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A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970–2015

Gonzalo Villanueva

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Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. We conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. This new series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

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For Oscar Adolfo and Monica Villanueva

Series Editors' Preface

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. Our series reacts to what can be described as a recent boom in the history of social movements. We can observe a development from the crisis of labour history in the 1980s to the boom in research on social movements in the 2000s. The rise of historical interests in the development of civil society and the role of strong civil societies as well as non-governmental organisations in stabilising democratically constituted polities has strengthened the interest in social movements as a constituent element of civil societies.

In different parts of the world, social movements continue to have a strong influence on contemporary politics. In Latin America, trade unions, labour parties and various left-of-centre civil society organisations have succeeded in supporting left-of-centre governments. In Europe, peace movements, ecological movements and alliances intent on campaigning against poverty and racial discrimination and discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual orientation have been able to set important political agendas for decades. In other parts of the world, including Africa, India and Southeast Asia, social movements have played a significant role in various forms of community building and community politics. The contemporary political relevance of social movements has undoubtedly contributed to a growing historical interest in the topic.

Contemporary historians are not only beginning to historicise these relatively recent political developments but they are also trying to relate them to a longer history of social movements, including traditional labour organisations, such as working-class parties and trade unions. In the longue durée, we recognise that social movements are by no means a recent phenomenon and are not even an exclusively modern phenomenon, although we realise that the onset of modernity emanating from Europe and North America across the wider world from the eighteenth century onwards marks an important departure point for the development of civil societies and social movements.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the dominance of national history over all other forms of history writing led to a thorough nationalisation of the historical sciences. Hence, social movements have been examined traditionally within the framework of the nation state. Only during the last two decades have historians begun to question the validity of such methodological nationalism and to explore the development of social movements in comparative, connective and transnational perspective taking into account processes of transfer, reception and adaptation. While our book series does not preclude work that is still being carried out within national frameworks (for, clearly, there is a place for such studies, given the historical importance of the nation state in history), it hopes to encourage comparative and transnational histories of social movements.

At the same time as historians have begun to research the history of those movements, a range of social theorists, from Jürgen Habermas to Pierre Bourdieu and from Slavoj Žižek to Alain Badiou as well as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to Miguel Abensour, to name but a few, have attempted to provide philosophical-cum-theoretical frameworks in which to place and contextualise the development of social movements. History has arguably been the most empirical of all the social and human sciences, but it will be necessary for historians to explore further to what extent these social theories can be helpful in guiding and framing the empirical work of the historian in making sense of the historical development of social movements. Hence, the current series is also hoping to make a contribution to the ongoing dialogue between social theory and the history of social movements.

This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually informed studies that analyse labour

movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. With this series, we seek to revive, within the context of historiographical developments since the 1970s, a conversation between historians, on the one hand, and sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists, on the other hand.

Unlike most of the concepts and theories developed by social scientists, we do not see social movements as directly linked, a priori, to processes of social and cultural change and therefore do not adhere to a view that distinguishes between old (labour) and new (middle-class) social movements. Instead, we want to establish the concept 'social movement' as a heuristic device that allows historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate social and political protests in novel settings. Our aim is to historicise notions of social and political activism in order to highlight different notions of political and social protest on both left and right.

Hence, we conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. But we also include processes of social and cultural change more generally in our understanding of social movements: this goes back to nineteenth-century understandings of 'social movement' as processes of social and cultural change more generally. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. In short, this series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It also hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

Gonzalo Villanueva's *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970 to 2015* looks specifically at contention over animal rights. Building on a broad range of theories from social movement studies, including resource mobilisation theory and the political process model, he adopts an eclectic but highly effective theoretical model that highlights the importance of resources and strategies but also emphasises the role of culture and of personal biographies. In particular he makes

excellent use of studying the role of emotions in strengthening social movements such as the animal movement. Animal activism, protesting against the exploitation of animals, has so far been studied mainly in the UK and the USA. Villanueva is the first to add Australia to the picture in a comprehensive way. Even more importantly, he places special emphasis on the many transnational connections that existed in the animal movement and that made it into a truly global social movement, where activists from different parts of the world shared ideas and practices.

Inspired by the emergence of a whole range of new social movements in the 1970s, following in the wake of a global '68, the animal movement could build on a new understanding of a post-materialist contentious politics that was based on a broader understanding of the political. In Peter Singer, Australia produced a key transnational animal rights activist whose 1975 publication *Animal Liberation* became a worldwide success. Villanueva looks at the transnational repercussions of Singer and studies in depth the development of diverse animal rights' groups in 1970s Australia. He analyses their lobbying activities inside and outside of parliaments and examines a range of disruptive forms of contention, including blockades, sit-ins, occupations and 'open rescue' practices. Visual images of animals being maltreated were particularly important for the successes of the animal movement, whose 'politics of sight' was instrumental in bringing abuses into the open. Villanueva deals in depth with Lyn White's examination into Indonesian abattoirs as an effective example of 'transnational investigative campaigning'. Furthermore, he also analyses vegetarian and vegan forms of lifestyle activism, where the changed conceptualizations of the political are particularly visible. Here, the personal did become the political in a major way.

Reading this history of the animal movement, one cannot be but impressed with its innovative, creative and inspiring ideas and practices over many decades. Direct action and media campaigns were vital ingredients in transforming it from modest beginnings to the major transnational movement that it is today and that has considerable influence on politics in many countries. A growing subculture supporting the animal movement through consumption practices and other support mechanisms also played an important role. Villanueva pays close attention to the many differences within the animal movement, e.g. between the so-called minimalists and maximalists, and the reader will learn a lot about diverse and often conflicting conceptualisations of human–animal relations within the movement. Activists have been trying to change the

status and conditions of animals for half a century and have been successful in establishing standards and codes of practice. Overall, as this study demonstrates, the cultural fabric of Australian society, and through the international networks, global society has changed considerably as a result of the activities of the animal movement, even if much remains to be done to change perceptions of human–animal relations. The process has been incremental but steady.

This book will find its place in the growing field of literature defined as human–animal studies. It has done much over recent years to move history away from its strong anthropocentrism. Villanueva's study is part and parcel of 'critical animal studies' that has been contributing to a politicisation of human–animal relations. A contentious politics focused on animals represents an important facet in the study of social movements today.

Bochum, Germany — Stefan Berger
Stirling, UK — Holger Nehring

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Contents

Abbreviations

AAHR	Australian Association for Humane Research
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AEEC	Animal Experimentation Ethics Committee
AFA	Action for Animals
AJP	Animal Justice Party
ALF	Animal Liberation Front
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMIEU	Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union
AVUA	Anti-Vivisection Union of Australia
AWAC	Animal Welfare Advisory Committee
AWL	Animal Welfare League
CAA	Compassionate Action for Animals
CALE	Committee Against Live Exports
CAS	Critical Animal Studies
CEMAA	Council of Egg Marketing Authorities of Australia
CIWF	Compassion in World Farming
COK	Compassion Over Killing
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentary Debate
DAAR	Direct Action for Animal Rights
ESCAS	Exporter Supply Chain Assurance System
FARM	Farm Animal Reform Movement
Farmer Review	Independent Review of Australia's Livestock Export Trade
Federation	Australian Federation of Animal Societies/Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies
HAS	Human-Animal Studies

HSA	Hunt Saboteurs Association
HSUS	Humane Society of the United States
IDA	In Defense of Animals
IGWG	Industry Government Working Group on Live Cattle Exports
LP	Liberal Party
MFA	Mercy for Animals
MLA	Meat & Livestock Australia
MP	Member of Parliament
NFF	National Farmers' Federation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
NLA	National Library of Australia
NPA	National Party of Australia
NSM	New Social Movement
NSW	New South Wales
NSW Federation	Federation of Animal Societies in New South Wales
PAA	Papers of Animals Australia
PETA	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
PPS	Papers of Peter Singer
QLD	Queensland
RSPCA	Royal Society of Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
RSL	Returned Services League
SA	South Australia
SAFE	Save the Animals from Experiments
Senate Committee	Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SPARE	Society for the Protection of Animal Rights Egypt
SPCA	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
TEC	Total Environment Centre
UPC	United Poultry Concern
Veg	Vegetarian/Vegan
VIC	Victoria
VSPCA	Victorian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
WA	Western Australia
WLPA	World League for the Protection of Animals
WSPA	World Society for the Protection of Animals

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction—A Voice for Animals

After having carefully removed the 'Animal Liberation' sticker from her car's rear window, Christine Townend often travelled outside of metropolitan Sydney to visit what she described as the 'darker side' of farms.[1] The year was 1977, and these were the intensive farms of modern agriculture: pigs and poultry in their thousands reared and confined in sheds, destined to be killed for human consumption. On one country drive, Townend, aged in her early thirties and a mother of two, arrived at a place that sold their 'farm fresh eggs' and chickens direct to the public. She was led into a large shed that contained tier upon tier of small wire cages, each overcrowded with egg-laying hens. Upon entering, her senses were assaulted by the clucking cacophony and the pungent smell of urine, faeces, and cracked eggs. Out of love, compassion, and a sense of curiosity, Townend purchased three hens. She took them back to her suburban home, where, uncaged and free, they would live out the rest of their natural lives. Townend named one miserable-looking featherless hen, who had been confined in a cage for over a year, 'Miss Chook'. As part of her efforts to generate publicity and awareness of the plight of farmed animals, Townend took the emaciated Miss Chook to television interviews, hoping that the sight of her would shock and signal that there was something gravely wrong with the modern farming of animals.[2]

Decades later, in 2011, Lyn White travelled to Indonesian abattoirs to investigate the live export of Australian cattle. One night, White, a retired twenty-year veteran of the South Australian police, filmed five

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local slaughtermen struggling to drag an imported Australian steer from a holding pen to the kill floor. When the steer collapsed, the slaughtermen applied various cruel methods to coerce him up the ramp into the Australian designed restraint box: they jabbed him with a stick, jumped on his back, broke his tail by hand, and gouged his eyes with their fingers. Despite all this, he was unable to stand or move. Frustrated and impatient, workers released another steer that trampled him. More workers came and physically dragged him up the ramp by rope to slaughter him. Across six nights and four cities, White documented Indonesian slaughtermen, some trained and equipped by the Australian livestock export industry, abusing Australian cattle and killing them in ways that many would consider inhumane. White believed that she had the evidence needed to stop the Australian export of half a million live cattle to Indonesia.[3]

Stories like these make up the history of the Australian animal movement. They are examples of what sociologists call 'contentious politics'. Contentious politics occurs when ordinary people—like Townend, White, and many others—join forces to confront 'elites, authorities and opponents'.[4] They are political interactions in which actors make claims that affect another's interests. Rebellions and revolutions, conflicts and civil wars are examples of contentious politics. But social movements also sustain this form of politics. Social movements engage in public performances and collective action and make concerted displays of worthiness, unity, group membership, and commitment.[5] They activate 'democracy-promoting processes' that widen the issues under public debate, expand the political agenda, and influence the decisions and actions taken by government and other sectors of society.[6] More so than political parties or formal institutions, social movements offer critical avenues of representation for socially excluded and disadvantaged groups.[7] Ultimately, movements can fail woefully or succeed spectacularly; they can stimulate political, social, and cultural change.

Foreshadowed by the anti-war cause, women's and gay liberation, aboriginal rights, and environmental conservation, a fresh wave of animal activism emerged in Australia in the mid-1970s that has endured until this day.[8] The long Sixties was a 'decade of transit and of transition, of comings and goings, of cultural traffic'.[9] Animal rights were part of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s that struggled for peace, equality, liberation, and justice. The animal movement focused on the wellbeing and rights of animals and broadly contested the politics and

culture of animal use and exploitation.[10] It revitalised a cause that began internationally in the nineteenth century with the emergence of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals but that had stagnated or was in a state of decline throughout the early twentieth century due to wars, economic depression, or political turmoil. Following the mobilisations of the 1970s, new animal movement organisations campaigned on several neglected yet critical issues, around farmed animals, animals in research, animals in sports and entertainment, and wild animals. As one of the great social justice issues today, animal rights have at times been at the forefront of politics.

However, historians have unfortunately ignored the form and meaning of the Australian animal movement. To date, most of the literature on the movement has focused on Britain and the United States and has tended to miss the transnational connections between Australia and its counterparts.[11] Lyle Munro is one of the few scholars who provides a comparative sociological account of the Australian movement.[12] While there is great merit in his work, it is limited in its historical account.[13] Munro himself argues that the movement remains 'one of the most misunderstood and understudied social movements of our era'.[14] More broadly, general scholarship on social movements and Australian history has mostly overlooked the animal movement, even though animal rights intersected with other great causes. This is arguably because academia is largely anthropocentric. As Erica Fudge argues, the humanities, as the name suggests, have mostly been concerned with humans and the human perspective, and leading to what Fudge argues is the writing of only 'partial histories' and only a 'partial understanding' of the past.[15] Until recently, animals have been a largely invisible subject.

Against the dominance of anthropocentrism, however, the growing interdisciplinary field of human–animal studies (HAS), which broadly explores the intersections of human and non-human animal lives, has defined itself.[16] In addition, scholars of the closely related discipline of critical animal studies (CAS) have taken a more politicised approach to studying the condition and treatment of the animal subject.[17] Similar to feminist scholars who ask the 'female question' and examine the past and present through various feminist lenses, HAS and CAS scholars have inserted the 'animal question' into the humanities.[18] One of the reasons why HAS and CAS are significant, argues Cary Wolfe, is that they pose fundamental challenges 'to a model of subjectivity and experience' of the established paradigms.[19]

Despite a lag in mainstream history, efforts have been devoted to expanding historiography to consider animals as historical actors. This move towards studying different historical subjects was predicated on changing social and intellectual tendencies that began in the 1960s, from the rise of social history and its focus on the lived experience of everyday people to environmental history and its attention to ecology. The growth and expansion of historical subjects was a lesson 'applicable to other sensible beings'.[20] In the 1980s, Keith Thomas' *Man and the Natural World* and Harriet Ritvo's *The Animal Estate* were seminal studies that historicised early modern British attitudes and behaviours towards animals and the environment.[21] In addition, James Turner's *Reckoning with the Beast* considered how pain and suffering was understood in the Victorian era.[22] Works like these, and many others since then, not only acknowledged the significance of animals but also augmented a general understanding of history. While the study of animals as agents in history presents conceptual and methodological challenges, issues beyond the current discussion, the animal's place in historiography has persisted.[23] This book looks at the politicisation of the human–animal relationship, how human actors have tried to change the status and condition of animals in human society, such as through the laws of a state or the beliefs and behaviours of people. Animals were unable to self-advocate for their interests, but humans could be a voice for animals.

This book offers the first transnational history of the Australian animal movement. It tells the story of how ordinary people built the movement, the methods they developed to contest their cause, and the consequences of their actions. Australia is at the heart of this story, but there are significant conceptual and practical connections to people and organisations in other nations. Australian activists not only observed and learnt from events unfolding overseas but also played influential roles in creating and exporting novel ideas and techniques and in leading important campaigns. In an effort to draw attention to the plight of animals, Australian activists were often enterprising, innovative, and provocative in how they made their claims. Although frustrated and constrained, they were able to influence, pluralise, and change politics, society, and culture.

The 1960s and 1970s signalled a revival in the politics of animals. Provoked by the emergence and pervasiveness of factory farms and other forms of animal exploitation, radical ideas about the moral status of animals and vegetarianism heralded the creation of the modern animal movement. 'Philosophers', argue James Jasper and Dorothy Nelkin,

'served as the midwives of the animal rights movement.'[24] Young philosophers who critically questioned societies' treatment of animals established the animal rights agenda. A central figure in all this was the young Australian moral philosopher Peter Singer, whose 1975 book *Animal Liberation* served as an intellectual and moral catalyst.[25] Intellectuals like Singer contributed to knowledge production, ideological formation, and the articulation of collective identity and interests.[26] Singer offered norms and values that guided people to action. The creation, spread, and influence of Singer's ideas and his book are explored in Chap. 2. The contribution of intellectuals like Singer is significant to understanding not only the origins of the Australian movement but also the global animal movement.

The mid-1970s onwards was a period of revitalisation and resurgence as animal groups proliferated in Australia and on both sides of the Atlantic. Some of the most significant groups and campaigns emerged in this period.[27] Inspired by Singer, Christine Townend established the first branch of Animal Liberation in Sydney in December 1976. Within a decade, Animal Liberation groups sprang up across Australia, and the world's first national federation of animal groups, the Australian and New Zealand Federation of Animal Societies, now known as Animals Australia, was born.[28] Several forces underpinned the creation of the movement. Chap. 3 reveals how these groups formed, organised, and mobilised.

In the struggle for animal rights, the Australian movement used a range of conventional, disruptive, and disobedient methods. 'Contentious collective action' is the foundational resource of social movements, according to Sidney Tarrow.[29] Collective action becomes contentious and confrontational when people who lack institutional access challenge authorities or other powerful opponents; it is the primary means for such actors to make their claims.[30] Such methods, however, do not arrive as a preconfigured toolkit. 'Particular groups have a particular history—and a memory—of contention', argues Tarrow.[31] Innovations in forms of action often result from interactions between movement actors and their opponents.[32] Such tactical contests can escalate in a continued search for new and effective forms of action.[33] Particular methods, frames, and discourses can diffuse transnationally, where they are translated and adapted to specific political and social contexts.[34] Meanwhile, there are those activists who engage in global politics, conflicts, and networks.[35] However, collective challenges can also occur in areas that do

not involve government or the state.[36] This book uncovers the animal movement's history of contention and provides an understanding of how certain methods came to be created and performed. When contextualised in their time and place, this book considers the effectiveness and limitations of these methods. Chap. 4 begins this task by exploring one of the primary methods that activists used in the 1980s: lobbying.

Militancy, controversy, and, some would say, extremism sat alongside conventional animal activism. In the United States in the 1980s, ideologically radical groups like People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) introduced new rhetorical frameworks, shifted debate, and influenced the discourse of moderate groups like the Humane Society of the United States.[37] Elsewhere, activists frustrated with the slow pace of conventional approaches explored disruptive methods. Disruptive forms of contention—such as blockades, sit-ins, and occupations—are one of the strongest weapons of social movements.[38] Disruptive action is a source of innovation and has the ability to disarm and dismay the routines of life.[39] First emerging in Britain then in the United States in the 1970s, the militant and illegal Animal Liberation Front (ALF) developed their brand of sabotage, property damage, and animal liberation, which defined the popular image of the animal activist in the 1980s as balaclava-wearing terrorists.[40] These overseas developments began to influence Australian activism. The performance of militant, disruptive methods diverged from the British and North American examples and took various forms across Australia. These topics are taken up in Chaps. 5 and 6.

One of the most significant developments from this period were the graphic images of animal suffering that were unveiled through direct action, which provided an effective recruiting tool and a powerful weapon that morally shocked the public with the horrors of animal exploitation.[41] Sight came to be an important activist and political resource. According to Hilda Kean, nineteenth-century British animal advocates were motivated into action by the sight of mistreated animals driven along roads to Smithfield market.[42] Sight was important in 'developing the relationship between ill-treatment and creating change'.[43] However, rather than being motivated by the visible mistreatment of animals in public spaces, contemporary animal activists were motivated by the hidden aspects of animal suffering, those animals exploited in concealed private spaces, such as factory farms and research labs. This is because, as Timothy Pachirat argues, distance and concealment operate as mechanisms of power in modern society. Distance and concealment

shield, sequester, and neutralise morally and physically repugnant practices, like the industrialised slaughterhouse or intensive farm, rather than eliminating or transforming them. They enable disadvantaged groups and animals to be exploited for the benefit of a society whose members are mostly far removed from the dangerous, dirty work.[44] A 'politics of sight', like the graphic images of animal suffering captured through direct action, makes the concealed visible and offers an avenue of transformation.[45] Chap. 6 explores the technique of 'open rescue', one of the most novel and innovative ways in which activists mobilised sight and drew attention to the problems of factory farming. Such was the technique's attractiveness that it spread internationally and became adopted and practised by different groups across the United States and Europe.

Lyn White's bold intrusion into Indonesian abattoirs in 2011 not only represents another instance of the politics of sight but also signals a type of contentious politics that scholars call 'transnational activism'. It is a style of activism in which individuals from more than one country engage in contentious politics with other nations or international institutions. Transnational activists have helped instigate and sustain social and political transformations. They are significant because they multiply 'the channels of access to the international system'.[46] However, as Tarrow has emphasised, transnational activists conventionally represent less of a shift from the domestic to international arenas than a 'transmutation of domestic activism'.[47] In other words, while activists may have conceptual connections to global politics, their practical activities are mostly confined to local places. The case of White, and others like her, offered a realisation of a different type of transnational activism, which this book calls 'transnational investigative campaigning'. Explored in Chap. 7, this style of activism is significant to understanding the reach and impact that animal activists had on domestic and global politics.

If transnational investigative campaigning was situated at the macro level of politics, then vegetarianism and veganism emanated and operated from the personal, individual aspects of politics and culture. Chap. 8 discusses vegetarian and vegan lifestyle activism. Ethical vegetarianism, the effort to live principally on a plant-based diet, was one of the goals of the animal movement and meant the emergence of 'a natural alliance' with the vegetarian movement.[48] Lifestyle politics has also come to be seen as an extension of contentious politics, because it provides another avenue for participation and activism.[49] As a path to social change, lifestyle activism centres on personal lifestyle choices and identity, buttressed

by formal organisations and public events. For lifestyle practitioners, efforts to define and uphold individual moral integrity becomes perhaps more significant than episodic collective success.[50] With the passage of time, a definable and visible cosmopolitan vegetarian and vegan subculture emerged across Australia.

The Study of Social Movements

In studying social movements, a number of theoretical and analytical approaches have emerged in recent decades that try to explain the nature of movements and how they mobilise, organise, and contend. Resource mobilisation theory underscores both resource availability and how movement actors mobilise resources.[51] Movements are shaped by how actors entrepreneurially interact with externalities and pre-existing structures. Resources are predominately economic, such as money, labour, facilities, and time; although more recent articulations of this theory include 'moral, cultural, socio-organisational, human, and material resources'.[52] However, the simple availability of individual or collective resources is insufficient; they must be mobilised and converted into pools of resources for collective action, a task that is heavily contingent upon social movement organisations (SMOs). SMOs seek to represent and articulate the interests and goals of social movements. They provide adherents, constituents, and supporters with avenues to contribute resources.[53] In a coordinated and sustained manner, SMOs capitalise on resources by aggregation, appropriation, co-option, and patronage.[54] Like established 'challenging groups', new challenging groups strive to create loyalty and extract resources. Some of these actors are inside and outside the polity. Both inevitably compete, often unequally, for resources.[55] Organisational structures can both facilitate and constrain mobilisation, organisational building, and collective action.

In a very similar way, the political process model emphasises political opportunities. While this approach acknowledges that mobilisation is characterised by interests, organisations, resources, and collective action, it underscores 'opportunities' as an integral factor, conceived as political openings and threats, facilitation, and repression.[56] The political process model considers social movements as a product of both internal and external factors, as a confluence of expanding political opportunities, organisational strengths, the presence of certain facilitative ideologies, and the response of other groups.[57] Under this model, power

is understood as divided and unequal, but also malleable and contestable. 'Shifting political conditions supply the necessary "cognitive clues" capable of triggering the process of cognitive liberation while existent organisations afford insurgents the stable group-settings within which that process is most likely to occur', argues Doug McAdam.[58] Movement actors must perceive and appropriate shifting opportunities when they arrive. Similarly, for Tarrow, contentious politics emerges when patterns of 'political opportunities and constraints change', most of which are situational and create incentives for ordinary people to take action. When these opportunities are evaluated, movement actors strategically deploy repertoires of contention; in cycles of protest, these repertoires may come to be adapted by other groups. The performance of these repertoires results in sustained interactions with elites and opponents.[59] Studying social movements from a political process perspective includes mapping the interest of participants, analysing the relative opportunities and threats, examining their mobilisation, understanding their position of power, and, among other things, determining the character of their collective action.[60] It is a model highly attuned to a political system. Despite expansions to these prevailing paradigms, they have been challenged.

New Social Movement (NSM) theorists argue that resource mobilisation and political process theory only focus on *how* social movements operate; they do not explain *why* they emerge.[61] As such, NSM scholars often explore wider social structures and systems and present various social theories to account for the origins of protest. NSM scholars generally argue that the class conflict that defined earlier industrial capitalist society had declined; in the 'post-industrial society', the 'new' social movements of the 1960s and 1970s were shaped by the dynamics of race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, or age and operated with distinct forms of collective action.[62] Post-material values, such as self-realisation, quality of life, cultural and moral issues, were increasingly the focus for younger generations of Western societies as they achieved material well-being and physical security.[63] NSMs, argued Albert Melucci, raised 'cultural challenges to the dominant language, to the codes that organise information and shape social practices'.[64] NSMs were distinct in many ways: politics extended beyond the state, adversaries were ambiguous, actors were culturally and subjectively orientated, and they were more individualised.[65] The merits of this approach were that it drew attention to the structural nature of protests, placed significance on the actors, and recognised the diversity of movements that operated beyond class conflict.[66]

However, NSM theory has received several criticisms. One of the most problematic issues with NSM theorists is their attempt to define the newness of social movements. 'What is "new" in the "new social movements" is still an open question', acknowledged Melucci.[67] For the most part, this approach has been ahistorical and has perilously ignored the deeper history of social movements, which are rooted in the nineteenth century and which often resembled contemporary cultural claims and organisational formats. NSM theorists have also discounted the contribution of labour history, its cultural orientations, and how it shaped other movements. Furthermore, the narrow and sometimes ideological definitions of social movements have tended to favour Western nations, and often white, male, middle-class participants pursuing left-wing or progressive agendas.[68] With its focus on the 'why' of social movements, NSM has had relatively little to say about the 'how' of movements.[69]

In addition to the foregoing considerations, the study of emotions in contentious politics has been an important focus for researchers. Whether it is in the passions of recruitment, the loyal bonds of group participation, the rush of protest, or through provocative actions to shock a complacent public, emotions are present and active in social movements.[70] Basic sensibilities, emotions, affect, morals, and beliefs are the building blocks of any protest movement and are inseparable from action, argues Jasper.[71] However, for some time, emotions were largely excluded from the study of social movements, even though emotions are one of the main drivers behind structures, frames, collective identity, and political opportunities.[72] Emotions, which are historically and socially constructed, constitute ideas, identities, and interests; they are the glue of protest and give a movement power.[73] Movement actors appeal to and build upon affect and a range of emotional responses. Emotions can be momentary reactions or ongoing affective displays.[74] 'It would be impossible to understand or explain a protest movement like animal rights', argues Jasper, 'without paying close attention to a broad range of intuitions and attitudes toward nature, bureaucracy, technology, and animals.'[75] As both a descriptive and analytical approach, emotions offer a relevant method for studying the animal movement.

Finally, scholars and activists alike are interested in contemplating whether the actions taken by movements have been successful—and in a way to prove that social movements matter. After all, the purpose of social movements is to stimulate social change. But what does it mean to succeed? Success, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, means

'the prosperous achievement of something attempted'.[76] However, when it comes to social movements 'success is an elusive idea', argues William Gamson.[77] How can success be adequately defined? How can it be measured? Could a group whose leader is imprisoned but whose ideas are implemented by the oppressor be considered a story of success? What about a movement that mobilises mass popular support but fails to achieve its stated goals? To complicate matters, the diverse nature of social movements also means that one group's goals may be considered meaningless or even harmful by another. Instead of conceiving of a social movement as either a success or failure, Gamson argues, it is more productive to consider the impact of a movement as a set of outcomes, the intended and unintended consequences.[78]

The study of outcomes offers a diverse field of inquiry because 'social change' is itself a broad concept. One of the prevailing areas that scholars focus on is how movements influence politics and policy. In doing so, they also try to extrapolate typologies that explain these pathways.[79] By examining policy implementation, scholars can analyse how constituents are affected and whether there has been an increase in collective benefits, even if a movement's agenda has been rejected.[80] When policy adoption fails, organisations themselves may be emboldened and strengthened. They may have the ability to deliver those benefits to their constituents.[81] Changing attitudes and behaviours, such as towards the environment, may also serve to influence policy.[82] Social and cultural changes, attitudes, and behaviours are significant because they can be more profound and longer lasting than policy.[83] Personal and collective identity, as well as lifestyles, broadens the scope of outcome research.

While studying outcomes is a productive avenue, there are also possible challenges. One of the main difficulties, argues Marco Giugni, is in establishing a causal relationship between outcomes and social movement actors.[84] For instance, a great deal of policy-making happens behind the scenes and involves third parties and other stakeholders. Sometimes concealed and obscured, discerning the role of movement actors in influencing policy in such an environment is difficult. However, Giugni argues, problems of causality can be overcome by unveiling the interactions, dynamics, and processes 'that allow social movements to make an impact on different aspects of society'.[85]

A synthesis of these approaches, a pursuit that has underscored the work of many other scholars, is required. As Jasper persuasively argues, protest includes a dynamic mixture of dimensions, such as resources, strategies,

culture, and biography.[86] Similarly, Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani argue that scholars from various theoretical traditions share a common concern with informal networks, based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilise around conflictual issues through the frequent use of various forms of protest.[87] These scholars, among many others, recognise that examining social movements cannot be reduced to one analytical category. To be clear, this book does not seek to strictly adhere to one particular conceptual model. The aforementioned approaches are quite sophisticated and sufficient for answering the questions this book poses; there is no need to create a new conceptual paradigm. Therefore, this book tries to broadly forge these analytical approaches to study the animal movement, to help provide an understanding of its dynamics and outcomes.

The study of the Australian animal movement starts with its ideological origins. This fascinating story begins in Oxford, England.

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CHAPTER 2

‘The Bible’ of the Animal Movement: Peter Singer and Animal Liberation, 1970–76

Peter Singer did not know that lunch that day, eaten in one of the oldest college dining halls of Oxford University, would be marked by serendipity. Rarely had the difference between a meaty pasta dish and a green salad sparked a moral epiphany. But that autumn day in 1970, it did.

Born in 1946 in Melbourne, Australia, Singer was the son of Jewish Austrians who fled Vienna just before the Second World War. His father was a coffee trader and his mother was a medical doctor. European culture and learning were cultivated in their home. After graduating high school, Singer attended the University of Melbourne, where he undertook studies in law, history, and philosophy. There, he also became involved in student politics, campaigning for abortion law reform and against the Vietnam War. Since his earliest university days, he had been fascinated with ethics and how they could be applied to everyday situations. In 1969, at the age of twenty-three, Singer was awarded a scholarship to study at the prestigious Oxford University, where he focused on moral and political philosophy. For Singer, Oxford was the centre of the philosophical universe; he lived and breathed its intellectual atmosphere.[1]

Before that fateful lunch, Singer was one of many attending a crowded lecture on free will, determinism, and moral responsibility. At the end of the lecture, a few eager students gathered around the lecturer, the British moral philosopher Jonathan Glover. One after another, they launched their erudite queries, to which Glover patiently replied,

G. Villanueva, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970–2015*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62587-4_2

though his answers were not always to their satisfaction. When their discussion ended, the students grabbed their coats and exited the lecture hall. As they walked out, Singer and an unacquainted Canadian student, Richard Keshen, continued discussing Glover's key arguments. It was just before lunchtime, and so Keshen suggested that they wander to Balliol College for lunch, where they could sit down, eat, and continue their conversation.[2]

When they arrived at the college, they took their seats at one of the long tables that stretched the length of the grand dining hall. With the glow of the lamp on the table, they discovered that the menu had two mundane choices: spaghetti, which came with some sort of reddish-brown sauce, or a salad. 'Does the sauce have any meat?' Keshen inquired. They confirmed that it did. Keshen, for reasons unknown to Singer, decided to order the salad. Neither bothered nor inspired by the menu, Singer chose the spaghetti meal.

They enthusiastically continued their conversation about free will. When their philosophical discussion subsided, Singer, curious about the interaction that had earlier transpired, asked, 'So, what's your problem with meat? Why did you ask that question and then take the salad?'[3]

Keshen looked at Singer and replied, 'I don't really think we're justified in treating animals the way we treat them.' As they ate their lunch, he began to tell Singer about the conditions in which farm animals were raised and how people neglected their interests.[4]

Singer was intrigued and challenged, particularly as the topic of conversation was on his lunch plate. What captured Singer's intellectual attention was that Keshen's moral dilemma was about the way in which animals were *treated* and not about the wrongness of killing. He began to reflect.

Since the fifteenth century, argues Keith Thomas in his seminal text *Man and the Natural World*, there has been one consistent attitude towards animals. It can be summed up as follows:

> Man, it was said, was fully entitled to domesticate animals and to kill them for food and clothing. But he was not to tyrannize or to cause unnecessary suffering. Domestic animals should be allowed food and rest and their deaths should be as painless as possible. Wild animals could be killed if they were needed for food or thought to be harmful. But, although game could be shot and vermin hunted, it was wrong to kill for mere pleasure.[5]

It was generally accepted that animals existed for humanity to use.[6] Concern was limited to ensuring that animals were treated 'humanely' and were not subject to 'unnecessary suffering'. This position, now referred to as animal welfare, was shared by individuals and groups concerned with the treatment of animals.[7] Animal welfare was a moral orthodoxy.

For Singer and the majority of people, such beliefs operated in the background, unconsciously and undisturbed. Until that provocative lunch date, he had never thought beyond these commonly held beliefs. While he was firmly against animal cruelty, he had never considered that using animals was 'unethical'. After all, animal welfare organisations like the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) existed to prevent those extreme cruelties, and so animal welfare must have been, Singer thought, a minor issue compared to other significant social problems. Nevertheless, as a moral philosopher he was intrigued by Keshen's challenging position. Singer believed that there had to be a rational philosophical answer to how we as individuals ought to treat animals. His life, his beliefs and values, habits and practices, began to change that day.[8]

Since that lunch date and with the passage of time, Singer has come to be considered one of the most important and influential living philosophers.[9] He has enjoyed a long and bright academic career in moral philosophy at various universities, including Monash, Princeton, and the University of Melbourne. His ideas on abortion, euthanasia, infanticide, and the sanctity of human life, however, have sparked controversy and hostility; he was labelled by his opponents as the 'most dangerous man on earth'.[10] Nevertheless, in recent years, his outstanding life's work was recognised by his home country, where he was awarded the Companion of the Order of Australia for 'eminent service to philosophy and bioethics as a leader of public debate and communicator of ideas in the areas of global poverty, animal welfare and the human condition'.[11]

His book *Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals,* first published in 1975, has been described as 'the bible' of the modern animal movement.[12] Over time, his moral arguments challenged prevailing anthropocentric views of animals, and he has been regarded as one of the leading figures of the animal movement. *Animal Liberation* has never been out of print and has sold more than six hundred thousand copies in twenty languages.[13]

However, the question arises: *How* and *why* did Peter Singer and *Animal Liberation* become so influential and important to the modern movement? The origins and character of the Australian animal movement, indeed the global movement, cannot be understood without engaging with the ideology that constituted it. This involves the broader story of Singer and the networks and contributions of other young intellectuals in Oxford in the early 1970s. This loose network of intellectuals provided a space for social and intellectual encounter. In this space, these young intellectuals critiqued animal use and exploitation and explored and articulated a philosophy that radically differed from the moral orthodoxy. But the formation of ideas is only one part of the story. For how did those ideas and arguments spread and influence people? In the context of Australia in the mid-1970s, there were a number of reasons why Singer's ideas spread and became influential. They have to do with whom the book was published by, how it was promoted, how he communicated his ideas, and how he related to individuals and groups. Ultimately, he persuaded and politicised many ordinary people, animal welfare campaigners, and a new generation of activists who wanted to 'do something' for animals. By 1976–77, Singer was a public intellectual and leading figure of the animal cause.

Intellectuals like Singer are central to social movements. Intellectuals are those professionally engaged 'in the production of ideas or manipulation of symbols',[14] and they are defined by historical context and are time and place specific.[15] Intellectuals contribute to knowledge production, ideological formation, and the articulation of collective identity and interests. As Thomas Rochon argues, critical communities, those loose intellectual networks, are at the centre of generating critical perspectives and new ideas on social problems.[16] Intellectuals provide an ideology, 'a system of meaning that couples assertions and theories about the nature of social life with values and norms relevant to promoting or resisting social change'.[17] They offer norms and values that guide people to action and serve the knowledge interests of a movement. In the case of the animal movement, young philosophers articulated the animal rights agenda and provided the movement with a 'coherent ideology'.[18] The most important philosopher was Singer.

Yet the reasons for how and why Singer's ideas spread and resonated are unclear. A few tentative explanations, however, have been offered. Scholars indicate that for many activists *Animal Liberation* was an intellectual and moral catalyst, and that for others it reinforced their

sympathies towards animals.[19] Despite the great merit of these works, such assertions, however, are extrapolated from scant evidence. For instance, Jasper and Nelkin's key points rest on two primary sources, one from an 'anonymous' source, and the other from a 'personal' interview conducted in 1989. The extent to which their claims can be generalised is limited. Overall, despite these tentative explanations, the current historiography is unsatisfactory and leaves room for further exploration. But what does Singer have to say about *Animal Liberation*?

Although Singer himself has revealed important pieces of information, which are scattered throughout his writings and interviews, there are factors and processes that are simplified or absent.[20] Singer says:

> *Animal Liberation* was not an immediate success. It got some good reviews, as well as some silly ones, and it sold steadily but not spectacularly. Some of the leading philosophical journals devoted special issues to the topic, which was gratifying […] The book did not spark an immediate upsurge against factory farming and animal experimentation.[21]

Singer is, in this instance, focused on a very narrow and specific definition of 'success'. It seems that success for him indicates authorship of an international best-seller and rapid political impact—one that produces an immediate, mass movement. However, the book did have a relatively quick effect. Within a short period of time, activists began to mobilise around the principles that he set out. But perhaps more important than what Singer has said is the material from the *Papers of Peter Singer* archive at the National Library of Australia, Canberra. It contains a fascinating collection of correspondence and reveals significant insights into the public reception of his ideas. This material forms the foundation of the following analysis.

The Moral Status of Animals

Singer's contribution was situated in a long history of ideas about the moral status of animals—he both interacts with this tradition and radically departs from it. Animal ethics was traditionally considered in anthropocentric and hierarchical terms.[22] Alongside such dominant paradigms, however, the rights of animals and vegetarianism were also contemplated.[23] From classical Greece to the eighteenth century, the similarities and differences between human and animal souls was the

central subject on which animal ethics were discussed.[24] The philosophical foundations of nineteenth-century British animal advocacy emerged from the neoclassical tradition in the early eighteenth century, where questions of purity, soul, and reason and, later, kinship, pain, and suffering were debated.[25] In the early modern period, the impulse had been strongly religious, but with the passage of time, there were shifts towards secular thinking.[26] Concern for the suffering of animals was shared by Protestants and Puritans of the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods; Quakers, Dissenters, and Latitudinarians of the late seventeenth century; and Evangelicals, Methodists, sentimentalists, and humanitarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[27] Advocates overwhelmingly condemned animal cruelty for anthropocentric reasons. The object of debate was often about 'man'; ethical consideration about animals was an 'unsought consequence'.[28] Animal cruelty, like other moral issues, was seen as cultivating bad characters, immorality, and social decay. As Harriet Ritvo notes, critics 'viewed cruelty to animals as both an index of depravity and a predictor of further moral degeneration'.[29] The goal of Victorian humanitarians was not only to protect animals but also to teach these values, improve moral discipline (particularly in the uneducated lower classes), and suppress threats to social order.[30]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, certain proponents of political radicalism, particularly secularism and socialism, extended the principles of 'justice' and 'rights' to animals, in contrast to the prevailing Christian tradition of 'kindness' and 'mercy' that had characterised moral reform.[31] British groups such as the Humanitarian League and notable leaders like Henry Salt advanced such concepts. Singer considered Salt's book *Animals' Rights* to be 'the best of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works on the rights of animals'.[32] First published in 1892, with revised editions in 1905 and 1922, Salt asserted that the commonality between humans and animals lay in their possession of individuality, character, and reason. Justice required that both animals and humans have a right to freely exercise those qualities.[33] Thomas claims that most of the contemporary debate about animal rights was anticipated by Salt, a socialist and vegetarian, who deplored all forms of animal cruelty.[34] These social reformers, both from within and without, radicalised the ideology, rhetoric, and objectives of the mainstream animal cause in Britain. Less ideologically fervent Christian moral reformers were also influenced. Ultimately, a more 'modern outlook' was engendered.[35]

Despite this seemingly politicised culture, sensibilities to animals were in a state of decline, and animal rights became a largely neglected, although not entirely forgotten, issue. While old campaigns continued and new ones came to the fore, the grand problems that troubled the early to mid-twentieth century 'focused minds elsewhere'.[36]

The 1960s, however, signalled the beginnings of a revival. In 1964, Ruth Harrison, a forty-three-year-old Quaker and conscientious objector, and her book *Animal Machines* 'shocked Britain' and ignited public debate.[37] Harrison's book was the first detailed study to reveal the realities of changing, intensifying agricultural systems and their effects on animals.[38] Her book examined 'factory farming' in Britain and the innovation of intensive systems of production and animal husbandry, alongside concerns of animal welfare, human health, and environmental damage. Rachel Carson, the influential environmentalist who two years earlier had documented the harmful consequences of pesticides in *Silent Spring*, a book that would exert a powerful influence on environmental politics, wrote the foreword to *Animal Machines.* Carson noted that wherever *Animal Machines* was read, it 'will certainly provoke feelings of dismay, revulsion, and outrage'.[39] The book directly led to the establishment of the Brambell Commission in Britain the following year, which was given the important task of examining the welfare of intensively reared livestock and notably recommended the 'Five Freedoms' of animal welfare.[40] Harrison's book, among other things, would influence the young Peter Singer and his impression of the lives of farmed animals.

Animal Liberation

A 'critical community' was evident in Oxford in the early 1970s, where personal networks and the synergy of social interactions created new perspectives that challenged the moral orthodoxy. This intellectual work would galvanise the radical ideology of the modern animal movement.

After lunch with Keshen, over a period of a few months in 1970, Peter and his wife Renata Singer began to explore new critical ideas about the moral status of animals, brought to them through literature and intellectual encounters. They were first introduced to Keshen's wife, Mary, and through them became friendly with other Canadians, Roslind and Stan Godlovitch. Like Peter, they were all students at Oxford University. The Godlovitches became vegetarians a few years before arriving at Oxford and saw the exploitation of animals as analogous to

human slavery. In their interactions, Roslind challenged the Singers to find the morally relevant distinctions between humans and animals that could justify a difference in treatment.[41]

At the same time, Singer also read philosophical literature and sought to understand the meaning of human–animal ethics. Questions circled his mind relentlessly: Why were animals morally different to humans? Why should animals be treated differently? The answers advanced by the great philosophers seemed unconvincing. 'It really seemed like special pleading by people who wanted to justify continuing to eat meat', Singer said.[42] On Roslind's recommendation, they read Harrison's book. Roslind was also preparing an article on animal ethics, and Peter spent some time helping her. These experiences had an impact.

'The more I thought about it and talked it over with my wife, the more it became apparent to us that our friends were right', wrote Singer.[43] 'I became convinced that by eating animals I was participating in a systematic form of oppression of other species by my own species.'[44] As they arrived at this conclusion, they felt that it was morally necessary to adopt a vegetarian diet.[45] As their ideas and lifestyles changed, they also met others who shared their beliefs.

In the winter of 1970–71, the Singers were introduced to other like-minded individuals, with whom they became friendly. Several of them lived together in a house that had a lush vegetable garden. It was a small clique of vegetarian graduate students with varying philosophical interests: John Harris was fascinated with moral philosophy, David Wood had a passion for continental philosophy, and Michael Peters was attracted to Marxism and structuralism. Roslind had discovered her passions for moral philosophy as a graduate student, but Stan, on the other hand, kept away from philosophy and focused on biology. Singer was more conventional with his utilitarian approach to ethics.[46] Many of them were divided on most philosophical matters, but they all agreed on the immorality of society's mistreatment of animals. The house was a space where their critical community thrived.[47]

Meanwhile, Richard Ryder, a thirty-year-old psychologist from Dorset, England, was developing his own critical perspectives. He worked as a senior clinical psychologist at the Warneford Hospital, Oxford. He had seen and performed several experiments on animals during his studies in Britain and America, some of which deeply upset him.[48] But from his experience of working in laboratories in the 1960s arose a strong indignation that sharply reflected his natural empathy for animals. One day in 1969, while

awaiting the arrival of a patient, he read disturbing news of an experiment involving finches being deafened.[49] His reaction was a 'spontaneous eruption' of thought and emotion. It culminated in a few anti-vivisection letters sent to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1969.[50] When Brigid Brophy, a well-known British novelist who had also penned a prominent article on 'The Rights of Animals' in the *Sunday Times* in 1965, read Ryder's letters, she put him in contact with the Godlovitches and Harris.[51] Through his association with Roslind, the members of her household, and other sympathetic people, they formed a loose intellectual, critical community, which Ryder would retrospectively call the 'Oxford Group'.[52]

In the context of this social and intellectual environment, Ryder one day in 1970 conceptualised 'speciesism'.[53] Speciesism, he argued, is like racism and sexism, which are based on prejudices of appearance. Speciesist attitudes 'overlook or underestimate the similarities between the discriminator and those discriminated against and both forms of prejudice show a selfish disregard for the interests of others, and for their suffering'.[54] Ordinarily, comparisons to animals are a slur. Racist authors and anti-abolitionists who wanted to uphold slavery frequently compared black people to the negative stereotypes of animals.[55] However, Ryder's neologism, later popularised by Singer, demonstrates an inversion of this rhetoric. Similarly, writers past and present have compared the treatment of animals to human slavery and the Holocaust.[56] They have called attention to the similarities in violence and oppression, traditionally upheld by arbitrary distinctions, which have intersected human–animal history. In 1975, Ryder published his critique of animal experimentation, *Victims of Science: The Use of Animals in Research*.[57]

Attempts at mobilising such arguments are a product of what Sidney Tarrow terms 'cycles of protest'. In the course of action, Tarrow argues, social and political struggles create new spaces and opportunities for others to take collective action. They provide 'models of collective action, master frames, and mobilizing structures that produce new opportunities'.[58] This may involve rhetorical strategies from other movements being reconstructed and extended to advance other causes.[59] For instance, opposition to capitalism has provided a universal language in which different movements have mobilised and found common ground.[60] Out of other historical struggles, new forms of resistance, along with new frames and discourses, have emerged.

