? What are you striving for as an ideal end goal?*

The end goal of course, is not to have animal organisations anymore! For there to be no need for us to exist. Now, our work must be ongoing, consistent, honest and strong. At that first meeting of ALV back in December 1978 I remember saying to the people who came to ban the battery cage. "I have to be honest, I think it might take us two years". And now, over 30 years later it's never been worse for battery hens. I really thought back then it was something that could be achieved in two years – once everyone knew how horrible battery cages were, they would no longer support it. On a positive note however, I believe with global warming we are nearing a tipping point and mother nature will shake off the human parasites soon.

There are currently debates in the animal movement about single-issue campaigning (such as battery hens). Now ALV doesn't just target battery hens because then people might want to buy free range as an 'alternative' when it's not. The welfarists are right in that things aren't going to change overnight. But ALV believes it's the job of animal activists to educate what is the best answer for the quickest relief from pain and suffering. If animal activists don't promote veganism, then who will?

You can't think only in terms of individual wins, when we have shut down some puppy farms it was great and exciting until we found out the breeding dogs are only moved on to another puppy farm somewhere. So the precedent and media exposure of a 'shutdown' is good, but it's a small part of the battle. So I can understand how some activists don't believe that single-issue campaigns like shutting down a puppy farm doesn't really work, but it does have some benefits in education, as long as you campaign in an abolitionist framework. For instance, if you were campaigning against the battery cage, you would have to target all animal agriculture at the same time and not encourage people to buy free range eggs instead. There is always a positive and creative way to run a campaign take for instance our vegan easy 30 Day Challenge – it was fun and positive and didn't involve harming any animals. Any campaign should have a vegan baseline.

I believe our main focus should be abattoirs. I went through a few of them in 1981 and again in 1987 and later on. I have seen the animals being killed. I've witnessed their desperate fear and terror. The first cows I saw killed who were foaming at the mouth and doing all they could to escape I promised them that for the rest of my life I would do all I could to shut down abattoirs. I have to ask myself, why has it taken me this long (almost 30 years, to FOCUS on what I know now is the most important job to tackle, shutting down the slaughterhouses?

When I first visited the abattoirs I was not allowed to take a camera, I could only take notes. Now if I could say anything to young activists I would say focus on the abattoir, the fact that we routinely and methodically kill animals day in day out.

** How do you keep your day-to-day operations in line with your overall goals? What issues does this raise for your organisation?*

That's a hard one. You'd think that after 30 years it would be different. I see ALV as more grass roots, we are less structured. When we were bigger and had an office in the city, a lot of time and energy went into that. The office is now based here at my house, there are two rooms upstairs - how grass roots is that? Of course I would be happier if it was more organised and had an efficient office somewhere easily accessible. When our

aims become mainstream this may happen. And one can 'dream' that all the RSPCA's and other animal welfare groups will soon be promoting veganism.

I believe I'm a passionate activist, but I'm not the world's best manager, I have a hard time saying no to anyone. People would say I had "too many balls in the air at one time", that was a criticism I heard a few times. Who of us doesn't want to help all the animals we hear about. But I now realise the more you focus on set goals the more success you will have. The problem is, there are so many areas/animals needing urgent help and so few people actively in the movement.

I've been called a perfectionist, I don't think that's bad, I can go over things over and over, but I think the better campaigns look, the more respect we'll get. Also with new volunteers now, I really like to know they understand our abolitionist mission statement. Some people write material for our website but it ends up being welfarist – then everyone's time is wasted and this isn't good for morale. A lot of young people now I find think “yeah, we shouldn't be promoting free range” which I think is exciting. No group is the be all and end all.

**Do you feel there is a link between human rights and animal rights? How does this influence your organisation?*

Absolutely, it is so connected, we are animals. There are just less than 7 billion humans and 56 billion land animals are killed each year to feed those 7 billion humans. 98% of the land animals are chickens, the number of fish skyrockets: it's about 1 – 3 trillion fish killed each year. There are starving people around the world and all the land use goes to raise crops to feed animals not people. We'd need 3 – 5 planets if China and India start eating like the West does, with KFC and McDonald's on every corner.

**How do you view the difference between animal rights and welfare?*

Major. Compare it to human welfare vs human rights. Everyone wants people to have good welfare/living conditions but the bottom premise is acknowledging that each human has the right to live most of all. the right to respect and equal treatment. Animal welfare focuses on improving the lives of animals while they are still slaves and property. It's the job of the animal activist to establish that animals aren't *property* and have the right to life, then we can focus on animal welfare, such as making sure animals (human ones included) have good welfare.

**How does this inform the ideology and activism of your organisation?*

We are definitely abolitionist animal rights, but we do want animals to have good welfare, we do not condemn incremental change of course. If we hear that pig stalls have been banned FINALLY, we would be happy, but would realise that it's just a small step in the battle to win animals their rights.

**Is there anything else you would like to add about your organisation, its role in the animal advocacy movement, or anything about the animal advocacy movement itself?*

I know that the major changes needed for animals will not happen in my lifetime but the most important thing is to live a vegan lifestyle and promote veganism. There is no excuse to not do what we know is right and fair to all. Veganism should be the baseline, definitely.

Notes from the Interview with Glenys Oogjes, President of Animals Australia

**Could you please describe the structure and decision-making processes of your organisation?*

Animals Australia has a number of aspects, primarily we're a peak body. We represent other groups, as an umbrella body we have 35 or 36 groups that want to be represented by Animals Australia, which means they're happy with what we do on their behalf. We provide views and submissions to government and the media.

All of our member groups come together each year to elect an executive at the AGM. The member organisations send delegates – the number of delegates is proportional to the size of the organisation. The organisation has a staff – I'm the head, the executive director. We also have supporters, advertising campaigns and online advocacy.

Our purpose is improving the welfare of animals in Australia. We have an elected executive, one from each state and territory except the Northern Territory. They provide decision making powers to the executive sub-committee who I deal with more closely. We're able through executive and member groups to run things most of the time. The staff make day to day decisions, the executive sub-committee are in closer contact month to month

**Pros and cons of this structure?*

It works fairly well, I don't see it as a problem. It is a fairly stable organisation – the executive is almost always people who have come to know what Animals Australia is about. They've already been coming to AGMs and seeing what Animals Australia does and they like what we do.

**How is your organisation financed?*

Almost entirely by supporter donations, we get a small grant from the federal government because we are an umbrella/peak body and we provide policy input indicating what the other groups want, which is a service to the government – they don't need to go to the individual bodies. The amount we get from government is only a very small part of our income though. There is a small amount from our member societies, some individual members give money through fundraising, others give a monthly donation.

**Could you please give a brief history of your organisation? Who were the significant actors in setting up the organisation and what was the "driving force" behind the organisation being set up?*

In 1980 Peter Singer and Christine Townend (who was influenced by Peter's book in the 1970s) set up Animals Australia. She also set up Animal Liberation New South Wales. She and Peter Singer realised that there were a lot of groups including a lot of Animal Liberation groups – new age welfare and rights groups. Singer and Townend thought it would be good to form an umbrella body particularly for factory farming, live exports and the commercial slaughter of kangaroos. It was initially called Australian Federation of Animal Societies, at the first meeting there were 33 groups – this was in July 1980.

**Please describe some of the recent campaigns your organisation has carried out and why these campaigns have been carried out.*

We choose our campaigns for many reasons, mostly where there is the most suffering by more animals, sometimes where a win on a small issue will wake people up to issues of broader animal suffering. More specifically the campaigns are factory farming, breeding pigs, particularly the females in sow stalls and farrowing crates, as is battery hens, live animal export – these are things we focus on.

**Have your campaigns changed over time?*

The targets haven't changed, the sort of issues, but there has been a change in emphasis in regard to strategy. Once we did think that trying to put animals into politics, to think that our politicians would and could change

laws and enforcement regimes was the way forward. But now we doubt that very much, we still try that but we think that it is a very slow process – it is better to affect the community who can lobby politicians but more likely what they choose to buy and support – this has led to a greater emphasis on campaigning.

**How has the use of the Internet impacted on your organisation?*

It's greatly assisted, we've had a website since the internet's inception with a lot of information on it, it always had facts sheets and information, through more recent years since 2004 and increasingly each year we've had online advocacy with information and what people can do. We have online pledges and petitions, people can put their view across to decision makers very quickly, up to 10 000 people have been able to tell a politician what they think on individual issues in recent times.

Unleashed (website) was launched early last year or year before and it is more youth focused, mid to late teens and early 20s – though anyone is welcome to use it. It is written in a way that youth understand and forums that youth like to communicate through. We've been able to attend music events like the Big Day Out, Mind Body Spirit and do tables and people can join up or get involved with the forums.

**Do you feel the internet is beneficial for your organisation or do you feel that it has led to more activism that is less organisation-based?*

I think it's only a benefit. Animals Australia continues to grow and I don't mind if people don't come to us, as long as what they're doing is productive. We like to help direct people – we have a lot of networking with government and industries so we have a good knowledge base so we hope they come to us so their activism is well directed.

**If your organisation was successful in achieving their objectives, what would this mean for animals? What are you striving for as an ideal end goal?*

The end goal is a long way away, we want to improve protection of animals but there is a whole culture of animal exploitation. We want no animals to be suffering but there will probably always be suffering, in the medium term we would get rid of all factory farming, animals would still be farmed but their confinement would be reduced so they could still exhibit their natural behaviours. You would get rid of commercial killing of wild life, live export, reduce and eventually eliminate all use of animals in research, get rid of use and abuse of animals for entertainment, the list goes on and on.

** How do you keep your day-to-day operations in line with your overall goals? What issues does this raise for your organisation?*

In addition to the AGM, at the executive stage it comes down to me particularly and working with staff to plan campaigns. We have regular staff meetings, we only have 10 people employed, our campaign staff meet regularly (weekly) to check against our annual strategic plan with our goals, ensuring our strategies relate to our objectives and goals.

**Do you feel there is a link between human rights and animal rights? How does this influence your organisation?*

Human rights struggles are not very different to animal rights struggles – it's all about justice and individuals being free from suffering. There's certainly similarities – whether there's a link I'm not sure, but you do find that in countries where there are huge human rights issues there are also similarly terrible animal rights issues – examples such as China and some other developing countries as well. This is understandable to some extent because they're poorer countries as well – but it's certainly a lack of awareness, a lack of education. So the two things do go together. I'm not sure in Australia the link is as clear, but I do know that a lot of people who are part of the animal rights/animal welfare movement have strong issues and concerns about human rights – for example so many of our members are also members of Amnesty and other groups like that. There is an empathy that helps us – people who have empathy for one thing are likely to have empathy for another as well. People who couldn't give a darn about other people's human rights besides their own, are in my view, usually less likely to have much interest in animal welfare across the board as well.

**How do you view the difference between animal rights and welfare?*

I don't think it's as clear as people think or as important as people think. I think it's a continuum, on one side you have animal rights people who want all forms of animal exploitation stopped tomorrow. I believe that too but I know that's not going to happen. But as an organisation that is what we want. It's less about philosophy and more about strategies. Whilst I'm vegan and encourage people to make compassionate choices, I think there's not a great deal of difference. The debate can be quite vigorous between animal welfare and animal rights but I think it's a waste of time. I think people should think about it but I think our efforts should go into improving welfare and making animals' lives worth living.

**How does this inform the ideology and activism of your organisation?*

We keep the animal welfare/animal rights debate in mind but our primary focus is to take opportunities and create opportunities to improve the lives of animals, which means we need to take interim positions. But we're not wedded to those positions and don't need to stop there e.g. live export – the interim would be to send chilled meat to the overseas markets from animals that are killed here. In the current climate it is necessary that those countries take that and spare the animals from the cruelty of transport and slaughter in the Middle East. It doesn't mean that we think raising sheep for meat is necessary in the long term – it is our philosophy that you can be vegan but that [a vegan world] isn't going to happen in a long time, but we can reduce suffering now.

**Is there anything else you would like to add about your organisation, its role in the animal advocacy movement, or anything about the animal advocacy movement itself?*

I think we are a conduit for a greater understanding of animal use and abuse due to our role in industries on committees and we are invited onto government committees too. Through bureaucracies and our contact with so many animal welfare groups we have an important liaison role from groups to government and to our supporters and members and we have a leadership role to garner support for positions. Our leadership and education role is important, we do this through the media and put out releases, we comment on a lot of different issues and we have an important campaign role now.

We are one of the most active organisations raising concerns on the more difficult issues, issues of cats and dogs are more related to the RSPCA, whaling and endangered species is done well by other groups but we have a role with other issues that other groups aren't doing or doing well. We call those the hard issues regarding animals not as well known to the community. We have shown that we can raise awareness on issues that people wouldn't have known about, for e.g. with bobby calves we discovered a great deal of people didn't know that cows have to have a cow each year and at least half those calves are slaughtered (the males).

Could you please elaborate on some of your media campaigns?

We try to use the free media – Youtube and our website but our problem is that you can't do a Community Service Announcement for television, because it won't be shown because the hard issues that are confronting the community is not something they will put on TV. We can't get free advertisements – we've had pro bono assistance from an advertising company so we keep production costs down for TV and radio ads, but we have to pay for them to be aired. We try to raise awareness about the conditions of animals. Our supporters assist, and our own members have provided donations so we can pay for them. On each occasion people including industry have complained to the Australia Advertising Board, these have been dismissed on the basis of education.

We've done billboards, radio ads etc – we repeat them, we hope people will find out what the next step is, the people who call us and want to know more about what they've seen. If they contact us they can be told what to do e.g. change their buying habits or tell their politician or let supermarket owners know that they're concerned.

Notes from the Interview with Mark Pearson, Executive Director of Animal Liberation New South Wales

**Could you please describe the structure your organisation?*

Animal Liberation is a company and charity that was formed in 1975 by Christine Townend after she attended a talk by Peter Singer, where he presented his thesis at Town Hall in Sydney – soon before his famous book *Animal Liberation* was published. Singer's work caused a big shock wave in faculties, industries, companies, animal industries and beyond because of his clear logic rather than the emotion and anthropomorphism usually associated with animal rights groups. Singer's work tore away the armoury that industries usually used to dismiss the claims of animal rights activists due to his rationality. Christine was very impressed by Singer's work, she was blown away by it, and carried on doing her own research. Christine and her husband had their first meeting at The Rocks a few months later, but only about two other people attended. From there it grew very slowly as a grassroots organisation through talking to people, presenting controversial issues, and so on.

One thing that Christine did that set the signature and the fundamental principles of Animal Liberation New South Wales was that she went to the country, to the rural areas and had meetings with farmers to speak about their mulesing, battery and intensive farming practises which caused conflict and was distressing to her. That honest and direct approach of working with people out there "on the land" who were doing these abhorrent practices set the tone of the organisation (and New South Wales particularly) that we stand by today.

Right now we have 1500 members and far more subscribers on the email list. There is a committee of 6 people and a voting membership of about 35 people. Members must be invited to become voting members, you cannot become a voting member just by joining the organisation. This was controversial but Christine's husband who is a lawyer thought that this would be best because they thought that as the organisation gained traction and started to have an impact on industry there might be an attempt from industry to try to take over the organisation. This system allows the organisation to filter people before allowing them to become voting members. The committee observes/screens people before inviting them to become voting members.

We have 1 full-time staff member paid out of Animal Liberation's budget. I am also a full-time staff member – I get paid out of the Christine Fitzsimmons trust (which is actually based in Victoria) for 75% of my wage, which I use to campaign for farm animals – particularly factory farmed animals. The other 25% comes out of the Animal Liberation New South Wales budget – with this I work on other issues such as introduced wildlife, kangaroos etc – anything that doesn't fit the brief for the trust.

We have an education officer, who's part-time, she goes to schools and sets up networks and websites for education for primary and younger secondary schools – that's Nikki Brown. Lynda Stoner is a full time communication officer, Jacqueline Dalziel and Emma Hurst are part-time campaigners for various issues and we have a book keeper.

Membership involves paying \$30 waged or \$15 unwaged per year. They get a magazine with their membership.

**Could you please describe the decision-making processes of your organisation?*

By law the committee must make the decisions because we are a charity and a company. The committee is elected each year and the executive is appointed – President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer. They are the main decision makers but almost all the staff come to committee meetings and have considerable input. I've been around the longest – I joined in 1992 – 1993 and became president a few years later and was president for 11/12 years but because now I'm employed I can no longer be in the executive – that's part of the constitution.

The staff have a lot of input into the decisions that are made and also have a certain amount of leverage to make decisions for things that cost up to a certain amount, if it goes above that figure, they have to consult the committee. There are 35 voting members, any of those could stand for the committee if they are nominated by 2 people and they accept the nomination. Beyond voting for issues raised by the committee, if voting

members want to have a say they have to come to the AGM e.g. changing constitution, major decisions about policies. They need to put the issue to the committee and attend or give a proxy.

**How is your organisation financed?*

Membership fees, donations and bequests.

**Could you please give a brief history of your organisation? Who were the significant actors in setting up the organisation and what was the "driving force" behind the organisation being set up?*

The driving force which still continues today, although we've gone in to all kinds of issues – Christine wanted to focus on farm animals because we consider that this is the largest amount of animals who are exploited by humans – and there is also the greatest extremity of interference and degree of abuse.

One area that we had to take on was when we saw that there was this shift of attitude and disturbing approach to introduced animals who were given very little voice because even environment and protection groups weren't having a good approach to cats, donkeys, feral cattle etc. Any animal that is wanted today and unwanted tomorrow. Once there is a shift to being unwanted animal there is a new attitude and violent abuse and treatment in the way these animals are killed. So we decided to speak for the animals because it is humans who put them in that position – they just do what they do – it might not be pretty. But hens will cannibalise each other and that's not pretty and we've been advocating for hens. Therefore we've come into conflict with other animal protection groups and environmental groups because of our stand. So we're involved with farm animals, introduced species, and other things as they come up.

Singer's philosophy is not as important as it was in the beginning because the organisation has developed its own policies and grown in its own direction. We may disagree with some of the things he is now saying and part of what he might have said earlier. I don't think we, I don't even think that Christine Townend was always 100% convinced by the utilitarian philosophy, we're more rights based – don't see utilitarianism as a profound enough, or fundamental enough, assertion of animals right to exist. Utilitarian is more tied with how we as human beings measure it, rather than rights stand in themselves. We were never in 100% agreement with Singer, but we're very grateful that he opened up the question in a very, very important way and started a wave that we could get in front of.

**If your organisation was successful in achieving their objectives, what would this mean for animals? What are you striving for as an ideal end goal?*

Obviously most people in organisation including the committee and most of the employees want animals to be left alone and for the ones that can't fend for themselves, we have a positive duty and ethical obligation to let them live out their life in as free a way as possible that allows them express their natural behaviours. Also to help them to die if the time comes naturally and they've lost the ability to know what to do naturally when the time comes to die. Ideally that would be it – leave them alone ie a vegan approach – but there billions of animals that could not just be left alone or abandoned– so we therefore have a positive duty to them.

And within the organisation there is not 100% agreement on these issues and I think that's a good thing – it makes it dynamic and robust and I think its unwise for there to be only one black and white view that people have to adhere to to become part of Animal Liberation. They of course have to have the animals interests as central, though. My view is, and I've spent a lot of time talking about this with Henry Spira, most of us in ALNSW have this view of this utopia for animals but in reality most people don't have this view and they're represented in parliament by politicians who make laws that allow animals to be treated in certain ways and used as property.

We have the very serious situation in front of us where billions of animals are being treated in a way that we don't agree with but we're encouraged by the fact that most people – maybe 85% or more – will not agree with unnecessary suffering or cruelty to animals. We think that that's an extremely powerful tool to work with – not against. So win those people over, including farmers, cattle farmers, who send their cattle off to slaughter, but are totally opposed to feedlots for cattle, for example.

The goal for me (there are different views in the organisation) and I agree with Henry Spira on this, we have a duty to bring as much significant help for those animals as quickly as possible for as many of them as possible. This may mean focusing on sow stalls and just sticking with that. Research shows that if you stick with one issue in an industry and drive it and drive it, you're more likely to have a win, rather than going after four issues, or going after pig farming full stop. You're more likely to get a significant change like ending sow stalls (some changes aren't significant like getting a bit more space in cages for hens which means almost nothing). Banning sow stalls means that sows can actually express behaviours and not suffer as much as they clearly do in sow stalls. It is a very significant though "welfare" improvement but if you sit down next to a pig in a sow stall they're saying "get me out of here".

We're not going to stop people from eating animals for a long time but we have a responsibility to try to get a significant and important improvement for animals. There is the spectrum of modern welfarism right across to the animal rights "purist" perspective – I say we have a responsibility to the animals who have been put in this terrible situation by the government and the industries and the community of the day and we have to be sly and sophisticated in the way we help those animals, not just say "oh well, yeh it's terrible but we will pray for the day" – that you won't see and nor will probably 50 generations of your progeny. Most people higher up in the organisation have the shared "end goal", although it not necessarily shared by the members and particularly the subscribers.

**Please describe some of the recent campaigns or actions your organisation has carried out and why these campaigns have been carried out.*

The most recent one is exposing intensive turkey farms, we had a 1.5 million audience on Today Tonight on the 21st of December – it took us four years to get a current affairs show interested in a "Christmas animal" and we wanted it as far away from Christmas so people seriously debate the issue rather than it being a "glossy" story. We showed it last year and channel 7 said it had a huge impact. We got a tip off about a place, went there during the day and got footage, the media ran with it and now a lot more people know about the what happens to their turkeys than they did before.

We're now working on feedlots, which comes from our 1800 cruelty hotline where you can report cruelty anonymously and free of charge. We began this hotline three years ago. This was actually stimulated by a sheep farmer who wanted to make an anonymous complaint about sheep starving to death. But if you go through the usual channels you have to give your name, address etc, so it was necessary to set up this anonymous hotline. We ran this hotline in all the country newspapers when we set it up and we were completely flooded with calls, and a lot of them tipped us off about feedlots. We're working with the 7.30 report and it looks as though we'll get the story up.

Lynda has been working on pig dogging, she has police investigating where dogs have been hunting pigs and there is cruelty to both animals.

We do a campaign on kangaroo hunting, we got tipped off by a shooter and worked with shooters who didn't want to work with wildlife groups who the hunters felt demonised by. There is big issue with hygiene that would bring this industry to its knees. We took evidence to Russia and EU and within a year and a half Russia banned the import which was 75% of the industry and the industry is falling apart. Ailene McCarthy in EU got harp seals, dog and cat fur banned and she wants this banned, mostly focusing on the welfare issue, specifically relating to joeys.

And sow stalls – that's a winner – we've been working with retailers about sow stalls, the retailers have bypassed parliament and Woolworths have said they're going to change from battery eggs to free range eggs with their own brand, which is 65% of the shelf sales. And Coles are going to reduce the cost of free range eggs, you have to monitor if these free range eggs are really free range eggs but that's something the retailers will be responsible for. Coles announced that they will phase out sourcing pig meat from places with sow stalls over a three year period. Australian Pork Limited at their AGM a month or so ago said they would get rid of sow stalls after saying last year they wouldn't. So there's a shift – and I think it reflects what I was saying earlier and what Henry Spira and I were talking about – you have to go for a win – then once you win one thing, then for the other issues, you get more energy and that raising of consciousness. This year will be the battery cage, we think if we can get sows out of sow stalls, we can get hens out of cages.

**Have your campaigns changed over time?*

I think it's been fairly consistent, Christine and Jeremy set the tone and set the professionalism from the start and we've weathered time and weathered criticism. Essentially it's the same. Our signature is that we're non-violent and peaceful but extremely tenacious and willing (when authorities are ignoring you and the authorities that are meant to protect animals are getting influenced to not fulfil their responsibilities and there's bribery and it's all apparent) you have to go in, open the door and take the footage or at times sit with the animal and stay there, it is like solidarity, chain yourself with the sow. We tethered ourselves at Paul Keating's piggery to tethered sows. 35 people were arrested, eventually charges were dropped, but there was publicity and embarrassment to the industry, and then as the activists were being fingerprinted the government said they would ban tethering of sows next year, then sow stalls became the big thing.

Our signature is solidarity with the animals, being a true advocate, certainly very hands on and direct – that's been the theme from the beginning. When I joined I had friends who were lawyers who wrote papers on animal law and helped me to understand how the legislation could be used to work for animals – there's enough principles in the law to help animals in their situation. Everyone brings their own skills, but that fundamental principle of being very pro-active and not being intimidated by authorities whether it is the RSPCA, the government, or whatever authority if we see they're not doing the right thing by animals.

We do both open rescue and sit in stuff. I've spent a lot of time with Patty Mark when she was with ALV and Action so I learnt a lot about the open rescue idea and brought it to New South Wales. We've done actions combining groups from all around Australia. Can combine the two – do an open rescue then sit in.

The only thing that's shifting, we're waiting for Justice Hall to give a decision, Windridge piggeries sued three people – Diana Simpson, Mauro Grassi and Tully James for going to a piggery and taking video and photos, we've given it to the police who told the piggery to fix things, Windridge sued us for damages for trespass. They are trying to say that that video and photograph that we took is theirs even though they didn't authorise it, because it is their animals and therefore their copyright, it is a constructive trust. This could have huge implications for paparazzi, anyone taking photos, etc. Defendants didn't take it to the media because they were waiting for the police to do their investigation, the media contacted us because Australian Pork Limited put out a press release. All the animal rights groups are a bit quiet at the moment – waiting to hear this verdict. I've been leaked the minutes of Australian Pork Limited meetings and animal groups are concerning them – it's hurting – that picture on the news just after dinner that 1.5 million people see, the retailers are responding, consumers are responding, the police are responding – their very different to what they were like 20 years ago, they're not concerned with getting us for trespass anymore. The industry have decided their going to try and sue them – try to bring them down. If you look at the history of any movement (whether it's children's rights, women's rights, race issues...), the fight has always been very similar first they ignore you and then they start to hurt and they fight you, then you win.

** How do you keep your day-to-day operations in line with your overall goals? What issues does this raise for your organisation?*

Communication is the key, people talk to the committee, if someone comes up with an idea for a campaign they discuss it and everyone's aware of our principles *modus operandi*. It's important no one goes off on a tangent on their own – but that never really happens because before someone has the opportunity to do a campaign we're watching them, not suspiciously, but we've had spies attempting to infiltrate our organisation.

Just keeping in touch with each other and communicating and at committee meeting just being honest with what's going on and any conflicts.

**How has the use of the Internet impacted on your organisation?*

It has had an extraordinary impact at getting information in and out so swiftly, you can send photographs from a piggery to the world straight away. Before there was a real lag in the information and in the meantime industry would put out press releases saying how bad you are. We have to be careful that we don't get bogged

down in it because it's just so full on, we have to make sure we don't get lost in it. We need to make sure we're also getting out there and getting our hands dirty.

**Do you feel that the Internet has been beneficial for your organisation or do you feel that it has led to more activism that is less organisation-based?*

Not in this organisation (has it taken people away), we're too proactive and hands on – activist types. I think if you were more of a lobbyist organisation or educational then it would change your modus operandi. The actions can't be replicated online but the fruits of our actions can be communicated. I don't think its as effective – I think it has some effect – all those online petitions and that kind of thing, maybe in countries that haven't had issues like this that they've had to consider. I think Spain been influenced by petitions against bull fighting and running of the bulls but I think our government takes any notice of them so we don't use it. They have to have blood in front of them and dead bodies on the steps of parliament – that gets their ears pricked up a bit more.

**Do you feel there is a link between human rights and animal rights? How does this influence your organisation?*

I think it's really the same thing, you'll find most people involved with animals were involved with helping people – the underdogs. I was involved with a mental health crisis team which helped seriously mentally ill people in the community. I think it's a logical linear approach, Singer said it's widening the circle of consideration, animals are sentient, not in exactly the same way as us, but they're sentient, so logically it makes sense, just like with disabled people, that we have to expand this circle of consideration.