Shortly after Ryder's epiphany, he personally produced a leaflet to distribute around Oxford. The public response was negligible, although

Ryder recalled that Singer had stumbled upon the leaflet. The experience was character building for Ryder, as he began to articulate and discuss his philosophy with the others.[61]

Critical communities can sometimes be conceptualised as operating principally in the realm of ideas, where intellectuals are divorced from directly participating in contentious politics, leaving such actions to others.[62] However, the strong moral conviction of the Oxford Group was not limited to intellectual endeavours. While many had no prior involvement with any animal welfare organisation, they began to link their radical ideas to practical actions. Ryder organised a series of demonstrations against otter hunting and hare coursing in the early years of the 1970s and joined the RSPCA, where he became involved in a long campaign to reform animal experimentation.[63] The Singers, together with the Godlovitches and Keshens, set up a provocative information stall on the Cornmarket, Oxford's busiest shopping street. With the help of the nascent group Compassion in World Farming (CIWF), they displayed a replica veal calf in a wooden stall and *papier-mâché* hens in cages. They began informing the town of the problems of modern agriculture. They received a sense of satisfaction in doing so.[64] In addition to their protests, a publication venture would further their conceptual and practical involvement in the animal cause.

By 1971, the Godlovitches and Harris arranged to edit and publish *Animals, Men and Morals*, an anthology of thirteen essays. Authors included many from Oxford and others, such as Ruth Harrison and Brigid Brophy. Ryder was invited to contribute a chapter, and he developed the arguments from his leaflet into an essay on animal experimentation.[65] Singer was reluctant to submit a chapter because he felt that so many of his ideas had come from others. When the book was published, its introduction boldly stated: 'Once the full force of moral assessment has been made explicit there can be no rational excuse left for killing animals, be they killed for food, science, or sheer personal indulgence.'[66] The editors preferred to keep 'factual papers' to a minimum and instead focused on the moral, sociological, and psychological arguments.[67] Singer recounted that they all had high hopes for the book. Roslind especially believed it would herald revolutionary protest.[68] This, however, did not manifest.

Animals, Men, and Morals did not herald a new protest movement. In fact, most of the British press did not even review it. The one exception was *The Times*. Yet it warned readers of the 'religious fervour' with

which the writers discussed the topic. The review conclusively dismissed the concerns of the book as an overreaction 'to the crankier of the food faddists' and suggested that readers seek their morality from someone else.[69] The reception was entirely disappointing. But the Godlovitches and Harris received good news when the publisher agreed to distribute the book in the United States.

Determined to see his friends receive the attention they deserved, Singer wrote to the *New York Review of Books* and pitched the idea of writing a review. But as a young unknown intellectual, Singer was uncertain of what response, if any, he would receive. Sometime later, he received a reply saying that they would accept a review but that the editors reserved final judgement on whether it would be published.[70]

On 5 April 1973, Singer's review article, titled 'Animal Liberation', was published. His contribution synthesises many of the views from *Animals, Men and Morals* into a single, coherent argument. The article was written in clear, non-technical prose. It discusses at length the meaning of moral equality and how interests ought to be considered and treated. After establishing a philosophical basis for understanding 'suffering', Singer lucidly details the two main institutions complicit in systematically causing animal suffering: research laboratories and intensive farms. He concludes by arguing that 'Animal Liberation will require greater altruism on the part of mankind than any other liberation movement, since animals are incapable of demanding it for themselves, or of protesting against their exploitation by votes, demonstrations or bombs'.[71]

Singer, like his friends before him, had progressed from merely discussing ideas among a critical community to sharing and disseminating them to a wider audience. Where *Animals, Men and Morals* had failed to stimulate public reaction, Singer's *New York Review of Books* article succeeded. 'The response to this review article was tremendous', wrote Singer.[72] It even surprised some of his associates.[73] He received several enthusiastic letters from people, claiming that they had been waiting for someone to write such a rational piece that reflected their feelings about the mistreatment of animals.[74] Among them was a letter from a 'leading New York publisher', suggesting that he transform and develop the subject of his article into a full-length book.[75] Singer agreed. He felt confident that there was scope for something new, which he had displayed in his review article. Singer thought a future book would cover

more factual research than what *Animals, Men and Morals* had included. It would be underpinned by a single, systematic, and coherent voice. Rochon claims that the uniformity of a critical perspective is helpful, perhaps even a prerequisite, for ideas to gain wider currency.[76] Examining other movements, Rochon argues that those critical communities that have been successful in disseminating their ideas developed a relatively articulate, cohesive discourse on a social problem.[77] In their last summer in Oxford, Singer began work on his book *Animal Liberation*,[78] a task he would continue throughout 1973–74.

In the first chapter of *Animal Liberation*, Singer sets out his philosophical arguments for the moral status of animals. 'The basic principle of equality does not require equal or identical *treatment*', argues Singer, 'it requires equal *consideration*.'[79] Singer contends that the 'capacity for suffering and enjoyment' is '*a prerequisite for having interests at all*'.[80] The capacity for pain and suffering, irrespective of characteristics like speech and reason, ought to be considered in equal measure to that of other sentient beings. To ignore such interests violates the principle of equality. Such a violation would be 'speciesist', because interests would be reduced to human-specific interests, which override the same or greater interests of other species.[81] What matters for Singer is the strength of those interests, not which species they belong to. In *Practical Ethics*, first published in 1979, he defined this moral position as 'the principle of equal consideration of interests'.[82] Singer's arguments radically departed from previous conceptions of animal ethics. He had moved beyond the animal welfare tradition of 'kindness' and 'compassion' to articulate a non-anthropocentric philosophy based on equality and interests.

The core insights motivating Singer's normative principle came from a range of influences. The 'central ideas' of *Animal Liberation* derived from important conversations he had with people in Oxford during his student years.[83] Roslind was the most intellectually influential of Singer's friendship group because she had an ethical position that had been defined in considerable detail. However, the nuances of her philosophy, and which of her ideas strongly resonated with Singer, is unclear. Her writings reveal that she had briefly given 'the greater-value principle' of 'equal consideration of human and animal interests' some thought,[84] but she had not substantiated the concept like Singer, for she was more interested in 'natural rights'. Her argument rests on the position that the

'natural rights' that an individual is afforded, such as a right to life and a right to be free from undue suffering, are not intrinsically restricted to humans but could also be applied to animals. If natural rights were applied to animals, it would have dramatic consequences. For a truly moral position to be adopted, she argues, the respect shown to humans ought to be indistinguishable from that given to animals.[85] To be clear, Singer is not so much interested in 'rights' or the wrongness of killing but on 'the principle of minimizing suffering'.[86] Aside from the general position of believing that animals deserve better treatment and should be free from suffering, there are few philosophical similarities between Roslind and Singer. This is because there are other intellectual tendencies at work.

As is commonly noted, Singer follows in the utilitarian tradition. Central figures in this tradition include Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Henry Sidgwick, and Richard M. Hare (Singer's Oxford supervisor). Bentham, the eighteenth-century British philosopher and social reformer, features prominently in Singer's thesis. Drawing on his much cited quotation—with regard to animals, 'The question is not, can they *reason*? Nor, can they *talk*? But, can they *suffer*?'[87]—Singer builds his proposition that if a being suffers there is no valid justification for refusing to consider that suffering equal to the suffering of any other being.[88] Singer's appropriation of Bentham is curious. As other scholars reveal, Bentham's animal ethics were ambiguous and highly anthropocentric.[89] In his own time, Bentham condoned vivisection and the killing and eating of animals, for 'we are the better for it, and they are never the worse'.[90] While he disapproved of 'torment' and 'wanton cruelty', there were several caveats in which cruelty was permissible. 'Mankind' took priority over and above animal concerns because cruelty made 'man' insensible and callous, caused mischief in the community, and, only at the bottom of the list, was harmful to the animals themselves.[91] *Animal Liberation* radicalises Bentham's proposition beyond its originally intended meaning and further contributes to the 'Bentham myth'—the persistent ahistorical narrative that portrays Bentham's thinking about animals as unique and revolutionary.[92] Incidentally, by misconstruing Bentham, Singer refashions the utilitarian calculus to radically include animal interests and characteristics, that is sentience and suffering.[93] However, Singer's non-anthropocentric principle is not exclusively limited to the utilitarian tradition, which many scholars falsely believe is the

case.[94] As Renzo Llorente highlights, this has led many to misinterpret the book's philosophical merits.[95] Singer has said that the book was 'specifically intended to appeal to readers who were concerned about equality, or justice, or fairness, irrespective of the precise nature of their commitment'.[96]

While Singer's brand of utilitarianism threads through his normative principle, other tendencies of human egalitarian thinking are evident. One influence is the scholarship of political philosopher Richard Wasserstrom. As a student, Singer read Wasserstrom and thought his treatment of 'equal capacities' and 'equality of treatment' could also be applied to animals.[97] Other influences perhaps include Stanley Benn and his thinking about 'equal consideration of [human] interests'.[98] Although Singer agrees with some of his claims, he rebukes Benn for being dismissive of animals and for relying on anthropocentric notions of interests.[99] These influences, and perhaps others, greatly stimulated his classic argument.

The rest, that is the bulk, of *Animal Liberation* is a journalistic description of animal exploitation, specifically intensive farms and laboratories; vegetarianism (a point to be returned to in Chap. 8); and anthropocentrism in historical and contemporary thought. Singer drew support from the local academic community for his chapters. In 1974, he developed an evening course titled 'Animal Liberation', consisting of weekly two-hour evening seminars that spanned six weeks. Each topic became a theme in his book. The course attracted about twenty students. He had the chance to submit his ideas to debate and scrutiny. His colleagues and students provided him with valuable, constructive feedback.[100] He also received assistance from the animal activist community.[101] The support of the scholar and activist community helped Singer complete the book in its final form.

The book was finished by Christmas, just before the Singers returned to Melbourne, Australia, where Peter was due to start a teaching position at La Trobe University (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).

Fig. 2.1 Peter Singer in Oxford in the early 1970s. Photo courtesy of Peter Singer

'I Want to Do Something': The Spread and Influence of Animal Liberation

Singer's book and ideas arrived at a time of social unrest and upheaval. *Animal Liberation* became part of the chorus of liberation struggles: women's, gay, and black liberation, among others. The political mobilisations generated by student and anti-war activists in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s enabled these 'new' social movements.[102] Australian intellectuals living abroad played remarkably prominent roles in pioneering these liberation movements: in 1970, Germaine Greer published her best-selling book *The Female Eunuch;* and shortly afterwards in 1971, Dennis Altman released his highly influential *Homosexual: Oppression or Liberation?* These influential intellectuals contributed a great deal to the ideology and politics of the liberationist period.[103] A revitalised animal cause would, rhetorically and politically, intersect with those movements struggling for liberation, justice, and equality.

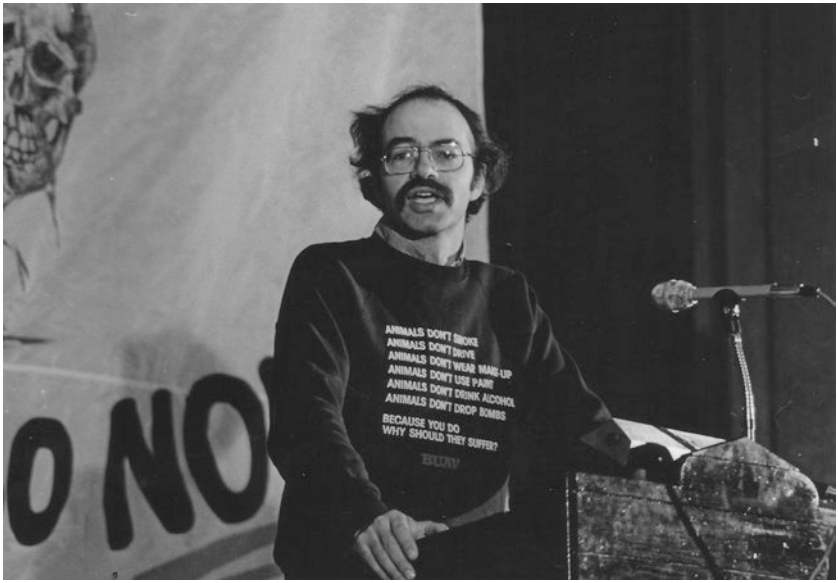

Fig. 2.2 Peter Singer speaking against LD50 lethal testing on animals, New York, 1984. Photo courtesy of Peter Singer

In Australia in the mid-1970s, *Animal Liberation* spread and influenced people owing to a combination of factors: a global publishing network and visible book promotion campaign; lucid prose and persuasive public performance; and movement leadership, activism, and ideology. Scholars who discuss *Animal Liberation* acknowledge that Singer's ideas first appeared in a 1973 article in *The New York Review of Books.*[104] While a publishing contract clearly emerged from this article, the role of the magazine and publisher in dynamically spreading animal liberation ideas can be further explored. This is, therefore, an appropriate place to start analysing the diffusion of Singer's ideas.

The New York Review of Books was a unique type of magazine. Established in 1963, the inception of the magazine coincided with the tumultuous Sixties: the burgeoning of the American civil rights movement, counterculture, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War. The first edition foreshadowed a particular sensibility and readership: 'that of the engaged, literary, post-war progressive intellectual who was concerned with civil rights and feminism as well as fiction and poetry and

theater'.[105] From the beginning, the publication was a liberal, progressive magazine, not shy about publishing polemics, reportage, and criticism on contemporary events. Voices of renowned academics, writers, and intellectuals frequently occupied the magazine's pages. Under the joint editorship of its founders, Robert Silvers and Barbara Epstein, the publication built an internationally formidable reputation.[106] It was a publication primarily consumed by a well-educated, urban audience. By the time Singer published his article in 1973, the publication was selling between 100,000 and 120,000 copies per issue.[107] Despite its relatively modest circulation, it was regarded as a premiere intellectual organ that was 'unique, unparalleled and often brilliant'.[108] Other intellectuals claim it defined intellectual discourse in the English-speaking world.[109]

The New York Review of Books offered a prestigious public forum to broadcast Singer's views. Through the magazine's network, his ideas were distributed globally. Henry Spira from New York read Singer's arguments, and such was his interest that he attended the evening course 'Animal Liberation'.[110] In Victoria, Australia, the Labor politician Barry Jones came to know of animal liberation ideas because of the magazine.[111] While the article signalled the arrival of Singer's ideas to a well-educated, progressive middle class, the book would, of course, enjoy even greater circulation.

Like the article but on a larger scale, *Animal Liberation* circulated through a global publishing network. In the United States, the *New York Review of Books* published the book in October 1975, and it was distributed by Random House.[112] In Great Britain, the publishing firm Jonathan Cape printed the book the following year.[113] In total, approximately 10,000 hardbacks were printed. Although sales increased annually, it took a couple of years to sell out.[114] In 1977, New York–based Avon Books began publishing an inexpensive paperback.[115] Compared to its immediate predecessors, books such as *Man and Beast*, *Animal Machines*, and *Victims of Science*, the book was not limited to one publishing house or market, which for these three books had been British.[116] Singer's publishers reached into the international market, including Australia, where no local publisher had taken up the book. In addition to a far-reaching distribution network, the Australian book promotion campaign, organised by the publisher,[117] consolidated the book's visibility and circulation.

Throughout 1976, a dynamic interplay of media coverage and publicity further diffused Singer's ideas. Specifically, June 1976 was a turning

point for *Animal Liberation* in Australia. One quality metropolitan broadsheet, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which had a daily circulation of 269,000 papers, published three feature articles by Singer.[118] 'Man's tyranny over animals' evocatively detailed the unregulated business of animal experimentation.[119] 'Animals: 3 ways to make them suffer' was a polemical piece against the industrial, profiteering drive of modern farming.[120] His final article, 'A diet for our starving millions', argued about the virtues of vegetarianism and how it could both reduce animal suffering and human starvation.[121] These articles provoked an immediate reaction. Many readers wrote letters to the paper, protesting over the forms of cruelty described by Singer, while a few felt compelled to refute his claims.[122] The influence of his articles was also felt beyond Sydney. Inspired by Singer's articles, one couple in Queensland felt moved to write on animal experimentation for their university newspaper.[123] Carol Barry from Victoria wrote to Singer and commended him, saying, 'it's about time that people become aware of what is going on so keep up the good work'.[124] The spread and influence of Singer's ideas in the Australian metropolitan press was only the beginning.

As part of the book promotion campaign, on 28 June 1976, Singer was an exclusive guest on the Australian Broadcasting Commission's (ABC) television show, *Monday Conference*. Australians frequently tuned into ABC radio and television, which, as of 1975, was broadcast in colour. The publicly funded, independent broadcaster offered a wide variety of programmes, some catering to popular taste and others to a minority audience. Within the Australian community, the ABC was considered to be educational, 'innovative, thought-provoking and amusing', which positioned it uniquely against its commercial rivals.[125] Relying on its own journalists, the ABC built a first-rate reputation for news and current affairs shows, which included *This Day Tonight* and *Four Corners*.[126] Approaching its sixth year of production, *Monday Conference* was often the ABC's most popular television programme.[127] It had a reputation for dealing with divisive issues and had hosted public figures such as Germaine Greer, Dennis Altman, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, and trade union leader and future prime minister Bob Hawke.[128]

That Monday evening, the show was recorded at the Sydney Opera House to a sold-out audience. The show was also transmitted on ABC radio. On stage with host Robert Moore, Singer fielded a range of questions from the audience, who were known for being tough and demanding.[129] One of the common questions that emerged from the audience

had to do with Singer's views on animal experimentation. Other questions were about animal suffering, animal agriculture, whaling, fur, and vegetarianism. Naturally, there were also some hostile questions. To each question he responded calmly yet firmly. He spoke clearly and avoided academic jargon. His sharp responses were threaded with practical examples, balanced with the moral arguments he had expressed in his book.[130] His intellectual charisma and public speaking ability commanded the audience's attention. After the show, Moore remarked that the episode had been one of the most successful of the year.[131]

While the high-profile publisher and the subsequent book promotion campaign were milestones, they were galvanised by Singer's persuasive communication skills. The general literary community lauded the book for being 'unrhetorical and unemotional', which made the arguments coherent, tight, and formidable.[132] The *New York Times* wrote that 'as a work of philosophy this book is refreshing and well-argued; as a book intended for the mass market it is quite unhysterical yet engagingly written'.[133] Those sympathetic to Singer, such as Stephen Clark, wrote in *The Times* that he had made a 'worthy contribution to that tradition which includes Plutarch, Porphyry, Montaigne, Primatt, and Henry Salt'.[134] Even those who disagreed with Singer's thesis found his book 'intelligent and challenging' and concluded that it 'deserves to be widely read'.[135] Singer's speaking style attracted similar praise.

Following *Monday Conference*, numerous people wrote to Singer to commend him on his performance. Many had a strong positive reaction to Singer and his arguments. Singer's claims shocked them; their responses also revealed a general ignorance about the politics and culture of how animals were used. However, their responses demonstrated that people genuinely cared about society's treatment of animals. Peter Hart from Newtown, Sydney, wrote, 'I congratulate you on your remarkably articulate answers to some rather pointed and difficult questions'.[136] Graeme McEwen also recounted how Singer's oratory impressed him: 'I admired the way he handled the questions […] I remember the calm way in which Peter dealt with the questions from the audience and always answered them so satisfactorily'.[137] A young Christine Townend from Sydney wrote, 'I congratulate you on your logical, detached and rational approach, which has too often been lacking in the past when minority issues sometimes smacked of hysteria and often fanaticism'.[138] Others felt the same way.[139] His demeanour and verbal skills were impressive, and his command of the subject was outstanding. His intellectual prowess

captivated and persuaded, and it had authority thanks to his training at Melbourne and Oxford universities. But Singer not only theorised about the world; he also became actively involved in the animal cause.

Traditional animal welfare societies, some with genealogies dating back to the late nineteenth century and others to the early twentieth century, sought Singer's guidance and help. Although groups like Victoria's RSPCA had been aware of intensive farming since 1964, their leadership, knowledge, and philosophy of kindness towards animals were too simplistic and outdated for the modern world of agricultural production.[140] Furthermore, the RSPCA was not inherently opposed to vivisection but was rather interested in safeguards to prevent suffering.[141] Despite this, several people from various animal welfare groups read Singer's book and had the pleasure of attending *Monday Conference*. Afterwards, they offered Singer their praises and were so encouraged and motivated by his discussion that they also sought help from him. The elderly R.K. Carberry, who was president of the Cat Protection Society of New South Wales and who had been part of the RSPCA since 1919, wrote that she could not remember 'any person who has made such an impact on people'.[142] Both Vida Pratt, vice president of the World League for the Protection of Animals, and Ann White of the Anti-Vivisection Union of Australia, invited Singer to become a patron of their respective organisations, a position he was honoured to accept.[143] The secretary of the New South Wales Animal Welfare League (AWL) was interested in his views and wanted more literature from him.[144] The Blue Cross Animals Society of Victoria invited Singer to be a guest speaker at their annual general meeting in September 1976.[145] Curiously, the RSPCA was also eager to secure Singer's assistance, particularly in acquiring any evidence he might have of unnecessary animal experiments carried out in Melbourne.[146] *Animal Liberation* was so respected that animal groups were desperate to obtain bulk copies of the book for their own libraries and to sell them to their members and the general public.[147]

Singer's early activist role involved practical aspects, such as providing people with guidance and connecting individuals to groups and vice versa. Many indignant people wrote to Singer, not only praising his work but wanting to do something about animal exploitation. People were often unsure about what action they could take or which organisation they could turn to. They looked to Singer for guidance and advice; they wanted to know whether there were any active animal groups in their area and how they could get involved.[148] David Lamprell's letter on

23 January 1978 exemplifies this conundrum: 'I want to do something about eradicating the suffering [of] animals […] The problem is that I'm rather vague as to exactly what I can do. I have no particular skills […] So if there are any action groups, fact gathering jobs, etc. I am volunteering my services.'[149] Singer often referred people to the animal groups with which he had a rapport. His referrals provided fresh and enthusiastic volunteers that aided many groups from around Australia, which in turn increased their public profile in the community.[150] His pre-eminent status among the animal groups allowed him to act as a nexus between organisations. But even those who were already members of an organisation, like Helen Robinson from South Australia, who supported AWL and the RSPCA, felt that the pre-existing groups were inactive on the important issues raised by Singer.[151] For some people, even adopting a vegetarian diet that was consistent with the moral arguments proposed by Singer was not enough. 'I feel quite frustrated however', wrote Patty Mark from Melbourne, 'that aside from being vegetarian and raising my children as such, I am not actively participating in any endeavour to assist in Animal Liberation.'[152] From Sydney, an unaffiliated Christine Townend wanted help from Singer for her personal research project on the state of animal experimentation in Australia. She wanted to gather as much credible evidence as possible to criminally prosecute an institution, which she believed would gain enough publicity to change the laws.[153]

Singer emerged as a public intellectual who offered an ideology and a new frame for understanding and addressing animal exploitation. Singer was an innovator. Innovators are those who create new 'interpretative frames and new languages for articulating collective interests, identities and claims'.[154] Frames offer an 'interpretative schema that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment'.[155] Frames take events or injustices and make them meaningful and offer an interpretative medium for action. Singer offered a moral frame, based on rational arguments rather than emotional appeals. 'No longer do I have to break into tears of sorrow and/or anger when explaining my vegetarianism to people', wrote Mark after reading *Animal Liberation*. 'Now I am able to approach it logically in a reasonable manner, as is due the subject.'[156] Others felt that Singer's logical responses captured their ineffable feelings of indignity: 'I had the sensation of hearing my very thoughts put in a way that I could never hope to do', wrote Karin Aberman.[157] From

Melbourne, Marlene Branz, who was already a vegetarian but largely ignorant of the issues Singer described, declared that reading Singer's book 'strengthened me in my resolve never to eat flesh again'.[158] Singer persuaded and politicised those sympathetic with the plight of animals to his moral values. His principle of equal consideration of interests demanded a higher standard for how people should treat animals, which was intrinsically linked with vegetarianism. Animal advocacy and vegetarianism became practically synonymous, a topic which is explored in Chap. 8. Indeed, for some, the norms that he promoted demanded a new form of radical politics. As Chap. 3 explores, they, along with Singer, sought to construct 'animal liberation' organisations and inaugurate a new wave of animal activism.

Conclusion

In 1973, Singer incorrectly predicted that *Animals, Men and Morals* would be a 'manifesto for an Animal Liberation movement'.[159] He could not have foreseen how important and influential he and Animal Liberation would become.

As a symbol of a modern intellectual, Singer sought to transform society with his critical ideas. 'If philosophers are to say anything of importance about major issues, they must go beyond the neutral analysis of words and concepts', stated Singer in the opening pages of his first book, *Democracy and Disobedience*.[160] He rejected the passive and indifferent culture that he believed characterised academic philosophy. 'Moral and political philosophers must be prepared to give their opinions, with supporting arguments, on the rights and wrongs of complex disputes', Singer believed.[161] Intellectuals must not only produce meaning, but must articulate solutions to real-world issues. Singer was not simply concerned with abstractly theorising about the world; he actively sought to change it by developing accessible ideas that could be put into action by everyone, including himself.

Arriving during the liberation struggles of the 1970s, *Animal Liberation* spread and became influential for a number of interconnected reasons. Its release by several high-profile publishing houses allowed it to penetrate the international market. The book's visibility and circulation was consolidated by a promotional campaign, which secured media coverage in newspapers, television, and radio. In addition, the book's prose and Singer's public performance were lucid and persuasive. The normative principle of *Animal Liberation* was complemented by an effective

description of animal suffering in laboratories and in intensive farms, which would become important campaigning issues. His public performances were characterised by his intellectual charisma and speaking skills, his unemotional reason and unrhetorical language. Singer was a public intellectual active in the animal cause. *Animal Liberation* persuaded and politicised many ordinary people and large sections of the established, yet moderate, animal welfare societies. The book offered an ideology and a moral framework for action; it inspired new activists, the creation of animal liberation groups, and the renewal of the animal movement, which further perpetuated the book's appeal and status.

Ultimately, the animal movement, both in Australia and internationally, would play a significant role in immortalising *Animal Liberation* as the bible of the movement. Sales of the book were at their highest in the 1980s, when the United States group PETA was growing rapidly and giving away a free copy to every new member. As a result, sales of the book surpassed half a million. Singer's public intellectual status continued to grow. Since 1975, there has been an increasing amount of work on the moral status of animals. Although Singer's normative principle would in time receive criticism and challenges, *Animal Liberation* remains a definitive classic.[162]

The next chapter continues the origin story of the modern animal movement. It explores how the first 'Animal Liberation' organisations arose.

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CHAPTER 3

The Creation of the Animal Movement, 1976–87

On the third floor of an old wool store in The Rocks, a precinct on the southern shore of Sydney Harbour, was the headquarters of the Total Environment Centre (TEC). There was the usual bustle of activity that day in November 1976. In one corner were people from the Movement Against Uranium Mining who were planning another demonstration and ringing supporters; students sat at a table taking notes for essays; volunteers were examining maps pinned to the wall, outlining threatened forests; and Milo Dunphy, the director, was on the phone with the minister's secretary.[1]

Christine Townend arrived that morning to continue editing the *Save Colong Bulletin* and writing articles for the media. But another thought was preoccupying her.

In 1976, with great excitement and intrigue, she read Singer's *Animal Liberation*. That year, she had the fortune of being in the studio audience for ABC's *Monday Conference*. Like so many others, Singer's moral arguments persuaded and politicised Townend, who had been a vegetarian for a few years already. Having engaged with Singer's ideas, she felt compelled to do something. But what could she do to help animals? None of the animal welfare societies interested her. Most of them focused on anti-vivisection or caring for stray dogs and cats. She was disappointed that there was not a single group around to advocate for animals in intensive farms.[2]

'I'd like to start a group called Animal Liberation', she said that morning to Dunphy while they were having a cup of coffee at the café next door.

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'Why don't you?' he replied encouragingly. 'You could use the Centre as a postal address, and hold your meetings here. You could even keep your files and papers here, if you wanted'.

'I don't know anyone who's interested', she said, questioning her proposal.

'I know a few people', he replied. 'I could give you their phone numbers.'[3]

Townend took the first step towards creating Australia's first Animal Liberation organisation, which would inaugurate the emergence of the modern animal movement. As stated in Chap. 2, the creation and diffusion of a radical ideology was fundamental. 'But without collective action and protest', argues Rochon, 'critical communities would remain on the margins of cultural awareness.'[4] Social movements, among other forces, carry those ideas forward; they provoke a re-examination of morals and beliefs, engage in contentious politics, and stimulate social change.

With the articulation and diffusion of Singer's Animal Liberation, ordinary people were transforming into animal activists. Like Townend, they sought to build the organisations that could campaign against the politics and culture of animal use and exploitation. Different forces, as this chapter shows, provided the nascent movement with resources and opportunities to organise and mobilise. Through interpersonal and social networks, passionate and committed activists, many of them women, played key roles in creating social movement organisations. At the height of these formative years, the Australian Federation of Animal Societies emerged. It was a meeting point for the traditional and the contemporary, the moderates and the radicals, for animal welfare and animal liberation. The national organisation offered a structure where diverse animal groups campaigned on matters of common interest. It was a period in which individuals and groups mobilised resources and took advantage of shifting opportunities. They battled through hardships, collaborated, and cooperated in a spirit of unity. Together, they created the animal movement.

Historical Antecedents

Despite the apparent newness of animal rights, the animal movement was not a 'new' movement. As the previous chapter discussed, the moral status of animals has a long and rich history. The genealogical antecedents of the modern animal movement can be traced to the British humane

and animal welfare societies of the nineteenth century. Modern animal welfare law emerged in Britain in 1822 with the passage of the *Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act*, which came to be referred to as Martin's Act, after Member of Parliament (MP) Richard Martin.[5] Martin and others like him fought long and hard for several decades to sponsor a basic bill. Attempts to establish and then extend the legislation encountered a wall of contempt, ridicule, and derision.[6] After a few failed starts, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) was founded in 1824 to enforce Martin's Act. The organisation included other notable social reformers, MPs like Thomas Fowell Buxton and William Wilberforce, figures involved in the movement to end human slavery.[7] Later, in 1840, the society received Royal patronage for its commendable work, meaning it would be known as the RSPCA. In the early years, despite meagre resources, 'the Society became a force to be reckoned with in the area around Smithfield', which housed one of the main markets in London for live animals.[8] According to Kean, advocates were motivated into action by the sight of mistreated animals driven along roads to Smithfield market.[9] Sight was important in 'developing the relationship between ill-treatment and creating change'.[10] While many evangelical humanitarians constituted the society, its operations were of a secular nature.[11] As mentioned in the last chapter, animal welfare advocates were motivated by anthropocentric reasons, by the notion of a human civilising project. While references to pain and suffering in nineteenth-century animal welfare discourses became more prevalent, it did not equate with granting equal consideration to animal suffering; rather, suffering was ordered and hierarchical, with humans ranked the highest.[12] As early as the 1830s, the animal welfare and humane movement began to celebrate kindness to animals as a particular English quality and to entangle representations of cruelty and other vices with foreigners.[13] It was a rhetorical strategy, argues Ritvo, that implicitly placed humane and welfare issues in the mainstream reformist agenda. In public discussions of animal cruelty, advocates struggled over the moral fabric of English society.[14]

Animal welfare was imported into Australia from Britain in the late nineteenth century. The first organisation condemning and challenging animal cruelty emerged in the colonial state of Victoria. On 29 December 1870, the Victorian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (VSPCA) was established. It grew from a meeting held by 'the Society for Promoting Morality', which had begun to consider whether preventing cruelty to animals was within its parameters.[15] Within a few

decades, other societies were established around the colonies: Tasmania in 1872, Sydney in 1873, Adelaide in 1875, Brisbane in 1883, and Perth in 1892.[16] Animal protectionists of the nineteenth century were not only an animal lover but humanitarians, reformers, and philanthropists. Their cause intersected with other issues of the day, such as health, reform, religion, law, and the role of women.[17] For Victorian advocates, and presumably the same for other states, the visible, urban workhorse, the bullocks and drays, which were whipped and beaten into submission and pushed to the point of collapse, became the first campaign for the young organisation.[18]

However, for decades, the VSPCA struggled to define its role, oscillating between a *preventer* of cruelty and a *protector* of animals.[19] Even in earlier decades, the Victorian Society was incapable of defining what constituted animal cruelty, or where it should or should not act. It was hindered by a 'great difference in opinion' about what sort of cruelty was severe enough to warrant prosecution.[20] Extensive injury or overtaxing a workhorse to death was cause for action, but there was no answer to certain sports, like the infamous rat pits or cock fighting.[21] Internal and external politics and poor access to financial resources plagued its operations well into the twentieth century, limiting the VSPCA's work and effectiveness.[22] Nevertheless, there was a sense of change. Jennifer MacCulloch argues that the work of early animal welfare societies and wildlife conservationists in Sydney between 1880 and 1930 influenced modern sensibilities and behaviours.[23]

Animal protection continued in the twentieth century, but 'more often than not the Society seemed to be catching up with attitudes than leading the way'.[24] The war years returned old cruelties and inspired new horrors towards animals in saleyards, transportation, and abattoirs. In the 1930s and later again in the 1950s, fractures and divisions emerged, and new societies came to the fore. A common point of criticism of these new groups was the lack of responsibility and foresight over the RSPCA's handling of stray and feral animals. Relationships between the new and old groups were fickle and fragile. Sometimes there was cooperation, and other times there was bitter acrimony.[25] According to Barbara Pertzel, by the 1960s, although 'the Society may have been regarded in some esteem by the Establishment it was out of touch with the public'.[26] This was arguably the case for all the RSPCAs operating in Australia. The words of future long-term RSPCA president Hugh Wirth, who joined

the Victorian organisation in 1969 at the age of 30, provide insight into the state of the movement:

> Discussions seemed not to be progressive to me, and certainly from my perspective as a veterinary surgeon seemed to be relatively aimless […] So my early introduction was one of amazement, that this organisation could have so many ancient people running it and not be clued up.[27]

Despite stagnation and decay, Garner argues, few 'would dispute the valuable work done by the RSPCA Inspectorate', which not only acted as a 'deterrent against future cruelty' but also served an educational purpose.[28] Their provision of shelters, hospitals, and clinics, though not without problems and controversy, had been a source of aid and care to many animals. However, by the 1970s, the RSPCA was no longer the main vessel for reformers and advocates. As mentioned in Chap. 2, its ideology, knowledge, and leadership were too anachronistic to deal with modern animal exploitation. Over time, the traditional animal welfare movement would be the target of a new generation of activists demanding radical transformation. The policies and practices of groups like the RSPCA were often denounced and condemned by modern animal activists.[29] Nevertheless, Singer did inspire some welfare groups and adherents. They would eventually constitute the emerging movement. In the meantime, other forces played a role.

The 1970s saw the rapid growth of the environmental movement, which was both a cause and effect of increasing environmental awareness. 'This was a time', write Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, 'when a sense of urgency drove a new generation of environmental activists to adopt different methods of campaigning and to develop organisations based on a tougher approach to campaigning for the environment'.[30] Wedged among other social movements and liberation struggles, the environmental movement was defined by a cluster of campaigns that spanned over many years.[31] From 1971, Sydneysiders witnessed the world's first 'green bans', when local citizens and environmentalists linked up with the influential New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation and their leader Jack Mundey to arrest indiscriminate property development, preserve urban heritage, and conserve the environment.[32] From 1975, opposition to the mining and export of uranium burgeoned. It involved an array of local groups and frequent mobilisations that challenged the industry.[33]

In addition, longstanding campaigns to defend native forests and wilderness areas continued.[34] A diverse network, which was concentrated around different issues and stretched across urban and rural Australia, constituted the environmental movement. Among the many key organisations that formed part of the movement was the TEC. As indicated earlier, their significance extended beyond the green movement. They were important actors in facilitating the creation of the animal movement.

The TEC came into existence on Monday, 14 February 1972. It was Australia's first dedicated environment advocacy centre, designed to assist other environmental campaigns and lobby government. As an advocacy body, it would 'react swiftly against the spoiling forces at work in [a] modern economy'.[35] The founding members employed Milo Dunphy as the director.[36]

Milo was the son of Myles Dunphy. Myles was a draughtsman, architect, avid bushwalker, and an accomplished conservationist. He was a key pioneer in the creation of national parks and the protection of wilderness throughout New South Wales. In 1932, Myles engaged in a long-lasting campaign to establish the Blue Mountains National Park, an effort that was secured in 1959.[37] Myles and Milo resembled each other very closely. Milo, who as an infant had been taken by his parents on their bushwalking adventures, carried on his father's life-long work to protect his beloved wilderness. Like his father, Milo was a professional architect. In the 1960s, Milo led the campaign to stop limestone mining at Colong Caves. He formed and orchestrated the Colong Committee from his architectural firm.[38] The campaign involved over 200 groups and eventually pressured the New South Wales government to rescind the mining lease. In 1968–1969, Milo was personally engaged in numerous conservation groups and campaigns. He was an honorary secretary of the National Parks Association, vice-president and councillor of the Australian Conservation Foundation, member of the Myall Lakes Committee, and co-founder of Botany Bay Committee, the Murramarang Committee, and the Canopy Committee.[39] When he was offered the position at TEC, he jumped at the opportunity and left behind his architecture career to become a full-time, paid conservationist.[40] In their lifetimes, both Myles and Milo were honoured for their contributions to conservation in Australia.[41]

Through her interest in the environment, Townend encountered the TEC. When she was preparing for a trip to India in 1974, she visited the TEC at its headquarters to enquire about environmental groups overseas. Over coffee with Dunphy, she described the pristine bushland that

she had enjoyed when she was a child. She told him of the time when she was walking along the Sydney's north shore and stumbled upon an abandoned litter of kittens. When she told her mother about them, she was ordered to leave them. Against her mother's instructions, she returned to rescue them and walked from house to house until they were all taken. While Dunphy had no knowledge of Indian groups, he was impressed by Townend's passion.[42] She in turn was struck by his gentleness and his willingness to spend time with her.[43] He invited her to join the TEC when she returned (Fig. 3.1).[44]

Fig. 3.1 Christine Townend with a rescued piglet, 1975. Photo courtesy of Christine Townend

Two and half deeply spiritual and transformative months passed in India. At some point in Townend's trip, she became vegetarian and never ate meat again.[45] When she returned to Australia, someone at the TEC, on behalf of Dunphy, invited her to a meeting of the Colong Committee. She was keen to help. But why Dunphy courted and pursued Townend was unclear. Townend later recalled that 'Milo must have remembered me. He might have fancied me, though I wasn't particularly attractive. But why would he have remembered me after those months?'[46] For a while she helped edit the *Save Colong Bulletin*.[47] Then one day in November 1976 she told Dunphy about her idea of starting up Animal Liberation.

'To Abolish Man's Speciesist Attitude Towards Animals': Animal Liberation Rises

The first meeting of Animal Liberation was held at TEC on Tuesday, 7 December 1976. Six people attended. Dunphy and two of his conservationist friends went along. Townend brought along her neighbour. She also invited a friend who was part of an animal welfare group. Townend's husband Jeremy was there, but mainly to support her.[48]

To say Animal Liberation grew out of humble beginnings understates the challenges of those first few meetings. Years later Townend's friend revealed that as she sat through those meetings, she believed Animal Liberation would never survive, so few were the number of people attending.[49]

Nonetheless, the cycle of protest and the political spaces and opportunities created by the environmental movement provided an instrumental and productive model for the nascent group.[50] In the United States, the environmental movement had offered strategic and ideological tools for some animal activists.[51] In Australia, this was more than an abstract political opportunity; it was a personal and political relationship that guided the fledging movement. Dunphy put in a great deal of time and effort into teaching and imparting his activist experience and knowledge, which included 'devising strategy, planning campaigns, and lobbying for a cause—all of which had become second nature to him by then'.[52] Without his crucial support, the outcome of Animal Liberation might have been different.

At the first meeting, those present resolved to design a letterhead, print a leaflet, and invite Singer to be a patron. Animal Liberation's first

newsletter, which was a 'badly printed, amateur production, with staples and uneven ink', was produced toward the end of 1977.[53] It was peppered with news of their recent activities and full of information about vegetarianism. The group also drafted a constitution that combined Singer's radical philosophy, an ethos for animal welfare, and concern for wildlife and wilderness conservation. The purpose of Animal Liberation was fourfold:

1. To abolish man's speciesist attitude towards animals;
2. To conserve wildlife by ensuring its habitat remains undisturbed;
3. To promote a conservation policy that entails mercy and the protection of animals instead of exploitation purely for human benefit;
4. To carry this out according to the philosophies expressed or implied in Peter Singer's book *Animal Liberation*.[54]

To avoid exhaustion and to be more efficient, they decided to focus their efforts on a single, ambitious campaign. They boldly stated that their campaign was to 'better [the] conditions for intensively reared animals'.[55] In comparison to the mixture of animal and environmental principles articulated in their constitution, their campaign was quite focused, though no less formidable and grandiose. How did they challenge intensive livestock production and other issues? How did they struggle for animal welfare and animal liberation? This question of protest methods will be covered in forthcoming chapters.

A great deal of the early work of Animal Liberation involved expanding and disseminating knowledge of animal exploitation. Before calling the first meeting of the group, Townend had already been collecting information for her 1980 book *In Defence of Living Things*. She had a gift for writing, having published two novels, poetry, short stories, and newspaper articles. The tasks of the newly formed animal group became an extension of her personal research project. It involved the 'collation of documents, scientific papers, letters of inquiry' and researching industry publications.[56] The research and information they assembled culminated in a submission to the New South Wales Labor Premier, Neville Wran, in a bid to enlighten him about the conditions of intensive farms. But they only received a 'brief, formal acknowledgement' of their work.[57] Years later, when Townend published her book, which dealt with a range of animal issues, Wran wrote a generous foreword to it. He noted that Townend had 'compiled a remarkable, comprehensive and stimulating

series of essays on society's attitude to those "agreeable friends"'.[58] Evidently by then he displayed some sympathy for her cause.

Exposure in the mainstream media—press, radio, television—diffused information about animal exploitation. After all, they were dealing with an audience who were mostly ignorant about the plight of animals in intensive farms. 'Nobody knew what a battery hen was', recalled Townend. 'I can remember somebody coming up and saying, "Did they give them shocks to make them lay eggs?" There was no understanding of the way animals were kept.'[59] On Thursday, 15 September 1977, her first newspaper article was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. 'Animal Farm's Darker Side' was a critical, journalistic account of intensive farming.[60] In researching her book, she was able to gain access to farms by simply saying 'I am writing a book' and wanted to know more about farm conditions. At the time, there was no fear of 'animal libbers' or any concern of negative publicity for farmers. She was able to look around easily and freely.[61] A couple of months later, she published another feature article, 'Testing the Animal to Destruction', which focused on animal experimentation.[62]

Townend also gave a spate of radio interviews. Following the publication of her newspaper article, she was invited to go on Caroline Jones' *City Extra* programme. Townend was 'absolutely terrified beyond words'.[63] It was a disaster. 'I was so nervous, and also ill [with the flu], that after I had spoken a few words, I was unable to continue.'[64] Ashamed and embarrassed, she left, but the producer graciously permitted her to return. She subsequently performed well.[65] After her radio interview, she also appeared on commercial radio station 2 GB and received correspondence from people who had read her newspaper articles. It 'was from this time onward that Animal Liberation began to grow rapidly', recalled Townend.[66]

After a year in operation, Townend took the initiative to set up a federation of animal societies in New South Wales (the New South Wales Federation). She saw the Nature Conservation Council of New South Wales, which represented over sixty environment groups, as an outstanding model of what a diverse cluster of groups could achieve. She hoped to create a similar organisation that could give the animal groups 'lobbying power and strength in unity'.[67] One day, she picked up the telephone and called Madeleine Oriolo, who was President of the World League for the Protection of Animals (WLPA), and told her of the idea. Oriolo was impressed with the proposal and invited Ron Carberry, President of the

Cat Protection Society, to chair the meeting.[68] Representatives from thirteen animal protection groups throughout Sydney and the surrounding areas attended. They included the Animal Welfare League, Greenpeace, Fund for Animals, and the Australian Association for Humane Research (AAHR). The RSPCA declined to join, despite some enthusiasm from a few individuals. Most of the groups were focused on single-issue campaigns, and many had traditionally upheld morally orthodox values. With the exception of the RSPCA, the genealogy of those animal welfare societies can be traced back to the early to mid-twentieth century. At the meeting they unanimously agreed to form the New South Wales Federation.[69] They then drew up a constitution, discussed policy, and held monthly meetings.[70]

While each group remained independent, there was a spirit of comradeship, cooperation, and collaboration. Unlike the British experience, where the ideology and practices of the old and new groups seemed to be incompatible, there appeared to be no division between animal welfare and animal rights.[71] 'Everyone got on quite well', recalled Townend.[72] Animal welfare societies embraced the campaigns of other groups. In campaigning against battery egg production, Animal Liberation received assistance from the Animal Welfare League, the Cat Protection Society, and the WLPA. The latter paid for the printing of 10,000 leaflets that had information about intensive farming. There was also a flow and exchange of human resources. Townend was heavily involved with Elizabeth Ahlston's AAHR. Trish Carroll from Friends of the Earth attended many Animal Liberation meetings.[73] Such was the spirit of unity that on one occasion when Animal Liberation was attacked in the press, everyone in the New South Wales Federation was outraged.[74] Far from being inactive 'precursors', as some scholars have suggested of the American experience, Australian animal welfare societies played active, constructive roles in the formative years of the movement.[75]

Soon after creating the New South Wales Federation, member organisations and activists organised Australia's first Animal Rights March in Sydney. It was designed to celebrate the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Animals, which was articulated by the International League of Animal Rights in London in September 1977.[76] 'Don't shoot if you see a pack of dingoes marching from Martin Place up Macquarie Street to Hyde Park tomorrow morning', announced *The Sydney Morning Herald*.[77] The newspaper's point was not an embellished overstatement. On Sunday, 12 November 1978, after hectic preparations, a group

of 500 people and one hundred animals, including dingoes on leashes, assembled at Martin Plaza, Sydney. Police escorted the human and animal procession to Hyde Park in an orderly manner. They wanted to avoid any actions that would attract the label of being 'violent demonstrators'.[78] Townend was curiously found at the back of the herd, with a plastic bag and shovel in hand, scraping and scooping up animal droppings.[79]

'Help the Hens': Animal Liberation Spreads

Like many activists in this story, Patty Mark was a passionate animal lover. Whenever she saw animals, she could not resist the urge to pat them. One day when she and her husband were on a cycling holiday passing through Greece, they came across a flock of goats. They stopped and wandered up to say hello. When they went for lunch later that day, she was confronted with a large cauldron of soup and a goat's head bobbing inside. A moral epiphany occurred. 'It was like "boom!" All the light-bulbs went on. I went vegetarian that day', recalled Mark.[80] For Townend, one of the defining differences between those concerned for animal welfare and those interested in 'animal rights' was that 'if you truly cared for the rights of animals you could hardly sit down and feast upon them'.[81] As discussed in Chap. 8, becoming vegetarian or vegan was an essential rite of passage, a form of lifestyle politics.

Mark had goose bumps the first time she read Singer's Animal Liberation. Her husband, knowing that Patty loved animals, one day bought her a copy of the book. It took her a while to read, but the book had a profound impact. 'It was really hard and I had no idea about a lot of the stuff [that the book explained]', Mark said.[82] Like so many others, when she finished reading the book, she wrote to Singer and reached out for help. 'I only know of 3 other vegetarians […] I am having a hard time coping with this', she told him.[83] She felt frustrated that she was not doing more to help the animal liberation cause and asked if there were any organisations she could get involved with.[84] Singer sympathised with Mark's position. He enclosed a leaflet of a 'radical animal welfare group' he was associated with and suggested she contact them.[85]

Mark contacted Joan Walker's Animal Rights group. The organisation had preceded Singer's book, but once he emerged as a public intellectual, they soon established contact. Formed in September 1974, the group had as one of its main aims the 'immediate improvement of conditions for lost and stray dogs' in Melbourne.[86] The group was focused

on companion animals and vigorously campaigned to end the use of the decompression chamber at the Lost Dogs' Home in North Melbourne.[87] Mark wrote letters and expressed her interest in advocating for farmed animals. Despite some correspondence, nothing developed.[88]

The early work of Sydney's Animal Liberation, along with its frequent media exposure, inspired others to take up the cause. Mark first heard of Townend's Animal Liberation when she was with her children at the St Kilda library. She flipped through a woman's magazine and stumbled upon an article about the group. 'Oh wow!' she thought and was excited to read about the group's agenda and goals.[89]

One day in October 1978, Townend received a long letter from Mark. Eager to help the animal cause, Mark wanted to know if there was a branch in her city. She was willing to help in any way that she could. But there was no Animal Liberation in Melbourne. As Dunphy had done with Townend, she in turn encouraged Mark to start a Melbourne branch of Animal Liberation.[90] The thought was a bit overwhelming to the shy Mark, who had two children to care for. But she was so motivated and indignant that she decided to start one up (Fig. 3.2).

Exactly two years after Townend held her first meeting, on Thursday, 7 December 1978, Mark held the first meeting of Animal Liberation in Melbourne. She was friendly with the owner of the local milk bar and was permitted to hang a sign reading 'Help the Hens', which promoted the event. It attracted the curious attention of a journalist, who saw the unusual sign and decided to write a newspaper article on it. Mark believed that it was because of this publicity that they received a promising number of seventeen people at their first meeting.[91] While the group's concerns included animals used for experiments, they resolved to focus specifically on a single campaign: 'for better conditions for intensively reared animals'.[92] Before too long, Animal Liberation had spread elsewhere.

In October 1979, Jacki Batzloff from Brisbane made contact with Townend and expressed her desire to form a group in her city. Batzloff circulated letters to interested people, calling on them to support the creation of a new group. All the tedious, frustrating steps of how to start a group, which Townend had already learned, were now passed on. Townend, with the support of Genny Young, forwarded a package that contained lots of useful information for creating a new group. It included advice on how to become a registered charity and details on a constitution, which was adopted verbatim. In December 1979, Brisbane's Animal Liberation was officially established.[93]

Fig. 3.2 Patty Mark addressing a rally in Melbourne City Square, 1979. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

By 1980, a branch of Animal Liberation emerged in Canberra. Jenny McDougall came from the land. Her family were dairy farmers, and she worked in the family business. Though she was not a vegetarian like Townend and Mark, she was opposed to how farm animals were treated: from the way they were raised and how they were transported to how they were treated in saleyards and slaughterhouses. She had written to Townend requesting more information on the group. Through their correspondence, McDougall decided to start a local branch.

Having someone from the country brought more legitimacy to Animal Liberation.[94] In addition to working on the campaign against intensive farming, over time the branch focused on other local matters: rodeo animals and drought-stricken cattle and sheep. At the Uniting Church Hall, the small group of members met every second month to organise branch activities.[95]

The various Animal Liberation groups communicated extensively by letter and by phone. 'Chris and I were in touch all the time', recalled Mark.[96] Their activities and policies were coordinated, and they found coherence. Geographically separated but philosophically united, they found synergy. They had a harmonious relationship that was underpinned by their passionate commitment to animal liberation. 'There has never been any disagreement between any of us about any point of action or philosophical belief', wrote Townend in 1980.[97]

When Singer returned from overseas, Townend contacted him and suggested that they all meet up. He responded positively and recommended they gather in Melbourne. Despite extensive communication, no one had met in person until then. A supporter from the Melbourne branch of Animal Liberation hosted them at their place in the Dandenongs for a luncheon.[98] 'It was the first time I had an opportunity to speak with Peter and his wife, Renata. I was so much in awe of his profundity that I stood in stunned and febrile awe unable to volunteer any useful opinion', wrote Townend.[99] Mark timidly asked Singer if he would be interested in attending the Melbourne meetings. To Mark's surprise, he enthusiastically agreed.[100]

'Like a Laser Beam': The Australian Federation of Animal Societies

While the next chapter will elaborate on the political opportunities and constraints that the animal movement experienced within the Australian political system, it is important to highlight up front the directive role it played in the early years. One late evening Townend visited Parliament House, where a weary Peter Nixon, Federal Minister for Primary Industry, met her. Townend expressed her concern about the nature of intensive farming, as she had done with other politicians. She told him that her organisation and the New South Wales Federation wanted a national inquiry into intensive livestock farming, which they believed was

overdue. Despite the late hour, Nixon listened with sympathy and attention. But he also pointed out that those issues were state matters.[101]

'If one state legislated, that could put it at a disadvantage', Townend retorted. She explained that his New South Wales counterpart, Donald Day, had thought a national inquiry was necessary.

'There are ways of asking the states to adopt legislation', Nixon said. 'It could be done. I'm not in disagreement about the idea of a national inquiry, but you would need to form all the animal welfare groups in a national body first. We only want one voice to deal with. We don't want all these small groups all writing separate submissions, with voluminous paperwork.'

Townend left feeling quite elated and content with how the meeting unfolded.[102] Nixon's suggestion of a united organisation would manifest in a significant way.

The idea of national federation was raised when members of Animal Liberation congregated in Melbourne. However, Singer did not warm to the idea. He was sceptical of small groups being able to work together. Factions, petulance, bickering, and egos have a history of dividing organisations and movements. Although the groups were philosophically and strategically united today, he feared that they would disagree and split over petty matters in the future. Townend's practical experience in the New South Wales Federation had taught her otherwise. Despite Singer's initial concerns, he came around and thought that it would be worth trying.[103]

By February 1980, Animal Liberation was actively looking to 'locate all groups interested in farm animal welfare in Australia' to form a new national organisation.[104] At a meeting of the New South Wales Federation, Townend suggested that a prospective national body should be convened under their auspices, to prevent one group from dominating the agenda. The committee unanimously agreed, and together they called a meeting.[105]

On Thursday, 17 July 1980, the inaugural meeting of the Australian Federation of Animal Societies (the Federation) was held in a private dining room above the Student Union building of Monash University, Melbourne. Singer chaired the meeting. He welcomed delegates and observers. Over thirty people attended. One by one he read out the names of the delegates, who represented twenty-three different animal groups from across Australia.[106] Through one network or another, some of the groups already had working relationships with each other. Groups like the Anti-Vivisection Union, the Cat Protection Society, and the AWL already had links with Singer from as early as 1976. Others

were connected through the New South Wales Federation. Singer also introduced observers from the public service, those working in animal welfare, and the Liberal Party. Although an informal observer from the RSPCA was present, the group had declined to join the Federation. It was an historic meeting that brought together animal welfare and rights groups, environmental organisations, and government representatives.[107]

Townend addressed the meeting. She reiterated Nixon's assertion that lobbyists are more effective when united by a single organisation. She briefly surveyed the political landscape and decried the absence of any meaningful animal policies by the two major parties. In concluding, she ambitiously said that 'the new Federation would be rather like a laser beam. When the light waves were disparate, light was diffused, but if they were coordinated, they were capable of cutting almost anything'.[108]

Richard Ryder, the Federation's esteemed guest speaker, addressed the meeting. Before the launch of the Federation, the AAHR had arranged to tour Ryder in Australia. Townend decided to capitalise on his visit by timing the Federation's inaugural meeting with his arrival.[109] In 1977, Ryder, after years of activism on animal issues, became the chairperson of Britain's RSPCA Council. By then, he and Andrew Linzey had organised a conference at Trinity College in Cambridge on animal rights and produced a 'Declaration Against Speciesism'. Over 150 people, including members of the Oxford critical community, attended.[110]

The previous year, Townend met Ryder when she travelled in Europe. Her trip was an opportunity to extend her activist network and study the state of the animal movement overseas. In July 1979, the International Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals hosted a conference in Berlin. Ahlston, president of AAHR, asked Townend, who was a committee member, if she wanted to accompany her to the conference. Townend went and presented a paper on the state of the animal movement in Australia.[111] At the conference and in the ensuing weeks, she met a range of different activists and organisations. She visited Ryder and his wife at their cottage in England. They discussed the process of legal reform and animal experimentation, on which he had vigorously campaigned. She also met members of Compassion in World Farming, with whom she had previously corresponded. In Cambridge, Townend met Dr Sainsbury, who was developing an alternative to the battery cage.[112] Overall, she was impressed with the state of the animal movement in Europe, which she considered to be more advanced than in Australia.[113]

At the inaugural meeting, Ryder spoke about recent developments in the United Kingdom. Like Townend, he also emphasised the importance of strength through unity. In this sense, he recounted some of the British achievements of previous years, particularly the formation of the General Election Co-ordinating Committee for Animal Protection. It brought together nine major animal welfare groups to lobby political parties and pressure them to adopt animal welfare policies. He concluded his speech with the familiar analogy of the battle to end human slavery: 'It took 30 years for Wilberforce to stop the slave trade, and now was a wonderful opportunity to strike a blow.'[114] Following his rallying speech, he fielded questions from the inspired audience.

When the questions ended, they moved on to other matters. They adopted an interim constitution and deferred the 'boring and lengthy deliberations of a full constitution' until a later date.[115] After a catered vegetarian lunch, the meeting was divided into four policy divisions: livestock, companion animals, animals in research, and wildlife. These policy divisions were constituted by animal societies that had campaigned for those issues. Each division elected two representatives, which brought together people from different groups.[116] Between them, they had experience and knowledge to share. In the divisions they discussed, debated, and defined the Federation's policy. The Federation maintained this basic policy infrastructure for a long time.

Following on from this, they discussed the Federation's agenda priorities. They agreed upon the following item: (1) tax deductibility for animal welfare societies, (2) a list of animal groups in Australia and an invitation to them to join the Federation, (3) requesting political parties to state their position on animal welfare, (4) a national policy by the four divisions, (5) a list of sympathetic politicians, (6) a letterhead, and (7) a policy against live animal exports.[117] The policy against live export, initially raised by Townend, drew some debate. Two people—one from the New South Wales AWL and the other from Western Australia's Animal Protection Society—abstained from the vote. The Federation created and aggregated the policies and campaigns from its member organisations.

The meeting closed at 4 p.m. At the end of the day, Singer was elected chairperson. Brian Slater from Brisbane's Animal Liberation was elected vice chairperson. Townend held the position of secretary. Skidmore from Western Australia was treasurer. While diverse groups constituted the four divisions, those affiliated to Animal Liberation appeared to dominate the main committee.[118]

The Federation was born through a combination of factors: an incentive from the Australian political system, mobilisation of resources from welfare societies, and the hard work and moral determination of a handful of core activists. Similar to the New South Wales Federation, the role of small, disparate animal welfare societies were important in the creation of the Federation. The Federation perhaps would have failed had it not been for its members' willingness to cooperate and actively participate. The labour and dedication of activists was also important. Townend, who was primarily a leader and member of Animal Liberation, carried out lots of the organisational efforts. From her time with Animal Liberation, the New South Wales Federation, and the broader activist community, she had close rapport with her peers. She was able to effectively utilise and organise the pre-existing 'communications network' for building the Federation.[119] Thanks to these organisational feats, and the work of others, the Federation grew.

By June 1981, the Federation had grown to include over forty societies, which represented approximately 50,000 members in Australia.[120] For years, its membership number would consistently hover around this mark, even when some groups left. Animal groups, most of which were single-issue organisations from across Australia, joined one of the four policy divisions. 'We can certainly be happy about the way in which we have come together with relative ease and mutual agreement', noted Townend.[121] Years later, Mark, who initially was weary of working as the Federation's coordinator, was satisfied with the Federation's internal harmony. 'With resolve, determination and compassion I can easily see how we can all sit together', she wrote in 1983.[122]

Indeed, the second annual meeting, held in Sydney on 4 July 1981, confirmed these sentiments of unity and cooperation. At the meeting, the final draft of the constitution was discussed, debated, amended, and voted on, clause by clause.[123] In a hall with over twenty delegates, the task of defining the powers and structure of the Federation unfolded amicably. The principal aim and object of the Federation, it was decided, was to 'promote the cause of animal rights and welfare'. The Federation would be the vehicle whereby animal societies 'interested in animal rights and welfare […] can have regular and formal communication with each other, and can consider matters of common interest and determine common policy'.[124] After the constitution was settled, other important matters were considered. Through consultation and collaboration, the diverse animal groups collectively articulated and drafted the Federation's

policy positions.[125] As explored in the next chapter, the Federation would lobby for these policies. At these early meetings, the hitherto disparate animal societies defined the Federation as the national voice for the animal movement. Yet despite these displays of strength and unity, other factors threatened to undermine the national organisation.

For many years, the Federation financially struggled and walked on the precipice of bankruptcy. 'We lived from financial crisis to financial crisis', recalled former Federation president Graeme McEwen.[126] Given that the Federation's grand task was to promote and coordinate the activities of welfare/rights groups at a national level, it operated on a shoestring budget. The Federation employed a national coordinator, Glenys Oogjes, who worked twenty hours a week but volunteered more time than what her salary paid. The remaining money was spent on operating and maintaining a cramped rent-free office space.[127] But even those modest expenditures frequently tested the budget and the resolve of its supporters. 'On a couple of occasions this year', reported Oogjes in 1985, 'we were actually penniless and had to appeal to several large groups (groups that continually give donations) to again dig deep into their pockets.'[128] The dues of animal welfare societies—which may have had their own financial troubles—were often in arrears, and more than a handful had not paid in more than three years.[129] The Federation desperately needed to mobilise that most fundamental of resources: money. In those dire times, the material resources from the financially well-endowed animal welfare societies saved the Federation. But those cheques were only short-term solutions to deeper financial problems.

After a spate of fundraising endeavours, the Federation moved to experiment with a scheme of individual membership without voting rights in 1986.[130] 'We no longer have the luxury of trying another scheme', McEwen said to the annual general meeting.[131] Once it was approved, the model appeared to bring quick relief. Over the next year, some 700 individual members, many of whom were likely recruited from affiliated member societies, joined the Federation. While it was a fraction of the 50,000 the Federation represented, those growing individual memberships, whose donations averaged $20 per person, secured the financial survival of the Federation.[132]

During the financial hardships of the 1980s, the Federation began to foster transnational connections. In 1985, it extended over the Tasman.[133] The origins of this move came when Adrienne Hall of the New Zealand group Save the Animals from Experiments (SAFE)

requested admission into the Federation. Over the year, efforts were made to include the principal New Zealand animal welfare societies, which included the RSPCA, the SPCA, the Anti-Cruelty Society, the Humane Society, Beauty with Compassion, and SAFE.[134] Each member society joined and participated in the work of the Federation and was represented in its executive decision-making body. 'The animal welfare issues in these two neighbouring countries are similar and [the Federation] links the animal welfare movements to achieve a single result—a high standard of animal treatment', declared the Federation's newsletter.[135] The New Zealand societies met among themselves to discuss their national profile, common policy, and campaigns. Yet they sought to articulate how they could aid Australian campaigns, even if only through publicity, and, in turn, how the Federation could aid them.[136]

Beyond the Tasman, the Federation developed contact with other animal organisations. After some time, the Federation became a full member of the World Society for the Protection of Animals (WSPA), which was affiliated to the United Kingdom's RSPCA. Furthermore, the Federation organised the Oceania Region Conference of the WSPA, which was held in Melbourne over a few days in January 1987. They also nurtured relationships with other societies. Such contacts had the potential to offer support for transnational campaigns, such as those against the export of kangaroo products and live animal exports.[137] As explored in Chap. 7, the Federation would engage in a form of transnational activism that would see it foster further links with overseas animal groups and networks.

Conclusion

The traditions, histories, resources, opportunities, networks, and connections of the animal welfare and environmental movements underpinned and guided the creation of the modern animal movement. The experience and knowledge of conservationists, such as Dunphy and the TEC, was crucial for Townend's nascent Animal Liberation. Similarly, the traditional animal welfare societies intersected with the emergence of Animal Liberation. Far from being relics of the past, these groups played an active role in the formation and constitution of the modern movement. Under Townend's initiative, thirteen groups formed the New South Wales Federation, guided by the strategy of strength in unity. Even the Australian political system played a part.

The story of how Animal Liberation spread to other cities also illustrates the interplay of mobilisations, opportunities, and local and interpersonal networks. From 1978, Mark, Batzloff, and McDougall had all come to hear of Townend's Animal Liberation. Separately, they began to correspond with her. She inspired, encouraged, and guided each woman to form her own respective branch. Townend pioneered Animal Liberation; others learnt her lessons and drew from her experience on how to run a branch, how to organise activities, and how to campaign.

Similar processes formed the Federation, an organisation that philosophically and strategically merged those groups campaigning for animal welfare, animal rights, and conservation. In the formative years, there were no major divisions or discord among the groups; relations were mostly harmonious, supportive, and cooperative. In the four policy divisions, representatives discussed, debated, and campaigned on common interests. The work of the Federation also began to assume a transnational character, which included New Zealand animal societies. The Federation sought to situate itself amongst the global actors of animal welfare. Its financial struggles illustrated that its survival depended on small and large animal welfare societies.

From these formative years, long-term leaders emerged. They learnt to organise, mobilise, recruit, and fight for the rights of animals. Their passion, commitment, and belief in animal liberation underpinned their activism. The next chapter examines how activists pursued their claims.

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CHAPTER 4

In the Corridors of Power, 1979–91

When Christine Townend first visited Sydney's Parliament House, she was in awe. She and another member of Animal Liberation met with the leader of the Liberal opposition, Peter Coleman. His stature, the chamber they sat in, the labyrinth of corridors, the waiter in uniform, and the teacups stamped with the Australian emblem were impressive novelties for the young activists. Liberal MP Tim Moore, who was sympathetic to the aims of Animal Liberation, brokered the meeting.[1]

Moore, a thirty-year-old politician from Sydney's North Shore, had a reputation for being the state's 'most inquisitive politician'.[2] Among his concerns and the numerous questions he put forward in Parliament, he pressed the Labor government for tougher regulations on animal experiments. Once in the New South Wales Parliament, he quoted at length from an Animal Liberation newsletter and implored his colleagues to support wide-ranging reform.[3] Through Elizabeth Ahlston of the Australian Association for Humane Research (AAHR), he met Townend.[4]

At the meeting, they all discussed various aspects of animal protection.

'I feel this is a very reasonable statement', Coleman said, referring to Animal Liberation's policy paper entitled *The Ten Mandates*. 'I would like to see us work towards some of these mandates and their implementation. Personally, I have genuine sympathy for your cause.'[5] Coleman contemplated drafting the New South Wales Liberal Party's animal welfare policy.[6]

Delighted with her initial meeting, Townend returned intermittently for further consultations. She recalled that all 'these people cared genuinely

G. Villanueva, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970–2015*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62587-4_4

about animals, just as do many individuals from the Labor Party.'[7] However, due to other contending matters on the eve of the 1979 state election, the draft animal welfare policy designed by Moore was not officially adopted. In a swing to Labor, Coleman was unseated. Townend postponed her meetings until new ministers were appointed.[8]

This anecdote suggests that contentious politics at first assumed a fairly conventional route: lobbying and engaging key players of Australian politics. It highlights the democratic process, the role of politicians, supporters, and allies. But it also foreshadows the difficulties and challenges, the frustrations and disappointments of advocating for a marginal issue. Animal protection was not a state imperative, but the animal movement sought to put the 'animal question' on the political agenda.

One of the primary, though not exclusive, campaigning methods in the 1980s was lobbying. Activists tried to influence and persuade politicians to create new structures to regulate the use of animals and to improve animal welfare. Through the interplay of lobbying, alliance-building, and participation in state and institutional bodies, activists began to change and pluralise Australian politics. Activists extended the political agenda, influenced public policy, and reshaped the state bureaucracy to include new avenues for addressing animal protection. Ultimately, the foundations of the basic animal protection framework evident in Australia today were constructed and advanced by animal activists in this period. However, powerful economic interests and the property status of animals countervailed and arrested reforms. The experiences of animal activists follow comparable experiences of other social movements of the day.

Australian social movements traditionally looked to the state to service their needs and interests. Every major social movement has had distinct achievements in influencing public policy and innovating state bureaucracy. 'Femocrats' and the Women's Electoral Lobby were highly effective in translating the demands of the women's movement into policy and government-funded services, delivered by women for women.[9] Across different states, gay activists and their legal reform groups successfully decriminalised homosexuality throughout Australia.[10] Indigenous activists and their non-indigenous supporters, and lobby groups, gradually advanced formal legal equality and civil rights for indigenous peoples.[11] Later, conservationists won important environmental protections from the state, the classic example being the protection of the Franklin River in Tasmania in 1983.[12] In general, the Australian political system

has tended to recognise, legitimise, and incorporate the issues and identities demanded by the 'new' and 'old' social movements, even though the process has been marked by compromise and containment.[13]

Other animal movements have also influenced political agendas and policy. Through lobbying campaigns in the United States, the Humane Society of the United States influenced and played a significant role in the adoption of state-based animal cruelty felony laws. While the strength of such laws may not be as stringent as desired, the implication here is that such actors contributed to policymaking.[14] In recent decades in Switzerland and Germany, activists secured constitutional inclusion for animal rights through the tactic of 'frame-bridging', where constitutional amendments were linked to existing cultural concerns, helping activists launch their claims.[15] Garner argues that as social concern for issues of animal protection has increased, so too has its adoption by legislators. In Britain and the United States, this adoption has tended to come from centre-left political parties.[16] As issues have become more salient, cleavages have appeared. In Britain, once again, Labour has exhibited a greater propensity for animal welfare policy. In contrast, Conservatives have offered more generic frameworks that were advanced by a handful of individual MPs. Despite this, animal welfare policy in Britain remains fragile.[17] Australian animal activism has also taken place in the corridors of power.

'Lobbying Power and Strength in Unity'

On Monday, 21 January 1980, Peter Singer, Patty Mark, and Christine Townend sat in the office of Ian Smith, Liberal and Victorian Minister of Agriculture, along with two senior members of his department. '[I eat] free-range eggs because they taste better', exclaimed Smith to the national delegation from Animal Liberation.[18] The activists had been working hard lately. Leafleting and public education strategies were pursued to encourage people away from battery cage eggs towards free-range alternatives. Free-range eggs were difficult to find, with only a handful of stores selling them. But in the absence of proper labelling, it was feared that consumers would remain oblivious to the novel product. Smith promised to bring the matter to the attention of the Victorian Egg Board. He was quite talkative and agreeable about chickens but avoided discussions about other farmed animals.[19]

A few days previously, Townend had visited Smith's counterpart, the New South Wales Labor Minister, Donald Day. He told her that his wife wanted to buy free-range eggs.[20] It was a productive meeting. Day supported the labelling of free-range eggs.[21] To Townend's surprise, Day suggested the idea of a national inquiry into intensive livestock farming.[22] This idea was brought before his Victorian counterpart, who was less enthusiastic. Smith said it would be 'more productive to concentrate on achieving representation of Animal Liberation on the suggested Animal Welfare Advisory Council'.[23] The activists, however, believed that both proposals were equally significant.[24] Still, it was encouraging that both the New South Wales and Victorian ministers responded positively to the idea of labelling free-range eggs.

A short time later, Townend acted as conduit between state and federal ministers when she visited Parliament House in Canberra. At 11 p.m., she counselled with a weary Peter Nixon, Federal Minister for Primary Industry under Malcolm Fraser's Liberal government. Despite the late hour, Nixon agreed that a national inquiry would be useful, but the issue of legislation would be more complicated, given Australia's federal system.[25] It was at this meeting that Nixon suggested that the disparate animal groups form a national organisation to effectively lobby government. As noted in the previous chapter, this impulse would soon inspire the formation of the Australian Federation of Animal Societies (the Federation).

By April 1980, Smith had announced an inquiry into egg marketing in Victoria.[26] Townend was busy with publicity and visiting experts on animal husbandry from the Bureau of Animal Health, who were invigorated by talks about a national inquiry.[27] The animal movement was wildly optimistic about the perceived opposition to battery eggs—as such, they believed the battle was 'almost won'.[28] To facilitate consumer choice, the newsletters of Animal Liberation published details of retail outlets selling free-range eggs. They were also busy contacting other retailers, encouraging them to promote the product.

The federal division of power in the Australian political system offered numerous opportunities for activists to engage in and challenge policies. States had constitutional jurisdiction over animal protection law, while the federal government had limited responsibility.

One of the essential roles of animal advocates in the 1980s was to lobby politicians for greater animal protection.[29] As discussed in the last chapter, as early as 1977, the newly formed Animal Liberation in Sydney

was banding together with older animal welfare societies for 'lobbying power and strength in unity'.[30] Shortly thereafter, small branches of Animal Liberation emerged in Melbourne, Brisbane, and Canberra. By the end of the 1980s they were in every capital city. Geographically separated but philosophically united, the groups corresponded, coordinated policy, and travelled to meet each other, with this contact becoming more pronounced as their collective activity increased.[31] Membership was small compared to other movements, but they were driven by the passion, determination, and dedication of key activists.[32]

There was a strong integrationist, cooperative current within the animal movement that preferred to work with government and industry, rather than against them. An editorial in *Outcry*, the national magazine of the movement, captured this mindset:

> *Outcry* would like to emphasize that Animal Liberation is not anti-farmer. We feel it is unfortunate that many press articles have inferred this and thus broadened the gap between us and 'them'. Animal Lib works for the rights of farm animals but we are also concerned for the farmers. We would like to be able to work together to improve conditions for all involved.[33]

Animal advocates wanted to create and maintain a respectable image with farmers and politicians: to be regarded as responsible and not wild antagonists. In consequence, disruptive actions—illegally entering farms, breaking into cages to liberate animals, and other such methods—were out of the question. 'We were just struggling so much to maintain respect in any case with the farming community', said Townend, leader of Animal Liberation in Sydney and Honorary Secretary of the New South Wales Federation, 'that to be called a law breaker as well would've just really nailed my position.'[34]

'The strategy that I like', explained Townend, 'is the strategy developed by Henry Spira who was a famous animal [activist] in America.' He approached activism from the 'the three Rs': replacement, reduction, and refinement. Like so many others, Spira was influenced by Singer's Animal Liberation. In the United States, Spira famously led several creative and successful public pressure campaigns against Revlon, Avon, and other cosmetic companies, to the point where these corporations developed alternative procedures to testing cosmetics that did not use animals.[35] 'It seemed to me that we couldn't expect that suddenly every animal experiment would be stopped', said Townend, 'that we had to take a practical

approach.'[36] Townend, like many others, approached her advocacy with moderation. She did not want to alienate the movement from the general public, government, or industry.

The openness of the Australian political system initially provided a fertile environment for animal lobbyists. Delegates from Animal Liberation and from the New South Wales Federation met senior politicians who recognised their demands. When activists began a long-lasting campaign for labelling free-range eggs in 1980, they were encouraged by the positive responses they received from both the New South Wales and Victorian Ministers of Agriculture.[37] They discovered that politicians were approachable, responsive, helpful, and sympathetic. 'It is our opinion that in Parliament', reported *Release* in 1979, 'Members of both sides of the House would like to see a more humane treatment of animals.'[38] Individuals from both major parties 'care genuinely about animals'.[39] While research has suggested that left-wing parties respond more favourably to animal protection,[40] activists did not view themselves as politically aligned and tried to work with both major parties to achieve results for animals.[41]

But not all politicians or members of animal industries were sympathetic; some were vocally hostile and obstructive. On Tuesday, 1 July 1980, Townend was officially invited to address the annual Women's Agricultural Congress in Adelaide. She hoped to quell some of the hostile criticisms coming from the rural community and perhaps win some supporters. Farming periodicals had warned their readers of the threat of Animal Liberation.[42] 'Despite its almost laughable attitudes to some aspects of animal treatment', wrote *The Land*, an influential rural periodical, 'Animal Liberation is no joke.' Should Animal Liberation gain political representation in state Parliaments, the article continued, it 'could spell disaster for livestock producers'.[43] Other periodicals had made similar proclamations.

Activists had tasted some vitriol from farmers at gatherings of this kind. Townend was therefore unsurprised when one of the organisers at the airport told her that most people did not welcome her presence. Arriving at the congress while it was in progress, the message from the organiser was reinforced by the leading speaker, South Australian Liberal Minister for Agriculture Ted Chapman. Selling his department's achievements and defending contemporary farming practices, he went on to say that Animal Liberation were 'misinformed, and could destroy our

livestock industry'.[44] Such sentiments were echoed by the next speaker, a representative from the Agricultural Bureau of New South Wales.

When it was time for Townend to deliver her speech, the atmosphere in the venue was tense. She had tactfully chosen a talk to emphasise unity and compassion. But from the podium, she was glared upon by two hundred unfriendly faces, some with 'hatred in their eyes'.[45] The more she appealed for love and compassion, the more the audience turned on her. When questions were invited, Townend was verbally lambasted. 'What right have you got to interfere with country people and their way of life?' decried one person.[46] From the back of the room, an enraged woman put forward a motion that the congress not support Animal Liberation and that it should not have invited Townend. Although it was not an official vote and did not hold any weight, the motion was put to the audience and was passed by a two-thirds majority.[47] The symbolism of that vote was clear. Farmers despised the animal movement.

It was a sad ordeal. Despite the initiative of the organisers and their good intentions to bring both sides together, hopes of finding common ground crumbled. In an awkward encounter in the elevator with the woman that had raised the motion, Townend discovered that her family had just invested $50,000 in an intensive piggery. Given such economic interests, it was no surprise she objected so passionately. Travelling home, Townend felt despair that farmers were so bitterly opposed to her and the movement. [48]

'I was hated', said Townend reflecting on her experiences.

'I can remember standing in a queue in a ladies' toilet in Roseville, and one lady was saying to another, "who's that person? I know that face!" and I really felt embarrassed and hated.' 'My sister lived on the land and I couldn't even go to visit her because everyone hated me so much.'[49] Yet feeling like the most hated woman in Australia did not stop her.

In July 1980, Townend and another activist continued visiting the familiar office of the New South Wales Minister for Agriculture. However, the lobbyists met a new minister, Jack Hallam, who had replaced Day in a cabinet reshuffle. Hallam made it clear that he did not support the initiatives of his predecessor. He did not continue with the scheme to label free-range eggs and promote them in shops.[50] Hallam had previously made his views about Animal Liberation quite explicit, claiming that the information disseminated by them was 'misleading'.[51] In the meeting, Hallam stated that free-range eggs were unhygienic; however, he conceded that there was a niche market for them.[52] He

agreed, at least, that he would write an article for the *Poultry Farmer*, outlining that this demand existed. Undiscouraged by her experience in Adelaide, Townend raised the point that an animal welfare representative should sit on the Poultry Advisory Board, arguing that 'antagonism is often averted' when differing groups meet and talk.[53] Hallam agreed to make the suggestion. But that was all. It was a less than satisfying meeting for Townend, who had previously established an amicable relationship with Day.[54]

Meanwhile, in Queensland, progress was floundering. Peak farming bodies began to denounce the aims of the animal movement. The Cattleman's Union Conference in Townsville stated that the animal movement was one of the major issues facing livestock industries. The Livestock and Grain Producers' Association agreed to monitor the movement, develop a more forceful public relations programme, and counterbalance Animal Liberation by working with the RSPCA. Concerned about legislative trends in other states, conservative Premier Joh Bjelke-Peterson assured farmers that no 'animal liberation' policies would be part of Queensland planning.[55] Furthermore, Queensland Minister for Primary Industries Vic Sullivan expressed little interest in free-range egg labelling.[56]

While the animal movement's ideology was considered radical, its predominant political strategy during the 1980s was quite conventional. In comparison, the environmental movement, from which animal activists had learnt some important political lessons, jettisoned its reliance on lobbying and the political structures that earlier environmentalists had won: the advisory committees, forestry departments, park boards, and so on.[57] By the 1970s, many environmental activists were dissatisfied with the failure of government to protect the natural environment and favoured taking 'their moral arguments to the general public'.[58] Sections of the environmental movement were increasingly prepared to use militant methods to protect the environment,[59] a repertoire that animal activists had not yet developed. By the end of the 1970s, aside from basic anti-cruelty legislation, the animal movement did not have the regulatory structures to reject—they were still trying to build them.

Cooperation with government and industry was evident across all campaigns. It meant that activists were more inclined to prefer incremental changes that delivered some improvements to the treatment of animals. Gary Francione critically refers to this hybrid form of advocacy as 'new welfarism'. 'The long term goal is animal rights', writes Francione,

'but the short-term goal is animal welfare.'[60] Part of a wider campaign to 'ban battery cages', the free-range eggs message offered a middle ground. It was an approach captured in the slogan of the day: 'Hens should not be in cages. People want healthy eggs.'[61] The campaign for free-range eggs did not demand farmers abandon egg production entirely or that people give up egg consumption. On the contrary, it was an effort to establish alternative systems of production and consumption.

In its first few years, the 'lobbying power and strength in unity' approach was a mixed experience. Unlike the divisive debates that emerged in other social movements, such as whether or not feminists should enter politics and participate in 'masculine decision-making processes', animal activists unanimously engaged with the Australian political system and industry without debate.[62] However, recognition and legitimation of animal activists' claims was episodic. While many politicians appeared to display genuine sympathy, securing real policy commitments was another matter. Regardless of the good intentions of activists to engage in dialogue, the farming community was intransigent, hostile, and paranoid about 'animal libbers'. Ironically, they often exaggerated and sensationalised the size and influence of activists. Even though most farmers probably would have accepted the general principle of treating animals well, the majority of farmers were hostile to the radical messages of the movement. Farmers did not want to be told how to run their family businesses. Most farmers staunchly believed in their practices and rejected any notion that what they were doing was cruel. Overall, even the smallest advances, like getting the issue on the political agenda, took time, patience, and commitment. Importantly, activists were aided by the interplay of one of Australia's minor parties and other key supporters.

'Keep the Bastards Honest': Allies and Supporters

The emergence of the Australian Democrats as a third force in Australian politics offered the animal movement an immense political opportunity. As Tarrow argues, when institutional access opens and allies become available, 'challengers find opportunities to advance their claims'.[63] In 1977, the Liberal Party under Malcolm Fraser was an inhospitable environment for small-L, moderate liberals, while the Labor Party was struggling to rebuild itself after the 1975 constitutional crisis. With the centrist Liberal Movement and Australia Party at a low ebb, the times were ripe for a new, moderate party.[64] Don Chipp emerged

as a charismatic political figure to represent and raise the profile of the fledgling movement. He was a seven-time coalition minister and in 1977 resigned from the Liberal Party and, along with others, formed the Australian Democrats.[65] Chipp, the Liberal Movement, the Australia Party, and the Centre Line Party in Western Australia, as well as a plethora of newcomers and previous supporters of the major parties, constituted the new party.[66] Activists from various causes, including Townend, joined the Democrats.

Townend was involved in the formative years of the party. She ran as a Democrat candidate in the 1977 New South Wales election.[67] She also worked briefly as an advisor to the Democrats, helping develop party policy on animal welfare and wrote speeches for Chipp.[68] Townend wrote the Democrats' *Animal Rights* policy. The preamble stated:

> While man is, or should be, responsible for the welfare of all life on the planet, he is himself both part of that life and dependent on it for his survival. He shares with other higher animals both consciousness and sensitivity to pain. A difference in species does not, any more than a difference in race, justify a limitation to this respect for other animals, or his concern about the responsiveness to their suffering. Animals do not have a vote, but concerned people do. The Democrats must present strongly and clearly [an] advanced and enlightened policy on animal welfare.[69]

Animal activists had lobbied both major parties to adopt progressive animal welfare policies. But despite some progress from the major parties, the Democrats were the only party to have 'a satisfactory welfare policy at the federal level', according to Singer, chairperson of the Federation.[70] Even into the late 1980s, the official positions of the major parties on matters of animal welfare were considered 'patchy'.[71]

Nonetheless, individual Labor and Liberal MPs were at times influential in creating the political space for animal lobbyists. Key Liberal MPs from New South Wales included Tim Moore and Kevin Rozzoli.[72] As mentioned earlier, Moore and Rozzoli brokered a meeting between Townend and Coleman. Moore and Rozzoli's sympathy and support for animal protection appeared genuine and ongoing. Both MPs attended the inaugural meeting of the Federation in July 1980.[73]

Despite support from individual MPs, animal activists had learnt that the major political parties were, at best, fickle, inconsistent allies. In

general, the Democrats proved to be the only consistent supporter that advocated strong animal protection policies.

Participation, Integration, Regulation: Avenues for Animal Welfare

One of the most important avenues through which the animal movement lobbied, persuaded, and influenced government policy in the 1980s was the Federal Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare (the Senate Committee). As part of their 1980 'Keep the Bastards Honest'—the bastards being the major parties—election campaign, the Democrats promised to set up an inquiry into animal welfare and subsequently legislate to prevent abuses. With five senators by May 1981, the Democrats demonstrated their commitment to their *Animal Rights* policy when plans for the first Senate inquiry into animal welfare were set in motion. Chipp's vision was that the Senate Committee would investigate several matters: interstate and overseas commerce of animals, codes of practice of husbandry for all species, wildlife protection, animal experimentation, and the use of animals in sports.[74] The Senate Committee would be a platform to investigate intensive farming and live sheep exports, among other issues. Like most policy endeavours, especially by minor parties, his ambitious motion would not be realised quickly or smoothly (Fig. 4.1).

Nearly a year of inaction in the Australian Parliament passed. In the Senate, on 25 March 1982, Chipp presented a motion that two existing Senate Committees—the Senate Standing Committee on National Resources and the Senate Standing Committee on Science and the Environment—rather than a new committee should investigate animal welfare. Chipp claimed that 'it is important that uniformity be applied to Animal Welfare, across the nation and that responses to pressure groups be balanced and not just an ad hoc reaction to a particular situation'.[75] Commenting on several aspects of animal use, he drew attention to the plight of exported animals. While he was not advocating abolishing the industry, as animal activists had done, he argued that proper regulations were required 'to ensure that if we do send Australian sheep overseas that their suffering is reduced to a minimum during the journey and when they are slaughtered'.[76] In his speech to the Senate, he summarised the major issues and problems associated with animal use. The motion was agreed upon. For the animal movement, news of the Senate

Fig. 4.1 Don Chipp addressing a ban live export rally. Photo courtesy of Christine Townend

discussion was joyous, 'particularly considering the subject was treated with respect, and not sneered about', wrote Townend.[77]

In 1983, Bob Hawke's Labor Party won the election with a large swing of 3.6%. Yet on the question of animal welfare, the two Senate Committees had made little progress. On 19 May 1983, Senator Edward Robertson advised that it was 'the view of the National Resources Committee that the issues raised by Senator Chipp would be more appropriately dealt with by a single Committee and I therefore suggest to the Senate that consideration should be given to the feasibility of establishing a select committee as originally proposed by Senator Chipp'.[78] Pleased with the admission, Chipp felt encouraged to take up the matter with the Senate. However, support for the motion had waned; both Labor and Liberal senators were 'not inclined' to support the matter. Chipp was at a loss to explain the change of heart. In a calculated move, he presented the motion on the last day of Parliament before a long recess, 'to allow citizens and welfare groups concerned with the plight of animals, time to lobby other Senators in order to gain their

support for the Motion'.[79] The animal movement, operating on a small budget, began a fevered lobbying campaign.[80]

In the Senate on 16 November 1983, Chipp again moved the motion for establishing a single Senate Committee to investigate animal welfare. His speech mirrored the one made in 1982. Indeed, his intentions had not changed; he hoped that such a Senate Committee would provide important recommendations to overcome the deficiencies in the many areas of animal use. Animal welfare 'is a highly emotional issue', concluded Chipp, but with 'the establishment of this Committee we will have the opportunity to come to terms with the facts'.[81] The motion was unanimously passed. After years of trying to 'keep the bastards honest' on animal welfare, things had moved forward. Animal activists were jubilant. 'It has been an uphill battle having taken almost two and half years to achieve', stated Animal Liberation Victoria, 'but it has been worthwhile and we are glad we will have the opportunity to have animal welfare brought out in the open.'[82]

The ascension of the Australian Democrats to Federal Parliament provided a crucial ally for the animal movement. The Democrats vocalised the concerns of the movement and drew attention to the treatment of animals in general. While the Democrats were instrumental in establishing the Senate Committee, public pressure helped garner support. In an overcrowded public meeting hosted by the Humane Society of Australia, Chipp congratulated activists, saying that the overwhelming support of the animal movement had proved 'very effective'.[83] Lobbying also coincided at a time when the live export trade was experiencing industrial problems with the meat workers, in addition to emerging details of animals suffering and high mortality rates on board ships, which focused the attention of politicians and government authorities on the trade.[84] In Parliament, politicians from both major parties were generally sympathetic to concerns about animal welfare. The social and political landscape in the 1980s appeared increasingly favourable to discussing animal welfare.