For most people it's not even an issue – the fundamentals are there – the history of human rights issues are similar and the way the fights have gone. You can't get involved with both human rights and animal rights, the media is a bit more sophisticated so don't accuse animal rights organisations of pursuing animal rights at the expense of humans as much anymore. But there are so many organisations to help humans and they're great and good on 'em but the resources I have are going to go for animals and that's just it. That doesn't mean I'm not going to help someone who falls over in the street, but I'm not going to campaign for disabled people in the street – now – I did it for a while.

**How do you view the difference between animal rights and welfare?*

**How does this inform the ideology and activism of your organisation?*

Some people seem to feel that they need to be in one camp or the other. Philosophers have written about it. I don't think you have to. I see absolutely no issue with campaigning for sow stalls to be gone and relegated to the scrap heap of history and get the pigs out of the stalls, then campaigning to get bulk feed and bedding for the animals living with us right now and at the same time talking about the principles of animal rights. I don't think it's that complicated. I find it more interesting debating with industry, it is much more complicated. The animal rights approach is so black and white and logical and easy to understand and once you understand it well that's it – and you might believe that in yourself but I don't see a conflict because I see that I have a responsibility to the animals that are here. I don't see why having an animal rights view in myself and ethically, why then trying to work to get animals in a better situation that may not be achieved without the help of animal rights people's help, I don't see there's a problem there.

And I'm disappointed by anyone including infamous and respected philosophers for publicly attacking people who don't share their view. I think Henry Spira dealt with that really well when he put an ad in their paper when Revlon said they would put 5% of their profits into research into alternatives to animal testing. Henry Spira had urged them for a long time to do something about animal testing and they had ignored him but then he put a full page ad in the New York Times showing a picture of animals who had suffered from experimentation – with the slogan "this is what beauty costs" – the shit hit the fan and Revlon came to the table. After they agreed to dedicate 5% of their profits to research into alternatives to animal testing, he then put a smaller ad in the same papers congratulating them for their action. At the time Ingrid Newkirk was tearing him to shreds and the person interviewing Spira was trying to get him into a tug-of-war with her – he wanted him to criticise her – but he gave an amazing statement, he said: "I think that's wonderful what Ingrid is saying, and that just goes to show you the robustness of the movement – we all stand together, and we

have different views". And I thought what a great answer. You see you can caught up in this beating up someone else just because they disagree with you. They were actually good mates, but you know what Ingrid's like, she'll say what she thinks and that's the end of the story. But she's actually very flexible and she may not actually have that view now, as PETA have certainly done very similar things. They were the early days when she was really hardline. I thought that was a smart way to answer, to not feed into the conflict. The government and industry want to divide you – that's a tactic – get them all fighting with each other so their less effective because all of their energy is going into disagreeing about tactics and meanwhile the sows in the stall are saying "get me out of here, stop fighting, I'm hurting".

Animal Liberation New South Wales promotes both rights and welfare and don't see it as a huge problem. It always has to be discussed seriously we don't just run off on a particular tangent but we don't see them as being completely and utterly disconnected.

Notes from the Interview with long-time animal and environmental advocate, Richard Jones

I'll start in Frankfurt back in 1971, I met David Brower who founded Friends of the Earth and was involved with the Sierra Club. He completely radicalised the Sierra Club, which had become a kind of redundant club – he found that it had become more bureaucratised and he was criticised for certain things and had to move on. I talked to him and he was the first one who really alerted me to the concept of organisations becoming bureaucratised – becoming consultified, self-serving, self-funding sort of organisations rather than the original purpose that their founders set them up for.

1976 I got myself involved with buying and releasing birds and publicising it. At that time I was mostly with Friends of the Earth in Australia. It wasn't set up as an organisation as such, it was just a two or three people organisation, more focused on appearances in the media than anything behind the scenes. Then it was set up "properly" subsequent to that.

I started getting involved in the seal slaughter – the slaughter of baby seals, which I read about in the paper here and got very upset about that. And there was an organisation at the time that I was involved with. But I went to the US for business quite a bit and I met up with Cleveland Amery... I was involved in that earlier, but then I got involved in campaigning for the whales at the beginning of 1977 – so I moved from seals to whales. But I didn't get very heavily involved with seals until after this.

I read a leaflet by Project Jona and I thought "Oh my god, I have to do something about this" so I got very heavily involved in Project Jona during 1977 and 1978 and funded their advertising campaign and various other parts of the campaign – I was very heavily involved with it. It was just a small organisation but it was very, very active. And it didn't raise money for a bureaucracy, it was just an active organisation made up of like-minded people.

But then I went to California, to Fort Mason, and met up with the Greenpeace people and they said "how about forming Greenpeace in Australia?" and I said "yeh okay" and they said "Brilliant! Just do it – you don't need our permission". It was separate organisations at the time – separate branches. So I just went back to Australia and registered it, registered the name, and started putting adverts in at the beginning of 1979. That was the beginning of the "official" Greenpeace in Australia – they had the venture over in Western Australia, with Greenpeace people attending, but that was the Whale and Dolphin Coalition.

Talk to Christopher Pash from the Whale and Dolphin Coalition, he has written the book *The Last Whale* or something like that, which is worth looking into. I've got stuff in his book actually – you can quote the book. He has a very thorough account of that initial Whale and Dolphin Coalition/Greenpeace/Bobby Hunter was there and so on – that was the first action where Greenpeace were involved, but then we officially founded it the following January or February when the name was registered and we started putting in adverts for the seals actually – that was the beginning of the seal campaign for me. If you search *The Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper and look around 1979, you'll see a whole bunch of seal adverts in there for Greenpeace. And that brought in a huge amount of money and 12000 members within a very short space of time.

At the beginning it was very chaotic. It wasn't a very formal organisation and I didn't get involved in any of the bureaucracy of the organisation. I was only involved with placing adverts, getting things started – I wasn't really an administrative person. But a lot of people were involved in administration – we were at 339 Pitt Street at The Environment Centre to begin with, it was a very tiny office. And we started to get letters just pouring in with 10s of 1000s of dollars. So I left Greenpeace and said "you're on your own now," having started the thing up, I didn't continue with them. And then it developed, and it developed, and it developed. It went through an interesting process – friends of mine were in the organisation at the beginning. It became more formal and more official – some of the old campaigners were "tossed out" in favour of more formal processes, more formal procedures, and more formal ways of operating – rather than sort of "free radicals" – press releases.

People who were there at that time, people like Lindy Stacker. She'll tell you about how Greenpeace have developed and she's quite vocal about that. She was involved for quite a long time volunteering until she was finally sort of "tossed on the scrap heap." She's now involved in another organisation. So she'll tell you how Greenpeace became bureaucratised. It is still very effective, but it did become bureaucratic.

After having done that, I went to see Cleveland Amery in New York – he’s an old curmudgeon, he’s very famous, well he *was* famous. His book *Mankind?* was a huge bestseller, it was on the bestseller list week after week after week. So check that one out. So I met Cleveland Amery in his New York office and that was an organisation that had not become bureaucratised because he was basically running the whole show himself – very idiosyncratic. He was regarded as a curmudgeon by the media, not as far as I was concerned, I thought he was a very amiable guy who really cared about animals. He was very, very angry about what was going on – I guess that’s why he was called a curmudgeon. He said “why don’t you start a Fund for Animals in Australia?” I said “yeh that’s a good idea.” He said “I’ll send you the information and you can do what you want, I’m not going to look over your shoulder and tell you what you should and shouldn’t do – it’s an independent organisation.” I thought “that sounds pretty interesting” and he just sent me the literature that I could then reproduce here.

Then, I went to see Brian Davies in Boston, and he founded The International Fund for Animal Welfare [IFAW]. He said “why don’t you found IFAW in Australia?” So I shifted organisations. IFAW at that time was already like an octopus and it raised money in countries like Australia or wherever, but all of the money went back to the central office, so they controlled the whole damn thing – the mail outs, what was said to whom. I looked at them and I realised that I’d have no freedom – I’d be this manager running *their* show. So I thought that’s not what I’m about. I wanted to be campaigning on issues that at the time I thought needed to be campaigned on, rather than sending mail outs every six weeks asking for money for Japanese dogs to be saved from the tsunami, or any other issue that pops up suddenly that they raise funds on – Haiti dogs, the tsunami dogs.

They’re renowned for jumping on issues like that, Bali dogs for example, Philippine dogs. They raise rather large amounts of money from these appeals but from the people I’ve talked to, not an awful lot of the money goes back to the actual issue on the ground. They raised millions from the kangaroo issue back in the early 80s – it was a huge issue back in 81/82 – and not very much actually came back to Australia to run the campaign on the ground. I wasn’t involved directly with them, I was kind of involved semi-directly with them, I gave them all of the information and then asked for the funding to come back here so we can actually do something. But not a lot came back in terms of the money that was raised. I think only possibly \$100,000 actually came back to work on the actual issue. And that’s what bereaves me about IFAW, for example – the way they send out very expensive, very well thought out, very well tested mailings and appeals – on any issue that is in the headlines anywhere around the world where animals are even vaguely involved, they’ll jump on it, and raise money on it. It concerns me that not enough of that money goes back to the actual issue itself. I’ve had experience with that myself with people in Bali, with the Bali dog issue – not enough of the money goes back. If they had a fraction of the money that they’d raised, they’d be a hell of a lot better off.

**So where would the money go then?*

Into running the organisation. To pay for the people to fly over to America for their meetings. Sally Wilson was involved heavily and she mentioned that they used to fly – possibly business class, I’m not too sure – but they’d definitely get flown over for meetings. And too much money was spent on administration, on flying, everything. What they regard as campaigning is when they put out a mailing on an issue, that mailing becomes part of a campaign, so when they said they’ve spent money on the campaign; they also mean they’ve spent money on the actual mailing. So say they’ve sent a mail out to a million people on Bali dogs at \$2 each, that becomes \$2 million spent “on the campaign” – they reckon that sending out mailings to people alerts people to the issue and then the people jump up and down, local MPs or whoever, and they regard that as money actually spent on the campaign. I would rather regard that money as being spent on fundraising. Not enough comes back to the actual issue. Animal People in the US have a newspaper over there and they always want to expose the excesses of organisations focus that spend money on administration and not enough on the actual issues.

I didn’t found IFAW over here because basically there were too many strings attached and I wouldn’t be free to do anything. Sue Arnold did first of all – she’s still around, she’s got Australians for Animals. But she founded IFAW but then she had a row with Brian Davis and the whole thing fell apart. She’s very hot headed, Sue. So that collapsed and then I suggested to Brian that Sally start it up and Brian said “yeh good idea” – that’s how Sally became involved.

We've got Fund for Animals going here and we had about 33,000 supporters. The organisation Fund for Animals is worth looking into. It was a very "pointy edged" organisation – I was actually providing funds to it from my business; a lot of the money was actually being funded by my business. So hardly any of the money coming in was used for anything but the purpose for which it was raised. Michael Kennedy was very heavily involved; he's now with HSUS [the Humane Society of the United States] in Avalon. They're the world's largest animal advocacy organisation, the Humane Society. I think PETA's rivalling it nowadays. I used to meet all of those guys when I was involved in the whaling campaign. I was involved in the whaling campaign from February 77 when I first got involved until July 78. I set myself a target, to end Australia's whaling in one year, so it took a year and three months in the end. Part of that is in Christopher Pash's book, part of it is in my book.

IFAW itself became ossified. It was founded by Brian Davies, originally in Canada, and he was the "big boss" running the whole show. And in the end it just became a giant bureaucracy in a way. And god knows how much money they actually raised, but I'd love to see how much money they put into the various issues. What proportion of that total income goes to actually helping the animals "on the ground"? I'm not sure if that would look too good if you exposed that.

**Organisations like HSUS have their annual reports available to the public to view online? Do you think that sort of information would be available to the public?*

I don't know, not sure about that. The problem is that if they did, the money spent on campaigns would be so many million dollars and you'd find a lot of that is actually mailings. It's not unlikely that of the money on the campaign, 2/3 of the money is on the actual mailing and less than 1/3, there's everything else too, so only a fraction would go to the animals "on the ground" to rabies vaccinations for dogs in Bali for example. If you asked them "how many dogs were vaccinated as a result of your campaign?" they would say "we'll have to refer you to so and so." It frustrates me that enormous amounts of money is raised by these organisations and then so little of it, as far as I can see and as far as others can see, is actually beneficial to the animals themselves.

So I don't provide any money to IFAW, I put money into Animal Liberation [New South Wales] – who basically have no overheads and all of the money goes directly to helping the animals. I know those people and I've worked with them. They're a smaller organisation and they get funding from donors who give them money and they say they want it spent on that and their incredibly passionate. There are no bureaucrats in the whole organisation. It's when you start getting bureaucrats in the organisation and the "bean counters" and the white collar people in suits that you start getting problems. That's exactly what I was taught by David Brower back in 1971 – forty years ago, and I've seen it happen again and again.

**You mentioned a while ago that the seal campaign brought in a lot of people and money, so that sort of a campaign seems to be really popular I guess?*

Popular? It was enormous, in the 80s, and I think it still is. PETA is still running it. But the seal clubbing is coming to a close we think, because they've closed off the markets one by one. I spoke to Brian Davis back in 1979 and he was exhausted and he said "I don't think we can win this campaign." So I said "we'll go after the markets in Europe then Brian. Go for that – chop the markets off, you won't ever win in Canada." Public opinion has gone back and forth like a tsunami wave in Canada – it's gone in, it's gone out, but right now it's in our favour, people are realising that what they've been doing to these seals all these years is absolutely gross. It's finishing off, it's virtually finished now. Incidentally, the actual seal populations have grown, amazingly, they've grown in that time since we started campaigning, they haven't gone down. So that's good news. I went over there a few times, in 82 and 83, with Fund for Animals, which we'd just founded back then – a year or so back. And I went to see the actual leader of the hunt on Magdelin Island – the actual guy who was organising and controlling and directing the entire hunt. It turned out that the actual quota set was bullshit – they killed every seal they could find. The quota didn't really exist, it was just like a notional quota based on what they killed last year, and this year they'll kill more if they can – really berserk for management.