The Senate Committee offered an opportunity for advocates to voice the animal protection viewpoint in a forum where elected representatives were obliged to listen. Senator George Georges chaired the Senate Committee between 1983 and 1987. He was a Labor politician from the Left faction who had a strong reputation for progressive politics and was sympathetic to the animal cause.[85] He had the delicate task of balancing the inquiries' terms of reference with the considerable concerns of

all stakeholders. The Senate Committee's long-term members included Norm Sanders (Democrats), Barney Cooney (Australian Labor Party), David Brownhill (National Party of Australia), Paul Calvert (Liberal Party), John Morris (Australian Labor Party), and Ray Devlin (Australian Labor Party). Although members would come and go, the Senate Committee appears to have mostly worked in harmony. The Federation believed that if the Senate Committee delivered an enlightened report, it would herald far-reaching legislative reform.[86]

The Federation took responsibility for coordinating several of its member-groups for researching and writing submissions. Emphasis was placed on rigorous empirical research to argue the facts and leave out the emotion, 'because the facts spoke for themselves', recounted former Federation president Graeme McEwen.[87] To effectively deal with this daunting task, the Federation established a management committee to process the draft papers that were submitted by coordinators from various member-groups, including the state branches of Animal Liberation. Most forms of animal use in Australia became topics for impassioned activists. The process of redrafting fell to McEwen, Glenys Oogjes, the Federation's national coordinator, Ralph Blunden from Animal Liberation Victoria, Janine Burdeu, and Cheryl Forrest-Smith. The process consumed people's lives. They unreservedly sacrificed their time and labour power for the rigorous demands of the Senate Committee. The collective contribution, research, and personal involvement resulted in hundreds of tightly written pages, with ninety-one recommendations in respect of 30 areas of animal welfare reform. The Senate Committee viewed the Federation's submission 'as the benchmark for the animal viewpoint'.[88]

Between 1985 and 1991 the Senate Committee delivered 11 reports on various aspects of animal use and welfare.[89] A few examples illustrate the comprehensive nature of the Senate Committee and its effect on Australian politics. After preliminary hearings in May and July 1984, the Senate Committee made the decision to begin its task by focusing on two or three aspects of animal welfare. The first to be addressed was live sheep exports, which was a prominent public issue.[90] Approximately 479 written submissions were received; public hearings were held in major cities across Australia where interested stakeholders—the Federation, the meat workers' union, farmers' groups, exporters, and others—appeared before the Senate Committee. The Senate Committee conducted several inspections during the course of its inquiry, including visits to two livestock carriers and feedlots in three states.[91]

In 1985, the Senate Committee's *Export of Live Sheep from Australia* report was released. It was a detailed examination of the structure of the industry: selection of the sheep, road and rail transportation, feedlots, nutrition and feed, embarkation, conditions aboard sheep carriers, and conditions in importing countries, such as in the Middle East. The Senate Committee said that:

> If a decision were to be made on the future of the trade purely on animal welfare grounds, there is enough evidence to stop the trade. The trade is, in many respects, inimical to good animal welfare, and it is not in the interests of the animal to be transported to the Middle East for slaughter.[92]

However, in spite of its original purpose, which was to inquire into 'the question of animal welfare in Australia', the Senate Committee also included a range of economic considerations in its assessment. It concluded that any temporary cessation of activities would be harmful to people associated with the trade, both in Australia and in the Middle East. The Senate Committee therefore recommended that the trade should continue and that significant improvements should be made to animal welfare to reduce suffering. Yet, at the same time, it recognised that a long-term solution of phasing out the trade in favour of a carcass-only one was desirable.[93] While the animal movement was encouraged by the report, it felt that no economic consideration should outweigh or justify animal suffering. The only solution was an immediate and total ban.[94] Though the report was an admission that confirmed the rightful concerns of the animal movement with reputable evidence, the overall conclusions were disappointing.

The Hawke Labor government accepted the general conclusions of the report and adopted several of its recommendations, which included improving the provision of animal care throughout the industry.[95] Presidents of the Wool Council and the Sheepmeat Council jointly welcomed the steps taken by the Labor government to continue supporting the live sheep trade.[96] With the attention of the Senate Committee turning to other areas of its inquiry, the Federation and its member-groups shifted their focus to preparing new submissions. It was a routine that dominated the Federation's lobbying until 1991.

The Senate Committee's next report, *Dolphins and Whales in Captivity,* released in 1985, had immediate results. It was a timely report because of fresh proposals for the construction of an oceanarium

by Marine World at Springvale, Victoria. In mid-1984, the Senate Committee received submissions from Project Jonah, the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Federation, marine experts, and Marine World.[97] On 24 October 1984, the federal government refused Marine World a permit to capture marine mammals in Commonwealth waters.[98] In December 1984, the Victorian government also refused Marine World a permit to keep dolphins for live display, stating that future decisions would be determined by the outcome of the Senate inquiry. A year later, the Senate Committee's report was released. It recommended that no further facilities for keeping captive dolphins and whales be permitted and that the importation or capture of whales and dolphins be banned.[99] Consequently, the Victorian state government adopted the report's recommendations.[100] Aside from the ongoing work of lobbying the Senate Committee, animal activists were instrumental in forming and participating in state advisory bodies.

During the 1980s, numerous animal advisory bodies began operating in various states. One such body was the Animal Welfare Advisory Committee (AWAC), which first emerged in New South Wales, with other states later following suit. The purpose of the AWAC was to act as a direct conduit for stakeholders to advise the minister on matters associated with animal welfare. AWACs were constituted by the minister with representatives from government, animal groups, and industry. These committees were forums where the politics and culture of animal use were contested.

When the first AWAC was created by the New South Wales Labor government in 1979, Townend's persistent lobbying ensured that the New South Wales Federation would have a representative on the committee.[101] The creation of the Victorian AWAC offers an interesting episode in the history of animal lobbying. Hugh Wirth, president of the RSPCA, recounted that he and Peter Barber courted the Minister for Conservation at a privately arranged lunch with lots of wine:

> We had a long discussion, which got better and better—until the Minister fell asleep. Barber and I said nothing and did nothing until the Minister awoke shortly afterwards and said to us, 'Now, where were we?'
>
> We replied, 'Well, Minister, you just agreed to form an AWAC.'
>
> 'Oh, did I?' he said. 'I'll get onto it.' And he did![102]

The Australian political system was malleable to external pressures and often developed the mechanisms to legitimate and incorporate social movement demands.[103] Recognising particular group contributions provides positive valuation that encourages mobilisation and affirms group identity, argues Weldon.[104] With the ongoing growth and recognition of the animal movement, participation and integration in the state became the norm. Both the Federation and the RSPCA were given automatic representation on government bodies and advisory committees when they emerged.[105]

The agendas of AWACs throughout the 1980s were constituted by innumerable animal protection issues: vertebrate pests, cat skins, the use of tranquiliser darts on cats and dogs, sale of diseased pets, cage sizes for birds, quail open season, animals as prizes, carriage of dogs on tray trucks, fox hunting, pets injured by air rifle shooting, duck shooting, mulesing of sheep, steel-jawed leg-hold traps, cold weather shearing of sheep, pet cockatoo tethering, indiscriminate poisoning of animals due to aerial distribution of poison, debarking of dogs, tail docking, racing animals in extreme heat, the use of animals in films, having tortoises and turtles as pets, pheasant hunting, breeding American bull terriers, carrying of animals in car boots, genetic manipulation…[106] This list could go on.

AWACs developed a number of overdue codes of practice for the welfare of animals. They included codes for domestic fowl, pigs, goats, pet shops, horse livery and agistment, care and transport of livestock, dairy cows, animals in films, and so forth.[107] While the codes of practice were not legally binding, they were small steps towards the larger goal of legislative reform. AWACs were inherently a forum where interests clashed and where knowledge and morals were contested. But 'its presence is ensuring that there has been a shift in the debate, that animal welfare is now firmly on the political agenda', reported *Release* in 1987.[108] Most of the states and territories either directly adopted these model codes of practice or developed their own based on the codes.[109]

In the 1980s, a significant development occurred in the regulation of animal experimentation. For a long time, animal experimentation was conducted with virtually no regulation. Few statistics were kept, and there were no mechanisms for reviewing protocols.[110] But in 1985, under the *Code of Practice for the Care and Use of Animals for Experimental Purposes,* every institution or organisation that used animals for experimental purposes was required to establish an Animal Experimentation Ethics Committee (AEEC) or its equivalent.[111] It was

a regulatory body directly responsible to the head of the institution or organisation. Prior approval from an AEEC was required for all experiments on animals.[112] An AEEC was to be constituted by at least four persons: an experienced veterinary scientist, a researcher involved in animal experimentation, an independent person with no affiliation to the institution and with no research background, and a person with appropriate experience in animal welfare.[113] The latter category was revised to specify that the person should be selected 'on the basis of membership of an animal welfare organisation'.[114] It was a revision lobbied for by the Federation and the RSPCA.[115]

The establishment of the AEEC regulatory system was the product of evolving codes of practice. The first code of practice in Australia was designed by the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) in 1969.[116] It was articulated as a guideline for universities, research institutes, hospitals, and individuals concerned with the use and care of laboratory animals. The aim was to ensure that experiments were conducted in such a way as to 'prevent or minimise the infliction of pain or other discomfort'.[117] Its use and application, however, was not mandatory. Although periodic revisions of the code occurred over time, they did not initially suggest that researchers should require ethics approval for experiments using animals.[118] Within a year of the 1985 code, South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales gave the code legislative weight by incorporating it into their existing anti-cruelty legislation or through the creation of a new act.[119] Overall, the frequency of revisions reflected a rapid pace of change in both scientific practice and knowledge and in shifting community attitudes to animal experimentation.[120]

'Our Old Enemy': Negotiating with Farmers

Animal lobbyists were not confined to participating in the political system. Sometimes parliamentary politics restricted action. Most notably, Victorian and New South Wales ministers were intransigent to developing free-range egg production and adopting more stringent labelling practices. As a consequence, animal advocates circumvented traditional lobbying avenues with elected politicians and moved to directly negotiate with the private sector, the egg farmers. However, this was not immediately possible.

For most of 1982, the egg campaign stalled. Despite postcard and leaflet appeals, press conferences, advertisements, and favourable media

articles, politicians were refusing to reform existing egg production. Since mid-1981, in New South Wales, Hallam had brushed aside the requests of the movement, arguing that the claims by Animal Liberation were misleading and inaccurate.[121] Frustrated by the impasse, Townend began to reconsider her approach. She said that perhaps the time had come to embark upon a new course of 'embarrassing politicians and deliberately setting ourselves before the press in a public display'.[122] The meaning of this sentiment remained to be seen. But the main tactical approach of lobbying government and industry was amounting to little.

Activists were determined to rally the public to their cause. The movement developed a public education strategy and cultivated protests to oppose intensive farming. On 4 June 1982, 'Don't Eat a Battery Egg Week' was launched nationally. The protest week was inspired by their English counterpart, Compassion in World Farming, which aimed to focus public attention on the conditions of egg-laying hens.[123] Australia quickly adopted it, with activists imploring the public not to support battery eggs but instead buy free-range. The newly formed Animal Liberation in Tasmania participated with great enthusiasm. Other protest actions also began to feature regularly on the activist calendar. The annual 'Show Day' consistently attracted handfuls of demonstrators outside the animal nursery. Activists would spread information leaflets to an unsuspecting public about the discrepancies between animals put on display and those kept in intensive farms. Singer summed up the underlying message of these campaigns: 'we must keep hammering away at the basic, minimal freedom of animals to turn around, stretch their limbs, and walk a few paces to and fro'.[124] But despite their creativity and vibrancy, these protests sat on the fringes of mainstream politics.

Meanwhile, concern and outrage in the farming community was palpable. An editorial in the *Poultry Farmer* noted that if the 'Don't Eat a Battery Egg Week' was successful 'it will be less money in the producers' pocket'.[125] The National Farmers' Federation (NFF) reported an increase in correspondence from students, asking them for their viewpoints on animal welfare. One disgruntled person responded, 'things have changed from days when schools taught that agricultural industries were vital to Australia!'[126] The NFF cautioned that what animal groups were saying could not 'be dismissed by farmers as the ravings of a lunatic fringe'.[127] But the tone and approach of the industry began to change.

In 1983, Ken Baxter was appointed as the head of Egg Corporation. Baxter acknowledged that 'there is a segment of upper and middle

income consumers keen to buy [free-range] eggs'.[128] His appointment followed other encouraging developments. In December 1982, Col Perry from the New South Wales Egg Marketing Board contacted Townend, requesting a meeting to discuss the possibility of marketing free-range eggs in separate cartons. A delegation from Animal Liberation met representatives from the board, and discussions progressed smoothly. Townend remarked that it 'was ironic that our old enemy of so many years' standing was now negotiating with us'.[129] In May, the two parties tentatively reached an agreement over minimum standards. However, to realise their goals of a free-range egg market, activists had to compromise and accept that male chicks would be killed and that hens would not see out their natural lifespan,[130] a situation that still prevails. Not every animal could be saved. Nor would there have been high expectations when dealing and negotiating with an industry that profited from using animals. These compromises were accepted for small gains.

Negotiations continued with the New South Wales Egg Board in July 1983. Townend and other activists consulted with free-range producers, agricultural scientists, and overseas authorities. They visited free-range farms and talked endlessly about various standards. The standards were expanded to include fourteen points that producers had to agree upon.[131] During the 1983 annual 'Don't Eat a Battery Egg Week', Townend again visited the New South Wales Minister for Agriculture and requested that he make four initiatives: to lift the quota system for farmers with fewer than 5,000 birds, create accurate labelling laws, phase out battery egg farming, and ensure the humane slaughter of chicks. Hallam was not receptive to these new demands. However, he agreed to look into the issues of labelling and humane slaughter.

Despite the slow pace of reform emanating from the Australian political system, in September 1985, animal activists achieved one of their long-term objectives: the marketing of free-range eggs. 'After years of lobbying the Egg Corporation', reported *Release*, 'we have finally convinced them of the huge, and growing, demand for free range eggs. At last, they have agreed to introduce official labelling for the genuine product'.[132] Compelled by the growing demand, the Victorian and New South Wales Egg Boards adopted a policy of labelling free-range signed with the endorsement 'Animal Liberation'. The minimum standards were determined in consultation with activists and Egg Corporation. They included requirements such as access to open runs, no debeaking,

and no routine use of antibiotics.[133] The deal came with the proviso that the animal movement was free to criticise intensive farming practices.

The move to authenticate eggs eliminated some of the misleading marketing techniques by non-free-range producers, who attempted to capitalise on demand for free-range by promoting their products as 'farm fresh' or 'the good egg'. With the development of product labelling and the growing availability of free-range eggs in outlets and metropolitan supermarkets, consumption began to grow, in spite of the extra eighty-cent premium.[134]

Lobbying is typically considered a practice of trying to influence members of a legislative body. However, this episode illustrates the diverse nature of the strategy. Circumventing the political system occurred rather incidentally, but it proved effective in securing the long-standing goal for free-range egg production. As Rachel Einwohner has suggested for other cases,[135] part of the reason for this successful outcome is because central economic and cultural interests were not being challenged. On the contrary, egg consumption was the norm; it was merely the form that was contested. Free-range eggs proved to be a profitable sector. By 1988 in Victoria, the sale of free-range eggs was three times what it had been in 1984. Demand was outstripping supply. More free-range producers were required, with the Egg Board 'anxious to increase the number of participating farms'.[136] Effective lobbying came easily when all the stakeholders had something to gain.

The Limits of Lobbying & Reform

Much like other movements, by the end of the 1980s the animal movement had influenced Australian politics. The extension of the political agenda and innovation of the bureaucracy delivered a much-needed animal protection framework. However, it was not the stringent framework that advocates had envisioned.

For eight years, animal lobbyists were engaged with the Senate Committee. There were great expectations that it would herald revolutionary changes, but the reality was less romantic. The slow pace of the process was a continual source of frustration.[137] Although numerous reports investigated different issues of animal welfare, which provided some admissions of animal cruelty, the conclusions and recommendations were 'generally timid', 'disappointing', and even 'tragic'.[138] Considering that in later years the committee was constituted by

'unknown backbenchers',[139] it is not unreasonable to suggest that perhaps more balanced, rigorous reports could have been delivered had the sympathetic Georges remained on the committee. Similar trends are discernible in the other arenas.

While the agendas of AWACs were substantive and complex, progress here was also slow, frustrating, and disappointing. A few examples illustrate this. Since 1889, the RSPCA has raised strong objections to bowhunting for obvious reasons of animal cruelty. With regard to deer, the RSPCA's and subsequently AWAC's concern was whether death caused by an arrow was quick and therefore humane. The discussion of the issue in the Victorian AWAC proceeded for several years with little accomplished. In 1987, the agenda item was supplemented with concern for hunting deer with a pack of dogs. When AWAC resolved to oppose both forms of hunting, the Victorian government rejected AWAC's recommendations. Such hunting practices continue in Victoria, governed only by a voluntary code of practice.[140] In another case, Singer's frustration with the Victorian AWAC became so intolerable that he publicly resigned from the committee. He did so because the committee 'refused to propose that farm animals should have room to turn around and walk a few steps to a fro'.[141] While Singer rejoined AWAC after meeting the minister, deliberations proceeded at the usual slow pace for a couple of years until a vague, unenforceable position was reached.[142]

The development of AEECs presented a different dilemma. The history of AEECs was one of varying success, with some committees acting robustly and effectively, but others, in the words of the Senate Committee, 'acting merely as a façade to keep authorities and the community at bay'.[143] For some time, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and the two territories lagged behind and had inadequate laws to deal with animal experimentation. But there were also serious problems for advocates who participated in the committees. By serving on AEECs, advocates risked endorsing and legitimising experiments they would have otherwise opposed. Being a minority on the committee meant they were often unable to prevent experiments they believed were unjustifiable.[144] Confidentiality agreements signed by committee members prevented public transparency, disclosure, and accountability of approved research.[145] Such a qualification prohibited the open exchange of information between animal researchers and the general public.[146] Furthermore, the AEEC's principles of 'Refinement' and 'Reduction' received more attention than the 'Replacement' principle.[147]

AEECs were structurally biased because using animals in experiments was the dominant norm. As such, they were ineffective at promoting the third principle of 'Replacement', that is promoting non-animal-based methodologies.[148]

Although codes of practice provided models for practising animal welfare, they were regarded as mostly 'useless'.[149] The reason for this was twofold. First, the codes prescribed low animal welfare standards and mostly favoured producers. Second, compliance with the codes, even in its soft approach, was either voluntary or unenforceable under the existing state legislation.[150]

The campaign to lobby government and industry to create a free-range egg market was ostensibly successful; however, labelling eggs as 'free-range' was a failed tactical manoeuvre. 'We still see this victory as only the beginning of the long road to reform. There are still literally millions of hens cramped in battery cages, and for those birds we must continue fighting', reported *Release* in 1985.[151] The flaws of free-range production were quickly revealed. In 1989, it was discovered that farmers were debeaking their hens and placing mature or 'spent cage hens' on the ground and calling them free-range—a clear violation of the original agreements.[152] Free-range eggs, the campaign activists had worked out over a period of years, eventually came to be opposed by the same activists who had once endorsed it. Years later, Townend acknowledged that their tactical approach was largely unplanned and that the consequences of reforming the industry versus seeking its abolition were not considered.[153] The campaign to ban battery egg production continues today.

How can we explain these differentiated outcomes? In comparison to the constraints and compromises experienced by other social movements, the animal movement contended with different, unique limitations. Incremental reforms, attempts to regulate the treatment of animals and advocate for them, occurred in a legal context in which animals were the property of humans. 'Domestic animals, like other personal and moveable chattels, are the subject of absolute property', states *Halbury's Laws of Australia*.[154] Humans are entitled to domesticate, use, and kill animals, to buy or sell them, and to exercise dominion and control over them. Similar assumptions were present in animal-related discourses of nineteenth-century England, which, according to Harriet Ritvo, 'both discussed and exemplified a central theme of domination and exploitation'.[155] These beliefs have persisted in time and have continued to underpin human–animal relations.

In Australia, the legal treatment of animals has unfolded in an uneven manner, depending on their purpose and use in human society. Companion animals, like dogs and cats, have more legal protections than economic animals, such as pigs and chickens, or laboratory mice. Stronger legal protection often favours animals that are highly visible in society.[156] This differentiation occurs within a context of human dominance and control. It is a problem that underscores, upsets, and constrains most of the outcomes that this book explores.

Conclusion

In a period when social movements were mobilising, the animal movement was developing a distinctive programme of animal politics. While its outcomes were not always ideal, the movement pluralised and changed Australian politics by extending the political agenda, influencing public policy, and shaping the state bureaucracy. Animal activists secured some historic achievements: the Senate Committee and its 11 reports, the AWACs, the AEECs, codes of practice, and free-range eggs. The outcomes achieved by Australian activists were the result of creativity, dialogue, negotiation, participation, alliance-building, and compromise.

However, in acknowledging the contribution that animal activists have made to Australian politics, there is a need to be critical of the outcomes. Within the democratic process the work of advocacy is often frustrating and contradictory. Even the low animal welfare standards that were accepted were difficult to achieve, sometimes founded on failure. The property status of animals is a unique limitation and a continual source of constraint.

Activists learned some bitter political lessons. Years later, Townend somewhat jadedly reflected that 'there is no real democracy because decisions are made by those who have access to power, and not according to the numbers of people who want change'.[157] But they also learnt other valuable lessons. They learnt how to take action and work together, how stakeholders protected their interests, to not waste too much time with bureaucrats, and about the satisfaction derived from doing something positive and achieving goals.[158] Their ongoing development as animal activists would herald innovative and disruptive methods for making their claims and contesting the politics and culture of how animals were used and exploited. This story is taken up in succeeding chapters.

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CHAPTER 5

Direct Action! 1985–93

It took two or three people just one night to cause hundreds of thousands of dollars in damage to two of Melbourne's largest department stores. For some time, they had read about the bold direct actions overseas: the arson attacks, the laboratory raids, freeing animals—by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). Within their circle, the clandestine ALF was legendary. The ALF's philosophy and style of activism appealed to them and it inspired many to take similar action.

Late on Saturday night, 26 April 1986, they made their move. Myer, a store with fur garments on display, was their first target. Fur symbolised fashion and status, but for activists it plainly represented animal exploitation. Not too long ago, that fur had belonged to *someone*, a beautiful fox, rabbit, or mink. But because of human greed, that fur was callously stripped from the animals, made into a coat, and now sat in Doncaster Shopping Mall with a price tag. The indignant activists had politely requested that the store remove the odious garments. Management declined their request. Why would they remove an item of clothing that was in vogue and selling? No one else seemed offended; only a tiny minority were making a fuss. The activists had failed at lobbying. The time for negotiations had ended; the time for direct action had arrived.

That night, they sprayed the shopfront windows with acid. The acid fogged the windows, making the objects on display imperceptible. With a kick of adrenaline, they emptied a tube of superglue over the locks, cementing them shut. They headed for the other department store, David Jones, to make a mess there, too.

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The next business day, one of them telephoned the department stores. They explained that the damage done to the stores was carried out by the ALF.

'Stop selling fur or cop more of the same treatment', the activist said and hung up.

Later, they posted a letter to the Insurance Council of Australia, instructing them to tell other insurance companies that fur retailers like Myer and David Jones were going to be in trouble. They suggested that insurance companies increase their premiums on those businesses or, better yet, refuse to insure them entirely. In the following days, after a police investigation, Myer estimated their damage to be between one quarter and half a million dollars.

They wrote to their comrades, the animal liberationists, announcing their arrival and explaining their militancy in words that echoed their transnational counterparts:

> We are non-violent because we will not physically harm any animal, human or otherwise, unless in self-defense. Our goal is to inflict economic damage on those who exploit animals because appealing to them on ethical grounds alone has proved to be a waste of time. It is sad but true that for some people self-interest overrides any consideration of basic justice. We will also be rescuing as many animals as possible from the grasp of their oppressors […]
>
> Every major reform towards a more peaceful world has been achieved by breaking immoral laws. The sooner this is realised the sooner the liberation of animals will be achieved.
>
> The Animal Liberation Front Melbourne.[1]

By Monday morning, the fur coats were removed from the display windows.[2]

The Myer and David Jones raid broadly signalled the arrival of disruptive methods of contention. Animal activists began to discover and create provocative, confrontational, and disruptive ways of engaging in contentious politics and making their claims. While conventional approaches such as lobbying continued, this period also witnessed the rise of disruptive performances. Originally developed in Britain and North America, disruptive methods were imported, adapted, and performed by the militant wing of the Australian animal movement. Shortly thereafter, animal

liberationists began creating and performing disruptive methods through a series of bold ventures and new campaigns, as well as reinvigorating existing ones. Unlike their militant cousins who had abandoned conventional approaches, animal liberationists incorporated disruptive methods alongside non-disruptive techniques, thereby broadening their tactical toolkit. Not only did activists experiment with different disruptive methods as a way of achieving immediate changes, namely freeing and rescuing animals, but they also produced new ways of making their claims. For animal liberationists, these claims were orientated towards the public and the media. Disruptive methods such as those considered here and in later chapters would become routinised forms of claims-making, part of the animal movement's repertoire of contention.

Disruptive Methods

Disruptive methods of contention are one of the strongest weapons of social movements because they empower disadvantaged and disenfranchised people against powerful opponents.[3] Disruption—such as riots, strikes, and blockades—is at the heart of contentious politics and is the source of innovations that, according to Tarrow, 'make social movements creative and sometimes dangerous'.[4] In heightened phases of protest, disruption, violence, and other conventional methods combine in various ways. Disruption can easily escalate into violence. Sometimes physical or personal violence can produce new advantages and acceptance. Violence grows out of 'confidence and strength and [an actor's] attendant impatience with the pace of change', argues Gamson.[5] However, in its typical form, disruption often appears as no more than the threat of violence. Disruption can also evolve into a routine form of action.[6] It offers a form of contention that is performative, obstructive, confrontational, and highly symbolic.[7] Such methods can create awareness, disturb normality, shock people out of complacency, and broadly stimulate social change. Disruptive and radical elements can have a positive effect on moderate movement actors.[8] But like other tactics, they can be counterproductive and ineffectual and can split a movement into rival, irreconcilable camps. Through a process of 'tactical interaction', opponents and authorities often pursue new ways of dealing with 'insurgents' in a bid to counter their tactics.[9] Direct action and civil disobedience are forms of disruption. Direct action is designed to reveal an existing problem, influence politics and public opinion, and *immediately* change or affect the

conditions under which that problem occurs.[10] How effective or ineffective disruptive or non-disruptive methods are is one of the prevailing themes in the study of social movements.[11]

Australian social movements of the 1960s and 1970s are rich with examples of disruptive action. Theatrical forms of claims-making emerged in the mid-1960s with draft-card-burning actions, where young men burnt their service registration papers to oppose the Vietnam War and conscription.[12] A year before, a busload of Sydney University students led by indigenous man Charles Perkins travelled around country New South Wales to uncover and draw attention to discrimination. In each town, the Freedom Ride exposed underlying racial tensions and, with the help of the local Indigenous community, famously contested public sites of segregation and exclusion—such as swimming pools, Returned and Services League (RSL) clubs, and picture theatres. Confrontations in these country towns, argues Ann Curthoys, changed race relations.[13] That same year, in March 1965, two women chained themselves to the foot rail of the public bar at the Regatta Hotel in Brisbane. They did so to protest a Queensland law that prohibited women from being served alcohol in public bars. The dramatic occupation of a men-only space was, according to Marilyn Lake, a 'radical departure from older forms of Australian feminist politics' that foreshadowed the advent of the women's liberation movement.[14] Finally, before the well-known Mardi Gras Parade, the high point of gay and lesbian activism began in September 1973 with the national celebration of Gay Pride Week. Loud, bold, and vibrant, 'Gay Pride Week', argues Graham Willet, 'embraced many of the forms of activism developed' beforehand: militancy and confrontation, education, coming out, and living openly.[15] Whether it was the anti-war cause, indigenous rights, or women's and gay liberation, certain moments in Australian political history have combined disruption, symbolism, politics, and theatre. According to Scalmer, these 'political gimmicks' appeared as intrusions into public life, cultivating attention and publicity through their performances.[16] They were important political resources that shaped Australian politics and activism.[17] The adoption of disruptive methods specific to the animal movement is a story that, once again, begins in Britain.

In 1963, hunters gathered in the port town of Brixham, in the southwest of England, for the annual deer hunt. John Prestige, a twenty-one-year-old freelance journalist, was assigned to cover a Devon and Somerset Staghounds event. He watched indignantly as hunters chased

and killed a pregnant deer in the village. By mid-December, he resolved to do something and founded the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA). After he proclaimed the group's aim, over one hundred people enrolled to help HSA in the first week.[18] On Boxing Day, Prestige led fifteen supporters to the South Devon Foxhounds, where they fed the hounds meat to satisfy their appetites and make them docile, so they would not chase and kill foxes.[19] 'We did so well that day that they cancelled the hunt', claimed Prestige.[20] Within the first four months, HSA groups emerged in various parts of Britain. Each year, HSA activists disrupted hunting activities by blowing horns, blockading roads, setting off smoke bombs, distracting dogs with meat and false scents (known as 'sabbing'), and physically obstructing hunters.[21] While anti-hunting groups had existed prior to HSA, this was one of the first radical forms of direct action performed by activists in the modern period. And it came to be viewed as a very effective strategy worthy of emulation.

In London in 1973, Ronnie Lee and five other people, who had previously been involved in animal rights campaigns, formed the Band of Mercy. The group borrowed the name from the nineteenth-century RSPCA youth organisation. These activists were frustrated with conventional groups and their methods because they were not 'hard-hitting enough'. Lee argued for a new form of action: 'We decided that our campaign should be against property and that no violence should be used against people, except in self-defense'.[22] The Band of Mercy first immobilised vehicles used by foxhunters. Their targets quickly expanded beyond hunters. Towards the end of 1973, they burnt down an animal experimentation laboratory that was being constructed. They also destroyed two boats moored in Lincolnshire, which were used for seal hunting.[23]

In the summer of 1974, three activists, including Lee, were arrested as they prepared to set fire to the Oxford Laboratory Animal Colonies. They were tried and sentenced to three years in prison. The illegal direct actions practically stopped. After serving 12 months, Lee was released.[24] With the publicity of his trial, Lee was pleasantly surprised by the number of people who wanted to become involved in direct action. 'It was at this point', wrote Lee, 'that it was decided to change the name [of the Band of Mercy] to the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), in order to clearly reflect what we stood for.'[25] Keith Mann, a former ALF militant, explained that the group was not like a conventional organisation, 'more like a banner—a title, an umbrella name, or a state of mind if you like—under which individuals and groups of people claim responsibility

for illegal actions, which are designed to either directly or indirectly help the cause of animals'.[26]

By the late 1970s, direct actions were proliferating. In Britain, the newly formed ALF carried out nearly a dozen raids against animal research laboratories. After a raid on Consultox laboratory in North London, where militants caused £80,000 in damage, the facility closed. For activists, this achievement validated the power of economic sabotage.[27] In 1977, 14 laboratories were raided and more than 200 animals were rescued.[28] Outside Britain, liberation actions fermented. In 1977, the first United States ALF raid occurred when the 'Undersea Railroad'—a name that echoed the Underground Railroad movement, which helped fugitive slaves reach free states—released two dolphins from a Hawaiian research facility. Other raids occurred at the New York University Medical Center, where activists disguised as lab workers rescued several animals. By the end of the 1970s, American activists had emulated the militant tactics that had been successfully used by their British counterparts.[29] Similar actions also unfolded in France and Holland. In Britain, diverse, independent groups with varying philosophies and tactical approaches were operating. Some of these groups, such as the Northern Animal Liberation League, believed in exposing vivisection openly rather than causing damage through clandestine activities.[30]

The philosophy and methods of the ALF revolved around two basic principles: rescuing animals and inflicting damage on businesses that profited from animal exploitation.[31] Some scholars argue that the ALF was akin to contemporary peace and justice movements because of its quest to end violence and secure justice for non-human species.[32] Although the ALF renounced physical violence against humans, it rejected the claim that destroying property was violent.[33] Former ALF spokesperson David Barbarash summed up this ethical outlook: 'The basic premise is that if someone's property is used to inflict pain, suffering, and death on innocent animals' lives, then the destruction of that property is morally justified.'[34] The ALF operated as a decentralised, clandestine network of anonymous individuals who carried out direct action with the aim of immediately helping animals. Individuals were probably unaware of other cells. Their loose network, scholars argue, made it easier to defy capture and government infiltration.[35]

From the beginning their tactics of illegal direct action were the most controversial of any animal group. One of the major recurring criticisms of the ALF, and groups like them, is that they had the potential to

portray the movement negatively and undermine it entirely. Jasper and Nelkin note that the dramatic tactics of fringe groups could misrepresent the entire movement because it created the perception that the movement was 'dangerous, destructive and terrorist'.[36] It was feared that disruptive forms of direct action could alienate wider public opinion.[37]

On the other hand, direct actions delivered potent and affective symbols. Because of direct actions, photographs and videos of animal cruelty and exploitation were acquired, often furtively and illegally. These images became perhaps one of the most powerful and effective weapons of the movement. Garner argues that such material provided significant 'propaganda coups' for the animal movement, which circulated the images locally and internationally.[38] They delivered moral shocks to an unsuspecting public. These symbols raised a sense of outrage in strangers, who became inclined towards animal politics and activism. 'I remember my first photos of cats being tortured in experiments', recounted a protestor in 1987. 'I didn't know anybody in the movement—in fact I thought they were a bunch of weirdoes. But they were right about animal torture.'[39] Such disruptive actions became a 'politics of sight', an avenue for social and political transformation.[40] While it is important to flag this here, the following chapter further explores these themes of imagery and sight.

Like nineteenth-century animal protection societies, direct action was imported into Australia from overseas. While Australian activists had presumably heard of direct actions unfolding overseas, it was not until the winter of 1981 that the animal liberation magazine *Outcry* reported these activities. The article summarised some of the key direct actions that had taken place since the inception of the ALF. Although some questions were asked regarding the effectiveness and productiveness of these tactics, they were not seriously addressed. The article concluded that 'Animal Liberation does not necessarily condone the activities of the ALF', but it also recognised the limitations of conventional methods in promoting reform.[41] Between 1981 and 1984, *Outcry* featured seven articles discussing the ALF: two were short letters, one was an editorial clarifying the confusion about which organisations were being reported, and the other four were news reports. News articles briefly described ALF raids, with some providing information on appeal funds for activists being prosecuted overseas. While the *Outcry* editors displayed some awareness of militant operations overseas, these seven articles appear to have been mostly insignificant. Of the nine *Outcry* issues that were published in 1981–84, the space dedicated to the seven articles was similar to

other fringe topics. However, a lively conversation over disruptive tactics was generated by direct action at home.

In mid-1984, a small anonymous group of Queenslanders banded together to form Direct Action for Animal Rights (DAAR).[42] In proclaiming their establishment, however, they did not articulate whom they would target or what methods they would use. By 1985, other states were declaring the establishment of direct action groups. In Western Australia, activists created Action for Animals (AFA). By this stage, DAAR had faded into obscurity and AFA arose in its place. AFA articulated a commitment to non-violent direct action. Similar to British and North American radicals, AFA did not consider damage to property a form of violence.[43] Despite its reported emergence in Western Australia, one of the first recorded raids by AFA was in Queensland, where over 200 mice were freed from the Royal Brisbane Hospital.[44] Later in November, AFA smashed the windows of three butcher shops in Brisbane and sprayed in bold letters: 'Murder', 'Animals Are Not Meat Machines', and 'Action for Animals'.[45]

In early 1986, Australia's first ALF cell formed in Melbourne. As described earlier, two or three unknown people vandalised two department stores. Melbourne's ALF's next action occurred on Thursday 18 September 1986, when two people wearing dark overalls and black balaclavas raided Springvale Council's dog pound. Using bolt cutters and a crow bar, they forced their way into the facility. The dogs barked loudly and were frightened by the commotion, but 'some soothing words and a bit of food soon quietened them'.[46] The daring raiders took the dogs, who were due to be sent to Baxter's Institute for vivisection. As they exited, the activists wrote on the walls with spray paint: 'stop vivisection' and 'ALF'. In less than 10 minutes the clandestine operation was over. The next day, the dogs frolicked in a local park, which 'brought tears to the eyes of their protectors'.[47]

Similar debates that had marked these sorts of disruptive actions overseas emerged in Australia. Illegal, militant, direct action required explicit justification. After the pound raid, an ALF statement reaffirmed that 'No ALF member enjoys breaking the law with the risk it entails. We do it only because there is no other way.'[48] Like their predecessors in Britain and North America, Australian groups encouraged people to 'join' by following their example: 'All you need to do', wrote the Melbourne ALF, 'is take action to inflict economic damage on animal exploiters and to rescue animals where possible. Joining the ALF is that simple.' Acting

on those shared beliefs was enough to qualify people as members. Yet despite this openness to inclusion, historians argue that ALF operations in the United States were far from being amateurish. Their operations illustrated a high level of training, experience, and secrecy that suggested a sophisticated approach to organising.[49]

By 1987, the frequency of direct actions had risen. In July, the ALF claimed to have damaged several different establishments in Melbourne: two fur shops, a few butchers, and a Red Rooster outlet. Characteristic of their previous raids, the locks were glued shut, acid was used to damage shopfront windows, and the word 'scum' was spray painted in bold letters. In Melbourne, the AFA raided a truck that was delivering chickens to a slaughterhouse. On the early morning of Wednesday, 5 August, activists damaged the truck with glue, paint, and acid.[50] But perhaps their most daring raid came a few months later on 1 November. Before dawn, AFA activists stealthily broke into Wagner's Poultry Farm and liberated 36 emaciated hens from cages. 'Until this deplorable practice is outlawed AFA will strike again, and again and again', reported animal liberationist Tom Perry, who sympathised with their approach.[51] It was reported that the hens were rehomed with carers (Fig. 5.1).

The exact number of direct action groups operating in Australia in 1987 is difficult to determine. One report suggested that there were at least twelve organised groups using militant methods, including several in Brisbane and three ALF cells in Melbourne.[52] AFA groups proved to be the most active across Australia, operating in major cities with the exception of Sydney. Perry noted that the 'number of people involved is large'.[53] But without official membership the exact figures are indeterminable. After all, membership was based on acting on shared beliefs, rather than filling in a form. By 1987, Perry estimated that the combined activity of these groups had caused around one million dollars in damage and had rescued approximately 300 animals from laboratories, pounds, and intensive farms.[54]

What was the reaction of the animal movement, of groups like Animal Liberation, to this rise in militancy? When the first raids occurred in Australia in 1985, the established animal movement refuted any affiliation to these radical groups and their militant tactics. 'We have never done anything which could harm a sentient creature, whether human or some other animal', said Peter Singer. Although he understood the frustrations and impatience of those who engaged in direct actions, Singer warned of an escalation in violence: 'Violence will only breed more

Fig. 5.1 Melbourne's ALF after the raid on Wagner's Poultry Farm, 1987. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

violence. We believe firmly in the peaceful and non-violent methods of eliminating the violence inflicted on animals today.'[55] Leading animal liberationist Christine Townend had another perspective: 'You have to get noticed, and to get noticed you have to do radical things. But when the crunch comes, you have got to sit and talk to the authorities.'[56] While Townend understood the appeal of militancy, she still viewed conventional approaches, such as lobbying, as being more effective. While there were ongoing efforts to emphasise that 'legal' groups were not affiliated

to 'illegal' ones, raids were progressively being perceived by animal liberationists in a more positive tone. After the raid on Wagner's Poultry Farm, Patty Mark, coordinator of Animal Liberation Victoria, congratulated the work of AFA. 'I applaud non-violent action that saves animals from these living-hell conditions', said Mark, who had previously visited the intensive farm. 'At the moment the law just does not protect chickens at all', she concluded.[57] Perry had also voiced his admiration for the militant activists. He noted that it was important that animal activists be united in their opposition to animal exploiters and not be divided by tactical differences. Instead, the animal movement, Perry proposed, should capitalise on the publicity and media coverage of direct actions. It was the role of 'legal' groups, Perry argued, to use that attention to pressure politicians to reform.[58] Presumably others around him felt the same way.

The Australian mainstream media offered mixed coverage of direct actions. A considerable amount of the coverage was in fact focused on militant actions overseas. The Australian press routinely used discourses such as 'terrorist', 'violent', and 'anarchist' to frame the actions of the British ALF, particularly when there was an increase in arson attacks.[59] The *Daily Telegraph* used similar discourses when it provocatively chose the headline 'A Campaign of Terror!' to describe the raid by the AFA on butcher shops in Brisbane.[60] However, as direct actions in Australia increased, the tone and style of reporting became less sensational. But the media coverage also declined. The few reports of Australian actions were confined to the news brief section; and the few feature articles that appeared were reserved for the actions of British and North American militants that commanded sensational headlines. Curiously, the Melbourne tabloid *Herald Sun* neglected to cover any of the local raids.[61] Nevertheless, the Australian press generally refrained from labelling local militants as 'terrorists', preferring the much less villainous term 'radicals'.

Given such mediocre press coverage, it is difficult to conceive how animal liberationists could have publicly taken advantage of the media attention, as Perry had proposed. Rather than shaping external debates, militant actions instead served to create new frames of conversation *within* the animal movement. Animal liberationists discovered that the tactical choices for challenging the status quo were larger than the conventional protest tools they had adopted. Animal liberationists began to discuss the productiveness and effectiveness of direct action and the meaning of their relationship to militants.

The following section turns to one of the first major forms of direct action performed by animal liberationists in Australia. The 'duck rescue' campaigns not only illustrates the creation and innovation of disruptive methods by animal liberationists but are also noteworthy because they were practised alongside conventional approaches.

'To Help Save the Ducks': Duck Rescue

On Saturday, 2 March 1985, Laurie Levy handed out 'how to vote cards' to a trickle of voters. Hoping to extend the commendable work of the Australian Democrats, Levy stood as a candidate for them in the seat of Geelong, Victoria. The day of the Victorian state elections also happened to coincide with the opening weekend of duck shooting. Levy detested duck shooting. The humdrum routine of election campaigning had bored Levy, so he decided to drive out to the wetlands 'to have a look at what was going on'.[62]

Within minutes of arriving at a wetland just outside of Geelong, Victoria, he was 'shocked at the level of violence that was being inflicted on those native water birds'.[63] An infuriated Levy contacted the local wildlife officer. However, he was appalled to learn that the officer himself had been out shooting that day. Levy soon learned that of the eight birds that the officer shot, four of them escaped wounded. 'If he can have a 50% cripple loss and he's out there shooting ducks, who's protecting them?' argued Levy.[64]

On the Sunday after election day, which by then did not seem to matter, Levy and a few other people went back out to the wetlands to discover a large number of dead birds that were supposed to be protected. '[At the time,] I didn't know my birds species very well', Levy explained, 'we know they weren't ducks though, they were like pelicans and ibis and herons.'[65] Something needed to be done.

The following day they travelled to the minister's office with the dead animals in hand. '[N]obody would talk to us and that was a Labor Government at the time. So we left the [dead] birds displayed in the Minister's office, on the coffee table'.[66] Levy had declared war on duck shooting.

Levy, a solid-framed man with short curly hair and a moustache, was once described as 'the man who saved whales'.[67] He began his career as a television camera operator and for a number of years worked for Channel Nine. 'I guess you see a lot of injustice', said Levy, reflecting on his early

career.[68] In the 1960s, he became involved in social justice causes, campaigning on behalf of victims of maltreatment in psychiatric hospitals. During the 1970s, like so many other Australians, he was appalled by commercial whaling. He soon worked with Project Jonah, a marine conservation group, and campaigned to protect whales in Australian waters. He admired groups like Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd that boldly fought against whaling. In 1979, they achieved victory when the Liberal government under Malcolm Fraser endorsed a ban on whaling. In Strahan, Tasmania in 1981, Levy saw his first beached whale and knew that he 'had to do something to help'.[69] At the time, it was uncommon for people or governments to save beached whales; some experts were even opposed to the notion. For a time, it became his calling. 'We managed to get whales out', Levy explained, 'and it turned into a very successful rescue.'[70] According to Levy, within a few short years, his role had been made redundant when state governments began taking responsibility for helping stranded whales. Afterwards, he developed a passion for kangaroo protection, but by 1985, he had become concerned about native water birds.

Hunting, of course, has existed in Australia for a long time. Before the arrival of British settlers, semi-nomadic indigenous peoples were largely hunter-gathers. Indigenous peoples found sustenance in fertile rivers, lakes, and the vast Australian landscape. During the colonial period, the earliest hunts led by settlers occurred in Tasmania, Sydney, and Melbourne, where hunters enthusiastically pursued native animals, such as dingoes, kangaroos, and Tasmanian devils. Local hunting clubs preyed on imported animals, such as deer, rabbits, and foxes.[71] It is highly likely that these animals were originally imported for hunting purposes.[72] In the 1970s, opposition to commercial kangaroo hunting emerged from conservation groups and the modern animal movement.[73] It was not until the mid-1980s that the issue and scale of duck shooting came to the attention of animal activists. Victoria had the most extensive wetlands and was the default capital of duck shooting in Australia, with 96,000 registered shooters.[74] In 1986, Levy and a small team of activists began a long-lasting campaign to stop duck shooting and pioneered a unique, innovative method to save native water birds.

In the weeks leading up to the opening of the 1986 annual duck shooting season, Levy mounted an operation to disrupt the popular hunt. He found natural allies with Animal Liberation Victoria, who energetically lent their support, the Australian Wildlife Protection Council and Bird Observers. They set about planning their tactics, with an

emphasis on helping to 'save the ducks from the massacre that was going to hit them'.[75] They hoped they could stir public opinion and force a ban on future hunts. On the opening weekend, a small team of 15 or so activists travelled to the wetlands outside Geelong, Victoria.

At 4 a.m., the activists set up their base camp. The night air was cold and the darkness was eerie. The cohort spoke in whispers. Patty Mark said 'we tried to conceal any nervousness we felt about shortly facing up to an army of blood-sport enthusiasts in an opening reverie well-known for its drunkenness'.[76] At 6 a.m. they drove towards a popular shooting site, where a Fisheries and Wildlife Officer asked for their permits. 'We aren't here to shoot', they answered.[77] About five television and newspaper reporters and photographers were on the scene.

By 6:15 a.m., earlier than the official start time, the tranquillity of the wetlands was destroyed by thunderous gunfire. Frightened flocks of birds scattered. When the silhouettes of the flying birds faltered and dropped from the sky, 'the anger and anguish became unbearable'.[78] Duck shooting 'had always been about killing and wounding native water birds', said Levy.[79] 'They were just moving targets, they had no value. The shooters didn't have any respect for the birds. They were just things to shoot out of the sky.'[80] In a plane, David Ball and Democrat Senator Norm Sanders surveyed the wetlands from the air.[81] The activists waded through the water and sought to rescue and give aid to injured water birds.

Many of the activists found birds lying in the water or in the reeds; most were dead, others had severe wounds. For those that could be treated, activists took them to a mobile veterinary clinic. That weekend they rescued 17 injured birds and took them to the Jirralingha Wildlife Rescue Centre. With the determined efforts of the local veterinarian, they managed to save and rehabilitate 10 birds, including a red-eyed coot.[82] The shooters were dumbstruck. 'They couldn't imagine the concept of anyone rescuing the birds', said Levy (Fig. 5.2).[83]

What can be said of someone's first experience of duck rescue? Genevieve Young wrote:

> It was heartbreaking. It was frustrating. We experienced contradictory feelings of utter helplessness and empowerment. And yes, there was even a feeling of privilege: privilege to have held dying birds in our arms. But overall, there was our determination to win. And win we will […] For all [our] feathered companions on Australia's wetlands, our tears must not be in vain.[84]

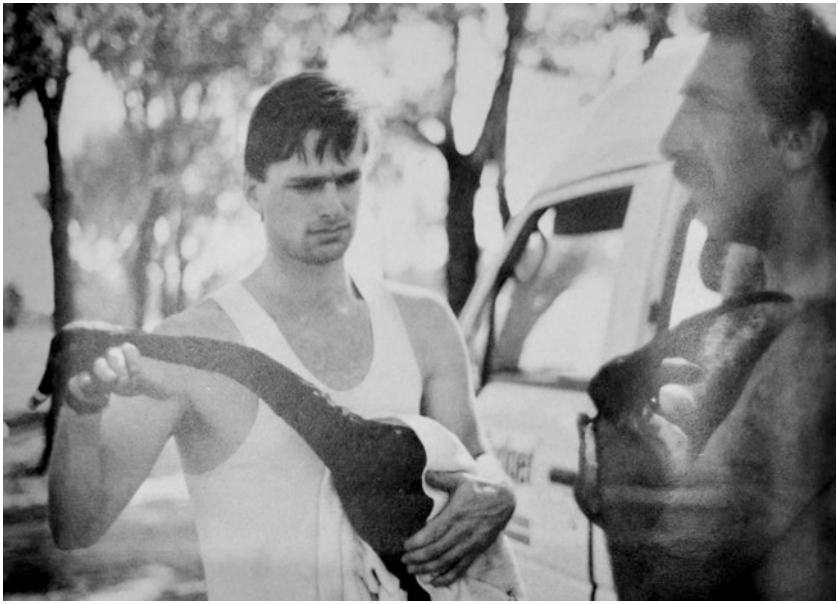

Fig. 5.2 Matthew Perry (left) with an injured swan and Laurie Levy (right) with an injured white ibis, 1988. The swan later died, but the ibis recovered. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

Duck rescue was fuelled by profound emotions. It was often confronting and depressing. However, in those rare moments of being able to save an animal's life, it was also empowering.

But what distinguished this particular form of disruptive action from those practised by other local militant groups? First, animal liberationists using direct action did not exclude other methods of campaigning, such as lobbying and legal challenges. Second, duck rescue was a public and media-orientated method of disruption. Militant activists at home and abroad recoiled from conventional approaches, as they viewed the political system as non-responsive to their demands and ineffective in delivering meaningful improvements for animals. Frustrated by the grinding political process, they saw no reason to engage with it. In contrast, animal liberationists, while conceivably sharing similar frustrations, did not abandon the conventional approaches, which had delivered the Senate Committee, AWACs, AEECs, and free-range eggs.

Though they intervened to rescue animals, animal liberationists engaged in longstanding efforts to lobby governments to ban the embedded practice. In prosecuting their case against duck shooting, Victoria's Animal Liberation submitted a 30-page report to the Senate Committee, the contents of which were circulated to every Victorian MP. In 1987, in New South Wales and Victoria, AWACs launched their inquiry into duck and quail hunting. In Victoria, Levy attempted to mount a legal injunction through the Victorian Supreme Court. The legal team spent about two days in the court attempting to establish a legal standing before they could even argue their case. But in the end, the court did not give them the legal standing they required.[85] In subsequent years, duck rescuers would frequently attempt to use the courts to protect native water birds. These episodes reveal a persistent attempt to use conventional avenues, and an entrepreneurial drive to use the legal system to achieve strategic goals. The legal method was a tactic that would feature prominently in many other campaigns.

Duck rescue did not translate into quicker political reform. Similar to the episodes analysed in the last chapter, the Australian political system was slow to reform, often intransigent and resistant to the activists' claims. Politicians were no more inclined to ban duck hunting because of increased direct action or the media coverage that it generated. Victorian Minister for Conservation, Forests and Land, Joan Kirner, argued that 'duck shooting is supported by a large section of the community', which, therefore, made it a legitimate pastime.[86] Similarly, despite AWAC's recommendations that duck shooting be banned in New South Wales, politicians did not legislate.[87] In some states, duck shooting continued with minor changes to how the hunts were conducted. In these years, strong cultural, rather than economic, interests prevailed. Those who practised and supported hunting perceived it as a necessity. By killing certain species, hunters believed they were managing wildlife populations, which helped in the preservation of ecosystems. In addition, hunting conferred a sense of identity, which was central to those who practised it. There was also a social component to hunting, such as spending time with friends and family. From the perspective of hunters, hunting was a practice that was both necessary and enjoyable.[88] Politicians understood this, and country votes were important. Tradition could not swiftly be disrupted or unseated. Furthermore, changing laws in one state would be inadequate, as shooters could travel to nearby states where shooting was still legal. Then, of course, there would be those who would

continue to shoot ducks even if the practice was illegal. Beyond changing laws, broader power relations, cultural practices, and beliefs needed to change.[89]

The novel campaign of duck rescue attracted the media's insatiable desire for sensational headlines, which brought the movement's claims and messages to a wider audience than ever before. The media have long since been a strategic target for animal activists. As a former camera operator, Levy had a firm belief in the media's potential: 'I've always seen two avenues of justice and that's through the courts and through the media, and between the two of them I'm on the side of the media.'[90] In his analysis of the ways in which television news framed the so-called Duck Wars in the early 1990s, Munro argues that it was the close-up images of dead birds that offered powerful, affective material. With the media's pursuit of sensational imagery, those moments were favoured because they were 'full of drama'. They graphically displayed ducks as innocent victims.[91] Sections of the press were also beginning to voice their opposition. In March 1993, *The Age* opined that 'duck shooting is not a sport, it is an obscenity', which had 'no possible justification'. It criticised lax gun laws and saw a ban on duck shooting as part of a wider campaign to eventually 'restrict and discourage the use of guns'. It concluded that 'those men who need guns to reassure themselves about their masculinity should be forced to look elsewhere for reassurance'.[92] The editorial was a biting criticism of duck shooting and masculinity, the Liberal government and gun laws. 'We were effective', explained Levy, 'because all the media came out with us, so those stories went right across Victoria, and right around Australia. Suddenly it became a big issue and other people around the country wanted to get involved'.[93]

Duck rescue achieved what non-disruptive methods could not. Every year since 1986, people committed themselves to rescuing countless native water birds that would have otherwise perished. Their efforts to disrupt duck shooting saved animal lives and revealed the cruelty of hunting to the wider public. Singer believed the campaign had 'a tremendous impact on the public [which] has deeply shaken the complacency of the Department of Conservation'.[94] Animal liberationists viewed duck rescue as a successful model worthy of emulation. Patty Mark believed duck rescue was effective because of a few basic principles: factual argumentation, sheer determination, and conviction. It was effective, she argued, because of a dedicated team working on a single-issue campaign exclusively and professionally.[95]

As duck rescue continued to unfold, other disruptive methods were being created and performed.

'Chicken Freedom Fighter': Pam Clarke, Civil Disobedience and Proto-Undercover Investigations

In 1982, Pam Clarke, an artist aged 39, founded the Tasmanian branch of Animal Liberation. One day she was watching a documentary on television that spoke about the cruel conditions of modern battery farms. It ignited her fiery passion to do something for animals. As a child, she adored animals. At dinner, she would save part of her meal for the wild neighbourhood cats that lived in the paddock next door.[96] In her adult years, intensive farming upset her deeply. She had never been an activist, so she had no idea what it meant to be part of a 'cause'. But she avidly committed herself almost exclusively to the battery hens campaign.[97] In later years, the *Hobart Mercury* would describe her as the 'chicken freedom fighter'.[98]

In 1984, at the height of the campaign for free-range eggs, Clarke established two small free-range egg farms just outside Hobart, Tasmania. She built the farms with the help of friends and activists, who went there on weekends to build fences and shelter. Through hard work they built a functioning farm. Every day, Clarke travelled from the suburbs of Hobart to the farm to tend to the flock and collect and deliver eggs to the local community. Her duties and responsibilities to the hens demanded a lot of time. Nevertheless, she found her experience rewarding and enriching.[99]

Her earliest act of civil disobedience occurred when she refused to pay levies to the Egg Marketing Board or adhere to their quota system that stipulated the number of hens a farmer could have. She shared the belief of other animal activists: that the high levies and quota system were unjust, making it hard for free-range farmers to compete with larger intensive producers. On the weekends, she went to Parliament House to openly advertise and sell her 'illegally produced' free-range eggs. On a weekly basis, she stood in front of the Treasury building and incessantly rang a bell to draw attention to her cause, much to the annoyance of the minister.

Her contempt for the Egg Marketing Board and her ongoing performances attracted a number of consecutive prosecutions. In court, she vehemently argued with the magistrate, saying that she would rather be imprisoned, as a symbolic gesture highlighting the cruel conditions that battery hens endured, than pay her fines.[100]

These episodes differ markedly to those described in the last chapter. Many activists were not prepared to break the law or risk imprisonment. Clarke was part of that generation. However, her small acts of civil disobedience began to deviate from those approaches. By stubbornly maintaining a morally righteous position, she soon developed a new approach to making her claims and challenging the status quo, one that had previously been alien to animal liberationists. Clarke, Levy, and others like them were increasingly willing to innovate and practise disruptive methods.

But Clarke's performances began to escalate in form, and with them, new consequences followed. At first, someone anonymously paid her fines. When she refused to pay her next fine, the court confiscated her paintings. One by one, they were auctioned off to pay her fine. At one auction, a painting of hers, which she estimated was valued at $700, was sold to the highest bidder for a meagre $20. 'I then sprayed this painting', she explained, 'because I could not bear it falling into the hands of a person who showed little regard for not only me, but for the cause for which we had worked so hard.'[101] The episode put her back before the magistrate, where she once again invited jail time over community work.

Over time, her continuing acts of civil disobedience resulted in about $2000 in unpaid fines and court costs. In March 1988, the silver-haired Clarke was given an ultimatum by the magistrate: pay her fines or be sent to jail.[102] The incident with the painting had also attracted further prosecution, where she was convicted of trespass and property damage. Fines and jail time continued to accumulate.[103] On 19 July 1988, after waiting for about a month to be arrested, she was finally detained by police and sent to Risdon Prison, where she was incarcerated for 44 days. Prior to her looming arrest, she and the other Animal Liberation groups planned to use her incarceration as a point of focus for national protests, with the intent of maximising media coverage to vigorously campaign against battery egg production. Animal Liberation Victoria supported Clarke, raised her profile, and vocally demonstrated outside Melbourne supermarkets to encourage people to boycott caged eggs.[104] Speaking to the media, distinguished environmental activist and Tasmanian MP Bob Brown joined the chorus of voices calling for Clarke's release, stating: 'Pam Clarke's determined and courageous stand highlights public opinion that the poultry who provide our community with eggs should not be kept in cruel and unnatural conditions. The degrading conditions of battery sheds degrades the community that allows it'.[105] Brown attempted to legislate against the battery cage system but was voted

down, despite support from the Labor opposition.[106] Clarke's daughter Louise took over the campaign while her mother was in jail. Like her mother, she was arrested on five separate occasions.

In the eyes of the public, Clarke was an intrepid, defiant animal activist. The continual media coverage of her relentless civil disobedience gave her a peculiar moral force. Her legal battle and subsequent incarceration made her a symbolic martyr for the animal movement, which helped galvanise local and national support. On 31 August 1988, Clarke was finally released from prison. She capitalised on the media attention by appearing on numerous TV and radio programmes and gave countless newspaper interviews, where she spoke about the animal cause.[107] As her saga unfolded, the *Hobart Mercury* regularly reported on her activities and canonised her. Her reputation spread beyond Tasmania, with one writer stating 'nearly everyone in Australia has heard of Pam Clarke from Hobart, Australia's patron saint of chooks'.[108] Writing for Victoria's *The Age,* Sharon Gray believed that Clarke knew how to appeal to the public's heart. Seeing Clarke speak to protesters, Gray said, 'they knew all about Pam Clarke and believed everything she said about cruelty to poultry was true'.[109] Egg producers also recognised her influential moral power: 'Each time Pam Clarke went to jail I guess a few more people believed her argument and we gradually lost', lamented Ian Dickson, the chief executive of Pure Foods, which supplied about forty per cent of Tasmania's commercial eggs.[110]

Perhaps partially due to Clarke's persistent disruptive actions, major breakthroughs in the battery hen campaign appeared on the horizon. In a milestone, the opposition Labor Party in Tasmania formulated a policy to phase out the cage system over five years, claiming that the battery cage 'involves cruelty to the birds and is objectionable to most Tasmanians'.[111] During the 1989 Tasmanian state elections, animal groups took out half-page advertisements in Hobart and Launceston newspapers, asking voters to consider battery hens at the polling booth. After the elections produced no clear winner, the Labor Party, under the leadership of Michael Field, and the Greens, who held the balance of power under Bob Brown, formed an alliance. With the Labor–Green alliance in force, plans were under way to establish a committee to examine the policy of phasing out the cage system. The animal movement claimed this as a victory. It was believed that should Tasmania implement its proposal, it would put the animal movement in a stronger position to pressure other states.[112]

However, in November 1990, after only a year in power, the Labor government reneged on its election promise to phase out battery hens in Tasmania. Instead, Minister for Primary Industry David Llewellyn said that 'a range of production systems, including layer cages, must be retained until it can be demonstrated that there are economically viable alternatives'.[113] In the years of the Senate Committee, animal groups had proposed such alternatives, but clearly the Tasmanian government had other interests. In response, Clarke treated the ministers to a ceaseless performance of ringing bells, the same act that had her fined previously.[114] Bell in hand, Clarke frequently wandered into the foyer.

'Your bell ringing has been driving us nuts', said the Premier to Clarke one day. In a heated exchange, Clarke grabbed the Premier by the collar and pulled him towards her.

With their noses nearly touching she said, 'I'll keep ringing my bell until you either arrest me or free the chooks.'[115] She was escorted from the foyer by security.

Later, Clarke and Patty Mark disobediently pitched a tent on the lawn of the Tasmanian Parliament House, demanding the Labor government honour their election promise. Before a single night could pass, both of them were arrested and charged with trespass. The cell at the local watch house became their home for the next 18 hours. Neither of them were strangers to prison cells.[116] A month after this action and their relatively short incarceration, they appeared before the magistrate, where they pleaded guilty to the charges. Emerging from the court, they immediately returned to Parliament House, where they stubbornly resumed their protest. Apprehended by the police once again, they appeared before the magistrate the next day, where they were convicted but not fined.[117] Hobart magistrate Phillip Wright, who presided over the case, surprisingly defended the right of the protesters, arguing 'it is the right of every citizen to be an agitator'.[118]

Clarke's persistent acts of civil disobedience and disruptive performances appear to have become the norm for the Tasmanian branch of Animal Liberation. Her actions were perhaps tame compared to the sensational militancy of the ALF and AFA or the method of duck rescue. She did not liberate animals or indulge in a campaign of property damage. Yet her performances were highly confrontational, provocative, and symbolic, designed to grab public and media attention, with the hopes of stimulating the animal movement's claims. In this sense, they were effective, because they did influence public opinion and policy, despite the Labor Party's backflip. Animal groups from mainland Australia gravitated

toward Clarke. They enthusiastically supported and defended her, directed resources towards her legal battles, and even accompanied her on the frontlines. Her contribution to animal activism did not end there.

In late 1991, Clarke and Tasmania's Animal Liberation began orchestrating their first covert operation. It would be the first of its kind for any of the Animal Liberation groups in Australia. The branch hired three private detectives to help investigate the conditions at Golden Egg Farm, located near Seven Mile Beach in Tasmania. In December, the detectives entered the farm, which had 6000 hens, and inquired about the free chicken manure that was advertised. As they feigned shovelling the manure inside the shed, they furtively measured the cages and videotaped the scene. The detectives also purchased several emaciated battery hens for $3 each. Later, three activists returned to the farm and bought a further six hens that were in a poor state of health. Two veterinarians examined the haggard chickens.

When news of the operation was publicised, Phillip Pavlides, the owner of the farm, declared, 'I've got nothing to hide.' With Clarke's insistence, the RSPCA inspected the farm but concluded that there were no problems. The RSPCA stated that most of the hens appeared 'bright, all sitting up and happy'. With neither the police nor the RSPCA interested in pursuing the matter, Clarke thought that she had enough hard evidence to convince a magistrate that the poor conditions at Golden Egg Farm demonstrated a breach of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act.[119]

As mentioned earlier, it was neither the first nor the last time activists would use the legal system for animal rights. In 1988, Animal Liberation Victoria tried to prosecute Somerset Poultry Farm in Keysborough, Victoria, for alleged cruelty to hens.[120] They obtained photographic evidence from an anonymous source, possibly a worker, that showed hens in overcrowded cages, in some cases up to seven hens to a cage, which was in violation of the accepted Codes of Practice. However, after nearly a year, the Department of Agriculture decided not to prosecute. Defending the decision, acting Director of the Bureau of Animal Welfare Terry Thomas simply argued that there was no evidence of any cruelty occurring at Somerset Poultry Farm.[121] Owing to economic interests and the property status of animals, achieving reforms via the courts was nearly impossible.

Clarke's proto-undercover investigation signalled the beginning of a shift in the methods of animal activism. In the past, evidence about farms came mainly from secondary sources, such as tip-offs. Few activists entered and explored intensive farms. While British and North

American militants delivered provocative evidence of animal exploitation, Australian militants appeared more focused on freeing animals than pursuing undercover investigations. Emboldened by her discovery, Clarke believed she could bring about wider transformations by prosecuting her case in court. What she was attempting to do was without legal precedent. If she succeeded, the twenty or so battery hen farms in Tasmania could be open to legal action for cruelty violations. Furthermore, mainland farms could also be vulnerable to prosecution.

In 1992, Golden Egg Farm was charged with seven counts of cruelty and causing unnecessary suffering. The case went to the Magistrates' Court. Aware of the case's significance, the Tasmanian Egg Producers' Association agreed to cover Golden Egg Farm's legal costs.[122]

The court hearing continued in November with Magistrate Phillip Wright, who had previously presided over a case against Clarke and Mark. Expert witnesses, including veterinarians and zoologists, testified about the suffering and stress that confined hens endure. The courtroom was a forum for scientific debate, behavioural and evolutionary claims, and anthropomorphic analogies.[123] Legal arguments for and against battery hen operations were supported by legal precedents of animal cruelty cases in Australia and the United Kingdom, some dating back more than a century.[124] The intense court battle continued in December. Golden Egg Farm launched its defence. A former officer for the Department of Primary Industries and a poultry exhibitor testified that the condition of the hens was 'normal'.[125] The defence case ended with evidence from the owner of the farm. Wright, understanding the significance of the case, reserved his decision until the following year.[126]

The prominent case came to a climax on 24 February 1993. Wright found Golden Egg Farm guilty on all seven counts of cruelty. Reflecting on the evidence, Wright concluded that 'as a matter of practicability, it is not possible for hens in three-bird cages to exercise their wings to any substantial extent and nor is it possible for them to walk more than one step forward or backward, so that the only conclusion open appears to be that they cannot exercise at all'.[127] He went on to say: 'Confinement such as to cause those results could not be called other than cruel in my opinion.'[128] Wright's judgement was contemptuous of the prevailing system of egg production, driven by economic profitability and unnecessary cruelty and marked by indifference to animal suffering. The industry was stunned. The farm reluctantly accepted the conviction without appeal and paid $700 in fines.[129]

It was a monumental victory for the animal movement and the first significant win for Clarke in her 11-year campaign. 'Justice has finally prevailed for battery hens', rejoiced Clarke after Wright's judgement.[130] Singer added: 'We have been saying for years that it is a cruel system, but RSPCAs have been too cautious and conservative to act.'[131] The case had demonstrated that it was possible to achieve some justice for animals through the courts.

Conclusion

Through disruptive actions, activists pursued new and innovative ways of making their claims and challenging the politics and culture of animal exploitation. Empowered by these methods, activists engaged in contentious politics in ways that were disruptive, provocative, symbolic, and largely non-violent. Most of their disruptive acts were public and covered in the media, which some believed offered an avenue to justice. Activists launched novel campaigns and invigorated longstanding debates. Ultimately, they were effective methods because they enabled activists to save animal lives and gain some leverage and influence.

Militant activists in Britain and the United States, particularly the ALF, inspired the emergence of direct action in Australia. Imported and practised by a minority, these disruptive methods were born out of frustration with the pace of change. They were characterised by either freeing animals or inflicting property damage. Direct action succeeded in saving animal lives. After more than ten years of national campaigning to ban battery egg production, which included public education initiatives, lobbying, Senate Committees, AWACs, Codes of Practices, and broken promises from politicians, the lives of animals were perhaps more affected by activists who were prepared to take direct action and trespass onto private property. Most of the animals freed were fostered into homes or sanctuaries, where they were able to live out their natural lives.

Beginning in 1986, the innovative method of duck rescue unfolded in the wetlands of Australia. Practitioners of this technique disrupted duck shooting, rescued injured birds, and provided them with aid. Their dramatic actions were both public and media-orientated, with television news often capturing affective material. In contrast to militants, these activists sought to use every avenue of contentious politics. They engaged the Australian political system, tried to influence politicians, and launched legal battles. Although initially ineffective owing to the strong

cultural traditions that made banning duck shooting difficult, in time the duck rescue campaign would have notable achievements. In Victoria, the number of duck shooters began to decline sharply: in 1986 it stood at 96,000, but by 1994 it had fallen to 21,000.[132] In 1991, the Victorian Labor Party developed a policy to ban duck shooting while in opposition but never acted on the policy. Several states around Australia would eventually ban duck shooting: Western Australia in 1990, South Australia in 1994, New South Wales in 1995, and Queensland in 2005. Duck shooting continues in Victoria—and every year, activists continue their disruptive campaign and strive to ban the practice.

Animal liberationist Pam Clarke provided a different example of disruptive methods. Focusing on the long-standing yet inert campaign to free battery hens, Clarke sought to personally stimulate the cause with her acts of civil disobedience. Her actions were confrontational, provocative, and symbolic. Often, the animal movement's battery hen campaign revolved around her acts of defiance, particularly when she was arrested and jailed. Supported by the movement and her local branch, Clarke stood out as an individual with moral force. She captivated public and media attention—even her opponents recognised that her acts were effective. One of her most significant contributions was her successful prosecution, enabled by her rudimentary technique of undercover investigation.

Inspired by Clarke's example, Animal Liberation branches throughout Australia were poised to follow suit with similar investigations and prosecutions. However, it would be Animal Liberation in Victoria that would first refine Clarke's rudimentary methods. As discussed in the next chapter, activists would herald a new paradigm for making claims, one that would be distinguished by the graphic images of animal suffering. This new technique would have far-reaching consequences.

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CHAPTER 6

The Spectacle of Open Rescue, 1993–2011

'For the past fifteen years animal rights groups have been at loggerheads with battery hen farmers. They claim their practices are cruel.' It was Wednesday night, 10 November 1993, and Derryn Hinch, host of the popular, self-titled, current affairs programme *Hinch*, was introducing a primetime audience to an exclusive exposé.

Hinch declared to viewers that 'battery farming is nothing when you compare it with what we found at one hen farm this week. Jackie Quest joined an animal liberation group on a mission to the dungeons of Alpine Poultry, where hens starve to death in manure pits.'[1] The story that night reported one of the first operations in an intensive farm by animal liberationists. It was also the first time in Australian television history that activists were filmed performing their raid.

The action, which represented an ongoing development and innovation of disruptive methods of contention, came to be known as 'open rescue'.[2] But they were not simply raids; they were public and media-orientated spectacles. Although initially resembling Pam Clarke's proto-undercover investigation, open rescue and similar actions were different in form. Television news programmes frequently broadcast the graphic amateur video footage of animal suffering captured by activists, which offered a unique insight into the cruel realities of intensive farms. The production and circulation of these spectacles, narratives, and imagery provoked a qualitative change in how the media framed both intensive farms and the movement's campaigns. Amateur videos offered dramatic realism that had seldom been recorded or transmitted. Open rescue

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would become one of the defining ways in which animal activists made their claims. However, the proliferation of open rescues also had personal and tactical consequences. Over the years, this form of action attracted escalating forms of state repression. Nevertheless, open rescue became so inspiring that the technique diffused transnationally. It was a process that unfolded according to varying patterns of innovation and adaptation. These actions were a response to the hidden plight of animals in factory farms.

'You're on Private Property': The Rise of Open Rescue

Since World War II, growing demand for animal products has encouraged the dramatic development of intensive systems of animal agricultural production. Pigs and chickens, traditionally raised in an open area or small coops with free access to the outdoors, became the focus of intensive methods of production.[3] Speaking of the British industry, Dr. R. H. C. Penny wrote in *The Pig Farmer* in 1967, 'we have only just started to exploit the potential of the pig […] I visualise dramatic advances'.[4] A world of 'intensive housing combined with automation', as Bill Davidson described the structures he built in 1967, was increasingly promoted as an economical, labour-saving, and profitable alternative to traditional farming practices. Davidson's South Australian farm was an insulated concrete shed, with high dividing walls between pens, an asbestos roof, large ventilation shutters, and automated feeding every six hours. Three-day-old piglets were injected with iron and their tails were docked. Davidson's small 150-odd sow operation foreshadowed the modern piggery.[5]

Modern intensive farms rapidly expanded. The purpose of intensive farms was to minimise labour input and production costs and to maximise efficiency and production output.[6] These 'animal factories' were constructed outside the metropolises where the majority of Australians lived. From small- to large-scale operations, animals were enclosed in controlled environments and confined in cages or pens for most of their shortened lives. Although significant advances were made in labour-saving devices, nutrition, genetics, health, hygiene, and in the environmental designs of animal housing, little consideration was given to the effects on animal behaviour and welfare until the 1980s.[7] Animals farmed in this way were unable to freely move or fully express their natural behaviours. The development of the intensive system also correlated with the social and economic restructuring of farming in Australia.

In the past fifty years, the trend of agricultural capital has been its concentration in fewer and larger farms.[8] In 1969, Federal Minister for Primary Industry Doug Anthony, while lamenting the decline of small farmers and their way of life, declared that pig and poultry industries lent themselves to 'factory-type farming'.[9] As farms moved away from traditional forms of animal rearing to large-scale intensive methods of production, capital investment and specialisation increased.[10] New South Wales became the epicentre of industrialised chicken production, driven by the leadership of a few key individuals and consolidated by companies such as Tegel, Steggles, and Inghams. Victoria, on the other hand, was a more turbulent market, where, in general, family companies controlled smaller operations, outlets, and processing plants.[11] The Australian chicken industry borrowed the profitable integrated business model from the United States, where businesses managed vertical operations across the supply chain.[12] As the number of small producers declined, the poultry and pig production market expanded under the control of a few large companies.[13] Rising costs, static returns, low salaries, and hard work were factors that dissuaded many members of younger generations from continuing the business of the small family farm.[14] By the early twenty-first century, farms engaged in poultry raising, egg production, and pig rearing were the most profitable, outperforming other agriculture sectors with an estimated value surpassing half a million dollars per year.[15] These industries are good examples of a highly specialised, large-scale, capital-intensive production.

These changes in modern agriculture, along with other sociological forces, slowly reshaped the human–animal relationship. Sociologist Adrian Franklin argues that consumers became spatially detached from the animals they consumed and emotionally reluctant to recognise the nature of meat foods.[16] Disembodied animal parts were processed, prepared, and packaged out of sight of urban communities. Meat and animals were two different symbols. Singer claims that the detached nature of modern farming practices made people ignorant of the abuse that sentient animals endured.[17] Consequently, animals were treated differently according to the purpose for which they were used and whether they were (or were not) seen. Distance and concealment, argues Timothy Pachirat, operate as mechanisms of power, because they 'shield, sequester and neutralize' the work of killing animals, and of other morally and physically repugnant practices, rather than eliminating or transforming them.[18] Speaking of the modern slaughterhouse, Pachirat argues that

surveillance and concealment coerce disadvantaged and disenfranchised people into performing dirty and dangerous work that the rest of society largely benefits from.[19]

If animal welfare advocates and humanitarians of the nineteenth century were inspired into action by the mere sight of animal suffering in the street and marketplace,[20] then modern animal activists were motivated by the *invisibility* of animal suffering, by those animals kept and exploited in distant and concealed spaces, like intensive farms in the country or research laboratories in the city. Through spectacles such as open rescue and other disruptive actions, activists sought to bear witness and draw attention to the hidden lives of animals.

In 1993, Patty Mark received a phone call from Celia Heard, a country woman who had spent time working inside Alpine Poultry Farm. She told Mark about the large, corrugated iron shed that had cages five tiers high that stretched endlessly. Each cage held seven or more hens. Mark struggled to believe what she heard. She realised that despite her impassioned campaigning against intensive farming, she was naïve about the industrial development of contemporary farms. She had first visited a battery hen farm near Melbourne in 1979. Back then it was a small set-up: two open-sided sheds, each with four rows of single-tiered cages. Even then, scenes of featherless, miserable hens were forever etched into her memory. Those scenes were terrible; but the woman's phone call brought unimaginable news.

The woman explained that cages were housed on the second floor of a windowless shed. Below the ground level, there was an enclosed manure pit, where the faeces of tens of thousands of hens piled up. Sometimes birds escaped from their cages and fell into the cesspit. The unfortunate hens slowly dehydrated and starved to death. But the woman had called Mark because of another problem. During the lunch hour, employees callously shot the fowls trapped in the pit. One worker asked an employee if that was part of his job, to which he replied: 'Oh this is great fun. I just shot nineteen.'[21] But often the workers only wounded the birds and left them to slowly die. Mark was distressed by the news, but she needed confirmation. One day, not long after the phone call, Mark asked a friend to apply for a job at Alpine Poultry Farm and confirm the report.[22]

When Mark's friend took the job at Alpine Poultry Farm in Corowa, New South Wales, things developed rapidly. 'He only needed three days to see enough', said Mark, 'and each night he rang me near tears.'[23] Her friend had confirmed what she already knew. A complaint was lodged

with the RSPCA Inspectorate, but no action was taken. Diana Simpson, an animal liberationist, courageously volunteered to enter the manure pit and record the scene with a shoulder-mounted video camera that she personally hired.[24] When Mark saw the grim reality revealed by the footage, the only instinctive thought that came to mind was that she needed to get the animals out. She organised a small band of volunteers to enter the farm in the dark of night to free the hens trapped in the cesspit and further document the filthy conditions. 'My heart stopped after I lifted the last hen out of the stack', said Mark.[25]

On 9 November 1993, the band of activists returned to the farm for another raid, but this time they were accompanied by the *Hinch* television crew. The *Hinch* story opened with a handful of people furtively entering a dark shed at 2:00 a.m. In contrast to the archetypical covert ALF raids, the activists entered the shed without concealing their identity, leaving their faces fully exposed to the cameras and the public. Flash lights brutally illuminated the hens in the tiers of wire cages; where the light faded the row of cages appeared endless. But the 'true horror of Alpine Poultry', the reporter explained, 'lies beneath these cages.' Scenes of the pit confronted the viewer: mounds of manure mixed with feathers, littered with decaying chicken corpses. 'The smell of rotting flesh and chicken waste is indescribable', viewers were told. Several hens were trapped alive with no access to food or water. The raid was successful: outside on the gravel road, Mark and her band gathered together, carrying twenty chickens freed from the manure pit. The emaciated chickens were displayed to the cameras and were later shown convalescing indoors.

The story continued with Mark confronting the unsuspecting owner and manager of the farm, Joe Svarc. From a distance, the *Hinch* crew recorded the interaction outside one of the large sheds.

Mark: We're here because we're very concerned about the hens in your manure pit.
Svarc: Is that right? Well you're on private property for a start. Okay?
Mark: But we're also very concerned about those hens, because they're starving to death, there's no food or water for them.
Svarc: Look. Look. You're on private property and I'd like you to remove yourself.
Mark: Excuse me, Mr. Svarc, we have reason to believe you could be prosecuted for cruelty under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act.

Svarc: Look.
Mark: You are violating the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act.
Svarc: There's been RSPCA people here and they're happy. Off the property now.
Mark: No. We're not going to leave. We're very worried about the hens in your manure pit.

The interaction ended there. Svarc refused to speak to *Hinch* and denied any wrongdoing, claiming he was being victimised by Animal Liberation Victoria. As the story concluded, the reporter said that while the RSPCA had visited the farm, they failed to see the 'horror of the manure pits' and interspersed those words with the visceral images captured during the daring night-time raid. Back in the studio, Hinch declared that he hoped that the exposé would prompt some reaction from the RSPCA.[26]

During those first few actions 'our "open rescue" team was born', explained Mark, 'and the public saw first-hand what was inside those huge windowless sheds dotting the countryside.'[27] Open rescue is defined as the act of trespassing onto spaces of animal exploitation (typically an intensive farm), documenting the condition of the animals, providing them with aid, and drawing attention to the problem through publicity, media coverage, and arrest.

What did this all mean for animal activism? What were the broader consequences of this style of activism? And was this any different to militant direct action? Militant activists operating under the guise of ALF, AFA, or other networks undertook raids in Australia secretly and anonymously. Their identities were always concealed and never publicly revealed unless police apprehended them. Direct action involved more than rescuing animals; it included a tactical approach of property damage and sabotage. In many ways, open rescue departed from this militant style of activism.

According to practitioners, open rescue rested on the philosophy of animal rescue, non-violence, publicity, and civil disobedience.[28] Open rescue, as developed and performed by animal liberationists, deviated from methods of property damage and sabotage. Such approaches had always been contentious within the animal movement, and the practice was confined to the militant fringe. However, animal liberationists continued the important work of rescuing animals and unveiling the hidden politics and culture of animal exploitation. A major and significant transformation of this tactic was that it was done publicly.

Publicity, the cornerstone of civil disobedience, is where open rescue found its strengths. Activists participating in a raid did so without concealing their identities and were prepared to face prosecution for their actions. While the term 'open rescue' may suggest comprehensive disclosure, there was a degree of secrecy in the lead-up to the public denouement. Undercover surveillance, as occurred at Alpine Poultry, was essential in gathering evidence of neglect, abuse, and intentional cruelty before night-time raids were undertaken. Open rescues were only made public when activists alerted the media to their operation or, in some cases, contacted the police directly.

Spectacles of open rescue produced a qualitative change in how the media framed animal suffering and the movement's claims. The notion of openly entering a battery shed to liberate animals was practically nonexistent before Alpine Poultry. The novelty of the spectacle provided media outlets with some highly unusual scenes. Animal activists were able to foster important links with the mainstream media, which were crucial in providing them with a national or regional platform to broadcast the truth about intensive farms. Militant operations of earlier years, by contrast, had no direct contact with the mainstream media; their stories and images were provided to Animal Liberation groups for dissemination. Through their access to the mainstream media, animal liberationists using open rescue were able to reach larger audiences than before. The spectacle was, to borrow Pachirat's terminology, a 'politics of sight'.

Images and sight, argues Pachirat, render 'the repugnant visible' and offer a 'tactic of social and political transformation'.[29] By breaching the 'zones of confinement',[30] revealing the raw realities of the intensive farm and exposing the truth, images can stimulate public outrage, shock, horror, pity, and compassion. An image provides an invitation, even an obligation, to comprehend what is shown. Images are a powerful alternative to the most evocative of words and can be remembered 'like a quotation, or a maxim or a proverb', writes Susan Sontang.[31] Images of cruelty and war, suggests Sontag, have a purpose:

> Let the atrocious images haunt us. Even if they are only tokens, and cannot possibly encompass most of the reality to which they refer, they still perform a vital function. The image says: This is what human beings are capable of doing—may volunteer to do, enthusiastically, self-righteously. Don't forget.[32]

As Sontag notes, images are a way 'of making "real" (or "more real") matters that the privileged prefer to ignore'.[33] Elisa Aaltola argues that images may help spark 'moral epiphanies' in ways that rational arguments cannot.[34]

Since 1993, spectacles of open rescues circulated in two streams: the mainstream media and the activist press. Writing in the animal liberation magazine *Action*, Mark reflected on the significance of these narratives, images, and claims:

> Our goal is to give readers the facts and photographs behind the illegal and widespread abuse of animals, most notably those factory-farmed. We want to help empower readers to take action against the way our society systematically degrades and destroys animals and to encourage everyone to live a vegan lifestyle.[35]

Open rescues were frequently covered by popular television programs such as the *7:30 Report, Today Tonight, A Current Affair, The Today Show*, and various network news programmes. The television stories invariably included the warning that 'some of the pictures in this report may distress some viewers'.[36] As media crews were often prevented from filming inside farms, TV producers relied heavily on the compelling, graphic amateur footage supplied by animal liberationists to frame their news stories. For example, *ABC News* in 1995–99 reported on the Happy Hens raids and interspersed their narrations with undercover activist footage of crowded hens in cages, activists lifting corpses out of cages, and activists providing care and water to emaciated birds.[37] Programmes such as the *7:30 Report* in April 1997 not only included the spectacles but provided an open platform for the animal movement to present its case against institutionalised animal cruelty on intensive farms. At the same time, activists also used the opportunity to condemn the RSPCA for not prosecuting alleged abusers. After hearing all perspectives, from the RSPCA to farming groups, television presenter Kerry O'Brien concluded the segment by saying, 'at the moment, the only organisation making sure animal welfare and industry stays in the spotlight is Animal Liberation'.[38]

Contrast the aforementioned stories with news reports of campaigns prior to the development of open rescue, and the activist narratives and media frames are remarkably different. On 26 June 1990, Tasmanian television news reported on Clarke's attempt to purchase hundreds of

hens from a battery hen farm owned by a state government minister. The media were, however, prevented from filming inside the shed. The only image of hens shown was that of a slightly featherless chicken lifted out of a box.[39] In another case, on 9 October 1993, the local news reported that fifty animal liberationists were protesting against one battery hen farmer in Belmonte, New South Wales.[40] Images of activists holding placards on the side of the road were tame scenes compared to the Alpine Poultry raid that would take place the following month, which would include many of the same activists. While the news team was permitted to film the chooks feeding in semi-clean, singled-tiered cages, the footage, captured in daylight, did not offer the visceral scenes of a nighttime raid. In the absence of open rescues, these news stories lacked the provocative, confrontational moral shocks.

While the most powerful experience would have been to be inside the battery shed, media stories, shaped by open rescues, offered something important: they removed the physical barrier of distance, brought the viewer inside the battery shed, and offered a sense of realism. These stories transformed personal encounters with animal suffering into documentary reportage of systemic abuse. They contested the representations of the farm—the barnyard in the meadow with happy, free-roaming animals—that were promoted by the industry and popularly accepted. These stories and images revealed the truth of intensive farms and vigorously stimulated the moral argument that farming practices were cruel and unnecessary. Ultimately, they increased the visibility of not only the movement's claims, but also the plight of farmed animals.

Images and sight, however, have their limitations. When it comes to confronting horror, the symptom of indifference, argues Susan Moeller, has a long and regrettable history.[41] In a period saturated by evocative images of human and non-human suffering, it is possible that they can be taken for granted. Sontag considers that too many horrid images can blunt people's sentiments, even make them desensitised.[42] Compassion fatigue comes from the exhaustion of one's ability to care, which stems from a repetition of shock.

Yet, as Sontag eloquently states, suffering cannot be rationed by a 'committee of Guardians': objectively, suffering does not abate, even if it remains out of sight.[43] Aaltola argues that for images to be affective, and not be lost in a chasm of amorality and a detached aesthetic experience, they need to be anchored in a moral viewpoint and an explicit normative position that points towards action.[44]

The communication of moral viewpoints varied between the mainstream and activist presses. The explicit messages in the aforementioned *ABC News* stories were that intensive farming was horrendous and cruel. But moral responsibility in those stories generally targeted the farming industry, the RSPCA, or government authorities. The role of consumers, and what action they could take, was initially absent. It could, however, be argued that there was an implicit message to consumers to stop buying caged eggs. Contrary to Aaltola's position, the absence of an explicit consumer message does not necessarily constitute a weakness. Studies have revealed that the most common reaction that viewers have when confronted with media stories and images of animal suffering is pity, indicating genuine compassion and concern for the animals shown.[45] These reactions, as Patty Mark expressed in her editorial, were exactly what the movement was trying to provoke.[46]

But for a more comprehensive moral viewpoint, the activist press pointed the way. Claims circulated in the activist press were fairly consistent. As discussed further in Chap. 8, since the establishment of the activist press in 1980, readers were frequently asked to stop buying battery eggs, substitute eggs in their diet, adopt a vegan or vegetarian diet, and financially support the animal movement. These positions continued to be cultivated with the development of open rescue.

Throughout the 1990s, open rescue caused a paradigm shift in the methods of animal activism. It increasingly defined the actions of animal liberationists, who, as seen in the previous chapter, discussed the merits and limitations of disruptive methods. Similar to duck rescue and Clarke's civil disobedience, the virtues of open rescue were that it had a public and visible militancy and that it could be used alongside other political techniques, such as lobbying or legal prosecutions. Following Clarke's example, animal liberationists on the mainland thought they could use the courts against commercial farms.

In early 1994, Mark was given approval by a magistrate to mount a private citizen's prosecution against Svarc, who operated three properties in two states and caged more than 400,000 hens. One of the benefits of focusing on Svarc's New South Wales farm was that citizens in that state were legally capable of launching private prosecutions, as they were in Tasmania. In contrast, only select organisations and persons in Victoria—the Department of Agriculture, RSPCA, municipal officers, or the police—could prosecute for animal cruelty. Svarc was charged with 17 counts of animal cruelty. Wright's 1993 ruling against Golden Egg

Farm in the Tasmanian Magistrates' Court was beginning to have ramifications on the mainland. The legal precedent had opened a new avenue of justice that began to affect the activist paradigm. Activists pleaded with supporters to donate generously for the costly court case.[47]

The case against Alpine Poultry commenced during the first week of November 1994. Prosecution witnesses included a former employee who had personally witnessed the treatment of the hens and a British poultry researcher. The week's proceedings were adjourned by the magistrate while Mark was in the process of giving her testimony.[48] Industry peak bodies realised the seriousness of the case and sought to raise a substantial amount of funds for court costs, with the New South Wales Farmers' Egg Producers Committee pledging $10,000.[49] When court resumed, hopes were quickly dashed when the magistrate ruled that photographs, video footage, and Mark's testimony were inadmissible as evidence because they were illegally obtained. Without that important evidence, cruelty charges could not be substantiated.[50] The court case was over. The limitations of the legal system were painfully revealed. While the idea of legal prosecution was not wholly abandoned, it was a tactic that was inconsistent and difficult to achieve.

In an out-of-court settlement, Animal Liberation Victoria agreed to pay $10,000 in court costs and Svarc would not prosecute for trespass.[51] 'I was ordered to pay Joe Svarc', explained Mark. 'So I then wrote, I said, "I'm sorry I don't have the money. I won't be able to pay you. But I'm happy to work it off [at your farm]." I never heard another word.'[52] That was the end of the case against Svarc. But as this episode unfolded, Animal Liberation Victoria was mounting another open rescue, one that would endure for years.