Dr. Bill Jordan, a friend of mine, who was also heavily involved. I think he's still around – he's involved in an American organisation, google him to find out – check him out anyway, he used to be a vet for the RSPCA, the chief vet I think. He's been involved for decades as well.

**You mentioned IFAW spend a lot of money on mail outs, but has it gone to email now, which would be free?*

A lot of their supporter base wouldn't be on email, a lot of them are older women, who don't look at their email every half an hour. They'd get their package and be like "oh I've got to give some money for those poor dogs in Japan" or "I've got to give money to those poor Balinese dogs" or "I've got to give money to those poor Philippino dogs who are bound up with their legs tied behind their backs" – they're the ones who would be the main supporter base. I would imagine their supporter base would be maturing by this stage; I wouldn't be surprised if the average age for supporters would be something like 55. I don't know, but I'd be guessing it would be in the older women bracket. IFAW sent out hard copy information to supporters. They've been loyal to them for the last 20-odd years. I would reckon they've got an ageing database.

**As soon as you start sending hard copies, that would get expensive...*

Yes it's very expensive, that's what they've always done. Every few weeks the supporters would get a mail out. They are very expensive, they've all been tested, like when *Reader's Digest* used to send these mailings out, and everything's tested, tested, tested. So the colour of the mailing, the actual appeal, the amount you ask for, the kind of pictures you put on there, the actual wording – it's not like it's a random thing, it's direct mail at its very best. They will raise money on an issue where they may not have to even help one dog. They went to Haiti and then withdrew apparently, for example. They're very, very expert at mail outs and some of these organisations become extremely expert and all of their expertise wrings the last available dollar out of the recipients on average. They get very, very high returns on their mailings – very high dollars per dollar.

**So the mail outs are created by marketing people?*

Oh you have to – you can't just have a bunch of amateurs sitting down and doing mailing. It's a very, very refined process. And everything that comes in is tallied and worked out – what produced what result when? It's all on the computer obviously and it's an art form, it's like a direct mail out organisation raising money for the animals as opposed to selling products. They're selling a product – the product they're selling is animal anguish, because a lot of people are concerned about that.

**Do you think organisations choose their campaigns based on the amount of fundraising dollars it will bring in?*

Of course, there's no question. They wouldn't do one on crocodiles.

**You mentioned the seal campaign, I guess campaigns like this are going to draw in more money than some other campaigns.*

Well I'll tell you something one person in Greenpeace said, they said if they weren't able to campaign on whales, they would lose half their funding. But they're not going out now, Sea Shepherd's out there now. They say, "what are we going to raise funds on now?" and Michael Kennedy, when he was involved with Fund for Animals, said we use the money from the "pretty animals" to pay for the "ugly" ones. Like helping the crocodiles for example, in the Northern Territory. And if you look carefully at the mail outs, you'll find it's not just for Philippine dogs, it's for 'other issues' they say. It's always there, a little whisper, same with other organisations. I've written to some of these, and I've asked "how much are you actually spending on it?" – I get quite anguished about it. And they'll say "oh its and other issues" and I'm like "right."

On say the issue in India, they've raised money on that and they've spent it on heaven's knows what. Like that bear issue, for example, in India, everyone seems to be "saving the bears" but if you actually found out how much money is spent on the bears and whether it's effective or not, I think you'd be pretty horrified.

**So the main focus is on the more "marketable" campaigns and they just keep quiet about the crocodiles or something they can't "sell" as well, so the money might go there but they're not going to focus on that too much to the public?*

Well they won't campaign on crocodiles or sharks, even though sharks are in the most desperate need of campaigning. You couldn't raise money on sharks. You can raise money off dogs floating in the sea off Japan,

or you can raise money off dogs who are tortured in the Philippines. Dogs and cats are favourites you see, or whales or baby seals people love, whatever people love – or pandas, WWF have raised money with pandas. Pandas have been the “main stay” of WWF – without pandas, they probably wouldn’t exist. They’ve even adopted it as their logo. These “pretty animals” and beautiful animals, the ones people love, the ones that raise the money, and sometimes when these organisations are genuine and they raise this money, they use it for the other animals which are desperately in need as well.

Like raising money on climate change, it’s so amorphous, you know, what are you raising it for? “We’re going to campaign on climate change” – you see people prefer to put their money into saving the Indian elephant or stopping the killing of X animals, rather than something that is so very vague as climate change. I’d imagine that raising money on climate change, for example, would be a hard thing to do. So if the World Wildlife Fund and Greenpeace started to concentrate on climate change, I’m not sure how that would affect their fundraising.

**I guess Greenpeace might raise money on other issues, but put some of that money towards climate change.*

I’m sure Greenpeace do the right thing. I don’t think Greenpeace have got ossified or moribund like some of the other organisations. I feel they have still retained the idealism. But they have become bureaucratized, they are a bureaucracy. You say “can you put out a press release on this?” and they’ll say “no, we can’t do that, we’re not campaigning on that, it’s not one of our campaigns.” We wanted to put something out on kangaroos because they used to have a full-time kangaroo campaigner and they took the Queensland government to court over their defective kangaroo management program. It all came to a grinding standstill when they decided that they weren’t going to campaign on kangaroos anymore. So they employed Mark Deesendorf to write a book on climate change and one of his comments in there was that we should eat more kangaroo meat. He hadn’t studied the issue to find out that was grossly wrong. So Greenpeace got involved with being tarnished for the fact that their saying to eat more kangaroo meat. And because they weren’t campaigning on kangaroos, they couldn’t put out a statement they reckoned – bullshit – in the end we managed to force them to clarify their position. But it took a heck of a lot of effort to get them to clarify it because they weren’t campaigning on kangaroos, so they couldn’t say anything on kangaroos, they weren’t allowed to – that’s just ridiculous.

**So they get their campaigns “from above” and have to focus on those issues?*

They’re very professional and they have to “tow the line” so it becomes a bureaucracy, they have to keep to the “party line” – they’ll say “we can’t say anything on that; we’re not campaigning on that, that’s not one of our campaigns.” I wouldn’t want to be involved with an organisation like that where I’d have my hands tied. I’d rather be involved with organisations like Animal Lib or the Rainforest Information Centre which I am involved with – totally free flowing. We get a phone call and say “we’re going to do something on this” and I’ll be like “okay, I’ll alert people, and we’ll do it right away.” There’s no meeting that has to be held, no minutes to be taken, no budget justification for it – just do it. And that’s the “pointy” end of the work – we can react immediately to an issue.

In the past I’ve had meetings in Holland or wherever their current headquarters are. That’s the problem, if they become bureaucratized and ossified to a certain extent. But some have become moribund, I think, and they’re taking money out of the “animal pool” – there’s so much money available in the world for animal issues and who can quantify it? Maybe there’s a hundred million dollars a year or something, whatever the figure may be. And if an organisation takes 5 or 10 million dollars out of the pool of the money people are prepared to give for animals, and don’t use it for the right purpose, it diminishes the whole animal movement.

**I’ve read about the large organisations being so good at fundraising that it means that less money is available for smaller, more grassroots organisations because, like you said, there is less money available in that “pool” you mentioned.*

Smaller organisations simply don’t have the means to employ the people to raise the money, professionals who put together the fundraising appeals to raise the money and to build the whole thing up. You’re always going to get the smaller organisation that is going to be floundering because they simply don’t have the expertise. So you need those expertise to make the organisation grow up, but then when it grows too big, it

becomes top-heavy – too big an administration, too many people being employed at different levels, like a government department. And so it ends up not spending the money on what the original founders wanted to spend it on – less and less proportion of the actual money coming in goes to the issues. So it's an interesting conundrum, especially with a smaller organisation, which simply cannot compete with a globalised organisation – we're talking about the classic old globalisation here. Like the corner grocer can't compete with Woolworths because they don't have the buying power of the expertise. So the smaller animal organisations struggle to compete against the multinational, bureaucratic, professionals. And you just hope that if you give money to one of these IFAW's or other organisations that they spend it on the cause they purported to raise it for – you can't be absolutely sure.

**What do you think the solution is then? I often think that it would be great if smaller organisations got more resources to pay staff etc so they could do even more good...*

I know of some small non-animal organisations here who work on an absolute bit of an oily rag and do enormous amounts of work. Do more work than a much larger organisation with a staff of 50. Like Animal Lib, they do enormous amounts of work, and Rainforest Information Centre, it's a tiny little organisation with no overheads at all virtually and it has campaigns all over the world – even had a couple of campaigners in India recently. I've been involved in that organisation, we do it all by internet, bringing in other organisations to help. With some organisations, their only "pointy edge," there's no back; there's no kind of lumbering back to it. And they are as effective as some of the much larger organisations in what they actually achieve. So maybe you don't want to have them getting bigger because they might become bureaucracies and get high-bound, then start having meetings and start arguing about policies, and getting accountants making decisions.

**So I guess as organisations grow larger, it's not necessarily more work on the campaigns, it can be more work elsewhere, as you said, administration, fundraising, and that kind of thing.*

Yeh. A lot of people ask me "who should I support? What organisation should I give my money to?" I say "well don't give it to them, because they'll waste it, but give it to them, because they won't waste a single dollar." But that's just all word of mouth. If we could have some kind of overall register about who to give your money to, who can do the best work with the amount of money that they have, they wouldn't all be giving it to some of these organisations, they'd be giving it to that other organisation.

HSUS by the way, run by Michael Kennedy, I think does a fantastic job. Some people complain about PETA. There are various parts of the movement, some of them are vegans – the vegan part of the movement decry any work that PETA does because they're just shifting the pain from one animal to another. Like when they make improvements it's like providing blankets to the prisoners at the concentration camps, making it a little bit more comfortable before they die, and they say we should stop eating meat altogether, we've just got to stop it altogether. If they stop killing whales, they're going to eat something else instead; you're just transferring the pain to another animal. There's a very strong vegan movement who are opposed to PETA, who are opposed to HSUS, their opposed to IFAW and all the rest of them, they say this is all bullshit. They say if you really want to be serious about this then you've got to become a vegan. Non-abuse of animals at all, rather than trying to improve conditions. They have an argument.

**Yes I am looking into that aspect of the movement because a lot of that has been more grassroots because it isn't as financially viable to run a vegan campaign because you've got a much smaller potential donor base if you're doing vegan campaigns, compared to focusing on the seals or the whales or something that people are a lot more supportive of. So a lot of these vegan-focused organisations are very, very small – or even not organisations at all, just Internet sites and that kind of thing.*

Just individuals who feel incredibly passionate about it. They can do it now – they've got the means through the social media, networking and so on, so individuals can make much more of a difference than they could ten years ago.

**And smaller organisations too, like Animal Liberation New South Wales who you mentioned, they can compete on a similar level to the bigger groups because of the Internet – so they can still get their message out there through their website and Facebook page and all the rest.*

And if you can successfully raise money through an email mailing list – I’ve never seen the results of that so I can’t comment – if you could do that, and like you said it’s virtually free, places like Animal Lib could build up a database and their database could almost be on par with a much larger organisation.

It so happens that I’m wearing an Animals Asia t-shirt, you should talk to those guys too. I went with them once to Vietnam to look at the bears and they’re having amazing success with the Chinese government. They’re based in Hong Kong. They’re amazing. They actually do free the bears and they really do get bears out and they have stuff on the bears being tortured. So they really are moving bears out of torcher chambers into free areas, rehabilitating them. You’ve got the Free the Bears organisation over your way, no doubt you’ve talked to them, they’re right on your door step. They send me mailings all the time. I helped them one time, I wrote an advert for them, it was a very, very powerful advert. But they wouldn’t run it, so I gave up on them. “You can raise all the money you want in the world, you won’t need to send another mailing out” I said, and they ignored it – pity. Anyway, I still get their mailings, god knows why, very elaborate mailings, I don’t know how much they’re actually doing on the ground in India. There are two or three organisations freeing the bears – just put ‘free the bears’ into your Google, and see how many organisations come up. There’s a lot of organisations “freeing the bears,” then ask how many bears are actually being freed and what happened to them and where are they, and what have you funded, and so on? And how much progress are you making? And they’ll say “well we got three bears out in the last year” – or whatever it may be.

**I should look into if anything exists along the lines of what you mentioned, as far as an organisation set up to strive for accountability in non-profit organisations.*

See the thing is that every organisation is different, everyone varies, there’s no sort of general rule about any of the organisations. Every single one works differently, some are much more altruistic and make sure they keep their overheads to an absolute minimum and spend a maximum amount of money in the most effective way, others don’t. It seems IFAW is almost parasitical in the way that it does business. Brian Davies left there and they gave him a million pounds payout when he left. That million pounds came from donors, came from the various mums and dads around the world.

**I guess when someone’s donating their \$30 or whatever; they wouldn’t be expecting that’s where it’s going to go.*

That was quite a signal. And I knew Brian very well, I met him a number of times and worked with him on a number of issues, and I’m not sure why he would have wanted a one million pounds payout – maybe he needed to pay off his mortgage or something, I don’t know. It seems like that’s not what it’s about – that’s a lot of individual donations, could be half a million donations or something.

**People would be donating to help animals after a disaster or whatever, rather than giving money to go to someone leaving the organisation.*

That was a one-off, but it just gave an example of how they operate. When they opened the office here – the official office opening in Sydney – it was very lavish with a huge cake and everything. A lot of money was spent on that, with a lot of staff attending and so on. When Sally and Kathy were running it, there were very few staff; it was kept down to an absolute minimum. And they raised a large amount of money and all of that money was net. They didn’t have an office. And Sally got chucked out because she wasn’t a man in a suit I think, or they didn’t like her hair style, or something like that, seriously. Because she was very good at managing IFAW – I didn’t ever audit the whole thing, but I’m sure she would have been. When Sally was running it, and Kathy and a few others were helping her, they were doing all kinds of wonderful work – helping an organisation here, helping an organisation there. And it really was helping a lot of organisations, and it was doing wonderful work, they were really helping – all over the country they were giving money for this, money for that, helping people out of a hole all over the place – they were making the money go a hell of a long way. But all that came to a grinding standstill. But when they were running it, it was doing fantastic work, wonderful work. But they just said, “no, that’s not what we’re about, we’re about this and we’re about that.”

**I guess they were doing fantastic work in terms of activism, but maybe not in terms of other considerations which seem to become more important for some of the people in those organisations.*

I think the problem is, and I've seen it happen with IFAW, they put an administrator in there, Brian Davies got replaced by an administrator. He was a heart campaigner – very, very passionate about animals. He used to be a vet and everything, and he almost got killed a couple of times – they wanted to kill him off, that's why he had to leave Canada. So he was real. What happens is the people like the David Brower's and him, the Brian Davies of this world, when they get moved out, it gets taken over by this kind of bureaucracy. So if it's an organisation run by its original founder or run by a group of passionate campaigners, or Lib [Animal Liberation New South Wales], or Rainforest Information Centre, or whoever, run by the originals who really, really care about the particular group of animals, then I think you get much more effectiveness. But when it's run as a business model without that kind of passion – although there are undoubtedly people working within that organisation who do have the passion. But nevertheless, if the organisation becomes a bit like a fundraising business for animals, I think that's where the problems start – they've lost that original idealism.

The idealists at the top, the real passionate idealists at the top who don't want to waste a single damn cent on anything – it has to be all spent on the animals as far as we can. Rather than saying we're going to have a big Christmas cake and bottles of champagne to open this new office, they'd say "no that's wasting; this money can go on the animals." You need that thought process right the way through the organisation – "I don't want you to waste any money on air fares, I don't want you to waste any money on stationary, on meetings" – keep all that administration side down to an absolute streamlined minimum, and let's get these animals helped. I think that's what's missing in the big groups. Because organisations age, they become mature and eventually they become, I think, largely ineffective. So you need new organisations springing up I guess, from the grassroots. I think now with this availability of very cheap communication between people, I think it's possible. They don't have to grow – there are a lot of local organisations that are very powerful and effective. You don't need to get these large octopuses around the globe.

On the other hand, people like PETA have been extraordinarily effective in stopping mulesing in Australia. You had Christine Townend, who founded Animal Lib here, she wrote a book on it – she's written numerous books – and she wasn't able to stop mulesing, the RSCPA tainted it a bit, but they couldn't go near stopping mulesing. The people who stopped mulesing actually was a giant organisation, who put pressure on, on an international level. So I'm not saying the giant organisations can't be incredibly effective, they can if they have the passion, the direction – they can be extraordinarily effective. They have the power of all that money they can place in the one direction to stop the mulesing of sheep in Australia – it's an extraordinary event. I'd give money to PETA, frankly – but I wouldn't give money to IFAW.

**It seems that whoever is at "the top" of the organisation makes a big difference. Because even if there are passionate people at the lower levels of the organisation, they often seem to get "moved on" from the organisation is more administrative people are at the top. But if passionate campaigners are at the top, particularly those who founded the organisation, the organisation can have a very different focus.*

I think that the passionate ones will tolerate the people who are slightly eccentric, bureaucrats/more administrative people wouldn't. But PETA's still run by Ingrid Newkirk, I met Alex [Pacheco, co-founder of PETA] actually over in America, about 35 years ago when they were setting it up. So Alex Pacheco and Ingrid Newkirk are still running the show – the same people are still running it. If they were to be replaced by bureaucrats, it might become just another bureaucracy, I don't know. It would be a pity if it did, but it's still run by the originals. And it's immensely powerful.

Other people criticise it, well they can go and get lost. They're doing stuff, their doing a lot of good work, and they really, really do care. The vegans criticise PETA in particular, it's very strange. One, the organisation's probably doing the most to help. And the vegans are saying "you shouldn't be focusing on improving conditions for battery hens and moving them into free-range, where they still get killed." Which is an argument, but surely it's better to get them out of the cages. I'm more of a gradualist, I'd like to do it instantly but I'd rather have the hens out there pecking in the field than cooped up in tiny cages in their own shit – it's got to be an improvement. Animal Lib are into that of course, and they've done some wonderful work, amazing work. Mark Pearson [from Animal Liberation New South Wales] is absolutely fantastic and he's so real, right through every pore in his body, a huge genuineness. Nothing will ever go wrong with Animal Lib while he's involved – it won't ever become a bureaucracy. They won't compromise for the sake of putting people off who they raise money from – they'll just do it.

Definitely speak to IFAW, ask them how much they've raised, how much they've spent and so on – they'd definitely have accounts. Start off quite anodyne and get more and more heavy as you ask the questions – otherwise they'll throw you out if you're being too probing.

Animals Australia are doing a good job I think. I don't know their finances, but I'd rather have them than the RSPCA working on issues. I like them, I know the people, I've been involved with them for years – their old friends going back decades.

I assume Fund for Animals is still going in America but you don't hear much of it these days. When Cleveland died, it may have just died a natural death with him. It was the biggest animal organisation in Australia in its time. We founded it in 1980 originally. But it was by far the most active, the most vocal, and the most publicised animal organisation in Australia in the 80s. They've faded out, and other organisations came up and replaced it – that's how it works, some live, some die. Those professionals just plough on, but are they doing good work? That's the question, isn't it?

**I really liked your idea of some kind of register that gives some indication of which organisations people should donate to, although I guess it would be hard to control, and keep impartial. But it would be really good if people who have been involved in these organisations could let the public know what their main focus is – helping the animals "on the ground" or gaining money for the organisation.*

I don't know which of these are charities. I think any organisation that fundraises, whether it be for bushfires or victims of this, or for the animals – anyone that raises funds for these organisations, unless they're a private profit making organisation, which hopefully that would be clear, they should "open their books" and let members of the public know where their money went, and with some clarity. Some say "well this is commercial in confidence" – well it shouldn't be, if your fundraising for a charity. I don't know what exists already, so I'm speaking in a bit of a vacuum here, so maybe there are already requirements to expose all of your accounts to the public – I simply don't know.

**I've seen some organisations do it voluntarily – "we spent this much on administration" – it is usually below 10% for these organisations, like Oxfam and other charities.*

Yeh, but what's the other 90%? When you looked at that you'd think "that should really be in admin shouldn't it." If you looked at the other 90%, sure they all say admin, but their talking about meetings, lighting, and office staff – but there's a lot of other costs that you don't include in admin that I guess doesn't have to get included in admin but it should be included somewhere else – you have to pull the whole thing apart. You might find that 47% is spent not on the actual issue, or whatever the figure could be – it could be any old figure. It could be that only ½ of the money gets spent on helping people in Africa or whoever their helping. So I think you need to be much more sceptical about these accounts when they say only 10% on admin, whether it be IFAW or whoever.

**I guess it would be good if that was done independently as well, but I'll have to look into that to see if there is anything already.*

There could be in Australia, it could be government instrumentality, it may already exist, I don't know. They might say "this is not admin, you can't put this in admin" or "this is admin it should go into admin" or "this should go into advertising costs, you can't put it into campaigning." Campaigning \$4 million, admin \$400,000 – you'll find with the campaigning, \$2 million of that is actually mailing out.

I've been in touch with Ingrid Newkirk on various issues and she's been very helpful, we're in touch every so often, not lately, but a couple of years ago. They [PETA] are very caring.

You should talk to Jill Robinson from Animals Asia. This is one organisation who is still run by their original founder who is doing incredibly good work for the money spent. She founded Animals Asia and she's doing amazing work there, working with the Chinese government.

It would be worth speaking to Peter Singer, he's an old friend, he wrote the book *Animal Liberation* and was probably the founder of the modern animal movement – perhaps it's not overstating it to say that.

**A lot of the sources I've read on the history of the movement have referred to Singer's Animal Liberation as being key into the move towards rights in the movement, obviously animal welfare has been around forever, but a move towards rights and vegetarianism and a move away from the traditional welfare groups like the RSPCA towards new organisations like PETA being set up.*

Changing the status quo, rather than just improving the conditions for animals. His book was like the equivalent of *Silent Spring* – one of the seminal moments. The animal movement is really just beginning. This move towards vegetarianism and veganism I think has increased tremendously.

**Articles promoting veganism are beginning to enter mainstream sources, it is becoming not so much of a "fringe" issue anymore.*

Veganism is getting there, vegetarianism is already well accepted, it's normal now.

**This shows how far the movement has come in a pretty short amount of time – with vegetarianism they've managed to "mainstream" it in less than 30 years – only 30 years ago vegetarianism was seen as radical.*

In 30 years time, veganism will become the same sort of thing – "you mean you're not vegan?" There are other versions too; there are people who don't eat certain things. People who only eat chicken, or people who only eat local-caught fish, people who only eat free-range animals, and all that sort of stuff. There are huge variations in the animal movement. And people who are on the fringes – people who care about animals but...it's not straight from going from eating everything that moves to becoming vegetarian, there are many shades in between that. People who are eating less meat, largely for their own health, maybe 2/3 health – but then like 1/3 is for the animals. These days there's also the climate change impact that people are concerned about, so people will eat less meat because it has a big impact on the Amazon for example, to provide beef. So there are all of these variations in between eating anything that moves, like eating endangered tuna, all the way through to being a total vegan, to being a Jain where you don't even breathe in bacteria – which is slightly more difficult, more esoteric.

I think one should think of the animal movement as a continuum, from eating endangered species to not breathing bacteria, to all the various parts in between. But the scale is definitely moving towards less meat, less torture, more concern, more care, more vegetarianism, more veganism – the whole thing is shifting. So some who used to eat a lot of beef, no longer eat beef, and they only eat eggs. People are making conscious choices now, once upon a time people weren't making conscious choices. Now they don't eat red meat because they know it's going to cause problems with their heart, and for various other reasons. Then when they buy something, they think about it more than they used to. Now it's "I don't want this, I don't want this, I don't want that." It drives some people crazy to find out what they can and can't eat. If you have a dinner party these days, compared to some years ago, you can't just cook anything and expect people to eat it. "What do you eat? And what don't you eat?" You might get 8 different people who eat 8 different types of things for the one meal – it's easy to cook vegan but then.

Notes from the Interview with Katrina Fox, Freelance Writer and Animal Rights Activist

**You clearly advocate a rights-only approach, rejecting the idea of promoting animal welfare as well as or instead of rights, was this always the case from the beginning of your involvement in the animal advocacy movement?*

No, I know I wrote that piece fight for animal rights instead of welfare and ideologically speaking I do think that's important but I don't strictly rule out welfare altogether – I'm kind of a bit on the fence in some ways. I just read Gary Francione's new debate book – he puts the side for abolitionism and Dr Robert Garner puts the side for welfare – both sides are really eloquent and I can see both sides. I can see the single-issue thing. For example I wrote an article for The Sydney Morning Herald arguing there's no such thing as humane meat – if you are promoting a certain type of animal product and saying it's okay to eat this, or use this, then more people may stop becoming vegetarian or vegan because they think they can do it ethically so I can see that.

Yet with things like sow stalls, Mark Pearson [from Animal Liberation New South Wales] one of Animal Liberation's victories was stopping the tethering to the stalls, so the stalls are still there which is obviously not great but the sows were tethered and they're not now. I would support that kind of welfare reform because how can you not? It's not ideal for a sow to be in a stall but it's better that at least they're not tethered.

What I was trying to say in my article was that I think that animal organisations needs to be promoting veganism a lot more, they seem to really, really shy away from it, and there's very big focus on welfare and reform rather than rights. I think that's kind of where the animal protection movement (or whatever you want to call it) has gone. Even organisations that bill themselves as "animal rights", the majority of their public work is more welfare-based, like PETA for example, even though they do promote veganism to a degree, they sometimes do give conflicting messages. So I would definitely like to see a much bigger focus on the concept rights and really pushing that and really challenging people to think about not only how we treat animals but questioning if we have the right to use and exploit animals in the first place.

**I noticed that in the earlier article 'Treatment of animals: litmus test for a nation' you might have had a slightly different view...*

I was in a slightly more optimistic frame of mind! The hook for that piece was that Michael Kirby was launching the first animal rights law book. That kind of thing is much more advanced in the U.S. but no much in Australia. So I thought that was a good step in the right direction. And David Weisbrot, President of the Australian Law Reform Commission, said animal rights is the next great social justice movement so I thought that this was a good move. And there were lots of people at that event, lots of lawyers, lots of students, who were really keen in getting involved in animal rights law – so I guess that's where I was coming from in that particular article – it was that this is a good thing. That's the thing with animal rights, or animal welfare, whatever, is sometimes it's two step forwards and one step backwards, or the other way round, one step forwards and five steps back sometimes. I can see the arguments for both and there are certain welfare-type reforms that I can see you could at least do that in the meantime, but at the same time you don't want to be reinforcing that it's okay to use animals – so it's very tricky.

**So not so much a total rejection of welfare, but you'd like to see more rights-based activism in the movement?*

Yes. Much more.

**You call for 'the establishment of veganism as a cultural and social norm' – do you have any thoughts on some of the ways in which this can be achieved?*

Yes I got into trouble a bit saying that, as many people think it's a very Westernised way of thinking and I've written an article around race, and cultural sensitivity and animal rights (<http://www.thescavenger.net/animals/racism-versus-speciesism-a-moral-battleground-575.html>) which lays out the arguments. I think there's two things – veganism as a cultural norm and the ideology of veganism and then there's the application. Obviously with the application...I mean undoing a system like that is so, so big that it's not going to happen overnight. I'm not sure what the percentages are worldwide, but obviously

vegans (whether it's veganism as a diet or exploiting animals in any kind of way) is very, very tiny. So I think the priority or the thing we can do now is to get more people, particularly in the affluent Western world, to go vegan – to reject animal exploitation.

But of course there are a lot of other issues that come up there – Breeze Harper who wrote 'Sister Vegan' talked about other issues that I've been thinking about – for example, a vegan product might not be cruelty-free in terms of humans – chocolate for example, unless it's fair trade, involves cruelty and exploitation of non-white workers – even though it may be vegan. I realise that when calling for veganism as a social and cultural norm, I'm not just blatantly saying everyone should immediately go vegan because obviously there are race and class issues, and all other kinds of things tied up in that, but it's certainly something to be working towards wherever possible.