Just off the Midland Highway, in the bushlands of Meredith, stood Happy Hens Egg World, a facility that was Victoria's largest egg farm, housing 160,000 battery hens. Guido and Maria Colla owned the family business. Later in life, Guido's pious ways led him to join the Order of Saint Charbel sect. He also became involved in the anti-abortion movement.[53] Guido believed that animals 'have been placed there in creation to provide for mankind'.[54] In 1988, he opened the farm as a quasi-tourist attraction, which included a children's playground, novelty big hen fibreglass structures, and a shed where visitors could peep at the laying hens living in small metal cages.[55] However, in 1994, Animal Liberation Victoria received complaints regarding the hens' living conditions. In May, they visited the property but were denied access to all sheds. As

usual, the Department of Agriculture was requested to inspect the facility, but they found no welfare-related issues (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2).[56]

On three separate occasions activists entered the sheds. On each occasion they videotaped and photographed the conditions.[57] Several emaciated birds were rescued and given veterinary treatment. Nearly a dozen fowls were discovered in various stages of decomposition. All the freed birds had been debeaked and suffered from severe feather loss.[58] On 19 September, four activists, accompanied by media crew, entered the office of the Minister for Agriculture. There, in view of the media, they laid out the rotting bodies of nine hens; one was even placed on the minister's desk. They demanded that Happy Hens Egg World be 'investigated properly and prosecuted for cruelty'.[59] When the minister declined to speak with the activists, they staged a sit-in. Hours later, after negotiations with senior advisors and police, nothing was achieved. At 8 p.m., the activists were arrested and escorted from the building. They later staged a camp-in and refused to leave until something was done. A farm inspection by an official declared all satisfactory. The response of officials and the RSPCA infuriated activists.[60]

Happy Hens continued to be the target of animal activists. As the early-morning raids became routine, new disruptive tactics were created to challenge the conditions in which the hens were kept. On 21 April 1995, Mark Pearson from New South Wales' Animal Liberation joined Patty Mark and her team on their raid. While inside the shed, Pearson and Mark did several live radio interviews. At 5:30 a.m., they chained themselves to the cages and contacted police, proclaiming that they would not leave the shed until the sick hens received veterinary care. When the police arrived, they cut the chains with bolt cutters and evicted the activists. Once released by police, Mark and other activists made a vain attempt to re-enter the shed. The police arrested them and charged them with trespassing. News of the raid was broadcast on national television that evening.[61]

Full identity disclosures had a strategic purpose and made the art of seeking publicity more effective than the covert method. However, arrest, incarceration, and fines were also becoming routine. Mark's ethical approach to open rescue closely echoed Mahatma Gandhi's *satyagraha*,[62] when he said that civil resisters should submit and suffer the repression of the oppressor.[63] Gandhi challenged authority but remained 'civil, principled, restrained, and non-violent in thought and deed'.[64] Mark admired Gandhi and saw virtue in his approach. Arrest was

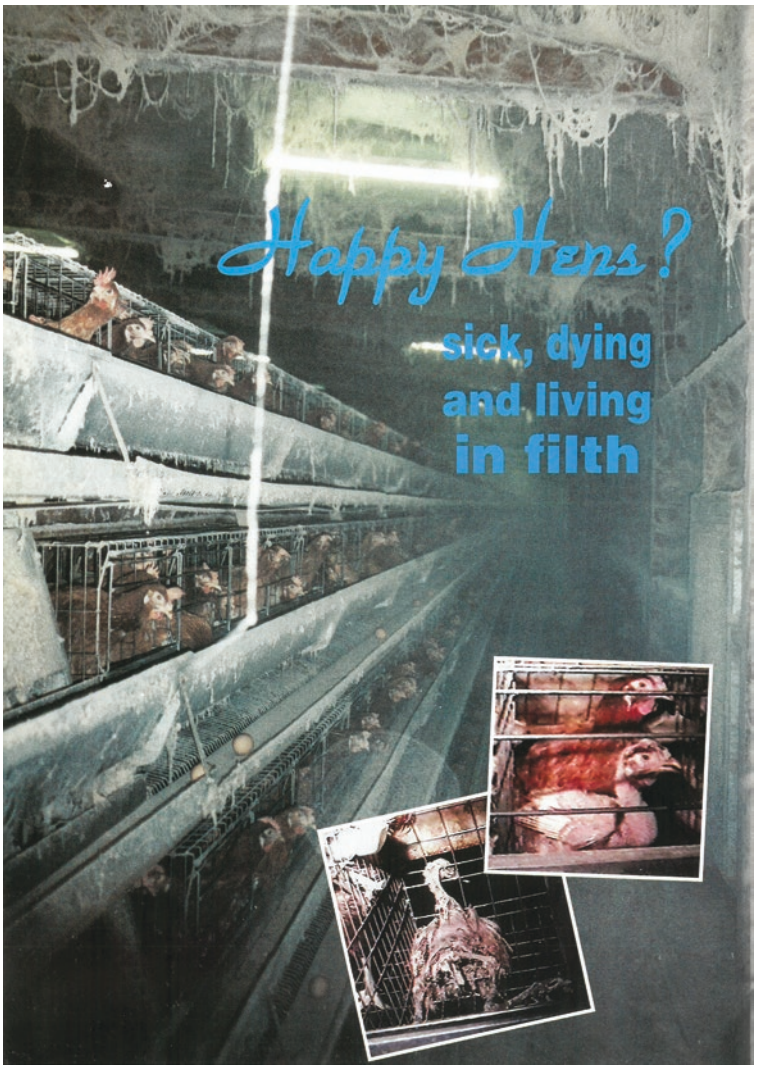

Fig. 6.1 Photos taken by open rescuers inside the "Happy Hens" farm graphically reveals the truth of factory farms, 1994. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

Fig. 6.2 An emaciated battery hen was rescued from a factory farm, 1994. She was suffering from a grapefruit-sized tumour. She was immediately euthanised by a vet. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

considered empowering and a righteous act when resisting unjust laws. And it was not only the usual characters who were willing to behave disruptively. More and more animal liberationists were prepared to sacrifice their personal freedoms.

Open Rescue at 'Paul's Piggery'

In 1992, activists discovered that the Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating and his wife owned shares in Brown & Hatton, a group that operated three intensive piggeries. Singer petitioned Keating, asking that he lead the way in animal welfare by abolishing dry sow stalls and allowing pigs to roam freely, to be able to stretch their limbs, socialise with other pigs, and engage in natural behaviours. However, Keating's reply, or more accurately his advisor's reply, dismissed Singer's requests outright.[65]

With scant resources, Animal Liberation Victoria announced a call to arms for activists to converge on so-called Paul's piggery. The campaign attracted most of the branches of Animal Liberation. Other activist organisations joined in, including the Vegetarian Society, Friends of the Earth, Australian Conservation Foundation, and Greenpeace.[66] After a few months of planning and coordination, on 26 November 1992, more than 80 activists from around Australia travelled to Parkville, a small town nearly four hours north of Sydney, for the two-day protest. To John Lennon's famous pacifist tune, they approached the farm singing 'all we are saying is give pigs a chance'. When they arrived, a line of police prohibited them from getting closer to the farm. Strangely, a counter-protest from Ashton's Circus—which activists had protested against for their use of performing animals—greeted them.[67] A delegation of animal liberationists met the manager, Cliff Thorogood, and requested entry into the farm to inspect the facility. He refused.

That evening, actress Lynda Stoner, Peter Singer, and his teenage daughter Esther formed a plan to trespass onto the farm and inspect the conditions personally. Early in the morning, they successfully snuck onto the property and wandered around undetected for a few hours, photographing pigs in pens. However, they lingered for too long and were eventually caught by three security guards. Police hauled the trio away in a paddy wagon.[68] Stoner and Peter Singer were charged with unlawful entry, and their film cameras were confiscated.[69]

Paul's piggery continued to be the target of protestors. Postcards showing miserable pigs confined in sow stalls were produced for

supporters to send to Keating and Labor MPs. Busloads of protestors from Victoria, the Australian Capital Territory, and New South Wales converged on Parliament House in Canberra on 31 August 1993 to appeal to the Prime Minister to 'withdraw his financial support from intensive pig farming'.[70] Linda and Paul McCartney—international celebrities, veteran animal rights campaigners, and vegetarians—wrote to Keating appealing to his sense of compassion, arguing that 'the only way to be a good leader is to be kind and fair, and you're not kind and fair if you're murdering animals for profit'.[71]

However, by late 1993, rallying, letter writing, petitioning, and the odd act of trespass had failed. Economic and political interests were unshaken. In fact, proposals were being drafted to expand Paul's piggery. If approved, it would convert the farm into one of Australia's biggest intensive piggeries. Neighbouring residents who were already complaining about the putrid smells of the farm wafting into their living rooms had further reasons to be outraged.[72]

Nonetheless, in the autumn of 1994, there was some hope in the air. Keating announced that he had sold his shares in the business. For the past 22 months, the Liberal opposition had criticised the piggery, not because of animal welfare concerns, but how the business was financed. Keating's business partner had been involved in a Supreme Court case over an alleged breach of trust with the Commonwealth Bank. This provided the opposition with further ammunition. Keating distanced himself from the controversial business by selling his share.[73]

However, the prime minister's divestment did not stop the cruel practice of tethering pigs. Animal Liberation in Sydney received several calls from people claiming that tethers were bound so tight to sows' necks that they left deep lacerations. Mark Pearson and other activists trespassed onto the farm on 5 November 1994 and collected video and photographic evidence. A press conference then broadcast what New South Wales' Animal Liberation had unearthed.[74] After several years of protests, undercover investigations, petitions, and pleas, the farm continued to operate business as usual until one of the animal movement's largest disruptive actions seriously challenged the industry and provoked change (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4).

On 21 November 1995, thirty-three activists waded through muddy terrain in the jet-black night. Upon reaching the farm, half the group peeled off to explore the farrowing shed, where mother sows and their piglets were confined; the other half inspected the sow shed, where

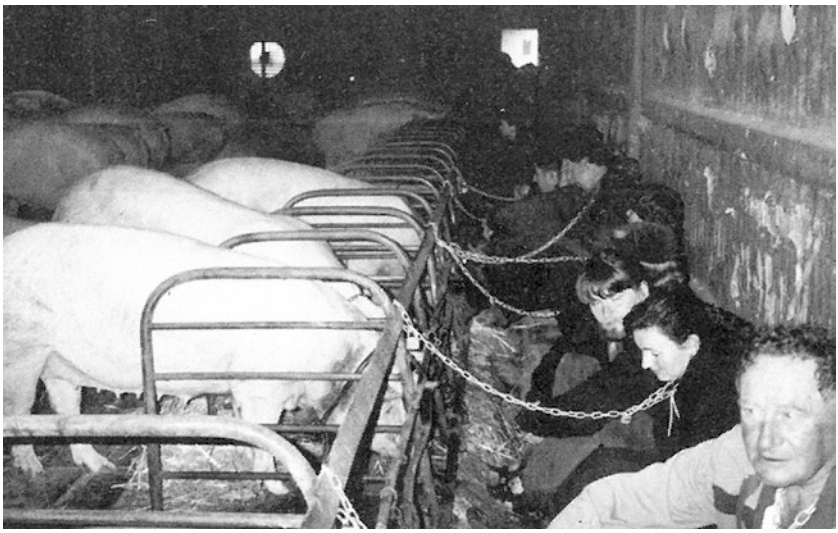

Fig. 6.3 Mass civil disobedience at the Parkville intensive piggery, 1995. Thirty-three activists chained themselves to the sow stalls in order to draw attention to plight of tethered pigs. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

pregnant sows were tethered with chains to single pens. By the early morning, they discovered numerous dead and dying piglets. The animals were rushed to a vet who was on standby. Many died or had to be euthanised.[75] After documenting the conditions, all the activists proceeded to chain themselves to the stalls. Stoner powerfully described the scene:

> Thirty-three humans placed chains around their necks facing the sows. After even a brief period the chains and the lack of freedom was uncomfortable, hours of it caused a burning pain. We watched despairingly as sows got their hooves caught in chains, the struggle of getting up causing them to foam at the mouth. We saw sows swaying back and forth, intelligent brains deprived of any stimuli whatsoever, corroded, dulled, defeated, hopeless and helpless.[76]

Similar to previous occasions, activists alerted the media to their action, did several radio interviews, and then contacted the local police, pleading with them to help the animals. The police soon arrived with bolt

Fig. 6.4 Australian actress Lynda Stoner was one of the thirty-three participants at the Parkville intensive piggery action, 1995. Photo courtesy of Patty Mark / alv.org.au

cutters and handcuffs. One by one, the police slowly cut the chain links that bound activists to the stalls. Activists were arrested, escorted from the shed, and crammed into paddy wagons. Hours passed. When they arrived at Scone police station, they were formally charged with trespass.[77]

As the activists were processed in the police station, politicians briefly discussed the practice of tethering in the New South Wales Legislative Council Estimates Committee. Following the meeting, Agricultural Minister Richard Amery stated that the practice of tying up pigs would be banned in New South Wales under future revisions to the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act.[78] The brilliant news reached the activists' 'tired, stinking, weary bodies at around 4:00 p.m.'.[79] It was an exhausting yet worthwhile victory that exemplified the power of mass disruptive actions.

Scholars argue that actions like these serve a vital function in modern democracies. Singer argues that civil 'disobedience is an attempt to restore, rather than frustrate, the process of democratic decision-making'.[80] Disobedience of this kind is important in informing the majority of people about issues that they are unaware of, such as the hidden activity of intensive farming or inhumane laboratory experiments. Knowledge produced and circulated because of trespass, undercover investigations, and civil disobedience is essential for citizens to meaningfully participate in liberal democracies. An informed citizen is likely to uphold animal protection values.[81] Animal activists are perhaps vital agents in the policy-making cycle. The example of the Parkville protest is a significant case in point. It demonstrated that a well-organised, public, media-orientated act of open rescue, which could effectively communicate claims to a constituency outside the immediate locality, could influence policy and law.[82]

However, it could also be argued that the New South Wales government reforms were neither radical nor meaningful. The Parkville piggery was reportedly the only remaining farm in Australia to use the once widely practised tether system.[83] Banning the use of tethers, therefore, did not affect the economic interests of the industry. The reforms, it could be argued, were merely tokenistic and offered no significant animal welfare improvements because the issue was marginal. Furthermore, the reform did not address or change the more widely used method of confining sows to pens.

On the other hand, while the tether system was only used by one farm, it was one of the biggest commercial piggeries in Australia and was, therefore, practically, morally, and symbolically important. By stimulating reform, animal activists saved countless numbers of farmed animals from torment by conclusively prohibiting the use of the tether system from current and future commercial farms. Even though pigs would still suffer in confinement, they would at least live without chains around their necks. In addition, the reform offered a valuable propaganda coup for the animal movement: 'The Animal Liberation evidence', reported the *Courier Mail*, 'had forced the state's agricultural minister to ban the practice of tethering.'[84] Such media reports enhanced the perception that the animal movement possessed significant political influence, the type that threatened modern agriculture, business, and tradition. Finally, the case of Paul's/Parkville piggery offered a powerful narrative of triumph, one that would be remembered by activists who would proudly recount the day when they challenged the farming industry and won. Given the

slow pace of reform in the Australian political system, the weak animal protection policies, and the history of frustrations and concessions, this was a significant outcome.

The Activist Dance: Open Rescue, Legal Battles, and Counter-Tactics

Open rescue was increasingly adopted by animal liberationists around Australia. Figure 6.5 shows the trend of actions and animals saved between 1990 and 2000.[85] From 1993 till 2000, there were a total of 54 actions which secured the liberty of an astonishing 561 animals, most of whom were battery hens. The peak period of open rescues occurred in 1995, early on in the creation of the method, where 16 actions occurred across country Victoria, New South Wales, and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). Afterwards, there were five consistent actions per year, eventually climbing to settle at seven per year.

From the late 1980s, activists consistently engaged in forms of disruptive politics that were designed to draw attention to the plight of animals. They not only contested animal use but also challenged the political system and wider culture that legitimised the practice. By 1995, the apex of open rescues, this method was no longer performed by a select few; it had evolved as one of the principal weapons of the

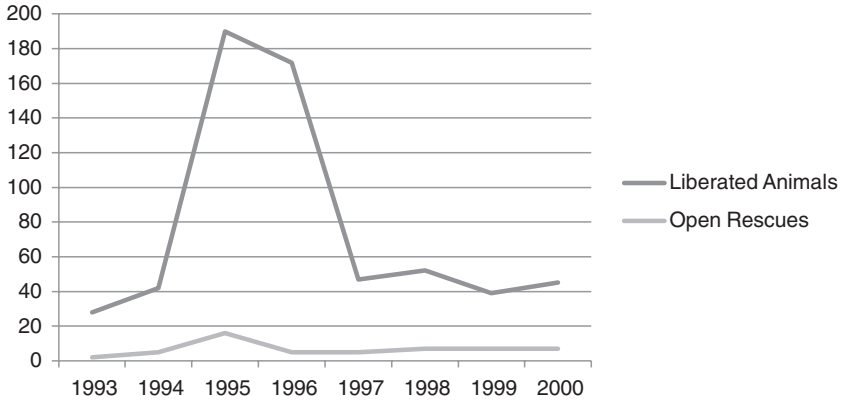

Fig. 6.5 Proliferation of Open Rescue, 1993–2000. *Source* Openrescue.org

movement. 'Civil disobedience and determined, well-orchestrated undercover rescues of dying animals are putting animals' rights on the political map', wrote Mark after the success in Parkville.[86] Yet with the consistent performance of open rescues, authorities increasingly challenged activists.

Appearances in court turned into a routine event. On 5 May 1995, after being arrested and charged with trespass into Happy Hens, Mark, Simpson, and Smith appeared in the Geelong Magistrate's Court. The trio refused to sign the bail conditions, which stipulated that they would not return to the farm. Rather than hear their plea, the magistrate remanded them in custody for a total of six days. On 1 November, they again appeared before the magistrate, where he found them guilty of trespass and fined them each $100. In arguing their case, they attempted to plead not guilty on the 'defence of necessity' because they were rescuing hens in need of veterinary care. The Magistrate's Court, and later the Supreme Court, found the plea only applied to humans.[87] While legal challenges were part of the repertoire of contention, failure to mount a successful defence only established legal precedents against themselves. This, unfortunately, was becoming a trend.

On 20 October 1995, a few months before the Paul's piggery action, more than a dozen people illegally entered Parkwood Eggs in Canberra, ACT. The farm was one of the largest battery egg farms in the ACT, confining over 262,000 hens. After sleuthing through the sheds and recording the conditions on video camera, activists chained themselves to the cages and alerted police to their presence. They also contacted media outlets and gave a few live radio interviews. Police arrived to evict the activists but did not formally arrest them. Four activists re-entered the property and ignored police orders to leave. After failing to comply, they were then arrested and charged with trespass.[88] Their day in court came a few years later.

On 29 January 1997, the activists appeared before Magistrate Michael Ward, who surprised the accused with his extraordinary patience in reviewing the evidence before him.[89] Ward found the defendants not guilty and deemed the activists 'had a reasonable excuse for trespassing'.[90] He said that it was 'impossible not to be overwhelmed by the evidence' and that battery farming was 'inherently cruel to the hens'.[91] It was a stunning surprise given the earlier legal defeats.[92] The ramifications of Ward's decision were potentially revolutionary: by condoning trespass on the basis of animal welfare, and by establishing a legal precedent, it was potentially possible for activists to raid intensive farms with legal

impunity. Ward's court decision, of course, was appealed. 'But just for one moment', recounted Stoner, 'it was pretty exciting.'[93]

On 22 May 1998, Ward's decision was dramatically overturned:

> We do not accept that it is reasonable to enter as a demonstrator, upon the premise of another, when the occupant is carrying on a lawful activity of which the trespasser disapproves. To find otherwise would mean that the citizen would not receive the protection of the law to which he or she is entitled. It would mean that any dissident might be at liberty to enter his or her opponents' premises in pursuit of a cause.[94]

The judges ruled that the appellants did not have a reasonable excuse for trespass, as the battery cage farm was performing a 'lawful activity'. As discussed in Chap. 4, when it comes to balancing animal and human interests, humans always prevail because animals are legally regarded as the property of humans and because of other strong economic and cultural interests. In anti-cruelty legislation, most farmed animals are excluded from cruelty provisions, effectively sanctioning their institutional exploitation. Legally allowing activists to trespass would have negated the legal protections to which farmers were entitled. Activists attempted to test those legal boundaries but lost. Such rulings reinforced the property status of animals and established legal obstacles that were counterproductive to the open rescue method.

The ruling, though unfortunate and undesirable for animal activists, did not restrain their determination to engage in acts of open rescue. It did not matter whether it was legal or not; they considered themselves morally justified in breaking the law. Such attitudes echoed Singer's philosophical reasoning about illegal methods that achieve just ends. In *Practical Ethics,* Singer discusses the role of illegal actions performed by minority groups against majority beliefs. Though he theorises contexts in which such means should be avoided, he argues that illegal methods can be justified if dissidence reflects the true beliefs of the majority, or when the majority view is ethically flawed.[95] It is the latter argument that captures the ethical justification of animal activists performing disruptive methods of contention.

By 1998, four years after the first raid, Happy Hens continued to be one of the main targets of open rescues in Victoria. Activists entered the farm on 18 separate occasions, documented approximately 30 hours of video, and rescued a total of 276 hens. Mark alone was convicted three

times of trespass, but on each occasion she refused to pay her fines, which totalled $1100.[96] In May 1998, Mark was once again charged with trespass. She spent 10 days—including her birthday and Mother's Day—in lock-up at Deer Park Women's Prison. During that time, she spent eight days on hunger strike, refusing to sign bail conditions that prohibited her from returning to the property.[97]

She later appeared at the Geelong Magistrates Court, where she was tried under new trespass laws. When the court was shown video evidence of emaciated, bald-headed hens with bloated abdomens, surrounded by rotting chicken carcasses, the police dropped the trespass charges. 'When they showed the footage of why I refused to sign the bail document', explained Mark, the magistrate 'actually had tears in his eyes.'[98] The video allegedly revealed breaches of the Code of Practice for poultry farmers. The police, who for years had prosecuted Mark and her crew, were obliged to pay $3000 in legal costs.[99] 'Since that court case, since [the police] were awarded the costs, I've had no troubles; even though I've had multiple arrests, multiple convictions, multiple fines, which I've paid none of.'[100] Even though the charges were dropped, the activists took it as a victory.

Over the years, court outcomes did not often favour animal liberationists. With the exception of a few cases, most attempts to privately prosecute farmers for animal cruelty were unproductive because the courts recognised that intensive egg producers were engaged in lawful activity. The matter of illegally obtained evidence was another issue that posed legal challenges for prosecution. Private prosecution, as an activist strategy, was also limited to a few states. States such as Victoria, Western Australia, and, from 2007, New South Wales denied citizens the ability to launch private prosecutions. Enforcement of the recognised animal protection statutes—which excluded many of the practices animal liberationists were challenging—continued to be executed by the RSPCA and the authorities.[101]

Decisions were dependent on the goodwill and sentiment of the magistrate. Laurie Levy, who year after year led activists onto Victoria's wetlands to disrupt duck shooting, claimed that most magistrates were sympathetic to those arrested. But the practice turned into a revolving door:

> Rescuers went back to court and magistrates were just letting them off, because we found most magistrates were really sympathetic to the rescuers. When rescuers pleaded guilty and went to the Magistrate's Court,

> magistrates would often drop the fine in front of the police and say, 'you know, I'm going to find you guilty but I'm not fining you. No conviction. No fine. And keep up the good work'. And that was being said in court; so we saw that as a major victory in itself.[102]

Nevertheless, many activists were fined and served jail sentences. Over the years, Levy and his crew paid over $150,000 in costs and fines.[103] Mark was jailed twice, accumulated several thousand dollars in unpaid fines, and on more than one occasion broke her bail conditions.[104] Breaking the law, no matter how morally justified one felt, was time-consuming and costly and drained finite resources, which could have been used elsewhere.

But what else did these spectacles amount to? While this chapter has argued that open rescue did produce certain transformations in terms of activism, politics, and media communication, there were of course limitations. The end goal for many activists was to dramatically reform or abolish intensive farming. After six years of persistent undercover investigations, open rescues, dramatic media coverage and features, arrests, and court cases, no substantial changes had taken place in the operations of Happy Hens or the wider agricultural industry.[105]

Happy Hens reformed in other ways: by tightening their security. In a bid to limit access, the farm installed new security systems across all the sheds. Four-metre-high electrified fences were erected, behind which guards and dogs patrolled the perimeter during the evening.[106] Doug McAdam's study of the 'tactical interaction' between black insurgents and their opponents in segregated American states offers a comparable case. McAdam argues that for each highly effective tactical innovation, opponents would eventually devise an effective counter-tactic. The tactical contest was then again shifted back onto insurgents, who continued searching for new and effective tactical forms.[107] Similar conclusions can be drawn with regard to animal activists and their opponents.

But the counter-tactics of Happy Hens did not deter the highly motivated animal liberationists. With determination, activists transgressed the security barriers, navigated through electric fences, snuck past security sensors, and evaded guard dogs to reach the sheds.[108] Their militant raids continued: new activists were inducted into the art of open rescue; mainstream media broadcast their claims and the visceral images of intensive farms; countless animals were freed, treated, and rehomed; court battles ensued; and the narrative of animal liberation persisted. Through a dynamic process of transnational diffusion, this method of activism also spread overseas.

'I See It as an Important Part of My Struggle': The Diffusion of Open Rescue

Open rescue, a distinct Australian invention, was not limited to Australia but spread across borders and nations in the late 1990s and 2000s. Its diffusion illustrates the transnational significance of the Australian animal movement, an aspect that has been unrecognised in the scholarship.

The diffusion of social movement techniques is a complex process. Analysis of diffusion, that is, the spread of an innovation, requires a consideration of the actors, networks, and mechanisms involved.[109] Classical diffusion theory suggests that the process passes through five sequential stages.[110] The initial 'knowledge' stage commences when a potential adaptor becomes aware and gains an understanding of the innovation. After acquiring the necessary information, the potential adaptor at the 'persuasion' stage forms a particular attitude towards the innovation, which is either favourable or not. The adaptor then proceeds to the 'decision' stage, where the innovation is either adopted or rejected. The 'implementation' stage occurs when the adaptor applies the innovation. Prior to this stage the diffusion process is cognitive. Implementation requires practice and action, which may warrant reinvention and adaptation. Finally, at the 'confirmation' stage, the adopter re-evaluates the innovation and may decide to discontinue its application.[111]

While classical diffusion theory is a useful base model, it has been enhanced. The most influential studies have often focused on the transmission of collective action repertoires and the transnational dissemination of movement practices.[112] Others have noted the diffusion of discourses and framing activities that pass onto new actors, undergoing a process of innovation and adaptation to different social contexts.[113] Diffusion has persuasively been conceptualised as dynamic and ambiguous, interpretatively received and employed, non-linear and fluid, and occurring between relational fields rather than in rigid hierarchies.[114] In his study of the adaptation of the Gandhian repertoire by British and American activists over the 1950s and 1960s, Scalmer notes several principles at play: diffusion is a long-term process; there are competing claims; political context shapes the engagement process; there are internal struggles for legitimacy; a variety of discourses are used; and, finally, diffusion is a matter of action as well as talk.[115] In general, diffusion is a creative, laborious process that is realised and enabled through experimentation, practice, and performance over a long period of time. For

American animal activists, an opportunity to gain an understanding and form an opinion about the open rescue technique arose at an activist conference.

On 26 June 1999, Karen Davis, head of United Poultry Concern (UPC), hosted the Direct Action for Animals forum. Nearly 90 activists from across the United States, each representing different animal groups, attended the conference. Set at UPC's animal sanctuary on the eastern shore of Machipongo, Virginia, the conference featured several American animal activists. Two Australians were invited—Patty Mark and Diana Simpson—both practitioners of open rescue.[116]

For a few years Mark had corresponded with Davis. One day while working on *Action* magazine, she received an email from Davis inviting her to present a paper at the conference. 'I could hardly resist UPC's generous offer', said Mark, which also included air travel.[117]

The conference emerged as a result of a debate that had appeared on the pages of *The Animals' Agenda*. In the feature article, 'Direct Action: Progress, Peril, or Both?', Freeman Wicklund revived the debate about the effectiveness and usefulness of illegal direct action versus non-violent civil disobedience. Wicklund was a young activist from the US state of Minnesota, working with the Student Organization for Animal Rights. For years, he had been a practitioner and vocal advocate of ALF actions. But then came a day when he became disillusioned with the scene of young militant activists, who were too concerned with 'climbing the straight edge social ladder'.[118] When he was introduced to Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* he began to ask: 'Do ALF actions further the attainment of our ultimate goal—the creation of a society based on cooperation, respect, and the voluntary adoption of animal rights by the masses?'[119] Sharp's book 'shook the foundations' of his philosophy. Wicklund doubted the effectiveness of militant direct action and considered it more harmful than transformative. His critique echoed the conclusions elucidated by other scholars and activists, as seen in the previous chapter. Ultimately, he became a fervent advocate of Gandhian non-violence and appealed to others to reconsider their strategies and to adopt the 'nonviolent path'.[120]

Direct action was broadly interpreted at the conference. The eclectic collection of activists represented groups with diverse campaign agendas and differing styles of activism. But it was on the second day of the conference that the diversity and power of direct action was illuminated by two contrasting presentations of animal rescues. Patty Mark and

Diana Simpson presented first thing Sunday morning on their respective open rescue actions. 'I spoke for over an hour and then showed forty minutes of footage taken by Diana of our rescue team in action inside Australian factory farms.'[121] The film displayed the spectacle of the technique: the visceral images of animal suffering, the care and gentleness of the activists, their submission to arrest, the subsequent media and public attention. When their presentation concluded, the crowd erupted in a standing ovation, much to the surprise of the Australians. To contrast their video, an ALF raid was shown. The film portrayed activists clad in black with their faces concealed with balaclavas. The footage was grainy and obscure, and the animals were observed from a distance.[122] Discussions ensued. Techniques and videos were critiqued, compared, and contrasted:

> Whereas the Australian direct action showed suffering, empathy, compassion, a trained team, and extremely skilled use of the camera, the ALF video captured a less mature, more egotistic, less compassionate-looking rescue: there was no involvement between the ALF rescuers and the animals they liberated as there was between the rescuers and the hens in the Australian video.[123]

The Australian action became the centrepiece of the conference; it was unanimously voted the highlight of the day by participants. Those attending believed that the video offered a model of activism that had the power to persuade, move, and educate the public. That day, numerous activists enthusiastically approached the Australians to order copies of the video. They pledged to apply the technique of open rescue and to never wear a balaclava.[124]

America in the late 1990s was a fertile environment for the consideration of alternative techniques, as signalled by Wicklund's article. The militant wing of the American animal movement had experienced heavy repression from state authorities.[125] In 1997, the tactics of vandalism, arson, and convert animal liberation peaked, increasingly curtailed by repressive legislation, FBI investigations, arrests, and grand juries.[126] Given the context, the times were ripe for tactical innovation.

The story of the first American open rescue begins in the state of Minnesota on 24 June 2000. Almost a year after attending Direct Action for Animals, Wicklund, who strongly believed in the Gandhian non-violent approach, along with activists from Compassionate Action

for Animals (CAA), decided to apply the technique. For months, they campaigned against Michael Foods, a battery egg farm in LeSueur, Minnesota. They had attempted to lobby, protest shareholder events, and engage in public education. When they had exhausted those approaches they applied the technique of open rescue.[127] The activists entered Michael Foods and rescued three hens. The activity was not publicised, as activists considered it more of a reconnaissance mission.[128] But on 14 January 2001, they carried out an open rescue in true form: they rescued 11 hens, filmed and documented the event, announced their action to the press, and filed a formal complaint against the company with regional authorities.[129]

A few months later, similar actions were performed elsewhere in the United States. The Washington, D.C.-based group Compassion Over Killing (COK) carried out its first open rescue at a Maryland egg farm, operated by ISE America. Activists spent a couple of months on their investigation, accumulating dozens of hours of video footage and hundreds of photographs and rescuing around eight hens.[130] *The Washington Post* published an exclusive on the investigation, along with pictures that showed hens 'crowded', 'missing feathers', 'immobilized', and 'decomposing'.[131] The article coincided with the online and offline release of COK's eight-minute video about their investigation titled 'Hope for the Hopeless'. According to Miyun Park, 'national media picked up the story, and the horrors of battery cages could be read over the Associated Press and United Press International wires'.[132] Activists considered their action extremely successful: 'thousands of people visited our web site, www.ISECruelty.com, after the media stories broke, and hundreds ordered free Vegan Starter Packs from that page'.[133] Their action had focused public attention on the farm and generated interest about its practices.

Later in the year, a group from Ohio skipped 'wearing the once requisite balaclava' and engaged in open rescue.[134] On 8/9 September, activists from Mercy for Animals (MFA) rescued a total of 34 birds from Daylay in Raymond and from Buckeye Egg Farm in La Rue. Thereafter, the hens were provided with veterinary care and then rehomed in a farm sanctuary. Footage of the action was released to the media. Although law enforcement authorities investigating possible trespass, charges were never filed. Similar to the actions of the other groups, the raid represented the culmination of several months of attempted lobbying, protest, and public pressure.[135] Activists using open rescue believed it was

an excellent example of Gandhian non-violent direct action, and they implored other groups to organise similar actions.[136]

In the 2000s, the technique of open rescue was implemented by several groups operating in the United States. Actions were performed by COK, CAA, MFA, East Bay Animal Advocates, Animal Protection and Rescue League, Compassionate Consumers, United Animal Rights Coalition, and GourmetCruelty.com.[137] However, few groups succeeded in sustaining this form of action; their protest cycle was short, with many recording one or two actions in the lifetime of the organisation. The most active, organised, and sustained actions came from MFA and COK. But during the early implementation years, open rescue underwent reinvention and modification.

How did the technique of open rescue change? First, publicity and civil disobedience were performed differently. Whereas Australian activists had from time to time sought arrest by publicly announcing their actions to authorities and the media, COK activists 'weren't arrested for breaking and entering, trespass, or theft'.[138] COK activists never intended to get caught during their raid; not once did they contact police during their night-time visits.[139] Despite being 'willing to go to jail',[140] they only prepared for arrest after media exposure. While 'paper trails' were left to substantiate local prosecution, no court case, it seems, ever eventuated.[141]

As time progressed, there came to be a serious re-evaluation of the technique. There appeared to be less emphasis on open rescue and more of a focus on undercover investigations. With regard to COK, the last reported release of an animal occurred in May 2004, when activists were investigating a battery egg farm in Millington, Maryland.[142] Thereafter, organisations such as COK and MFA jettisoned the open rescue method and pursued undercover investigations of farms, slaughterhouses, hatcheries, and saleyards.[143] Typically, this approach was used when activists sought legal employment within the target institution. In contrast to open rescues, investigators remained anonymous, as scenes of the farm or the slaughterhouse were recorded with hidden cameras. Interactions between the activist and the animal subject were transformed, as the focus turned to documenting the condition of the animals rather than releasing them from their confines. In undercover investigations, publicity occurred when a claim, buttressed by weeks, even months, of evidence-gathering, was prosecuted through the media.

After only a few short years of applying the technique, American activists appeared to have abandoned open rescue. In contrast to Everett

Rogers' claim, that the rate of adopting an innovation increases as more and more people engage with it,[144] the case of open rescue indicates that the growth in numbers of adopters did not lead to widespread use of the tactic. That is, after an initial foray with open rescue, American animal activists reverted back to the traditional method of undercover investigations. From 2001 to 2011, COK and MFA recorded a total of 32 actions, most of them undercover investigations.[145] Ultimately, they defined a repertoire that was effective for their needs and context, which meant largely pursuing furtive, semi-legal methods of investigation.

The diffusion of open rescue in Europe, however, offers a different story. The technique was first applied and consolidated by groups such as *Räddningstjänsten* of Sweden, *Maqi* and *Befriete Tiere* of Germany, and *Verein Gegen Tierfabriken* of Austria.[146] Their actions peaked in 2007 and receded as a result of arrest and prosecution. A few examples illustrate this trend. For instance, *Räddningstjänsten*, which was an umbrella organisation for numerous Swedish animal groups, was the first to implement open rescue on 28 October 1999. It was a small group of people dedicated to the theory and practice of non-violent civil disobedience. Until 2007, they consistently applied the technique in Swedish egg and broiler farms. 'To liberate animals is a concrete action which provides results immediately and I see it as an important part of my struggle for animal protection', said Majja Carlsson.[147] Recording a total of 16 actions, they successfully rescued approximately 470 farmed animals.[148] Similarly, the German group *Maqi* began engaging in open rescue from 1998 until 2005. They recorded a total of 31 actions and rescued approximately 656 animals.[149] Although open rescue was applied erratically, in the late 2000s there appeared to be a resurgence.

A new wave of contention emerged in Europe, in places where open rescue had never been used before. On 27 August 2007, the Spanish group *Igualdad Animal* first applied the technique, known in Spanish as *rescates abiertos*. Activists consciously entered an intensive piggery without concealing their faces, documented the conditions, and freed three piglets from their confines. A video of the action was released and made available on the Internet.[150] After that, they engaged in twelve more *rescates abiertos*, which targeted battery egg farms, dog breeding facilities, rabbit farms, and mink fur farms, and even released and rehomed a baboon from a circus.[151] However, by 22 June 2011, twelve key activists from different parts of Spain had been arrested by authorities, accused of releasing 20,000 mink in 2007. Their actions were frequently referred to

by the judge and the media as acts of 'eco-terrorism'. Once again, open rescue and other disruptive acts were curbed by state repression.[152]

Outside Australia, the future of open rescue is uncertain. It was implemented by diverse animal groups as a tool for animal liberation, visibility, and publicity, as a way to draw attention to the plight of animals. Photographs and videos were supposed to expose the raw conditions of animals while simultaneously representing the care and gentleness of the rescuers. Activists hoped to harness the virtues of open rescue and avoid the pitfalls that befell militant activists, who were criticised for their destruction of property. However, in the struggle for animal rights, practitioners of open rescue in America and Europe suffered the same fate as their militant cousins. State repression heavily curtailed their activity. The method of undercover investigations, without animal rescue, offered perhaps a more effective avenue for achieving visibility and awareness. By way of infiltration, such as employment, undercover activists were able to document and reveal the hidden reality of animal suffering in slaughterhouses, farms, stockyards, scientific institutions, circuses, and zoos, to mention only a few key sites. In some cases, they were able to persuade authorities to arrest animal abusers captured on film.[153]

However, in the United States, animal activists attempting to document animal industries, regardless of whether the methods were 'legal' or 'illegal', increasingly faced prosecution under new repressive state legislation: 'ag-gag' laws.[154] Ag-gag laws were first introduced in the United States in the 1990s and were designed to criminalise unauthorised recordings and photography in animal industries. Whereas previous laws were intended to deal with 'eco-terrorists' (that is radical militant groups like the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front),[155] since 2011, new legislation was passed in several US states which targeted other animal activists. Collectively, these laws made it an offence to produce, possess, or distribute video, audio, or photographs of an animal facility without written consent or gain access to or employment with an animal enterprise under false pretences. Many other states also tried, but failed, to introduce ag-gag laws.[156] Ag-gag law was designed to censure investigators, whistle-blowers, and journalists; to deter the politics of sight, the spectacle of animal rescues, and undercover investigations; and to ultimately silence animal activists. Journalist Will Potter claims that ag-gag laws could potentially harm whistle-blowers and journalists by criminalising news gathering, creating harsher penalties for critics, and turning sources into criminals.[157] 'These bills are just the latest weapon

in the industry's arsenal used to hide repellent industry animal abusers from curious consumers', argues Sonci Kingery.[158] Ag-gag has resulted in a mixture of successful and failed prosecutions.[159] At the same time, there was active resistance to these draconian laws.[160] Although sections of the American establishment mobilised to quell the tactics of animal activists, methods such as undercover investigation remain central tools for many small and large activist organisations.

Conclusion

Over the course of the 1990s, the methods of animal activism shifted. Patty Mark inaugurated a new kind of spectacle at Alpine Poultry Farm. Open rescue was provocative, disruptive, symbolic, and public- and media-orientated. It was adopted by various activists across Australia and later around the world. It played a significant part in the claims of the animal movement.

Open rescue was transformative. The spectacle of open rescue, the narratives it created and the vivid imagery it captured, revealed the raw truth of intensive farming, a practice that had been hidden from public view since its development in post-war Australia. The production and circulation of these narratives and images in popular television programmes represented a change in the way activists communicated their claims. They stimulated the argument that contemporary farming practices were cruel and unnecessary. Open rescue at Paul's piggery offered a powerful example of political change, in which the tether system was banned in New South Wales. However, these methods also resulted in increasing forms of repression, fines, convictions, and jail. The limitations of open rescue were clearly demonstrated in the courts, where most cruelty prosecutions failed.

The transnational diffusion of open rescue demonstrated the influence of Australians in the global animal movement. The method was adopted and implemented by international actors. However, in many cases, the technique had a brief life span. Activists applying open rescue were either heavily repressed by authorities or they abandoned the method in favour of undercover investigations.

This creative method proliferated and diffused around Australia, significantly enhancing the tactics of the animal movement and the way they made their claims. Activists around Australia learnt new techniques for contesting the politics and culture of animal exploitation: they learnt

to sleuth, gather evidence, and rescue animals inside farms; they explored and developed a dynamic relationship with the media; and they provoked strong reactions from the public, supporters, and opponents. Their bold actions were empowering, but at times they were also bitterly disappointing for they could not produce the wider, systemic changes activists desired. Nonetheless, activists persevered in their efforts to expose the hidden truth and to shock people out of complacency and inaction.

While open rescue was a method for domestic activism, the following chapter explores how Australian activists engaged in global activism.

Notes

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5. J. B. McCarter, 'Automation and Intensive Housing', *The Pig Farmer*, no. 1 (March 1967): 495–500.
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20. Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), 208.
21. Patty Mark, 'The Dungeons of Alpine Poultry', *Action: Animal Liberation Magazine*, no. 47 (1994): 4–5.
22. 'Interview with Open Rescue Pioneer Patty Mark', *OpenRescue.org*, 27 March 2003, http://www.openrescue.org/news/20030327.html.
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24. 'The People Who Rescue Animals', *Action: Animal Liberation Magazine*, no. 63 (June 2000): 8–9.
25. Mark, 'The Dungeons of Alpine Poultry'.
26. Hinch, 'The Dungeons of Alpine Poultry'.
27. 'Interview with Open Rescue Pioneer Patty Mark'.
28. OpenRescue.org, 'About Open Rescue', n.d., http://www.openrescue.org/about/index.html (accessed 15 September 2014); For another similar description of open rescue see: Tony Milligan, *Civil Disobedience: Protest, Justification and the Law* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), chap. 11.
29. Pachirat, *Every Twelve Seconds*, 245.
30. Ibid., 252.
31. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 19.
32. Ibid., 102.
33. Ibid., 6.
34. Elisa Aaltola, 'Animal Suffering: Representations and the Act of Looking', *Anthrozoos* 27, no. 1 (2014): 19–31.

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CHAPTER 7

‘A Bloody Business’: Lyn White and Transnational Investigative Campaigning, 2003–11

It was meant to be a standard two-week sea voyage. On the eve of Ramadan and Hajj festivities in 2003, the *Cormo Express* carried its unsuspecting passengers to Saudi Arabia. That was supposed to be their final destination. Fifty-two thousand sheep were to be offloaded, fattened a little, sold in the domestic market, and eventually killed in ritual slaughter. Instead they were embroiled in a transnational diplomatic, political, and moral struggle. Saudi Arabia did not want them anymore; a couple hundred of them were allegedly infested with ‘scabby mouth’. Australian officials and industry disputed the assessment and were desperate to sell and offload the sheep elsewhere. Weeks and weeks passed, and the sheep were still stuck on the livestock carrier, with many dead and dying on board.[1] During the trade crisis, more than 15,000 sheep died on four separate shipments to the Middle East.[2] Animal activists, the RSPCA, and unions attacked the industry; it was not the first or the last time they would do so. The transnational saga was described as the ‘worst crisis in a decade’.[3]

Sceptical of government and industry reports about the conditions of the animals being sent to the Middle East, the Australian Federation of Animal Societies (the Federation), which in 1997 had adopted the name Animals Australia, decided to send Lyn White to investigate.[4]

White joined Animals Australia in 2003. Before then, she had been a dedicated police officer in South Australia for twenty years. Throughout her police career, she attended every imaginable crime. During those years, along with the mental and emotional fortitude she developed, she acquired a set of police skills that would prove invaluable to her work as

G. Villanueva, *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970–2015*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62587-4_7

an animal activist.[5] In her years as a police officer, her colleagues, aware of her passion for animals, referred cases of animal cruelty to her.[6] Senior Constable White was remembered by one colleague as a charismatic individual and 'a very skilful police officer'.[7] However, at the age of thirty-seven, White began questioning her life and career. One day, after reading about the plight of caged moon bears in China, White quickly became drawn to animal advocacy. After decades in the police force, she eventually quit to pursue a full-time career as an animal advocate for the group Animals Asia.[8]

Although Australian activists were aware of animal cruelty in the live animal export trade, few had travelled abroad to personally gather information and evidence. 'Initially I didn't really see the advantages of having a former police officer join us', said Executive Director of Animals Australia Glenys Oogjes, 'but within a year of Lyn joining us, we'd undertaken our first investigation and it really did have an immediate effect.'[9]

On 26 November 2003, White travelled to Kuwait to apply her police skills. There, she was joined by an investigator from the British-based Compassion in World Farming (CIWF). Together they observed and carefully documented the state of the sheep while they were being unloaded from the *Al Kuwait*. They then boarded the ship to examine the housing conditions and counted the number of sheep that had died. They witnessed 'dead, dying and injured sheep' at portside.[10] Once they concluded their investigation, Animals Australia launched a complaint with the Western Australian police alleging that *Al Kuwait* breached the Animal Welfare Act of 2003. A full account of White's investigation was submitted, along with photographic and video evidence. A prolonged court case against the exporter ensued.[11] On three separate occasions throughout this controversy, esteemed television journalist Richard Carleton and *60 Minutes* brought the 'touchy subject' of live animal exports to national audiences.[12]

Within a decade, White would conduct a further eleven investigations in the Middle East, Turkey, and Indonesia, documenting the mistreatment of Australian animals exported for slaughter. The evidence that she gathered resulted in notable achievements: a leading export company was prosecuted for animal cruelty, trade to Egypt and Indonesia was suspended, the sheep trade to Egypt was banned, and there were significant government and industry reforms.[13]

White has been described as one of 'the most effective' activists in the history of the Australian animal movement.[14] She has been celebrated

as an 'influential and courageous campaigner' who displays 'bravery, tenacity and stamina'.[15] She has developed a prominent public profile and has been interviewed by virtually every current affairs programme in Australia. In June 2014, in recognition of her contributions, she was appointed member of the Order of Australia for 'significant service to the community as an animal rights and welfare advocate'.[16]

Since her first investigation, White had developed into a quintessential transnational activist. Following Tarrow, transnational activists are defined as 'people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in contentious politics that involve them in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts'.[17] However, as Tarrow emphasises, transnational activists conventionally represent a 'transmutation of domestic activism' rather than a shift from the domestic to the international arena.[18] In other words, while activists may have conceptual connections to global politics, their practical activities are mostly situated within local places. This chapter offers a different account of transnational activism as practised by White. What made White different to her local counterparts, and Tarrow's version of transnational activists, was her ability to shift her activism between the domestic and international spheres. She was able to take advantage of 'the expanded nodes of opportunity of a complex international society'.[19] She operated in foreign cultures and in risky environments, networked with people and groups, and campaigned on local and international issues, both overseas and in Australia. In the course of her work, she developed a repertoire of animal activism that this book calls 'transnational investigative campaigning'.