But I think we're just so far away from being even vaguely mainstream. I know Business Week ran a story on veganism hitting the mainstream because Bill Clinton's eating a mostly plant-based diet, he still eats some fish apparently. But I just don't see it in my day to day interactions and I'm sure Sienna [editor of Vegan Voice] will tell you that too – there's not enough people willing to embrace it. I suppose it takes a long time, in the 70s vegetarianism was considered "weird" but now it's kind of fairly mainstream-ish. I really would like veganism to get to that stage, and not just dietary, but the whole concept of rejecting animal exploitation.

Also working with other groups, and activists advocating for humans – that's one thing I'm interested in – how these things are interlinked. Because you can't think "we're going to abolish animal exploitation" and assume human exploitation will go, for example, places like slaughterhouses impact badly on animals (who die) but also for the people who work there. Then there's the whole thing of globalised food production, for example, which is really messy..there's so much unpacking that needs to be done...that's from the whole colonialism of the West and exploiting poorer countries and it's just so huge! Yes I did make a sweeping statement of I'd like veganism as a cultural norm and I would, and I absolutely stand by that, but I'm not saying it in a vacuum – I think it's just one step in unpacking a very, very unjust system for all beings.

**Do you feel that animal advocacy organisations can or will play a role in this mainstreaming of veganism? Or do you believe this will mainly occur outside of organisations?*

In some ways I think at the moment it will happen outside the big mainstream organisations. There seems to be a grassroots abolitionist movement coming in. It's a tricky one because as a vegan you're extreme anyway and if you're using terms like abolitionism and speciesism – people really put you in the "weird basket" – so I don't know how much traction they'll get – these grassroots, small groups.

The big animal advocacy organisations have really gone down the welfare route – in Australia we've got Voiceless, Animals Australia and even PETA – they are much more pushing for single-issue campaigns and for welfare. I'd like to see them not be afraid to embrace veganism. People send me emails, for example, Karen Dawn, author of 'Thanking the Monkey' was saying that if you go to animal rescue places in the US they have a benefit or function serving animals, and eggs and cheese, which I find quite bizarre – rescuing the animals then eating them at your fundraiser? A lot of people who work within animal welfare really don't embrace veganism in their own lives and I think therefore they're not willing to embrace it as on a bigger scale.

I think funding has a lot to do with it...you should definitely read Gary Francione's new book, the debate with Robert Garner is really good, if you're interested in the rights versus welfare. I think a lot of it is funding. These animal advocacy organisations, they have to get funding to survive and it's much easier to get money for a short, winnable campaign, whether it's fur or getting Kentucky Fried Chicken to use a different slaughter method of gassing chickens – it's kind of easier to win that and then you can say to your supporters "we've won this campaign, now we're going on to this one, please send us money to help the rabbits". Whereas veganism is hard sell, it really is a hard sell.

I know PETA, the animal rights organisation, they're very controversial. I can see where they're coming from: they're trying to make animal rights sexy rather than us being perceived as unwashed hippies and grannies in old-fashioned cardigans waving a few placards. But at the same time some of their ads are really quite problematic. How do we make veganism more attractive? Kathy Divine has a website 'Vegans are Cool' where she showcases sports stars, actors that are vegan – people who don't look like what most people would think a

vegan looks like. It is hard work, it is a hard sell, but ultimately I'd like to see some grassroots...I think it may come from the grassroots but I think that grassroots groups start small and then can become bigger, but I think as things get bigger they tend to sell out, once money gets involved.

I would like to see it happen from animal advocacy organisations but I don't see it happening at the moment until they are showing much more willingness to embrace veganism, otherwise I think it's going to come hopefully from the grassroots

There is the whole ethical veganism vs diet veganism, because I think unless you embrace veganism as a philosophy and something you're committed to, it's so easy to kind of "fall off the wagon". I think Alicia Silverstone recently said she occasionally "gives in" and eats some cheese at a function, and there's a whole online debate about whether she should have said that or not, because she's just produced a vegan cookbook. She said she wants to be honest because she doesn't want people to "beat themselves up" if they lapse. Others have said it's really bad that she's calling herself vegan and doing that because it makes people think that "you're a vegan but you can have a bit of cheese every now and again". So there are issues around that as well.

**I noticed that surprisingly the animal welfare organisation Animals Australia published your article 'Fight for Animal Rights, not Welfare' on their website. Do you have any interaction with any animal advocacy organisations?*

Somewhat. Animal Liberation New South Wales I get along with. Lynda Stoner [from this organisation] is a friend of mine – she's fabulous – an actor, they're good souls. Animals Australia – I met their volunteers, I wrote a little article about one of their campaigns in a magazine I used to edit. I'm certainly aware of them and they do some good work. Everyone tries to do what they can do in their own way, and none of us are perfect.

I was surprised they published my article without any comment. With that in that article I said animal welfare campaigners feel better about eating meat but I meant the consumers and Karen Dawn picked me up on that and told me that I couldn't really know their motivations and I thought that was fair enough – so that was a little controversial that article. I speak to and promote sometimes the work that they do – I've promoted single-issue campaigns in the press before eg baby seals, fur – I do because I think sometimes it can raise awareness, it can get people thinking, if they get involved in one particular issue...It doesn't always happen and like I said, it's why a lot of animal welfare people are very focused on saving the bears in China, but they still eat meat. But I think there can be and there is room for if you have an epiphany – that if you get involved in one particular thing and then learn about something else as a kind of pathway. I've certainly gone down that path and I know Gary [Francione] is very anti-vegetarianism as a gateway, but it was a gateway for me. I went vegetarian, was still wearing leather and then I went to a vivisection demo and spoke to a vegan girl on the coach about veganism and I'd never even heard the word vegan and I thought "okay I'm going vegan".

Cameron Blewett in Queensland is an interesting person, he's written for The Scavenger, he was an avid hunter who is now vegan. I think it was him, it may have been someone else, generally people say cut out eat meat first – go vegetarian – then move on to veganism, but his strategy was to say to people to go vegan for two weeks – completely vegan – but in their heads their only thinking they're going vegan for two weeks. He says what happens is people do it for two weeks and see it's not that tricky, especially nowadays (it was harder when I went vegan in the mid 90s and it would have been a nightmare before that), and after two weeks the people might stick with it. So that's an interesting strategy – fair enough.

But most people I've "converted" have gone vegetarian first and then gone on to become vegan. And then there's the meat-free Mondays, which are gaining traction. Sienna [from Vegan Voice] or possibly Francione posted something along the lines of "one day a week we won't be racist" in response to meat-free Mondays and I can see that argument against meat-free Monday and there are certainly links and intersections, but I don't think it is so cut and dry as that. It's not that hard not to be racist or to be aware of your racialised conscienceness, whereas to actually change your behaviour, change your consumption is harder – and I'm not saying that people shouldn't do it, I think they should, but it's not that easy – especially for those with families, to suddenly change everything they do – sometimes it doesn't hurt to do it in stages. But I can see the arguments for both sides.

**How did you go about getting articles promoting veganism in sources like the Sydney Morning Herald?*

One of my other areas is sex and gender, and I had written a feature and an opinion piece on sex and gender diversity – so they already knew I could write. For those two [animal rights] articles I used hooks. With the litmus test one, Michael Kirby was launching the first animal rights law book in Australasia – that was my hook – and I pitched it and said this is the hook. I initially had some graphic descriptions but the editor didn't want that, he said it wouldn't get through the posh people in northern shore eating their breakfast – it wouldn't fly with them. So it was a case of working with the mainstream media. It's not the piece I'd have written if I had complete control, but that's okay, it's a very mainstream publication.

The call meat happy article – Francione had written about it and when I thought about it there are quite a few people reverting and I thought it was interesting and they seemed to bite for that. It all depends on the editor of a particular section, timing and whether they are up for a fairly radical piece or not!

A friend of mine had been writing for ABC Unleashed, so it started off with a gay article and sex/gender/feminism type articles for them. Melanie Joy's book on carnism wasn't being released in Australia – only in America – so I didn't think anyone else would be on it. I think the headline sold that one – it was very provocative – 'Eating Meat isn't Natural, it's Carnism' and I think they liked that.

With the fight for rights not welfare piece, I'd just written an article on feminism that they'd really liked so I thought I'd "strike while the iron's hot". I think it was fairly controversial, again so it got lots of hits and comments which is always good for an online site.

I'll probably write a thing on feminism and animal rights because in Melbourne in May 2011 I'm speaking on intersectionality panel at a big feminist conference, so I'll probably try to pitch something around that. Something around the consumption of women and the consumption of meat. I like some of Carol Adams's work but I don't agree 100% with all of her stuff because she is very blanket anti-sex industry and anti-porn and I'm not – I don't think it's that cut and dry. I've got friends who are sex worker rights advocates. And I've been told she's a bit transphobic but I think some of her ideas are interesting, particularly the "absent referent" concept. But I've written for The Scavenger about why animal rights is a feminist issue which got re-blogged loads of times so I might try to get something along those lines into the ABC but sometimes some things you want to write about are too niche for a mainstream audience. When pitching or writing I have to, in some ways, consider the lowest common denominator. For example, in a recent article I used the term "heteronormative paradigm" and someone said they switched off when they saw that term and said it was pseudo-intellectual babble. You try and do your bit, what I try to do is alternate – so I'm not always writing about animal rights – because they'll just get bored.

**Difference between SMH and ABC?*

I think it's both a different audience and funding. ABC is public so we're all paying for it. They only started their opinion site last year (2010) and it has become very popular very quickly – the editor quoted 2.2 million viewers, not sure if that's per day – that sounds quite high. The Herald is privately owned so they have shareholders to answer to rather than the ABC which we're all paying for. In print there is far less space so there are only 3 or 4 opinion pieces a day whereas the ABC publish several throughout the day because it's online.

**What was the reaction to the content of your articles from the editors?*

It's more the commenters, the editors don't comment on the articles. It's not really up to them to make a judgement, only whether the piece is well-written and argues the points articulately, regardless of whether they agree with it or not.

**I have noticed that there is an increase in the articles promoting animal rights and veganism in mainstream sources such as the Sydney Morning Herald and the Guardian, as well as the word 'vegan' being seen in mainstream sources more regularly. Do you think the move to mainstream veganism is already somewhat underway?*

I think it's online that has done it, there's been an explosion of good quality online publishing. The mainstream media have kind of had no choice, they've had to have to kind of go with the flow with some degree and I think the Herald has expanded their coverage to some degree. Even though you're dealing with only one person directly, you're also dealing with the whole huge infrastructure and the whole advertising model, which I loathe. And they don't want to upset advertisers, so some things get more coverage than others. I have a little competition with myself to see what kind of radical words I can get in – I've got veganism in, I've got speciesism in, and I used the pronoun "zie" which is non-gendered. So there's little victories like that, usually mainstream media wouldn't allow that. I think that online has changed a lot – and there's online campaigning, social networking...information getting out in different ways, not just the mainstream media.

**Victor Schonfeld's article in The Guardian was influenced by Francione and included a mention of him and a link to an article he had written, was your call meat happy not humane influenced by Francione's website?*

I follow Francione on Twitter and I think he tweeted something about it and he said more people were stopping being vegetarian and I've got a friend who always posts on Facebook who is always posting that they get their meat at organically, ethically bred, blah blah blah. So I thought I'd write about this, I quoted him [Francione], he planted the idea in my mind and combined with seeing that [the friend promoting their "happy" meat consumption], I thought I'd write about that. Gary Francione writes for the New York Times, but won't be pitching for ABC's the Drum in Australia, but I will, and I'll reference him so it's win-win.

**Is there anything else you would like to add about the mainstreaming of veganism and animal rights, or the animal advocacy movement generally?*

In every social justice movement, not just the animal rights movement, you get in-fighting and it's so tiring and boring. Everyone's got different viewpoints and everything. With the rights versus welfare, I don't think it's so either-or, so cut and dry. And there's also methods of activism. The direct action and protest in the UK is more full-on than here in Sydney. People tend to criticise other people's tactics a lot, and spend a lot of time doing that. I went on antivivisection demos and we'd sit down on the streets and take over the streets, and be pro-active but not really illegal – there'd be 500 or so of us – but some people would set fire to the cars of workers that worked at a place breeding kittens for vivisection and there was a bit of an outcry about that – people arguing that it's not the best way to do things. Then you've got the ALF who set fire to meat lorries and things like that. With the vivisection campaign, it was a mixture of polite letters – letters to the government, which is the most benign form of activism, direct action stopping traffic on a busy street in Oxford/Cambridge and the more full-on direct action and I believe they all worked in tandem which is a bit of a controversial view.

I publish a range of animal rights articles on The Scavenger so people can get an idea of some of the arguments and contribute to the debate. I've got friends who've carried out ALF actions, and explained to me the philosophy of the ALF, and I've interviewed them and seen the film Behind the Mask. So I'd like to see more tolerance in the movement for people's different views and ways of making things better for animals. It's not going to happen overnight – even Francione admits that – I wish I'd wake up one day and everyone had had an epiphany. But I do believe in abolition and in rights and not to exploit animals but at the same time I can see the benefit of certain welfare reforms (like the sow stall thing, for example) and even some forms of direct action, which some people call terrorism but it's actually economic sabotage – it forces the company's insurance to go up and put them out of business...and of course another place might open and there are arguments for and against but I suppose I'd just like to see more cohesion in the movement and less time in-fighting.

Notes from the Interview with Ashley Fruno, a Senior Campaigner for PETA Asia

**Could you please describe the structure of your organization?*

PETA Asia is an affiliate of PETA U.S., the world's largest animal rights organization, which has more than 2 million members and supporters around the world. PETA is smaller than PETA U.S. and hasn't been around as long, but we work endlessly to create attention-grabbing ads and hold groundbreaking protests in countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, Japan (where public demonstrations are rare), Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. Even with our small team and limited resources, PETA has won victories big and small for animals—such as shutting down a roadside zoo in Vietnam, preventing the passage of a bill that would have legalized dog racing in the Philippines, getting fur-free assurances from nearly 100 Australian designers, and much more.

PETA has affiliates in countries all over the world, including the U.S., France, Germany, India, the Netherlands, and the U.K. PETA works relentlessly to improve the lives of millions of animals across the globe in the food industry, the clothing trade, laboratories, and the entertainment industry.