For decades prior to White's emergence, the animal movement failed to effectively challenge the export trade. As explored in Chap. 4, there was the occasional victory, such as the 1985 Senate Committee report *Export of Live Sheep from Australia*. Over time, collective action sporadically flared up, ranging from the symbolic, such as candlelight vigils and street demonstrations, to the obstructive and disobedient, such as blockades and sit-ins. But the creation and performance of transnational investigative campaigning signified the beginning of a new, more intense wave of contentious politics and a form of making claims that was highly attuned to contemporary media and to the international dimensions of the export industry. Three themes characterise this innovative method of activism: international sites of contention, transnational activist networks, and old and new media campaigning. Transnational investigative campaigning was persuasive and influential in domestic and international

politics. Indeed, the development of transnational investigative campaigning is the animal movement's example par excellence of global activism.

'Pain for Animals, Profit for People': A History of Live Animal Exports and Its Opposition

The export of live animals in Australia has its origins in the colonial period. For the first few decades of settlement in New South Wales, livestock were too few in number and too valuable to be exported, but they eventually became Australia's first export trade. In the 1830s, a small fleet of ships ferried hundreds of sheep between Van Diemen's Land and the Port Phillip District.[20] Horses, cattle, and pigs were transported across borders, but sheep were the most commonly exported animal.[21] Nancy Cushing argues that the export trade 'was an essential element of the colonial project, which largely escaped criticism because of its invisibility'.[22] With the passage of time, the export of livestock constituted a trading network among the Australian colonies and foreign markets, which included New Zealand, New Caledonia, India, Mauritius, Singapore, and South Africa.[23]

The modern export of animals developed in the early 1960s, when Australia commenced trade with the Middle East. The first load of sheep exported to the region followed a meeting at the Cockpit Hotel in Singapore, where four capitalists, who later went on to play an influential role in the development of the trade, agreed to a trial shipment.[24] A booming oil economy and a strong preference for fresh meat, or 'hot meat', facilitated the development of the industry.

Countries that imported live animals were predominately Islamic, with a minority of the population belonging to Christian or Jewish denominations. Islamic scripture, the Qur'an, proscribes what is lawful or permitted. An object or action that is permissible is termed *halal*, and *haram* is its antonym. Sheep, cattle, and a variety of other animals were considered halal, and their consumption was allowable. However, they must be treated and killed according to Islamic doctrine.[25]

Initially two carriers transported 6000 sheep to ports in the Persian Gulf. By 1970, the largest carrier, the *Cormoran*, had the capacity to carry 28,000 sheep. Within a few years, ships able to transport 50,000 animals were coming into existence.[26] As the trade developed, ships designed specifically to carry livestock were built, techniques were

improved, and organisational skills evolved to handle the immense number of sheep. By 1980, the largest ship, the *Al Qurain*, was able to carry 92,000 sheep to the Middle East for slaughter.[27]

In 1986–87, the livestock export industry in Australia grew to assume the position of world leader, with the Middle East being the largest and most valuable market.[28] Over time, however, as Fig. 7.1 reveals, the number of exported animals fluctuated. The number of sheep exported fell from the 1988 high of 7 million to approximately 2.4 million in 2011.[29] A shortage in the national sheep count and the high price of sheep partially explain this drop. However, the export of cattle increased. Whereas in 1988, approximately 81,500 cows were sent overseas, in 2011, 621,500 were exported. Despite the ebb and flow of the market, the industry body Meat & Livestock Australia (MLA) maintained that Australia was one of the world's largest and most successful livestock exporters.[30] In recent years, the livestock export industry has been worth over $800 million per year.[31]

The trade was not immune to crises, which not only harmed the animals but also damaged the industry's public image. On 27 March 1980, fire consumed the *Farid Fares*, a freighter carrying 40,000 sheep off the coast of South Australia. One person drowned; the rest of the crew escaped on lifeboats and were rescued. The sheep were less fortunate and perished at sea. For days, the charred hulk of the *Farid Fares* drifted until it sank.[32] Other crises plagued the trade. In 1989, Saudi Arabia temporarily banned the import of live sheep from Australia because officials there suspected the sheep were diseased. The episode caused a diplomatic furore (which partially explains the slump in exports noted in Fig. 7.1). Over 400,000 sheep were stranded in the Persian Gulf.[33] Approximately 30,000 sheep died on the six vessels that were rejected by Saudi Arabia.[34] But even under conventional conditions, overcrowding, heat, stress, disease outbreaks, and delays caused unnecessary animal suffering and public controversy.

The first wave of opposition to the trade emerged not because of concern about animal suffering but because of industrial grievances. In the 1970s, owing to changing demand for wool, employment in the meat industry declined and abattoirs began to close. Fluctuations in seasonal weather and the export of live sheep to foreign markets compounded the problem. In 1974, the Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union (AMIEU) initiated an industrial campaign that targeted the companies associated with the trade and lobbied the government to place

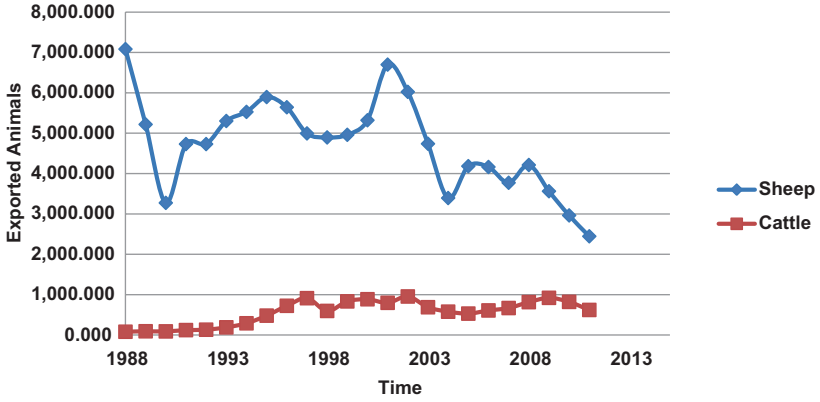

Fig. 7.1 Number of livestock exported, 1988–2011. *Source* Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Government

restrictions and quotas on the export industry to protect meat workers' jobs. Collective actions in the late 1970s also included blockades and pickets. However, the campaign was undermined by the strong influence of the farming sector and the lack of political support from the wider labour movement. The campaign received little community support and no positive media coverage.[35] Strategically in a weak position, the AMIEU drew support from the animal movement, which generated positive media coverage and stirred public opinion.[36]

The issue of live exports first came to the attention of the animal movement in the late 1970s, several years after the AMIEU had begun protesting. One day in August 1977, Christine Townend stumbled upon a letter in the pages of *The Sydney Morning Herald* written by a 'Mr H Dowsett'. Townend indignantly read about the horrors of the live sheep trade. The letter described a report commissioned by the International Society for the Protection of Animals, which had sent a field officer to the Middle East to investigate abattoirs and the slaughter process. 'Due to the large number of livestock involved', the letter quoted, 'the men worked at a furious pace that was not conducive to humane slaughter'. The field officer, who was reportedly familiar with Muslim and Jewish slaughter methods, concluded that what he saw was a clear violation of ritual slaughter doctrines.[37] It was the first time Townend had heard about the trade.[38] It would be her passion and advocacy that would

lead the Federation to adopt a policy against the trade. There were also other opponents. In 1979, the issue of exporting horses was brought to the attention of the Victorian RSPCA by a passionate council member, who personally investigated the issue. Not long afterwards, the Victorian RSPCA developed an official policy: 'The RSPCA is opposed to the export of live food animals for immediate slaughter. The Society advocates the adoption of a "carcass only" trade.'[39] Opposition to the trade from animal groups rested on a simple premise: that it caused unnecessary animal suffering.

In the 1980s, the arrival of sheep in a foreign port was the culmination of a long and arduous journey. Sheep typically began life on a pastoral farm, from where they were sold and then transported thousands of kilometres to an export feedlot. Depending on the location, transportation by truck took anywhere from 15 hours to nearly three days, sometimes without food and possibly without water.[40] At the portside feedlot, sheep were kept for a minimum of four or five days, though usually longer. Their new environment afforded them an opportunity to rest from the stresses of travel. There they also adapted to a more intensive feeding and housing system. However, some would struggle. No one person was responsible for their welfare while at the feedlot.[41]

After some time, sheep numbering in the tens of thousands were transported to the port for embarkation, where they were loaded onto ships via ramps. The sheep were handled by 'wharfies', stock people, and ship crew who carried out the task with some care, although they lacked proper training in animal husbandry. Conditions on board the carriers were similar to an intensive farm—an unusual environment for an animal that grazed in open fields. Sheep were commonly overstocked in pens, sometimes so tight that they were unable to lie down.[42] The confined animals suffered from a range of health problems: low serum calcium, increased blood acidity, heat stress, trauma, and pulmonary failure, to mention a few. The rocking of the ship, poor ventilation, heat, and overcrowding caused or exacerbated their conditions. Carriers had no sick bays to treat sheep.

Journeys lasted several weeks, and mortality rates were high, numbering in the hundreds to the thousands for each ship that travelled—not including deaths that occurred prior to the sea voyage. Conditions and processes for unloading sheep in the Middle East varied considerably in their efficiency and provisions for animal welfare.[43] Usually awaiting the sheep was ritual slaughter, where their throats were slit while they were

fully conscious, leaving them to slowly bleed to death.[44] In 1981, on a visit to an abattoir in Kuwait, Lieutenant Colonel Harries wrote:

> It was a total mess when I saw it at that time. Sheep were mobbed up and driven into a room. They were jumped on by slaughtermen and turned over and their throats were cut, and they were left there in view of the other sheep, which we do not think is a good thing. It was all a massacre of the innocents.[45]

By 1980, alliances were being forged between the AMIEU and the burgeoning animal movement to jointly oppose the trade. The initial labour–animal alliance was more than a policy position on paper; it included direct participation by animal activists in the meat workers' industrial actions.

On 12 May 1980, Townend, Patty Mark, and two others joined disgruntled workers at a picket line and blockade of the carrier ship *Al Qurain* in Portland, Victoria. The activists arrived to discover cars blocking trucks from transporting sheep from feedlots to loading docks. The activists carried placards that read: 'Pain for Animals, Profit for People', 'Stop Live Export', and 'Peacefull Co-Existence Not Painfull Export [*sic*]'. They met Jack Sparks, the president of the AMIEU, who in April had spoken at a rally in City Square, Melbourne, organised by Animal Liberation Victoria. Through a public address system, Sparks introduced Townend and Mark to the crowd. The animal liberationists explained to the horde, many of them male unionists who were a bit confused about these women carrying placards about animals, that they were united in a common struggle: to ban live animal exports. That statement was warmly received. Sparks ensured that the activists were shown around the feedlots. They had not previously been so close to observing the conditions of the animals destined for slaughter in the Middle East.[46] Throughout the day, hundreds of police escorted several trucks of sheep to the docks. After twelve hours, the blockade was dispersed by mounted police and officers on foot (Fig. 7.2).[47]

The next day in Federal Parliament, hard questions about the trade were being asked. Liberal MP Peter Falconer asked Peter Nixon, Minister for Primary Industry: 'Can the Minister assure the House that all the necessary Commonwealth measures are being taken to ensure the welfare of the sheep?'[48] Traditionally, questions regarding the trade, particularly those voiced by Labor MPs, had focused on its impact on meat

Fig. 7.2 Christine Townend holding 'Stop Live Export' sign, with Patty Mark standing to her left, at Portland industrial dispute, 12 May 1980. Photo courtesy of Christine Townend

workers' jobs. Previous events had not generated any concerns for animal welfare. Falconer's question was a break from previous debates and signified the beginning of a new discourse, one that would carry through to the present. Nixon responded to Falconer by recognising the 'considerable public comment on this trade' and attempted to alleviate any doubts about the viability of the trade and the safeguards and regulations installed to ensure animal welfare.[49]

The informal labour–animal alliance persevered well into the twenty-first century. Numerous AMIEU state branches supported the activities of animal groups working against live exports.[50] In some cases the united front was more explicit, such as when four meat workers and two animal advocates established and coordinated the Committee Against Live Exports (CALE) in Queensland.[51] However, in the course of time, the status of the union in the campaign diminished and was largely superseded by the animal movement. Nevertheless, when there were mobilisations and public demonstrations against the trade, a few AMIEU flags were still discernible in the crowd.

Separate from its informal alliance with the AMIEU, the animal movement developed its own methods for challenging the trade and making claims. Its repertoire of contention ranged from the conventional to the symbolic and disruptive. The Federation pursued a path of political lobbying, which included pressing the Australian government for more stringent animal welfare measures. Animal liberationists also had their symbolic forms of protest, such as the 'National Day of Mourning for Animals Shipped Overseas for Slaughter', which involved a procession of people carrying banners against the trade.[52] Their marches were 'very dignified', carried out in a 'silent procession down Swanston Street' in Melbourne.[53] Candles were lit in a public vigil, creating an 'exceptional moment of respect and mourning for these animals'.[54] On other occasions, flowers were thrown into the water at ports where sheep were loaded 'in memory of the hundreds of thousands of animals who have died'.[55] Theatrical performances were also staged in the central business district of Sydney, where twenty naked people, some carrying placards, lay strewn on the ground in front of curious onlookers.[56]

However, obstructive and disobedient forms of action were also deployed. Seven animal liberationists chained themselves to a live sheep carrier after it docked in Fremantle, Western Australia.[57] Blockades involving vehicles and people, akin to those conducted by meat workers, manifested around ports and feedlots in order to stop the *Al Kuwait*. Protestors in dinghies and kayaks attempted to prevent the carrier ship from docking. 'We managed to stop the *Al Kuwait* for 28 hours', reported Noah Hannibal and Angie Stephenson.[58]

In the course of opposition to the trade, cycles of protest have come in distinct waves. The term 'cycle of protest' refers to those periods of intense and more or less continuous mobilisation that periodically arise in most modern societies.[59] Cycles intersect with political opportunities, those

'dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action'.[60] The meat workers' industrial action represented the first cycle. The labour–animal alliance was an extension of this. But the animal movement's successful bout of political lobbying, coupled with other forms of mobilisation, was arguably a second cycle. However, after the mid-1980s, sustained collective action diminished and exhausted itself, with protests occurring only sporadically. Since the 1980s, these cycles involved collective action, public debate, government and industry response, review, and reform. Since 2003, a third cycle of contention emerged, one with a more intense tone of public concern and one that delivered more reforms by government and industry. These transformations largely occurred because of innovations in how activists engaged in politics and how they made their claims: transnational investigative campaigning.

'Dead, Dying, and Injured Sheep': Transnational Investigative Campaigning

The creation of transnational investigative campaigning by Lyn White and Animals Australia altered the way in which live animal exports were contested. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the technique emerged in 2003 when activists conducted their first overseas investigation into the live export trade, where they witnessed dead, dying, and injured sheep. The method was a form of transnational activism.

Transnational activism can be defined as 'coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions'.[61] It is a style of activism that mobilises individuals from more than one nation who engage in contentious politics within either a nation or an international institution. In general, transnational activists seek to change national and international politics. They mobilise to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms and to advocate for political change.[62] In the twentieth century, transnational activists, argue Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, have instigated and sustained social and political transformations. They are significant because they multiply 'the channels of access to the international system'.[63] Global justice, environment and climate change, human rights, trade unions, peace, and anti-nuclear campaigns are some examples of transnational social movements that have played a role in contending and shaping international politics in the modern period.

The methods of transnational collective action are as diverse as those of domestic social movements; some actions are rooted in local affairs with an appeal to the international, while others are located in the global arena. Keck and Sikkink offer a typology of transnational activism that includes four aspects: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics.[64] Tarrow highlights six general processes of 'transnational contention' that may occur separately but that are usually combined. At the domestic level, there is 'global issue framing' and 'internationalization', which involve the use of global discourses to respond to local problems. Sites of activism may 'scale shift', and claims may 'diffuse' from one space to another. Internationally, there is a process of 'externalization', where domestic claims reach international politics and institutions. Across these processes, 'transnational coalition formation' involves the creation of networks and coordinated international campaigns and events.[65] As discussed in what follows, transnational investigative campaigning encapsulates most of these characteristics.

Transnational activism is discernible throughout history. The origins of what Peter Stamatov terms 'long-distance advocacy' were evident in the early modern period, within the political context of empire. In the early sixteenth century, Catholic radicals in the Dominican outpost of the Iberian empire actively and vocally opposed slavery and the harsh treatment of indigenous peoples. Reforming exploitative imperial institutions became the main preoccupation of Bartolome de las Casas.[66] The eighteenth-century anti-slavery movement, which stretched across the British Empire and the United States, was another transnational force that contested race relations and formed alliances among churches, labour groups, and rights activists.[67] Working-class internationalism was encouraged in Europe by the London Trades Council, which was formed in May 1860 and established links with French workers, promoting regular contact and communication.[68] The labour movement, which included figures such as Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, is another pertinent example. Immigrant communities, which engage in local affairs, send remittances, visit their birthplace, and engage in political activity, represent another long tradition of transnational activism.[69] And the case of Irish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century illustrates the existence of transnational identity and practices, which linked people in Ireland with Irish immigrants in America.[70]

But what distinguishes twentieth-century transnational activism from its historical antecedents? Keck and Sikkink argue that the sheer 'number,

size, and professionalism, and the speed, density, and complexity of international linkages' have dramatically grown, which makes modern transnational social movements distinct.[71] The number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) campaigning on various social justice causes has increased, for which human rights, environment, and women's rights account for over half the total number of organisations.[72] Some scholars go even further and suggest that recent anti-globalisation mobilisations are distinct because they 'include multiple classes of people' and are 'more broadly based'.[73] While the scholarship is suggestive of historical trends, Stamatov contends that such claims are 'less persuasive when it comes to specifying the concrete causal processes through which the larger structural or cultural context shapes collective action'.[74] If the puzzle of historical causality remains elusive, what then produces contemporary transnational activism?

Scholars identify a number of factors as the causes of modern transnational activism. They generally agree upon two things: cheaper air travel and the development of electronic communication.[75] Both transport and communication have compressed time-space and have further facilitated international contact. Use of the Internet and other digital media have cultivated loose organisational networks, weak identity ties, and permanent campaigns that define 'new global politics'.[76]

Aside from that, opinion is divided over the extent to which globalisation has facilitated transnational activism. In recent times, globalisation has represented a process whereby sovereign nation-states are interlaced and undermined by transnational actors, particularly corporations, with 'varying prospects of power, orientations, identities, and networks'.[77] Globalisation is often presented as contemporary, unique, and unparalleled in history. However, some scholars consider it a larger force that has unfolded in waves and surges throughout history, which are neither unique nor irreversible.[78] Ruth Reitan argues that in the late twentieth century, transnational activism increased, coincided, and accelerated alongside the 'structural violence' of neoliberal globalisation.[79] 'Because of its complexity', continues Reitan, 'global, neoliberal capitalism is seen as requiring a multi-pronged and multi-level resistance'.[80] The wave of mobilisations against neoliberal globalisation, typified by the 1999 Battle of Seattle, represented, for some scholars, the emergence of new 'global social movements'.[81] However, scholars such as Tarrow remain unconvinced that globalisation is the only or even major cause of contemporary

Fig. 7.3 Lyn White wearing local attire, conducting an investigation into Australian live sheep exports in Oman. The sheep is held like a sack rather than being appropriately handled. Photo courtesy of Animals Australia / animalsaustralia.org

transnational activism.[82] Tarrow views 'internationalism', a 'triangular' structure in international politics that 'constrains' and 'creates' opportunities, as the primary framework in which citizens engage in action.[83]

For Australian animal activists, transnational activism was motivated by the export of live animals and the inherent animal suffering it caused. As modern actors, their activism was enabled by travel and communication technology. But there is more to it than that. Transnational investigative campaigning was an innovative form of activism that was sustained over time and was marked by three characteristics: international sites of contention, transnational activist networks, and old and new media campaigning. Ultimately, transnational investigative campaigning had domestic and global consequences (Figs. 7.3 and 7.4).

Fig. 7.4 Lyn White pictured with several Australian sheep who are tied up and awaiting slaughter. Photo courtesy of Animals Australia / animalsaustralia.org

'Shanty-Like': International Sites of Contention

The export of live animals occurs in a global trade network that offered numerous international sites of contention. The structure of 'internationalism' provided an opportunity space for domestic actors 'to engage in collective action at different levels'.[84] In contrast to the generic transnational activism described by Tarrow, which he argues is 'less a migration from domestic to international arenas than a transmutation of domestic activism',[85] transnational investigative campaigning begins in the international arena. It is a form of activism highly attuned to the global nature of the trade.

Lyn White and other investigators travelled extensively to the Middle East and South-East Asia, to countries that were major importers of Australian animals. Between 2003 and 2011, nine extensive investigations into the handling and slaughter of Australian exported animals took place in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, the United Arab Emirates,

Egypt, Turkey, Israel, and Indonesia.[86] Most Middle Eastern and South-East Asian countries had no clear or enforced animal protection law; nor did they have adequate instruments to regulate the trade. As such, they were attractive targets for activists. According to the RSPCA, 'the training and competency of animal handlers and slaughtermen in such countries is often poor, and the facilities and equipment are unsophisticated and sometimes in a state of disrepair'.[87]

Spaces and facilities where Australian animals were routinely exploited and killed were the focus of the investigations. Major cities and provincial towns with large animal markets, some that operated six days a week, were spaces in which investigators documented egregious forms of animal treatment. They revealed that sheep were 'routinely dragged by legs, trussed and then pushed roughly into a car boot or on the back of small utes'.[88] Feedlots and other industry body sites were also subjects of their inquiries. They visited abattoirs where hundreds of sheep were slaughtered every day. These were slaughterhouses that were examples of the 'best practice' in the region, that undertaken 'animal-handling workshops' sponsored by MLA, and that had reported 'improved animal welfare'.[89] Municipal and 'shanty-like' slaughterhouses, backyard operations, and even a 'filthy communal toilet' where a sheep was slaughtered became sites for evidence-gathering.[90] Everywhere they looked, investigators discovered 'barbaric acts' and 'distressing treatment'.[91]

Transnational investigative campaigning typically occurred during the days leading up to *Eid-al-Adha*, the annual Muslim 'Festival of Sacrifice', which was a very carnivorous event. Festivities commenced at the end of the *Hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca each year. This was the busiest time for exporters and the local animal markets, where Muslims purchased animals in preparation for celebrating *Eid-al-Adha*. Across the Middle East on this day countless numbers of animals were slaughtered in sacrifice. In Cairo's working-class Sayyida Zeinab neighbourhood, camels bellowed as 'blood-soaked butchers wrestled dozens of animals to the ground and slashed their throats for an admiring crowd':

> Neighbors leaned out their windows to watch and cheer, or snap cellphone pictures. Little boys daubed their hands in the blood and spattered one another, and teenagers helped remove steaming entrails from the carcasses. Scores of people pressed forward to buy fresh meat for the ritual holiday meal, standing in puddles of clotted gore.[92]

Handlers and butchers routinely failed to abide by a basic principle of Islamic scripture: that animals not be mistreated.

Around this season in 2006, White visited Cairo, Egypt, to monitor compliance with a memorandum of understanding that was negotiated by the Australian and Egyptian governments in an attempt to improve animal welfare.[93] She found that sheep purchased from markets 'were on each occasion dragged from the holding pen by either legs, horns, wool or head, then manhandled onto the ground and three legs tied with rope'.[94] In addition to visiting Egypt, White also travelled to the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain around the time of the Eid-al-Adha.

When investigating these dirty and dangerous spaces there was always a level of personal risk. 'She gets into these places with a hidden camera with men with big knives and axes who don't know her', said Howard Sacre, producer of *60 Minutes*. 'I mean, she could disappear in an instant.'[95] One time she visited Bassatin, a notorious Egyptian abattoir, where one worker began to intimidate her and her colleagues by making a 'kill gesture' by drawing his forefinger across his throat.[96] However, she mitigated physical and emotional risks in various ways. She typically wore local attire to blend into the Islamic culture, which usually meant wearing a hijab and clothes that fully covered her body. Similar to those times when she had attended gruesome crimes as a police officer, the way she persevered in these spaces was by controlling her emotions and focusing on the task at hand.[97] In addition, when she visited these spaces, she was aided by supportive individuals and local animal groups.

Transnational Activist Networks

Transnational investigative campaigning was advanced due to a network of local and international animal organisations. Networks are 'forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange'.[98] These activist organisations provided experience, resources, and local knowledge to White and Australian campaigners. Their assistance signified a process of 'transnational coalition formation', where actors from different countries with similar claims were brought together in a wide coalition.[99] The British-based CIWF lent its support by sending an experienced investigator to accompany White on her first mission. On another occasion, a skilled British freelance investigator, who was funded by the American animal

rights group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, or PETA, also accompanied White.[100] But the support of local groups was also crucial.

In the Middle East, White drew on the help of local animal protection groups. In Egypt, the Society for the Protection of Animal Rights Egypt (SPARE) played a part in transnational investigative campaigning. Founded in September 2001 by a couple, Amina Tharwat Abaza and Raouf Mishriky, SPARE was Egypt's first registered animal charity, which within a few years operated a dog and cat shelter as well as a donkey sanctuary and a number of clinics. According to Abaza, 'neither the concept nor the culture of animal welfare existed in Egypt'.[101] Even though working horses, donkeys, and mules are common and considered essential in developing countries, there is a lack of understanding about the basic needs of animals, who are usually in poor health, wounded, diseased, and lame. Local organisations like SPARE provided the basis for improving animal welfare, not only through their services but also through their education programmes. Rooted at the local level, SPARE played an important role in transnational investigative campaigning. When White visited Egypt, SPARE members helped her access the Bassatin abattoir. There, White documented the slaughterhouse's activities for 90 minutes.[102]

Resources and knowledge also fed back into the transnational activist networks. Animals Australia provided local groups in the Middle East and international groups with investigative material to lobby and pressure governments for improvements in animal protection.[103] Transnational activist conferences, such as the three-day Middle East Animal Welfare Conference in Cairo, provided the space for local and international groups to exchange knowledge and techniques and to present a united front for certain campaigns.[104]

White also developed a close friendship with Princess Alia bint Al Hussein, who is the sister of Jordan's King and the patron of Jordan's animal welfare society. When White presented the princess with footage of her investigation, the princess intervened to have the slaughterhouse in question closed down. Thereafter, White used her association with the princess to enter certain facilities officially, sometimes accompanied by royal guards. Since 2007, the princess has laid out a broad agenda to reform Jordanian slaughterhouses, which began with acquiring modern equipment, instituting mandatory pre-slaughter stunning, and creating facilities with stronger animal welfare elements.[105]

Old and New Media

Transnational investigative campaigns circulated in both traditional and digital media. Campaigns were remarkably successful at securing quality, domestic media coverage and making the animal cruelty of the live export trade highly visible. For Munro, the campaign was a 'moral crusade made for the mass media'.[106] These episodes were akin to 'global framing' or 'going global', where external symbols, that is evidence gathered overseas, orientated domestic claims.[107] Through traditional and digital media, transnational investigative campaigns powerfully influenced public debate and Australian politics—which is why conservative, rural politician Barnaby Joyce said with disdain, 'you don't conduct diplomatic affairs via the television'.[108] Stories, images, and video footage of transnational investigative campaigns circulated in traditional mass media outlets, such as newspapers, television, and radio. Animals Australia's investigations featured in popular current affairs programmes, such as *The 7:30 Report, Four Corners, 60 Minutes, Today Tonight*, and *Landline*.[109] In an era when traditional news and current affairs audiences in Australia were in decline, these current affairs programmes still broadcasted to large audiences.[110]

Transnational investigative campaigns were covered by agenda-setting media outlets, which exerted influence over other media and the broader public sphere. The best example of this was 'A Bloody Business' by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) *Four Corners*. Broadcast once a week on ABC, *Four Corners* is Australia's longest running investigative, current affairs programme and has a notable history of exposing scandals and igniting debate and inquiries. Aired on 30 May 2011, the persuasive exposé featured material from an Animals Australia and RSPCA investigation; it graphically revealed Australian cattle being abused and mistreated in eleven different abattoirs across four Indonesian cities.[111] The story sparked public outrage, provoked protests, and promoted wide media coverage. After a week of public pressure, the Australian government suspended (albeit temporarily) live animal exports to all Indonesian abattoirs. In recognition of the report and its immediate influence, the *Four Corners'* team, led by Sarah Ferguson, won Australian journalism's highest accolade, the Gold Walkley.[112] As Fig. 7.5 demonstrates, press coverage of the campaign dramatically increased in 2011 as a result of the controversy generated

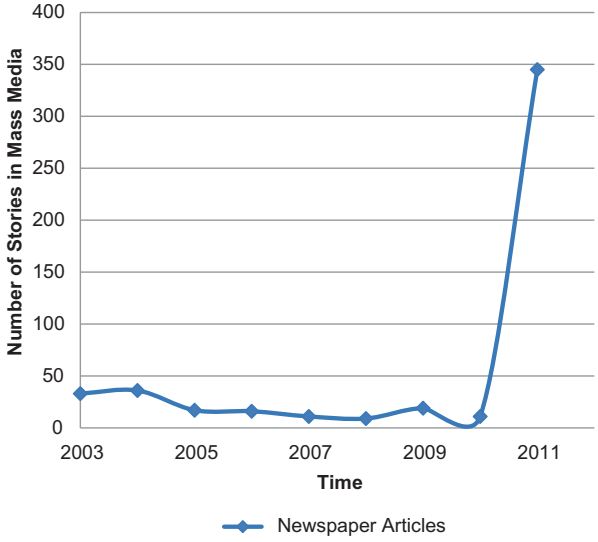

Fig. 7.5 Mass media coverage of live export campaign, 2003–11. *Source* Factiva

by 'A Bloody Business'. That year, 345 newspaper articles addressed the topic. In contrast, in 2003, 33 newspaper articles were published.[113] Over time, more coverage and space was dedicated to discussing the export trade. But what was the dominant tone of the content and what were its major themes?

The media framing of the transnational investigative campaign was predominately sympathetic and expressed in animal welfare terms. Presenting 'A Bloody Business', acclaimed journalist Kerry O'Brien said: 'Tonight we present a programme that will shock you. Some people are bound to find parts of it difficult to watch, as indeed I did. But this is a story that demands to be seen and heard.'[114] Martin Flanagan wrote in *The Age*, 'How stoic and brave is Lyn White, the former policewoman who visited the abattoirs? … She's my early nomination for Australian of the Year'.[115] Of course, there were exceptions, such as Steve Price's derisive opinion piece in the *Herald Sun*, which stated that 'irrational overreaction from animal lovers to any hint of animal cruelty is something you learn to live with if you work in the media.'[116] Nevertheless, as Nick Pendergrast argues, the animal welfare perspective was hegemonic in mainstream media coverage after 'A Bloody Business'.[117] 'While solutions

varied', argues Pendergrast, in reference to media content about the issue, 'they all focused on seeking to improve (rather than abolish) slaughter, either by reforming slaughter methods in Indonesia or moving slaughter to Australia.'[118] Articles rejected animal cruelty and either accepted or promoted humane slaughter, but they did not problematise the idea of using animals. Interestingly, these discursive frames illustrate the progress and limitations of the animal movement. In 1980, the day after the Portland action, *The Age* editorial categorically dismissed the industrial grievances of the meat workers and argued that claims of animal cruelty should be separated from the debate so as not to 'cloud the economic arguments about the trade'.[119] Thirty years later, arguments about the trade were primarily about animal welfare and how it could be improved.

In addition to traditional media outlets, activists utilised digital media. For almost two decades, the Internet and new technologies have emerged as integral and important tools for contemporary social movements. As captured by the terms 'slacktivism', 'hashtag activism', and 'clicktivism', the Internet has become a basic tool for modern activism and social movement organisations. Online activism constitutes a 'digital repertoire of contention', where new online protest forms and the migration of traditional protest methods may be ushering in a major shift in activism.[120] 'Cyberactivism' typically combines with traditional forms of organising and mobilising; contemporary movements are hybrids of online and offline activity.[121]

In general, the Internet has offered new, relatively inexpensive opportunities for activism; it has enhanced and accelerated communication, facilitated offline actions, and provided entirely new forms of online activism. Scholars argue that the Internet affords two key benefits: it significantly reduces the costs of creating, organising, and participating in (online and offline) protest; and it has the ability to transform individual actions into wider forms of collective action without requiring individuals to be physically present in the same time and space.[122] Since the mid-2000s, the rise of popular social networking media—services such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube—further added to the low-cost avenues of communication available to activists. By 2010, consolidated by the prevalence of smartphones, these Internet services were globally ubiquitous. 'Movements spread by contagion in a world networked by fast, viral diffusion of images and ideas', writes Manuel Castells.[123] The digital era offers tools for dissent, resistance, and rebellion.[124] The Internet is a means for activists to be empowered 'from below'.[125]

At the other end of the debate are those who are dubious of the claim that the Internet has revolutionised activism, arguing that the movements of the 1960s and 1970s effectively organised and mobilised without digital technologies.[126] Others point out that the Internet can also be a site for counter-power. Corporations continue to exert influence and pervade the online arena. Governments have the ability to control, regulate, and monitor the Internet.[127] They can shut down the Internet and repress dissent.

In response to those that overstate the power of the Internet as well as those that outright dismiss its capacity, Jennifer Earl and Katrina Kimport argue that technologies do not 'change societies or social processes through their mere existence but rather impact social processes through their mundane or innovative *uses*'.[128] Technology is a tool that is neither inherently good nor bad, but its potential and utility are realised through its creative and innovative use and application. In other words, digital technology is not necessarily the cause of social change, but it can be a tool for this purpose.

Transnational investigative campaigns were effective at mobilising the resources of the Internet and social media to communicate their claims—via messages, photos, and videos—and to use the Internet to organise actions, of both the online and offline varieties. One example illustrates this point. In 2011, signs of a 'new global politics' underpinned by digital communication were evident following the broadcast of 'A Bloody Business'.[129] The day after the story reverberated around Australia, the web sites of Animals Australia, the RSPCA, and GetUp!—organisations campaigning to end live exports—crashed 'under huge demand, with up to two thousand visitors per minute accessing the sites'.[130] The GetUp! petition, which called on Julia Gillard's government to immediately halt the live export of cattle to Indonesia, attracted nearly 200,000 signatures within a few days.[131] This number would eventually climb to more than 350,000. A frenzy of activity also unfolded on social media. The day after the exposé aired, #banliveexport was a topic more frequently referenced by Australian Twitter users than any other issue. Furthermore, over thirty public Facebook groups about the trade appeared.[132] Weeks later, more than 20,000 people marched across Australia to call on the government to permanently ban live animal exports.[133] This episode was a 'choreography of assembly', that is, it was a physical protest facilitated by social media.[134] Activism was not limited to the online world but transcended and mediated with the physical world. After nine years of

persistent transnational investigative campaigning, the public response to Animals Australia's campaign was unprecedented: the public overwhelmingly rejected the industry's treatment of animals and rallied, both figuratively and literally, behind the movement's call to end the trade.

In the digital era, the Internet and social media provided animal activists and transnational investigative campaigners with the tools to be effective communicators. 'We're almost cutting-edge at using those systems', reflected Glenys Oogjes on her organisation's use of digital communication technology. 'We're striving to get better at [it, too]'.[135] While animal activists, like other social justice campaigners, represent a tiny fraction of Internet users, they kept up to date with online trends in order to meet their needs. Since 2008, various animal groups—big and small, local and national—have been active on social media, connecting and communicating with a large online audience. For example, at the time of writing, the Animals Australia Facebook page has a following of around 1.5 million users. By contrast, two of the most well-known Australian environmental groups, the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Wilderness Society, have a smaller combined following of approximately 339,000 users. So important is social media that social movement organisations like Animals Australia have employed people dedicated to the area. Recent national forums held by activists have also included a high number of workshops that focused on online activism and its do-it-yourself philosophy.[136] In general, the Australian animal movement was effective at engaging with online activism and other technological trends to organise and mobilise.

'People Power': Local and Global Consequences

Transnational investigative campaigns had dramatic local and global consequences. Changes occurred due to decisions from industry and the Australian government. But these outcomes were contentious and did not meet the demands of the movement, which consistently campaigned for a permanent ban on the trade.

From 2003, the livestock industry was forced to respond to animal welfare problems and the controversy that followed them. Their response was generally reactive to transnational investigative campaigns, industry crises, and government policy. The industry vigorously pursued a public relations campaign to counter the animal movement's claims. 'Australia is the only country … that actively works in overseas markets to help

improve animal welfare conditions. If Australia was to stop exporting livestock, global animal welfare standards will unquestionably decline', proclaimed the National Farmers' Federation.[137] They have argued that industry involvement in foreign markets has improved animal welfare; their absence, therefore, would reverse animal welfare gains. Industry resources were directed towards researching improvements to livestock health and wellbeing.[138] MLA and LiveCorp also developed initiatives, such as 'in the ute, not the boot' campaign, which targeted consumers transporting animals from marketplaces in car boots.[139] More important interventions came from the Australian government.

Government intervention and new regulation have been the main driver in industry reform. In contrast to other transnational social movements that target 'supranational institutions' or corporations,[140] the Australian animal movement consistently directed its claims at the Australian government. Owing to the material unearthed by investigators, there were extraordinary cessations, albeit temporary ones, of trade with certain countries. In February 2006, live exports to Egypt were banned after *60 Minutes* broadcast a story on the trade with footage taken by Animals Australia that showed 'extreme acts of cruelty in a Cairo abattoir'.[141] After 'A Bloody Business', Agriculture Minister Joe Ludwig 'decided to halt the trade of live animals to the facilities identified by the footage'.[142] Several days later, on 8 June 2011, a total ban on cattle exports to Indonesia was implemented. *The Age* reported: 'The Gillard government has caved into public and internal party pressure and suspended all live cattle exports to Indonesia, in a move that could cost the industry up to $320 million'.[143] 'People power' had triumphed amid the 'outpouring by Labor MPs' over the controversy.[144] It was a case of 'accountability politics',[145] where activists sought to hold the state and industry to account for cruelty violations. And the government responded. In both episodes, trade cessations were based on Animals Australia's devastating footage and the public indignation it ignited. However, with the development of new rules governing exports, trade eventually resumed.

A number of government and independent reviews were undertaken to respond to animal welfare concerns and were typically followed by reforms. The first such report in the era of transnational investigative campaigns was conducted by John Keniry in December 2003. His report established the Australian Code for Export of Livestock, which called for greater government responsibility in granting export licences

and enforcing compliance.[146] Two important reports emerged as a result of 'A Bloody Business': *The Independent Review of Australia's Livestock Export Trade* (Farmer Review) and the *Industry Government Working Group on Live Cattle Exports* report (IGWG).[147] The Australian Government accepted all fourteen recommendations made by the Farmer Review as well as those of the IGWG. One of the most significant reforms was the implementation of the Exporter Supply Chain Assurance System (ESCAS). It was a regulatory system designed to adhere to the minimum animal welfare standards set by the World Organisation for Animal Health. It was designed to be implemented from the farmyard, up to and including slaughter in the importing country.[148]

Did ESCAS improve animal welfare? First, while some base-level protection was advanced, it still failed to meet a number of vital needs for animals on board ships, such as 'providing enough space to be able to comfortably lie down and easily access feed and water, bedding to lie on, or a continuous supply of fresh water'.[149] Second, pre-slaughter stunning, a major point of debate in the media, was not a requirement of ESCAS. Third, mortality rates during transportation and sea voyages continued to be a problem without end. Fourth, after the establishment of the regulatory system, a number of allegations of non-compliance and breaches of ESCAS were reported. In 2012, the majority of reports that had been assessed by the Department of Agriculture were filed by Animals Australia and the RSPCA; a minority were self-reported by the exporter.[150] Animal charities with limited resources were unofficially charged with the responsibility of enforcing the complex regulatory system designed by government to ensure animal welfare. Their transnational investigations continued to reveal breaches of the rules both industry and government agreed to abide by.

Conclusion

Transnational investigative campaigning demonstrated the enormous power and influence of the animal movement in domestic and international politics. Live animal exports provoked a variety of collective actions, which constituted various cycles of protest that were marked by industrial action, the labour-animal alliance, political lobbying, symbolic protests, and obstructive and disobedient actions. Yet, despite long-term opposition to the trade, activism was initially limited to Australia. From

2003, White and the Animals Australia team developed a form of transnational activism: a combination of international and domestic activism that ignited a new cycle of protest that challenged the trade. More than being a simple makeover of local activism, transnational investigative campaigning, in large part, was executed at international sites of animal exploitation, in the dirty and dangerous saleyards, and on the killing floors of the Middle East and Indonesia. In the Middle East, through a process of exchange and collaboration, numerous local and international actors jointly campaigned on animal welfare, an endeavour typified by the Middle East Network for Animal Welfare. Although there is much work to do, activists have directed their resources to addressing welfare problems at the local level. On the domestic front, Animals Australia was hugely successful at developing a media profile, circulating claims in traditional mainstream media and new media formats. While some scholars are eager to point to the transformative power of the Internet in heralding a 'new global activism',[151] transnational investigative campaigning was diverse and not exclusively reliant on the Internet but cross-fertilised with traditional mainstream media. Ultimately, transnational investigative campaigning had an impact on domestic and international politics.

In contrast to scholarship on transnational activism that strongly emphasises supranational institutions as major targets for activists, the nation-state remained an important target in contentious animal politics.[152] Such activity, to borrow Audie Klotz's theoretical observation, reinforced the primacy of nation-state rule.[153] Because of transnational investigative campaigning, the Australian government imposed temporary trade cessations and enacted new regulatory frameworks, such as ESCAS, that were designed to reach across the supply chain to ensure animal welfare, all of which had consequences for trading partners. In many ways, Animals Australia's transnational activism was remarkably effective.

Although animal activists have thus far failed to secure their stated goal of a permanent ban, their global activism ultimately had a real effect on Australian politics and the trading of live animals. Many of the movement's outcomes discussed in this chapter were consistent with the five types of influence described by Keck and Sikkink: framing debates, discursive commitments, procedural change, affecting policy, and altering state and institutional behaviour.[154] Reflecting on the campaign after 'A Bloody Business', White said: 'There were highs and lows from [2011]. But ultimately, I took away hope. Australians *are* appalled by

animal cruelty. There has been an awakening. And the Animals Australia team will be doing everything in our power to use that awakening to help animals in need'.[155]

Although White's outlook was optimistic, a few questions remain. Have transnational investigative campaigns reached the apex of the cycle of protests? Have they exhausted their opportunities, particularly in times of conservative governments? Will there be another political conflagration akin to 'A Bloody Business'? Are new innovations and political methods necessary? These are questions for scholars and activists to contemplate. However, in recent times, the Animals Australia team have intensified and expanded their campaign, travelling to more countries to expose the systemic animal suffering inherent in the trading of animals. Animals Australia has continued to reveal 'what the industry doesn't want the public to see'.[156]

While the current chapter and previous chapters have focused on the domestic or transnational dimensions of animal activism, the following chapter examines how personal lifestyle, culture, and identity shaped activism and broader Australian society.

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CHAPTER 8

‘Go Veg’: Identity, Lifestyle, and Culture, 1970–2015

Strong winds and an ominous thunderstorm were not ideal weather conditions for a Sunday bike ride around Melbourne. That day in February of 2012 began at Lentil As Anything, a not-for-profit vegetarian restaurant located in the Abbotsford Convent, a site famous for its historic brick and bluestone buildings, gardens, and farm, all of which hugged the Yarra River. As a social enterprise, the restaurant had a unique business model, where the golden rule was that patrons ‘pay as you feel’, meaning that a person paid how much they thought the meal and service were worth. Recent immigrants and refugees managed the restaurant. An eclectic mix of people usually frequented the establishment.