**Could you please describe the decision-making processes of your organisation?*

PETA is set apart by our uncompromising stands on animal rights. Our positions may be controversial, but they are always true to our driving mission: to stop animal cruelty whenever and wherever it exists. PETA focuses its attention on the four areas in which the largest numbers of animals suffer the most intensely for the longest periods of time: on factory farms, in the clothing trade, in laboratories, and in the entertainment industry. PETA believes that animals are not ours to use for food, clothing, experimentation, entertainment, or any other purpose. PETA is an abolitionist organization, and we take the animals' side every time.

**How is your organisation financed?*

PETA U.S. is a nonprofit, tax-exempt 501(c)(3) corporation funded almost exclusively by the contributions of its members. PETA U.S. strives to use its funds in the most cost-effective and efficient manner possible—a commitment illustrated by the fact that 84.9 percent of its operating expenses went directly toward programs to fight animal exploitation. PETA U.S. expended only 13.67 percent of its funds on fundraising efforts that drive operations and 1.43 percent on management and general operations. PETA Asia is funded by PETA U.S. Please visit <http://www.peta.org/about/learn-about-peta/financial-report.aspx> to view PETA U.S.' 2010 Financial Report.

**Could you please give a brief history of your organisation? Who were the significant actors in setting up the organisation and what was the "driving force" behind the organisation being set up?*

PETA Asia was founded in 2005 in order to expand PETA U.S.'s goal of increasing awareness of animal rights around the world. Ingrid E. Newkirk founded PETA U.S. in 1980 with her boyfriend at the time, Alex Pacheco, who introduced Newkirk to the concept of animal rights after giving her a copy of Peter Singer's book *Animal Liberation*. The concept of animal rights was basically nonexistent at that time. Their ultimate goal was to educate people about animal rights and to promote the idea that discrimination based on species is as illogical as discrimination based on race or sex.

PETA U.S.' founders wanted to promote a healthy vegan diet and to show how easy it is to shop cruelty-free. They wanted to protest, loudly and publicly, against cruelty to animals in all its forms, and they wanted to expose what really went on behind the very thick, soundproof walls of animal laboratories.

PETA U.S.' first case—the precedent-setting 1981 Silver Spring monkeys case—resulted in the first arrest and criminal conviction of an animal experimenter in the U.S. on charges of cruelty to animals, the first confiscation of abused animals from a laboratory, and the first U.S. Supreme Court victory for animals in laboratories. And since then, PETA U.S. and its affiliates haven't stopped fighting for animals—and winning.

**If your organisation was successful in achieving its objectives, what would this mean for animals? What are you striving for as an ideal end goal?*

PETA is dedicated to establishing and defending the rights of all animals. PETA operates under the simple principle that animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on, or use for entertainment. PETA educates policymakers and the public about animal abuse and promotes kind treatment of animals.

The very heart of all of PETA's actions is the idea that it is the right of all beings—human and nonhuman—to be free from harm. Our world is plagued with many serious problems, all of which deserve our attention. Cruelty to animals is one of them. We believe that all people should try to stop animal abuse whenever and wherever they can.

In today's world of virtually unlimited choices, animal exploitation is simply unacceptable. We can eat better, educate ourselves better, clothe ourselves better, and entertain ourselves better without tormenting and killing animals.

We have the power to spare animals excruciating pain by making compassionate choices about the foods we eat, the things we buy, and the activities we support. We need to respect animals as fellow beings: as individuals, families, and tribes who have the same basic interests as we do, who experience joy and love, and who desire to live free from needless pain and harassment, just as we do. PETA's ultimate goal is to create a kinder, better world for animals.

**Please describe some of the recent campaigns or actions your organisation has carried out and why these campaigns have been carried out.*

On February 4, PETA members dressed up as "grim reapers" and held signs that read, "Janet: Fur Is Dead," along with a banner that read, "Janet: Animals Suffer and Die on Fur Farms" outside Janet Jackson's concert in Manila. Jackson recently appeared in an ad for Blackglama furs.

Animals who are trapped for their fur suffer excruciating pain before they are bludgeoned or stomped to death by trappers. Animals on fur farms are confined to tiny, filthy cages, where they are exposed to all weather extremes. Many go insane before they are killed by electrocution, poisoning, gassing, or neck-breaking. An undercover investigation of a fur farm in China—the country that is now the world's leading fur exporter—revealed that animals, including cats and dogs, are often skinned alive.

On January 28, members of PETA and a local animal protection organization—Thai Animal Guardians Association (AGA)—gathered outside of the Thai Parliament House to urge the parliament to pass the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Animal Welfare Bill immediately. PETA and Thai AGA members were dressed in cow, pig, rabbit, rat, dog, chicken, and elephant costumes and carried signs and a banner reading, "Help us! Pass the law now!"

If passed, the legislation would be the first of its kind in Thailand and would improve the lives of billions of animals by providing them with greater protections, promoting prosecutions for cruelty-to-animals violations, and mandating welfare standards for animals who are used in various industries. Without this law in place, people in Thailand will continue to find it nearly impossible to combat cruelty to animals and promote animal welfare.

After 12 long years of work by dedicated local activists, the bill has finally reached the last stage of the legislative process, but it is currently being held up by the Cabinet Secretariat. If the bill isn't passed before the current government's term expires in a few weeks, it will die and will have to go through the entire lengthy approval process again.

PETA recently made an ad campaign in Beijing featuring the image of a woman's foot stepping on the neck of a dead rabbit next to the words "Where Does Gong Li Stand on Fur?" The campaign was timed to coincide with the Chinese Year of the Rabbit, which began on February 3.

"The Year of the Rabbit celebrates these intelligent and gentle animals, so we implore Gong Li not to wear the fur of rabbits or any other animals tormented for their skins," says PETA campaigner Coco Yu. "Gong Li has been assailed across China for her cruel and environmentally unfriendly choice of attire, and we hope that the experience will mean a change to a kinder wardrobe."

**Have your campaigns changed over time?*

PETA's campaigns have been consistent from the beginning. PETA's purpose is to stop animal suffering, and we use all available opportunities to reach millions of people with powerful messages. We have found that people do pay more attention to our more provocative actions, and we consider the public's attention to be extremely important. Sometimes this requires tactics—such as naked marches and colorful ad campaigns—that some people find outrageous or even “rude,” but part of our job is to grab people's attention and even shock them in order to initiate discussion, debate, and, of course, action. The current situation is critical for billions of animals, and our goal is to make the public think about the issues.

Unfortunately, getting the animal rights message to the public is not always easy and straightforward. Unlike our opposition, which is mostly composed of wealthy industries and corporations, PETA must rely on getting free “advertising” through media coverage. We often do outrageous things to get the word out about animal abuse, because, sadly, the media usually do not consider the facts alone “interesting” enough to cover. Colorful and controversial gimmicks, on the other hand—like having activists “bare skin rather than wear skin”—consistently grab headlines, thereby bringing the animal rights message to audiences around the country and, often, the world.

We would much prefer to do things without the gimmicks—if only it worked. We'd like nothing better than to be able to show the media videos of factory farms, fur farms, and animals in laboratories and have them find it newsworthy enough to cover. But they don't. However, when we attach a gimmick, that very same animal abuse ends up in newspapers and on televisions nationwide. Experience has taught us that provocative and controversial campaigns make the difference between keeping important yet depressing subjects invisible and having them widely seen. The alternative is to be ignored in the torrent of tabloid-style stories that dominate the popular media.

**How do you keep your day-to-day operations in line with your overall goals? What issues does this raise for your organisation?*

PETA's staffers work tirelessly day and night to end the suffering of animals and to establish and to protect the rights of animals. PETA is an abolitionist organization, and we take the animals' side every time. Our day-to-day operations are simply always guided by our mission: to stop animal abuse worldwide.

**How has the use of the Internet impacted your organisation?*

The use of the Internet has had an enormous impact on PETA by allowing us to share information and cruelty investigations with people all over the world for free. The Internet has allowed PETA to reach people of all ages and backgrounds and educate them about animal rights, and our social networking sites provide an easy medium for people to get active.

**Do you feel that the Internet has been beneficial for your organisation or do you feel that it has led to more activism that is less organisation-based?*

The Internet has been tremendously beneficial to PETA by allowing animal lovers from all over the globe to read our blog, Hot & Sour Scoop, on which we post a vast amount of information daily. PETA members can also read action alerts and send e-mails through our website in order to try to change company or government policies affecting animals.

The Internet has spread virtually everywhere around the world, so PETA members can follow PETA through different social networking sites such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter.

**Do you feel there is a link between human rights and animal rights? How does this influence your organisation?*

PETA's pro-animal activities have great power to better the human condition as well. As vegetarians, we advocate eating lower on the food chain, which not only would save billions of innocent animals from slaughter each year, but also would save humans from a diet known to cause heart disease, cancer, and

obesity. A plant-based diet means that 16 times as much grain can be made available to hungry people—instead of being used to feed livestock. Eliminating intensive factory farming of animals would also save precious water and topsoil. And without the ozone-damaging nitrates that result from the production of billions of pounds of manure on factory farms, our air would be cleaner and we would take a giant step toward fighting climate change. In this way, animals, humans, and the environment are interconnected—we all stand to gain by not harming animals.

Teaching respect for animals is also an important part of preventing violence against humans. Studies have shown that violent and aggressive criminals are more likely to have abused animals as children than are criminals who are considered nonaggressive. A survey of psychiatric patients who had repeatedly tortured dogs and cats found that all of them had high levels of aggression toward people as well. According to a New South Wales newspaper, a police study in Australia revealed that “100 percent of sexual homicide offenders examined had a history of animal cruelty.” To researchers investigating the backgrounds of serial killers and rapists, a fascination with cruelty to animals is a red flag. According to Robert K. Ressler of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, “These are the kids who never learned it’s wrong to poke out a puppy’s eyes.”

**How do you view the difference between animal rights and welfare?*

Animal welfare theories accept that animals have interests but allow these interests to be traded away as long as there are some human benefits that are thought to justify that sacrifice.

Animal rights mean that animals, like humans, have interests that cannot be sacrificed or traded away just because it might benefit others. However, the rights position does not hold that rights are absolute; an animal’s rights, just like those of humans, must be limited, and rights can certainly conflict. The concept of animal rights means that animals are not ours to use for food, clothing, entertainment, or experimentation. Animal welfare allows these uses as long as “humane” guidelines are followed.

**How does this inform the ideology and activism of your organisation?*

PETA campaigns for both animal rights and animal welfare. PETA is realistic and understands that it would be illogical to think that everyone in the world will go vegetarian overnight. Therefore, we think that any improvement in the ways that animals are treated for meat, dairy products, and eggs is vital and valid. For example, PETA campaigns against fast-food giant KFC over the company’s lack of animal welfare standards to protect chickens from the worst abuses on its suppliers’ farms and in slaughterhouses.

PETA has always been known for uncompromising, unwavering views on animal rights. We aren’t afraid to make the difficult comparison, say the unpopular thing, or point out the uncomfortable truth, if it means that animals will benefit.

**Is there anything else you would like to add about your organisation, its role in the animal advocacy movement, or anything about the animal advocacy movement itself?*

PETA believes that animals have rights and deserve to have their best interests taken into consideration. Like humans, they are capable of suffering and have an interest in leading their own lives.

The very heart of all of PETA’s actions is the idea that it is the right of all beings—human and nonhuman alike—to be free from harm. Our world is plagued with many serious problems, all of which deserve our attention. Cruelty to animals is one of them. We believe that all people should try to stop animal abuse whenever and wherever it occurs.

In today’s world of virtually unlimited choices, animal exploitation is simply unacceptable. We can eat better, educate ourselves better, clothe ourselves better, and entertain ourselves better without tormenting and killing animals. We have the power to spare animals excruciating pain by making compassionate choices about the foods we eat, the things we buy, and the activities we support.

Please click the following link to view PETA U.S.’ 2010 Financial Statement <http://www.peta.org/about/learn-about-peta/financial-report.aspx>.

Please click the following to view PETA U.S.' 2010 Annual Review:
<http://www.mediapeta.com/peta/pdf/USAnnualReview2010-72webonly.pdf>

The link below has information on how to become a member of PETA U.S.:
<https://secure.peta.org/site/SPageServer?pagename=donateR3>

Notes from the interviews with animal rights lawyer Gary Francione, Australian ethicist Peter Singer and Andrew Rowan, Chief International Officer and Chief Scientific Officer President of HSUS and CEO, Humane Society International, are not included in this appendix. This is because for these interviews, the interviewees were just sent the points from their interviews that were used in this thesis. They were given the opportunity to make any corrections to these points, but were not been given the chance to approve the full notes from their interviews.

The notes from the interview with Jeffrey Flocken, the Regional Director of the International Fund for Animal Welfare are also not included in this appendix. This is because the points from the interview fell outside of the scope of this thesis, but the interview will be drawn on in future research.

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End Notes

¹ The following presentations and articles have been based on the research reported in the thesis:

Pendergrast, N. (2010) 'New Privatisation in New Welfarist Animal Advocacy Organisations?' *Paper presented at the Eleventh Humanities Graduate Research Conference, 'Voicing the Unseen: Just write it!'*, Curtin University, Western Australia.

Pendergrast, N. (2011) 'Veganism, Organisational Considerations and Animal Advocacy Campaigns' *Voicing the Unseen*: <http://hgsoconference.curtin.edu.au/local/pdf/Pendergrast.pdf>

Pendergrast, N. (2011) 'The Rise of Veganism in Australian Animal Advocacy Organisations' *Paper presented at the 'Thinking About Animals' Conference by the Institute for Critical Animal Studies North America, Brock University, Ontario, Canada.*

Pendergrast, N. (2011) 'Veganism, Rationality, and Animal Advocacy Campaigns' *Paper presented for the series 'We Are Not Alone: Understanding and Explaining Human's Relations with the Nonhuman World' as part of the Centre for Advanced Studies in Australia, Asia and the Pacific Seminar Series 2011, Curtin University, Western Australia.*

Pendergrast, N. (2011) 'Live Export, Humane Slaughter and the Rise of Animal Rights' *Paper presented at the Twelfth Humanities Graduate Research Conference, 'Changing Facts: Changing Minds; Changing Worlds'*, Curtin University, Western Australia.

Pendergrast, N. (2012) 'Veganism Enters the Mainstream' *Paper presented at the Thirteenth Humanities Graduate Research Conference 'The Truth Is Out There'*, Curtin University, Western Australia.

Pendergrast, N. (2013) 'Veganism Enters the Mainstream' *Paper presented at the 'Animal Liberation and Social Justice: An Intersectional Approach to Social Change' Conference by the Institute for Critical Animal Studies Oceania, University of Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.*

Pendergrast, N. (2014) 'Live Animal Export, Humane Slaughter and Media Hegemony' *Paper presented at the 'Critical Animal Studies in the Asia-Pacific' Conference by the Institute for Critical Animal Studies Oceania, Abbotsford Convent, Melbourne.*

Pendergrast, N. (2014) 'Intersectionality in Practice' *Paper presented at the 'Critical Animal Studies in the Asia-Pacific' Conference by the Institute for Critical Animal Studies Oceania, Abbotsford Convent, Melbourne.*

Pendergrast, N. (2015) 'Live Animal Export, Humane Slaughter and Media Hegemony' *Animal Studies Journal* (vol. 4, no. 1) pp. 99-125: <http://ro.uow.edu.au/asj/vol4/iss1/7/>

Pendergrast, N. (2015) 'Environmental Concerns and the Mainstreaming of Veganism' in *Impacts of Meat Consumption on Health and Environmental Sustainability*, edited by Talia Raphaely and Dora Marinova, Copyright 2015, IGI Global, www.igi-global.com. Posted by permission of the publisher. This permission form is included in the appendix of the thesis.

² The term "animal advocacy movement" has been chosen over other terms that describe the movement of people advocating for other animals. In most sources, the term "animal rights movement" is applied to this movement to cover a range of perspectives and forms of activism, 'not all of which can be grounded in a rights-based approach' (Bourke 2009, p. 131). This term has been avoided, in order to allow for the important differences between animal rights and other perspectives, such as animal welfare (Signal and Taylor 2006, p.

267), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Another term that has been used to describe the movement is “animal protection movement” (see, for example, O’Sullivan 2006; Taylor 1999; Munro 2012) and this will also be avoided. Just as the term “animal rights movement” does not adequately cover animal welfare activism, the term “animal protection movement” does not adequately represent more radical animal rights activists and organisations. Most organisations with the term “animal protection” in their name come from an animal welfare perspective, with many focusing on companion animals. While such organisations are certainly a part of the broad animal advocacy movement, there are many perspectives that are not adequately covered by this term.

At the “Thinking About Animals” conference at Brock University in Canada, Don LePan (2011) proposed the term “animal justice movement” as being useful to refer to the AAM, as it covers ‘animal rights advocates, animal welfare activists, animal liberationists—the full spectrum’. However, this term is a more “value-laden” term than the more neutral “animal advocacy movement” and will be avoided in this discussion. The term “animal justice” puts the movement in a positive light, however; theorists such as Wesley Smith, author of *A Rat Is a Pig Is a Dog Is a Boy: The Human Cost of the Animal Rights Movement* (2009) disputes that this is a just movement on the grounds that opposing medical research involving non-human animals which can benefit human health and opposing the intensive confinement of farmed animals which provides ‘nutritious, inexpensive food’ and ‘is a great benefit to people on limited budgets’ (Smith 2009, pp. 30, 210). The term “animal advocacy movement” is appropriate to cover the wide range of individuals and organisations advocating for animals, ranging from reformists to radicals (Jasper and Nelkin 1992, p. 8 cited in O’Sullivan 2006, p. 3; Beers 2006, pp. 4-5), while not implying that this advocacy is a positive or negative thing.

³ Sociologist Roger Yates (2010, pp. 15-16), reflecting on many decades as an animal advocate, argues that: ‘in my experience it is still most common for advocates, be it on email listings, forums or in general correspondence to the mass media, to refer to nonhuman animals simply as ‘animals’.’ Throughout this thesis, the terms ‘non-human animals’, ‘other animals’ and ‘animals’ were used interchangeably, however, the importance of the terms ‘non-human animals’ and ‘other animals’ rather than ‘animals’ is certainly accepted, as using the term ‘animals’ to refer only to non-human animals reinforces the idea that humans are somehow separate to other animals, rather than simply being one species of animal. The decision to refer to non-human animals in this way was made in recognition of the practicalities of readability when the term was being used so often. For more on the term ‘animals’ and speciesist language, see Roger Yates’s (2010, pp. 15-16) article ‘Language, Power and Speciesism’.

⁴ While this study was conducted before the live export crisis in 2011, as it was only one year before, the results are very relevant to understanding the concern expressed over this issue.

⁵ However, even organisations and individuals with a more conservative approach embrace the term, perhaps not as often though – demonstrating both coherence and difference in the movement. It seems that the more the concept of speciesism is rejected, the more the term “non-human animal” is likely to be used. Traditional animal welfare organisations, like the Royal Society for the Protection of Animals (RSPCA), which does not oppose speciesism in its advocacy (Munro 2012, p. 170), do not use the term “non-human animal” at all. However, even amongst such organisations, there is still an attempt to change the linguistic habits of the public in regards to other animals. With the possible exception of pets, non-human animals are often referred to as “it” rather than “she” or “he”. This reinforces the perception of non-human animals as undifferentiated objects, rather than gendered beings of great complexity, like humans (Piers Beirne 2007, p. 63, cited in Yates 2010, p. 15; Freeman 2013, p. 98). The RSPCA challenge this language by using the term “they” instead to refer to non-human animals, including pets (see, for example, RSPCA 2009), but also other animals such as cows in the dairy industry (see, for example, RSPCA 2011e).

⁶ Until 2007 the Institute for Critical Animal Studies was known as the Center on Animal Liberation Affairs (The Institute for Critical Animal Studies 2012, online; Taylor and Twine 2014, p. 1).

⁷ The term “movement” is more accurate than “organisation” when referring to the Animal Liberation Front, as there is a broad movement in terms of commonalities in philosophies and tactics, however there is no

hierarchy or centralised command structure, and little or no formal contact with others in this movement (Taylor 1999, p. 36).

⁸ All interview data has been safely stored in a locked filing cabinet at my private residence and will be held for a period of five years in accordance with Curtin University's 'Data Storage and Retention Guidelines'. Electronic access to this information is password protected.

⁹ Research has found that those attracted to vegetarianism are typically white and middle-class, as well as female (Freeman 2013, p. 94). These findings are likely to apply to veganism too. While some vegan foods are cheaper than animal-based foods, vegan speciality products such as meat and dairy replacements can be more expensive.

¹⁰ This approach is illustrated in an article titled 'Selling Our Story' in *Beef Magazine*, in which feedlot consulting veterinarian Dave Sjeklocha defended the use of non-human animals for food at the same time as praising HSUS for their work in attempting to stop cock fighting (Sjeklocha 2009).

¹¹ Women making up a majority of the AAM is pointed out in a number of sources (see, for example, Williams 2012, p. 52; Freeman 2013, p. 94) and Marie Mika (2006, p. 918) notes that 'women comprise 70 per cent or more of membership in animal rights groups, with membership in some groups reaching almost 100 per cent women'.

¹² McCarthy and Zald (2001, p. 534) identify 150 doctoral dissertations that mention resource mobilisation in their abstracts, as well as over 600 articles that make reference to their foundational articles on resource mobilisation from 1973 and 1977.

¹³ However, even if the persona presented by SMOs is merely a "public image" in some cases, theories such as resource mobilisation still raise important points on the rationality that social movements are pushed to exhibit in order to ensure legitimacy and funding.

¹⁴ The inclusion of the qualification 'non-required' could be interpreted as implying that the company has not stopped all animal testing for their teas.

¹⁵ A 2011 survey found that 95% of British citizens would not wear animal fur and in a 1992 survey in the United States, where people ranked certain uses of animals from one (acceptable) to five (unacceptable), purchasing a coat made from the skins of wild coyotes ranked an average of 3.74, meaning most people found it unacceptable (Driscoll 1992, p. 39; Hickman 2011, online).

¹⁶ The site *ActivistCash.com* is set up by the Center for Consumer Freedom. This organisation criticises a number of nonprofit organisations promoting all kinds of causes (including animal rights, environmentalism, and many others). According to their website, the Center for Consumer Freedom 'is a nonprofit organization devoted to promoting personal responsibility and protecting consumer choices' (Center for Consumer Freedom 2010, online). Despite their focus on "consumer freedom", the organisation has anonymous links to industry, as they admit on their website (Center for Consumer Freedom 2010, online) and has also been exposed by reporters Caroline Mayer and Amy Joyce (2005).

¹⁷ A series of comments on Pepsi's website illustrate this backlash well:

'Pepsi, you really need to look at HSUS. They have an agenda that the vast majority o***** (sic) [of] people in this country DO NOT support' (cited in Pepsi 2011, online);

'they are a political force with an agenda that simply says we want to eliminate meat and poultry. I suggest that you look into HSUS before you give them money' (cited in Pepsi 2011, online); and

'I will no longer purchase any Pepsi products [...] [A]s part of HSUS stated goals is no more pets born in the U.S. They currently do not "rescue" animals, the (sic) [they] lobby for laws abolishing our rights to keep our beloved pets' (cited in Pepsi 2011, online).

¹⁸ Due to Gervais's work with PETA and support for other AAOs, he has been labelled an 'outspoken animal rights activist' (Ecorazzi 2011b, online) and someone who 'takes fighting for animal rights very seriously' (Ecorazzi 2011a, online). While Gervais takes a rights position (abolition) on certain products such as fur, as well as certain uses of animals such as bull fighting (Govan 2010, online), he does not adopt a rights-based position for all animal products and uses of animals. He states that he detests any 'foods that are the result of animal cruelty' (Your Daily Vegan 2009, online) but when challenged on his own meat eating, reverts back to the idea of humane slaughter, which is central to the animal welfare, not the animal rights position (Bourke 2009, p. 133). Gervais states that: 'I think there is a difference between animals being humanely killed for meat and animals being tortured to death for fun. It's the "enjoying it" part I don't understand' (cited in Vegetarian Star 2009, online).

¹⁹ This contradiction was pointed out by comedian Stephen Colbert on his popular television show *The Colbert Report*. Actress Claire Danes, who plays Temple Grandin in a 2010 biopic, was Colbert's guest on an episode on the 10th of February, 2010. Danes explains that Grandin is 'really interested in animals and animal science and designed a system in which cows would walk calmly to their deaths – so they wouldn't be mistreated and prodded and it was also really economically efficient for the cattle industry.' Colbert responds by saying 'So it's really kind of a pro-business story, isn't it?' Danes goes on to say that Grandin empathises with cows and 'wants very much for them to have a good experience while they're alive. She doesn't want them to suffer'. Colbert retorts: 'Yes, "a good experience" until it becomes the worst possible experience...Because I empathize with my dog, and I'm not sure whether my idea of expressing my affection would be to open a puppy slaughter house' (cited in Garbato 2010, online).

²⁰ One reason for this is that campaigns using "sex" (women's bodies) to sell their message is done frequently by PETA, another reason could be that these are the campaigns that attract the most attention and views online.

²¹ The findings presented in this chapter were also included in a conference paper published by the author in the online journal *Provoking Texts: New postgraduate research from the edge; Voicing the Unseen: Just Write It*. It was published on the 21 October 2011 and permission to include some of this paper in this chapter has been granted by the publisher. For the full details of this conference paper, see: (Pendergrast 2011).

²² For example, Patty Mark, President of Animal Liberation Victoria, contacted RSPCA Victoria requesting that they serve only vegan food at their events. In response, Maria Mercurio, Chief Executive Officer of RSPCA Victoria, stated 'a vegan or vegetarian lifestyle is not what the RSPCA is all about' and 'we are not vegans or vegetarians' (Mercurio and Mark 2006, online) – this is in contrast to organisations such as PETA, HSUS, HSI, and Animals Australia.

²³ *The Australian Financial Review*, despite having a higher readership for this group than *The Sydney Morning Herald*, was not chosen as the Fairfax paper to analyse, as *The Australian* already gives an example of a nationwide newspaper.

²⁴ Part of this chapter has been published in my book chapter 'Environmental Concerns and the Mainstreaming of Veganism' which forms part of the book *Impacts of Meat Consumption on Health and Environmental Sustainability*, edited by Talia Raphaely and Dora Marinova, Copyright 2015, IGI Global, www.igi-global.com. Posted by permission of the publisher. This permission form is included in the appendix of the thesis.

²⁵ A 2011 survey conducted by the Vegetarian Resource Group found that 2.5 per cent of Americans were vegan. This represented a substantial increase since 2009 where the figure was only 0.8 per cent. According to this survey, for the first time, it appears that there may be more vegans than vegetarians in the United States. A total of 2 per cent of men and 2 per cent of women surveyed avoided flesh but consumed dairy and/or eggs, but 3 per cent of men and 2 per cent of women were vegan. However, the size of the survey was small (only 2 030) and its results should be treated with caution (Stahler 2012, online). A 2012 Gallup poll found 2 per cent

of Americans were vegan, but again, the sample size was small – it only drew on 1 014 people (Newport 2012, online).

²⁶ Sociologist Elizabeth Cherry (2006, p. 156) has used the American surveys discussed above to estimate that there could be in the vicinity of 1.7 million vegans in the United States. Some organisations devoted to animal rights vegan activism have memberships in the tens of thousands. This is quite small in comparison to larger, more moderate AAOs, as well as prominent human rights and environmental organisations. As was noted in Chapter Four, such organisations have millions of members (Hensby, Sibthorpe, and Driver 2011, p. 810). While some vegans may not be doing any formal activism beyond boycotting animal products in their daily lives, it is clear that potentially there are many vegans engaged in outreach outside of AAOs.

²⁷ While Mark was President of ALV for most of the duration of this thesis, by the time it was completed, she had become the Vice President (ALV 2012b, online).

²⁸ While Hannibal was President of Uproar for most of the duration of this thesis, by the time it was completed, he had become the President of ALV (ALV 2012b, online).