Lentil As Anything was the first stop on the ‘Vegan Victory Bike Ride’. Approximately fifty people bought tickets to the event, which was sponsored by over twenty businesses. Each rider received a plump showbag full of treats and information about veganism. All the profits from the day went to Pet’s Haven and Animal Liberation Victoria.[1]

Like many of those who attended, I found out about the event through Facebook. On the event page, I noticed a few acquaintances were attending, but I did not know the organisers or many other people. For me, and presumably for others, the Sunday bike ride was part of a wider vegan summer calendar, which included social and community events.

By the time I arrived at Lentil As Anything, most people were waiting for their meal. It had been a busy morning, and the food service was slow. People eventually got their breakfast, which included a so-called Sri

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Lankan farmer's breakfast, muesli, pancakes, and more. It was too late for me to order, but I knew the day would feature lots of food.

When people finished their breakfast, we set off for our next destination in gentrified Fitzroy. We moved like a biker gang and avoided the major streets where possible, preferring the narrower, quieter streets of the inner city. Hopes for a leisurely bike ride were blown away as we struggled against a vicious and dusty northerly wind. We slowly made our way to Yong Green Food, a restaurant on Brunswick Street operated by two Korean sisters who specialised in raw, organic, vegan, and biodynamic food. They had kindly opened just for us. Inside, wooden benches, paper lanterns, and murals created a warm ambience. Over a colourful meal, the president of Vegetarian Victoria gave a speech about the health benefits of a vegan diet.

Our bike ride then took us to another restaurant in East Brunswick, via an all-vegan grocery store, where a generous discount encouraged participants to shop. At the Lygon Street restaurant Vege2go, we enthusiastically continued our gastronomic adventure and heard about the problems with animal experimentation as a furious storm raged outside.

During a lull in the storm, we rode to our last stop, CERES, a community environment park located near Merri Creek. Surrounded by gum trees and sheltered from the rain, we indulged in tofu *asada* burritos, a signature dish supplied by the Fitzroy eatery Trippy Tacos. I sat with a small group of people I had befriended, and we drank some lemongrass beer made by the local Goodbrew Company, whose director provided free samples from a keg he had towed with his bicycle. As the afternoon washed away, we listened to Patty Mark tell us the story of how she started Animal Liberation in Melbourne. The day ended gently with musical performances.

This story is not just about Melbourne's tumultuous weather or of gastronomic debauchery, but an example of lifestyle activism, where individuals live their life according to their social and political ideals and values. The performance of lifestyle activism can take place within a community, engage with questions of identity and culture, and intersect with social movement organisations. It is a style of activism where the personal is political. And it is a tactic for social change.

In the context of the animal movement, this chapter aims to provide an understanding of the meaning and function of vegetarianism, veganism, and lifestyle activism. After all, a common regard for vegetarianism produced a 'natural alliance' between the animal and vegetarian

movement.[2] The animal movement, argues Preece, made vegetarianism 'a visible and perceptible reality'.[3] The ideology of Animal Liberation demanded personal transformation: the adoption of and adherence to a vegetarian diet. Vegetarianism, for many years, was a defining feature of activists' lifestyles and personal and collective identity. Despite the centrality of vegetarianism to the animal movement, vegetarian advocacy, paradoxically, operated in the background. Initially, organisations campaigned for vegetarianism in conventional ways. However, over the years, a transition unfolded within the animal movement, where the merits and limitations of vegetarianism were discussed and debated, and where veganism was ultimately perceived to be a more ideal lifestyle. By the late 1990s, organisations began to devote resources to campaigning for veganism. Promoted in diverse and creative ways, veganism became a more prominent form of lifestyle activism after the 2000s, when a vision of social change was not only embodied through personal, everyday experiences but also through collective action. Since the 1980s, a visible and cosmopolitan veg subculture has emerged around Australia.[4]

In different ways, vegetarianism and veganism were both an approach to, and an intended outcome of, animal activism. Perhaps more than any other method and set of campaigns, vegetarianism and veganism carried an essentialist quality. Such claims defined personal and collective identity and became inseparable from what it meant to be an animal activist.

Identity, Lifestyle, and Culture

The Australian political system, state and government, policy, and law were not the only targets of the widespread mobilisations of the 1960s and 1970s; lifestyle, culture, and personal and collective identity also became sites of struggle and transformation. Politicised by the Vietnam War, youth and students pursued personal freedom from mainstream Australia by way of alternative lifestyles. Challenging the dominant norms and values of Australian society, practitioners of counter-culture, much like their North American counterparts, sought a sense of freedom through psychedelic drugs, music festivals, communes, and overseas travel.[5] In a comparable way, feminists sought to embody the social transformations they desired. Combating a range of gender inequalities that had both economic and social underpinnings, feminists viewed the personal as intrinsically political. Through newsletters and magazines, an initial attraction to 'the sexual revolution', consciousness-raising

activities, organisations, and women's services, feminists endeavoured to live out their emancipatory philosophy. For other women, lesbian feminism became not merely a sexual preference but a political statement, an embodied rejection of patriarchal society.[6] In the late 1970s, a vibrant and commercialised gay and lesbian subculture blossomed in urban Australia, 'which provided entertainment, support and affirmation'.[7] Although not without controversy and repression, this subculture materialised with the emergence of Mardi Gras, gay businesses and a gay press, and social, welfare, and religious services.[8]

Mobilisations like these provoked earnest theoretical reassessment from social movement scholars. From a European tradition, new social movement (NSM) theory emerged as a conceptual paradigm and methodological approach. It developed in response to the diverse social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which were seen as different to the older forms of class conflict that had historically defined the labour movement.[9] In the 'post-industrial society', social conflict was no longer conceived of as being exclusively economic and expressive of class divisions. Rather, a new nexus of divisions was identified around culture and personal and collective identity.[10] One of the most significant of NSM theorists, Alberto Melucci, argues that a transition unfolded whereby all 'these forms of collective action [increasingly] challenge the dominant logic on a symbolic ground. They question definition of codes, [and the] *nomination* of reality'.[11] Such challenges, Melucci continues, 'offer by their own existence other ways of defining the meaning of individual and collective action'.[12] Accordingly, NSMs were autonomous, cultural subjects that challenged the norms and values of society, everyday life, and individual experience; they were deeply concerned with their own subjectivity.[13] NSM theory offered a means for understanding the macro-level social structures of movements, the diversity of 'new' movements, and their distinctive political and cultural characteristics.[14]

The prevailing meaning of 'contentious politics' was also extended. Sociologist David Snow, among others, argues against a parochial view of contentious politics, highlighting the need for a broader conception of social movements that recognises 'collective challenges to systems or structures of authority beyond the government and state'.[15] In addition to the institutional policy assessment of social movement outcomes, scholars have focused on other expressions of change: the attainment of a range of collective benefits for constituents,[16] shifting public opinion, changing attitudes and behaviours, and the emergence of alternative

political parties.[17] Similarly, David Meyer argues that the cultural effects of social movements are more far-reaching and longer lasting than short-term policy victories.[18] While the aforementioned intellectual traditions have provided theoretical scope for understanding the personal changes stimulated by ongoing collective action, recently an increasing amount of scholarly attention has been devoted to lifestyle activism, which both overlaps and differs from traditional conceptions of contentious politics.

What does 'lifestyle' mean and how does it relate to activism? A lifestyle is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a style or way of living; a characteristic manner in which a person lives, or chooses to live, his or her life.[19] Sociologists consider a lifestyle to be 'a distinctive, hence recognisable, mode of living, attitudes, values, and behavioural orientations', which can be meaningfully defined by an individual, group, or culture.[20] When social or political ideals intersect and shape personal lifestyles, they became a form of lifestyle politics, or lifestyle activism.

Scholars have defined three characteristics of lifestyle activism: lifestyle choices are a tactic for social change; identity is central; and lifestyle movements have diffuse structures.[21] First, the performance of lifestyle politics, in contrast to other forms of collective action, is centred more on the private than the public sphere. Practitioners seek social changes primarily through individual lifestyle changes. 'The way one dresses, the food one eats, even the people one chooses to have sex with can become overtly political acts', which alters the everyday life of an individual into a form of continuous struggle.[22] Another example is political consumerism—boycott, buycott, Fairtrade—which represents the actions of people who make choices about consumer products with the goal of changing objectionable market practices.[23] Second, collective identity, often socially and spatially disconnected from people's daily lives, is a resource for crafting meaningful and cohesive personal identity. Efforts to define and uphold individual moral integrity become perhaps more significant than episodic collective success. Finally, while people may have limited contact with lifestyle movement structures—social networks and formal organisations—they nevertheless contribute to collective identity, ideology, and mobilisations.[24] Although lifestyle activism is inherently personal, individuals often cross-fertilise their lifestyle politics with traditional forms of protest. Lifestyle activism bridges with contentious politics and provides another avenue for participation. As Laura Portwood-Stacer argues, 'lifestyle activists make clear that culture and politics are co-constitutive; to resist one is to resist the other'.[25] Lifestyle

activism is an embodied political act that is not necessarily separate from other forms of activism.

Like green consumers and adherents of 'voluntary simplicity', vegetarians and vegans have been considered practitioners of lifestyle politics. Scholars suggest that a series of 'structural opportunity conditions and individual factors' enable vegetarian lifestyle politics.[26] They argue, however, that vegetarianism only becomes a lifestyle politics in the true sense of the term when a person's motivations are less about personal health and wellbeing and more about moral or political issues.[27] Elizabeth Cherry argues that recruitment into vegan lifestyle politics, particularly for youths, develops from a process of learning, reflection, and identity work. Lifestyle retention hinges on social and cultural support.[28] Supportive networks—not social isolation, as some may have thought—are indispensable for vegans to maintain their lifestyle, particularly those with no affiliation to any formal organisation.[29]

How do animal activism and lifestyle politics intersect? Today, large and influential organisations such as PETA and many Animal Liberation groups offer a wide variety of tools for enabling vegan lifestyle politics. In campaigning for veganism, United States animal rights groups have used diverse frames to persuade their audience, such as cruelty and suffering, commodification, harm to humans and the environment, and needless killing. Many of these frames rely on animal welfare notions to achieve animal rights goals.[30] Based on a 1996 survey, Munro discovered that Australian activists generally adhered to a vegetarian or vegan diet for moral reasons. The more active the person was in the movement, the stricter their lifestyle.[31] Indeed, there is more to this narrative.

'The First Step': The Animal Movement and Lifestyle Politics

The concept and practice of abstaining from killing and eating animals and instead living principally on a plant-based diet, for moral, religious, or health reasons, have been a part of Eastern and Western traditions since time immemorial.[32] These beliefs and practices existed before the word 'vegetarian' appeared.

From the late eighteenth century, the vegetarian movement further developed in Britain. At this time, a growing number of people found killing animals for their flesh abhorrent to their moral sensibilities.[33] Prominent figures articulated and advanced the movement. The

impulses were diverse: many followed different religious denominations, while others subscribed to secular and radical political ideas.[34] Inspired by ancient literature, particularly Pythagoras and Plutarch, vegetarians were insulated from the wider community.[35] At a time when meat was a luxury for the few, and therefore functioned as a symbol of status, vegetarianism was seen as eccentric.[36] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term 'vegetarian' seems to have entered the vernacular in 1847, largely due to the establishment of the Vegetarian Society in Ramsgate, England.[37]

The Vegetarian Society emerged in the cultural context of the early nineteenth century, around the time of notable vegetarian figures like Percy and Mary Shelley, Joseph Ritson, William Lambe, Isaac Newton, and Lewis Gompertz.[38] According to Kean, the practice of vegetarianism in Britain in the late nineteenth century offered a number of things: 'a respite from the prevalent contamination of meat and animal produce; a practical alternative to the continuing maltreatment of animals by butchers and slaughterers; and a solution to poverty'.[39] Through emerging teashops, vegetarian restaurants, specialty and health-food stores, and fitness groups of the 1870s and 1880s, vegetarianism became an important personal lifestyle.[40] Radicals and reform groups also congregated in these significant spaces.[41]

Vegetarian groups were imported into the Australian colonies in the late nineteenth century. The Vegetarian Society of Australia was founded on 23 February 1886, at the only vegetarian restaurant in Melbourne, the Thistle Company's Luncheon Rooms. It promoted 'abstinence from the *flesh of animals* (fish, flesh, and fowl) as food'.[42] In under a decade, vegetarian societies emerged in Ballarat, Adelaide, Sydney, and Brisbane. Patrons, many of whom had come from Britain, developed a rapport with their British vegetarian counterparts and subscribed to their journals.[43] In the late nineteenth century, adherents and proponents were diverse: some were motivated by religious beliefs, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, Theosophists, and Spiritualists, while others had secular impetuses, like the naturopaths or health-food exponents.[44] In the period following the Second World War, the Australian Vegetarian Society, which had lain fallow for some time, was reborn in Sydney in 1948. Within a couple of years, new branches re-emerged in most states and cities, established under the auspices of naturopaths, with an initial membership only numbering in the tens. Tasmania, the Northern Territory, and, for a while, Canberra had no vegetarian societies. Over

time, vegetarian societies would come to be plagued by fluctuating membership, poor finances, and long periods of inactivity.[45]

Ethical vegetarianism was fundamental to the idea of animal liberation. 'Becoming a vegetarian', writes Singer in *Animal Liberation*, 'is the most practical and effective step one can take toward ending both the killing of nonhuman animals and the infliction of suffering upon them.'[46] The killing of animals, the consumption of their flesh, and causing unnecessary suffering were easily avoidable through a vegetarian diet. However, for Singer, dairy consumption raised a different set of problems. On the intensive farm, egg and milk production both caused harm either through the enclosure of egg-laying birds in cages or the forced separation and subsequent slaughter of calves (like humans, cows will only lactate for their offspring; the separation of a calf from a cow ensures milk for human consumption). Vegans, he notes, avoided any moral complicity in these industries through their complete abstention from animal products. However, Singer argues, the adoption of veganism would be too difficult. 'A reasonable and defensible plan of action', Singer recommends, 'is to tackle the worst abuses first and move on to lesser issues when substantial progress has been made.'[47] Through this incremental approach, Singer sought to persuade people to cease eating meat and intensively farmed eggs, believing this was easier than advocating complete abstention from animal products. He conceptualises vegetarianism as a 'permanent boycott', particularly against the most objectionable forms of animal use.[48] His arguments about vegetarianism would, of course, be highly influential.

The vegetarian principles expressed by Singer influenced the emerging animal movement. In their first newsletter, Sydney's Animal Liberation stated:

> If you are interested in animal liberation, you will see the clear logic in a [diet] which requires no animal death or suffering at all. The first step, if you find it revolting to contemplate the cruel reality of the slaughterhouse, is to avoid meat-eating. The majority of vegetarians limit themselves only in this way, continuing to use eggs, milk and whatever animal products do not require the slaughtering of animals directly … Their problem is that it is almost impossible to find supplies of such products as milk and eggs which do not involve suffering and slaughter as by-products of their industry … A complete solution to the problem of dietary cruelty is veganism.[49]

Ethical vegetarianism was an intrinsically political lifestyle and a source of identity for the early animal activist. Most of the founders and leading figures of the various Animal Liberation branches and advocates within the Australian Federation of Animal Societies were, or became, vegetarian.[50] With his notion of ethical vegetarianism, Singer persuaded many of these leaders. Animal rights and vegetarianism were practically synonymous: adopting the latter was considered logical and morally consistent. On the other side of the spectrum, some leaders of traditional animal welfare societies rejected the animal liberation philosophy. 'Animal welfarists like me', proclaimed Hugh Wirth, long-term president of the RSPCA in Victoria, 'believe you can use animals for food or fibre providing the purpose is justified and their treatment is humane'.[51] Modern animal activists, however, viewed vegetarianism differently; one had a moral duty to become vegetarian to protect animals. As Christine Townend noted, the 'vegetarian argument is an integral part of the new animal rights movement'.[52] In contrast, the vegetarian societies that preceded the modern animal movement were not always concerned with animals. Some adherents had anthropocentric reasons for being vegetarian, such as concerns over personal health and wellbeing. Indeed, the societies were inexorably linked to naturopathy and the promotion of almost every complementary and alternative medical belief, which at times alienated and discouraged those more concerned about animal suffering.[53] Health, sustainability, and environmental issues were important arguments for animal activists, but for the most part the adoption of vegetarianism was motivated by an ethical consideration for animals.

In the early years, from an organisational perspective, promoting vegetarianism was not an official policy of the animal movement. It was more of an implicit message than an explicit campaign. In 1979, an editorial in the newsletter of Sydney's Animal Liberation, presumably written by Townend, stated that the organisation was not formed for the 'sole purpose of forcing everyone in Australia into Vegetarianism'. Its primary purpose was to campaign against cruel farming practices. Yet, the editorial concluded that 'becoming a vegetarian or vegan is the most practical and effective step'.[54] In 1981, Patty Mark reiterated the same position, clarifying that 'Animal Liberation has generally kept in the background the value of the option of vegetarianism as a boycott against cruelty'.[55]

These identical positions, enunciated by two leading activists, were ambivalent on the status of vegetarianism. On the one hand, both

activists held that it was both 'practical' and 'effective' for people to adopt vegetarianism in order to curb animal exploitation; on the other hand, other campaigns were prioritised. Looking backward from a contemporary vantage point, it may seem bizarre to see that activists proclaimed vegetarianism as both practical and effective and yet did not invest in it resources commensurate with an ongoing, important campaign. But when contextualised in the early 1980s, this position is understandable because, as explained in Chap. 4, activists adopted an integrationist, cooperative approach. Activists feared being marginalised from Australian politics and prevented from negotiating with industry. Charges of having a 'vegetarian plot', they feared, would 'inflame the situation and cloud the real issue of the state of affairs of farm animals'.[56] Instead, vegetarian advocacy took on a different form.

Vegetarianism was largely promoted in the activist press. Seeking to persuade and to offer support, the activist press provided information about vegetarian cookbooks and recipes, restaurants, animal-friendly products, and retail outlets.[57] Badges, stickers, shirts, and other merchandise were emblazoned with the popular mantras 'Go Vegetarian', 'Go Veg', and 'Meat Is Murder'.[58] However, sometimes, vegetarian advocacy was performed on the streets and in shopping centres and around events like Christmas, which offered opportunities for activists to leaflet and promote a 'cruelty-free' celebration.[59] In seeking to convince people, activists often invoked discourses of compassion: 'for people who care about animals, the earth, and themselves'.[60] Environmentalists, allies since the beginning, were also targeted, with one flyer featuring an image of the Earth with a bite taken out of it alongside the slogan: 'Think you can be a meat-eating environmentalist? Think again! If you give a damn about the planet, go vegetarian.' For many years, animal liberationists targeted the RSPCA, which was heavily criticised for condoning certain forms of intensive farming and for not having pro-vegetarian policies.[61] However, for an increasing minority, a vegetarian lifestyle was not enough; veganism was seen as ideal.

Vegan has come to mean a person who completely abstains from all food of animal origin and who also avoids the use of animal products in their everyday life, such as in cosmetics or clothes.[62] The term 'vegan' and the world's first vegan group came into existence in Birmingham, England, in November 1944. Veganism emerged from a debate within the British Vegetarian Society about the problems with consuming dairy products. The Vegan Society formed out of an organisational split when

the demand of members to operate as a subgroup was refused. Vegan, explained Donald Watson, one of the founders who helped coin the term, was created from the first and last letters of the word vegetarian, because the diet grew out of vegetarianism and was seen as its logical conclusion.[63] Watson, a woodwork teacher, conscientious objector, and teetotaller, almost single-handedly edited the quarterly magazine *Vegan News* and, along with others, pioneered veganism in Britain.[64] Their influence was later felt in Australia.

Several decades after the work of British vegans, the first Australian vegan group, the Vegan Society of Victoria, was created on 3 August 1973. It was initially a tiny group, founded by three individuals. One of them, Frederick Whittle, was also president of the Buddhist Society of Victoria.[65] 'By 1977 with the growth in interest, caused in part by the work of Peter Singer, the Vegan Society had grown to become a national organisation', writes Edgar Crook.[66] In the 1980s, the question of veganism, as both an identity and lifestyle, stirred debate within the animal movement.

As early as 1981, similar to earlier debates, some animal activists began questioning the limitations and problems of ovo-lacto vegetarianism. They began to see veganism as the ultimate ethical lifestyle. For Myer Samra of Sydney, it was the campaign against battery eggs in the early 1980s that motivated her and other activists to question vegetarianism. Even free-range eggs, seen as a preferable, humane alternative, did not resolve the problem that animals were exploited and killed for their products. These activists embraced veganism and became instrumental in establishing the New South Wales Vegan Society in 1981.[67] Almost identical discussions happened elsewhere. In Melbourne, long-term activist Matthew Perry also became convinced of the need for greater personal change and put forward his argument for lifestyle politics. Lifestyle change was a matter of being consistent with one's political values and aspirations. One could not, Perry claimed, effectively campaign for a higher standard of animal welfare while participating in 'a cruel industry', such as egg or dairy farming. 'If members of animal liberation are to convince others of the need for change', Perry argued, 'we must rigorously examine ourselves to make sure that our lifestyles are as consistent as possible with our ideals.'[68] Perry believed that veganism, not vegetarianism, ought to be the baseline for animal activists.

Although the debate sparked what would in time be recognised as the origins of the vegan turn within broad sections of the animal movement,

vegetarianism remained the norm for more than a decade. The earnest discussions of lifestyle and identity began to have a broader effect in the mid-to-late 1990s. There were tentative indications of this on the pages of *Animal Liberation: The Magazine* in 1990, when the magazine claimed on one page that 'it's simple, safe and satisfying to be vegetarian', to then follow up on the next page '… and the next step is to be vegan'.[69] Other signs of a shift occurred in 1999, when Patty Mark, founder and leader of Animal Liberation Victoria, subtly transitioned from persistently promoting vegetarianism to advocating veganism.[70] At the same time, Lynda Stoner, a leading activist in Sydney who had been vegetarian since reading Singer's book, also began endorsing veganism.[71] Henceforth, these reorientations had a direct impact on organisational campaigns and vegan lifestyle activism.

Vegan lifestyle activism grew substantially after the 2000s. Presently, all of the Animal Liberation groups campaign for veganism, although to varying degrees. In 2009, an Australia-wide 'Vegan Easy' campaign emerged, which promoted veganism through the distribution of postcards, booklets, leaflets, and, importantly, outreach events, such as the '30 Day Vegan Easy Challenge', which encouraged people to adopt a vegan diet for a month.[72] In 2011, Animal Liberation Victoria, the Vegan Society of New South Wales, Animal Rights Advocates Inc., and Uproar launched *Living Vegan,* a national magazine dedicated to lifestyle articles, restaurant and product listings, recipes, and activist content.[73] In this period, vegan lifestyle activism also came in other formats and from other networks.

The 2000s was a period coloured by novel festivals and events that not only celebrated the merits of veganism but also made it accessible and entertaining. In 2002, Animal Liberation Victoria inaugurated a 'Vegan Bus Tour' around Melbourne, which, according to reports, was fully booked. Following up on their early success, they organised a 'Vegan Christmas Shopping Bus Trip', exclaiming that it was an event 'not to be missed by any of you wanting hands-on experience in vegan shopping!'[74] Preceded by events such as the Cruelty Free Expo, large community festivals promoting veganism began to emerge around Australia.

Inaugurated by the British Vegan Society in 1994 to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary, World Vegan Day arrived in Melbourne in 2003 as an organised, moderately well-attended picnic in Albert Park.[75] Two years later, the event had upgraded to the larger Pit Building in Albert Park and included more food vendors, music, raffles, children's

activities, and 59 exhibitors, all of whom represented diverse advocacy groups and veg businesses. For a time, Adelaide, Sydney, Hobart, and Brisbane also organised World Vegan Day events, but none reached the heights of popularity that Melbourne had achieved.[76] A decade after it first began, World Vegan Day was celebrated in the Melbourne Showgrounds with a programme that featured art exhibitions, cooking demonstrations, music, talks, kids' activities, speed dating, and over 90 exhibitors.[77] From the far fringes of Australian events, World Vegan Day had grown exponentially, reaching, as one commentator noted, 'the height of urban cool'.[78] World Vegan Day not only attracted the wider vegan community, but interestingly it also appealed to many non-vegans: approximately 20% of attendees in 2009 were vegetarian, and nearly 19% considered themselves omnivorous. It was also a relatively young audience, with the vast majority of those attending being under 35 years of age.[79] Ultimately, one of the core functions of these lifestyle events was to foster a sense of community and collective identity among a diverse range of people.

In the last few decades, celebrities also stimulated animal rights and vegan lifestyle politics. The concept of the celebrity, argues P. David Marshall, is a modern notion connected to the emergence of mass democracies and efforts to contain the power of the masses in those democracies.[80] Celebrities are the materialisation of the organisation of culture, democracy, and capitalism.[81] Through cultural industries and political institutions, celebrities embody an audience's collective identity and provide avenues for the articulation of power and influence.[82] This capacity represents their symbolic power. Celebrity activism can shift political debate, bring significant attention to an issue, and orchestrate aspects of global culture. The 'power in celebrity advocacy', argues Marshall, 'has shifted contemporary politics well beyond the simple endorsement of a political candidate by a celebrity', which had been the default method of their engagement.[83] Celebrities, like intellectuals, articulate ideas and knowledge, galvanise individuals and movements, and illustrate the promise and perils of the individual.[84] For instance, within the conservation movement, celebrity activism is decades old; some scholars view its growth as partially caused by changes in movement organisation and resource mobilisation.[85] Celebrity advocacy can strengthen a cause, but it can also disadvantage it. Some scholars warn that narratives of celebrity activism are superficial attempts at promoting a greater sense of connection between the famous and their admirers,

in which celebrities try to retain their fame through charitable acts.[86] Celebrity activism can command disproportionate attention and sideline smaller, less media-friendly campaigns for which such endorsements are out of reach. More subtly, argues Dan Brockington, celebrities, despite their good intentions, can promote harmful market solutions while making certain forms of injustice harder to discern.[87]

Over the years, a number of Australian and international celebrities have been involved in animal rights and vegetarian/vegan advocacy. Brigitte Bardot, Paul and Linda McCartney, Pamela Anderson, Woody Harrelson, Alicia Silverstone, James Cromwell, Morrissey, Silverchair singer Daniel Johns, and Australian radio presenter and musician Lindsay McDougall were just some of the celebrities involved in animal advocacy and lifestyle politics in the 1980s and 1990s.[88] More recently, prominent people, such as former United States President Bill Clinton, international musicians Beyoncé and Jay Z, and popular television hosts Ellen DeGeneres and Oprah have made veganism more visible. Through their celebrity status, they added an extra layer of publicity and legitimacy. These interventions have also remade stereotypical images of vegans and veganism.[89] In consumer culture, as Marshall observes, the celebrity functions as a connecting agent between the materiality of production, the symbolic culture of consumption, and their relation to collective identity. They are an affective link between consumer culture and the commodity, and the meanings conferred on them by groups.[90] These celebrities promoted veganism and made the lifestyle look trendy, chic, and upmarket, which had commentators contemplating 'the rise of veganism'.[91] However, celebrities had the potential to undermine the lifestyle movement by representing it as an exclusive fad for the urban bohemian bourgeois. But, as Lagusta Yearwood has stated, the idea that veganism was seen as being for the 'cool kids' was beneficial so long as activists ensured that it was not seen as exclusive or elitist.[92] Ultimately, by increasing the visibility of vegetarianism and veganism, celebrities have strengthened rather than undermined the lifestyle movement.

To be a vegetarian in the 1970s, recalled Townend, who later became vegan, was to be seen as a 'wild man hippy'.[93] While such an image may not have been completely erased from the Australian psyche, both vegetarianism and veganism have become less taboo, more acceptable, and part of a growing subculture.

In the last forty years, a cosmopolitan veg subculture has blossomed around Australia. The animal movement, lifestyle activists, and others

motivated by religion or health stimulated this subculture. This trend is illustrated by the growth of businesses catering to vegetarians and vegans. Dedicated vegetarian businesses and cafés began to exist in most Australian cities starting from the 1890s. Waves of immigrants, particularly from South-East Asia in the 1960s and 1970s, introduced their vegetarian culture to Australian society through the establishment of restaurants vegetarian.[94] In 1988, there were 88 exclusively vegetarian restaurants in Australia: New South Wales had 43, Victoria 14, Queensland 12, South Australia 7, Western Australia 6, and Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) both had 3. Sydney was the epicentre with 34 restaurants.[95] Within the space of nearly thirty years, that number grew dramatically. Presently, there are 853 exclusively vegetarian and health food stores in Australia: New South Wales has 259, Victoria 277, Queensland 167, South Australia 62, Western Australia 47, Tasmania 21, ACT 13, and the Northern Territory 7.[96] In addition to the exclusively vegetarian businesses operating around Australia, now countless restaurants offer vegetarian and vegan food as part of their main menu, which was not at all common in the 1970s. This is perhaps where the greatest shift has transpired. Estimates are that in 1988 there were only 70 mainstream restaurants offering some type of vegetarian food as part of their main menu; presently, there are 424 vegetarian-friendly businesses, that is businesses that are not exclusively vegetarian but offer veg choices. When the number of exclusively veg and veg-friendly restaurants are combined, today there are approximately 1189 *more* restaurants serving vegetarian food in Australia than in 1988. In addition to food, Australian businesses are specialising in other sorts of vegan products, such as household consumables, cosmetics, clothes, shoes, tattoos, companion animal products, and more.

Other indicators also point to a growth in vegetarianism and veganism. Google Trends, which provides information on the popularity of search terms over time in Australia, indicates that the last decade has seen a steady growth in the number of online searches for 'vegetarian'. Perhaps even more fascinating is that in the last two years, searches for 'vegan' overtook vegetarian searches, with the highest level of interest coming from Melbourne. Google Trends predicts that searches of this nature will continue to rise.[97] English-language book publications discussing vegetarianism and veganism also appear to have increased between 1970 and 2000.[98] Today, online shopping web sites such as

Book Depository and Amazon sell thousands of diverse vegetarian and vegan books.

What are the statistics for the number of vegetarians and vegans living in Australia? Unfortunately, the scant data do not allow for a conclusive answer. The only time the Australian Bureau of Statistics has reported on vegetarianism was in a 1995 National Nutrition Survey, which noted that 5% of 16–18 year old girls ate a vegetarian diet.[99] A more recent and relevant survey was conducted by Roy Morgan in June 2013, which discovered that 10% of people over 14 years of age agreed with the statement 'The food I eat is all, or almost all, vegetarian'.[100] Despite its findings, the survey has several problems. The qualifier 'almost all' makes it difficult to separate those who adhere strictly to vegetarianism from those who eat meat infrequently but still perceive themselves to be vegetarian. To further complicate matters, those who mistakenly see fish and chicken as vegetables not only misunderstand the diet but distort the accuracy of the findings. For instance, a 2010 survey by the Vegetarian and Vegan Society of Queensland discovered that of the 5% of people who had said they were vegetarian, only 2% actually ate a vegetarian diet. The same survey also reported that of the 1% who said they were vegan, only a single person actually ate a vegan diet.[101] Until further surveys are undertaken and more rigorous research methods applied, the precise number of Australian vegetarians and vegans will remain unclear.

Despite the efforts of lifestyle activists and the growth of a veg subculture in Australian society, the collective benefits to animals—animals not being used or killed—were severely undermined in this period. Veg lifestyles were offset by the average Australian's demand for meat. Meat consumption continued to play a major role in the average consumer's daily food intake. In 2011, Australians consumed approximately 111 kg of meat—cow, lamb, chicken, pig—per person. Owing to shifting consumer tastes and industry trends in the last fifty years, annual per capita chicken consumption dramatically increased sevenfold to overtake beef consumption, from 4.4 kg in 1962 to 43.3 kg in 2011. In the same period, pig consumption tripled, from 8.8 kg in 1962 to 25 kg in 2011.[102] Retail prices increased over this period, with the cost of beef, lamb, and mutton growing at a faster rate than those of chicken and pork.[103] The number of animals slaughtered in 2011 to satisfy Australians' meat consumption habit is astronomical: 7.2 million cattle, 4.9 million sheep, 17.8 million lambs, 4.6 million pigs, and over

half a billion chickens.[104] In other words, 14 cattle, 9 sheep, 34 lambs, 9 pigs, and 1039 chickens were stunned and slaughtered every minute. Underlying this pattern of consumption, as sociologist Adrian Franklin's survey of Australian consumers observed, is that meat eating is viewed as acceptable so long as animals are reared and killed 'humanely'[105]—a long-held belief in Western thought. Intensive farms and the number of animals killed each year are likely to increase in the future due to a growing population.

Clearly, there continue to be overwhelming obstacles for lifestyle activists seeking broader social changes. Most significantly, activists are up against a well-resourced, state-sponsored, and culturally entrenched meat and livestock industry. Furthermore, Donna Maurer argues that the veg lifestyle movement has been limited because it has not proven to the broader public that eating meat is dangerous and immoral.[106] Other scholars argue that the 'ideological authenticity' of animal rights groups could be increased if their lifestyle activism was framed to explicitly problematise the injustice and exploitation involved in using animals for food, which would also emphasise respect for animal sentience and individuality.[107] In addition, states and institutions, as avenues for promoting lifestyles, have been historically neglected. However, this aspect is perhaps being remedied. Founded in 2011, Vegan Australia is an organisation that seeks to campaign at a national level, by lobbying governments and institutions, in addition to exercising other established campaigning tools. One of its aims is to secure pro-vegan policies in areas of food and health, among other things. Thus far, it has submitted some reports to government.[108] While the organisation is still in its infancy, its existence demonstrates that lifestyle activists are prepared to target the state, to engage with the Australian political system, and to further diversify their campaigns.

Conclusion

Vegetarianism, veganism, and lifestyle activism have served as means of pursuing social change. Part of a wave of movements in the 1960s and 1970s that sought social transformations, ethical vegetarianism was integral to the animal movement. The seriousness of lifestyle politics was highlighted by activists in the 1980s who debated veganism and who believed in living in a way that closely aligned with their political ideals. It is true that in comparison to some of the other long-term

campaigns in the 1980s, advocacy for a veg lifestyle often operated in the background, occasionally reminding people of its importance through a recipe, a cookbook, a leaflet, or polemic. But in the late 1990s, and particularly in the 2000s, lifestyle activism grew in organisational prominence. From the dissemination of information and the role of celebrity figures, major campaigns like World Vegan Day and Vegan Easy, not to mention countless local events, social interactions, and potluck dinners, a repertoire of lifestyle activism developed that shaped personal and collective identity and the bonds of a veg community. Overall, a definable veg subculture blossomed in Australia.

Lifestyle activism revealed that personal changes could be empowering. In addition to engaging in other forms of contentious politics, becoming vegetarian or vegan, which entailed abstaining from consuming meat and animal products, was, and continues to be, promoted as one of the most practical and effective choices a person could make to lead an ethical life, free from the politics and culture of animal use and exploitation. Personal action could circumvent the intransigence of the establishment, the limitations of lobbying government or industry, and the failure of collective action. Enormous social obstacles existed for practitioners of lifestyle politics, such as contending with entrenched norms and values and even alienation from family or friends. Outright victory was impossible; many people were uninspired and unconvinced, while others even abandoned their lifestyle politics. Yet a new front opened up, and a form of cultural resistance unfolded.

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CHAPTER 9

Conclusion: The Legacy of the Animal Movement

Almost forty years after Christine Townend called the founding meeting of Animal Liberation in Sydney, a new era dawned for the Australian animal movement. On Friday morning, 17 April 2015, the Animal Justice Party (AJP) and its candidate Mark Pearson—a former psychiatric nurse and Executive Director of Sydney's Animal Liberation—secured the final, tightly contested seat in the New South Wales upper house.[1] In doing so, AJP became the first political party dedicated to animal rights, 'to promoting and protecting the interests and capabilities of animals', to be elected into any level of Parliament in Australian history.[2] Founded in 2010, AJP hoped to imitate the electoral success of its Dutch counterpart, *Partij voor de Dieren* (Party for the Animals). AJP has joined the list of successful political parties that have arisen out of social movements: the trade unions and the Australian Labor Party; conservationists and the Greens; and peace activists and the Nuclear Disarmament Party. In one way or another, all these political parties shaped Australian politics. While states govern most aspects of animal use and have the greatest scope for animal law reform, it remains to be seen how far AJP will go in influencing New South Wales politics, particularly in the context of a conservative Coalition government. This is yet another momentous episode in the modern history of the animal movement, where ordinary people have challenged opponents.

From Peter Singer's 1975 book *Animal Liberation* to the humble organisations that emerged, organised, and mobilised, the animal movement has grown. In the late 1970s, there were approximately fifty animal

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groups operating in Australia. Presently, there are over 300 registered animal charities in Australia, each working on various aspects of animal welfare, protection, and advocacy.[3] To list them all would consume this conclusion. The majority of registered animal charities are focused on domestic animals and wildlife rehabilitation, care, and rehoming. Some groups have a local focus, while others have transnational outlets for their advocacy. As an example of the diversity of animal charities, some of the current groups include Against Animal Cruelty Tasmania, Australia for Dolphins, Bali Pet Crusaders, Brightside Farm Sanctuary, Edgar's Mission, Free the Bears, Horse Rescue Australia, and Pet's Haven. Financial resources vary dramatically between registered animal charities: many have a small revenue base, while others have large budgets of more than a million dollars per annum.[4] Financially, the RSPCA continues to be one of the major animal groups in Australia. Far from being exhausted, the movement has continued to develop.

Despite similarities to other social movements, the animal movement was imbued with different morals, ideas, methods, and challenges. From the conventional to the disruptive, this book has shown that methods of animal activism have a particular history. Transnational factors intertwined throughout this story. Australians were both receivers and transmitters of novel ideas and techniques. With the passage of time, animal activists were often enterprising, innovative, and provocative in how they contested the politics and culture of animal exploitation. As in other social movements, animal activists initially looked to the Australian political system to serve their needs. However, for some in the movement, the pace of reform was too slow, and conventional tactics like lobbying were not hard-hitting enough. Imported from Britain and North America, direct action filtered into Australia and foreshadowed the beginning of a wider, innovative performance of disruptive methods by animal liberationists. Disruptive actions introduced activists to a world of new possibilities and confrontations—a world of directly rescuing animals and risking personal liberty for a greater cause. But such methods were also restricted, as routinised actions did not necessarily translate into campaign victories. In the 1990s, spectacles of open rescue defined animal activism and heralded a new wave of contention. Visceral images of caged farmed animals captured by animal liberationists were broadcast on television screens across Australia. However, such actions had their conceptual and practical limitations: images could not shock everyone out of complacency, the protest cycle waned, farmers continued their

practices, countermeasures were enacted, and battle-grounds shifted to court rooms. Global animal activism developed with the advent of Lyn White's transnational investigative campaigning, which positioned activists as actors in international and national politics. While some of the movement's protest methods operated at the domestic and international levels, practices like vegetarianism and veganism fundamentally operated at the individual level and became a form of lifestyle activism. Lifestyle activism challenged the culture of animal exploitation and stirred a growing subculture. However, throughout all of this, the animal movement was constrained and limited in ways incomparable to other movements.

Similar to the study of other social movements, there are minimalist and maximalist approaches to interpreting the legacy of the animal movement. For the minimalist, incremental reforms that improved the lives of animals were desirable if they effectively reduced animal suffering.[5] For instance, genuine free-range egg systems 'that allow birds to perform their natural behaviour patterns are infinitely preferable to intensive poultry systems'.[6] Moreover, weak welfare reforms had the potential to offer promising political possibilities, even if incremental reforms fell short of what the animals needed. Protest cycles often increased the marginal power of those moderate groups campaigning for incremental reform.[7] From a minimalist perspective, any progress was better than none.

For the maximalist, the animal movement failed to dramatically or seriously challenge the powerful industries and cultural institutions that used animals. The abolition of speciesism and the realisation of animal rights have remained frustratingly elusive. Intensive farms, animal experimentation, livestock exports, duck shooting, puppy farms, bobby calves, fur, animals in captivity, circuses, rodeos, jumps racing, hunting, wildlife culling, and so on continue to be major issues that the animal movement campaigns against.[8] Perhaps more startling is that, in some instances, the number of animals exploited appears to be higher than before: in 2014, there were approximately 16 million laying hens in Australia, with the vast majority living in wire cages[9]; in the last decade, depending on statistics for the year, between 3.7 and 11.4 million animals—for example mice, rats, dogs, sheep, fish, native mammals, primates—were used for experiments in Australia, often with lethal consequences.[10] According to Gary Francione, there is little empirical evidence that animal welfare reforms have actually decreased animal suffering.[11] Furthermore, maximalists argue that incremental reforms

have undermined the potential for radical changes. For instance, promoting free-range egg production in the 1980s sustained the normative assumption that using animals was acceptable. Maximalists would argue that the daily lives of animals, particularly those economic animals reared in intensive farms, have remained largely unchanged. Finally, maximalists would argue that the moral status of animals remains inferior.

The debate between the minimalists and maximalists, cleavages that echo across all social movements, continues.[12] But to early animal activists, these nuances were more blurred, or not yet perceptible.[13] For most, the abolition of animal exploitation was always a desirable goal, but they also acknowledged that its realisation was not imminent. Minimalist and maximalist interpretations either assume too little or too much. They are positions that either overemphasise animal welfare improvements or condemn any standard of animal protection because it is not abolitionist. To assess the animal movement in this fashion is to simplify its achievements and legacy, to reduce an evaluation to the measurement of 'success' or 'failure'. Rather, as stated in the introduction, this book has sought to examine the 'outcomes' of the animal movement, that is, the intended and unintended consequences of activism. A study of outcomes offers a third way: one that not only highlights the intended impacts, such as the achievement of campaign goals or policy formation, but one that also reflects on the broader transformations that have occurred. Such an approach offers a richer interpretation of the history of the animal movement.

This book has demonstrated that the modern animal movement influenced, changed, and pluralised Australian politics. By extending the political agenda, influencing public policy, or shaping state bureaucracy, the animal movement helped create greater avenues for animal protection. Prior to the movement, the Australian political system only had basic laws that dealt with the prevention of cruelty to animals. The focus was on preventing and punishing the mistreatment of (mostly companion) animals. Animal welfare, either in its 'positive' or 'negative' valuations, was not widely considered in politics.[14] Slowly, in response to activists, major political parties articulated and adopted animal welfare policies. In time, farmers and industry groups began to officially and formally report on animal welfare issues. These groups invested in animal husbandry and welfare research. New endeavours like free-range and, later, organic produce emerged. Codes of Practice covered many areas

of animal use and signalled a political shift towards considering different types of animal welfare standards.

Beginning in the 1980s, the Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare investigated, deliberated, and delivered 11 reports on various aspects of animal use that are still of value today. Activists influenced and reshaped the state bureaucracy with the creation of the National Consultative Committee on Animal Welfare, the Animal Welfare Advisory Committees, and the Animal Experimentation Ethics Committees. Other notable developments included the banning of recreational shooting of native water birds in three states. In 2010, due to local pressure and international trends, Australian Pork Limited announced the voluntary phasing out of sow stalls by 2017.[15] Shifting consumer demand for free-range and organic animal products, which emphasised a higher standard of animal welfare, also stimulated market reform. On rare occasions, the Australian government has dramatically acted to protect animals in ways that are akin to a state of emergency within the live export industry, such as the cessation of exports to Egypt in 2006 and Indonesia in 2011. The structures and avenues that were constructed and pursued offered the possibility of progress for animal protection. However, progress and change were not limited to the realm of politics.

Australian society, its social and cultural fabric, was also rewoven by activism. Since the 1970s, the animal movement has contributed to altering the human–animal relationship, by gradually influencing and shifting social attitudes related to the use of animals. In one of the first comprehensive national surveys on human–nonhuman animal relationships in Australia, Adrian Franklin reported that in the year 2000, 52% of respondents felt that intensive farming methods of producing meat, eggs, and milk were cruel.[16] Animal activism, the driving force behind criticism of intensive farming, has contributed to influencing public opinion and raising community awareness. Australians generally have had favourable attitudes towards animals, although for most this sentiment has not always translated into animal-friendly eating behaviours.[17] Other shifts in Australian culture were perceptible, such as the rise of vegetarianism and veganism, which has over time become more visible and less obscure. A cosmopolitan veg subculture has blossomed in Australia, particularly in metropolitan areas. Concern for the rights and wellbeing of animals has been at the heart of an increasing number of people's decisions to embrace vegetarianism and veganism.

The history of the animal movement is a history of incremental progress and constraints. While the animal movement was far from 'abolishing man's speciesist attitude towards animals',[18] activists took one step forward. In the quest for change, they created a set of innovative and provocative methods of action, designed to bear witness and draw attention to the unseen suffering of nonhuman animals. Australian politics and society were transformed, but not necessarily in the image of animal rights; institutions and structures proved to be malleable to certain animal welfare improvements and society further developed forms of animal-friendly attitudes and habits. A type of animal politics was stimulated. Activism made a difference to the lives of animals. However, much work remains to be done. Activists would be the first to acknowledge this and to point out the many sites where animals are used and exploited that need attention. Meanwhile, animal issues will still come onto the political agenda and ignite public debate. Animal activists will try to influence politics and history, not only in Australia but around the world. The next chapter in animal activism remains to be written.

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